“I believe they felt attacked.” Discursive Representation and Construction
of Interculturality in Spanish News Television.

Antonio Pineda

Universidad de Sevilla, Spain

Leonarda García-Jiménez

University of Murcia, Spain

Miquel Rodrigo-Alsina

Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain

Contact details of the authors

Antonio Pineda (corresponding author)

Faculty of Communications, University of Seville

Américo Vespucio Av. E-41092 – Seville (Spain)

Phone: +0034 954 55 96 60

Email: apc@us.es

Leonarda García-Jiménez.

Facultad de Comunicacion, University of Murcia

Campus universitario de Espinardo E-30100 – Murcia (Spain).

Phone: +0034868887246

E-mail: leonardagi@um.es

Miquel Rodrigo-Alsina

Communication Department, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona)

Roc Boronat 138 E-08018 – Barcelona (Spain)

Phone: +0034935422408

E-mail: miquel.rodrido@upf.edu

Biographical note

Antonio Pineda, Ph.D.

Associate Professor at the University of Seville (Spain). Department of Audiovisual Communication, Advertising and Literature.

Pineda has researched at several Spanish universities. His main current interests are the theoretical and empirical study of propaganda, and the relationships between ideology and the media.

Leonarda García-Jiménez, Ph.D.

Associate Professor at the University of Murcia (Spain). Department of Communication and Journalism.

Garcia-Jimenez has taught and researched in US, Spanish, Swiss and Mexican universities. She has completed more than fifty works (conferences, articles, books, etc.) in culture, communication and media theory.

Miquel Rodrigo-Alsina, Ph.D.

Professor of Communication Theories at Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona, Spain). Communication Department.

Rodrigo-Alsina is coordinator of the Audiovisual Communication research group UNICA (<http://unica.upf.edu/>). He has researched at the Research Center for Language and Semiotic Studies (Indiana University) and at the Center for the Study of Communication and Culture (Saint Louis University).

This paper discusses the representation of interculturality in the media. Interculturality, the interaction between two different cultures, has taken on greater importance in the social and human sciences. However, in the field of media communications the representation of interculturality has not received much attention. Thus, we are interested in analysing the media representation of interculturality in Spanish television news. We analyse the discursive construction of interculturality in news programs, and we go into depth as to how the conflictual kind of interculturality is represented. To achieve this, Critical Discourse Analysis is used, applying the concepts of lexicalisation, propositional structures, topics, polarisation, and focus. Results indicate that in public and private stations alike, interculturality is shown as a polarised interaction between a dominant in-group and a minority out-group, and it is defined by the status quo. However, Spanish television portrays a conflictual interculturality that is not limited to disagreement.

Keywords: Spanish news television; interculturality; critical discourse analysis

Interculturality refers to the interactive process that is produced between different cultures based on ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, or age. Interculturality is not a conciliatory theoretical concept, because it places in contact that which is culturally different. Or, in the words of Malgesini and Gimenez (1997: 207), interculturality is an ‘evolving term, a concept of which we cannot be sure will be its acceptations and principal and distinctive content in the near future.’ However, interculturality has been studied from various perspectives (Kecskes, 2012: 68-69), and its use as a noun or an adjective is becoming more frequent in multiple public discourses, as in academic texts from various disciplines including mathematics (Goñi, 2006), philosophy (Fornet-Betancourt, 2001; González R. Arnaiz, 2002), and politics (Eberhard, 2002; Fuller, 2002), just to name a few. Nevertheless, the spread of its use has not supposed its conciliation. As Demorgon (2004: 23) reminds us, ‘The very notion of the word intercultural poses several problems. It’s very easily used as an adjective. Even though it has been made into a noun using the same term or preferably

the word interculturality.’ But there is more to it than the term used, because the meaning given to the concept of interculturality is not always the same.

From a theoretical point of view, the concept of differentiation, the encounter between different groups, is relevant to interculturality: ‘Intercultural communication occurs when large and important cultural differences create dissimilar interpretations and expectations about how to communicate competently’ (Lustig and Koester, 2003: 51). From the perspective of psychology, Barrett (2008) affirms:

Interculturality, defined in this way, enables people to act as mediators among people of different cultures, and to explain and interpret different cultural perspectives. It also enables people to function effectively and to achieve interactional and conversational goals in situations where cultural otherness and difference are involved.

Interculturality is a concept that has been linked to important social transformations, to the point where it is considered as existing not only in cultural origins, but also in the processes of globalisation (García Canclini, 1999). In fact, some authors discuss the interculturalisation of the world (Demorgon, 2000) and they suggest that interculturality lies within a Third Space (Bhabha, 1994), in interstices (Silva Echeto, 2013), in hybridisations (Burke, 2010; Silva Echeto and Browni Sartori, 2004), creolisation (García Canclini, 1999), or in intermixing (Rodrigo-Alsina, 2012). In a world characterised by interculturality, it is interesting to study the phenomenon in a country that considers itself a mix of cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities: Spain.

Garcia Canclini (1995) points out that since the mid-twentieth century Latin American societies have been marked by transnational electronic communications, the global marketplace of cultural property, and migration. We could say the same thing about Spain, a country that has undergone an important transformation with respect to cultural hybridisation in recent decades. The country that was once a nation of emigrants

is already considered multi-ethnic, and has become a nation of immigration, officially recognised as such in 2000-2001 (Birls and Solé, 2004: 66). In fact, in 1981 Spain had 200,000 immigrants, compared to the millions of foreign born residents today, making it the greatest recipient of immigrants in the European Union (EU) and the second greatest in the world, after the United States, relative to the absolute number of immigrants received (Martínez Guillem, 2013: 624). In 2014 the immigrant population grew to 4.5 million people, according to data from the Spanish Statistical Office (INE) in 2014, which represents 9.7% of the total population. The predominant nationalities are Romanian and Moroccan, who represent 14.9% and 13.6% of the immigrant population (INE, 2012), followed by the UK (6.5%), Ecuador (6.4%) and Colombia (4.8%). The situation of the immigrant population in general, is rather precarious, as foreigners have an unemployment rate of 32%, higher than that of the entire EU, far from the average which is situated in 16.8% (INE, 2012).

On the other hand, there are various Spanish agencies that keep track of immigration, like the regional observatories in Tenerife, the Basque country, Andalusia and Navarra, as well as a national observatory, the Permanent Migration Observatory (OPI, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración). Even though these kinds of studies are necessary, as they provide information on a reality that does not always have a voice in the public sphere, institutional studies examining the interactions between immigrant and autochthonous populations are few and far between: as reflected in the latest report published by the OPI (2014), the analysis of intercultural relationships between immigrant populations lies outside the realm of their activities. Additionally, from the perspective of social analysis, this is not an area that has a great deal of consolidated methodology. There are no common indicators within the EU that help to consolidate this field of study (OPI, 2014: 65, 136).

