

Neighborhood press and immigration: A frame-building analysis of the depiction of immigrants.

This research studied the way immigration is depicted by the neighborhood press of Barcelona. Mainstream media tend to give visibility to immigrants when problems arise. Through this visibility based on problems, and the processes of *framing*, a *virtual social identity* is constructed and given to the immigration population. However, the neighborhood press of Barcelona, inscribed within the Catalan regional press' own idea of journalism, offers a different approach to this issue due to its history, neighborhood and commitment to the region. Through a *frame analysis*, three main frames gave a depiction of the immigrants different from the one the mainstream media use. The results show that this differentiated depiction still stereotypes immigrants while not granting them enough visibility even when there is no blaming or attack. In this sense, while accounting for the differences, the neighborhood press of Barcelona misses a chance of depicting immigration in a more accurate way.

Key words: Press, Immigration, Framing, Neighborhood Press, Newspapers, Local Press.

Introduction

The media have great power when it comes to making sense of the world. They not only provide information and knowledge but also a way to interpret this world by a process of selection of knowledge (Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden, 2007). This selection is done by the journalists through different mechanisms including *framing*. *Framing* makes certain issues be seen in a certain way by leading people into thinking in a given fashion (Entman, 1997, 2007, 2010; Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004) which then turns into an interpretation of that issue (van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012).

This power of interpretation can be felt in the mechanisms through which media shape the way people see immigration. Several studies show that immigrants tend to be identified with unemployment and crime (Checa & Arjona, 2011) and are framed by the media, among other frames, in situations of illegality (Igartua & Cheng, 2004) and situations of vulnerability (Román, et al., 2011), thus neglecting the cultural side of immigration, that is, focusing on the more sensationalist news instead of giving visibility to the influence that the culture of the immigrants may have on their new society (Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997). However, different kinds of new media that do not necessarily follow the same journalistic routines might have a different approach to journalism. It is possible, then, that the way immigrants are seen by the people they live with in their adopted societies, especially by different types of media, might act as a counterbalancing power to mainstream media.

This research attempts to understand and uncover how the neighborhood press of Barcelona depicts immigration. While we focus on immigrants coming from other countries, it is worth noting that Barcelona has received large numbers of immigrants from the south of Spain throughout the 20th century. Although these people are no longer considered immigrants, the cultural differences made them recognizable as such by Catalan people. The authors consider that the neighborhood press approaches journalism using a different perspective from the mainstream news media, as will be discussed in the next section. We focus mostly on the press, both Spanish and international, with a few examples of broadcast. The neighborhood press operates with the intention of giving voice to its readers and neighbors, some of whom will be immigrants. The neighborhood press falls within the Catalan regional press, which is a distinctive and unique model of journalism (Guillamet, 1983). Following a long tradition, they provide alternative ways to present and understand what news is (Guillamet, 1983, 2006), due to their relatively small geographic area covered and a more homogeneous readership (Masip, et al., 2010). Counterpower and the creation of bonds and links within a collective (Fontcuberta, 1997; Rouger, 2008) are two of the main characteristics of the neighborhood press of Barcelona (Maristany & Mussons, 2002). These specific and differentiating characteristics highlight the necessity to understand the way this press approaches an important topic like immigration. This kind of press is strongly linked to public journalism and democratic practices by engaging in public and democratic discussions through civic participation (Ferreira, et al., 2011). The fact that the neighborhood press sees itself as an agent of strong democracy reinforces the idea of this press as community-oriented (Hindman, 1998). Another characteristic of the neighborhood press is that it tends to be citizen-run and citizen-owned (Gaziano & Ward, 1978), with perspectives contrary to elite orientations and an impact on the reduction of the knowledge gap due to its higher accessibility (Gaziano, 1984), which shows a clear difference from the mainstream media.

Using a concrete topic such as immigration allows for an in-depth analysis of the neighborhood press. Immigration not only is a concrete subject, but it also affords a varied and complex reaction and discussion in the media, from simplistic polemics to

thoughtful analysis (Benson, 2013). The neighborhood press may play a different role in the media field that tends to stereotype immigrants (Checa & Arjona, 2011; Igartua et al., 2004; Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997) and it might offer a more realistic portrayal, a somewhat closer *virtual social identity* (Goffman, 1963).

