EMMIR, European Master's in Migration and Intercultural Relations

University of Oldenburg, University of Stavanger, University of Makerere

TITLE: 'The other' crossing: Discursive representations of the management and dynamics of the Southern Border of Spain

AUTHOR: Mónica Rodríguez de Luna

SUPERVISORS: Dr. Synnøve Kristine Nepstad Bendixsen

International Migration and Ethnic Relations

Research Unit, Bergen, Norway

Dr. Jure Gombač

University of Nova Gorica, Slovenia.

DATE: 30th June 2013

CONTENTS

The other crossing: Discursive representations of the management and dynamics of the Southern Border of Spain

Introduction: a brief reflection and research questions

Spain has undergone important transformations in its migratory patterns. In the last decades the country began to observe a decrease in the net of emigration and an enlargement of the immigration influx. Although the financial crisis has had a strong impact on the mobility dynamics of the population in the country, which include a strong reduction in the immigration rate, Spain continues to receive immigrants, including, irregular ones, that look to settle in the country or to transit to others in the European space. The influx of irregular immigrants who often arrive through means so precarious as 'pateras' (boats) to Spain, is also observed in other southern European countries and as an established phenomenon, it has been paralleled by the strengthening of the borders of 'Fortress Europe'. The new forms of governance emerging from the creation and expansion of the European Union have required deep transformations in the way European societies interact with each other and with the rest of the world, in order to come up with ways to manage and mitigate the intrinsic contradictions, challenges and complexities present in this process, among which the management of the external borders is central. As the migratory pressure rises, Europe faces the difficult task of simultaneously controlling the influx of immigrants and respecting the human rights and democratic values upon which it claims to be founded. These contradicting aims are often pernicious to each other in borders where deportations, violence, brutal encounters and vehement signs of rejection and exclusion are the rule everyday.

Borders, including the European external ones, are not only geographical limits. They are institutions where values, interests, beliefs, feelings, imaginaries, and political and economic objectives are synthesized, materialized and reflected. In the process of making Europe, new border rules and practices have to emerge, as the European Union and its member states seek to ensure the perpetuation of a particular order of the world where they maintain the sovereignty over certain territories and populations. In this context, the importance of the Spanish-Moroccan border is major, not only because of the geographical proximity between Spain and Morocco, and therefore between Europe and Africa, in the area, but because, to a great extent, of the strong migratory pressure it is the object of, the success of the political,

economic and social agenda of Europe, depends greatly on the securing and control of its borders.

Despite the increasingly interconnectedness of the world, the borders of Europe, just as those of other regions, are very often controlled with forceful, illegitimate, arbitrary, and even illegal methods that are highly questionable because of their violent nature. Yet they continue operating in this manner on the basis of discourses that are very deeply interiorized and naturalized. These discourses are multilayered and have symbolic dimensions that originate in the fundamental ways people understand the nature of social and political relations. The discourses that precede and accompany borders have long, complex and multiple genealogies, but in the contemporary world, media is certainly one of their most significant sources. When narrating about the border and border events, media provides the reader with ways of understanding, interpreting, valuing and assessing the border itself, border practices, and irregular immigration. Media interacts with the society in a dialectic dynamic: it constructs a discourse based on beliefs and imaginaries dominant in a society it belongs to but it also constructs a new discourse based on the particular social, political and economic objectives it has. It is often the case that media acts as an instrument to legitimize the perpetuation of institutions and their social practices, including the border and border practices. And among media, because of the number of people it reaches, the press is pivotal. The Spanish press is not an exception here, as a powerful means of communication, it is often the place where debates on immigration and border control take place and where official national and supranational discourses are contrasted with those of actors such as non governmental organizations, political parties and the general citizen. Because border realities are often far from the everyday life experience of the average Spanish citizen, it is often the press that presents a window, very much distorted and subjective, to them.

In this work I use the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to reflect on the ways four national Spanish newspapers cover issues related to the south border of Spain with Morocco and the dynamics taking place there. I seek first to find what are the most important characteristics of the border narratives of the Spanish newspapers 'El País', 'La Vanguardia', 'El Mundo' and 'ABC' are, and how these narratives generate general understandings, imaginaries and constructions about the border and border events. Second, I seek to determine what macro-topics prevail in the recounts of the border. Third, I intend to explore how these newspapers constitute the actors interacting in the border and what attributes they

are given. Fourth, I also want to reflect on the main discursive strategies and semantic and formal structures used in these newspapers to discuss the border and border events. Fifth, I seek to explore if there are significant differences in the ways these four newspapers construct narratives about the border and to offer some reflections on the journalistic work of these newspapers. Finally, I intend to explore how the coverage of border events generates and reflects a representation of the self and of the other in the Spanish society. In doing so I seek to cast light on how these representations and constructions of the border reflect a general stance towards immigration and migratory policies and provide grounds to legitimize the border regime in Spain.

In this work, I will firstly provide some contextualization containing insights into the migratory dynamics of the southern border of Spain. Then, I will outline an introductory conceptual and theoretical framework and finally, I will proceed with the analysis of the media and my conclusions.

Brief panorama of Immigration to Spain through the Southern Border

Spain's transition from an emigration to one that receives relatively high amounts of immigration country started in the 1980s. With the prior death of Franco and the consequent arrival of democracy to the country in 1975, the integration of Spain to the European Union in 1986 and its adhesion to the Schengen treaty in 1999, Spain started to experience an economic growth and political stability that in turned discouraged emigration and started to attract immigrants, specially from Latin America, the North of Africa and some Asian countries such as Pakistan and China. As a country that had never in its recent history experienced immigration, Spain started to enforce restrictive measures and for the first time in centuries, to reformulate its idea on 'the other'. Although Latin Americans appeared to the Spanish people as 'different', they have also been recognized as 'culturally closer' than Maghrebis, Asians and Sub-Saharans, even by the former President of the right-winged Popular Party, José María Aznar (Alscher, 2005: 13). Nevertheless, this statement has to be nuanced, because the idea of 'the other' is in the context of the Spanish society, unarguably central to its political and social dynamics, where deeply rooted local nationalisms, peaceful and violent secessionist movements, and questions relating to multilingualism have constituted the axis of the discussions, disputes and political activity of contemporary Spain. However complex, it is clear that in the Spanish imaginary the idea of 'the other' has

historically related to its 'quintessential other', 'the moor' or 'moro', which is a term used in Spain to refer to anyone that practices Islam, speaks Arabic or belongs to this culture. The term can have a negative and pejorative connotation. The geographical proximity of what now is Spain with what now is Morocco engaged Catholic Spain in long-term conflictive and confrontational interaction with Muslim Morocco. The southern part of the territories that are now the Andalucía region of Spain were occupied for centuries by the Moorish empire of Al-Andalus until the Spanish took over in 1492. However distant these events, they left a strong print on the imaginaries of the 'other' among the Spanish society and on its idea of 'the self'. Actually, according to Driessen 'in its origins, the idea of Spain and its nationalism were clearly shaped as an opposition to the 'Moors'. He also stated that 'inspired and forged by the spirit of the 'reconquista' (reconquest), the Spanish State was built on a policy of ethnic, religious and cultural homogenization' (Driessen, 1992: 17).

The imaginary of the 'moor', of the Muslim 'other', was certainly present when contemporary Spain was faced with the reality of immigration. Firstly, because of its own past and because of its geographical proximity to Morocco, which prompted the arrival of irregular immigration through the Strait of Gibraltar and to the Canary Islands. And secondly, because Spain, as a member of the European Union, had to comply with the central European policy of border securing in which control of undocumented immigration was a priority, and it had to become so for Spain.

In this context, the border of Spain with Morocco in the south has also become a European border that simultaneously divides Spain from Morocco, and Europe from Africa. The border between Spain and Morocco is a maritime border. It includes the Strait of Gibraltar, which divides the Iberian Peninsula from Africa, and the Archipelagos and Islands found there under Spanish sovereignty. It also includes the Moroccan Atlantic coast next to the Canary Islands, and the territorial division between the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco (Ferrer, 2008: 304). In consequence, out of the seven external borders of the European Union, three are located in Spain: Ceuta and Melilla, the Canary Islands and the Strait of Gibraltar, all from Morocco. This process of 're-bordering', through which 'boundaries of two traditional territorial units (nation states) meet with the line that marks the limits of a new territorial container that is characterized by its supranational (or post-national) nature" (Ferrer, 2008: 317), entails, as pointed out by Ferrer, an intrinsic contradiction. On the one hand the border has to be closed for immigration to be controlled, but on the other it has to be

opened to enable 'free trade'. Ferrer expresses this contradiction and the overlap of the EU and Spanish border in the following way, 'supranational EU building dynamics have shaped and forged a new post-national territorial unit. Within the EU, national and post-national territorial units coexist and, consequently, so do their respective national and post-national borders. On the Spanish-Moroccan border, they coincide and overlay each other'. (Ferrer, 208: 306) This border is a space where continuous attempts to cross take place, often irregularly and with risky and desperate methods that have resulted in fatalities. The traffic of "pateras" (the boats that transport immigrants) occurs regularly from Morocco with immigrants from countries such as Mauritania, Senegal and Morocco itself, to ports such as Algeciras, Málaga, Cádiz, Tarifa, Alicante and Almería, or to the Canary Islands, specially Fuerteventura. Many immigrants are smuggled from Morocco, occupied Western-Sahara or other regions of northern Africa to Ceuta, Melilla (territorial enclaves of Spain surrounded by Moroccan territory) or to peninsular Spain. According to Carling, smuggling via "pateras" is the principal mode of unauthorized entry to Spain (Carling, 2007: 320), Moroccans are the largest group to enter illegally, and Malians constitute the largest group of Sub-Saharans (Carling, 2007: 320).

In order to prevent the arrival of immigrants to Spain, the Spanish government, with the aid, financing, supervision and counseling of the European Union, has implemented a multi-perspective strategy to halt immigration. Carling has described it as a 'Model of immigration interface'. According to Carling, this model has four stages:

- Dissuasion
- Preventing unauthorized entry
- Detention and apprehension of those who manage to enter
- Processing of apprehended migrants. (Carling, 2007: 323)

Another characterization of the measures used to prevent immigration from happening divide these strategies into the following categories:

1. Legal strategies:
    a. 'Ley de Extranjería' (Foreigner's Law): Migration to Spain is regulated by this law, which was issued in 1985 and modified in the year 2000. It offers a strict and detailed legal frame for immigration.
    b. Bilateral agreements with the governments of the immigrants' countries of origin, facilitating the works of repatriation. For instance, in 1992, Spain

signed with the government of Morocco the "Agreement of readmission of Moroccan Citizens that attempt to enter Spain irregularly". Also, the so-called "Second generation agreements" with Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Mali, where Spain created a legal framework to repatriate nationals of those countries.

2. Infrastructural strategies

   a. Fences: In the year 2006, a fence was raised dividing Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco.

   b. SIVE (Integrated System of Exterior Surveillance): This system has been implemented as off 2002. It introduced interception units such as cars, boats, helicopters, sensors, video cameras, fixed and mobile radar, infrared cameras and other highly technologically developed measures. The system protects the Canary Islands, Andalucian Coast, Valencia, Ceuta, Melilla and all the Spanish Mediterranean. The system was supported by both the right-winged and left-winged governments in 1999 and in 2004.

3. Supranational strategies:

   a. SIVE (System of Integrated External Surveillance): Also a supranational strategy, it covers the securitization, externalization and European cooperation for border control. In 2004, the "Guardia Civil" (Civil Guard) started to patrol the coasts of Morocco to prevent "pateras" from leaving the country, with the cooperation of the governments of the UK, Italy, France and Germany.

   b. FRONTEX: European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders (Frontex). It was created in 2005 and it has its headquarters in Warsaw. The Agency is in charge of aiding in the control of European borders. Just for the period of 2007-2013, it had a budget of €285 million (Simon, 2006: 48).

   c. Operations such as "Hera I", "Hera II", "Ulysses". Performed by member states of the European Union. These operations target specific points of the border and detect immigrants to prevent their arrival. They also take place in territories where immigration is high, such as the Canary Islands, to detect immigrants (Simon, 2006: 47).

d. European Union Summits. Organization of summits to discuss immigration related issues, such as the Summit of Sevilla, where European states discussed issues related to immigration.

As a consequence of the implementation of these strategies, immigrants are now travelling in 'pateras' through longer and more dangerous routes, predominantly to the Canary Islands, especially Tenerife and Gran Canaria, instead of Fuerteventura or the Strait of Gibraltar. So, despite the fact that the measures have made the routes longer and more dangerous, immigrants continue to travel to Spain. To illustrate this, I will quote the figures that Simon offers:

> The number of sub-Saharans intercepted by the Spanish authorities increased from 142 in 1996 to a record high of 8,761 in 2002. For 2003 and 2004 the figures are respectively 7,295 and 7,936. During the same period, the total amount of irregular migrants apprehended on the coasts of Spain increased from 7,741 in 1996 to 21,013 in 2002 and 19,176 in 2003, before decreased in 2004 to 15,675. (…) Moreover, during 2003 a total of 942 embarcations were detected and 225 smugglers arrested (Simon, 2006: 39).

The implementation of SIVE, the operations of FRONTEX, the construction of the dividing fences, and the overall strategy towards immigration dissuasion and control, have often resulted in fatalities, numerous deaths and human rights violations. Just to mention a few of these common cases, The Federation of Associations "SOS Racism in the Spanish State" denounced that 103 sub-Saharan migrants were forcedly drugged with "haloperidol" and later deported to various countries without knowing their origin. José María Aznar, then President of Spain, declared, in a press conference when he was asked about the issue, "there was a problem and it has been solved" (El País, 43). Another tragic incident took place in the year 2005, eleven people were murdered by the "Guardia Civil" (others argue it was the Moroccan authorities), while climbing the fence dividing Melilla from Morocco. Later, 24 sub-Saharan migrants deported to Morocco died after being abandoned by the government of this country in the Sahara Dessert. Moreover, according to Simon:

> Between 1997 and 2002, 3,286 corpses were found on the shores of Spain (an average of 657 per year). It is commonly accepted by experts that, once lost at sea, the probability of discovering a corpse is one out of three. Consequently it can be estimated

that 10,000 individuals (an average of 2,000 per year) died while attempting to reach the southern shores of Europe. The Spanish Ministry of Interior published the official figures for 2002-2004 (Simon, 2006: 41).

According to Rubio and Goldsmith, from 1988 to 2007, 8995 migrants have been reported dead while attempting to cross the border and 3087 disappeared (Rubio-Goldsmith, 2007). Also, between 2003 and 2004 there were 21 boat accidents with 10 or more fatalities. (Carling, 2007: 328) It has also been alleged by NGOs and academics that drowning and sinking incidents have happened in the eyes of the 'Guardia Civil', that has supposedly denied help to immigrants in some of these situations. The argument for not helping these migrants is that the Civil Guard does not have the resources nor the training to do so (Carlin, 2007).

The situation in detention centers known as "CETIS" (Centers of Temporary Stay of Immigrants), has also been denounced by local NGOs who have warned about the conditions prevailing in the centers, where there is lack of food, water and proper facilities.

Because of the difficulties and dangers of travel from Africa to Spain, almost all migrants are relying on smugglers, operating in organized cells. The organizations in charge of this highly profitable business of smuggling, according to Simon, are very flexible and react to immigration controls. Some calculate that 830,000 immigrants (from all countries of origin) are migrating irregularly to the enlarged European Union each year, and that 450,000 will be smuggled, generating revenues of €4.2 billion (Simon, 2006: 43).

As it has been discussed in this chapter, the border of Spain and Morocco is a site where central notions such as human rights, solidarity, cosmopolitanism, globalization and interconnectedness collide aggressively with border controls, producing fatalities, risky journeys and failed or successful attempts to reach Europe from Africa.

Theoretical Framework

Conceptualizing discourse, power and the role of media

As I refer to in the introduction, discourse is a central concept that I will make use of throughout this work. I part from the understanding that social, political and cultural phenomena rest primarily on discourses where values, beliefs, sentiments, opinions, traditions and interests are condensed. All forms of social and political practices mirror, reflect and absorb discourses that are continuously transformed as reality changes, in a dialectical relationship that mediates between what is thought and said to be true, real and legitimate in a certain time and space and what is at another moment. We depart from discourses and no individual or society is capable of decoding, deciphering, interpreting and assessing the phenomena they experience from an isolated and completely original perspective. All societies are surrounded by discursive contexts and then later they may or may not challenge and transform them to a certain extent.

The behavior of societies echoes old beliefs, values, rituals, memories, symbolic meanings and historical processes, which are reproduced diachronically and synchronically through discourses. As Lankshear et al, state, human beings "conceptualize, classify and make sense of their experience and they *team* to do so through a sociocultural process which initiates them into, or apprentices them to (what have been called) 'forms of life', 'domains of social practice', or 'Discourses'. (Lankshear et al., 1997: 22, qtd. in Holiday 2007: 13). Human beings are also capable of challenging, transforming and replacing dominant discourses for new ones, but these transformed and renovated discourses often have to connect in a few aspects with the previous ones in order for them to be recognized as legitimate.

Mikhail Bakhtin and Michel Foucault were some of the first scholars to reflect on discourse and they gave such importance to discursive structures and practices, that they went as far as to consider that outside of discourse there is not much to human activity. In that sense, Foucault stated 'nothing has any meaning outside discourse' (Foucault, 1972: 32). Foucault however does not deny the material existence of the world, but he argues that nothing in this materiality of the world is meaningful without discourse. Bakhtin in his work 'Discourse in the novel' considers that all forms of social language contain ideological purposes. Language is 'populated' (a term he uses) by intentions. He also defines 'heteroglossia' as the

interweaving of language and social and historical concepts. Language is for Bakhtin, a 'world view' with sociolinguistic norms. (Bakhtin,1935)

Foucault, who conceived discourse as a social practice and as a discursive structure, stated that "Discourse" is a 'group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation" (Foucault, 1972: 17). It is a system, a practice and a structure. Other authors, such as Fairclough, consider that discourse is 'language use conceived as social practice' (Fairclogh, 1995: 135). In the same way Foucault argues that discourse is a super-individual reality and a practice of collectives. Laclau defines discourse as "a structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed" (Laclau 1988: 254).

Foucault, referring to the structure of discourse, states, in his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, that discourse is a system of statements or "enunciations". In this work, Foucault stresses that discourses are structured by rules, enunciative modalities, concepts and strategies (Foucault, 1972). He also argues that discourses are constructed under a certain logic and authorized by a series of actors that posses strategic goals. Therefore, when one seeks to dissect a discourse one needs to observe who backs up, legitimizes, agrees or promotes it and one has to try to scrutinize under what logic he does it and with what purposes. It is the case that human and social practices are based on discourses through which the thing that is constructed is presented as 'natural'. Therefore, discourse is capable, according to Fairclough, of presenting relations of power and domination as legitimate (Fairclough 1989: 2).

Discourse, however, intersects and interacts with non-discursive practices. Foucault refers to the concept of 'dispositif', which acts as interface between discourse and non-discourse. This 'dispositif' is an element of power. (Foucault, 1977, 1978) Discourses, Foucault acknowledges, are not static but dynamic and he introduces in 'The Archeology of knowledge' concepts such as discontinuity, rupture, threshold, limit, series and transformations between types of discourse, like science, literature, philosophy, religion, and history (Foucault, 1972).

On the other hand, Dreyfuss and Rabinow argue discourse is conformed by statements, and they consider that these statements:

Are produced (diachronically) in an ongoing discursive stream, whereby the preceding statements build the (virtual) context of previously-enacted statements. Ongoing statements have to respect the set of rules which is inherent in this context of preceding statements. If they fail to do this, they will not have an impact; they will not be accepted or even recognised in the social area or social field as "serious speech acts" (Dreyfuss, Rabinow, 1983).

In other words, a new discourse can never completely defy its preceding ones, it may defy some aspects of it, put into question some of its assumptions or discard some of its enunciations or constructions, otherwise it would not constitute a new discourse, but, in order for it to be regarded as valid in a social context, it has to echo elements of the established ones. It has to comply, to a certain extent, with the ontologisation of some core categories, constructions and representations. However, throughout human history, revolutionary discourses that reflect new radical ways of understanding human nature, history, knowledge, science, religion, politics, philosophy, etc., have emerged, in the most strenuous circumstances, but the oppressive force of those who exercise power through the hegemony they posses over discourse, has reacted in ways often so violent, that it has, if not prevented the emergence of these discourses from happening, ensured that those who broke and transform the discourse are seen as dangerous or mischievous, and therefore worthy of hatred, fear or rejection. Nevertheless, the hegemony over discourse is continuously shifting, transforming as a consequence of the dialectics of history and the irruption of new powerful actors. Power and hegemony over discourse are therefore two elements in complete interdependence. As Holiday states "Discourse is a major physical artifact of culture which carries much of its power' (Holliday 1999: 251). Likewise, Van Dijk has stated that the social power some institutions and groups have is capable of controlling the minds of other groups. "This ability presupposes a *power base* of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and Communications" (Van Dijk, "The handbook", 2003: 355).

In regards to hegemony of discourse, Diaz-Bone argues that representations 'form part of hegemonic strategies of establishing dominant interpretations of 'reality' '. (Diaz- Bone, 2007: 4) Those who hold power posses such hegemony over discourse production but, correspondingly, the capacity that an actor has to generate discourses provides him with power. Even when the emergence of some new discourses may bring along great benefit and positive transformations to a given society, it might be difficult for them to become generally

accepted if those who hold power see in them a threat to their interests. They will then ensure that this new discourse is perceived as extravagant or, again, dangerous. However, enormously renovating social and political transformations take place even despite of the efforts of the elites who hold power to prevent them from happening. Revolutionary changes have taken place throughout history, when power has been transferred from institutions such as the church, the military, the monarchy or men, to new hands. Acquired wealth, knowledge or skills has, throughout the history of mankind, provided power to those who were previously powerless. All social transformations begin with a change in dominant discourses. This change, prompted by new actors, is later materialized in different manners. Transformations begin with a question or a challenge that proposes a new way of understanding reality that may later become establishment or mainstream. Other discursive transformations will then follow, because discourses are permanently transformed. They are dynamic. And their transformation is what pushes forward human history.

All forms of human activity are mediated by discourses, and because in order for a discourse to be transmitted, it needs to be communicated. Communication, either verbal, and non verbal, is obviously an activity of great social and political relevance. Discourse analysts, linguists and social scientists argue that discourse is a social structure and discursive practices are therefore social practices from which power emanates. Communication is one of these social practices.

Communication is a sphere of human activity in close relation to the concept of discourse. There are different modalities of transmission and perpetuation of social discourses and certainly, verbal communication, especially the one that occurs through global media, is a critical activity in the reproduction and legitimization of social and discursive practices. It is currently acknowledged that media holds great power and this power stems not from financial, economic or military sources, but from the access media has to the very limited scarce opportunity to voice concerns, opinions, visions, to show stories and representations, to assess human activity and to transmit its view of reality to the world. Very few actors are globally as powerful as media. Therefore the control and limitation of the power of media is constantly in the core interest of the other institutions that hold the power internationally, because words, enunciations and concepts, as well as the discourses they transmit, have the capacity to prompt social changes, and to transform ideologies or to prevent that from happening. This power that media has over discursive structures and practices is exercised

from a particular perspective, under a certain logic and with very specific goals, which vary from one means of communication to another and from one company or conglomerate of communication to another. Communicative acts performed by media reflect a certain vision of the world. Therefore, no enunciation that comes from them is ever impartial. Some media might present a more balanced account of events, but complete impartiality and objectivity, fed by the idea of 'neutrality', is unachievable. As Gee states:

> When we speak or write we always take a particular perspective on what the 'world' is like. This involves us in taking perspectives on what is 'normal' and not; what is 'acceptable' and not; what is 'right' and not, what is 'real' and not; what is 'the way things are' and not; what is the 'way things ought to be' and not; what is 'possible' and not; what 'people like us' or 'people like them' do and don't and so on and so forth, again through a nearly endless list' (Gee, 1999: 2).

From a set of moral, ethical, strategic or political choices media make, through which they give voice to some visions and to some actors and deny it to others, media gives, or not, legitimacy, truth and authority to the status quo. That is the great power of media, the power to make one vision amongst others, the vision, one reality amongst others, the reality, one representation, the representation. A very selected series of stories, events and opinions make their way to the global media. Means of communication are therefore capable of directing peoples' attention to a particular type of phenomena, and their own assessment of it. If not for this, these phenomena may be completely or partially ignored. The choices media make on what stories to present and which ones not to present, goes in accordance with this statement of Foucault, 'the manifest of discourse is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say, and this not said is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said. (Foucault, 1972: 28) Therefore, media transmit meaning not only in what they decide to say, but also in what they decide not to say. Strauss has also reflected on this selective procedure to describe "what is going on", through which "interlocked discriminations concerning relevant events, things, and persons—including oneself" are made (Strauss1997: 49).

This power can induce peoples' actions and decisions. The power of discourses transmitted through mass means of communication has been well understood for centuries by governments, and that is why the control over media is absolutely necessary to the permanence of power and in that same sense, the liberation of media, to political and social transformation.

All positions of media, just as those of other actors, on what is valid, moral, true, on who is trustworthy and who is not, on who is respectable and who is not, on who is good and who is not, on what is valuable and what is not, etc., are based on constructions. According to some philosophers like Foucault, there is not a unique, natural and unceasing truth or moral in society. These notions are constructed, they are produced to satisfy the needs of certain actors in a certain time in history and a certain place. In that sense, Foucault has reflected:

> Truth is a thing of this world, it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics of truth': that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctified, the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth, the states of those saying what counts as truth (Foucault 1980:131).

Having made some reflections and conceptualizations on the relations between discourse, power and media, I will now present some insights into Discourse Analysis and more specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis. I will later go back to the issue of media.

Different approaches to Discourse Analysis

As I mentioned before, I will use the methods of Discourse Analysis, more specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis, in this work. However, in order to provide the reader with some contextualization, I will offer a brief introduction on some aspects related to Discourse Analysis.

Discourse analysis, has been defined by Paul Gee as 'the study of language beyond sentence' or as 'the study of language in use.' (Paul Gee, 2010:8). Van Dijk defines Discourse Analysis as the study of "talk and text in context" (Van Dijk, 1997: 3). Several disciplines have undertaken the task of analyzing discourses beyond their linguistic dimensions. Sociology, semiotics, anthropology, etc., have each contributed from a wide range of perspectives to the field of Discourse Analysis, with the intention of demonstrating that language has much more than a communicative function. It has social, political and economic dimensions of great semantic significance, this makes language a multilayered, multifunctional system.

As a growing field, Discourse Analysis has been conceptualized and applied from various perspectives, each contributing to analyzing language from different points of view. Critical Linguistics (CL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), Historical Discourse Analysis (HAD), Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), are all sub-fields of Discourse Analysis.

Studies on Discourse Analysis have traditionally had two main approaches: the macro textual and the micro textual approaches. Macro-textual approaches see texts as 'materializations of meaning or ideology' (Barthes, 1975) and focus on meanings, representations or ideologies present in the text. Macro-textual approaches are not concerned with language use. They also refer to the social context of the production of text. Micro-textual approaches are often confined to specific social settings. (Carpentier, de Cleen, 2007: 277). Van Dijk argues that written language is equally as important as spoken language for Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk's 1997: 3).