If we focus on the media, similarly we find an absence of studies on the part of Spanish Public Radio and Television of content dealing with interculturality. There is also not much in the way of academic work analysing intercultural interaction in the media. The few academic approaches on the construction of intercultural communication belong to the field of cinema studies (Gordillo, 2006) and especially television (Garcia-Jimenez, Rodrigo-Alsina y Pineda, 2015; Igartua, Piñeiro y Ramos, 2012; Rodrigo Alsina et al, 2014). The scarce research on the construction of interculturality contrasts with the relevance that the analysis of the construction of the immigrant's image has had in Spain, probably one of the intercultural topics with the longest trajectory in the country (Kressova et al., 2012).

In this context, the goal of our research is to study the media discourse surrounding interculturality in Spain, offering a critical description of the devices utilised to represent and construct interculturality in Spanish media. This objective is tied to the fact that interculturality is inextricably linked to the phenomenon of communication. As Halualami and Nakayama (2013: 8) observe:

Interculturality as a metaphor and movement of power represents a form of articulation and communication that sutures into place as a homology the seemingly natural linkages between a place, group, and subjectivity . . . This notion could be productively deployed to examine the different relationships of power within and across contexts.

From this point of view, interculturality would be, in fact, a form of communication which is also a manifestation of power relations. That is why it is so pertinent to the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis—from now on CDA—which we adopt in this study. As Van Dijk points out:

One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should

describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (2008: 65).

From there derives the importance that the constructed representations of interculturality take on in different discourses. As Dervin (2012: 188) has noted, ‘what is interesting for researchers working on interculturality is to look at how representations that are presented to interlocutors (be they teachers, researchers, friends, enemies ...) are expressed and constructed.’

Although there is no doubt about the importance of how interculturality is constructed, or the role that media discourse can play in this construction, it has not always been a topic of study. It must be remembered that for some traditions, intercultural communication principally (if not exclusively) refers to interpersonal communication. We are reminded that the 1994 edition of Samovar and Porter’s well-known reader had only one reference, and a very tangential one at that, to mass communication. Similarly, intercultural interaction has been analysed in interpersonal and group contexts, more from psychological, sociological or educational perspectives (Bracci et al., 2013; Lee and Tung, 2012; Reiter and Gee, 2008; Sakuraia et al., 2010; Sharifzadeh, 2013) than from communicative perspectives (Pekerti, 2003).

Intercultural communication is related to the interaction between different cultures. It is a very broad question, for which our objective is exclusively to analyse how the media represents the intercultural interaction established between, for example, the immigrant and the autochthonous populations. Even though the concepts of interculturality and identity are usually presented as though they were interrelated (Dervin and Gao, 2012: 7), the production of studies on the representation of identities in the media (Al-Hejin, 2015; Bañon, 2002; Castelló et al., 2009; Chan, 2012; Contractor, 2012; Granados Martínez, 2013; Martín Corrales, 2002; Martínez Lirola, 2008; Meddeb, 2014; Mihelj et al., 2009; Nawar, 2014; Oleaque, 2014; Sampedro

Blanco, 2003), as well as the bibliography on diversity—for example, the MEDIVA data base (European University Institute, 2013)—or on identities—see the well-known work of Castells (1997)—contrast with the fact that research on the construction of interculturality in the media supposes a knowledge gap. On this point it is well worth it to distinguish clearly between the studies on the ‘other,’ or on other groups, or on other minorities, and the research on interculturality. Among the few studies that have specifically analysed how the media construct and/or represent the interaction between different cultures, we can cite Roy (2012), whose study analysed the press, or Dervin and Gao (2012), Kuppens and Mast (2012) and Martínez Guillem (2013), whose studies focused on television. In summary, interculturality mediated by television has not received a lot of attention. This is why we consider that our study represents a novel approach, as it attempts to fill a void by critically analysing the representation of interculturality. On the other hand, given the importance of television as a socialising agent, as well as its influence on the construction of the culture, we consider that the study of televised communication could shed light on the basic parameters of the media narrative on interculturality. Therefore our objective is to examine the representation and the construction of interculturality on television news broadcasts. Based on the theoretical framework and the research goal presented earlier, we propose the following research question:

RQ1. How is interculturality represented and constructed in Spanish TV news?

Method

In order to operationalise the way interculturality is represented on Spanish television, we determined the possible kinds of topics on intercultural communication. As a result, we formulated three macro-topics, namely:

1) *Possible interculturality*. This is based on messages that construct a friendly, possible, desirable, necessary interculturality. There is no polarised and/or subordinated Us (in-group) versus Them (out-group), but instead collaboration and coordination or, in the worst-case scenario, at least peaceful interaction.

2) *Conflictive interculturality*. In this discourse, interculturality is not feasible, and intercultural interaction is an impossible encounter between civilisations (which implies failed communication, misunderstandings, etc.). Interculturality is a polarised interaction between a dominant Us and a minority Them defined by the status quo.

3) *Unresolved interculturality*. This third macro-topic encompasses those news stories that do not fit into the other two propositions on interculturality. It addresses interculturality in a neutral, aseptic way, and the audience does not know if the intercultural encounter is possible.

The former general categories are applied in an initial screening of all the videos, in order to obtain the main percentages. In addition to this quantitative analysis, we fundamentally use the methodology of CDA, ‘a type of discourse 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’ (Van Dijk, 2008: 85). In the case of the media representation of interculturality, this methodological approach can provide us with the tools to verify if the media legitimates asymmetrical situations of power in the context of the relationship between cultures. The tools provided by CDA will help us get a glimpse of how intercultural interaction is represented, such as how the discourse on interculturality is constructed in the media and more specifically, what is the media representation of the in-group and the out-

group(s) (Van Dijk, 1995: 248-249), of Us and Them, which will be relevant to obtaining a description of the interaction between cultural groups. To achieve this we use the following analytical concepts and tools, which relate to processes and strategies of discourse:

Topics. This represents the themes that provide the discourses with global coherence, and are accounted for by the semantic macro-structures which, at the same time, derive from the propositions expressed in the text. This is on a macro level, the most general of those which we put forth in our methodology. ‘Thus, a summary or headline typically expresses some or all of the macro-propositions that form such a macrostructure’ (Van Dijk, 1995: 282). The analysis of the semantic macrostructures supposes the study ‘of global meanings, topics or themes. These are what discourses are (globally) about. . . they embody the (subjectively) most important information of a discourse. . . and perhaps most importantly, they represent the meaning or information most readers will memorize best of a discourse’ (Van Dijk, 2010: 68).