Frames, Press, and Immigration

The processes of stereotyping the “other” are profoundly accepted and rooted within societies as they imply the construction of one’s own culture and organize the social universe (Rodrigo, 2000, 2006, n/d). *Stereotypes* ascribe a group of people a *virtual social identity*, by giving an identity to an individual without a necessary interaction (Goffman, 1963). Status and discrimination are strongly linked, making representations of out-groups worse when the out-group is in a lower position than the in-group (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996; Echebarría & Fernández, 2003). However, society and its predominant discourses affect the way these prejudices are thought of and felt by the predominant group. Societies where blatant racism and prejudiced discourses are rejected have not eradicated racism and prejudice. Racism and prejudice are still present, generally, in a subtler form like stereotypical representations of ethnic groups in the media that appeal to perceived common knowledge (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, 1997). Instead, arguments may imply fault, blame or a strong need of assistance by the out-group (Meyers, 2013). These processes are reinforced by the media (Rodrigo & Medina, 2009) through the mechanism of *framing*, a process of picking and assembling different elements to create a narrative with an interpretation (Entman, 1993, 2007, 2010; Goffman, 1974; Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004). *Frames* are “powerful vehicles in driving receivers perceptions of their inherent self-efficacy in the given situation” (Omilion-Hodges & McClain, 2016: 633). Consequently, an issue or event will be processed in people’s mind in a way that has already been set by stressing ideas that guide the news audience to think in a particular way (Entman, 2007) that is, associations between a specific issue and cultural phenomena offer new already set perspectives through which reality is perceived (van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). When a specific frame dominates, it can make some ideas predominant (Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004; Scheufele, 2000). The process of framing involves two different stages. The first stage is frame-building and refers to the journalistic practices and external relations and interactions that result in the frames (de Vrees, 2005). The second stage deals with the interaction between the frames and the audiences. Two different situations can be found; (1) frame-sending, passing interpretations by third parties, (2) and frame-setting, supplying the audience with the interpretation of the journalist or the news organizations (Brüggemann, 2014). The journalist plays an important role in the process of frame-building. A collection of possible frames is found in a culture which presents a link between the two stages of the process of framing (van Gorp, 2007). These frames become tools for the journalist to present complex issues (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), and the journalist, as a member of a culture, selects a frame out of the stock of possible frames (van Gorp, 2007) while also being influenced by internal and external factors (de Vrees, 2005). Hence, frames reflect the working routines for journalists (Scheufele, 2000). Understanding the effects of various factors or influences on the journalists at individual, organizational and extra-media - i.e. cultural phenomena or political pressure - levels is key to understanding the process of frame-building (Reese, 2001).

The process of framing becomes extremely relevant when it comes to the depiction of immigration because of what is known as extended contact. Extended contact is a situation in which contact can be established through mediation agents, like

the media, which can lead to a decrease of prejudice (Pettrigrew, 1998, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006, Tropp and Pettigrew, 2005a, 2005b). Hence, the implication is clear. The relationship between the established and the new citizens, namely the immigrants, can be, to a certain extent, mediated through the media.

Literature shows that immigrants tend to be linked negatively to news. Checa and Arjona (2011) found that *El Mundo* and *El País* used negative frames regarding immigration 69% of the time. Igartua, et al. (2004) found that the most statistically significant *frames* used by *El Mundo*, *El País*, *ABC* newspaper and *La Razón* had negative components and a negative approach. Conception et al. (2008) also found a negative, often derogatory, approach by *ABC* newspaper to the depiction of immigrants that try to enter Europe through the cities of Ceuta and Melilla. Román et al. (2011) also show that only 19.09% of the articles published by *ABC* newspaper and *La Vanguardia* depicted immigrant women in a positive light, and 80.91% do it negatively. Schlueter and Davidov (2013) linked negative immigration-related news with a perception of immigrants as a threat and group size. Bertrán (2006) identified a lack of context in Spanish TV news that mentions immigration. Rodrigo and Martínez (1997) show how *elite* European newspapers tend to link immigration with conflicts, presenting them as a problem. Vliegenthart and Boomgaarden (2007) also found that real situations, or *real-world events*, were used as models to portray immigrants, showing the link between these *real-world events*, the reaction by the media and the reaction that the news creates. In this sense, it can be seen how certain events help pass the news threshold and may be used as journalistic prototypes (Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden, 2007), pointing towards events related with immigration having a direct impact on news items and information. This impact of events on the construction of immigration and the discourse of the media when depicting the immigrants is shown by Bauder (2008). The author concludes that media coverage of the 2005 new German immigration law¹ followed the parliament timing and responded to external events regarding immigration like terrorist attacks, linking immigration with terror. Benson (2013) showed that the security frame increased its salience in France in recent years, following a shift of paradigm. There is also a clear variation in intensity and salience of immigration-related issues between countries, which allows for different narratives to be found (Caviedes, 2015). Proof of linguistic intergroup bias was found in U.S. print news coverage of Mexican immigrants (Dragojevic et al., 2016). A strong undercurrent of negative debate in Canadian and British news that cannot be attributed to anti-immigration ideas (Lawlor, 2015) was similarly found.

Grimm and Andsager (2011) make visible a relationship between geography, race and the frames presented by newspapers, suggesting that the racial composition of a community determines the way stories will be told. Differences in the coverage of immigration-related issues are also found between public and commercial television news, with commercial news having slightly more sensational and tabloid characteristics (Jacobs et al., 2016). Research clearly points out the relationship between external and internal factors in the process of frame-building (de Vreese, 2005), which then have an impact in the processes of frame-setting and frame-sending (Brüggemann, 2014). Brader, et al. (2008) show how reactions to news leading to an anti-immigration sentiment depend largely on ethnic cues -- that is, even when the consequences of immigration are perceived as identically harmful, Latino features trigger more negative reactions than European features. Catto et al. (2010) pointed at the link between the language used by politicians, media and the attitude of the public towards immigrants.

¹ In January 2005 Germany passed a new immigration law in which the country, for the first time, was acknowledged to be an immigration country.

Hopkins (2011) shows how and why residents' attitudes are influenced by living close to immigrants' communities, showing that "Britons in heavily immigrant areas will be especially concerned about immigration when the issue is in the national headlines" (Hopkins, 2011, 502). However, Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) show in their research that there are contradictory consequences of the immigrants' coverage in media. Misrepresentations or blaming attitudes towards immigrants take us to hostile mind-sets when thinking about these groups. And yet, the authors find that "the more positive news outlets cover immigrants, the less people are concerned about immigration" (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009, 535). They also find that visibility correlates negatively with anti-immigration attitudes.