In order to illustrate these micro and macro levels in Discourse Analysis, Carpentier and de Cleen developed the following scheme:
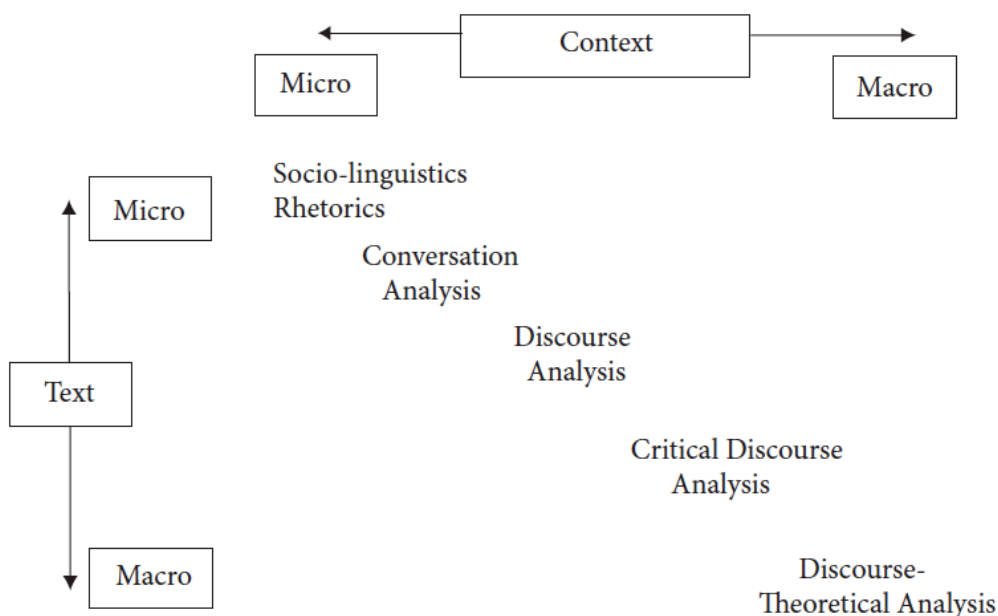
(Carpentier et al., 2007: 277).

As I mentioned before, Foucault is a prominent author in Discourse Analysis, and some academics following him have been working in a field that is currently called 'Foucauldian Discourse Analysis'. Despite the fact that I will not be strictly using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as a method, I base my study on many of the conceptual and theoretical foundations of this approach. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis has a postmodernist understanding of language. According to Atkinson, Okada and Talmy, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis 'examines how language works together with other social practices to naturalize perspectives on human beings which have the effect of defining them and controlling them.' (Atkinson, Okada and Talmy, 2011: 87) Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is concerned with giving answer to the following questions: 'Which object or area of knowledge is discursively produced?' 'According to what logic is the terminology constructed?' 'Who authorized it?' and 'What strategic goals are being pursued in the discourse?' (Foucault, 1972)

Another subfield within the context of Discourse Analysis is that of Argumentative discourse analysis. Its main proponent, Hajer, argues that in order to understand how social constructs are generated, it is necessary to explore the argumentative dimensions of language. (Hajer, 2002)

Many other academics have devoted works to Discourse Analysis. Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak are key authors in the domain of Critical Discourse Analysis. Bruner has deeply studied the concept 'meaning' (Bruner, 1990). Anselm Strauss in his work "Mirrors and masks: the search for identity" reflects on how identity making is largely a process of linguistic dimensions (Strauss, 1997). Ludwig Wittgenstein in 'Philosophical Investigations' reflects on how 'the meaning of a word is its use in language', he also explores the notion of 'function' of language and states that it is for much more than conveying thought (Wittgenstein, 1958). Taylor discusses the 'science of interpretaion' in his work (Taylor, 1974). Harré and Gillet analyse 'discursive acts' (Harré and Giller, 1994). Other authors that have explored issues related to discourse are Clifford Geertz in 'Blurred genres: the refiguration of social thought' (Geertz, 1980), Noam Chomsky in works as 'Explaining language use' (Chomsky, 2008), Jerome Bruner in 'Life as a narrative' (Brunner, 1983), etc. Authors have also explored concepts concerning the social and cultural contexts of discourse. For instance, Goffman's (1974) and Van Dijk's (1977, 1980) conceptualize on "frames", or Bruner; Brockmeier and Harré, who theorized on "storylines"(Bruner, 1990; Brockmeier and Harré, 2001). Although I will not be basing this work on all the theoretical developments of

these authors, I list them here to illustrate how the work around Discourse Analysis is vast, varied and multi-perspective.

These approaches all have different methodologies and one can work with them separately or in conjunction. Also, they all have some common features, such as the ones pointed out by Wodak

- A focus on larger units rather than isolated words or sentences. New basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts or communicative events.
- The extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar towards the study of action and interaction. The extension to non-verbal (Semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film, the Internet and multimedia.
- A focus on dynamic socio-cognitive and interactional moves and strategies.
- The study of functions of (social, cultural, substantive and cognitive) contexts of language use.
- Analysis of a vast number of phenomena and language use: coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, speech acts, interactions and turn-taking (Wodak, 2011: 39).

Some insights into Critical Discourse Analysis

Among all subfields and approaches of Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has especially become relevant for its emancipatory dimension, that seeks to transform social life, and is very suitable for the study I will develop, due to its concern with power and domination and the discourses that legitimate social control. The implementation of border controls certainly implicates a series of discourses that are worthy of analysis. Furthermore, Bell and Garret consider that CDA is the appropriate method for discourse analysis in media, and they emphasize how most of the literature produced on discourse analysis and media uses CDA as a framework. Bell and Garrett (1998: 6) and Van Dijk, for instance (1988, 1991, 1993), have explored several aspects of discourses present and conveyed through newspaper articles that inform and discuss matters related to immigration, asylum regimes and racism. His works explore how the press, or other actors, such as politicians in their debates, intentionally or not, contribute to the perpetuation of racism and to the securing of western culture's dominance. (Van Dijk 1991: 254) Similarly, Fairclough, one of the most important proponents of Discourse Analysis, has devoted extensive studies to CDA and media (1989, 1992). Jäger and Link (1993) have also explored discourses found in

newspapers issued by right-wing supporters. Fowler and Bell (1991) have studied language and structure of news. Wodak has also contributed to the field with works on nationalism, anti-Semitism and neo-racism. (Wodak et al.'s, 1990, 1994, 1999). Various other studies have been produced in regards to CDA of media, not only print media communication, but also radio and television, Fairclough (1995) analyzed British television and radio from the perspective of CDA. Some social semiotics studies, like those of Kress and Hodge (1988) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990, 1996, 2001), have also integrated visual and verbal aspects of discourses. Chouliaraki (2004, 2005), Fairclough (1995), and Gruber (2004), have managed to integrate the visual in the study of discourse.

Discourse Analysis, as a methodological approach that studies language beyond its structural components and linguistic dimension, has been a growing field from the 1950s to the present. As a multidisciplinary approach, Discourse Analysis has been applied to a diverse range of studies, going from psychology-focused ones to political science. Language is acknowledged to not only be used as a means to communicate or to represent reality but also to generate it. "Media does not portray realities, it creates them" (Bakhtin, 1981). Language creates meanings, interpretations, understandings, and imaginaries. In an increasingly global, intercultural and complex reality, characterized by redefinitions and negotiations of identities, supranational institutions, reconfigurations of notions such as region, nation, state, etc., Discourse Analysis emerges as a tool that helps us to understand the nature of the discursive practices that reinforce these phenomena, readdress their orientation or generate them. Discourse, defined by Hajer as 'an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomenon, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices" (Hajer, 2005: 300), is one of the main pillars upon which social, political and economic dynamics are built. In the particular case of borders, to which I refer to in this work, the physical/spatial border is preceded by a discursive border, constructed upon imaginaries of what is meant to be contained in the territory it limits, often serving a political and economic agenda. The border, as an often arbitrary physical and symbolic demarcation, is enforced through a series of practices that include discursive ones, and that stem from a discourse. Therefore, it is relevant to address, through Discourse Analysis, the issue of how they are discursively constructed, and the imaginaries and assumptions this process is based upon.

In regards to CDA, Wodak has stated that, "CDA is a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research program, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas. What unites them is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, identity politics and political-economic or cultural change in society." (Wodak, 2011: 38) Correspondingly, Van Dijk defines CDA as "a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses indirectly influence socially shared knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models" (Van Dijk, 1993: 258-259). He also considers that "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" and he adds that CDA "focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society." (Van Dijk, 2003: 353). One can trace the origins of CDA in neo-Marxist theories and in the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. In that sense, Titscher et al. (2000: 145) state that 'CDA is tributary to a neo-(post-)Marxist focus on "cultural rather than merely economic dimensions […] of power relations" .

Critical Discourse Analysis was firstly proposed during the 1990s by authors such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Weiss ad Chilton. It proposes that language can be used as an instrument of domination and inequality. CDA, as an academic field, has also among its objectives, an emancipatory one. According to its main proponents, the critical analysis of discourse and the consequent revealing of its dominating functions, can contribute to the transformation of reality. CDA does not claim to be an objective portrayal of a social discourse, rather it positions itself in favor of those oppressed. Because of that, some argue that CDA is situated between the academic and the political dimensions.

The most important authors that have developed Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) state that the main tenets of CDA are the following:
- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- The link between text and society is mediated

- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271-80)

In regards to methodology, the proponents of CDA have argued that the theoretical framework of this method is not unitary, as it adapts to the purposes of the research and the researcher, as well as to the types of discourses analyzed. Despite this heterogeneous character of Critical Discourse Analysis, studies based on this method do find conceptual cohesion. All CDA studies are concerned with subjects that explore issues of domination and power. As Van Dijk argues 'the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as "power," "dominance," "hegemony," "ideology," "class," "gender," "race," "discrimination," "interests," "reproduction," "institutions," "social structure," and "social order" ' (Van Dijk, 2003: 354). As other approaches to Discourse Analysis, CDA has macro and micro levels. In CDA, both micro and macro levels are equally important. At the micro level, CDA explores questions around language use and interaction. At the macro level, ideology, power and dominance are explored. But this division between the 'micro' and the 'macro' levels is subtle. As Van Dijk points out, "in everyday interaction and experience, the macro- and microlevel (and intermediary "mesolevels") form one unified whole" (Van Dijk, 2003: 354). CDA does both a micro textual and linguistic analysis as well as a heuristic work of interpretating major political and ideological contents (Carpentier, 2007: 278).

One example of this detailed, micro-analysis of CDA, is the study of 'Topos' and 'Topoi'. Topos' and 'topoi' are images, concepts and representations recurrently attributed to a certain group of subjects and according to Wodak and Gabrielatos and Baker, they have referential/nominal and predicational strategies. (Gabrielatos et al., 2008) I will further reflect on these strategies later on in this work.

Construction of the identity, the selfness and the otherness in the border

In *The archaeology of knowledge,* Foucault argues that discourses are structured and constituted 'by rules of formation of objects, modalities of statement, concepts and theoretical choices' (Foucault, 1972: 72). Discourses have a powerful influence on reality; they shape understandings of phenomena, political trends and practices, public policy, decision-making processes, etc. Fairclouch and Wodak have observed the constituted and constitutive character of discourse. According to these authors, discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, social identities and relationships between people and groups of people.

'Discourse contributes to reproducing reality and to transforming it. It is also influenced by its social context and the state of things'. (Fairclough, Wodak, 1997)

One key aspect of the constitutive nature of discourse is its relation to the construction of identities, which are central in border dynamics. Discourse has a major impact on generating the idea of distinctiveness of a social group. Identities are however, not static but changing according to the dynamics and realities within the group and what surrounds it. Discourse is often modified and transformed throughout time in order to reshape identities and promote their renegotiation. One relevant example in that respect is that of the construction of the "European Identity" that give legitimacy to the current management of the border of the 'European space'. As problematic as the concept of "European identity" is, the idea of the "European Identity" is central to the configuration of the European Union and its institutional practices, including the management of its borders. The construction of the 'European identity' is a discursive construction.

I will not explore the issue of the discursive construction of the 'European Identity' in this work. Still, I mention this concept of the 'European identity' because it is central in the construction of a set of practices that define the way 'Europe' relates to the rest of the world and the discursive content of this process, legitimizes and regulates how 'Europe' interacts with 'the other'. The construction of an understanding of an 'us', in this case, a European 'us', with a shared identity and a common belonging, supposes also the generation of 'the other'.

The construction of the other is key in discourses of border management and practices. In fact, 'the other' becomes the subject without which the existence of the border becomes irrelevant. The border exists because there are others who might attempt to cross it. As Encarnación Gutiérrez expresses it "Without crossing there's no border, without border there is no crossing" (Gutiérrez, 2001:87). In that sense, one could also argue that (paraphrasing Gutiérrez) "Without 'the other' there is no border, without a border there is no 'other'". The border, Harvey explains, as a 'place' or so to say, 'a site of relations of one entity to another', contains "the other" precisely because no entity can exist in isolation (Harvey, 1996: 261).

I have discussed how it has been argued that discursive practices can modify ideologies by shifting power relations between women and men, nations, social classes or ethnic groups. In the case of ethnic groups, discourse acts as the main tool to differentiate the ones that 'belong' from the ones that do not, on the basis of essentializing beliefs on 'national character', 'shared history', 'common nature' and other arguments. The language of 'othering' has a strong content of meaning transmitted not only by words and phrases, or so to say, verbal implicit language, but through implicatures, presuppositions, or syntactic embeddings." (Wodak, 2010) These devices can lead to practices such as xenophobia, discrimination and exclusion. Discourses coming from media, political speeches, academic production, can foster attitudes and trigger reactions from the population that are mistakenly seen as spontaneous. Through discursive practices, discriminatory practices are also legitimized, so an artificial imagination and construction of the world composed by groups of individuals who are irremediably and essentially different and therefore not likely to engage in peaceful coexistence, is pictured as natural and desirable. In this dynamic of constructing the other through discourse, positive representations of the self and negative representations of the other are widespread, an issue that I will explore further in this work.

The construction of the self and the other is central in border dynamics, as Dematteis and Governa point out, "Tracing borders, defining who's included or excluded, is the material expression of a project, of the intentions and wills behind that project, and of the power relations on which it is grounded" (Dematteis-Governa, 2005: 25) That project cannot be achieved without the construction of a strategically articulated discourse. However, this discourse is not simply absolute and designed from top-down but "continually contested in a struggle about their meaning, interpretation and implementation (Hajer-Versteej, 2005: 176).

In the process of construction 'the self' and 'the other', media, and I will explore this in more detail during my study, can present a dehumanized 'other' who is portrayed mainly as dangerous and reduced to negative traits. In that sense, Dal Lago states that the "other" is represented as a none-person, an entity limited to its biological functions, and the border is the passing site from a person to a none-person'. (Dal Lago, 2004) In this process, 'the other' is no longer referred to as a person or a human being, but as an 'immigrant', an "illegal", a "clandestine", an "irregular", an "extra communitarian", a "paperless". These terms and the discourses that accompany them, depersonalize, dehumanize, homogenize and decontextualize the "clandestine migrant". This is part of a recurring strategy used by identity

builders, among which media stands prominent, to represent positively the self and negatively the other. All these terms that are used to refer to immigrants are heavily loaded with an interpretation of their condition in terms of illegality and irruption, but theses are issues I will analyze later in this work.

Identity building requires codes, and these codes are constructed by elites who also work on the promotion of the idea of an 'enemy other'. The border therefore, cannot coexist with a universalistic discourse, it absolutely requires the construction of 'the other'. According to Van Dijk, "*identity*' is the ideology that organizes the information as well as the social and institutional actions that define membership" (Van Dijk, 1995: 19), the conditions of this membership can be modified, but it can never be universal. Media plays a fundamental role in the process of defining membership to a certain identity. Laws, traditions, social conventions, language and other realms can be used to define whether a person can claim to belong to a certain group or not, but media greatly promotes, gives legitimacy and delivers this discourse that define 'us' and 'the other', membership and non-membership. Media is often a mediator between the state and the citizen and it acts as a container of social visions widespread in a society and among the elite that controls it. It can be, a 'narrator', such as Slocum-Bradley have established, that creates 'characters' or 'actors', and in that process of naming and describing them, it generates identities (Slocum- Bradley, 2010: 92). Identity building is a complex process that happens as a result of a sustained task of self-reflection and reflection of the other. This process is often full of contradictions and ambivalences. A series of groups with clearly distinctive features can eventually be unified under a single identity because it is in the interest of these groups, and especially of their elites, to do so. This process often involves disregarding internal differences and overlooking them when they are present in 'the other'. Because identity building involves attributing a series of features to the 'we', features that are distinctive from those of other groups; language, common history, 'national character', race, ethnicity, values and references become a sort of patrimony that cannot, by any means, be shared with the 'other'. But it is not just any 'other', this 'other' is often found in a close neighbor, in a group that is known or thought to be known. This other becomes, as Flockhart has pointed out, the 'significant other', a group crucial to the definition of what 'we' are not and cannot by any means, be. In the process, a significant 'us' is also defined in terms of a common past, but also a common objective to strive for (Flockhart, 2006: 94). In that sense, the search for identity involves differentiation and equivalence (Calhoun, 1994). Again this process of defining 'us' and 'them' often

involves an emphasis on the aspects that make 'us' 'better' than 'the other'. The other is not only constructed as 'different', but also 'inferior' and homogeneous.

Definitions of the 'self' are nevertheless always ambivalent and suitable to transformation, because individuals interact and live their identities in peculiar ways that involve reconfigurations of definitions of the self. The process of identity building and transformation is full of semantic content that often incurs in a renegotiation of the history via semantic structures and discursive strategies that I will later analyze. The construction of the 'self' and the 'other' is compulsory to the instrumentalization of the border and the process is fundamentally discursive.

Analytical categories in Critical Discourse Analysis and other approaches: discursive strategies, structures and the micro and macro levels

In this chapter, I will briefly reflect on the analytical categories that can be used by media to construct and convey semantic content to the idea of 'us' and the idea of the 'other', as well as to articulate and narrate border events, immigration, illegality, border crossing, border control, European border policy, non-membership, European identity and other aspects of the way the Spanish press covers, discusses and represents issues related to the Spanish-Moroccan border regime, that I will focus on in the chapter of discourse analysis of the Spanish press.

Several academics have reflected upon the strategies used by actors, including media, to talk about immigration and border events. Wodak, as mentioned before, is one the main authors who has developed the conceptual and formal grounds of Critical Discourse Analysis. Wodak defines strategy as 'a plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal'. These strategies according to Wodak can be categorized in the following manner

> 1. Referential or nominal strategies, that involve categorizations devices such as metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches in the form of a part standing for the whole or the whole standing for the part.
> 2. Predicational strategies, evaluative attributions of negative or positive manner.

3. Argumentation strategies or topoi, where positive and negative attributions are justified. (Wodak, 2001)

The definition I quoted of the concept of strategy uses the word 'plan', because regardless of the different degrees of consciousness in the elaboration of a discourse, there is a more or less coherently articulated purpose in the statements and annunciations as well as the semantic content of discourses. In the process of creation and reproduction of discourses, everything in the discourse is directed towards a particular objective. As Eco has pointed out, 'no text is impartial, all texts are relational' (Eco, 1994). Whether strategies to persuade on a particular idea are intentionally or unconsciously used, every component of texts serves the purpose of transmitting a message that serves a particular goal. Everything about a discourse and what composes it structurally as well as, of course, in its semantic dimension, goes in accordance with the objective of transmitting a certain message or series of messages. In the case of the construction of sameness and otherness within groups of people, discourse expresses unity, diversity, plurality, conflict, change, homogeneity and heterogeneity.

Van Dijk has conceptualized about two main types of discursive strategies. He states that there are semantic structures and formal structures in texts that form and reproduce discourse. Text has been defined as 'an ordered sequence of propositions, which under various pragmatic, stylistic, and other constraints, is mapped onto a sequence of sentences'. (Van Dijk, 1977: 5)

As I mentioned before all texts contain both structural and formal discursive strategies and have different levels. These levels, upon which Van Dijk has deeply reflected and elaborated, make the structures of a text either macrostructures, microstructures, mesostructures and superstructures. Macrostructures are not separated from microstructures in a text, rather, macrostrucutres contain microstrcutures and they interact through mesostructures. Van Dijk defines macrostructures as "global levels of descriptions" (Van Dijk, 1977: 7). Macrostructures are in the end, the general and global content of a text, what can be extracted as essential from it, and what constitutes the axis around which microstructures are organized. Macrostructures are created by applying macrorules. These rules are, according to Van Dijk, deletion, generalization and construction. Macrostructures can be compared to other concepts such as 'plots' and 'topics' previously studied in linguistics, but the term macrostructures was introduced by Van Dijk (1972, 1977 and 1980) and it was studied from

the perspective of psychology by Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983). In the case of news in the press; it can be that headlines and titles define the macrostructure. Macrostructures are key in conveying meaning, because when faced with a text, the reader is not capable of remembering all the statements and words in it, but he can recall the general content of the text or its macrostructure. As Van Dijk expresses, "during input, a reader will, on the basis of the interpretation of the respective sentences of the discourse, construct a (set of) macro-structures, which organize and reduce the highly complex information to a manageable size, being the schema on which processing (storage, recall, etc.) is based" (Van Dijk, 1977b: 101).

Microstrucutres are the sentences, statements, words and the style with which macrostrucutres are organized. Microstrucutres form the macrostructure. Discourses, on the other hand, are superstructures often reflected in macrostructures. Macrostructures, as defined by Van Dijk, are 'higher-level semantic or conceptual structures that organize the 'local' microstructures of discourse, interaction, and their cognitive processing' (Van Dijk, 1980: III). Van Dijk also adds that, "macrostructures have an essential *semantic* function. They define higher level or global meaning derived from lower-level meanings". (Van Dijk, 1980: III) Therefore, semantic structures express the main topic that summarizes a text, and by doing so, they contribute to the construction of the superstructure or discourse. The macrostructure also gives consistency and coherence to all the microstructures that form it, because they are all concerned with the main topic of the text. Microstructures are concerned with details, words and sentence meanings. Just as microstructures form macrostructures, macrostructures form discourses, which are "the core level for the expression of beliefs, such as personal and social knowledge, opinions, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values" (Van Dijk, 2000: 90).

Both on the micro and the macro levels, semantic structures that define texts, actions and cognition, are given as *propositions*. Propositions are the basic unit of semantic structures. Simultaneously, the core component of propositions are predicates. Predicates can be presented as a property (one-place predicate) or as a relation between individual objects (Van Dijk, 1980: 17).

Van Dijk considers that in all levels of discourse, as I quoted before, there are semantic and formal structures. Semantic structures lead naturally to the concept of 'semantics', which is

very complex and has been given a myriad of definitions from different disciplines and authors. Nevertheless, in a few words, it can be argued that semantics are concerned with the meaning and symbolism of language. Language is interpreted or assigned meaning by language users. Propositions are therefore, meaning units (Van Dijk, 1983: 70).

Some forms of semantic structures are: topoi, local coherence, implicitness, semantic moves or disclaimers, specificity and completeness, propositional structures, evidentiality, vagueness, contrast, comparison, illustration, intertextuality, perspective, lexicalization, pronouns, style, schemata and argumentations. Some of these semantic structures overlap with the strategies conceived by Wodak. I will later provide some insights into each of these semantic structures. The formal structures Van Dijk has conceptualized about are topoi, sentence syntax and rhetoric.

I will now provide some definitions and core characteristics of each of the semantic structures that Van Dijk has developed. These semantic structures are presented by Van Dijk in his study on parliamentary debates around immigration, but he has also used them to analyze media. These structures were mainly used to analyze issues relating to RASIM (Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants), but they can also be used to analyze the border and border events. I hereby present a brief summary of the structures Van Dijk has identified. In the methodology section of this work, I will explain how I will use these structures in my work. The semantic structures described by Van Dijk are:

1. Topoi: According to Van Dijk, "they represent what speakers find most important, they regulate overall coherence of discourse, how discourse is planned and globally controlled and understood, and what is best remembered by the recipients". Topoi represent "the common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues" (Van Dijk 2000: 97-98).

2. Local coherence, it refers to sequences of propositions related functionally or according to mental models of language users. This category of semantic structures comprises generalizations, specifications, examples, contrasts or explanations, based on 'ethnic' widespread and accepted beliefs in a context (Van Dijk, 2000: 91).

3. Impliciteness is a semantic structure through which meaning is delivered although not expressed explicitly either because its irrelevant or 'politically incorrect' (Van Dijk, 2000: 91).

4. Semantic moves attenuate contradictions in discourse by introducing disclaimers, apparent concession, apparent empathy, apparent ignorance, apparent excuse, transferring, etc. (Van Dijk, 2000: 92).

5. Specificity and completeness: The strategy of positive self-representation and negative-other representation can be subscribed in this structure. 'Our' positive characteristics and 'their' negative ones may be portrayed in a very detailed manner. (Van Dijk, 2000: 92).

6. Propositional structures may present participants in an event as responsible or as victims (Van Dijk, 2000: 92).

7. Evidentiality of claims. It can come from common sense knowledge, personal experience, everyday storytelling, experts, scholarship or media. Van Dijk adds that 'often, evidentiality is a form of *intertextuality'*. (Van Dijk, 2000: 93).

8. Vagueness in the treatment of controversial issues or in recounts of the positive aspects of 'the other' and the negative aspects of 'the self' (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

9. Contrast, it consists of the systematic establishing of contrast between 'us' and 'them' (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

10. Comparison, similarly to contrast, this category consists of constantly describing us in relation to them or vice versa (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

11. Illustration, through which examples are offered to enhance credibility in propositions (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

12. Intertextuality, this structure allows references to other texts or forms of speech, they provide credibility to the text. (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

13. Perspective, it permits showing different views of an event, sometimes opposite ones to the others. (Van Dijk, 2000: 94).

14. Lexicalization, it involves the choice of words used to describe events and subjects. (Van Dijk, 2000: 95). The use of some vocabulary can unveil social thinking and representations.

15. Pronouns, located between syntax and semantics, they become relevant in the polarization between 'us' and 'them', and in the representation of in-groups and out-groups. The pronoun 'we' can be very revealing, as well as 'they', and paying attention to what follows them is useful for analysts(Van Dijk, 2000: 95).

16. Style, defined as the set of those sentences and discourse structures that vary depending on the context. The style of a text can reveal what the narrator wants to convince the reader of (Van Dijk, 2000: 96).

17. Schemata, it organizes discourse in categories such as introductions, greetings, openings, conclusions, headlines or summaries. Because these formalities are a result of conventions, they cannot directly express meaning, but they may be used to place emphasis on certain beliefs by placing certain information at the beginning (in the introduction) or at the end (in the conclusion) (Van Dijk, 2000: 96).

18. Argumentation, it involves defending and attacking opinions or positions. When arguing, narrators may engage in fallacies that might serve their purposes, such as overgeneralization, playing on sentiments, begging the question or populism. Different arguments will show nationalist or universalistic views (Van Dijk, 2000: 97).

These are the main semantic or meaningful structures described by Van Dijk in his study. I just provided a brief summary of the descriptions he proposes for each of them. Now, I will briefly quote some considerations Van Dijk develops in regards to formal structures. These structures, as their name express, have to do with the form through which discourse is delivered to the reader.

1.   Topoi, although these are originally semantic structures, they can also be studied in formal terms, because they may use more or less standard arguments, also they might provide characteristic parts of narration. "Traditionally studied as *topoi* (or loci comunes) they represent the common sense reasoning typical for specific issues." In the case of border events, typical loci communes are immigration defined as a problem, as a financial burden, or as a threat. Liberal voices may portray immigrants with the classic representations of oppression, torture or poverty (Van Dijk, 2000: 98).