Lexicalisation. This consists of the selection of word meaning (Van Dijk, 1995: 259). On this lexical micro-level, we carry out the analysis of sentences, nouns, adjectives, etc., determining how a discourse, whose theme has been defined on a semantic structural macro-level, is constructed, keeping in mind the analysis of the nuances of the meaning (Johnson et al., 2010: 248).

Propositional framing. This is based on the assignment of certain roles to certain actors (Johnson et al., 2010: 248). In this context, an interesting aspect of propositional structures is the semantic role of propositional arguments such as Agent, Patient, Object, etc. If a social group is shown as an agent responsible for negative actions, this propositional framing is added to the negative portrait of said group. This same group can also be represented in a non-agentive, non-responsible role by being the agents of positive actions, and vice versa when We are represented as responsible agents of

positive actions, and when our negative actions are deemphasised, by assigning ourselves a more passive and less responsible role (Van Dijk, 1995: 258, 261). In conclusion, propositional framing may establish a dichotomous Us-Them relationship (Johnson et al., 2010: 252).

Conceptual polarisation. Polarisation is the tendency to make a positive presentation of Us and a negative presentation of Them, emphasising good things about Us and bad things about Them, while the importance of the bad things about Us is diminished, as well as the good things about Them (Van Dijk, 2003: 154).

Focus. This is related to the idea of background and foreground information, propositions, or parts of propositions (Van Dijk, 1995: 263). Focus can favour one point of view within a discourse, while obscuring another. As Van Dijk points out (1995: 265): ‘Thus, in a crime story we may foreground or background the information about the ethnic group membership of suspects. . .’.

The methodology used in this paper is based on a selection of specific case studies to which we apply the before-mentioned tools of analysis. However, this qualitative approach is framed within a larger research project which has quantitative elements. The cases come from a consistent sample of televised news stories which address the interaction between different cultures. The sample is drawn from a selection of newscasts from 6 television stations in Spain. The set of newscasts collected for the study comprises all those broadcast in the evening, at ‘prime time,’ on Monday, Thursday, and Sunday, between May 15th and July 15th, 2012. These two months were chosen because there was no special event occurring at the time which might have conditioned the sample. We sought a period in which news coverage would be about normal, day-to-day events, not exceptional ones. The Olympic Games in London, for example, which began on July 27, 2012 would have provided a lot more coverage of

interculturality but these news stories would have the bias of the media event that was the Olympic Games.

The six stations selected include Antena 3, Canal Sur, Telecinco, Telemadrid, La1, and TV3. Represented were broadcasts from both national (Antena 3, Telecinco, and La1) and regional television stations (Canal Sur, Telemadrid, and TV3), as well as public (Canal Sur, Telemadrid, La1, and TV3) and privately-owned stations (Antena 3 and Telecinco). All these stations offered generalist programming in Spanish, except for TV3, whose main language is Catalan. The three national stations lead in audience ranking, with market shares of 13.9% (Telecinco), 12.5% (Antena 3), and 12.2% (La1) (Kantar Media, 2012). Insofar as the sampling and coding of news stories for the analysis is concerned, two coders analysed a total of 4184 stories, excluding sports and weather forecasts. It must be pointed out that the news stories classified as “interculturality” can be thematically diverse. Regardless of the substance of the story, coded variables included whether the story had a national or international nature, set in a separate category. This was determined on the basis of the geographical domain to which the content of the news was related. “National” news were stories that referred to Spain exclusively, whereas “international” news were events that combined references to other countries (among which Spain might be included). National stories referring to foreign matters were coded as international.

From the initial number of 4184 items, 157 news clips about ‘Interculturality’ (among other relevant categories which were coded, such as ‘religion’ or ‘scientific-technological progress’) were selected as units of analysis. More specifically, the ‘Interculturality’ category considered all stories showing interaction, dialogue, communication conflicts, or misunderstandings between people with different nationalities or ethnic backgrounds.

Results

On the most general level (macro-topics regarding interculturality), the analysis of the news clips reveals a discourse that presents interculturality as a conflictual encounter. On this point, the data obtained from a previous quantitative analysis of the same sample are revealing. Data indicate that conflictive interculturality (57.3%) almost doubles possible interculturality (30.5%), while the percentage of unresolved interculturality is the lowest (12.1%)—in absolute terms, 90 news clips showed conflictive interculturality, while 48 news clips showed possible interculturality, and 19 represented unresolved interculturality. Judging from this first macro level, television as a medium seems largely uninterested in the process of intercultural communication. Yet what is more, and when it does turn to this topic, it is to present fundamentally conflictive interculturality marked by misapprehension. More specifically, the data indicate that—except in the case of Canal Sur, Andalusia’s public television station—interculturality is presented primordially as a source of conflict, reaching percentages of 17.2% for conflictive interculturality on national Spanish public television, 14% on Telecinco, and 12.7% on Madrid’s public television. While unresolved interculturality does not reach even 4% of the representations on any of the channels, possible interculturality reaches 10.1% on Spanish public television, but is very rare on other public and private stations—on private channel Antena 3, for example, it reaches barely 2.5%.

In short, globally speaking, the general panorama is that television tends to represent interculturality as conflict in almost 60% of the cases. For instance, television discourse communicates that the Gibraltar police ‘harass’ Spanish fishermen (Antena 3, 25 May 2012), that sub-Saharan Africans selling pirate CDs ‘threaten and harass’ the

Spanish police (Antena 3, 27 May 2012), or that a family of Romani/Traveller heritage controlled the drug trafficking in an area of Madrid (Telemadrid, 21 May 2012). At the same time, the representation of interculturality includes two men of Polish origin who received stab wounds when they participated in a quarrel in a Madrid neighbourhood (Telemadrid, 10 June 2012), Latin American immigrants that are portrayed as gang members who do not let the citizens 'live in peace' (Telemadrid, 25 June 2012; Antena 3, 18 June 2012), Romanian immigrants who illegally fish in the Manzanares river and harm the environment, while Madrid natives enjoy the river to cool off (Telemadrid, 24 June 2012), or a young immigrant from Mali 'destroys' a neighbourhood in Palma de Mallorca and wreaks havoc on its neighbours (Telecinco, 9 July 2012).