This follows the findings of authors such as Pettigrew (1998, 2008), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), Pettigrew et al. (2011), Tropp and Pettigrew (2005a; 2005b), where the authors state that intergroup contact leads to a decrease of prejudice, with contact through media seen as an extended contact.

As for local journalism and immigration, Elsrud (2009) shows some differences. The author illustrates how local newspapers of Kalmar, Sweden, depict the immigrants in Norrliden, a suburb of Kalmar in a rural part of Sweden, through the process of *othering*. This *otherness* is constructed through ethnifying, genderizing and brutalizing not only the immigrants but also the area, often described with "jungle-like, non-modern, non-Swedish characteristics" (Elsrud, 2008, 440). Grimm (2015), however, found that local newspaper journalists in California tend to believe that community and race do not affect their reporting on immigration issues because of journalistic norms and routines, even though they were likely affected by their own racial identity, showing a case of colorblind racism and the importance given to journalistic routines and values. It is important to state, however, that immigration framing is vulnerable to journalists' predilection for conflict (Lawlor, 2015). Cheng et al. (2014) researched regional newspapers from Castilla y León, Spain, and the way immigration is depicted and found that local newspapers tend to be more community service oriented. However, the authors found that the majority, 61%, of the frames regarding immigration were negative and 25.1% were positive.

This research has the main goal of understanding and unearthing the way the neighborhood press of Barcelona depicts immigration. Three specific goals stem from the main goal. The first one is to see the degree of visibility of the immigrants in the neighborhood press of Barcelona. This was done using different indicators such as the number of articles or an importance index created from a set of characteristics found in the articles. The second specific goal is to see which frames were used by the neighborhood press when referring to immigrants. In this case, a frame analysis was carried out, with the context of the section in which the articles were published also considered. Lastly, the third goal is to reveal whether immigrants can challenge their depiction or if they are understood as passive agents. To do that, we considered whether immigrants were quoted in the articles.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Four Barcelona neighborhood newspapers were chosen for the analysis. These were: La Barceloneta, Zona Sec, El Raval and La Marina². Two preconditions were set

² *La Barceloneta* started its publication in 2001, in the historically fishing neighborhood of La Barceloneta. There is only one staff member, editing, publishing, writing and distributing the newspaper alone. *La Barceloneta* is based on El Raval, having sought help from it to start the newspaper. It published 5000 copies of a 16-pages full color newspaper in 2012. Immigrants came mostly from

for this research: neighborhoods with consistent press between the years 2000 and 2012, and neighborhoods with the highest percentage of immigration³. The study covered the period starting Jan. 1, 2000, and ending Dec. 31, 2012, which coincided with the beginning of the increase of the immigration rate in Catalonia and ended with the last year where this immigration rate was still positive,⁴ as well as the end of immigration as a concern for Spanish and Catalan naturals⁵ as based on the results of the Centre for Sociological Research survey, a survey carried out by a Spanish public research institute.

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the newspapers.

Table 1: Analyzed Newspapers

Newspaper	Year foundation	Copies distributed	Neighborhood	% immigration	Number of Issues
La Marina	1994	6000	La Marina	13.6	77
El Raval	1994	5000	El Raval	50.0	84
Zona Sec	1997	5000	Poble-sec	30.6	77

Pakistan and Morocco. *Zona Sec* is based in Poble-sec, a historically working class immigrant neighborhood. It was founded in 1997 as a platform for the neighbors to express their opinions as a onepage publication. However, it soon became a newspaper and started employing journalists. Although independent, *Zona Sec* is a member of the Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-sec, which provides office-space as well as accounting services. *Zona Sec* is published by the founder and editor and three journalists. It is published monthly, except for August, and is a 16-pages full color newspaper. The biggest immigrant groups come from Latin America and Pakistan. *El Raval* is the newspaper of the Raval neighborhood, in the city center, historically linked to prostitution and drug trafficking. The roots of *El Raval* can be found as the official newspaper of the Movimiento Humanista del Raval in 1994. This group ceased to exist in 2000, and the current editor, a founder member of the newspaper and a member of the group, decided to keep publishing the newspaper by himself. There is only one staff member of the newspaper, acting as the editor, publisher, journalist and distributor. Five thousand full-color, 24-page copies are issued 12 months a year. Immigrants' origins are found mostly in Pakistan and the Philippines. *La Marina* began publishing in the year 1994 as part of the Associació de Mitjans de Comunicació Local. The association also owns radio station which was founded prior to the newspaper's foundation. *La Marina* is based in the district of Sants-Montjuïc, covering the working class neighborhood of La Marina, with its historical complaints about public transportation. The number of pages of *La Marina* has changed over the years, starting with 12 and peaking at 30, although it is currently publishing 24-pages full color issues. The 6000 copies of *La Marina* are published by the director, three journalists, and several other collaborators that amount to a total of almost 20 people. Immigrants come from Morocco, Latin America and China.