2.   Sentence syntax is an important formal structure, because word order, clause relations, phrase hierarchies, etc, although they sometimes cannot be chosen because of convention, do reveal a lot about what the author is trying to convey. Nominalizations or passive sentences, for instance, can be used to hide responsible agency (Van Dijk, 2000: 99).

3.   Rhetoric, they are structures that result from operations such as repetition, permutation, substitution, delation. They are known as figures. Some of these formal structures, such as metaphor, simile, irony, hyperbole, syneqdoque, metonomy and euphemism, also possess semantic properties and may manipulate meaning. In the case of immigration, a typical metaphor is the one of a flood (Van

Dijk, 2000: 100).

Among the rhetoric figures, metaphors are of great importance to Discourse Analysis. Although they are often related to poetic language, the reality is that they are present in all kinds of texts and enunciations, including everyday language and of course, in the press. They have been defined by Boudin 'as figures of speech used to understand one concept in terms of another' (Boudin, 1986). They are commonly used because they are vehicles to condense meaning into a few words, they often leave a deep and long lasting impression on the reader, and they are easily remembered and have a great symbolic dimension that communicates vast amounts of information. For this reason, Vaara has called them 'data reducing devices" (Vaara, 2003: 5) They are used in all kinds of contexts, and political and social processes are not exceptions, as Lakoff and Johnson have demonstrated (1980). Actually, it has been stated that cultural identity building is a metaphoric process. (Vaara, 2003: 24). Some prominent scholars who have analyzed metaphors in the context of Discourse Analysis are Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Miller, 1982, Fernández, 1991 and Sacks, 1979.

In regards to the faculty of metaphors to generate identity, it has been established that identity building is a process that contributes to the construction of the definition of the Self and the Other. For Vaara and for Cohen this process is considered as a metaphoric one because these categories of the Self and the Other are built upon the linguistic representation of experiences in different social domains (Vaara, 2003: 6, 7).

According to Lakoff and Johnson, many metaphors are constructed on the basis of physical experiences and biological capacities (Lakoff et al., 1980). Even the regimes of 'ius soli' and 'ius sanguini', that are used to determine citizenship in countries, are in the end, metaphors of the belonging and membership to a nation derived from spatial and biological components. You belong to a nation because you were born in it, in its physical, spatial and territorial dimension, within its borders (ius soli) or, you belong to a nation because the nation is in your body, in your DNA, in your biology, it was inherited to you through your blood, you carry the nation in your own body (ius sanguini). These ways to define belonging, membership and ultimately citizenship to a nation are deeply symbolic, and they can even be seen as traces of ancient metaphors of men and women as sons and daughters of the land, their land, of the earth, and they are also simplifications of processes of great complexity

such as identity and nationhood. The reasons why a person born in a land now called Spain, for instance, considers himself as essentially Spanish (although the Spanish are the result of myriad peoples who came from here and there and settled in those lands now called 'España') are complex, but these metaphors on space and body provide simplified and symbolic validity. So, because the physical experience is very present in them, metaphors also often contain elements of nature like water, natural catastrophes like hurricanes, or natural calamities like disease. These different kinds of metaphors are studied deeply by Böke in 'The invasion: the language of migration discourses' (1997).

In regards to the types of metaphors used to talk about immigrants and immigration, Santa Ana's study "Like an animal I was treated: Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse' (1999) found that animal metaphors are very widespread in the press of California when discussing migration issues. Chilton (1994) observed in his study on metaphors on political discourses in France, that immigration is most commonly portrayed metaphorically as a 'violation' of the nation which is 'a body'. El Rafaie on the other hand, in his study 'Metaphors we descriminate by' (2001), described how immigration in the Austrian press is depicted in terms of natural disaster, water, burden, or in biblical and mythical stories.Because metaphors refer to experiences, and every group has a distinctive historical process, metaphors are not universal (Quinn 1991). In the section on Critical Discourse Analysis, I will provide an account of the different, particular metaphors used in the Spanish press when narrating border events.

Another rhetorical figure commonly used when talking about immigration issues is 'euphemism'. The use of 'Euphemism' is widespread in the press, and it refers to a term or proposition that substitutes another considered to be too direct, embarrassing or derogatory. Euphemism is therefore a milder form of a cruder expression used especially in controversial situations, and it is also often related to 'political correctness'. Readers normally accept all of these rhetorical figures, as well as presented topoi. Very few readers read critically and question the meaning delivered to them. In the section on methodology, I will explain how I will be using these analytical categories, and semantic and formal structures, in the subsequent section on media analysis.

Media and discourse production

It is currently acknowledged by academics, politicians, global institutions and other actors, that media has an extraordinary power and that its liberation and autonomy are necessary conditions for the healthy functioning of democratic societies. Van Dijk refers to media as 'the main institution for ideologic reproduction' (Van Dijk, 2000). The role media plays in all aspects of the public realm is central. Media is often the site where public debate on critical issues and events takes place. It is also the source of information on current affairs for the greatest part of the population. Additionally, it is an actor that conveys images of the world, countries and local communities and their interaction. Finally, it is one of the sites where social dynamics take place, where people witness the spectacle of social life and its dynamics, a place where people are provided with the discursive representations through which media writes a particular view of the world. Media is a machine located in the center of a system which acts both as a propellant of social change and as a counterforce that tempers or hinders transformation. Social transformations cannot occur without the implication of media and so the permanence of the status quo and the perpetuation of social elites in power are impossible without the compliance of media. As Herman and Chomsky (1994) have analyzed, corporate elites reaffirm the power of the dominant class through the hegemony on media. Several other academics, acknowledging this fact that media is a major social and political actor, have devoted extensive research to it. Foucault has also reflected on media and he has called it 'a system of dispersion' (Foucault, 1972: 37-38).

In close relation to this great power of media, is the fact that, as many academics and thinkers have reflected on, media has a productive character, in the sense that, as Bakhtin reflected, ¨Media does not portray realities, it creates them" (Bakhtin, 1981). Texts, propositions and overall discourses found in media, are made up by language, and language has been recognized by Foucault 'as a political force composed of practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak". (Foucault, 1972: 49) Reality is complex, vast, boundless, immense, volatile, relative… so, the 'reality' portrayed and represented in media as condensed, clear-cut, filtered, exhaustive, comprehensive, objective, precise and a faithful reflection of the truth, is a construction.

In the case of the border and its management, the press is a key actor in producing understandings and images around the border and immigration. Words such as "illegal",

"clandestine", "irregular", "extra communitarian", "paperless", which are used to refer to migrants, generate powerful ideas on the illegality of human movement and the intrusive character of migrants. Expressions such as 'waves', 'exodus', "stampede", 'incursion', 'entering' generate the impression of massive movement, almost as an invasion, and elicit feelings of fear and discomfort in the readers of the press when they read about migration and border crossing.

Complete objectivity and impartiality in media are very difficult to achieve, if not impossible, because media in reality is imbued with the contradictions, values, representations and beliefs of its time, its moment and its place. There is not impartiality in media, as much as a newspaper or a radio host might try to present a balanced account of the facts, the very selection of a particular topic or event, already has meaningful implications. As McCombs and Evatt have emphasized, 'when media pays attention to certain aspects, sacrificing others, and when it suggests certain solutions or answers in place of others as well, this has a major influence in the way people think about these subjects' (McCombs and Evatt, 1995: 31). Likewise, Gands and Van Dijk, have reflected on the meaning of the selection of topics (which they call, as I have mentioned before, semantic macrostructures). They consider that topics and the changing of them, have great semantic power (Gans 1979; van Dijk 1988). Many other authors have reflected on this; 'no message is impartial because the emissary tends to orientate his word towards the horizon of those who hear' says Bakhtin (Bakhtin, 1981). Peñamarín on the other hand considers that "Texts are productive, they create a representation and they perform communicative actions with which they pretend to change something about the world to which they address" (Peñamarín, 1997: 147).

The way media manages information in regards to the border, border events and dynamics, border control, immigration, border crossing, border policy, etc., is not exceptional in this sense by any means. The way media presents information about border and border issues is not impartial or objective, but rather, as Villalobos states, 'gives credibility to a determined image of the immigrant and of immigration and it orientates popular feeling in one or the other sense'. Villalobos (2004: 4). This is not to say that no media ever positions itself in favor of the protection of the rights of immigrants, but that, in the account of border events, media always takes a stance. Different means of communication have different approaches, perspectives, interests, values and even ideologies. Also, depending on the political conjuncture, media may transmit an image of immigration and border events in a different

manner than in regular political moments.

Another aspect, relating to the border and border practices, and in which media has a very deep impact, is in that of generating a sense of shared identity and community. Social identities, according to De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, "are *discursively*, by means of language and other semiotic systems, *produced, reproduced, transformed* and *destructed"* (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999: 153) Identity building and transformation therefore requires a discursive definition of the self and the other, and that that, in turn, can result in the definition and implementation of a border regime in discursive, symbolic and physical terms. Media, as a mirror on which society reflects itself, is a great source of metaphors and meanings that contribute to the process of identity building. Whether these are national, supranational, regional or political identities, media provides material for building them, defining them and transforming them. As Gotdeiner has established 'The experience of identity remains a combination of fragmentation and symbolic levelling that derives from the media, and simultaneously, the unending search for authenticity which is as dependent on *material artifacts*, institutions, and localized space" (Gottdeiner, 1995: 242). One of these material artifacts is the border, and one of these sources of symbolic meaning is the press, because in this process of defining identity and identifying 'us' and 'them', topoi emerge, often, as Van Dijk points out, as 'them' being responsible for problems. (Van Dijk, 1995) In the case of the European Union, as a newly emerged supranational institution, with new practices of governance and citizenship, media has come forward as an actor of great importance in the process of constructing the 'European identity'. Since the 'European identity' has no roots in the past and no historical existence, it is what has been called an 'induced' identity from dominant institutions, and these induced identities, according to Castells, identities only become so as social agents internalize them' (Castells, 2011). This individuation and internalization can take place and be favored by media.

Media is then a crucial actor in the production and reproduction of discourse. It is capable, as I have established, of influencing peoples' opinions and decisions. As Rose and Miller expressed, media is, as an agent or institution that, is capable of mobilizing people in the pursue of its goals" (Rose and Miller, 2013). How this process occurs is of great complexity, but some authors such as Wodak and Van Dijk, offer some insights into it. First of all, it is the case that recipients (readers) often do not engage in critical reading of the information they are presented with, either because they have not learned to think critically, because they

lack the information or knowledge necessary to deeply understand the issue they are presented with, because they don't have other pieces of information and sources to contrast these representations, or simply because they do not have the time to go through all the information carefully. In consequence, as Nesler has established, readers tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions from sources they consider trustworthy or reliable (Nesler et al. 1993).

But, in the dialectics of communication, recipients, readers in the case of the press, or other consumers of media, also have an influence on the behavior, actions and decisions of media. For instance, readers tend to select newspapers where they can see their own beliefs and convictions reflected. Ericson, Baranek and Chan, believe that, because press has become a business, it seeks acceptance of the public and it achieves it by portraying the reality they seek to see (Ericson et al., 1989).

Conceptualizing borders

Since I will be analyzing the existing discourse concerning the border and border events in the Critical Discourse Analysis section of this work, I will now offer some conceptual and theoretical insights about borders, border dynamics and border events. Borders have increasingly generated interest among academics due to their importance in the contemporary world, characterized by constant movement of people and the paradoxical growing strategic control of mobility implemented, especially but not exclusively, by countries belonging to the developed world. Border, as a concept, has been conceptualized and re-conceptualized over recent decades. Acknowledging the complexity of its dynamics, several authors have reflected on the fact that the border transcends its physical and spatial dimensions as a line dividing two territories, and that it becomes a set of practices, discourses, beliefs, strategies and representations. Perkmann has conceived borders no longer as delimitations of states, but as spaces of connections, interdependences and interregional cooperation. (Perkmann 2002). In that same sense, Balibar has reflected:

> The border is less of a 'line' across a specific piece of territory than a complex network that is projected both far beyond and well within the territorial space of the state. Borders no longer simply signal the external limits of states. They are complex practices that cut deep into the heart of contemporary policies in order to produce difference, create unequal hierarchies, and

force entire communities to live permanently 'at the border', neither inside nor outside the state". (Nyers, 2011: 6)

One could state that one of these practices to which Balibar refers to, that produces and enforces the border, that is complex and multidimensional in itself, is discourse. Historically borders have been arbitrarily drawn on territories to limit them, secure them and to give spatial dimension to notions of shared heritage, common history or identity, etc. But in reality, it is the case that one can read any history book and realize that the idea of the nation did not, in the case of many contemporary states like for example Spain, Mexico and Italy, precede the political project. It was rather the political project carried out by the elites that constructed the idea of a 'nation', that, as Anderson (2006) has pertinently pointed out, is 'an imagined community'. So the border is drawn on the basis of a process of great complexity that denies the historical interaction of groups in the name of 'uniqueness', 'purity', 'separatedness' and other notions. Groups have interacted throughout history, and their very existence is the materialization of this interaction, which implied a continuous exchange of goods, words, ideas, genes, products, myths, inventions, loyalties, etc. So, how did the world, that even a few centuries ago knew nothing about borders in the contemporary sense, ended up creating, paradoxically in the times of greatest exchange and interaction, these strict mechanisms to enforce borders? It is not my purpose to answer this question. Rather, is is just my purpose to present it here as a challenge to the naturalized conception of the nation and its borders.

Since the complexity of the construction of borders is great, and the contradictions of global dynamics in this era of 'gated globalism' (Cunningham 2004) are many, I would just like to reflect on the role of discourse in this process. As I have mentioned before in a previous section of this work, Foucault and other authors have acknowledged the fact that beyond discourse, nothing has meaning. Borders are no exception. Borders were and continue to be constructed, negotiated and transformed on the basis of a discursive practice that constructs ideas of difference and sameness, of belonging and non-belonging, of homogeneity and heterogeneity. The border separates those who are thought to be essentially different, from those who are thought to be the same. Civil wars, internal tensions and secessionist movements demonstrate that the notion of a harmonic, homogenous nation is false. This process of creating, through discursive structures and practices, an idea of 'us' and 'the other' has been more or less successful, and it is usually the case that an economic and political

agenda lies behind it. As Rose and Miller state, "Governing a sphere requires that it can be represented, depicted in a way which both grasps its truths and re-presents it in a form in which it can enter the sphere of cautious political calculation" (Rose and Miller, 1991: 11). The strict management of borders dividing the developed from the developing world is based on a strategic discourse that gives the state power over a territory, its population and its resources, but also, to an extent, over what is beyond. Therefore, the border constitutes a symbolic and spatial practice and institution that follows the political and economic logic of those who created it. It is a product of the enforcement of a multilayered political, economic, geographical, ethnic, cultural and linguistic discourse, and it is a projection of imaginaries and beliefs that are materialized in language.

The border, as with other constructions, has to be made. It is a misconception to think that the border *is*, it is more accurate to think that the border *is made*. The process of making a border or 'bordering' (Newman, 2006: 148) involves first of all the definition of the 'self' and 'the other'. Again these categories come forward as relevant. Conditions of membership and citizenship have to be defined Will it be the regime of ius soli or the regime of ius sanguini, or both, that will determine belonging and citizenship? Who will be able to cross and who will not? The ones that demarcate the border have to articulate a discourse that gives answer to these questions in a manner as coherent and convincing as possible, based on a blend of ideas that appeal to the past, such as a common history, a tradition, a genealogy, and ideas of the future that refer to common objectives, goals, even, a 'destiny'. They later have to define, also, in discursive terms, the strategies to manage, control and secure the border. And they have to determine what actions are going to be taken when somebody decides to break the rules of the border. 'Illegality', 'threat', 'invasion', 'danger', 'other', etc, have to be constructed in a discourse that mirrors the interests and beliefs of the society, and very often, though not always, of the elite. As Newman expresses it, 'The borders enabling entry to, or exit from, these diverse spaces and groups are normally determined by political and social élites as part of the process of societal ordering and compartmentalization" (Newman, 2006: 148). A border, by definition, is selectively permeable. There are no states in the current world that completely seal their border and prevent anyone from getting in or leaving. Even the border of states with regimes such as the one of North Korea, allow a certain degree of permeability, always selective.

Because borders are arbitrary, are often built in controversial situations, and are continuously

contested, questioned or 'violated', they need sources of legitimacy. Media discourses can certainly play that role, because they serve as providers of the metaphors, imaginaries, constructions and values that enhance the symbolic strength of the border and legitimize border practices.

Methodology

As I have been mentioning, I used the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to develop this work. The research questions I am seeking to respond are:

- How do the articles of the four national Spanish newspapers I analyzed, cover issues related to the south border of Spain with Morocco and the dynamics taking place there?
- What are the most important characteristics of the border narratives of the Spanish newspapers 'El País', 'La Vanguardia', 'El Mundo' and 'ABC'?
- How do these narratives generate general understandings, imaginaries and constructions about the border and border events?
- What macro-topics prevail in the recounts of the border?
- How do these newspapers constitute the actors interacting in the border and what attributes they are given?
- What are the main discursive strategies and semantic and formal structures used in these newspapers to discuss the border and border events?
- Are there significant differences in the ways these four newspapers construct narratives about the border?
- What are some brief, general characteristics of the journalistic work of these newspapers?
- How does the coverage of border events generate and reflect a representation of the self and of the other in the Spanish society?
- What does the analysis of these representations and constructions of the border in the press suggest regarding to immigration and migratory policies?

I realize however that the term 'Spanish press' would have to be deconstructed, as the perceptions, interpretations and imaginaries of the 'Spanish press' can be as diverse as there are newspapers. The 'press' is a vast entity that cannot be completely covered. I therefore do

not pretend to present here an exhaustively complete picture, but rather I seek to offer some insights into how some of the main newspapers currently represent and generate a discourse on the border and border events. I acknowledge the limitations of this approach and recognize that what I will be presenting here is not a full-length illustration but some sketches.

In regards to the structure of my analysis, I based it on the analytical categories of Wodak and Van Dijk. Van Dijk has stated that there is no single theory or methodology to perform Critical Discourse Analysis. He emphasizes the fact that CDA studies are multimodal, and that the researcher is free to choose his research method and sources (Van Dijk, 1993). In that understanding, I selected the main four national newspapers in Spain, which are:

1. El País: The most read newspaper in Spain. According to the organization "EGA" (General Study of Audiences) it has 2,390,000 readers (AIMC, 2013). It has a reputation for historically defending democracy during the Franco dictatorship, it is pro-European and ideologically, it is situated in the center-left, although lately has voiced strong criticism against prominent political figures of the left in Latin America.

2. El Mundo: It is the second most important newspaper in Spain, although figures on the numbers of readers vary from entity to entity. It is considered to be a liberal newspaper, critical towards secessionist nationalisms and politically close to the 'Partido Popular' (Popular Party), which is the right-wing party, although it gives space to columnists from the left and is not considered as conservative as ABC.

3. ABC: Considered to be the third-largest newspaper in Spain. It has a notorious conservative, pro-monarchy orientation. Its content provided support to the reactionary right-wing rebellion during the Civil War, and to the government in the years of the Dictatorship of Franco. It continues to have a conservative approach to contemporary national and international affairs.

4. La Vanguardia: Based in the region of Catalonia, it is the fourth most read newspaper in Spain, edited in both the Spanish and Catalan languages. Ideologically, it is located in the center. It has voiced support for the secessionist movement in Catalonia.

To represent it graphically

The selection of these newspapers does not intend to show the totality of the nature of the Spanish press. However, it does cover a wide range because of the number of readers these newspapers have, and the heterogeneity of their ideological orientations, which is relevant to the subjects that I have analyzed in them.

I extracted from each of these newspapers all of the news relating to the border of Spain with Africa in the Mediterranean. Since I sought to analyze the digital editions of these newspapers (which have an online archive of the previous editions), I searched for words such as 'border', 'immigration', 'smuggling', 'immigrant', 'refugees', 'asylum seekers', 'deportation', 'trafficking', 'pateras' (immigrant boats), 'cayuco' (another word for immigrant boats), 'illegal crossing', 'illegal aliens', 'Melilla', 'Ceuta', 'fences', 'detention center', 'paperless' and others. Since immigration is discussed in the press from a wide range of perspectives, such as the problems relating to the integration of immigrants, unemployment, violence or criminality amongst immigrants, welfare and immigration, health and education issues, immigrant organizations, labor immigration, linguistic challenges of immigrants, etc., I filtered the news and focused exclusively on the ones that refer to the southern border and border events, because that is the focus of my work. The time range is of 1 year (from July 2012 to June 2013).

After having selected my sample of news, I analyzed, using the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, the discursive strategies, and some semantic and formal structures that I found relevant both in the micro and macro levels. I used CDA in an eclectic manner that uses different levels and units of analysis and I combined them in some cases because they are complimentary. Besides this, I added a formal structure that I thought was relevant to this study, which is the use of quotation marks. The units and categories I analyzed are as follows:

1. Macro-topics and subtopics: I will be exploring the main themes and sub-themes explored in each of the news articles selected.
2. Wodak's main strategies

    2.1 Referential strategies (also known as nominal strategies)

    2.2 Predicational strategies

    2.3 Argumentative strategies

    2.4 Perspectivation

3. Van Dijk's semantic structures

    3.1 Topoi

    3.2 Implicitness and vagueness

    3.3 Specificity and completeness

    3.4 Intertextuality and evidentiality

    3.5 Perspective

    3.6 Lexicalization

    3.7 Schemata

4. Van Dijk's formal structures

    4.1 Sentence syntax

    4.2 Quotation marks

    4.3 Rhetorical figures or tropes

        4.3.1   Metaphors and images

        4.3.2   Hyperboles

        4.3.3   Euphemisms

All these strategies, as I will show, are framed into what Van Dijk calls, 'macro-structures of positive self-representation and negative representation of others (Van Dijk 1987, 1991, 1995).

Media analysis

In this chapter I will provide a Critical Discourse Analysis of the Spanish newspapers that I mentioned before: El País, La Vanguardia, El mundo and ABC.

Some general storylines, imaginaries and descriptions present in the press

After having analyzed around 200 articles relating to the border and border events, published in all the four newspaper I selected, from July 2012 to June 2013, I will offer some insights

into how the four newspapers cover issues relating to the border, and into how the dynamics of immigration, border control and border management are represented and depicted. I will outline some reflections on how the border is portrayed, interpreted and analyzed. I will first offer a general reflection on the dominant storylines around the border and border events, and then I will explore in closer detail, some of the analytical categories I have been discussing.

First of all, there is a clear statement in the press about the symbolic function of the border marking the limits of Spain. This symbolism of the border is constantly being produced by stories about Moroccan flags that are being placed in Ceuta and Melilla; descriptions of the infrastructure dividing two countries and two continents, that are always portrayed as intrinsically and essentially different; by narratives of the long, adventurous and risky travels of those who decide to cross; by details of the helicopters, ships and patrols, or the guards that constantly 'protect' the border; and stories about how the border is becoming more and more fragile, more porous and therefore, more necessary to be enforced. It seems like the border of Spain and Morocco is constantly being produced in the press, and those concrete elements that give materiality to the border, are transformed into objects of great symbolic impact.

In the press, the southern border of Spain is represented as a place of chaos. Chaotic because of its dynamics, the constant 'waves' of immigrants who shout, who scream, who throw stones, who enter the territory in numerous groups that are sometimes impossible to follow, who penetrate into the local communities and break their normality and upset their harmony. The border is also a site of chaos and confusion, because at times it is hard to determine where the border is. Where does Spain start in the vastness of the ocean? Where can the line be drawn in those territories that, on the one hand, are under Spanish sovereignty, but on the other, remain very culturally, economically and socially linked to neighbor Morocco? It is often hard to tell. Are Melilla and Ceuta, the Spanish territories geographically located in Africa, really Spain? What about the archipelagos that belong to the European country but that are located near the coasts of Morocco? The answer in the press is that yes, they are Spanish territories, yet the questions are constantly there. So, if the limits of Spain are unclear, so are the limits of legality and illegality. When does an immigrant become so? When is he already breaking the law by becoming 'illegal'? The press fails to answer this question in a way that is not ambiguous and arbitrary. Therefore the border is produced as a place of confusion, tensions, fears, violence and clashes, a place of abnormality and a site of

exception. Some behave in the border, with what seems to be considered by the press, as exceptional heroic braveness, and others with exceptional violence and irrational frenzy. Some stick to the highest moral and ethical standards and some denigrate and lose their dignity. The press presents the border also as a place where 'legality' and 'illegality' are produced constantly and often, and are hard to distinguish from one another. Is it legal to 'fast-track' the deportation of immigrants once they have arrived to Spanish territory? The law states that it is not, but still there is empathy towards the Spanish authority when it breaches the law, but that same compassion does not extend towards the immigrant. The law of the border is sacred for some and negotiable for others.

The border is also presented as a place where people are encountered everyday with ethical questions and moral dilemmas. What is wrong? What is right? Who is acting wrongfully and who is acting honestly? They are questions that the border shouts to those who cross it, who manage it, or who live on one side or the other. Contradictory, paradoxical, and even absurd answers are offered, full with incoherence, the arguments for managing the border are presented without any attempt at logical and ethical rigor.

The border is also a dynamic place, a place that is agitated, 'woken up at night out of its sleep', the border always has to be alert, because the moment it rests, the moment it distracts its attention, it is climbed, it is penetrated, it is violated. But again, the moment it is not, it disappears. In the dynamics of the border, national and supranational public policy is put into practice, beliefs turn into actions, interests collide, contrary wishes for the future and images of the 'good' and 'the bad' crash, the powerful encounter the powerless, the rich encounter the poor and the armed encounter the unarmed. The border is depicted as an extreme place of suffering, pain, loss, death, and yet this violent nature of the border is often narrated in a neutral, unexcited and even indifferent tone.

The border produces 'the other' constantly. At times this other is 'the Moroccan', unwilling to cooperate with border controls, at times it is 'the Maghrebi', and at times 'the sub-Saharan', who all cross indiscriminately and break the law. In the press, the stories about the border recount how 'illegal immigrants' enter hidden in cars, shoved in 'pateras', squatted in the propeller of a ferry, or in crowds that violently assault the fence. They break, they destroy, they alter and they violate. They are violent, irrational, and dangerous. They react in the most outrageous and eccentric ways. They are depicted as not having faces, names or

voices, and they are reduced to bodies, dead or living, but in any case, unexpressive and incapable of offering their own version and recount of events. The border has to contain them because they are always there.

Macro-topics

As a point of departure, essential for CDA, I identified the main general topics presented in the around 200 articles I analyzed. Many of the analytical categories used in CDA studies overlap with each other, because discourse, as a continuum and a whole, is one thing and another simultaneously. One single paragraph in an article can contain nominal and predicational strategies, arguments to support a particular vision, semantic structures of various kinds and numerous rhetorical figures. I structured the analysis here within some general categories, but I don't pretend to present discourses as fragmented. I used the analytical categories to deeply explore the meaning or meanings present in some texts from different angles. I sometimes go back through this analysis to some of those texts for the sake of emphasis, focus and to analyze some other aspects of it. In that end, I present a round, comprehensive picture of how the Spanish press covers the border and border events.