When, on the other hand, a peaceful intercultural encounter takes place, based on mutual understanding, this is frequently placed within the frame of the institutions: intercultural cinema festivals (La1, 17 June 2012; Canal Sur, 31 May 2012), an exhibition by a Lebanese artist (La1, 24 May 2012), an Ibero-American conference on constitutional law (Canal Sur, 17 May 2012), or the United Nations looking for young people to work for the organisation (La1, 8 July 2012). In this context, the type of interculturality constructed also depends a great deal on who the out-group is. When conflictual interculturality takes place, the minorities are usually from non-dominant nations or ethnicities (or from developing countries). Peaceful intercultural encounters are principally possible with hegemonic-type cultural groups. Not all cultures receive the same evaluation: when dealing with a minority group, those from dominant cultures or dominant countries receive more favourable coverage. In the case of the US, we can appreciate the fun atmosphere surrounding a country-western festival reported by Telemadrid on 17 June 2012 which took place in Algete, Madrid. The representation of interculturality also depends on the level of wealth and ostentation attributed to the group: a report on Telecinco (7 June 2012) almost expresses admiration for the work

ethic and thrift of the Chinese in Spain, who buy luxury cars and ‘are also starting to buy houses. In a stagnant market, the Chinese are the great hope,’ affirms the news clip. Along similar lines there is also a news item on the same channel (28 May 2012) about the Villaggio Shopping Mall in Doha (Qatar): ‘One hundred thousand square metres where luxury reigns supreme. There you can find the stuff that dreams are made of,’ and Spanish brands are present. In short, the influence and wealth of the out-group are variables that come into play when television presents them, or not, as a source of conflict. As a result, powerful countries and influential cultures are represented in possible interactions, and situations of consensus.

Taking into account the commitment CDA has with groups that suffer the symbolic violence of misrepresentation or stereotyping, to illustrate conflictual interculturality (that is, the predominant form of mediated interculturality), we critically analyse, in greater depth, two events that received media coverage on various channels. On the one hand, the arrest of an immigrant who was allegedly selling pirate copies of CDs in Madrid, and on the other the presence of Latin gangs, organised groups framed within criminality and street disturbances.

In the first case, Telecinco reports on the controversy generated when a plain clothes police officer fired warning shots while making an arrest, in conjunction with another officer, in a centric area of Madrid, Lavapiés. The two officers were arresting a sub-Saharan African who was allegedly selling pirated copies of CDs.

BROADCAST JOURNALIST: The police are handcuffing the Senegalese suspect. . . when one of his colleagues, armed with a shoe, tries to stop them. The officer feels intimidated and takes out his baton. Pay attention now, the second police officer, who is holding down the detainee, is aiming his authorised firearm. The officer with the baton continues to struggle with the immigrant, while some residents approach, throwing objects, from the balconies too. . . he fires the first warning shot into the air. . . a group of neighbours follow from a distance and the officer fires the second warning shot. . . the local government say they do not consider the use

of the firearm excessive, and among the objects thrown, some stones were found. . . It is not the first time the police have been forced to retreat from the neighbourhood.

The particular topic or semantic macro-proposition that gives this news clip unity is the idea that the police must defend themselves from the harassment of the immigrants, a theme that can be inferred from diverse, isolated propositions. Even though the news also shows two accounts of people who were presumably sub-Saharan Africans (due to their accents, they do not appear to be native Spaniards), the general semantic structure of this case of conflictive interculturality revolves around the presentation of the out-group as a threat against which it is necessary to use force. It is interesting, as well, that none of the statements favourable to the immigrants come from the Spanish, which could connote the idea that the out-group and the in-group are cultural worlds apart. This macro-proposition is reinforced by the foregrounding of the information through the conclusion of the text (Van Dijk, 1995: 265-266), which adds to the quote above: ‘Last summer, they had stones thrown at them,’ the broadcaster says referring to the police, ‘they were harassed, and resigning themselves, they put up with it.’ Also when examining the focus of the news story, it is notable that the fact that the detainee was Senegalese was placed in the foreground, clearly accentuating the involvement of an immigrant, a non-Spaniard, thus drawing a line between Us and Them.

Concerning the lexicalisation, the linguistic choices of discourse converge on the above-mentioned topic of defence from aggression. To start, the out-group is represented as a threat through expressions such as ‘a colleague, armed’ or ‘some residents approach, throwing objects.’ In counterposition, and despite the fact that it is the police who use a firearm, Telecinco makes lexical choices that result in the idea that it is law enforcement who feel threatened (‘The officer feels intimidated’). Consequently, the out-group is presented as a collective of dangerous individuals who

put the forces of law and order in check ('It is not the first time the police have been forced to retreat from the neighbourhood'). In any case, the most important term to represent the actions in the news is 'harassment,' which is mentioned by the newsreader as well as by the mayor of Madrid, Ana Botella, in fragments of statements inserted into the news, as well as by the broadcast journalist, Pedro Piqueras.

PIQUERAS: one of the police officers, there you have him, facing harassment from several people, decides to fire shots into the air

BOTELLA: I believe they felt attacked

PIQUERAS: The municipal police officer, when he saw himself being harassed, well, he fired a shot into the air.

The use of the term 'arm' in the news is also quite interesting. On the one hand, it is specified that the pistol used by the police officer was 'authorised,' in other words, the weapon was used within the law. By using the qualifier 'authorised,' there is an attempt to communicate that the use of the pistol was within the established canons of normality. But the most attention grabbing is the specification that the detained immigrant's friend is 'armed with a shoe.' By choosing the term 'armed,' the journalistic discourse equates the use of a shoe to the use of a pistol, when it is obvious that the degree of danger of a pistol is much greater than that of a shoe. In addition, in no case is the cultural significance of threatening with a shoe explained. In Islamic cultures, it is the equivalent of an insult, but in Spanish you cannot affirm that one is 'armed with insults.' To conclude, this news report increments, discursively, the level of dangerousness attributed to the collective in Lavapiés, an area of Madrid that is characterised by the large number of immigrants that live there—it should be taken into account, from a contextual point of view, that Africa is traditionally one of the most important zones of origin of immigrants that come to Spain (Birsl and Solé, 2004: 63-

64). The news includes a statement from a citizen (a native Spaniard, in this case) that reinforces the macro-proposition of the story:

CITIZEN: And if they hadn't taken out their guns, the police would have been killed.

The media coverage of this same intercultural incident by Antena 3 (27 May 2012) also reinforces the construction of a discourse based on the opposition between the 'officers' and the 'illegal CD pedlars'—known as *manteros* in Spanish, because of the blanket (*manta* in Spanish) they spread their wares on. Antena 3 (the same as Telecinco, is one of the main, privately-owned, Spanish television stations) presents a decontextualised event that shows the officers surrounded by the illegal CD sellers, and it employs a lexicalisation similar to the one used by Telecinco, to make very clear that the out-group are immigrants (they say that one of the *manteros* begins to scream 'asking for help from the other sub-Saharan Africans found at the scene'). The macrostructure of law enforcement officers defending themselves from the aggression of the immigrants can also be gleaned from some of the phrases used in the news report ('The man rebukes one of the officers who responds by hitting him with the baton,' 'The sub-Saharan African citizen threatens the police with his shoe'), as well as the propositional framing set out in the expression 'The officers, receiving more and more harassment, open fire again,' which presents the police as subjects who suffer the negative actions of others.