³ Barcelona had, as of 1st of January 2013, 280,047 immigrants, 17.4% of the total population, a higher rate than the whole of Catalonia with 1,183,907 immigrants, 15.6%, and of Spain with 5,118,112, 10.9%. The districts with the highest immigration rate are Ciutat Vella, 42.6%, and Sants-Montjuïc, 19.9%. Ciutat Vella is the historic center of the city and Sants-Montjuïc is adjacent to it, both have been historically receivers of immigration. Sarrià-Sant Gervasi is the district with the lowest immigration rate, 11.1%. Unlike Ciutat Vella and Sants-Montjuïc, it is historically a wealthy district. Within Ciutat Vella El Raval is the neighborhood with the highest immigration rate, 50%, followed by the Gothic quarter, 39.7%, El Born, 38.5%, and La Barceloneta, 30.6%. As for Sants-Montjuïc, the internal immigration rate varies from 30.6% of El Poble-sec, to 13.6% of La Marina.

⁴ <https://www.idescat.cat/indicadors/?id=anuals&n=10332&col=1>

⁵ http://www.cis.es/cis/opencms/-Archivos/Indicadores/documentos_html/TresProblemas.html

La Barceloneta	2001	5000	La Barceloneta	30.6	72
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Three of the four newspapers meet the two preconditions that were set. La Barceloneta, which was founded in 2001, covers all but one year of the temporal range of study. The research will cover the 13 years from the start of the immigration wave, in the year 2000, through 2012, but only the six even years will be completely studied (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012). All newspapers publish monthly. Zona Sec and La Marina, however, do not publish in August. A total of 205 articles were analyzed. The article selection was done mostly by keywords – i.e. immigration, migrant, immigrant, foreigner. However, we also identified articles that mentioned immigrants by name or made references to issues regarding immigration, in addition to articles with photos and visual graphics in which people could be identified as immigrants. The authors realize the flaws of the non-keyword criteria; because of the history of immigration in Barcelona, non-white people might still be decoded as immigrants by the readers even if they are not.

Measurement

The *frame* and visibility analysis followed the methodology developed by Igartua, et al. (2004) while adding an indicator regarding the percentage of the times immigrants were given the opportunity to speak for themselves. Following Igartua and his team, we used an inductive approach. News was examined without a pre-set number of *frames* and the coding instrument allowed us to unearth the objects that constructed the *frames* used. This allowed us to identify concepts, words or expressions that led to the *frames*. This inductive approach helped find the relationship between the semantic structures of the articles and the *frames* presented in them.

This coding instrument had three parts. These three parts follow the analysis sheet created by Igartua, et al. (2004). These are: a) Formal identification of the article where information such as the newspaper, the month and year of publication and the section could be found. This highlighted the visibility of immigration in terms of the number of articles they were mentioned in. The section in which the articles appeared was considered important regarding representation because of the labelling power as well as the description. b) An index of importance constructed by assigning values to different variables where the dichotomous variables were awarded 0 or 1 points depending on the results, and the size of the unit of analysis ranged between 1 and 5 points. The variables for this index are: Odd(0) even (1) page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarter of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0). The total range for the index is between 1 (minimum importance) and 9 (maximum importance). This index will show the importance given to the published articles, allowing us to see the level of visibility, understanding that more important articles will bring a higher level of visibility. c) Immigration news framing analysis. This allowed the researchers to find the frames through which immigrants were depicted, allowing us to carry out goal number two. To analyze which *frames* are used by the neighborhood press when referring to immigrants, we need an inductive approach to select and assess stories in six generic categories. This approach allowed the researchers to unearth the news frames by focusing on the message. The categories are: geographic/physical spaces,

temporal spaces, main characters, definition of the immigrants, actions by the immigrants and actions to the immigrants. To create these categories, the researchers had to insert units of significance into the categories, taking, as already mentioned, an inductive approach, that is, finding the units of significance within the articles.

However, one more variable was added about whether immigrants are granted a chance to speak for themselves, that is, whether immigrants were given the opportunity to define their experiences and situations for themselves. The lack of immigrants' voices, however, would frame them as passive agents.

The section in which the articles appeared was used in the frame analysis because of its stereotyping power and help contextualizing the frames. Sections give a wider meaning to news articles; the idea then is to see whether immigrants are relegated to a specific set of sections that might stereotype them. The second goal was analyzed using the frame analysis, the third part of the analysis sheet. As for the third goal, it was approached using the last variable, whether immigrants can speak for themselves. It allowed to see whether immigrants can challenge their depictions of if they are simply passive agents.

The coding was carried out by two of the authors. A random analysis of 10% of the selected units of analysis was used to calculate the intercoder reliability at 78.6%, which, given the number of variables, shows an acceptable level of agreement (Krippendorff, 2004).

Results

a) Degree of visibility of the immigrants in the neighborhood press of Barcelona

As already stated, the analysis sheet provided data to identify the level of visibility that the neighborhood press of Barcelona gives to immigrants. This was done through analyzing the articles in which immigrants were mentioned, as a collective or by mentioning an individual. The index of importance allowed us to quantify the importance of the articles published and see the visibility that this importance might give to these articles.

Table 2 shows a clear increase in the number of articles published by the neighborhood press. The year 2000 only saw 7 articles that dealt with immigrants. However, as the percentage of immigration increased, so did the number of articles, peaking at 48 in 2010. This increase is explained, of course, by the rise in the percentage of immigrants in the city, from 3.1% to 17.4% between 2000 and 2012.

Table 2: Articles per year and newspaper.