First of all, the border is portrayed as a dramatic place of great violence, risk and danger. Many articles recount stories about violent acts occurring in and around the border. The border is problematic, continuously being assaulted, crossed, violated and threatened. "Those of Ceuta and Melilla are the most transited borders of Africa and probably also the most chaotic' (El País, 26/05/13). "Crossing the border entails the risk of being injured in a human avalanche" (El País, 26/05/13). "There is a great migratory pressure" (El País, 30) "The entering was characterized by its violence" (La Vanguardia, 23) "Spain has a hot border in the south" (El País, 10)

The border is also ontologized. The dominant discourse in the press is that the border is, and it will always be. There is no possibility to envisage or even to consider its non-existence. The border is there as a perennial presence. Questioned and threatened by the immigrants, ('New assault to the border fence', ABC, 16). It is damaged ("The border fence has suffered damage in a section of 40 meters in its superior part, La Vanguardia, 25). It is always there, 'resisting'. Under continuous risk, under permanent pressure, the border is portrayed as an entity necessary to reconstruct, reinforce, continuously strengthen, ("various workers have

been working all evening to repair the anti-intrusion system of the bordering perimeter", El Mundo 25). It has to be fortified with more equipment, a higher and more powerful fence, with better-trained civil guards, with bigger ships and more sophisticated technology. As is reflected in the following extract "an investment of 50 million Euros is contemplated to face the arrival of irregular immigrants, 1.4 million in external surveillance infrastructure, (.1 million for the Civil Guard), 400,000 Euros for the maintenance of the CIEs, 25 million for repatriations and 4 million for the reinforcement of the borders of Ceuta and Melilla" (La Vanguardia, 39)

The border is represented as a legitimate entity dividing two territories that are portrayed as representing two ways of living, two ways of functioning, two irreconcilable essences. "In the Strait of Gibraltar, countries, continents, worlds, civilizations adjoin", Mariano Rajoy, the Spanish President is quoted as saying (El País, 10). The border is portrayed as the division of organized, harmonic, humanitarian and sensible Europe, full of citizens that go to work, of kids that go to school, of government officials that undertake the heavy loads of their jobs, from wild, frenetic, exotic, irrational Africa full of wars, hunger, and poverty. Europe is the light, it is depicted as a place where you can see the horizon, Africa is dark, is mysterious. The following extracts illustrate how Africa is portrayed in the press:

> 'My mother and my father died in the war' (El país, 12), 'I left the country because of the war' (El país, 35), 'Africa is worse than being in crisis: it is dead' an immigrant is quoted as saying (El país, 13), 'The people that live in these 'chabolas' (shacks) are African' (La Vanguardia).

Europe and Spain are also the dream, the paradise, and the 'first world' that immigrants hope to reach. Africa is the nightmare they want to flee:

> 'A 48 year old Algerian citizen, after 35 minutes of travelling, has risked his life to cross the Strait and to arrive to Spain with no more luggage than what fits in a bag of trash. His dream is interrupted when he is discovered' (ABC, 1).
> 'They crossed the Strait to find a future of dignity' (La Vanguardia 30)
> 'At least nine boats have left the African coast with the dream of arriving to Spain' (El país, 25).
> 'They run away from poverty with the hope of finding a better life' (El País, 25).

'The critical situation in sub-Saharan countries helped to expel thousands of people towards their dream of a better life. A path that always leads to Europe" (EL País, 4). "He refuses to forget his smile. It only appears on his face every time he mentions how his life could be like in Spain" (El País 4).

Despite of the fact that in the press the border appears as a natural, ontologized, permanent entity, it is acknowledged that it is often hard to determine where the border is, where Spain and Europe end and where Morocco and Africa begin. And the vocabulary used in these situations of doubt is revealing of certain attitudes, such as a reticence to call Ceuta and Melilla Africa, but also to call these enclaves Europe. Or doubt in regards to how to call the islands "Peñones de Velez y Alhucemas", located on the coast of Morocco, which are referred to with names such as "territories under Spanish sovereignty" (El Mundo, 41), or "Islets with a Spanish flag" (ABC, 53), instead of just Spanish territories, or Spain.

Also, in the sea, it is hard to determine where Morocco ends and Spain begins. ("The question of the limit of Spanish waters in Melilla is confusing", El País). Yet the need to name the waters is always there, 'Moroccan waters', 'Spanish waters', 'waters of the province of Alicante', 'waters of Santa Pola', 'waters of Melilla', 'waters of Cádiz' and such expressions are used continuously. This is not casual, the importance of defining the point of where the territorial waters begin is definite, because according to the law, there cannot be an expedited 'repatriation' of immigrants once they reach Spanish domains, either in the water or on the land. However, in the immensity of the ocean, where the line is not so clear and it seems to move with the waves, with the wind, in a direction convenient to the Spanish government. This unclear location of the border as a line delineating a fixed territory, this uncertainty around what belongs to whom, this doubtfulness about where the border really is located, is reflected also in the press by the accounts of discussions and confrontations that the government of Spain has had with the government of Morocco in regards to territorial disputes. For instance, in 'El País', in November 2012, there is an extensive article titled, "The master of the border", about a Moroccan leader and activist known as 'El Gigante' (The Giant) or 'El Grandulón' (The Big One). Said Chramti, his real name, promotes the idea that the sovereignty of Spain in Ceuta, Melilla and the Chafarinas islands off the coast of Morocco is not legitimate and should end on the grounds that the possession of these territories is a colonial practice. This man is portrayed as perpetrating continuous acts of great symbolic power, that are judged by the Spanish government as crimes of "non-authorized

demonstration, non-compliance with the authorities, and insulting of the guards", accusations for which he was prisoned for a non-specified amount of time. The kinds of acts that resulted in these accusations were, for instance, the fact that he once entered the territory of the Chafarinas islands (under Spanish control) and placed there a Moroccan flag. Another act is that he once crossed the border from Morocco to Melilla and accompanied by his "henchmen" (in Spanish, 'secuaces', a word loaded with very negative connotations, often used in stories about crimes), and once there, they amputated the right arm of a statue of Pedro de Estopiñán, the Spanish conqueror that took over the enclave in 1497. He then took the amputated arm with him to Morocco. This recount of the feats of Chramti at moments turns surrealistically absurd and even comical, with descriptions of the disproportionately furious reaction of the Spanish government, who called for his extradition and who organized missions to recover the cut-off arm of Pedro de Estipiñán. Despite the absurdity of the story and the evident fact that there is nothing violent in his actions, Chramti is portrayed as a criminal, a man worthy of punishment, 'his detention is pacifying', was declared by an official. In order to accentuate the negative characteristics of this man, and to foster the idea that he is a villain, there are quotes on unrelated acts of violence that he committed against women. This story is full of absurdity and foolishness, but it is narrated with a solemn tone that makes it appear as if it was concerned with extremely serious issues. The reason why I quote this story, narrated in the press, is because it shows the symbolic power of a border and the importance of its protection, not only for security or anti-immigration reasons, but for symbolic ones. This demonstrates that in the narrative constructed by the Spanish press around the border, anyone who questions the validity, the legitimacy and the permanence of the border is a lunatic or criminal, except for the Spanish themselves who do claim sovereignty over Gibraltar, an enclave controlled today by the British as a result of a battle that took place in 1704. Spain argues with more or less the same frequency that Gibraltar should belong to Spain and this claim is depicted as a rational, sensible one in the press, as in an article entitled "The PP (Popular Party) claims that the recovery of the sovereignty of Gibraltar is inescapable" (El País, 20 Jan 2012).

One dominant topic, perhaps the most crucial one in the narratives of the border and border events in the Spanish press, is that of the immigrants being 'trafficked'. In the vast majority of news articles, immigrants are continuously portrayed as 'victims of traffickers' when attempting to cross. This is absolutely present in all the four newspapers I analyzed. The stories are constructed in a way that the narrative of 'assisted' border crossing, either in

'pateras', cars, ferries and other means of transportation, happens in a context where the immigrant is forced to cross by a 'very unscrupulous' trafficker (the smuggler). There is not even the remotest possibility within any of the newspapers that I analyzed, of giving room to a counter discourse envisaging that these immigrants decided to go to Europe on their own, and simply paid a person who knows the area, has experience of transporting people through the very strict border controls, and who risks often his life and liberty to take them there. No, according to the press, migrants are being trafficked by smugglers referred to as 'traffickers' (the same word used to describe those who do in fact traffic with human beings that are not willingly crossing the borders but being forced to do so). Since it is often very hard to maintain a story as a logical, coherent flow of events, where the immigrants go from voluntarily paying high sums of money to be taken to Spain, to them being forced to do so, the stories are frequently filled with deceptive twists, gaps, silences and euphemisms. For instance, this story depicts clearly how this topic is constructed:

> It is titled "An immigrant turns into a car seat to enter Melilla". The story goes "A sub-Saharan immigrant has been discovered by the Civil Guard while he was trying to slip into Melilla hidden in the frame of the co-pilot car seat. The discovery occurred in the Beni-Enzar customs station, when the Civil Guards at one point were inspecting the car in which a driver and three other people were travelling. When they started the examination, they noticed some strange lumps on the seat so they made the copilot get out of the car. Those lumps were the body of a man converted into a seat. The human seat was a 20-year-old young undocumented man, who assured that he was coming from Guinea Conakry. This hiding place is a new trick used by the mafias that traffic people for introducing them to Spain without papers. (…) The rest of the travelers, both of Moroccan nationality, have been sent to the judiciary authorities, accused of the crime of assaulting against the rights of foreign citizens…" (El País, 37).

This story of a young man that attempted to cross the border as a last resort left to him by the strict border controls, is turned into a story of how this person is a victim of the traffickers. These kinds of stories, of which I found several in the newspapers, are narrated in a way that makes them appear as 'consistent', although for anyone engaging in even a moderate critical reading, the stories about border crossings are manipulated.

The construction of the smuggler as an unmerciful trafficker, and of the migrant as a victim without agency, produces also the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil) as a savior, a generous man who often risks his life for that of the immigrants. The Civil Guard is often depicted in moments when he rescues the immigrant. Many of the headlines of articles written about border-crossings say something like 'rescued immigrants in the Strait of Gibraltar', 'rescued immigrants trapped in the boot of the car', 'Immigrants saved from drowning', or similar propositions. There is great cynicism in this depiction of the dynamics of the border. One does not have to be an expert to know that immigrants are not being trafficked, but that they hire 'smugglers' because there is no other option to cross the highly surveilled border, or because crossing on their own would be even more dangerous. However, none of these four newspapers hesitates in any of their accounts of irregular border-crossing attempts to portray the immigrants as victims of trafficking. I will offer more insights about this in following parts of this chapter.

The border, produced in the press, as an absolute, permanent, non-negotiable and perpetual entity and institution, is also portrayed as legal, so legality is a main topic in newspapers. The press offers numerous legal arguments for the existence of the border, it often quotes legal reasoning on the way it is controlled and managed, it bases its assessment of the behavior of authorities on legal arguments, and calls for the expulsion of immigrants on legal grounds. "The immigrants were transferred to the CETI in compliance with the regulations of the Foreigner's Law" (La Vanguardia, 25), "He has been arrested for an infraction of the Foreigner's Law when attempting to enter" (ABC, 2), "our country can return to the neighbor one, those immigrants who enter illegally through the borders", the president of Melilla is quoted as declaring (El Mundo, 8), "The returning dossier will be started in compliance with what is established in the Organic Law 4/2000" (El país, 17).

The law in the press is not ever to be questioned. Law can never be unethical, immoral or unfair, it is the law, and it is absolute. The consequences of its application, such as fatalities, violence, discrimination or exclusion are contingent, when mentioned, on a sort of implicit argument that states 'these things happen but we have to stick to the law'. However unethical the reasoning behind it, it is the law. Nevertheless, when it is the case that Civil Guards representing the Spanish government and the European Union breach their own laws, the law has to be interpreted, the law is imprecise, it is confusing and the consequences of failing to stick to it are unclear. This inconsistence in the strictness of the law is depicted clearly in a

case narrated in the four newspapers. In September 2002, a group of around 90 immigrants manage to enter the 'Isla de la Tierra', an island under Spanish sovereignty located near the coasts of Sfida in Morocco. The immigrants are deported from the island even though the Spanish law is clear about how the immigrants' repatriation cannot be 'fast-tracked' once they reach Spanish territory. The episode is narrated ambiguously in some newspapers, and in others, this breach of the law is described but not questioned. The following extract illustrates this:

> "The crisis of the 'Isla de la Tierra', separated from Sfida by a few tens of meters, was solved through an agreement with Morocco by which Spain took the minors, their mothers and the pregnant women (16 people in total) and delivered to Morocco the other 73 occupants. The immigrants were later expelled through the border with Algeria" (EL país, 39).

This is clearly a violation of the Foreigner's Law and international regulation, perpetrated by the Spanish and the Moroccan authorities, yet in the press there is no comment on the illegality of these actions. Sometimes the assessment of controversial border events is delegated to the European Union. In the case of the issues I referred to before, where the immigrants where unlawfully expelled from the 'Isla de la Tierra', the newspaper, El Mundo, comments, "The European Commission is analyzing the evacuation, according to the spokesperson of this institution, Michel Cercone. 'Brussels is following the events and if it considers that not all of the principles of international law have been respected, more details will be requested from the authorities'" (El Mundo, 40). Brussels often has no answer, and at least in this case, there is no further article that presents the resolution of the European Union.

There is another very controversial event narrated in newspapers with regards to the border. In December 2012, there is an event of fatal consequences. A 'patera' is unexpectedly hit by a patrol-ship of the Spanish Guard, at night, in the darkness, people die and others are left with serious injuries. Authorities, according to the media, claim that it was an accident, but immigrants and representatives of some NGOs, whose version of the events is presented in just a few newspapers, say that the lights of the Spanish ship were off, and that they were hit as a consequence of negligence. In regards to this event, there are newspapers that do not present the version of the accusing lawyers of the immigrants. In ABC, we only read the official version. However, in other newspapers, like El País, where there is an alternative

version of facts, there is no follow-up on the story in order to ensure that a proper investigation of the event is taking place. To sum up, although the law is a powerful and central topic in accounts about the border, it is frequently presented as negotiable for the Spanish authorities.

The hegemonic power of those who determine where the border is and what mechanisms are used to control it, is glorified in the narratives of the border, because of security arguments stating that the border 'protects' the Spanish and European territories and their populations from 'the invasion', the economic load, and the frenzy and irrationality of the immigrants. The border is therefore a source of security, standing against the danger and having to be better and better protected and enforced. The press has numerous articles about the infrastructural improvements of the border, the financial investment it requires and the continuous training and support given to the forces that protect it, "The security of the border with Morocco is reinforced with 40 agents of the Civil Guard' (El País, 30), 'The government of Melilla has established during these days, an extraordinary mechanism of security to reinforce the surveillance of the border fence, due to the celebration of the Muslim Easter or the Aid El Kedir festivity and to the possibility of new assaults of immigrants" (El Mundo, 23). The press produces and reproduces this securitarian discourse. In consequence, anyone that attempts to question the hegemonic power exercised in the border is constructed as dangerous and a criminal. Proposing a different discourse to understand the dynamics of the border is a possibility that, from the articles I have read, the press does not consider.

Finally, a macro topic I identified, is that of the border depicted in the press as a site of emotions, a factory of feelings and sensations, often described as fear, anxiety, desperation, hope, anger, mistrust and powerlessness. "Immigrants are afraid of being captured" (El Mundo, 13) "The president is happy that the pressure on the border is reducing" (El País, 1), "Around 50 young scared men gather around the fire" (El País, 13), "Long-lasting resentment can grow" (EL País, 10), "Riders of the 'patera' are desolated, especially the boss" (El País, 22). Many kinds of emotions, but not compassion, which is rarely referred to, and when it is, it is ridiculed, as when Abdelmalik El Barkani, delegate of the Government of Melilla, is quoted declaring that, "It is unacceptable that the mafias are trying to exploit the 'humanitarian fibre'" (El Mundo, 16) or when Juan José Imbroda, the President of Melilla, declared, "the sympathy that they could produce when crossing the border, starts to fade when they enter violently" (La Vanguardia, 25).

Strategies

I will now refer here to the strategies used in discourse to convey meaning that Wodak defined, and which I have already talked about in previous chapters of this work. These strategies are: referential or nominal, predicational, argumentative and perspectivation. The analysis of these strategies used in the press when covering border dynamics and events, reveals great information about the values, assumptions and beliefs upon which the press discusses these issues. At moments, the strategies are difficult to separate from each other, and therefore I will offer some insights firstly into the nominal and predicational strategies, and then into the argumentative and perspectivation ones.

Referential or nominal strategies and predicational strategies

As I quoted before, Wodak states that nominal strategies are used to generate meaning in discourse. Nominal, also called referential strategies, are those used to emphasize the 'who', and they imply the creation of central actors in a narrative. Their analysis is crucial because the identification of the 'who' in a discourse, and even the ways this 'who' is called, named or referred to, has ideological and political implications. There are many different kinds of nominal strategies. Van Leeuwen, another important academic in the field of CDA, has identified nominal strategies such as abstraction, categorization, collectivization, impersonalization, somatization, etc. (Van Leeuween 1996). In the case of border events narrated in the Spanish press, I found that the nominal strategies are used to identify the following main actors: the border itself, migrants, smugglers, the Civil Guards, the Spanish government, the Moroccan government, NGOs and the European Union.

I will provide some insights into how each of these actors is represented, in ways that reflect the stereotypical imaginaries, clichés, reductionists and homogenizing attitudes, abstractions and incomplete stories. There is nothing casual in these referential and nominal strategies, as I will show. I will also connect these nominal strategies to predicational ones. Wodak defined predicational strategies as "any kind of evaluation, attribution or predication upon the social actors" (Wodak, 2000: 45). I will therefore describe what attributes are given to these actors, what actions they are portrayed doing, the decisions they make and the motivations they

have. This will provide a more detailed account of the meanings conveyed to the reader about them.

The border

Although not strictly a social actor, the border is clearly defined as an onthological entity in the press, with a nature of its own, a dynamic and attributes. The border is first of all referred to in its materiality. This is because in its abstraction and its ambiguity, the border has to become visible, tangible, sensorial in some way. The border is therefore, in the press, the fence that is raised 6 meters high from the ground, dividing Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco. The border is also the sea, fast-flowing, immense, great. The sea, its waters, difficult to cross, often cause accidents and shipwrecking to the migrants attempting to cross it, they break in two the boats, they kill, they drown, they cause hypothermia. They are depicted as having great impact on the conditions of the immigrants, "their situation was very serious after spending 5 hours in the water in the middle of an unsettled and wavy sea' (El País, 27). The sea is a strong protagonist in border events, it can be a bridge between the two continents or a heavy, thick wall, "20 kilometers of sea separate the coasts of Morocco from the coasts of Cadiz" (ABC, 45). The border is also The Archipelagos of Chafarinas, the islands such as "Isla de la Tierra", "Isla del Congreso", "Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera", "Peñón de Alhucemas". Although they are territory under Spanish control, they are also part of the materiality of the border. They are sites where border crossing takes place, where reaching any of the islands means reaching Spain, but not quite yet. The moment of crossing is ambiguous. You cannot reach Spain without crossing the Strait but at the same time you can, if you reach the islands. Nevertheless, no one wants to stay in 'that Spain', so in the island you are still in the middle of the journey. After being trapped in the Isla de la Tierra, a migrant asks "but were not we on European soil?" (El País, 35), "We do not want this (the islands) to become a new route to enter irregularly to Spain", (ABC, 52), Gonzalo de Benito, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs is quoted declaring to a newspaper, despite the fact the Islands he refers to are already Spain.

These paradoxes and contradictions are also present when the press talks about Ceuta and Melilla, the Spanish enclaves in the African continent. Technically Ceuta and Melilla are Spain, their inhabitants hold Spanish citizenship and they are one more integrative part of Spain. However, the international and national border is still there in Ceuta and Melilla, for

one cannot cross from Melilla and Ceuta towards continental Spain without passing a border control. This paradox implies that the immigrants who manage to reach Melilla or Ceuta have to trespass across this second border. Ceuta and Melilla are therefore, in practical terms, very useful contention sites in which Spain can externalize the border control. This particularity of Ceuta and Melilla is recognized by their authorities in the press. For instance, when Juan Vivas, the President of the government of Ceuta, is quoted declaring, "The borders of Ceuta and Melilla are also the terrestrial borders of Spain and Europe in Africa and the only ones where such contingencies that do not happen anywhere else in the world, take place" (La Vanguardia, 12).

The materiality of the border is also present in the 'CETIS' and 'CIES'. Newspapers often refer to them when narrating stories of immigrants as the sites they are conducted to, but no information is offered in regards to what happens to them once they arrive. CETIS (Centers of Temporary Stay of Immigrants), located in Ceuta and Melilla, and "CIES' (Centers of Internment of Foreigners) found in mainland Spain and in the Canary Islands, are also very tangible borders. They are walls that prevent immigration from actually taking place in Spain. Once in these centers, immigrants are physically and geographically located in Spain, but again the paradox. They are not yet there because they are under a distinct set of conditions, regulations and dynamics. In order to actually 'arrive to Spain' immigrants have to escape from the CETIS, and those stories are recounted in the press, e.g. "six immigrants escaped from the CETI of Ceuta" (ABC, 5). To sum up, the border imposes itself physically in some places and for some people. The border mutates. Its materiality is unarguable, but not its location. The border is therefore depicted as transcending its materiality. It is also a state of being, as Balibar says, 'some are permanently in the border' (Nyers, 2011: 6).

The immigrant

The second essential actor identified by the press in the border and border events is the immigrant, and in fact he is the protagonist of all border events. The immigrant is referred to as such, or also as 'illegal immigrant', 'foreigner', 'sub-Saharan', 'Maghrebi', 'sin papeles' (paperless), 'undocumented' or "polizón" (stowaway). Immigrants alternate between being victims and perpetrators, but always, in an inferior position in relation to the authorities and the Spanish society. In the press, immigrants are constantly depicted as morally inferior (they commit crimes, they violate the law), or as having an inferior agency, power and control

(they cannot decided on their own, they are weak, they are powerless, they are trafficked, they are manipulated). The following extracts of articles show these constructions around the immigrant:

Portraying them as powerless and weak victims

"The narrative of his incomplete trip, shows the desperation experienced by those who live poorly on the other side of the border" (El País, 4).

"I am the only child and my parents died" an immigrant is quoted as saying (El País 4).

"We cannot stay in the city for a very long time because the police are after us and the Moroccans throw stones at us" (El País 4).

"Immigrants live badly in the forest, they sleep on the floor and they barely have any food" (EL País 4).

"They run away from poverty" (El País, 25).

"The immigrants are the authentic victims of unscrupulous mafia organizations, that do not hesitate to risk the life of these people for the sake of economic profit", El Barkani, delegate of the government of Melilla is quoted as saying (La Vanguardia, 10).

Constructing them as criminals, fraudulent and unlawful

"The paperless that arrive are all the time more and more aggressive" (El País 5).

"The President of Melilla asks for the immediate returning of immigrants after they cause injury to a civil guard' (La Vanguardia, 14).

"Government office denounces that immigrants 'use violence and aggressive resistance against members of the Security Forces" (La Vanguardia, 11.03.2013).

Like these, there are abundant stories in the press that denigrate immigrants, sometimes in very subtle ways, sometimes in very explicit ones.

Immigrants, according to the press, steal. "The mayors of Farhana, Beni-Enzar and Nador, demanded from the minister of the interior of the Alaui country, Taieb Cherkaui, a solution to the serious problem of immigrants, crowded in their territories waiting to enter Melilla, for the quantity of robberies and assaults they commit…" (El Mundo, 13)

They are depicted as dirty. In a description of immigrants' camps in Morocco, El País says that they live "Between pines, the accumulated trash of months, maybe years, it smells bad. On the floor you can see plastic, rusted cans, and filth of diverse kinds, surrounded by soil and dry pinecones. There are some dirty and worn-out shirts hanging on a branch" (El País, 13).

There are stories that describe how they sneak in, "A sub-Saharan has been discovered by the Civil Guard when he was trying to sneak in Melilla, hidden in the frame of the passenger seat in a car' (El País, 37).

In some newspapers, the reader can find descriptions of the life of immigrants, of their every day habits, and what they do, and in very few occasions, on what they say, but always before they cross, if they manage to do it. For instance, in El País, there are several articles that describe the lives of immigrants in the Gurugú Mountain or in the University of Oujda, where they live in camps in Morocco. "The sub-Saharan immigrants live in the mountains near Oujda or in the University Campus, where they sleep on basketball courts and they shower as well as they can inside the improvised tents made of worn-out and dirty fabrics" (El País, 9)

Immigrants who manage to cross the borders and enter Morocco settle in the mountain of Gurugú, waiting for an opportunity to cross the border. In accounts published in El Mundo and El País, once settled in the mountain, the immigrants engage in a savage life in disorganized, filthy 'chabolas' (precarious huts or shacks), full of trash. There they are depicted as passive, waiting for long days, until one day, they 'attack' and attempt to cross, coming one day unpredictably from the darkness of the forest. "About 1000 people are waiting between the border of Spain and Morocco to hump the fence of Melilla" (El País, 30), "Hundreds of sub-Saharans crowded into the forests in the proximities of Melilla that wait to illegally cross the border, organize to survive" (El País, 12).

Immigrants are dehumanized. They have no voice and never speak. In all the numerous amounts of articles that I analyzed, immigrants only spoke in a few, and when the did so, they did it to speak about how the Spanish Guards treat them well ("Touré Moctaor, an immigrant, ensures that Civil Guards are not violent" El País, 4). They are also occasionally given a voice to depict themselves as powerless victims with no agency, "I don't have anything left

there, not even a way to survive" (El País, 12), or "I left my country because of the war. Now I don't have anything to eat. I don't know what we are going to do' (El País, 35).

Migrants have no names, only very few of the articles I read ever give immigrants an individual, personal name. In very few occasions they are referred to with their initials, "This is 'J'" or "M.D., native of Guinea Bissau, he is 18 years old, and M.S., of the same country, is 21" (El Mundo, 22). The stories are constructed in a way that make it seem as if it was a practice to safeguard their identity. However, it can also be the case that this is done to deny an individual identity to them, they are just 'sub-Saharans' or 'Maghrebis'. By being nameless and voiceless, migrants become homogenized. They are limited to being immigrants, and the press does not offer any deep or comprehensive stories about their lives, their biographies, why they decided to cross, what led them to make that choice. They are all the same, immigrants, regarded with pity or horror. With pity, when they are represented as desperate, as hopeless or as victims of smugglers who traffic with them, who make them cross the border in the most risky and life-threatening conditions, such as small spaces in cars, in ships or in the 'pateras'. With horror, when they assault the fence violently or when they cross the border in cars 'as kamikazes'.

Asides from there being numerous stories in the press that depict migrants as victims of traffickers, they are also portrayed as victims of weather conditions, the rain, the storms and the sea, "The sea, little by little, separated me from my boat' (El País, 24), or 'Their distressed faces reflect the Odyssey they lived in the sea during almost six long hours' (El País, 24).

Migrants are also constantly produced as victims of Moroccans. The Moroccan agents hit them, persecute them, chase them and mistreat them.

They are also victims of themselves, of their bad decisions, their miscalculated audacity, their madness and their irrationality. They are possessed by their irrational obsession to reach Europe. "Alou insists on getting to Europe at any price and he says he will not give up" (El País, 12). The idea of the irrational immigrant that makes a bad decision is expressed in these words, "How is it possible that with the economic situation that Spain is going through, it is precisely this year that they have chosen for a triplication of the fence assaults?" (El País, 13), "We are now seeing a new profile of immigrant. Younger, more physically prepared and

willing to enter at any cost" (El País, 32), "What are you doing here? There is a crisis in Spain and everything is going very bad", one immigrant said that he was told by an agent (EL País, 35).