The second case study selected responds contextually to the increase in immigration from Latin American countries. Compared to 18% of immigration coming from Latin America according to statistics from 1998 (Bírl and Solé, 2004: 63-64), the most recent data show that today a considerable amount of immigration to Spain comes from Latin America (Martínez Guillem, 2013: 636). In this context, television shows a special interest in the worrying presence of the so-called Latin gangs, frequently associated with violence. The news report on Antena 3 of July 18, 2012 involves the

death of a seventeen-year-old minor at the entrance of a discotheque, presumably stabbed by members of a Latin gang. The theme or macro-proposition is rivalry between Latin gangs, a circumstance that threatens the public well-being in a neighbourhood in Cornellá de Llobregat (Barcelona). It is not treated as an isolated incident, but rather as an authentic social problem which has developed over time. We find ourselves with a problem that has been woven into the social fabric and that will be ongoing.

BROADCAST JOURNALIST: The incident occurred in an area of town known for its pubs and nightclubs where fights between rival Latin gangs have occurred before and ended in tragedy . . . the residents of the area have complained about the noise and the constant brawls which take place almost every weekend.

The subjects of the news are, on the one hand, young Latin American immigrants (some of whom are minors), who are supposed members of organised gangs, and on the other hand, the neighbourhood residents who endure the violence in their streets. Thus a clear polarisation between the actors is implied: it contrasts an Us, native-born Spanish residents of an affected area (the in-group) versus a Them, Latin Americans (the out-group) associated with violent groups. In this sense, the out-group has the role of instigator of social violence, while the in-group endures that violence (propositional framing). The two eyewitness accounts of young Latin Americans are framed in anonymity, which emphasises the otherness with which the members of these gangs are constructed. It could be said that the fact that the witnesses of the crime hide their identity (they appear on camera in silhouette) emphasises the focus based on the foreground, where the dominant perspective is that of an Us, who must endure the conflict, because of a Them who lack a human face. That is to say anonymity, and as we will see, the merely descriptive character of the eyewitness accounts of the Latin

Americans privileges the dominant viewpoint of the Us as victims. As well, the semantic charge of the nouns utilised—‘fights,’ ‘tragedies,’ ‘stabblings,’ ‘brawls,’ ‘revenge,’ etc.—supposes a lexicalisation that sustains the conflict. The violence that is at the centre of the news piece is detailed by means of the inclusion of testimony by a Latin American witness: ‘He fell to the ground. We realised that he was asking for help and we saw the police running towards the boy. He was bleeding heavily’ (witness 1). Even though the news clip includes the testimony of two youngsters that hide their faces, these declarations exacerbate the polarisation of Us against Them even more, given that despite the cruelty of the event, the witnesses do not denounce or condemn what happened, nor do they call for an end to the violence. Indeed, the testimony of the second witness simply reiterates what the journalist says, the perpetuation of violence through the course of time: ‘There is going to be a vendetta for sure because they are already looking for the ones who did this’ (witness 2).

The preoccupation with the existence of Latin gangs and the conflicts that are generated in the neighbourhoods where they are present, is an issue that also appears on the news on the regional public television stations Telemadrid (24 and 25 June 2012) and TV3 (11 June 2012). The latter reports on the increase in membership of Latin gangs among young people, which rose from 400 in 2005 (two gangs) to 3500 in 2012 (around 20 gangs). This news clip reports on the issue from a more complex (and less sensationalist) perspective that the increase in the number of gangs has not corresponded to an increase in the level of violence. They also mention that more preventive measures need to be taken on a policy level, which implies a certain ‘decriminalisation’ of the Latin gangs or at least the need for cooperation to solve the existing social problem.

REPORTER (RAMON PELLICER): Latin gang membership has increased but social unrest has not . . . social services that work directly with the issue insist that belonging to a gang is

not the same thing as being a delinquent, but they warn that there need to be more preventive measures, due to the fact that these have been decreased in recent years.

The macro-proposition is the potential for conflict among the Latin gangs which requires special attention on the part of the local authorities to prevent possible outbreaks of violence. The social problem is still present (the same as in the news on Antena 3), and for this reason it is necessary to take measures of social mediation in order to ‘pacify’ these groups. The notion of conflict continues to be a modifier that defines their identity. The subjects of the news are the authorities and experts in cultural mediation from the in-group (educators, responsible politicians, sociologists) compared to the out-group of the gangs who speak through a member of the Association of Latin Kings and Queens (also known as Latin Kings). There is polarisation in which the in-group is presented in a positive light as the necessary mediator to ‘pacify’ the possible violence of the out-group. In other words, the problem of potential social unrest needs to be addressed by Spanish government authorities and/or experts in mediation. Thus, the propositional framing of the in-group goes from that of being the victims to being that of the agents who help not to solve the problem (we do not know, according to the news, if the problem has a solution) but to ‘pacify’ or placate the situation. The role of the out-group is still that of the instigator of conflict, but now it has a human face and sometimes it collaborates with the in-group, as in the case of the cultural mediation project ‘unidos por el flow’ (United by the Flow).

BROADCAST JOURNALIST: [images from the project United by the Flow] The Latin Kings and the Ñetas, two historically rival groups, are collaborating on a project of musical mediation. This was in 2006, when the phenomenon of Latin gangs first emerged in Catalonia. In that case prevention helped to bring about peace between the two groups. Those who participated remember the event as a great success

Additionally, the need for social policies that ‘prevent’ and ‘bring peace’ to the ‘episodes of violence’ brought about by Latin gangs is called for. The lexicalisation of the Latin gangs on the part of the in-group includes the following expressions: ‘delinquents,’ ‘rival groups,’ ‘episodes of violence,’ ‘endemic problem,’ ‘criminal organisations.’ The presence of several actors from the in-group making references to the out-group consolidates a dominant focus of Us against Them. In short, interculturality is still an interaction laden with conflict that needs social mediation, but that does not deny the possibility for approximation between the in-group and the out-group. An approximation, as we said before, that is framed within the domain of the institutions.

Discussion

In this article we have tried to respond to the question of how interculturality is constructed and represented on Spanish televised news. Our analysis reveals how intercultural conflict constructed by TV news is based on the discursive processes of lexicalisation, conceptual polarisation, focalisation, and propositional framing.

If the concept of differentness is crucial to interculturality, on Spanish television the encounter between different groups is usually problematic, creating an abyss between cultures. Dervin’s and Gao’s study on the Chinese television program *The Foreign Wife in Our Village* indicated that intercultural couple-hood was built on the narrative structure of a typical fairy tale (2012: 10, 21); our analysis however, shows that there is also a televised representation of intercultural interaction as social conflict (confrontation between street gangs, confrontation between immigrants and the police). In this context, our data coincide with the idea that migration has become a theme of

public interest in Spain, and that it is focused more and more from an emotional point of view (Birsl and Solé, 2004: 66).