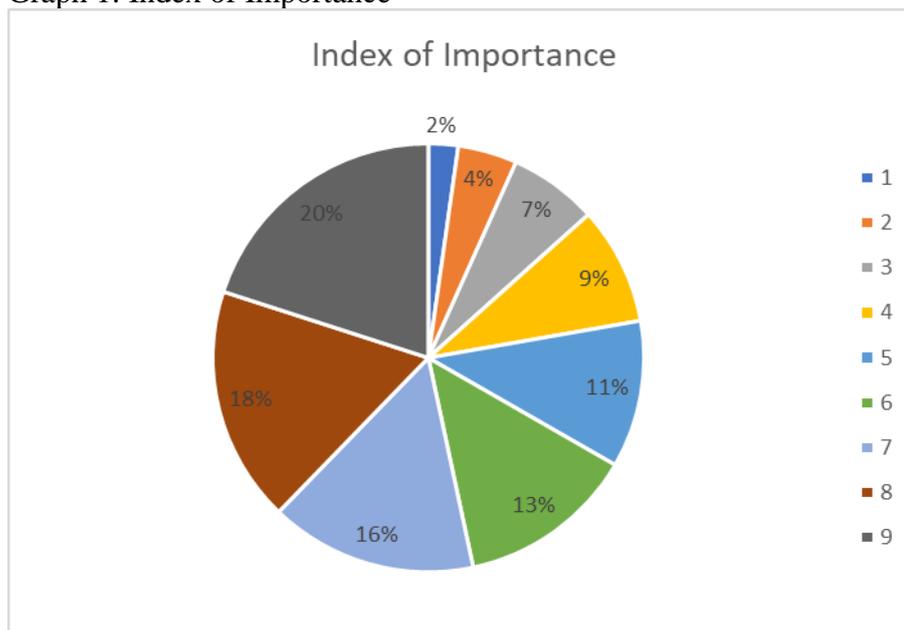
Newspaper	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	Total
La Marina	4	1	4	5	6	6	3	29
El Raval	3	3	4	25	34	31	37	137
Zona Sec	0	3	4	2	4	11	3	27
La Barceloneta	0	7	1	2	2	0	0	12
Total per year	7	14	13	34	46	48	43	205

Own elaboration

It also allows us to see the distribution of the articles by newspapers. In this table, we can clearly see that most of the articles were published by El Raval, a newspaper from a neighborhood with 50% immigration in 2012. This variance suggests a difference of perception and interest by the journalists when it comes to covering immigration, when compared to the press in neighborhoods that have a 30.6% of immigration rate, like La Barceloneta and Zona Sec. There was a sudden peak of articles by Zona Sec in 2010 in the coverage of immigration due to the coverage of the *Taula per la Convivència*, a series of meetings between neighbor and immigrant organizations to discuss and solve some co-habitation problems and close the gap between those two collectives. The same use of real-world events can be seen in La Marina, with the coverage of the CIE (Immigration Detention Center) along several years, and La Barceloneta, with its coverage of the first immigrants from other countries moving to the neighborhood in 2002.

Graph 1 shows us the index of importance of the 205 articles published by the four newspapers. As said earlier, the lower the index, the lower the importance of the article, which reflects lower visibility. 77% of the total number of articles, 157 of 205, have an index between two and five, a low index of importance in its majority, with the highest frequency found in the index of four with 45 articles (22%), followed by the index of three with 42 articles (21%). This clearly shows that most articles tend to have a low index, granting immigrants a low visibility.

Graph 1: Index of Importance



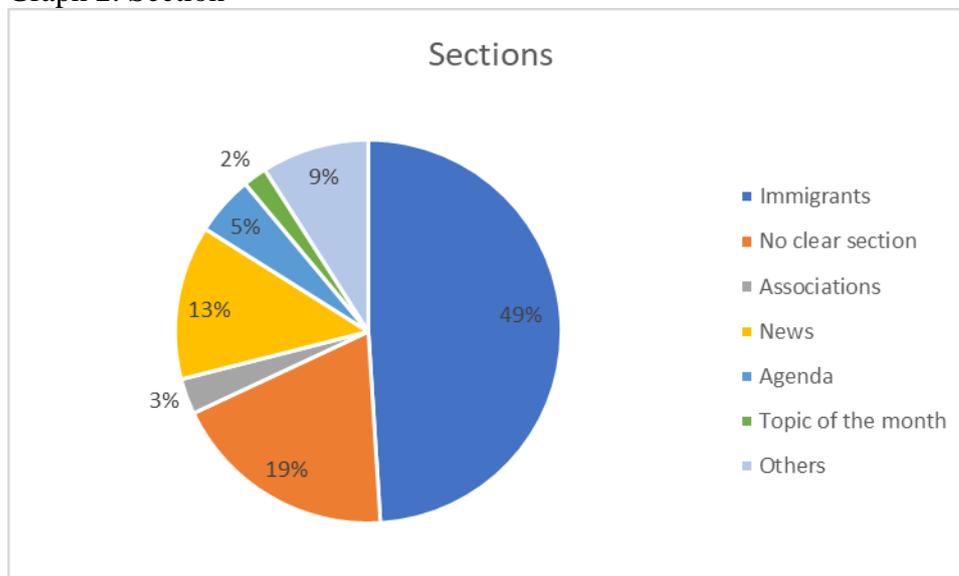
It is important to say that the studied newspapers tend to publish small sized articles. It is also true, however, that having a clear majority of the articles regarding immigration as small or very small, with a low importance index, does not allow for nuance, leading to *frames* being simplistic. It also partly explains why immigrants are hardly ever allowed to speak for themselves, as Graph 5 will show.

b) *Frames* used by the neighborhood press when referring to immigrants.