Sometimes they are even depicted as victims of the violence they perpetrate against themselves, like when one Guard is reported as saying "One day, when we were chasing one immigrant, we saw how he threw himself into a car, breaking his head so that we had to take him to the hospital" (El Mundo, 13), or when La Vanguardia says, "10 immigrants were injured. The first of them required medical assistance. He was helped and taken to the local hospital because of self-injuries caused when he banged himself against a police car" (La Vanguardia, 25).

Yet, in the press, immigrants are never victims of the Civil Guards, the Spanish Government, the immigration policy of the European Union, or the border management methods. No, in all the articles I analyzed in the four newspapers, there are no mentions of the tragic events occurring on the border being the consequence of immigration policy and border management. Only occasionally there are some articles, where an NGO, Apdha (The Association Pro Human Rights of Andalucía), is quoted stating that "there is a situation of 'extreme infringement of human rights of immigrants in Morocco'" (La Vanguardia, 22). So, besides from putting the expression, 'extreme infringement', between quotations, which has meaningful implications, as I will analyze later, the violations of human rights are mentioned as an issue occurring almost exclusively in Morocco.

As I said before, immigrants are then regarded, on the one hand with pity, and on the other with mistrust and fear by the press. They are presented as deceitful, daring, adventurous, insolent, aggressive and violent. There are numerous stories on how they, when attempting to cross the border, attack the Civil Guards with sticks, stones and knives. They react with no prior provocation. They are full of rage. "With sticks and knives. That is how 15 immigrants that were travelling in a 'patera', received the Civil Guards who approached them to help them, two miles away from Melilla, when they were trying to approach the city by boat with great difficulty due to the effects of the storm" (El Mundo, 9).

Immigrants are also presented as having disease and threatening to spread it, and there are stories that recount how immigrants who do manage to enter Spanish cities (specially Ceuta

and Melilla), alter the normality of the place with their extravagant behavior, their running around the city naked. "They take off their clothes so that we cannot grab them. They spread their own feces on their body with the intention of repelling guards (…), they throw stones at us, they beat us with bars made of iron, and when we manage to hold them, they try to bite us so that we are afraid of catching disease" (El Mundo, 12).

Immigrants are even portrayed as agents of perversion. In some articles, there are narrations on how they were running around the city, naked, in a violent scene that was witnessed by children. They break the law and they do not respect order. They destroy the infrastructure, and they alter the harmony of the community. For instance in ABC, a spokesperson of the government of Melilla is quoted as saying "we calculate that 20 immigrants managed to surpass the fence. Some of them reached the school "Colegio del Buen Consejo", where they caused alarm among the students and the parents, who in that moment were picking up their children" (ABC, 49), or "They violently enter the houses and backyards of schools and offices near the border to hide" (El Mundo, 13).

These dichotomies with which the migrants are depicted, where they are either victims or agents of violence, or they are either powerless or accountable, are not the only ones found in the press. Immigrants are also alternatively located in passivity or activity. For instance, in the stories that narrate how immigrants attempt to cross the border in cars or 'pateras', they are always passive. They are being trafficked by the smuggler, according to the storyline presented by newspapers, they are victims, but they do not seem to show any resistance. Obviously, it is because they are not being trafficked, they do not resist because they do want to cross. However, the storylines insist in their being passive as a strategy to deny agency to them and to not explicitly acknowledge the fact that they are being denied the permission to enter the territory, often with violent methods:

> "The Civil Guard has rescued a sub-Saharan immigrant who was hidden in the double-bottom of a car, in the area where the fuel tank should go". The story continues, "The civil guards inspected the vehicle that attempted to enter the autonomous community. The heartbeat sensors detected the presence of a living organism, which in turn resulted in an exhaustive examination (…). They found that a second bottom had been built into the car, in which a sub-Saharan woman was hiding" (El Mundo, 21). In this story, there is no account of the woman shouting to

> leave or trying to escape, she is there, passively and willingly, yet the article ends with
> a celebration of her 'rescue'.
>
> "Finding pateras is difficult because they often sail without direction" (ABC, 57).

This idea of their passivity is also reinforced by the fact that in most articles the immigrants do not speak. And when they arrive to the land, if they manage to cross but are later 'rescued' (detained), they are also depicted as weak, evasive, silent and sick. For instance, almost all stories on border events in ABC, end with the weakened migrant being assisted by personnel of the Red Cross. "When the National Police rescued them, they couldn't move, they were completely numb, stiff and disoriented and about to die of choking' (ABC, 23). "The immigrants, frozen by the cold, couldn't speak or move due to the tiredness and the stiffness of their muscles" (El país, 26).

This in turn reinforces two ideas, one, that they are passive, weak, fragile, and also, that the trip is dangerous and life-threatening, and therefore those who decide to engage in it are 'irrational', and 'unnecessarily' put their lives at risk.

On the contrary, immigrants are presented as active when they cross the border by climbing the fence, or when they do it in cars they drive themselves as 'kamikazes'. They are in fact, 'hyperactive', they move quickly, aggressively and violently. They attack, irrupt, hit, bite, shout and sneak. They are daring, defiant and even arrogant.

> "The neighborhood of "La Constitución" was alarmed by the rise of uncontrolled
> immigrants who were confronting the security forces with an arrogant and aggressive
> attitude" (ABC, 49).
>
> El Barnaki, delegate of the government of Melilla, declared, "Those who arrive to the
> city illegally are more violent every time, and they manage to jump the fence, 6 meters
> high, equipped with sticks and stones to threaten the Civil Guards" (El País, 30).

Immigrants are also denied an identity, the articles are written in a way that dehumanizes them. This dehumanization, which I mentioned earlier, reduces them to their physical and biological dimensions. Since often migrants in the press are depicted as having no names, no stories, expressing no opinions, showing no emotions or concerns, they are denied their capacity to offer an alternative account of the facts, and they end up being regarded merely as

bodies. Living or dead, they are just bodies transported, carried and deported. They are found dead or alive, but even when they are alive, they do not speak. For example:'

> "Those strange lumps were the body of a man who was pretending to be a seat" (El País, 37). This statement in the newspaper reduces the immigrant to his physical dimensions. It suggests that the strange lumps were the body of a man, not a man.
>
> "The Civil Guards rescued the dead bodies of two sub-Saharan immigrants" (El Mundo, 30).
>
> "Immigrants presented symptoms of abdominal pain" (EL Mundo, 39). Just as with this article, I also found many detailed accounts of the physical conditions of the migrants, on the corporeal deterioration they suffered during the trip, but very few articles reflect on the psychological and emotional state of the immigrants.
>
> "There are plenty of recovered remains, given that the body has completely been crushed by the propeller, in consequence, the identity won't be official until the DNA tests are completed" (ABC, 36). In this extract again, the immigrant is reduced to a body. It suggests that a body was crushed, not a person, not a human being.

It may seem as if because the immigrant is reduced to the physical dimension, so are the methods used to prevent him from crossing. "The agents inspected a vehicle with heartbeat sensors" (El Mundo, 21). The body is also used as a tool to prove innocence or guilt and in turn, to determine whether the immigrant will be deported or not. "Radiological tests practiced on the occupants of the 'patera' that was rescued last Saturday, revealed that the migrants are older than 18" (El Mundo, 27), which means they were old enough to be deported. So, the only detailed descriptions of the migrants are those that refer to their body. There are no stories that portray their emotional situation after they are 'arrested'. They are only described as weak, hungry, thirsty and tired bodies. They are suffocated, can barely breath and have hypothermia. They are not sad, disappointed, frustrated, worried or confused. No, just sick, weak or dead.

It seems like because the migrant is treated as a body, the newspapers I analyzed also give the impression that that body, the immigrant, is racialized. Several authors such Nicholas de Genova have reflected on the process of constructing the immigrant as an 'other' in terms of race. Nicholas de Genova has deeply studied the process through which migratory debates in the US are framed in the construction of racialized bodies, in which the production of 'the

white us' and of the 'non-white other', either 'black', 'Latino' or 'Asian', continues to shape a project of domination and power. In the case of Spain, this construction operates at different levels than in the US or other countries. Because the interaction between the Christian Spanish and the Muslim 'Moors' was constant, although conflicting, the imaginary of otherness among the Spanish citizens exists to a great extent between two poles, that of the 'Moros' (Muslims) and that of the 'Cristianos' (Christians). Some other groups in Spain, like the Roma, commonly referred to as 'Gitanos', and even some Christian Spanish citizens themselves (like Catalans, Basques or Andalucians), are sometimes produced as racially distinct from the Spanish in general. However, the 'Moro' (Muslims), remain in the imaginary of the Spanish as a potent representation of 'the other', both in cultural and racial terms. In the case of the newspaper articles I analyzed, migrants appear to be defined sometimes as the embodiment of a race. For instance, "The police continue to identify citizens on the streets taking into account the race or the ethnicity of the person", a representative of the left-winged party 'Izquierda Unida" is quoted as stating in an article. (El Mundo, 14). This practice, which the newspaper makes reference to, is also called 'racial profiling'. It involves the production of the illegal immigrant as racially distinctive, as a body with different attributes. Also statements such as, "A person of sub-Saharan appearance was rescued" (La Vanguardia, 3), or "The police consider that his 'facial features' indicate that he is Maghrebi" (El País, 28), reflect this construction of the immigrant as a racialized other.

There are also some gendered representations of migrants. For instance, when attempts to cross the border by climbing the fence take place, they are always narrated as being undertaken by men. Women do not appear. It may well be that because the storylines about immigrants crossing the border over the fence always have a content of violence perpetrated by the migrants, women do not appear to fit that storyline. In those descriptions, it is either men or the sex of the immigrants is undefined. In Spanish, by default, the masculine expression is almost always used, so they refer to them as 'los subsaharianos' (the male sub-Saharans) or 'los migrantes' (the male migrants). In the cases where there are particular representations of women, they are portrayed as even weaker than men, almost always trafficked, and also often victims of sexual violence. "There are mafias in the zone dedicated to the trafficking of human beings and to the sexual exploitation of women" (El País, 9).

Many times, women appear pregnant in the media articles, and this is often a detail that appears because the law dictates that pregnant women should be treated differently.

According to article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights, people in situations of special vulnerability, such as pregnant women, elderly or victims of torture, should not be detained and/or expelled. Yet this special treatment to which pregnant women are entitled to by law, is presented in the press as a concession of the Civil Guards. "The crisis of 'Isla de la Tierra' was solved with an agreement with Morocco, through which Spain agreed to take the minors, the mothers and the pregnant women" (EL País, 39). "Immigrants want to exploit the 'humanitarian fiber', using pregnant women and children in every attempt to enter Melilla", the delegate of the government of Morocco, El Barkani, stated (El Mundo, 16). There are not many articles that depict gender related questions about the border, though in the very few where women appear individually, they are presented in a stereotyped manner. "She states that she wants to find a job as a caregiver of children or elderly or as a hairdresser" (El País, 24). The question of prostitution is also mildly discussed, "The bosses of immigrant groups, introduce women into the prostitution networks or into domestic service" (El País, 24).

Stories about the migrants being trafficked and being 'rescued' by the Spanish authorities, articles about the rage of immigrants, the erratic, eccentric and capricious nature of their behavior, recounts of the violence they induce, the destroying and unsettling force they exhibit, or the pitiful weakness of their bodies, are repeated constantly, often as if they were templates where the only things that change are the numbers of 'rescued immigrants', the numbers of 'attacked Guards', or the ruses they use to cross the border. Immigrants rarely seem to appear to be dignified in the discourses of the press. Instead, their deaths are discussed with a neutral tone, as if they were by-products of the circumstances, or of their bad decisions.

The Civil Guard

The antithetical actor to the immigrant in the press is the Civil Guard. The Civil Guard is depicted as the incarnation of high values such as order, respect, responsibility, selflessness and loyalty. Newspaper articles portray the Civil Guard as a sensible, rational man who represents the law and the authorities. In all of the articles I read, there was not a single one where the Civil Guard was depicted as perpetrating violent actions over the immigrants, although NGOs have reported such occurrences, although it is clear that when the immigrants, for instance, cross the border over the fence, they are necessarily contained with violence. There is a constant representation in the press of the 'heroism' of the Civil Guard.

They 'rescue' the immigrant', that is the dominant storyline. They protect the Spanish territory. They respect the law, as opposed to migrants who breach it. The Civil Guard never forcefully makes the immigrant or anyone do anything, he just asks. They are portrayed as being particularly considerate and kind to women and children. The following extracts show how such construction of the Civil Guard takes place:

The Civil Guard saves: "The national police has saved the life of two immigrants hidden in a vehicle that was abandoned by a trafficker of human beings next to a school in Melilla, after he evaded the border-controls. The spokesperson of the police station has emphasized that the fast intervention of the agents avoided the possible death of the immigrants" (La Vanguardia, 7), or this one, "The Civil Guard has rescued a sub-Saharan immigrant that was hiding in the double-bottom of a car" (El Mundo, 21).

The Civil Guard does a noble, selfless task on the border: "The delegation of the government has reiterated one more time, its support of the Civil Guard, 'in their difficult task of safe-keeping the border.' Simultaneously he asked for a social reflection on the violence that immigrants use to enter Spanish soil. (La Vanguardia, 25). Also, "The professionals of the Civil Guard provide a service in the perimeter" (La Vanguardia, 8).

The Civil Guard is good-natured: "The Civil Guard does not beat us, but the Moroccans do. A lot, without stopping. Once they catch you they beat you up" an immigrant is quoted as declaring (El País, 13).

Civil Guards participate in rescue missions but the immigrants receive them violently: "Everything happened a little before 11 am, when the Civil Guard caught sight of a boat, in the middle of the waves, that could barely continue its way towards Melilla. A patrol of the Special Group of Sub-aquatic Activities (GEAS) came their way to see what was going on. They were prepared with blankets and a first-aid kit, in case the occupants of the boat needed assistance. As they approached, the agents realized that it was a group of around 15 immigrants, that immediately showed what their intentions were when they took out knives and big sticks with which they were trying to avoid being intercepted by the Civil Guard." (El Mundo, 9).

In that sense, all the actions of Civil Guards evoked in the press are judicious and prudent. They are not driven by irrational or desperate feelings, but are considerate, cautious, noble and respectful. Civil Guards and other authorities also own the truth. They seemingly provide the media with the official versions of what happened in border events and their word is transcribed with the assumption that it is the truth. When exceptionally, the Civil Guard is represented as committing a mistake or accidentally perpetrating some violence (they are never depicted as intentionally doing it), there are always precise and detailed descriptions of the reasons for these mistakes and accidents. I will later elaborate more on the fact that some information is very precise, while other, very vague.

The smuggler

Also called 'trafficker', 'el pasador' (the passer, or the one that passes) or the 'mafias', the smuggler is recurrently depicted as a person who incurs into illegal practices at the expense of the immigrant. The smuggler in the press is the quintessential representation of ill-intended practices, selfishness and immorality. These extracts show how smugglers are represented:

> "Normally it is the so-called passers, those who try to hide the immigrants, which supposes a crime against the rights of foreigner citizens" (La Vanguardia, 2).
> "The trafficker or passer was in a hurry. So much so that last Sunday he left a vehicle in a parking lot for hours in the neighborhood 'Barrio del Real de Melilla', with two immigrants inside: canned and about to die of choking" (ABC, 13).
> "El Barkani has insisted on the terrible consequences that derive from irregular immigration, which is exploited by mafias that traffic with human beings, putting into great risk the life of immigrants. They are the authentic victims of the unscrupulous mafia', he declared" (El País, 31).

Smugglers are depicted as not having compassion for the immigrants. There are stories about how they sometimes, when crossing on 'patera', abandon the migrants on the sea, or about how when they cross by car, they force migrants to hide in the most dangerous and harmful ways. For instance:

> "The techniques used to try to pass unnoticed range from preparing gaps in different spaces in automobiles such as seats, the engine or the bottom, which creates a serious danger for the hidden person, given that they are very confined spaces where air does not circulate properly" (La Vanguardia, 2).

According to the articles I found in the newspapers, Smugglers do not only traffic with migrants, they also charge them ridiculously high sums of money for doing so, and this accentuates their egotistical nature.

> "Approximately 900 Euros is charged per person, by mafias who organize the clandestine trips to cross the 20 km of sea that separate the coasts of Morocco from Cadiz" (ABC, 45).
>
> "This is the most expensive method and the one preferred by mafias, although it is the most dangerous one for the 'passengers' that have to be locked in small gaps. It is practical for the mafias to the point that in a city with an unemployment rate of 28% and a population living under the poverty line of 34%, they find no problems to find 'coyotes' (smugglers), that for 1000 or 2000 Euros, are willing to take the risk of being imprisoned for 8 years for making the crossing" (El Mundo, 12).

The last extract is interesting. It is acknowledged in the article that there is an economic situation of unemployment and poverty that might be pushing some people to decide to become smugglers as a means to obtain some profit and alleviate their situation of poverty. However, the article insists on the fact that they are members of mafias, that they willingly expose migrants to great risks and that they do it because 'it is practical for them'. There are inconsistencies in the construction of the 'smuggler' as a trafficker though, since the articles fail to explain why, if the migrant is being trafficked, he pays a sum for it.

The construction of smugglers as criminals and members of a mafia, risks confusing the reader, as it manipulates the information in such a way that the smugglers might be depicted as being exactly the same as those who do actually traffic human beings forcibly across borders.

Smugglers are also denied the opportunity to offer their version of the facts. They are also just confined to their criminality and abusive dimension. There are no storylines that show an alternative vision of them.

The Spanish government

Although interrelated with the Civil Guards, the Spanish government appears as a distinctive actor in the press. It is formed by a wide range of sub-actors that include legislators, judges, the President, representatives of political parties, local and municipal authorities, managers of the detention centers, etc. They are represented as reliable sources of 'objective facts'. By providing the newspapers with figures, data on migratory trends, legislative frames, judicial resolutions, etc., they offer information that is used to contextualize the stories recounted and to legitimize the proceeding of authorities. They are also often quoted as voicing concerns, and as supporting the management strategies of the border. The following extracts show some of those constructions around members of the Spanish government:

> "The ministers of Interior and of Foreign Relations, Jorge Fernández Díaz and José Manuel García-Margallo, have agreed with their Moroccan counterparts to search for a joint solution that puts a brake on the mafias of illegal immigration (…) The delegate of the government has declared that this is 'the authentic reality of the drama' of immigration, of which mafias obtain profit. These mafias have been implicated with the attempted entries of kamikaze cars containing sub-Saharans, by providing them the cars to do it. 'These attempted new entry methods cannot be in the service of the mafias that traffic without any shame with human beings' El Barkani has stated (…) 'We want to act with absolute responsibility and we have to tell the mafias that it is over' " (El Mundo, 1). In this extract I hereby quote, the Ministers of Interior and of Foreign Relations talk about the need to take away 'impunity' from the mafias that, they claim, traffic with human beings 'without any shame'. These actors are attempting to distance themselves morally from the traffickers, who they construct as 'shameful'. The newspaper 'El Mundo', presents their declarations in great detail and offers and overall image of these Ministers as concerned for the safety of immigrants, upset about the role 'mafias' are playing, and representing a moral authority.

"According to the sources of the sub-delegation of the Government, both interventions have been produced as a consequence of calls that were received from mobile phones of immigrants that were on the boats" (ABC, 47). This previous piece of information is stated in ABC in relation to the case of the 'rescue' of 17 immigrants in the Strait of Gibraltar, news which the newspaper reported. Again, the authorities, in this case, 'sources of the sub-delegation of the Government', are presented as reacting to the requests of immigrants themselves. This reinforces a representation of the authorities as interested in aiding immigrants when they are in need.

"A delegation of the Government in the autonomous city ensures that 1000 immigrants were waiting in the proximities of the border to try to trespass it illegally" (El País, 13). In this case, the 'delegation of the Government' is for the newspaper, the reliable source that provides an account on the events and even exact figures.

"The President of the government of Ceuta, Juan Vivas of the Popular Party, has stated this Monday that he 'shares' the vindication of his counterpart in Melilla, Juan José Imbroda of the Popular Party, to strongly promote a reform of the Foreigner's Law, making it possible to immediately expel from national territory, those immigrants who enter Spain violently" (La Vanguardia, 120). In this extract of an article the government of Spain is presented as willing to cooperate to 'lawfully' expel immigrants. The fact that they are presented as calling for a reform of a law, facilitates the construction of an image of the government as respectful of the law as it stands, as opposed to the immigrant who enters violently.

"In regards to the accusations from the immigrants who claim to be mistreated by Spanish agents after arriving to Melilla, the Delegate of the Government has commented that he does not have any information that confirms that such a thing is taking place, and that he backs up the action of the Civil Guard. 'The agents are not there to open the gates of the fence', he stated, after claiming that 'nobody can accuse the authorities of a lack of empathy' (El País, 5). Again, the government is here portrayed as a source of moral validity to the actions of the Civil Guards who 'cannot be accused of a lack of empathy'. The article is also depicting the government as a reliable source of the facts.

These extracts of articles, among many others I have found in the press, construct the members of the government of Spain responsible for accounting border events, as the embodiment of high moral standards, as the sources of 'true' versions, as agents who responsibly stick to laws and regulations and who are considerate to immigrants.

The Moroccan government

The Moroccan government and the authorities that represent it are, like the immigrant, portrayed in contradictory ways. These contradictions are not a product of chance though. Moroccan authorities and representatives are either depicted as cooperating allies and comrades providing aid in the 'fight against illegal immigration of sub-Saharans', or they are ruthless and heartless forces that inflict indiscriminate violence on the immigrants. Morocco seems to be represented as an enemy when it fails to comply with the Spanish conditions and ideas about the appropriate management of the border. But it is depicted as a friend and respectful partner when it complies with the agreements and establishes a dialogue with the Spanish government.

In these extracts, a positive construction of the Government of Morocco, when cooperating with Spanish authorities appears:

> " 'Both governments are interested in this immigration not occurring' and 'the relationships are splendid', expressed the head of the Spanish diplomacy. He has also expressed that after the discussions held with their Moroccan counterparts, as well as with the Minister of Interior, Jorge Fernández Díaz, in the context of the bilateral encounter, 'on all levels', the dialogue continues: 'Certain that we have found a formula of cooperation between both governments', García Margallo has stressed and he has also emphasized that, for their nature, these conversations have to be discrete, but he has guaranteed that 'the cordiality is absolute' and the Moroccan Minister of Foreign Affairs has been 'extremely collaborative" (El Mundo, 43).

On the other hand, this extract shows how Moroccan authorities are constructed as cruel and insensitive towards immigrants:

> "Toure Mocta (an immigrant) claims that the civil guards are not violent, but she reports brutality from the Moroccan Police, who beat her up every time she has tried to climb the fence. 'The Moroccan agents beat me with sticks, they broke my knees and they hit me in my arms, hands and head' she says" (El País).

This situation of violence perpetrated by the Moroccan authorities towards immigrants is reported in the newspaper 'El País' with great detail and a dramatic tone. However, the newspaper engages in a contradiction. It does not explain why, if the Moroccan authorities do not want sub-Saharan immigrants either, as they have declared, they beat them when they try to leave the Moroccan territory to enter Spain. This contradiction could be explained by the fact that the government of Spain has required cooperation from the government of Morocco to prevent the influx of immigrants to Spain. However, the Spanish Government would also have to accept responsibility for these violent actions, perpetrated against immigrants on behalf of the Spanish authorities, who requested their cooperation in the first place. However, the storylines often depict, with a few exceptions, Morocco as the only ones responsible for the violence perpetrated against the immigrants. These other extracts show this representation of the Moroccan government as overly cruel towards migrants and show the same contradiction:

> "Morocco performs raids on the border with Ceuta to disperse the immigrants", reads the headline, then the article continues, "The security forces of Morocco are performing raids in the proximity of the border with Ceuta to try to disperse the sub-Saharan immigrants that were waiting to enter illegally into the autonomous city." (ABC, 23).
>
> "José Palazón, head of the NGO PRODEIN (Pro children rights) in Melilla, claims that the massive attempts to enter over the fence are caused by Morocco. 'The excess of violence and the raids make many approach the fence desperately in order to save their lives'" (El Mundo, 12).
>
> "It's impossible to live in Morocco. We are not welcome here", an immigrant is quoted as saying (El País, 4).

The recurrent accounts of situations where Moroccan authorities are depicted as extremely cruel and violent towards immigrants, seem to underlie a strong moral condemnation of this violence, and that in turn, appears to draw a comparison between the Spanish authorities and

the Moroccan ones, where the former are put in a higher scale of moral and ethical behavior. The ways these articles, about the violence perpetrated against immigrants by Moroccan authorities, are outlined, solely places the responsibility for the violence with them.

NGOs

Occasionally, in some articles, the visions and opinions of representatives of NGOs, such as CEAR (Spanish Commission of Aid to the Refugee), PRODEIN (Pro children rights), Doctors Without Borders, SOS Racism in the Spanish State, Euromediterranean Network of Human Rights or APDHA (Pro Human Rights Association of Andalucía), and others, are presented in the press. Some of their representatives express condemnation of the way the border is managed by both Morocco and Spain. They denounce mistreatment, violence and breaches to the law, in statements such as:

> "An NGO denounces the illegal delivery of immigrants from Melilla to Morocco. (…) The Spanish law prohibits 'fast-track' expulsions of immigrants, in other words, without the proper established legal procedure. (…) On Friday morning, a 'patera' arrived to Melilla coming from Morocco with at least ten immigrants. Those who were travelling in it, sub-Saharans, were towed and taken in a boat to Moroccan waters, where they were delivered to the authorities of Morocco. An NGO recorded the scene, took pictures, and denounced it to the Defense of the People, who said that they would try to look into the case. The government of Melilla states that the 'patera' was never in Spanish waters and that it was intercepted in 'open sea'" (EL País, 17).
>
> "The government considers that the evacuation of the island 'Isla de la Tierra' was 'a great success' and the NGOs say it was illegal", the headline says. Then, the article continues, "The government considers the operation 'a great success', Morocco is silent and the NGOs estimate that the executive has breached the Foreigner's Law. The nocturnal evacuation of the 83 immigrants that arrived to the 'Isla de la Tierra', under Spanish sovereignty but a few minutes away from Morocco, has unleashed a debate. (…) The NGOs strongly blame the government of Mariano Rajoy (the President), first, for not coming to the aid of the immigrants, and second because, in their opinion, the operation breached the Foreigner's Law." (El Mundo, 40).
>
> "They (NGOs) think that it's 'easy' that the minister, as he has been doing, makes the mafias responsible of these deaths, or even the bad weather and the roughened waves

of the sea in the Strait. APHDA claims that 'a great part of the responsibility' dwells in the policy of the Spanish government and the European Union" (Vanguardia, 30).

From the articles I have read, I noticed that when these kinds of accusations of NGOs are presented, they are always contrasted with the official versions. Also, many times, the use of quotations marks, like in the last extract I quoted, suggests that the stances of the NGOs are exclusively their opinion, a subjective view and not a fact. The articles I analyzed take an ambiguous approach towards NGOs. They do not comment openly on their declarations. They just present them, briefly and rarely.

The European Union

The supranational entity is mentioned in a few articles as the ultimate source of legitimacy and authority. Other actors call on cooperation with the European Union and make declarations that reflect an understanding of the European Union having a central say in how the border is managed and controlled. It is also reflected that the help and aid of the European Union in the control of the border is seen as crucial:

> "The situation of this island, which is subjected to an important migratory pressure, makes it evident that it is necessary to coordinate a policy of immigration that manages to end the business of mafias, by giving more responsibility to the European Union" (EL Mundo, 45).