On public and private stations alike, interculturality is shown on Spanish television as a polarised interaction between a dominant in-group and a minority out-group, and it is defined by the status quo. Those with whom it is impossible to come to an understanding belong to the other group, and They are the ones who encumber cultural interaction, as opposed to an Us who must endure the consequences of the conflict or be the ones who show up on the scene as the mediators capable of pacifying the situation. Relative to the assignation of roles to subjects, minorities are represented as a threat to the majority, or they are constructed through the actions of the majority. Our research sheds light on the phenomena of stereotyping and misrepresentation in the media (Sorrells, 2013), as immigrants are represented in a stereotypical manner (for example as a source of danger) through tools such as lexicalisation and semantic macro-propositions. Our analysis, therefore, is in line with the idea that one of the features that characterises Western news discourse is ‘the ethnocentric, stereotypical portrayal of Third World nations and peoples’ (Van Dijk, 2008: 58). Specifically, the cases analysed offer examples of ‘hetero-stereotypes, which are related to an out-group (‘the Other’)’ (Dervin, 2012: 186). The news also provides examples of ‘othering,’ a kind of social representation which is related to stereotypes and is based on the objectification of the other person or group, leading people to differentiate between the in-group and the out-group with the aim of reinforcing and protecting the Self (Dervin, 2012: 187), as occurs in the news about citizens in Madrid enjoying the Manzanares River while Romanian individuals poach there.

Spanish television portrays a conflictual interculturality that is not limited to disagreement. However, peacemaking depends on being channelled by the in-group. Consequently, the out-group is not usually presented within a positive propositional

framing, but rather as a source of conflict and difficulty that the Spanish must endure or help fix. This may be in line with the notion that immigrants are sometimes victimised by the media, thus reinforcing their status as Others (Alonso Belmonte et al., 2010: 237-238).

Ironically, interculturality is presented as something that is possible when we find ourselves facing a positive or neutral representation of groups that are richer or more powerful than the Spanish in-group. Thus, it cannot be said that television news systematically constructs an image of foreigners or immigrants as a threat; what it does is assign them positive roles or negative roles depending on how wealthy they are. The representation of well-to-do Chinese immigrants would be an example of this. Therefore it would be appropriate to consider the treatment of interculturality on television looking at variables such as power relations or social-economic factors, more than intrinsically cultural characteristics. It should be taken into account that the degree of national power is one of the main factors that determine news selection, as it is indicated by Hanusch's study (2010) about intercultural interaction in newspapers. As a result, the frame that studies intercultural conflict from a macro point of view, including the impact of the media and political and economic factors (Sorrells, 2013: 203), is relevant to the discussion of our findings, because Spanish television tends to represent situations of conflict when cultures that are less influential or wealthy than Spanish society are involved.

Given that context is fundamental to the methodology of CDA (Silva, 2002), the idea of a conflict depending on the level of wealth should perhaps be understood in the context of the financial crisis that began in 2008, the effects of which have been particularly devastating in Spain, as far as the impoverishment of the population is concerned. It is also interesting to frame our findings with regard to an event that changed Spanish politics: the "15-M" (May 15) movement that started with a

demonstration in May 15, 2011 in several cities. Preceded by civilian platforms targeting the situation that started with the 2008 crisis, 15-M protesters set up camps in the main squares of numerous Spanish cities to protest high unemployment, the lack of a truly representative democracy, cuts to social programs, or corruption. The camps in the main cities lasted until June 2011, with the development of popular assemblies in the squares. Although the movement was heterogeneous, its discourse focused on a criticism of politics, the capitalist economy, or the construction of a system that only benefits “1% of the population” (García Jiménez et al., 2014). Since issues related to immigrants or interculturality were non-significant, the question of intercultural communication is far-removed from the Spanish social mobilisations. Apparently, the organisation of left-wing popular assemblies was not enough for a critical visibilisation of intercultural relationships and problems.

From a comparative point of view, our study also has implications with regard to the processes and flows of international communication as they are depicted by the Spanish media. If the concept of interculturality may be understood ‘as a metaphor and movement of power’ (Halualami and Nakayama, 2013: 8), the kind of interculturality represented in Spanish television is permeated by power relationships in two ways: on the one hand, a dominant discourse that marginalises impoverished cultures; on the other hand, a submissive discourse that tries to please influential international actors. Thus, Spain emerges as a middle-of-the-road nation that misrepresents the poor and hails the powerful. This idea of Spanish media draws attention to the context of the positive intercultural function that the media could (or not) have in general. As indicated in a quantitative study by Reis (2010), on the influence of English and Portuguese-language mass media on how Brazilian immigrants in Los Angeles adapt, the use of the media correlates positively with cultural adaptation. However, another quantitative study looking at the German-language weekly *Costa Blanca Nachrichten*

(distributed in the Spanish province of Alicante) indicates that the publication is not hybrid or integrated enough to be an intercultural product, because it is dominated by the German-speaking communities' culture (Penalva and Brückner, 2008: 207)—again, the predominance of a powerful western culture. On the other hand, although a comparative focus lies outside of our objectives, it is interesting to highlight that there are indications supporting the idea that television portrays the poor in a negative light. This is observed in the invisibilisation and demonisation of a part of the poor in a telethon on Irish television (Devereux, 1996: 47, 65), while at the same time the TV media broadcasts 'elements and symbols of supranational culture which are identical and affordable only to the rich and socially superior groups in the country', as Vilanilam (1989: 496) points out in his study on television advertising in India.

Within the frame of conflict-laden interculturality, the media's idea of a Spanish culture threatened or harassed by hetero-stereotyped elements from another culture could help justify certain types of tough institutional and social responses. Although the media may be used in order to transform conflicts (Melone et al., 2002), Spanish television is not acting as a frame of encounter and coexistence between different cultures. To the contrary, it is creating a conflictual, negative portrait of the poor, immigrants, and the marginalised. For segments of the population where the technologically-mediated experience substitutes the non-mediated experience (Thompson, 1998), a discursive representation of this sort could provoke attitudes of social rejection towards immigrants and minorities; especially if said segments of the population do not have access to alternative sources of information or direct contact with other cultures. As a result, intercultural communication between Spaniards and people from other countries may be distorted. According to the latest CIS survey (Spanish Centre for Sociological Investigation—Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, the leading survey for analysing national public opinion) in 2014, Spanish

citizens did not perceive immigration as a problem. Only 2.5% of those surveyed cited immigration as a problem, far from what the survey's participants pointed to as the main problems, which were unemployment (77%) and corruption (63.8%). Consequently, the televised discourse could be making a problem out of something which is really not perceived as an issue.