The frame analysis showed the different frames used in the depiction of immigrants by the neighborhood press of Barcelona. The frame analysis of the 205 articles that mentioned immigration, either as a collective or mentioning an individual, produced three main frames, along with two other frames with a lower frequency. Other frames

were also found but due to their lower frequency they were added to the *other* category. The section where the articles were published gives us a general idea of how immigration is viewed by the newspapers. Graph 2 shows that almost half of the articles (100) were published under the section *Immigrants*. This section clearly stereotypes a group of people that might not have anything in common other than migrating, showing how the newspapers think of them as immigrants even when they represent half of their population, which is the case of El Raval, a newspaper with a fixed section called *Inmigrantes*. This section was started in 2006, when the newspaper increased the number of articles regarding immigration. As a clear case of *virtual social identity* creation, it can be problematic since it attributes characteristics, in this case the label *immigrant*, to a group of people without interacting with them. Another interesting fact is that 19% of the total of articles had no clear section due to the lack of internal organization of the newspapers. That is, the newspapers had a few clear sections, like op-eds, editorial articles, or events of the neighborhood, but all the news articles were bundled together within the newspaper without organizing sections. The other sections helped mitigate stereotyping since they are not only about immigrants, although they sometimes follow real-world events, and hence, work as templates for news of immigrants. The section Associations gives voice to issues regarding civil society within the neighborhood. Agenda briefly explains the forthcoming events of the next month. Topic of the Month is a more extensive article that deals with a different issue every month. However, the fact that 49% of the articles are in the *Immigrants* section becomes a real problem because it ascribes an identity to a group of people that might not accept it while relegating them to a single section of the newspaper, creating the idea of two differentiated groups.

Graph 2: Section



The frame analysis shed light over the frames that the neighborhood press use to depict immigration. There are five main frames: Source of Concern, Neighbors, Victims, Criminals and Source of Change.

Source of Concern is the frame with the highest frequency (78 occasions, 35%). It refers to possible negative situations in which the immigrants might be involved as a passive or as an active agent -- that is, being in a position of receiving the negative outcomes of the possible situation or creating the situation. The word *concern* was chosen instead of the word *conflict*, in the first place, because these situations are not

conflicts *inter pares*, and, second, because the characteristics of this press can be somewhat paternalistic in terms of situations and attitudes. An example is found in El Raval of August 2008 in an article, titled “The immigration council of Barcelona defends family reunification as a social cohesion element.” This was about the right of immigrants to bring their families to Barcelona and it represents the situation as potentially both positive and negative. On the one hand it notes that “restricting the reunification of families of immigrants is a measure that does not favor the establishment of social cohesion,” but it also states that “any measures aimed at concentrating the arrival of regrouped minors at a given time of year [...] can cause psychological and affective harm in minors.”⁶ In either case, immigrants appear as a source of concern because they are the recipients of this negative situation.

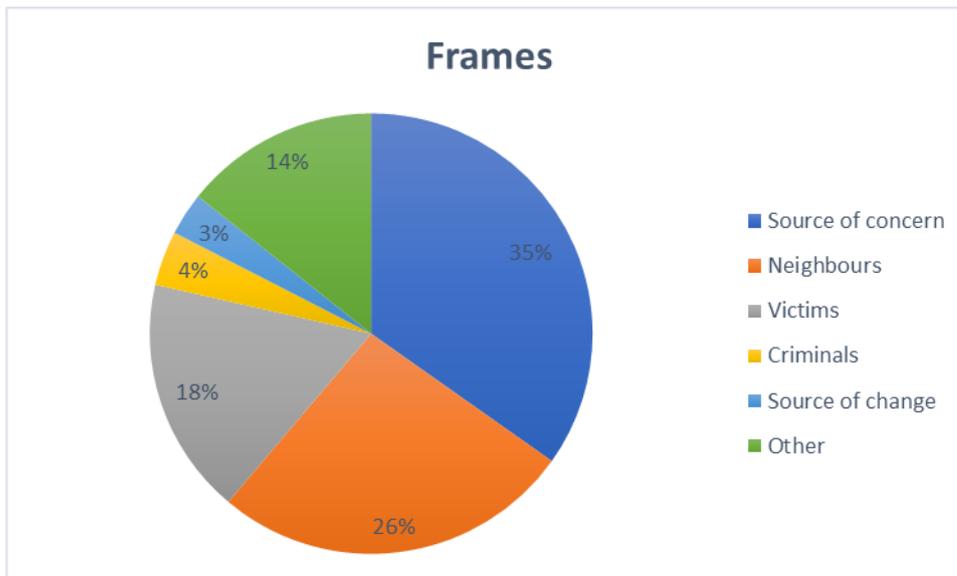
The frame Neighbors is found in 59 occasions (26%), and it depicts immigrants as simply members of their new society. It can be found in a clear example published by Zona Sec in March 2012 titled “Want to have a coffee? An open space for neighbors”. This is discussed as an initiative to increase recycling in the neighborhood as part of a series of monthly meetings concerning neighborhood issues. The picture that illustrates the article shows a woman that, considering the history and context of immigration in Barcelona, can be identified as an immigrant because of the veil covering her hair. However, her status as an immigrant plays no role in the article and she is shown as one more among neighbors.