The depiction of the European Union as the ultimate holder of legitimacy and authority can be observed in these extracts:

> "If the European Union decides to put up a fence that prevents the entering of immigrants, it is for a reason", the delegate of the government of Melilla declares (EL Mundo, 35).
> "The European Commission is analyzing the evacuation. According to the spokesperson of this institution, Michele Cercone, 'Brussels is following the development of events and if it considers that not all of the principles of International Law have been respected, it will ask for more information from the authorities (El Mundo 40).

In regards to these strategies, I conclude that the characterization of all of these actors can be framed into what Van Dijk has called 'macro-structures of positive self-representation and negative representation of the others'. The analysis I just provided on the nominal and predicational strategies used to interpret and assess the border and border dynamics are clearly biased in all the four newspapers towards the Spanish authority and the government. The Spanish 'us' is represented as lawful, virtuous and sensible, the Moroccan other is represented as cooperating but sometimes in erratic, capricious manners, the smuggler is reduced to a criminal and the immigrant is also criminalized, dehumanized and homogenized. These strategies are very clearly present and can in turn provide legitimization to the border management, because, on the one hand they manipulate the information in a way that it makes it more difficult (although by no means, impossible) to empathize with the immigrant, particularly if the reader is not a critical one. On the other hand, without a complete and detailed picture of what is taking place in the border, it is hard to make a balanced assessment of the situation. This is not, from my perspective, good journalistic practice.

Argumentative strategies

As I discussed previously, not all of the actions and practices that the main actors in the border engage in, when attempting to either cross the border, aiding others to cross, or controlling and repelling the entering of immigrants, are described with detail. As I analyzed previously many of these actions and practices are implicit or vague. However, in the articles sometimes there were arguments that attempted to explain the behavior of the various actors.

Arguments that explain attempts to cross

In the case of immigrants who make attempts to cross the border, there are not many arguments offered to explain why they decided to do it. As I mentioned before, most of the time, according to the storyline in the articles, they do not even decide to cross, but are trafficked. When they do decide to cross, they do it as a consequence of their stubbornness, their lack of accurate information or their criminal intentions. None of the storylines in the newspapers offers insights into particular political, economic, social or even personal situations that prompted their decision to cross. As a consequence of hiding the stories behind their migratory choice, immigrants, homogenized, do not ever have the opportunity to explain

if they were trying to reach Spanish territories as 'economic migrants' or as 'asylum seekers', nor the particularities of their personal stories.

Other actors, not the immigrants themselves, do provide some explanations on why there are attempts to cross the border. These explanations tend to be technical and in general, they do not make reference to particular social, economic or security situations. As I quoted before, there are references to the political instability of African countries, but they are depicted in general in a homogenized manner, as being in war. Also, there are some explanations about the economic reasons that lead migrants to make the decision to migrate. For instance, in La Vanguardia, an official of the Spanish government explained the increase in the attempts to cross the border over the fence like this:

> "Fernandez Díaz considers that the migratory pressure in Morocco, which is a country of destiny and transit of irregular migration, the situations lived in the Sahel and the consequences of the Arab Spring, united with the larger control to maritime routes, explain the increase of the migratory pressure in Melilla" (La Vanguardia, 37).

> "One of the explanations is the proximity of Melilla to the border of Algeria, where, according to organizations, 2000 people have been expelled from the dessert, the other is the increasing difficulty to circulate in Morocco" (La Vanguardia, 39).

Some arguments, like the former, are presented in the press in order to explain why there is a migratory pressure on the southern border of Spain. However, most articles that narrate border events are not concerned with explaining why migrants decide to cross. The few arguments that are outlined, like the previous ones, do not offer an exhaustive or deep attempt to explain the phenomenon.

Arguments for the reinforcement of the border

The arguments offered by the press in regards to why the border is controlled in the way it is, and why it should continue to be reinforced with even stricter methods, are various. On the one hand, there is an economic argument presented. Newspapers present claims arguing that given the state of the economy of Spain, of widespread unemployment and contraction, there are no reasons to admit foreign labor. It is argued that the economy of Spain would not have

the capacity to absorb any new workers into its labor force. These extracts demonstrate this argument:

> "The President of Melilla declared 'it is hard to imagine that the city can bear the massive entrance of immigrants without any problems in maintaining a solvent economy'"(Vanguardia, 52).
>
> "The President of Melilla quotes that ten per cent of the local population considers Moroccans a problem, and he has reflected that perhaps this is because they see that there are people who come and take jobs, many times irregularly, in a city that has an unemployment rate of about 40% (La Vanguardia, 12).

On the other hand, very remarkable securitization arguments are forwarded, such as the need to secure the border in order to protect the people of Spain from the arrival of potential criminals. "The inhabitants of Melilla observe that their relief and their security is every day more and more affected, and they seek a solution" (El Mundo, 13), and "The control of the border of Melilla has been reinforced after a suspected terrorism cell has been broken up in Morocco" (La Vanguardia, 44).

There is also a clear tendency to quote legal arguments. 'It is in the law', many articles mention, "The sensitivity towards these people can never negatively affect the compliance with the law", the President of Melilla is quoted as declaring (El País, 32). However, newspapers show in some of their articles, that the law should be 'improved' in a way that favors Spain. For instance, in El Mundo, there is article published where the Civil Guards are calling for the creation of a 'no man's land' on the border, a denationalized territory in which the immigrants are not yet in 'Spain'. This is because, according to the Civil Guard, there should be a territorial strip where Moroccan and Spanish authorities could 'cooperate' and expatriate the immigrants without the need to respect the law that says that once in Spanish territory, immigrants have to be sent to a detention center, from which they may leave or not after a dossier has been opened for them. This is clearly a statement to call for the creation of a lawless strip where Civil Guards do not have to respect the Spanish and international law. It is however interesting, that the newspaper does not point out that this would be a serious breach of migrants' rights and international law, so the legal arguments are quoted irregularly.

Another group of arguments to support the reinforcement of the border are those that refer to the security and wellbeing of immigrants themselves. It is assumed in many of the storylines that the activity of the Civil Guard increases the security of those attempting to cross, "The police did not only manage to cooperate in the rescue of a sub-Saharan immigrant that was trapped in the double-bottom of a car, it also managed to detain the driver of the car" (La Vanguardia, 10).

Finally, another argument offered to justify the reinforcement of the border is loyalty. Guards who fail to control the influx of people across the border and who deliberately help an immigrant to cross are constructed as traitors to the Spanish state. "An agent of Ceuta has ordered the detention of an agent of the Port Authority Police, for his implication in a network of trafficking of immigrants by using vehicles to hide immigrants and take them to Algeciras" (El Mundo, 7). In this extract of a news article, the agent who helped immigrants in the crossing himself is constructed as a criminal who cooperates with trafficking mafias. This construction reflects an understanding of the border as an inviolable institution and of the rules imposed there as absolute and permanent, to the extent that not even a Spanish citizen may attempt to question them. Since the Spanish agent betrayed this sacred character of the border, he is worthy of punishment.

Perspectivation

As I mentioned before, almost all of the articles in the press concerning the border and border events are narrated from the perspective of Spain, particularly the Spanish government and its officials. The immigrant enters the scene when he tries to cross to Spain, not before, except for a few articles that describe life of immigrants in the forests and in the mountains of Morocco. Events develop and the recounting of them is always offered by a member of the Spanish Civil Guard, or any other Spanish authority, occasionally by witnesses, and only occasionally by members of NGOs or immigrants themselves.

Semantic structures

As I referred to before, Van Dijk, one of the greatest proponents of CDA, reflected on how in discourse, several formal and semantic structures are used to deliver meaning. Semantic structures are those that have a meaningful and symbolic load. Semantics are very deeply

related to interpretation, meaning and reference. Van Dijk's theories indicate that all propositions in a discourse are charged with meanings that integrate to a more complex and greater one. Van Dijk, in several of his works, has identified a vast range of semantic structures used in discourses of different types, specially media discourses and parliamentary debates. I have mentioned before that Van Dijk distinguishes among the semantic structures: implicitness, semantic moves, specificity and completedness, evidentiality, vagueness, illustration, etc. (The complete list of semantic structures that Van Dijk has analyzed are included in the Methodology chapter). In my analysis of how the Spanish press discusses and represents the border and border events, I found several of these structures, which sometimes overlap with other analytical categories, and so in order to analyze them, I will go back to some issues that I have discussed earlier, but from a different perspective. I will not analyze all of the semantic structures that Van Dijk talks about, just those that I find more relevant for these issues.

Topoi

The first of these semantic structures that Van Dijk talks about is 'Topoi', not to be confused with 'topics'. While topics refer to the general, main idea transmitted in a text or a series of them, 'topoi' refers to the stereotypical expressions, conclusions or thematic propositions used to refer to a particular group or event. In order for the topic of a discourse to be analyzed, the whole text has to be read and summarized. Topoi in the contrary can be obtained from smaller units such as sentences or propositions. In the case of immigrants, some common topoi are those of burden, law, danger, etc. Topoi have a close relationship to the strategy called 'Local coherence', as I will show.

In the newspaper articles I analyzed, the main topoi that refer to immigrants and border management are as follows (as I have reflected on them more deeply earlier, I will only list them now):

- Immigrants are violent
- Immigrants distort the harmony of local communities
- Immigrants break the law
- Immigrants are weak and have no agency
- Immigrants are trafficked
- Border control strategies increase the security of Spain and Europe

- Border controls are legal
- Illegal flows of immigration should be avoided
- The border is a legitimate, permanent institution
- Spain and the European Union have the right to decide on the methods to control immigration
- Immigration of non-Europeans to Spain is a problem
- Smugglers are criminals

Implicitness and vagueness

As I argued before, in the articles from the Spanish press that I analyzed, in regards to the southern border and its management, there are different degrees of precision in the recounting of facts. I observed that the narrative is very clearly vague when there are discussions or recounts of issues that may contradict the representation of the Spanish law, the authorities and their actions, as an embodiment of high moral values and standards. Anything slightly violent in the behavior of the Civil Guards, for instance, is hidden in euphemisms or in an imprecise storytelling full of gaps and ambiguity. For example, there are no stories in the press that describe the sequence of facts through which the immigrants are prevented form crossing the border over the fence. The sequence of events is broken at the point where they are attempting to climb the fence and then there is leap forward to the moment when they either fail to climb or they are detained and sent to the Red Cross to receive medical attention, or to the detention centers. What happens in between is not depicted.

The following articles show different degrees of vagueness in the recount of events:

"Immigrants in a 'patera' receive the Civil Guard with sticks and knives in open sea" (El Mundo, 9). I quoted this article earlier, and the reason why I include it here is that it has vague information on how the Civil Guards reacted when the immigrants took their sticks and knives out.
"Seven of the seventy sub-Saharan immigrants that last night managed to reach Melilla have been injured and one of them seriously, the delegate of the government has informed. The arrival of foreigners without permit took place a little before midnight in a new avalanche of 200 sub-Saharans at the fence that separates the autonomous city of Melilla from Morocco (…) The delegate said that the most

seriously injured immigrant will be operated on this Tuesday due to injuries he suffered to a hand. He added that three of the other sub-Saharans who suffered injuries were taken to the hospital from which they have already been discharged" (El País, 14).

This episode recreates a very violent moment with lots of omissions. Who perpetrated the violence against the immigrants, what weapons did he use (information that is present when it is the immigrants who commit violent acts), what was the exact nature of the injuries of those taken to the hospital, what legal consequences will the people who perpetrated this violence face…? All of this is information missing from the article.

"The quoted source has pointed out that 'it is calculated that a little more than 100 immigrants have entered the city' and that 'none of them suffered serious injuries' for assaulting the fence. Nevertheless, he declared that four of them have been treated for mild contusions" (ABC, 49). This extract also presents a narration that is very vague. It does not explain what kind of injuries immigrants presented, it says they were not serious, but the reader cannot know what is meant by 'serious', nor why they suffered contusions and who perpetrated that violence against them.

"Melilla has experienced on Tuesday an episode of extreme migratory pressure, with groups that reached up to 300 immigrants, but the action of the Moroccan and Spanish police has prevented new assaults on the fence, after the one on Monday with 150 sub-Saharans, out of which 50 managed to enter. The entry was characterized by its violence and it ended with 29 injured, 27 immigrants and 2 Civil Guards" (La Vanguardia, 23).

This article is also omitting information about the nature of the violence, and its conclusion is that many more immigrants were injured than Civil Guards, though it never attributes any violence to the Civil Guards. It does not recreate the violence in detail, nor provide information on the nature of the injuries.

Specificity and completeness

Van Dijk has argued that part of the strategies used to strengthen this positive self-representation, and the negative representation of the others, are specificity and completeness.

Degrees of specificity vary depending on how this can serve the purpose of offering a positive image of the self, and a negative image of the other. As I have mentioned before, many of the articles I analyzed have a lot of details, sometimes they are extremely detailed, especially when describing the violence Civil Guards are victims of. For instance, this extract offers a very detailed account of the injuries to Civil Guards and also, describes injuries of immigrants very vaguely:

"The quoted source has stated that the two Civil Guards suffered contusions each of different importance. In one case, on the left hand and on the back, after being beaten with an object of iron by an immigrant, in the other, as a consequence of injuries on the foot and on the right hand, also the consequence of aggressions suffered during the attempt of intercepting immigrants. The two injured agents have been discharged from the hospital. On the other hand 10 immigrants were injured. The first one required medical assistance and was conducted to the local hospital for self-injuries when he banged himself against a car'. (La Vanguardia, 25).

The news articles I analyzed also offer plenty of detailed information about how the immigrants are rescued, helped and saved. This is the case for example, when the press offers very precise reports on how immigrants are given help by the Spanish Red cross and by the authorities themselves. The press offers the reader very specific information on how they were helped. For instance, on how they received food, medical assistance, blankets or drinks. Many articles repeat this again and again. This article for instance provides very specific detail that helps in the construction of a positive image of Civil Guards:

"One of the minors, a baby just a few months old, was helped in the place where the boat arrived by one of the agents that, after seeing him, he brought him on a patrol wrapped in a blanket and with the heating of the vehicle to the maximum level" (ABC, 42).

On the other hand, detailed accounts that help build a negative representation of the other are also very common. They include negative detailed information about immigrants, the smugglers and Moroccans. The following extract demonstrates this:

Sub-Saharans have learned to easily jump the border perimeter. Six years ago the fence was first installed, crowned with a tridimensional towrope, movement sensors and capsicum spray. But desperation and hunger are unstoppable. 'Now immigrants cross the fence in less than 30 seconds, and if they come in big groups there is no one that we can stop them" (El Mundo, 12).

This quote demonstrates how immigrants are skillful in performing illegal acts and therefore, this reinforces the idea that there is a need for more and more control of the border. This other extract shows a detailed description of the violence perpetrated by a Moroccan guard to an immigrant:

"The Moroccan (Guard) kicked me and hit me with a very big stick of wood, very close to the border with Melilla, before they deported me to Algeria, Musa Ali reports nervously" (El País 9).

This other extract offers many details on how the immigrants are captured and deported by Moroccan authorities: "Morocco chases them in the Gurugú Mountain, it arrests them and puts them in white guarded coaches, bound for the police station in Nador. Afterwards, they send them to Oujda, in the border with Algeria" (El País, 13).

Finally, this third extract offers details on the amount of money that smugglers charge for taking immigrants. This in turn accentuates the negative image of them:

"Each immigrant paid 900 Euros, and the possibility of travelling with a life-jacket was offered to them, for which they had to pay an additional 200 Euros, which many of them could not pay despite the evident risk of shipwrecking of those boats" (El Mundo, 22).

Intertextuality and evidentiality

Intertextuality and evidentiality are two interrelated semantic structures. On the one hand, intertextuality refers to the practice of quoting complimentary discourses as a way of making the message of the main discourse more plausible. These quoted alternative sources (that can include legal texts, opinions of the public, declarations of government officials, public data,

etc) have the objective of offering evidence to support the arguments and propositions presented by the media.

In the case of the articles of the Spanish press that I analyzed, there are plenty of references to the Spanish law. These references are sometimes very precise, as particular articles in laws and regulations are quoted. Also, there are many quotations from public authorities and government officials made about particular cases. To quote some examples:

> "The PSOE (Socialist Party of the Workers of Spain) has expressed concern over the notable increase of migratory pressure in Melilla in the last year. The President of Melilla himself, Imbroda, acknowledges that there were more than 2,300 entries during the year 2012" (La Vanguardia, 8).

All declarations from government officials, Civil Guards, statements on hard data about immigration, constitute intertextuality and evidentiality structures. It is the case that in the Spanish press, the sources are official from the government of Spain and political parties. Sometimes, NGOs are also quoted, as I referred to earlier.

Perspective

I discussed a similar question when I previously analyzed the perspectivation strategy of Wodak and the way it is used in the Spanish press to cover border events. I refer to it again because it is also a semantic structure. As I said before it is the case that the perspective of the outer group, the migrants, is completely absent in the press, and all the narratives about border events are offered by Spanish authorities, perhaps NGOs or witnesses, but never immigrants. For the sake of offering another example of how this is done, I will quote one of the articles I analyzed on the Spanish press, which narrates a very controversial event.

In March 2013, there occurred an accident between a ship of the National Civil Guard and a 'patera'. The causes of this accident are controversial. On the one hand, immigrants and their defenders argue that the accident was caused by the negligence of the Civil Guards. According to their version, the patrol ship was driving very fast towards the 'patera'. Authorities on the other hand, argue it was the fault of the driver of the 'patera' who turned to the right twice and then released the tiller. They also claim that the ship had a mechanical

problem and that for these reasons they couldn't avoid the accident. On this case, some newspapers like ABC (39) do not offer any other version than the official, but El País does. In their article both accounts are present, however, the headline is precisely, "The judge blames the shipwreck on the patera and does not place responsibility with the Civil Guard" (EL País, 19). The newspaper clearly prioritizes the perspective of the authorities, by mentioning it in the headline.

Lexicalization

Word choice or lexicalization is of great importance in Critical Discourse Analysis because the same proposition can trigger very different meanings in the reader if only one of the words in it has been changed. Words, despite just being semantic units of language, are loaded with highly symbolic, cultural and political meanings. Word choice plays great importance, specially in such contexts as the press, where messages and meanings have to be conveyed in a synthesized manner out of which the reader can get a condensed impression of complex situations.

These are some of the words, or small groups of them, that I found relevant to this section of the analysis, due to the meaning I believe they convey, or to the context that I observe they are used in:

- "None of them (immigrants) suffered **serious** injuries" "They were attended to for **mild** contusions" (ABC, 49): In these sentences, the use of the words 'serious' and 'mild' is interesting because it shows a strong will to stress that the contusions and injuries were not very grave. However, details that support the use of these adjectives are not offered.
- "The **Rescues** have taken place after the CCS (Center of Coordination of Rescue) of Tarifa received at 7 am a call from a mobile phone warning about the presence of 'pateras' **drifting without direction** in the Strait", El País, 15. The selection of these words is important to convey some ideas. The word "Rescue' implies that the immigrants in the 'pateras' were in risk, so they had to be rescued. But then, the sentence says that they were 'drifting without direction' which suggests that they were not in risk. They were not sinking, and the migrants on them had not had an accident. They were only 'drifting without direction' which is in itself, an interesting choice of

words, because then, why would somebody worry about them? If they were just 'drifting without direction", does that imply that foreigners cannot drift around in the sea? What the article suggests is exactly the opposite, that they were not 'drifting without direction'. They did have a direction and that that direction was Spain, however, if the article had acknowledged that they were heading to Spain, then it would have made it complicated for its author to maintain the idea that they were rescued. These words also work as euphemisms, about which I will discuss later.

- "A malfunctioning of the rescue patrol boat caused a mortal crash with a 'patera'. The **rescued** informed that there were 25 people in the patera" (El País, 22). The selection of the word 'rescued' is also interesting here. Clearly, according to the story line, the 'patera' was in perfect conditions until it was hit by the 'rescue boat', so, why would the migrants be called 'rescued', if they in fact were not rescued by the Spanish authorities, but were instead hit by them, and with some fatalities?

- "11 **paperless** rescued in two **inflatable boats** in the Strait of Gibraltar" (El País, 23). Although quite common, the word paperless has a pejorative connotation but it is used in the newspapers regardless. In this sentence the word 'inflatable boats' is worth analysis. I found that in the storylines the boats, 'pateras', 'rafts' or any name they receive, are always depicted as very fragile. This suggests that the accidents happen because of the bad conditions of the boats, not because of the restrictions imposed to immigration. There are many of those expressions underlining the fragility of 'pateras'. Another extract that uses this same strategy is '15 people, among them a baby, were trying to reach the Spanish coast on board of **two little inflatable 'dinghies'** " (El País, 24). Again, the fragility of the boat is stressed.

- "Marie claimed that she **didn't pay a single euro** to get on the patera. The **trip was for free**" (El País, 24). Both these groups of words serve to emphasize the idea that she was being trafficked, otherwise she would have had to pay.

- "The victims of the **shipwreck** declare that they haven't eaten since Monday" (El País, 27). This whole sentence, especially the word 'shipwreck', emphasizes the idea that immigrants are powerless. It also suggests that there was an accident, although according to what is later explained, this was not the case.

- "To this day, since it was implemented in the end of October 2012, the agents of the '**Brigade** of Response to Clandestine Immigration' (BRIC)…" (La Vanguardia, 18). Although not a selection of the newspaper, because the name of the body was given by the government, it is still interesting that this organization is given the name

"Brigade", a word that in Spanish (Brigada), is normally used in the context of humanitarian work and charity.

- "A few meters away from the fence, the CETI (Center of Temporary Stay of Immigrants), where more than 700 foreigners **squeeze together**". In Spanish the word for 'squeeze together', 'hacinar', is used in reference to poor living conditions and has a pejorative connotation. The sentence also suggests that immigrants are there 'squeezing together' voluntarily, and not that they were put there.

- "**Anti-intrusion** systems" (El Mundo, 24), if the systems that are used to prevent immigrants from entering are called 'anti-intrusion' then it is implied that migrants are intruders, a word with a very negative connotation.

- "The government claimed that with these systems, a complete **waterproofing** of the fence would be achieved" (El Mundo, 25). The word 'waterproofing' is very metaphorical and it suggests that immigrants 'leak' in.

- "The **struggle** against illegal immigration" (ABC, 54), the word 'struggle' is a word that in Spanish (lucha), suggests the vindication of a social cause, it gives a positive connotation to the fight.

Schemata

The structure of a text is also of great meaningful significance. Although convention dictates that in the case of the press, text should be presented with a headline, usually a small summary, an introduction, a core and a conclusion. What information is given in each of these component parts of a news article is subject to choice. Often, out of a large and complex event, newspapers present in the headline what is most shocking, attractive or controversial about it. Headlines are also commonly used to stress the perspective of one of the actors in a given situation. In the case of the articles I analyzed, headlines reveal a lot about the main message that the newspaper wants to transmit to its readers. In the case of ABC, most headlines (75% of those that I analyzed) contain propositions such as "immigrants rescued in the Strait of Gibraltar", "immigrant hidden in the trunk of a car rescued by the Civil Guard". Even as the news article continues, the storyline that asserts that the police rescued the immigrant is maintained, but there are details in the storyline that may suggest otherwise. Nevertheless, if the reader, as many of them do, just reads the headline, he could be given the impression that the role of the Civil Guard is benevolent, since they are

rescuing people, and that immigrants are weak and have no agency. This is an example of such a headline:

> "17 immigrants that were travelling in two pateras in the Strait of Gibraltar were rescued" (El Mundo, 28). The story that follows this headline suggests that the immigrants were not in risk of drowning before the authorities arrived, however, the headline transmits the idea that they were.

Many of the news articles that I analyzed also have a fixed structure. First they introduce the act of rescue in general terms, then, there is a slightly more detailed description of the encounter between the immigrants and the Spanish authorities. This encounter is sometimes described as violent and sometimes as a rescue. And finally, the stories end on how the fatigued, weak and vulnerable immigrant is receiving aid from the Red Cross or the Spanish government. This is an example of such an article:

> "16 immigrants on board of two 'pateras' in front of the Bay of Almería and El Ejido were rescued. The Civil guard has intercepted two rubber boats when they were trying to reach the coasts of Almería, with a total of 16 people on board, all of them men of Maghrebi origin. According to what has been declared by a spokesperson of the Police, the first intervention started at 16:40 of Wednesday after detecting a patera when it was travelling ten miles from Punta del Río, in Almería. A patrol of the Maritime Service proceeded to rescue the occupants of the boat, who were taken in apparent good health, to the port of the capital. The second operation started at 23:45, when somebody spotted a patera ten miles away from the Coast of Balerma, El Ejido. On board there were seven men of Maghrebi origin, all of them in good health. They were all assisted by voluntary workers of the Team of Immediate Response to Emergencies (ERIE) of the Red Cross, who gave them humanitarian assistance, dry clothes, blankets and warm drinks" (ABC, 22).

This style of presenting the news is especially common in "ABC", but it is also present in a more detailed style in the other three newspapers I analyzed. It can be summarized in the following way: Headline, rescue; interception of the boats; encounter-rescue; humanitarian assistance. This schemata presents the information in a way that makes it appear as a smooth rescue.

Formal structures

As I mentioned before, Van Dijk argues that both semantic and formal structures are relevant and have an impact on the overall message that is intended to be transmitted to the reader. Topoi, sentence syntax and rhetorical figures, are recognized by Van Dijk as relevant formal structures in CDA. I will offer some insights into how some rhetorical figures and syntactic structures are used to generate an impression on the reader. I will also offer a brief analysis on how quotation marks are used in newspapers in order to emphasize some words, propositions or ideas. To avoid repetition, I will not be analyzing topoi, although Van Dijk points out that they also have a formal significance and dimension.

Sentence syntax

Syntax refers to the structure of sentences in language and to the way words are combined. In the articles that I analyzed, I observed that syntax was presented in a way that implied that responsibility over certain events is placed on some actors or remains ambiguously unattributed. This happens especially through the use of passive voice in sentences. The following is an example: "7 of the 70 sub-Saharan immigrants that last night managed to enter Melilla have been injured and one of them seriously" (El País, 14). The use of passive voice in this sentence allows ambiguity around who perpetrated the violence against the immigrants. If the active voice had been used instead, the person responsible would have had to be mentioned, e.g. "This person injured 7 of the 70 immigrants that managed to enter Melilla last night". The active voice would have offered more detailed information, but the passive is preferred. The same happens in the following sentence "All the immigrants have been taken to the port of Tarifa in apparent good health" (El País, 15). There is also ambiguity in this sentence about who took the immigrants, due to the use of passive voice.

Quotation marks

These very small details in texts can also convey great meaning. Quotation marks are normally used to frame a direct or literal quotation, but they are also commonly used to suggest that the word or phrase in quotations has a different meaning to the literal, or they can be used to provide an ironic tone to a proposition, or to indicate that what is being put in quotations is false. What I observed in the articles I analyzed is that there is not a coherent

and consistent use of quotations, the criteria to use them suggests different and even contradictory things. On the one hand, they are used to suggest that the name given to a group is not a proper one, for instance as when the expression 'paperless' is put between quotations. However, the use of quotation marks in the word 'paperless' is not consistent, sometimes they are used, sometimes they are not. From what I observed most of the time, quotation marks are used as part of a strategy of positive self-representation and negative representation of the others. Quotation marks are also used to indicate a literal transcription of statements, i.e. an actual quotation, such as declarations by authorities, organizations, immigrants themselves (on the few times they speak), etc. However the criteria to use or not to use quotations marks in those situations is also unclear, and suggests that the negative representations of the Spanish authorities tend to be put between quotations marks as a way to diminish or deny their negative connotation. These are some examples of the ambiguous use of quotation marks:

> "Likewise, they demand of Fernández Díaz, that the government 'stops looking away, and therefore acting as an accomplice in the violations of human rights that take place in Morocco, Algeria or Mauritania, whose governments control and take the role of policing our borders for which you are paying'. Finally they request that he goes to the European Union with a speech and a set of proposals regarding migratory policies 'of solidarity and generosity to modify the cruel and inhuman practices that generate so much suffering and that cause the loss of lives'" (La Vanguardia, 30). At first sight, the quotation marks here, that frame the declarations of a representative of an NGO, are used because they are literal quotes. But, somehow, they also suggest that the newspaper does not agree with those opinions, and that they are not truthful, but instead a subjective interpretation. This diminishing of credit to the declarations of the NGOs is accentuated by the fact that in other articles, the declarations and opinions of representatives of the government are presented as integral parts of the article and not as quotes.