Our analysis was performed on the basis of television newscasts. In this regard, it is interesting to contextualise our findings pertaining to the depiction of interculturality in other formats. Dervin and Gao point out 'othering' processes in the above-mentioned Chinese intercultural show (2012: 16-19), and Martínez Guillem's study indicates that the Spanish public service programme *Babel* emphasizes the need for intercultural dialogue and the benefits derived from cultural exchange (2013: 631), while at the same time conveying the idea that '... the possibilities for intercultural dialogue are intrinsically tied to the perceived potential for immigrants to contribute to a 'productive Spain'' (Martínez Guillem, 2013: 635)—that is, a treatment of interculturality related to social-economic factors, which is consistent with our results. Additionally, a construction of the Other can also be found in the Flemish intercultural reality television programme *Ticket to the Tribes*, which builds 'on a post-colonial *exoticisation* of the Other: non-western peoples are presented as primitive, savage, simple, authentic, close to nature, dirty, and the like, while westerners are represented as the exact opposite' (Kuppens and Mast, 2012: 810-811). With regard to propositional framing, our results are in line with the notion—pointed out by Johnson et al. (2010: 251) when referring to American news talk show *The O'Reilly Factor*—that the Other is established as guilty, and the Us as blameless. Thus, it can be concluded that some trends in the depiction of interculturality cross television formats.

This article has attempted to fill the existing void in the academic literature on the media narrative on interculturality, but it has its limitations. One of these is related

to the nature of the medium studied, given that television constructs an idea of interculturality that is both linguistic and audio-visual. Therefore we consider that it would be interesting to conduct additional studies on images as a discourse-building element. We also consider it would be interesting, as a complement to CDA, to conduct a quantitative study on the specific subjects and actions that receive news coverage. Lastly, a study on how interculturality is constructed on television in other countries could shed additional light on the way the media represents the interaction between different cultures in an international context.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by a grant from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación) for the research project “Analysis of Audiovisual Narratives on Civilizations and Cultures. Representations and interpretations of television news narratives” [grant number CSO2011-23786].

References

- Al-Hejin B (2015) Covering Muslim women: Semantic macrostructures in BBC News. *Discourse & Communication* 9 (1): 19-46.
- Alonso Belmonte I, McCabe A and Chornet-Roses D (2010) In their own words: The construction of the image of the immigrant in Peninsular Spanish broadsheets and freesheets. *Discourse & Communication* 4(3): 227-242.

- Bañon A (2002) *Discurso e inmigración. Propuestas para el análisis de un debate social*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Barrett M (2008) *Intercultural Competences: Some Reflections based on the Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters*. Retrieved from <http://epubs.surrey.ac.uk/1621/1/fulltext.pdf>
- Bhabha HK (1994) *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Birsl U and Solé C (Eds.) (2004) *Migración e interculturalidad en Gran Bretaña, España y Alemania*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Bracci L, Bella OwOna, J and Nash, E (2013) Community Engagement through International Service-Learning: How a Foreign Student can Become a Social Actor in the Host Society. *Intercultural Communication Studies* XXII(1): 195-215.
- Burke P (2010) *Hibridismo cultural*. Madrid: Akal.
- Castelló E, Dhoest, A and O'Donnell, H (eds) (2009) *The Nation on Screen. Discourses of the National on Global Television*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Castells M (1997) *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume II: The Power of Identity*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Blackwell.
- Chan M (2012) The discursive reproduction of ideologies and national identities in the Chinese and Japanese English-language press. *Discourse & Communication* 6(4): 361-378.
- Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas CIS (2014). Barómetro de Noviembre. Available at: http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/-Archivos/Marginales/3040_3059/3045/es3045mar.pdf

- Contractor S (2012) Metaphors. Muslim women and 'the media'. In: Contractor S (ed.) *Muslim Women in Britain. De-mystifying the Muslimah*. New York: Routledge, 107-117.
- Demorgon J (2000) *L'interculturalisation du monde*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Demorgon, J (2004) *Complexité des cultures et de l'interculturel. Contre les pensées uniques*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Dervin F (2012). 11 Cultural identity, representation and othering. In: Jackson J (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication*. Abingdon (Oxon): Routledge, 181-194.
- Dervin F and Gao M (2012) Constructing a fairy tale around intercultural couplehood on Chinese television. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 12(1): 6-23.
- Devereux E (1996) Good causes, God's poor and telethon television. *Media, Culture & Society* 18: 47-68.
- Eberhard C (2002) *Droits de l'homme et dialogue interculturel*. Paris: Editions des Écrivains.
- European University Institut (2013) MEDIVA. Available at: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/MEDIVA/Bibliography.aspx>
- Fornet-Betancourt R (2001) *Transformación intercultural de la filosofía*. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Fuller N (Ed.) (2002) *Interculturalidad y política. Desafíos y posibilidades*. Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú.
- García Canclini N (1999) *La globalización imaginada*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- García Canclini N (1995) Comunicación intercultural. Hacia un balance teórico en América Latina. *TELOS* 40. Available at: http://telos.fundaciontelefonica.com/telos/anteriores/num_040/opi_perspectivas1.html

- Garcia-Jimenez L, Rodrigo-Alsina M and Pineda A (2015) 'We Cannot Live in Our Own Neighborhood': An Approach to the Construction of Intercultural Communication in Television News. In: Miller T (Ed) *The Routledge Companion to Global Popular Culture*, chapter 27. New York: Routledge, 308-322.
- García-Jiménez L, Zamora-Medina R and Martínez-Fernández R (2014) The Construction of Symbolic Power: Comparing offline and online Media Representations of Occupy the Street in Spain. *International Journal of Communication* 8: 2540-2560.
- Goñi, JM (Ed.) (2006) *Matemáticas e interculturalidad*. Barcelona: Graó.
- González R. Arnaiz G (Ed.) (2002) *El discurso intercultural. Prolegómenos a una filosofía intercultural*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Gordillo, I (2006) El diálogo intercultural en el cine español contemporáneo: entre el estereotipo y el etnocentrismo. *Comunicación* 4: 207-222.
- Granados Martínez A (Ed.) (2013) *Las representaciones de las migraciones en los medios de comunicación*. Madrid: Trotta.
- Halualami TK and Nakayama RT (2013) Critical Intercultural Communications Studies: At a Crossroad. In: Halualami TK and Nakayama RT (eds.) *The Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1-16.
- Hanusch F (2010) The geography of travel journalism: Mapping the flow of travel stories about foreign countries. *The International Communication Gazette* 76(1): 47-66.
- Igartua JJ, Piñeiro V and Ramos M (2012) La construcción de la imagen del inmigrante en la ficción televisiva de prime time. Congreso AEIC Comunicación y Riesgo, Tarragona (España), January 2012. Available at: http://www.aeic.org/tarragona2012/contents/comunicacions_cd/ok/101.pdf.

- Instituto Nacional de Estadística INE (2012) Extranjeros en la UE y en España. Available at: http://www.ine.es/ss/Satellite?L=es_ES&c=INECifrasINE_C&cid=1259938022122&p=1254735116567&pagename=ProductosYServicios%2FPYSLayout
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística INE (2014) Población residente en España. Available at: http://www.ine.es/inebaseDYN/cp30321/cp_inicio.htm.
- Johnson KA, Sonnett J, Dolan MK, et al. (2010) Interjournalistic discourse about African Americans in television news coverage of Hurricane Katrina. *Discourse & Communication* 4(3): 243-261.
- Kantar Media (2012) *Boletín de audiencias*. Available at: <http://www.kantarmedia1.es/archivos/index>.
- Kecskes I (2012) Interculturality and intercultural pragmatics. In: Jackson J (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication*. Abingdon (Oxon): Routledge, 67-84.
- Kressova N, Fleissner K, Granados A, et al. (2012) Medios de comunicación e inmigración en España: situación actual y perspectivas de futuro. Available at: <http://ldei.ugr.es/javiergarcia/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/KressovaKamilGranadosGarciaFernandez2012.pdf>
- Kuppens A and Mast J (2012) *Ticket to the Tribes*: culture shock and the ‘exotic’ in intercultural reality television. *Media, Culture & Society* 34(7): 799-814.
- Lee M (2012) On Studying Interethnic Communication between the Hakka and Other Ethnic Groups in Taiwan. *Intercultural Communication Studies* XXI(3): 29-40.
- Lustig MW and Koester J (2003) *Intercultural competence: interpersonal communication across cultures*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Malgesini G and Gimenez C (1997) *Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo e interculturalidad*. Madrid: La cueva del oso.

- Martín Corrales E (2002) *La imagen del magrebí en España: una perspectiva histórica (siglos XVI-XX)*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Martínez Guillem S (2013) The dialectics of multiculturalism: Constructing 'new citizens' in Spanish public broadcasting. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 16(5): 620-639.
- Martínez Lirola M (ed.) (2008) *Inmigración, discurso y medios de comunicación*. Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert.
- Meddeb R (2014) Les représentations des musulmanes dans le quotidien La Libre Belgique. *Journal for Communication Studies* 7, 2(14): 27-36.
- Melone SD, Terzis G and Beleli O (2002) Using the media for conflict transformation: The Common Ground experience. Berghof handbook for conflict transformation. Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Transformation. Available at: <http://www.berghof-handbook.net/articles/section-iv-structural-reforms-institutionbuilding-and-violence-control>. Spanish translation at http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/spanish_melone_handbook.pdf.
- Mihelj S, Bajt V and Pankov M (2009) Television news, narrative conventions and national imagination. *Discourse & Communication* 3(1): 57-78.
- Nawar I (2008) La representación de las mujeres en los medios de comunicación occidentales y árabes: observaciones generales. Available at: http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/8/q8_270.pdf
- Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración OPI (2014) La integración de los inmigrantes en España: una propuesta de medición a escala regional. Available at: http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/Publicaciones/fichas/publicacion_30.html

- Oleaque JM (2014) *Los gitanos en la prensa española. Variación y reiteración de los planteamientos de los diarios ABC, El País y La Vanguardia en la presentación de los gitanos como grupo (1981-2010)*. PhD dissertation, Universidad de Valencia.
- Penalva C and Brückner G (2008) Comunicación intercultural. Un estudio de caso sobre la prensa local extranjera en España. *Revista Internacional de Sociología (RIS)* LXVI(50): 187-211.
- Pekerti A (2003) Communication In Intercultural Interaction. An Empirical Investigation of Idiocentric and Sociocentric Communication Styles. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 34(2): 139-154.
- Reis R (2010) Use of Mass Media for Adaptation Purposes: A Quantitative Study of Brazilian Immigrants in Los Angeles. *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 24. Available at: <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr24/reis.htm>
- Reiter M and Gee C (2008) Open communication and partner support in intercultural and interfaith romantic relationships: A relational maintenance approach. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 25(4): 539-559.
- Rodrigo-Alsina M (2012) *La comunicación intercultural*. Anthropos: Barcelona.
- Rodrigo-Alsina M, Pineda A, García-Jiménez L., et al. (2014) La representación de la interculturalidad en el discurso informativo televisivo: un análisis cuantitativo. In: Sierra Sánchez J and Rodrigues Parente D, (eds), *Contenidos digitales en la era de la sociedad conectada*. Madrid: Editorial Fragua, 29-52.
- Roy S (2012) Culturally unconscious. Intercultural implications of The New York Times representation of the Israel–Palestine conflict in 2009 and 2011. *International Communication Gazette* 74(6): 556-570.
- Sakuraia, T., McCall-Wolfa, F., & Kashimab, E. (2010). Building intercultural links: The impact of a multicultural intervention programme on social ties of

- international students in Australia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34(2), 176–185.
- Samovar LA and Porter E (eds.) (1994) *Intercultural Communication. A Reader*. Belmont (California): Wadsworth.
- Sampedro Blanco V (ed.) (2003) *La pantalla de las identidades. Medios de comunicación, políticas y mercados de identidad*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Sharifzadeh M (2013) The Role of Common Ground in International Communication: The Iraq – Iran Correlation. *Intercultural Communication Studies* XXII(1): 174-194.
- Silva O (2002) El análisis del discurso según Van Dijk y los estudios de la comunicación. *Razón y Palabra* 26. Available at: <http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/anteriores/n26/osilva.html>.
- Silva Echeto V (2013) *El conflicto de las identidades. Comunicación e imágenes de la interculturalidad*. Bellaterra (Barcelona): Institut de la Comunicació, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Available at: http://incom.uab.cat/download/eBook_4_IncomUAB_identidades.pdf.
- Silva Echeto V and Browne Sartori R (2004) *Escrituras híbridas y rizomáticas*. ArCIBel Editores: Sevilla.
- Sorrells K (2013) *Intercultural Communication. Globalization and Social Justice*. London: Sage.
- Thompson JB (1998) *Los media y la modernidad*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Van Dijk TA (1995) Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & Society* 6(2): 243-289.
- Van Dijk T (2003) La multidisciplinaridad del análisis crítico del discurso: un alegato en favor de la diversidad. In: Wodak R and Meyer M, *Métodos de análisis*

crítico del discurso. Barcelona: Gedisa, 143-177. Available at:
<http://www.discursos.org/Art/La%20multidisciplinariedad.pdf>.

Van Dijk TA (2008) *Discourse & Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Van Dijk TA (2010) Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach. In: Wodak R and Meyer M, (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Second Edition. London: Sage, 62-86.

Vilaniyam J (1989) Television advertising and the Indian poor. *Media, Culture and Society* 11: 485-497.