The frame Victims, used in 39 occasions (18%) referring to situations in which immigrants suffer a negative situation, is evident in the article published by La Marina in January 2012 titled “An immigrant dies in the detention center”. The article describes the death of an immigrant in the CIE (Immigration Detention Center): “according to some inmates the young man began to feel bad the afternoon before dying but he was not treated.” The article was published in the context of protests in the city and the neighborhood against the center and the way immigrants are treated in it.

Both Criminals and Source of Change represent a small percentage of the total of frames. The first one can be found in the article published by Zona Sec titled “Blai street. Beyond Paral·lel street.” The article states that the collaboration between police officers and immigrants’ associations has been fruitful in “decreasing the number of police reports like theft of cars,” where the associations are used as mediators between police officers and people from their countries of origin that commit crimes. Source of Change is found in La Marina’s article titled “State of the immigration” where the changes brought by the immigrants are discussed. The article says that “immigration, therefore, provides the city with a considerable human capital.” The newspaper, then, clearly implies that immigration brings about social change. Criminals has a frequency of 10 (4%), and it focuses on situations where immigrants were charged, found guilty or were the main suspects of crimes. The main question here is whether the fact that those people were immigrants was relevant to the story or not. Source of Change is found in seven articles (3%). This frame, although positive, considers immigrants as a source of change for society and applies a purpose to a group of people without ever considering that they might not share this purpose.

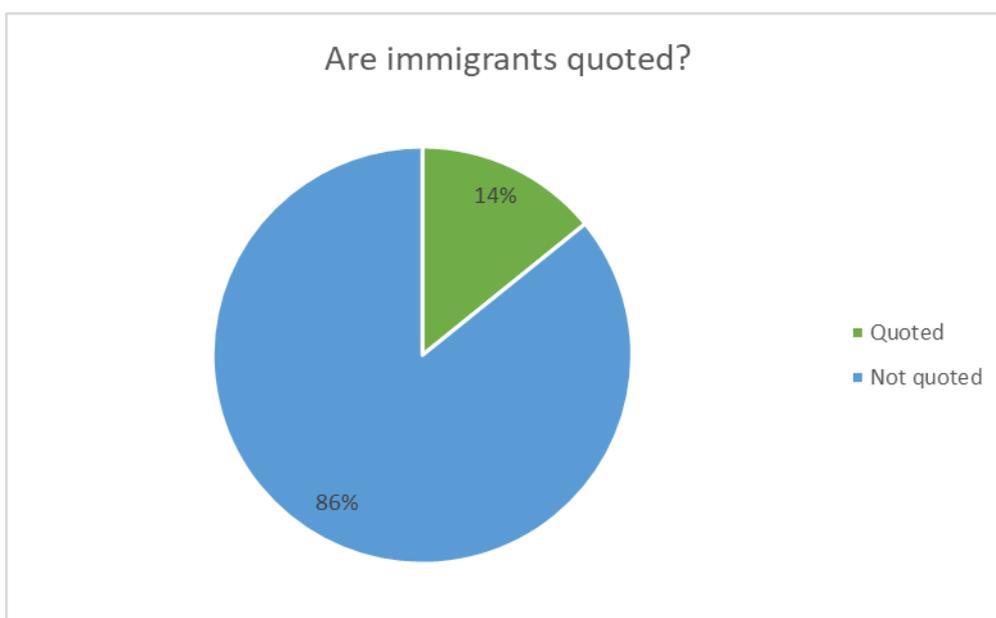
Graph 3: Frames

⁶ Other examples of articles are: “Ciutat Vella asks for more resources to integrate immigration” in El Raval 2006; “The council proposes referendums to promote participation” in Zona Sec 2002 or “Collapse in La Campana to validate immigrants’ driving licenses” in La Marina 2006.



c) Finally, immigrants are given an opportunity to speak only in 29 of the 205 articles analyzed, which means that in 176 articles someone else gets the opportunity to speak or define the immigrants. Although we believe it is problematic that immigrants are not quoted in most of the articles, it is important to note that there are many problems with the use of quotes. Problems with corrections, context, emphasis or order might change the speaker's meaning and are common situations within journalism (López Pan, 2010). It is also important to note the persuasive power of quotes, with readers paying more attention to quotes than data (Gibson & Zillmann, 1993; Gibson, et al., 2010), which means that quotes could potentially be used against immigrants without them having recourse to respond. However, it is clear that the lack of quotes shows a deficient access to the press, understood as the capacity to embed their interpretation of events in their accounts (van Dijk, 1991). It is this deficient access that we find problematic. Even if others' quotes result in negative depictions, immigrants have no room to challenge them because of this lack of access.

Graph 4: Are Immigrants Quoted?



Discussion and Conclusions

The first goal of this research was to see the degree of visibility of the immigrants in the neighborhood press. Visibility is of key importance because of its potential to foster understanding between communities and groups and decrease prejudices through extended contact (Pettrigrew, 1998, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006, Tropp and Pettigrew, 2005a, 2005b). The neighborhood press has a set of characteristics that allow for a wider coverage of their citizens (Ferreira et al., 2011; Rouger, 2008). In neighborhoods where immigration represents between 13.6 and 50 percent of the total population, a high visibility of immigrants should be expected. Surprisingly, immigration does not have a high visibility in this press. Articles are often linked to *real-world events* such as the Taula per la Convivència, a meeting between political institutions, neighborhood associations and immigrants organizations in Zona Sec, or problems with the CIE (Immigration Detention Center) in La Marina. Vliegthart and Bloomgarden (2007) found that *real-world events* are used as journalistic prototypes, helping pass the news threshold of the minimum requirement to be considered newsworthy. The neighborhood press clearly missed out on the chance to help foster inclusion and integration within the neighborhood by defining a group of people as immigrants, which infers two differentiated groups, the in-group and the out-group, which in turn carries along a status stratification (Echebarría & Fernández, 2003; Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996).