> This article, for instance, shows how some literal quotes of declarations of the government are not put in quotation marks. This is illustrative of the ambivalent use of quotations: "The Rescue Guard cancels the active search for two 'patera' shipwreck victims (…) Maritime Rescue has explained that a passive search, or, radar in a ship, will continue to operate in case anyone sees the immigrants" (EL

País, 27). It is interesting how these terms of 'passive search', which is a euphemism for ending the search, is not put into quotation marks.

"Chramti, that so many times has called and written to the Spanish press to announce his great deeds against 'Spanish colonialism', has been quiet since his accusation. (…) The lawyers of the city council of Melilla are even preparing a report against some of the henchmen of the activist. (El País, 2). The use of quotation marks in this extract is not consistent. Whereas they are used for the phrase 'Spanish colonialism' (used by the Moroccan activist), they are not when they say the word 'henchmen', which both in Spanish (secuaces) and English has negative connotations. It seems to be that the quotations are used here to discredit the declarations of Chramti, but not those of the police.

These two extracts demonstrate also how different newspapers make different use of quotation marks: "This avalanche has had such intensity that the bordering fence has suffered damage in a section of 40 meters" (El Mundo, 25). The word 'avalanche', which is metaphorical because it makes reference to a torrential influx of snow, ice or rocks, is not put into quotations marks there, or anywhere in the newspaper 'El Mundo". On the contrary, in El País, the word avalanche is sometimes put in quotation marks "They are now in Melilla to fight against this 'avalanche' " (El País 5). In this extract, El País uses the quotation marks. In this other one it does not "There were no injuries in any of the avalanches" (El País, 42). It seems to be the case that El País doubts and hesitates on the appropriateness of using this word, or the use of it differs amongst their journalists.

Rhetorical figures

Van Dijk has expressed that rhetorical figures are of importance in CDA because they are capable of encapsulating a vast amount of meaning in a few words, because they manipulate the content of a text and because they can create mental models. There are plenty of rhetorical figures, but I found that in the articles I analyzed the most common ones are metaphor, hyperbole and euphemism.

Metaphors and images

George Lakoff has been the main developer of a theory of the metaphor. He stated that the metaphor was defined as 'a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside their conventional meaning to express a similar concept" (Lakoff, 2008). Metaphors are closely interrelated to conventional (or common) linguistic images because metaphors themselves often contain images. When a reader encounters a conventional or common image, his knowledge on that convention completes the message that is trying to be transmitted about a place, a sensation, a feeling, etc. For instance, in the case of migratory issues, a conventional metaphor is one that refers to immigration in the following terms, 'The city of London is being flooded with immigrants who saturate hospitals and schools and drain resources from the welfare system'. The very metaphoric use of the word 'flood' in this sentence can unchain in the reader, a series of images that he relates to an actual literal flood, so to say, images of destruction, irruption of the normal pace of life, and inundation with large volumes of water. The use of the word 'drain' might likewise trigger in the reader images of leaking, waste and exhausting of resources. Although the reader is not likely to interpret these words in their literal meaning, the feelings the images unchain in the reader might be the same as those he would imagine himself to have in an actual flood.

In the analysis of newspapers, I found some stereotypical metaphors, like the ones that describe migration as an avalanche (a fall of large masses of snow, ice or rocks). Metaphors and images are also used in the articles to generate a particular atmosphere in the text and to develop a narrative tension. There are some metaphors that offer images of great visual impact. They describe immigrants as coming from the forest, at night, that attempt to cross during full moons. They hide in the mountains, living a primitive life. These are some of the metaphors that I found in the newspapers. They are more or less original or stereotypical:

> "All the people of Melilla would like Chramti to spend some time **behind bars**" (El País, 2). This conventional metaphor is used to mitigate the real meaning of the phrase, which is that the people would like Chramti to be imprisoned.
>
> "Mohta crossed Oujda, the border of the Alauí Kingdom, and he walked the more than 140 kilometers that separate the autonomous city. A walk of several days where he found shelter in the forests to hide from the Moroccan police,

that were **about to step on his heels.** (…) During days he waited in the close mountain of Gurugú" (El País 4). This extract is full of images like the forests, the walk and the mountain. There is also the metaphor, 'about to step on his heels', which in Spanish 'pisándole los talones' is very conventional and refers to being close behind someone.

"**The forest has its own rules**. Individual and collective. It is a place where nothing can go wrong if you want to survive. The sub-Saharans, most of them, very young, around 20 years old, are organized in units that they call ghettos. They are little groups separated by nationalities. (…) 'We divide the different tasks. Some go down to the village for some food and money. Others go and look for water, which is very hard to find. Some go and look for the firewood.' (…) It is hard to talk to them about concrete times, concrete figures. The same fact for some happened at seven am and for others at ten. (…) They don't understand the obsession of European journalists to count it all" (El País, 12). This extract contains a metaphor that gives life to the forest, and it suggests that the immigrants are living in a parallel society, which is a communal society, harmonic, where time and numbers do not matter. The extract is very rich in images and recreates an atmosphere of timeless, primitive life.

- "The police first found a young man of sub-Saharan origin hidden in fetal position in the trunk of the car" (La Vanguardia, 7). This image creates an impression of the innocence and fragility of the immigrant.

- "In these type of matters you have two options 'whether **you grab the bull by the horns** or problems increase'" (La Vanguardia, 49). This conventional metaphor in Spanish means that the difficult situation has to be faced. In this particular context, it also creates the sensation that the savage, the feral has to be tamed. It could work as an allusion to the immigrant.

- "Spain is looking out for the protection of its interests and in that end, the government is **extending a hand** to Morocco" (La Vanguardia, 52). The conventional metaphor denotes cordiality and amicability.

- "**Canned** for hours in the trunk of a car" (ABC 13). This metaphorical sense of the word 'canned' generates an impression of immigrants being in an extremely small place and therefore, triggers an image of their desperation.

- "**Daughters of the sea**", (ABC, 57). This metaphorical expression is ambiguous, appearing in the headline of an article that refers both to the

'pateras' and to female immigrants. The metaphor is a powerful trigger of images.

Hyperboles

Cano defines the hyperbole as "a form of extremity or excess that either magnifies or minimizes some real state of affairs or facts" (Cano, 2009: 27). Hyperboles in the articles I analyzed exaggerate the strength, the generosity, the braveness, the loyalty and the suffering of Civil Guards, the vulnerability of immigrants, the cruelty of smugglers, or the impact of immigration. They also overemphasize and inflate the aggression, the violence, the immorality and the eccentric nature of the behavior of immigrants. They are found in all the four newspapers. Some of them are:

> "Melilla has suffered this Tuesday an episode of extreme migratory pressure with groups that reached up to 300 immigrants" (La Vanguardia, 23). This hyperbole, which refers to the migratory pressure as 'extreme', exaggerates the degree of pressure the border is suffering to a point that it suggests a state of emergency.
> "Security forces are in a state of 'maximum alert' given the possibility of new assaults" (ABC, 49). The words 'maximum alert' exaggerate the level of risk, perhaps to generate feelings of fear.
> "The government discusses with Rabat how to stop the massive arrival of immigrants" (El País, 3).
> "The amputation of the statue of Estopiñán has caused an authentic shock in Melilla" (El País, 3).
> "The Civil Guard does not hit us but the Moroccans do. A lot. Without stopping. As soon as they grab you they hit you" (El País, 13). This statement quoted in the press from the declaration of an immigrant magnifies the degree of violence from Moroccans to immigrants.

Euphemisms

A euphemism can be defined as the substitution of a potentially offensive word, which may suggest something unpleasant, with a tame or inoffensive one. They are fairly common in the newspapers I analyzed. Most of them are used to hide actions that can be the object of

questioning or criticism due to their violent or unethical character. Some of the other ones I found are used for the purpose of political correctness. They also serve the purpose of reinforcing a positive self-representation and negative representation of the other. Some of the euphemisms I identified are as follows:

"Melilla returns to Morocco the immigrants that entered as Kamikazes" (El Mundo, 16): Although the expression 'deport', which would be the accurate one in this case is also used in the press, I observed a tendency to favor the use of words such as 'return' or 'repatriate', that have a less negative connotation and that do not have this semantic content of the use of force.

"In Melilla the immigrants were sheltered in the CETI and this Monday a dossier will be started for them" (ABC: 20): The use of the word 'sheltered', that has a very positive connotation, of being given protection and care, is actually here substituting for words with a more direct or neutral connotation such as 'sent to', 'put in'.

"The ship Alkaid and the vessel Hermes of the Red Cross have participated in the rescue of the 'patera' " (ABC, 43). I have reflected before on how the word rescue is continuously misused within the newspapers, and stories about deportation are depicted as 'rescues'. As a euphemism, the word 'rescue' here, and in plenty of other articles in all the four newspapers, is substituting for words such as 'intercepted', 'captured' or 'detained'.

"Many of them claim that they managed to reach Spanish soil but that the Civil Guard made them go back across the border. The Spanish authorities deny it emphatically" (El País, 12). The use of the phrase 'made them go back across the border' is used instead of the stronger word 'deport'.

"The intervention of the Spanish and Moroccan security forces on one side or the other of the border allowed them to reject an immense majority, but about 70 managed to avoid the controls" (EL País, 14): the use of the word 'intervention' is euphemistic and vague, in this context it might be an imprecise and mild way to refer to 'the use of force'.

"The 17 survivors are deprived of freedom" in the CIE of Barranco Seco" (El País, 20): in Spanish, the expression 'privar de la libertad' is a fairly common euphemistic one, in reality it means 'imprisoned' or 'locked up'.

"Maritime Rescue has explained that the active search with rescue equipment by sea and by air, will be suspended tomorrow. Nevertheless, they will maintain a passive

search with a radio-ship, in case somebody spots the immigrants" (El País, 27): The expression 'passive search' is a polite way of saying that the active search will stop, and passive search simply means the routine use of radar.

"They were registered there, they put their personal belongings in a sealed bag and they were made to wear 'immobilizing belts' on their wrists, according to the report." (La Vanguardia, 4): the expression 'immobilizing belts' is put between quotations, which suggests that it was taken from the report they refer to, however, it is still a euphemism for handcuffs.

"In recent declarations to journalists, Imborda has requested a reform to the current Foreigner's Law, enabling the authorities to be able to react promptly and efficiently with the paperless, like the ones that confronted the Civil Guards with sticks and knives" (La Vanguardia: 14): In this case the phrase 'react promptly and efficiently with the paperless' is substituting for the word 'deport'.

"The police arrested 19 people in random controls in fishing and sporting ports and airdromes" (La Vanguardia, 18): 'random controls' is substituting for the word 'raids', which has a more negative connotation.

Euphemisms are frequently used in the articles I analyzed to hide the real nature of the dynamics of the border, which are very violent and where the use of force is frequent. These euphemisms soften the image of the strategies used by the Spanish authorities to control the border. They are also seemingly used to suggest generosity or kindness from the Spanish authorities towards the immigrants in certain situations.

Some differences between newspapers

All of the four newspapers that I analyzed, 'El País', 'La Vanguaridia', 'El Mundo' and 'ABC', offer the reader more or less the same topics and framings about the border, border management and border events, and transmit the same impressions and understandings on the main actors that interact in the border. All the newspapers offer a general construction of the immigrant as criminal, of the border as an absolute entity that should not be subject to questioning, and of the Civil Guard as the actor that protects the order, the security and the harmony of potentially threatening actors such as the immigrant and the trafficker. All newspapers seem to agree with this discourse that claims that immigrants are being trafficked. On very few occasions, the press offers a space to those who voice concerns over

the way the border is managed. Any attempt to deconstruct this reductionist and distorted understanding of the nature of the dynamics of the border is suppressed. The press does not seem to give credit to these critical voices, because the general outline of the news articles prioritizes the perspective of the authorities, which is in turn, represented as the valid perspective. As I mentioned before, the stories and voices of migrants themselves are not there, and most accounts on border events are not comprehensive. They concentrate on those incidents that reinforce a general positive depiction of the self, and a negative of the other.

Yet, there are some mild differences that are necessary to discuss. First of all, in formal terms, 'El País' seems more concerned with generating an emotional and dramatic tone in the recounts about the border. This newspaper is particularly prone to generating atmospheres and narrative lines that generate an emotive interpretation of the event. Many of the articles I analyzed in El País, end in very dramatic ways, with expressions and phrases such as "I will call my baby Victoria" (which in Spanish means victory) (El País, 24). A pregnant immigrant is quoted as saying this at the end of an article, after explaining how she managed to survive the shipwreck of a patera. In this newspaper there are also plenty of expressions like this one used to contextualize a fatal accident of a 'patera': "It was a dark night of a crescent moon and a quiet sea" (El País, 22). This dramatic quality of the texts, may serve the purpose of making the article more interesting and attractive to the reader and also to increase the level of tension.

On the other hand, "La Vanguardia" adopts a more neutral tone and has a tendency to quote legal arguments and authorities. Although immigrants were never interviewed in the articles I analyzed in 'La Vanguardia', and it did not include brief quotations from declarations of immigrants as El País does, it does sometimes give room to declarations of representatives of NGOs. These declarations often denounce the practices of the Spanish government in the border as inhumane. La Vanguadia, however does not offer an analysis of what NGOs declare.

"El Mundo" is also characterized by the use of a neutral tone in its recounts of the border and border events. It also offers long, explanatory articles that frequently end with a recount on how the Spanish authorities and the Red Cross assisted immigrants in 'a rescue'. Similar accounts can also be found in ABC. Finally, ABC uses a much more laconic tone, with brief

recounts on border events and often very few details. Most headlines in ABC feature the word 'rescue'.

What is said through what is absent

As I mentioned before, discourse expresses messages, conveys meaning and information, generates understandings, imaginaries and constructions on social and political events, and produces a reality not only through what it says but also through what it does not say. This is what Foucault refers to when stating that in discourse, there is 'the repressive presence of what it does not say' (Foucault, 1972: 28). I found that in the newspapers there are enormous gaps and intervals, and although I have reflected on these omissions before, I will summarize them here in a few, brief points:

- None of the 4 newspapers I analyzed ever presents a counter discourse to the dominant one that insists on the fact that immigrants are being unwillingly trafficked, rescued by the Spanish Civil Guard, or on the one that emphasizes humanitarian and heroic actions of the Civil Guard.
- There is a general absence of opinion columns that criticize this approach towards border management, and offers alternative views to the dynamics on the border. Only a few NGO representatives are quoted expressing disapproval of this treatment, and there is not a serious debate on their considerations.
- When recounting border events, official versions are not contrasted with those of immigrants, witnesses or the general population.
- There is not a call for justice in the wide, broad and authentically humanitarian sense of the word. Justice is presented as a privilege of some and yet there is no-one in the press asking who is responsible for the deaths, mistreatment, injuries and psychological abuse immigrants are often subjected to, nor do they seem to ask anything in regards to what the judicial consequences of those responsible for these situations should be.
- There is seemingly not a human rights perspective that offers a serious and balanced assessment of border events.
- There are no biographies, no life stories, and no personal backgrounds that humanize and individualize immigrants. Immigrants are just that, they have no

opportunity to explain what motivated them to migrate, and what circumstances prompted this decision.

- Never, in any of the newspapers I analyzed, is there an attempt to deconstruct the representation of the smuggler as a criminal and a trafficker. Because they, like immigrants, are denied a voice, and they are regarded with even harder disdain, there is no opportunity to think of them as a heterogeneous group of people who get involved in that activity, as a consequence of a multi-factorial situation. There is no possibility to regard them as people who offer a service and charge for it, when this is in fact the case.

- Despite the fact that many NGOs have denounced the bad conditions of CETIS and CIES, and that they have discussed things such as psychological abuse, sexual harassment, lack of proper facilities, food, water, security and information, none of the newspapers I analyzed seem to offers stories that inform the general public about this situation and then debate it.

- There is not a real, comprehensive, serious and engaged journalist practice in regards to immigration in these newspapers. As a consequence, there is not a serious debate over the many ethical, moral and humanitarian aspects of the border's management.

Conclusions

The Critical Discourse Analysis I performed of the articles published in the newspapers 'El País', 'La Vanguardia', 'El Mundo' and 'ABC' about the border and border events allowed me to observe that the border is represented as a site of great national and supranational strategic importance. The materiality of the border, expressed in the physical barriers like the fence, the presence of the Civil Guard, or the actions they perform to control the influx of immigrants; is represented as imbued with the symbolic, allegorical and metaphorical nature of a border, that reflects the contemporary understanding of the relationships between Spain and Morocco, between Europe and Africa, between the north and the south, between an 'us' and a 'them'.

The border is constructed in the press as a sacred institution. Law is portrayed as the source of its legitimacy. The border is depicted as necessary to ensure harmony, security and well-being. Because there are actors who defy the sacredness of this institution, the border is

depicted as a site of great chaos and elevated levels of migratory pressure, and it is a scenario where control and power are disputed, and some are clearly disadvantaged in this dispute. In the articles I analyzed, there are plenty of recounts on failed or successful attempts to cross. These recounts provide a panorama on how those who believe themselves to have the legitimacy to dictate first, the existence of the border, and second, the rules that define the nature of its dynamics, collide with those who perceive the border as an illegitimate obstacle that restricts their options in life, that denies them the possibility to decide where to live. These collisions are depicted as full of tensions, apprehensiveness and abnormal stress.

In this depiction of the border as a site of distress and agitation, nominal and predicational strategies are used in the press to depict some as responsible for the chaos and violence; the immigrants, the smugglers and often, the Moroccan government. And to construct others as lawful and legitimate agents who struggle to secure the border and return it to a state of quietness and calmness; the Civil Guards, the Spanish Government and the European Union. Argumentative strategies are also used to construct an explanation of the attempts to irregularly cross the border based on reasons such as criminal intentions or stubbornness. On the other hand, the press offers arguments that explain the need to secure the border for security reasons or to comply with the law. As I reflected earlier, these constructions, representations and imaginaries featured in the narratives about the border, about the actors interacting there, and the dynamics that take place, are reinforced by the use of semantic and formal structures that provide more or less specificity about the development of events in the border. They also use certain heavily loaded words to discuss the border, or that alter the syntax of sentences, for example, to hide the agency or responsibility of Civil Guards in violent events.

As far as the journalistic practice of each of these newspapers goes, as I reflected before, there are no significant differences between them in terms of how they narrate, depict and construct narratives about the border, border events and the actors interacting there. The differences I did find between the newspapers have to do with formal aspects of how texts are organized, different degrees of abundance in the information presented, or the tone and style of the articles. From the articles I read, I observed that the journalistic practice of these newspapers in terms of how they discuss these issues is not very rigorous or comprehensive. It does not contrast official versions with those of immigrants or other actors, and it does not present a critical stance towards border and border practices.

From my analysis I can equally conclude that in general terms, the way the border and border events are narrated, and the constructions generated around the main actors on the border, reflect a general discourse that entails a positive representation of the self and a negative of the other, in which the self is depicted as 'good' and worthy of a secured border, and the 'other' as unlawful and his claims towards a freer transit in the border as non-legitimate.

Finally, I believe that these representations found in the press that I analyzed resonate a general discourse implying that immigration is undesirable, and that the control of the border is necessary to maintain a secure, prosperous and harmonic Spain and Europe. This reproduction in the press of a discourse very much widespread in Spanish society, can in turn work as a source, among many, of legitimization of border practices.

Bibliography

AIMC, *Estudio General de Audiencias 2013*. Madrid, 2013.

Alscher, Stefan. *Knocking at the Doors of" Fortress Europe": Migration and Border Control in Southern Spain and Eastern Poland*. Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2005.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (New Edition)*. Verso, 2006.

Atkinson, Dwight, Hanako Okada, and S. Talmy. "Ethnography and discourse analysis." *Continuum companion to discourse analysis* (2011): 85-100.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. "Discourse in the Novel." *The Novel: an Anthology of Criticism and Theory 1900–2000* (1935): 481-510.

Bakhtin, M. Mikhail Mikhailovich. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. No. 1. University of Texas Press, 1981.

Bell, Allan, and Peter Garrett, eds. *Approaches to media discourse*. Wiley-Blackwell, 1998.

Bell, Allan. "The discourse structure of news stories." *Approaches to media discourse* (1998): 64-104.

Boke, Karin. "Die ''Invasion." *Die Sprache der Migrationsdiskurse: Das Reden uber die 'Auslander'in Medien, Politik und Alltag* (1997): 164-93

Boudin, Michael. "Antitrust Doctrine and the Sway of Metaphor." *Geo. LJ* 75 (1986): 395.

Brockmeier, Jens, and Rom Harré. "Problems and promises of an alternative paradigm." *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self, and culture* (2001): 39-58.

Bruner, Jerome S. *Acts of meaning*. Harvard University Press, 1990.

Bruner, Jerome. "Life as narrative." *Social research* (1987): 11-32.

Calhoun, Craig. *Social theory and the politics of identity*. Blackwell, 1994.

Cano Mora, Laura. "All or nothing: a semantic analysis of hyperbole." (2009).

Carling, Jørgen. "Migration control and migrant fatalities at the Spanish‑African borders." *International Migration Review* 41.2 (2007): 316-343.

Carpentier, Nico, and Benjamin De Cleen. "Bringing discourse theory into media studies: The applicability of discourse theoretical analysis (DTA) for the study of media practises and discourses." *Journal of language and politics* 6.2 (2007): 265-293.

Castells, Manuel. *The rise of the network society: The information age: Economy, society, and culture*. Vol. 1. Wiley. com, 2011.

Chilton, Paul. ""La plaie qu'il convient de fermer…": Les métaphores du discours raciste." *Journal of pragmatics* 21.6 (1994): 583-619.

Chomsky, Noam. "Explaining language use." *Philosophical Topics* 20.1 (2008): 205-231.

Chomsky, Noam, and Edward S. Herman. *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. Random House, 2010.

Cunningham, Hilary. "Nations rebound?: crossing borders in a gated globe." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11.3 (2004): 329-350.

Dal Lago, Alessandro. *Non-persone: l'esclusione dei migranti in una società globale*. Feltrinelli Editore, 2004.

De Cillia, Rudolf, Martin Reisigl, and Ruth Wodak. "The discursive construction of national identities." *Discourse & Society* 10.2 (1999): 149-173.

De Genova, Nicholas, and Ana Yolanda Ramos-Zayas. *Latino crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the politics of race and citizenship*. Routledge, 2004.

Dematteis, Giuseppe, Francesca Governa, and Ignazio Vinci. "La territorializzazione delle politiche di sviluppo. Un'applicazione del modello SLoT alla Sicilia." *Archivio di studi urbani e regionali* (2004).

Diaz-Bone, Rainer, et al. "The field of Foucaultian discourse analysis: Structures, developments and perspectives." *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* (2008): 7-28.

Driessen, H. *On the Spanish-Moroccan frontier: A study in ritual, power, and ethnicity*. New York/Oxford (1992).

Eco, U. C. O. *The limits of interpretation*. Vol. 869. Indiana University Press, 1994.

El Refaie, Elisabeth. "Metaphors we discriminate by: Naturalized themes in Austrian newspaper articles about asylum seekers." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5.3 (2001): 352-371.

Ericson, Richard Victor, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet BL Chan. *Negotiating control: A study of news sources*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989.

Fairclough, N., and R. Wodak. "Critical discourse analysis' in Van Dijk, TA (ed.) Discourse as social interaction (Discourse studies: a multidisciplinary introduction, Volume 2)." (1997).

Fairclough, Norman, Jane Mulderrig, and Ruth Wodak. "Critical discourse analysis." *Discourse Studies: a multidisciplinary introduction* (2011): 357-378.

Fairclough, Norman. "Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis." *Discourse & Society* 3.2 (1992): 193-217.

Fairclough, Norman. *Language and power*. Pearson Education, 1989.

Fairclough, Norman. "Media discourse." (1995).

Fernández, Eva Samaniego. *La traducción de la metáfora*. 1996.

Ferrer-Gallardo, Xavier. "The Spanish–Moroccan border complex: Processes of geopolitical, functional and symbolic rebordering." *Political Geography* 27.3 (2008): 301-321.

Flockhart, Trine. "'Complex socialization': A framework for the study of state socialization." *European Journal of International Relations* 12.1 (2006): 89-118.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & punish*. Random House of Canada, 1977.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Random House Digital, Inc., 1980.

Foucault, Michel. "The archaeology of knowledge, trans. AM Sheridan Smith." *London: Tavistock* (1972).

Foucault, Michel. "The history of sexuality, Vol. 1." (1978).

Fowler, Roger. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Vol. 20. London: Routledge, 1991.

Gabrielatos, Costas, and Paul Baker. "Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005." *Journal of English Linguistics* 36.1 (2008): 5-38.

Gans, Herbert J. *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek, and Time*. Northwestern Univ Press, 1979.

Gee, J. "Foreword: A discourse approach to language and literacy." *Changing literacies* (1997): 1-3.

Geertz, Clifford. "Blurred genres: The refiguration of social thought." *The American Scholar* 49.2 (1980): 165-179.

Goffman, Erving. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press, 1974.

Gottdiener, Mark. *Postmodern semiotics: Material culture and the forms of postmodern life*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.

Hajer, Maarten, and Wytske Versteeg. "A decade of discourse analysis of environmental politics: achievements, challenges, perspectives." *Journal of environmental policy & planning* 7.3 (2005): 175-184.

Harré, Rom, and Grant Gillett. *The discursive mind*. Sage, 1994.

Harvey, David. "Justice, nature and the geography of difference." (1996): 19-45.

Holliday, Adrian. "Small cultures." *Applied linguistics* 20.2 (1999): 237-264.

Holliday, Adrian. *Doing & writing qualitative research*. Sage, 2007.

Jäger, Siegfried. *Die vierte Gewalt: Rassismus und die Medien*. Duisburger Institut für Sprach-und Sozialforschung, 1993.

Jenner, Bryan, and Stefan Titscher, eds. *Methods of text and discourse analysis: in search of meaning*. Sage, 2000.

Laclau, Ernesto. "Metaphor and social antagonisms." *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (1988): 249-57.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago press, 2008.

Lankshear, Colin, et al. *Changing Literacies. Changing Education Series*. Open University Press, 47 Runway Road, Levittown, PA 19057, 1997.

McCombs, M. E., and David Evatt. "Issues and attributes: Exploring a new dimension in agenda setting." *Communicacion y Sociedad* 8.1 (1995): 7-32.

Miller, Don. "The politics of metaphor." *Theory, Culture & Society* 23.2-3 (2006): 63-65.

Nesler, Mitchell S., et al. "The Effect of Credibility on Perceived Power1." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 23.17 (1993): 1407-1425.

Newman, David. "The lines that continue to separate us: borders in ourborderless' world." *Progress in Human Geography* 30.2 (2006): 143-161.

Nyers, Peter. "No one is illegal between city and nation." *Studies in social justice* 4.2 (2011): 127-143.