In addition, the *frame* analysis showed that 53% of the *frames* referred to difficult or hazardous situations, such as Source of Concern and Victims. The figure increases to 57% when the *frame* Criminals is added. This *frame* can be added to the first group since it may be understood that possible criminal situations immigrants find themselves in might be a result of the process of migration and the loss of social resources. The *frame* Neighbors was used in 27% of the articles. When compared to the mainstream press some differences may be observed. In the first place, research about this subject in other types of press shows that negative *frames* represent 69% (Checa & Arjona, 2011) and 61.4% (Cheng, et al., 2014) of the *frames*, whereas our investigation shows 57%. As for positive *frames*, there is an increase between the 21% found in Checa and Arjona (2011) and the 27% of Neighbors *frames* found in this investigation, a finding along the lines with those of Cheng et al. (2014), with a percentage of positive *frames* of 25.1%. These findings suggest that proximity may not be a strong enough characteristic to affect negative and positive *framing*. Even though our data do show a slight increase in positive, and a decrease in negative, frames, proximity might not be the explanatory factor, and more research should be done to establish whether it has an impact or not.

The use of certain *frames*, such as Source of Concern and Victims, as well as Criminals or Source of Change, may lead people to think of the immigrants needing help, as infantilized people. Even though mainstream media stereotype immigrants using negative *frames* (Bauder, 2008; Boomgaarden & Vliegthart, 2007; Brader, Suhay & Valentino, 2008; Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Cheng et al., 2010; Igartua et al., 2004; Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997;) and our results suggest that the neighborhood press use *frames* that tend to side with the immigrants even when negative, both types of press carry out *stereotyping* processes. Comparing our results with Elsrud's (2008) research, we can see how there is a lack of blaming and attacks in the way immigrants are portrayed. It is also clear that the neighborhood press of Barcelona is not trying to portray an ideal type of citizen of its neighborhood by comparison with the immigrants, as Elsrud seems to suggest. If immigrants need to be helped, it will be the in-group, the *us*, who provides help, even though the in-group may

be understood as the group that caused the problem in the first place, carrying out an apparent process of *othering* (Rodrigo, 2000, 2006, n/d). The importance of this process of *othering* falls on the infantilized depiction of the immigrant by this press. That is, while the *other* might not be threatening, it is, however, an *other* that needs help, reinforcing the stereotype. In this case, immigrants are not the opposite of what an ideal citizen should be, but who ideal citizens should help. The question remains whether the journalistic practices of the neighborhood journalists affect the way immigration is portrayed in the newspapers, as Grimm (2015) suggests. However, where the neighborhood press should be treating immigrants as neighbors, it is reproducing mechanisms that still stereotype them. Where the neighborhood press should include immigrants as *us*, it is still excluding them as an out-group, as the others, although proximity seems to help reduce the effects of these mechanisms. The fact that immigrants are rarely allowed to speak for themselves and are only quoted in 14% of the articles does not help reduce stereotyping as they are not given the opportunity to challenge these depictions. It is important to mention that editors and journalists do play a role in the selection and framing of quotes. To be quoted does not automatically offer the possibility to challenge any depictions. However, it seems clear that this possibility exists in a higher degree if the chance to speak for themselves is given to immigrants. It is clearly a matter of access to the press (van Dijk, 1991).

The findings of this study suggest that proximity may not be a characteristic strong enough to significantly lead to more positive frames than in the mainstream press. It seems clear, however, that while mainstream newspapers tend to show immigration as a problem, the neighborhood press sees immigration in a different light. Proximity, which in this case clearly implies contact, fosters more understanding and reduces negative feelings towards the out-group (Boomgarden & Vliegthart, 2009; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Koopmans & Olzak, 2004, Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a, 2005b).

However, in terms of processes of *othering*, well-intended discourses, such as in the neighborhood newspapers', also create *stereotypes* (Rodrigo, 2006). Hence, the importance of the *frame* Neighbors which disregards the origin of the characters and focuses on the situation.

As for visibility, three of the studied neighborhood newspapers miss out on the chance to offer more visibility. The neighborhood press offers a very small visibility to a big portion of their population, using very discernible *real-world events*, such as the Taula per la Convivència and the CIE (Immigration Detention Center), as a way to talk about the immigrants. These *real-world events* (Vliegthart & Boomgarden, 2007), and the salience that they carry, linked to specific situations, also have an important role in the process of *othering*.

As shown, the neighborhood newspapers have a different approach to the depiction of immigration. As Cheng, et al. (2014) stated, the neighborhood press tends to be more community service oriented, and this seems to be exactly the case of the studied newspapers. In the case of the neighborhood press, and particularly in the case of the depiction of immigrants, this kind of press does not, by approaching the issue differently, follow the depiction given by the mainstream press. That does not mean, however, that *stereotyping* and *othering* situations are not found. All in all, the newspapers should be praised for their efforts to report on immigration from a different perspective, but the results of their depiction might still be having a negative impact on their new neighbors' lives.

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