Peñamarín, Cristina. "El análisis de textos en una nueva clave. Discursos e imágenes sobre la inmigración en EL PaíS." *CIC Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación* 3 (1997): 145.

Perkmann, Markus, and Ngai-Ling Sum, eds. *Globalization, regionalization, and cross-border regions*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Quinn, Naomi. "The cultural basis of metaphor." *Beyond metaphor: The theory of tropes in anthropology* (1991): 56-93.

Reisigl, Martin, and Ruth Wodak. *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. Routledge, 2000.

Rodríguez, Encarna Gutiérrez. "Reconstruir la frontera o dibujar nuevos paisajes: sobre la materialidad de la frontera." *Política y sociedad* 36 (2001): 85-95.

Rose, Nikolas, and Peter Miller. *Governing the present: administering economic, social and personal life*. Polity, 2013.

Sacks, Sheldon. "On metaphor." (1979).

Santa Ana, Otto. "Like an animal I was treated': Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse." *Discourse & Society* 10.2 (1999): 191-224.

Simon, Julien. "Irregular transit migration in the Mediterranean: facts, figures and insights." *TRANSIT MIGRATION* (2006): 25.

Slocum‑Bradley, N. I. K. K. I. "The Positioning Diamond: A Trans‑Disciplinary Framework for Discourse Analysis." *Journal for the theory of social behaviour* 40.1 (2010): 79-107.

Strauss, Anselm L. *Mirrors and masks: The search for identity*. Transaction publishers, 1997.

Taylor, Charles. *Interpretation and the sciences of man*. Springer Netherlands, 1974.

Vaara, Eero, Janne Tienari, and Risto Säntti. "The international match: Metaphors as vehicles of social identity-building in cross-border mergers." *Human Relations* 56.4 (2003): 419-451.

Van Dijk, Teun A. *Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. Sage Publications, Inc, 1987.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Discourse analysis as ideology analysis." *Language and peace* 17 (1995): 33.

Van Dijk, Teun A., ed. *Discourse as social interaction*. Vol. 2. Sage, 1997.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. *Elite discourse and racism*. Sage Publications, Inc, 1993.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Handbook of discourse analysis: Dimensions of discourse." (1985).

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. *Macrostructures: An interdisciplinary study of global structures in discourse, interaction, and cognition*. L. Erlbaum Associates, 1980.

Van Dijk, Teun A. *News as discourse*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, 1988.

Van Dijk, T. (2000) "New (s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach". En Cottle, S. (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media.* Philadelphia: Open University Press; 33-49.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "On the analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration." *The semiotics of racism. Approaches to critical discourse analysis* (2000): 85-104.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Pragmatic macro-structures in discourse and cognition." *CC* 77 (1977): 99-113.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus, and Teun Adrianus Van Dijk. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Semantic macro-structures and knowledge frames in discourse comprehension." *Cognitive processes in comprehension* (1977): 3-32.

van Dijk, Teun Adrianus. *Some aspects of text grammars: A study in theoretical linguistics and poetics*. Vol. 63. Mouton, 1972.

Van Dijk, Teun Adrianus, Walter Kintsch, and Teun Adrianus Van Dijk. *Strategies of discourse comprehension*. New York: Academic Press, 1983.

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Text and context: Explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse." (1980).

Villalobos, C. "Los inmigrantes y la delincuencia en prensa: Una Imagen distorsionada." *Grupo de Investigación en Comunicación y Cultura* (2003).

Wittgenstein, Ludwig, and Marion Cumming. *Philosophical investigations*. Vol. 255. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958.

Wodak, Ruth. "Critical discourse analysis." *Sage, London* (2004): 197-213.

Wodak, Ruth. "Language, power and identity." *Language Teaching* 45.02 (2012): 215-233.

Wodak, Ruth. "The discourse-historical approach." *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2001): 63-94.

Wodak, Ruth. "The Politics of Exclusion: The Haiderisation of Europe." *Diskursiver Wandel*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010. 355-373.

Newspapers references

EL PAIS

1. Marruecos manifiesta la Buena relación con España mejorando las Fronteras, 26 May 2013
2. El amo de la frontera de Melilla, 23 Nov 2012
3. Detenido en Marruecos el responsable de los asaltos a los Peñones Españoles, 19 Nov 2012
4. El viaje de Touré Choca con la valla, 29 Oct 2012
5. Más de un millar de Personas esperan al otro lado de la valla para cruzar a Melilla, 17 Oct 2012
6. Cien inmigrantes saltan a Melilla durante una incursión en masa a plena luz del día, 16 Oct 2012
7. Muere ahogado un bebé en Melilla al hundirse una patera con 13 inmigrantes, 8 Oct 2012
8. Una patera con 13 inmigrantes llega a la costa de Alicante, 11 Sep 2012
9. El viaje de los inmigrantes a España, 3 Sep 2012
10. Frontera. España tiene una línea caliente en el sur, pero ahora quieren levantar otra aduana en el Ebr, 30 Sep 2012
11. Cientos de activistas marroquíes fuerzan el cierre de la frontera con Melilla, 22 Sep 2012
12. Saltar la valla es gratis y no tengo dinero para entrar en patera, 26 Aug 2012
13. La última noche en el gueto, 25 Aug 2012
14. Siete heridos entre los 70 inmigrantes que entraron anoche en Melilla, 14 May 2013
15. 15. España y Marruecos rescatan a 94 inmigrantes en 10 pateras en el Estrecho, 22 Apr 2013
16. Rescatados 31 'sin papeles', entre ellos un bebé, de cuatro embarcaciones a la deriva, 8 Apr 2013
17. Una ONG denuncia la entrega ilegal de inmigrantes desde Melilla a Marruecos, 16 Mar 2013
18. Dos desaparecidos en el naufragio de una patera en el Estrecho, 16 Mar 2013
19. La juez culpa del naufragio a la patera y no ve responsabilidad en la Guardia Civil, 13 Mar 2013
20. Una patera con 43 subsaharianos llega a la isla de El Hierro, 28 Dec 2012
21. Los 17 supervivientes del bote arrollado por una patrullera serán expulsados, 11 Jan 2013

22. Una avería de la patrullera de rescate provocó el choque mortal con una patera, 17 Dec 2012

23. Rescatados 11 sin papeles en dos lanchas hinchables en el estrecho de Gibraltar, 2 Dec 2012

24. Un compañero me salvó tirando de mi camiseta. Ahora está muerto, 29 Oct 2012

25. La ola de pateras deja 23 muertos y decenas de desaparecidos, 27 Oct 2012

26. Se agarraban desesperados a la balsa, 26 Oct 2012

27. Salvamento suspende la búsqueda activa de dos náufragos de una patera, 20 Sep 2012

28. El juez decreta la expulsión de los diez rescatados en una patera en Alicante, 8 Jul 2012

29. Rescatados cuatro indocumentados de una patera de juguete, 18 Jun 2012

30. Más de un millar de personas esperan al otro lado de la valla para cruzar a Melilla, 17 Oct 2012

31. La inmigración y el lenguaje, 16 Jun 2013

32. Bronca en Melilla tras acoger el líder de la oposición a 30 inmigrantes en su casa, 27 Apr 2012

33. Los centros de detención someten a los inmigrantes a aislamiento prolongado, 24 Mar 2013

34. Uno de cada cinco españoles aprueba la expulsión de los 'sin papeles', 30 Oct 2012

35. Los españoles me dijeron que iba a Melilla y me entregaron a Marruecos, 6 Sep 2012

36. El rey Baltasar tiene orden de expulsión, 3 Jan 2013

37. Un inmigrante se convierte en asiento de coche para entrar en Melilla, 24 Sep 2012

38. Necesitamos contactar con nuestras familias para que se queden tranquilas, 29 Sep 2012

39. El Ejército 'ocupa' Isla de Tierra, 7 Sep 2012

40. Los sin papeles necesitarán seis meses de padrón para tener médico gratis, 1 Sep 2012

41. Salvamento suspende la búsqueda activa de dos náufragos de una patera, 20 Sep 2012

42. 60 inmigrantes llegan a Melilla tras otro asalto masivo a la valla,19 Aug 2012

43. Los irregulares de Aznar, 31 Jan 2004

LA VANGUARDIA

1. Desarticulada una red dedicada a la regularización fraudulenta de inmigrantes. Ofrecían matrimonios de conveniencia o reagrupación familiar a cambio de dinero, 19 Jun 2012

2. Sorprendido un inmigrante que pretendía entrar en España agazapado en las hélices de un ferry, 09 Jun 2013

3. La Guardia Civil rescata en Melilla a tres subsaharianos ocultos en dobles fondos de dos vehículos, 7 Jun 2013

4. Un total de 1.300 extranjeros pasaron por el CIE de Murcia en 2012, 28 May 2013

5. Más de 30 detenidos desde enero en Melilla por ocultar inmigrantes en dobles fondos para atravesar la frontera, 26 May 2013

6. Interceptados diez inmigrantes en una patera cerca de Melilla y otros tres en el doble fondo de un coche en la frontera, 24 May 2013

7. La Policía salva de asfixiarse a dos inmigrantes abandonados en un coche en Melilla por un traficante de personas, 21 May 2013

8. PSOE pedirá a Fernández Díaz que explique por qué se están produciendo entradas masivas de inmigrantes a Melilla, 15 May 2013

9. Un policía y un guardia civil heridos en Melilla por un traficante de seres humanos tras ser descubierto en la frontera, 14 May 2013

10. Detenido un marroquí por abandonar un coche en Melilla con un inmigrante oculto en un doble fondo, 10 May 2013

11. Abandonan a un inmigrante atrapado en el hueco de un coche tras superar el control policial de la frontera de Melilla, 9 May 2013

12. Vivas apoya a Imbroda para cambiar la ley y poder expulsar de inmediato a los inmigrantes violentos, 06 May 2013

13. El detenido en Murcia como presunto islamista admite que habló con su ex cuñado, pero desconoce su vinculación con AQMI, 1 May 2013

14. El presidente de Melilla pide la devolución inmediata de los inmigrantes violentos tras herir a guardias civiles, 22 Apr 2013

15. Descubren a 30 inmigrantes ocultos en coches en lo que va de año en Melilla, más que en todo 2012, 13 Apr 2013

16. Detenidas seis personas por transportar a los inmigrantes que llegaron a la Playa de La Laja (Gran Canaria), 12 Apr 2013

17. Dos detenidos acusados de pedir a una trabajadora marroquí 1.500 euros para realizar la contratación, 10 Apr 2013

18. La Policía detiene a 19 personas en controles aleatorios en puertos deportivos, pesqueros y aeródromos, 16 Mar 2013

19. Atendidos dos inmigrantes por inhalación de humo tras ser descubiertos en un doble fondo de un coche, 14 Mar 2013

20. La policía impide un nuevo asalto a la valla de Melilla,13 Mar 2013

21. Un traficante de seres humanos huye a Marruecos cuando iban a inspeccionar su vehículo en Melilla,12 Mar 2013

22. La Apdha informa de que casi 7.000 personas han atravesado la frontera sur en 2012, tan solo 150 más que en 2011, 12 Mar 2013

23. Melilla vive este martes una "extrema presión" de la inmigración tras la avalancha violenta del lunes, 12 Mar 2013

24. La Policía Nacional desarticula una organización dedicada al tráfico de personas en pateras, 12 Mar 2013

25. La avalancha de subsaharianos en Melilla se salda con doce personas heridas, entre ellas dos guardias civiles, 11 Mar 2013

26. Un centenar de subsaharianos tratan de madrugada de saltar la valla que separa Melilla de Marruecos, 9 Mar 2013

27. APDH-A se concentra en Algeciras para exigir el "cierre definitivo" del CIE de La Piñera, 09 Mar 2013

28. Detenidas diez personas dedicadas supuestamente a introducir a inmigrantes en España con documentos falsos,8 Mar 2013

29. Fundación Sevilla Acoge advierte de controles de Extranjería en su propia sede en la capital, 05 Mar 2013

30. APDH-A traslada al ministro del Interior su "enorme preocupación" por las últimas muertes en el Estrecho, 05 Mar 2013

31. La Apdha convoca este martes una protesta frente a Subdelegación por las últimas muertes en El Estrecho, 04 Mar 2013

32. El Cabildo de Tenerife, premiado por su protocolo de violencia de género para mujeres inmigrantes, 25 Feb 2013

33. Más de 1.100 inmigrantes viven en asentamientos repartidos por la provincia onubense, 24 Feb 2013

34. Unos 200 inmigrantes intentan un asalto masivo a la valla de Melilla pero son todos rechazados, 09 Feb 2013

35. 35. Hasta 19 inmigrantes ocultos en nueve coches fueron interceptados en la frontera de Melilla en enero, 03 Feb 2013

36. Descubiertos ocho inmigrantes, uno de ellos menor, ocultos en un doble fondo de una furgoneta en la frontera de Melilla, 29 Jan 2013

37. La inmigración irregular a través de las costas de la Península y Baleares baja un 29%, con 3.631 llegadas, 24 Jan 2013

38. La llegada de inmigración irregular a Canarias a través de la costa cae un 50% en 2012, 24 Jan 2013

39. El número de inmigrantes muertos o desaparecidos en 2012 al intentar alcanzar la costa aumentó en 28 con respecto a 2011, 23 Jan 2013

40. Un coche con ocho subsaharianos a bordo supera a toda velocidad los controles de la frontera entre Marruecos y Melilla, 21 Jan 2013

41. La Iglesia pide acceder a los CIEs para atender espiritual y materialmente a los inmigrantes, 17 Jan 2012

42. Descubren a tres inmigrantes en dobles fondos de coche en la frontera de Melilla, dos de ellos mujeres menores de edad, 11 Jan 2013

43. Detenido por intentar introducir en Ceuta a un menor subsahariano de 15 años bajo el capó de su coche, 07 Dec 2012

44. Reforzado el control en la frontera de Melilla tras la desarticulación de una supuesta célula

terrorista en Marruecos, 27 Nov 2012

45. Prodein denuncia la expulsión ilegal de dos menores subsaharianos de Melilla y la Policía lo niega, 20 Nov 2012

46. 46. Rescatado el cadáver de un varón subsahariano en la costa de Conil, 10 Nov 2012

47. Rescatados 47 inmigrantes en tres embarcaciones en aguas del Estrecho.10 Nov 2012

48. Detenidas 35 personas por tráfico de personas y 2.200 personas rescatadas de redes de inmigración irregular, 03 Nov 2012

49. El PSOE pide a Interior medidas "inmediatas y contundentes" tras el apedreamiento de policías en Melilla, 30 Oct 2012

50. La secretaria general de Inmigración visita Ceuta para conocer "sobre el terreno" su situación migratoria, 29 Oct 2012

51. Gobierno refuerza la seguridad en la valla de Melilla por la Pascua musulmana ante la amenaza de asaltos de inmigrantes, 25 Oct 2012

52. El presidente de Melilla dice que el problema con la inmigración no es la cuantía, sino la vulnerabilidad de la frontera, 24 Oct 2012

53. Una treintena de inmigrantes asalta la valla de Melilla y un "número indeterminado" logra pasar, 22 Oct 2012

54. El PSOE pide al delegado en Melilla que no acuse a las ONG para desviar la atención de las avalanchas de inmigrantes, 18 Oct 2012

55. Detenida una mujer acusada de tratar de introducir en España a una joven, 30 Sep 2012

56. Detenido en Melilla un presunto cabecilla de una red que introdujo ilegalmente en la ciudad 225 argelinos, 18 Sep 2012

57. Andalucía Acoge ve tras los asaltos a la valla de Melilla "el claro fracaso de la externalización de fronteras", 23 Aug 2012

58. Dos guardias civiles heridos tras asaltar medio centenar de inmigrantes la valla de Melilla y 20 lograr entrar, 7 Aug 2012

59. Un grupo de 24 especialistas de la Guardia Civil llegan en agosto a Melilla para reforzar la frontera contra la inmigra, 24 Jul 2012

EL MUNDO

1. Melilla devuelve a Marruecos a 21 inmigrantes que entraron como kamikazes, 13 Feb 2013

2. Ceuta pasa de continuas entradas de inmigrantes a recibir sólo 20 en 3 meses, 17 Apr 2012

3. Seis inmigrantes cruzan el Estrecho ocultos en un camión de recogida de basuras, 11 Jun 2013

4. Sorprenden en Tarifa a un inmigrante escondido entre las hélices de un ferry, 09 Jun 2013

5. El Supremo confirma la condena a dos guardias civiles que torturaron a un inmigrante, 30 May 2013

6. El Parlament no se pone de acuerdo para lamentar la muerte de Alpha Pam, 28 May 2013

7. Prisión para un policía que pasaba inmigrantes escondidos en su coche, 28 May 2013

8. El líder de la oposición de Melilla refugia en su casa a 50 indocumentados

9. Inmigrantes en patera reciben con palos y cuchillos a la Guardia Civil en alta mar, 21 Apr 2013

10. Un muerto y catorce rescatados en dos pateras a la deriva, 17 Apr 2013

11. La Guardia Costera intercepta dos pateras con 200 inmigrantes, 12 Apr 2013

12. Melilla, noches a golpe de helicóptero, 31 Mar 2013

13. Los inmigrantes que no logran cruzar el Estrecho se quedan 'varados' en Melilla, 31 Mar 2013

14. Las redadas policiales a inmigrantes prosiguen pese a ser ilegales, dice IU, 30 Mar 2013

15. Un centenar de subsaharianos trata de saltar la valla que separa Melilla y Marruecos, 09 Mar 2013

16. Melilla devuelve a Marruecos a 21 inmigrantes que entraron como kamikazes, 13 Feb 2013

17. Ocho inmigrantes entran en Melilla acelerando un coche en el paso fronterizo, 21 Jan 2013

18. El alcalde de Sidi Ifni pide aclarar si hubo 'negligencia' con la patera de Lanzarote, 18 Dec 2012

19. Llega a Melilla una patera con 14 subsaharianos, entre ellos cuatro embarazadas, 10 Dec 2012

20. Rescatados 41 inmigrantes en seis lanchas de juguete en el Estrecho de Gibraltar, 7 Dec 2012

21. Rescatan a una inmigrante de un doble fondo en el depósito de un vehículo

22. Viajar en patera: 900 euros por persona y 200 euros más por un chaleco salvavidas, 17 Nov 2012

23. Altercados entre policías e inmigrantes en Melilla tras un nuevo asalto masivo , 26 Oct 2012

24. Varios inmigrantes logran entrar en Melilla tras un nuevo asalto a la valla, 22 Oct 2012

25. El Gobierno alerta de una 'invasión' de 'sin papeles' en Melilla tras el salto de otros cien, 16 Oct 2012

26. Un centenar de inmigrantes salta la valla de Melilla a plena luz por segundo día, 16 Oct 2012

27. Las pruebas descartan que ocho de los inmigrantes hallados en Santa Pola sean menores, 16 Oct 2012

28. Rescatados 17 inmigrantes que viajaban en dos pateras en el Estrecho de Gibraltar, 12 Oct 2012

29. Interior gastará 25 millones en el 'retorno forzoso' de inmigrantes a sus países, 09 Oct 2012

30. Muere un bebé al naufragar la patera en la que viajaba con otros 13 inmigrantes, 08 Oct 2012

31. Diez años de cárcel para el policía que extorsionaba y abusaba de inmigrantes, 03 Oct 2012

32. Descubren más de 650 artículos robados por inmigrantes en comercios de Melilla, 26 Sep 2012

33. Entrar en España convertido en el asiento de un coche, 24 Sep 2012

34. Desmantelada una banda que introducía en Ceuta inmigrantes en dobles fondos, 22 Sep 2012

35. Una treintena de inmigrantes entra en Melilla tras saltar la valla fronteriza, 21 Sep 2012

36. El mal estado de la mar impide retomar la búsqueda de los inmigrantes desaparecidos, 21 Sep 2012

37. Llega a la costa de Cartagena una tercera patera con 16 inmigrantes a bordo, 18 Sep 2012

38. Tres de los 13 inmigrantes localizados en una patera cerca de Santa Pola son menores, 11 Sep 2012

39. La Guardia Civil intercepta en aguas de Lanzarote una patera con 14 magrebíes, 08 Sep 2012

40. El Gobierno considera un éxito el desalojo del islote y las ONG opinan que es ilegal, 04 Sep 2012

41. Madrid y Rabat desalojan a 'escondidas' a los 'sin papeles' de Isla de Tierra, 04 Sep 2012

42. España y Marruecos pactan repartirse a los inmigrantes que permanecen en la isla de Tierra, 03 Sep 2012

43. Margallo destaca la ayuda de Rabat para evitar un 'efecto llamada' hacia los islotes, 03 Sep 2012

44. Nos echan porque ya no nos necesitan, 03 Sep 12

45. El Gobierno trata con Rabat cómo frenar las llegadas masivas de inmigrantes, 03 Sep 2012

46. Trasladan a Melilla a seis de los 19 inmigrantes de la Isla de Tierra, 31 Aug 2012

47. La valla de Melilla, objetivo para mil inmigrantes que esperan para saltarla, 22 Aug 2012

48. Más de 450 subsaharianos intentan entrar en Melilla y Ceuta al finalizar el Ramadán, 19 Aug 2012

49. Hallado el cadáver de una mujer que intentaba cruzar a nado el Canal de la Mancha, 13 Aug 2012

50. I denuncia 'racismo' en las redadas contra los inmigrantes, 08 Aug 2012

ABC

1. Descubren a un inmigrante argelino oculto en el casco de un ferry, 9 Jun 2 Jan 3

2. Sorprendido en Tarifa un inmigrante que pretendía entrar en España agazapado en las hélices de un ferry, 9 Jun 2 Jan 3

3. De polizón en las hélices de un ferry, Sep Jun 2 Jan 3

4. Rescatados cinco inmigrantes en una patera a la deriva en las costas de Algeciras, 18 Jun 2 Jan 3

5. Nueve inmigrantes cruzan el estrecho escondidos en un contenedor de basura, Nov Jun 2 Jan 3

6. Rescatados 28 inmigrantes a bordo de cuatro balsas en el estrecho, Nov.Jun.2 Jan 3

7. Llegada de una patera con inmigrantes a las costas españoles, 17 Jun 2013

8. Rescatan a 20 inmigrantes en el Estrecho, 4 /Jun/2013

9. Rescatados 28 inmigrantes a bordo de cuatro balsas en el Estrecho, 11 Jun 2013

10. Sorprendido en Tarifa un inmigrante que pretendía entrar en España agazapado en las hélices

de un ferry, 9 Jun 2013

11. Seis inmigrantes llegan a una playa de Ceuta y huyen por un monte sin salida, 31 May 2013

12. Rescatados siete inmigrantes a bordo de una lancha de juguete en el Estrecho de Gibraltar, 29 May 2013

13. Enlatados durante horas en el salpicadero y el maletero de un coche, 22 May 2013

14. Los Centros de Internamiento de Canarias sólo acogen a 412 inmigrantes de 11.325, 21 May 2013

15. Salto masivo en la valla de Melilla de unos 200 inmigrantes, 15 May 2013

16. Unos 70 inmigrantes entran en Melilla tras un nuevo asalto a la valla fronteriza, 14 May 2013

17. Un inmigrante magrebí interceptado en una patera este mes, 13 05 2013

18. El buen tiempo dispara la llegada de pateras, 13 May 2013

19. Rescate de un centenar de inmigrantes en alta mar, 12 May 2013

20. Una patera llega a las costas de Islas Chafarinas, frente a Marruecos, 12 May 2013 0:00

21. Interceptadas otras dos pateras con 16 inmigrantes frente a las costas almerienses, 10 May 2013

22. Rescatados 16 inmigrantes a bordo de dos pateras frente a la Bahía de Almería y El Ejido, 9 May 2013

23. Marruecos realiza redadas en la frontera con Ceuta para alejar a los inmigrantes, 06 May 2013

24. Interceptados 18 argenilos a bordo de una patera frente a la costa de carboneras, 7 May 2013

25. Rescatan a 24 inmigrantes en tres lanchas de juguete en aguas de Tarifa (Cádiz), 30 Apr 2013

26. El líder opositor en Melilla cobija en su casa a 40 irregulares. Limpiar el asedio al Congreso costó cerca de 20.000 euros, 27 Apr 2013

27. Premio político por saltar la valla de Melilla, 29 Abr 2013

28. Ocho inmigrantes rescatados a 20 millas de Tarifa, 20 Abr 2013

29. Cuatro detenidos por «enlatar» a inmigrantes, 20 Apr 2013

30. Cuatro personas han sido detenidas por ocultar a inmigrantes en los dobles fondos de 3 coches, 19 Apr 2013

31. Rescatados casi 40 inmigrantes cuando trataban de entrar en España en cuatro pateras 3 Apr 2013

32. Llegan a las costas españolas pateras con más de veinte inmigrantes por tercer día consecutivo, 27 Mar 2013

33. Localizadas tres pateras a la deriva en aguas del Estrecho, 18 Mar 2013

34. Interceptada en la isla de La Palma una patera con Dec inmigrantes de Gambia a bordo, 12 Mar 2013

35. Medio centenar de inmigrantes logra atravesar la valla fronteriza de melilla, 11 Mar 2013

36. Rescatan un segundo cadáver tras naufragar una patera en el Estrecho, 2 Mar 2013

37. Amnistía Internacional denuncia la detención «generalizada e indiscriminada» de inmigrantes,

22 Feb 2013

38. Unos 600 inmigrantes se acercan a la valla de Melilla sin consumar el intento de asalto, 15 Feb 2013

39. El juez avala la devolución a Marruecos de los inmigrantes de la patera de Lanzarote, 23 Jan 2013

40. El número de inmigrantes muertos al intentar llegar a la costa andaluza creció, 23 Jan 2013

41. Exhaustos tras una dura travesía, 11 Jan 2013

42. Rescatan a un bebé entre unas piedras en la llegada de una patera con 14 inmigrantes, 31 Dec 2012

43. Cuatro bebés entre los 62 inmigrantes rescatados en cuatro pateras en el Estrecho, 28 Dec 2012

44. Rescatan 49 inmigrantes en seis lanchas hinchables en aguas del Estrecho, 6 Dec 2012 13:46:18

45. Crece por primera vez en años el número de inmigrantes que cruza el Estrecho, 4 Dec 2012

46. Rescatados 27 inmigrantes en aguas del Estrecho, 3 Dec 2012

47. Rescatados 17 inmigrantes, entre ellos un bebé, en dos lanchas hinchables en el Estrecho, 06 Nov 2012

48. Un grupo de inmigrantes lanza piedras contra la Policía en la frontera de Melilla, 5 Nov 2012

49. Un centenar de inmigrantes logran saltar la valla de Melilla, 16 Oct 2012

50. La Guardia Civil intercepta en Cartagena tres pateras con 42 inmigrantes en menos de 24 horas, 18 Sep 2012

51. Interceptan en Melilla a 41 inmigrantes escondidos entre atracciones de feria, 12 Sep 2012

52. Soldados españoles abastecen de agua a los inmigrantes en la Isla de Tierra, 4 Sep 2012

53. Gonzalo de Benito: «Marruecos reforzará la vigilancia en el territorio previo a los islotes», 4 Sep 2012

54. Unos 160 inmigrantes intentan saltar la valla de Melilla, 3 Sep 2012

55. El Gobierno busca con Rabat frenar a las mafias de la inmigración, 3 Sep 2012

56. Suspenden la búsqueda de la patera argelina, 25 Aug 2012

57. Hijas del mar, 29 Jul 2012

Declaration of authenticity

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I am aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: Mónica Rodríguez de Luna

Date and Place: 30.jun.2013, Lyon, France

Signature: