DISCURSOS POLÍTICOS Y MEDIÁTICOS CONTEMPORÁNEOS SOBRE LOS INMIGRANTES: UNA REVISIÓN DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN ANALÍTICA DEL DISCURSO EN ESPAÑA

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL AND MEDIA DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRANTS: A REVIEW OF DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL RESEARCH IN SPAIN

Miguel Stuardo Concha*, Sandra Soler Campo* y Marina Riera Retamero*

Resumen: *En esta investigación se revisan las publicaciones académicas que han analizado el discurso político y mediático sobre la inmigración en España entre 2014 y 2019. La revisión se ha llevado a cabo siguiendo los principios de la Revisión Rápida y Evaluación Rápida de la Evidencia en la Literatura aplicada a la investigación analítica del discurso. Siguiendo esta metodología, los investigadores han propuesto tres preguntas principales: a) ¿Qué representación de los migrantes y la migración se ha descrito en España durante los últimos 5 años? b) ¿Qué particularidades se pueden observar en la representación de las mujeres migrantes? c) ¿Cómo están representados los niños migrantes? Una vez aplicados los criterios de selección, se ha escogido un corpus final de 18 publicaciones recientes. Los investigadores han encontrado diversos y complejos matices en el discurso sobre la inmigración en España, tanto en los medios de comunicación como en el discurso político. Se observan silencios relevantes en el ámbito del discur-*

* Universidad de Barcelona.

so mediático sobre los inmigrantes, pocas investigaciones que aborden específicamente el discurso sobre las mujeres y niños que migran y también escasos análisis sobre el discurso anti-inmigración contemporáneo en el ámbito mediático y político.

Palabras clave: *discurso político; discurso mediático; discurso de la inmigración.*

Abstracts: *In this research we review academic publications on media and political discourse about migration published in Spain between 2014 and 2019. The review has been carried out following the principles of the Rapid Review and Rapid Evidence Assessment of the Literature applied to discourse analytical research. The researchers have posed three main questions: a) Which representation of migrants and migration has been described in Spain during the last 5 years? b) Which particularities can be observed in the representation of migrant women? c) How are migrant children represented? Once the selection criteria have been applied, a final corpus of 18 recents publications has been selected. The researchers have found diverse and complex nuances in the discourse about immigration in Spain, both in the media and in political discourse. There are also relevant silences in the sphere of media discourse and little research addressing specifically the discourse on migrant women, children and the contemporary anti-migration discourse in the media and political sphere.*

Key words: *political discourse; media discourse; immigration discourse.*

INTRODUCTION

The increasingly migratory flow in Spain during the last years has stimulated different rhetoric forms of regularization and tagging of the migrant subjects and communities. These forms are usually articulated by visibility technologies and public pedagogies, such as mass communication representations and political parties' discourses. According to Giroux (2004), public pedagogy brings out dynamics of a "regulatory and emancipatory relationship among culture, power, and politics" (p. 62). Similarly, Hickey-Moody (2019) argues that public pedagogies mobilize particular meanings on the distribution of bodies in inclusion/exclusion

areas. This entanglement of discourses and representations stimulates the public opinion and creates forms of regulation and discipline around subjects, bodies and communities, while developing forms of tolerance-intolerance, inclusion-exclusion, togetherness-otherness. Michael Foucault argues that these forms of social organization are produced by a combination of both a life regulatory technology and a disciplinary technology of the bodies. This conjunction allows the control on the social configurations of the ethos, "not by the individual training, but rather using a global balance" (Foucault, 2000, p. 225). This (self)regulation of the ethical code in the common sphere is compared by Foucault to "a homeostasis process" (Foucault, 2000, p. 226), and brings out specific scenarios such as symbolic racism (Sears, 1988); fictional representations on the political enemy (Mbembe, 2006); capitalization of the common disappointment by anti-immigration political parties (Cea-D'Ancona, 2002) and finally, governmental partitions that "delineate differential forms of inclusion [and exclusion]" (De Genova, Mezzadra & Pickles, 2014, p. 3).

The present research contributes to the European project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE). In this paper, we will focus on analysing the main results of discourse studies on the topic of migration and migrants in Spain. Specifically, we will critically analyse the results of a comparative literature review on public discourse enunciated by Spanish political agents and mass media during the last five years. As we have observed, a review of the literature with the purpose of synthesizing the main findings from the discourse analysis around immigration in Spain is a particular task and unusual. Nevertheless, we consider that it can contribute with a global vision on a relevant topic to understand the power relations of the speech and the co in contemporary globalization.

Having a global vision of the discourse that is representing a group as diverse as immigrants is undoubtedly relevant to understanding the tensions and political conflicts surrounding their social integration in Spain. Especially, we also try to focus our analysis on the discourses around migrant women and children in particular, mainly because our project wonders about the representation of and women and migrant children in order to assess their integration specificities in Spain and Europe, because we consider it necessary to look at the discourse from a gender and a child centered perspective

to deepen what is said and not said about this group. This paper aims to explore the academic results following three main research questions: 1) Which representation of migrants and migration can be founded in Spain during the last 5 years? 2) Which particularities can be observed in the representation of migrant women? 3) Who are migrant children represented? We use a collaborative review method based on principles of Rapid Review and Rapid Evidence Assessment of the Literature. This method is not frequently used in literature review in social sciences.

1. PARTICULARITIES OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL RESEARCH

This review of literature is conceptually framed in what has been called the *discourse analytical research* (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Within this scope, we assume the framework of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which one is considered interdisciplinary in nature by several authors (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). According to Van Dijk (2016), the CDA "is a type of research that focuses on discursive analysis and studies, mainly, the way in which abuse of power and social inequality are represented, reproduced, legitimized and resisted in text and speech in social and political contexts" (Van Dijk 2016, p. 204). Recently, the term *critical discourse studies* is being used to refer to the body of studies. In this field, there is no single method, but it is a field of interdisciplinary methods of Discourse Studies, and other relevant methods from the humanities and social sciences also have a place (Van Dijk, 2016; Wodak and Meyer, 2008; Titscher et al. 2000). It is very important to be aware of this issue, as it makes literature review and corpus selection more complex, especially in the methodological analysis and methodological contextualization of its conclusions.

The epistemological diversity present in the discourse analytical research and in CDA represents a challenge when proposing systematic reviews. One of the epistemological principles defended by main representatives of CDA states that "every theory is determined by practical research goals" (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). According to Weiss and Wodak (2003, p. 6) "theoretical framework of CDA seems eclectic and unsystematic" and "the plurality of theory

and methodology can be highlighted as a specific strength of CDA". In order for a review to give an account of a field of research that is open in terms of methodology, the criteria for methodological admission must be made more flexible.

It should also be borne in mind that in the field of discourse analytical research, it is sometimes carried out from an explicit political position. According to Van Dijk (2016), this is a field of study that assumes an explicit ethical and political position, an issue that has been described as a type of dissident research, it focuses on social problems and political issues, is multidisciplinary, describes and explains structures and the ways in which discursive structures represent, confirm, legitimize, reproduce or challenge abusive power relations (domination) in society.

2. DEFINING MEDIA AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The mass media discourse is a kind of speech whose purpose is to represent "the promotion of certain ideas, emotive impact on the citizens and by encouraging them to political activity, to the development of public consensus, acceptance and justification of social and political decision-making in a multiplicity of points in a society" (Chudinov, 2001, p. 36). There is a consensus that the media play a key role as intermediaries in the dissemination and construction of discourses and that through these artifacts realities are constructed, public opinion is influenced, identity and otherness thought is influenced and they are a tool of control of some groups over others (Califano, 2015; Fairclough & Wodak, 2000; Rodrigo Alsina, 2000; Van Dijk, 2016). However, also nowadays the media are considered not only as intermediaries but as "political actors with particular interests that move in a field crossed by power relations" (Califano, 2015, p. 63).

According to Van Dijk (1997) the political discourse could be "identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians" (p. 12), and it is necessary to consider that the politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics.

In this line, our operational definition of media discourse considers texts produced mainly by television, radio, paper or digital newspapers and social network services mainly produced and edited

by journalists. And we consider as political discourse those produced by professional politicians and political parties, governmental and non-governmental institutions through any media. We believe that the study of this type of discourse is important for migration studies because it allows us to synthesize and map representations about migration and migrant subjects. This allows us to understand the complexity of the communicational sphere as a space in dispute between different visions of migration.

In this contemporary context of CDA, our review will not focus on the methods or theoretical perspectives used but on synthesizing the interpretations and conclusions offered by researchers on the topic of migration and immigrant in political discourse and media discourse. We consider it important to mention that we have not found methodical reviews of research works about media and political discourse on immigrants in Spain that synthesize this field of study in the last 5 years.

3. METHODS

A literature review method based on the Rapid Review and Rapid Evidence Assessment of the Literature approaches was used (Khangura et al., 2014; Crawford et al., 2015). Both approaches are transparent protocols for reviewing literature that has worked with empirical evidence, usually addressing a specific topic within the scope, with shorter deadlines, use technological and automated tools, but with less depth and problematization than a Comprehensive Review or Systematic Review (Khangura et al., 2014; Crawford et al., 2015). El Rapid Evidence Assessment of the Literature has been initially proposed in the context of clinical research, in this framework the method considers:

> (1) the rapid identification of literature relevant to a particular subject matter area (usually related to an intervention for a particular outcome); (2) the use of one or more grading systems to assess the quality and strength of evidence for the topic; (3) a summary of that evidence and; (4) subject matter experts (SMEs) input and assessments of implications for the current use of the intervention in practice (Crawford et al., 2015, p. 3).

According to Khangura et al. (2014), the Rapid Literature Review (RPL) "is an evidence synthesis approach" (p. 20) and has been used frequently in the social sciences, in the field of policy, and in the health sciences "to support informed decisions" (p. 20). The RPL proposes an intentional design that considers one or more questions that frame the review, and the transparent definition of data sources, search strategies, selection criteria, data extraction procedures, synthesis and analysis (Khangura et al., 2014).

Considering that these revision protocols have been proposed in other contexts, it is necessary to adapt them and to make some stages more flexible in accordance with methodological and interdisciplinarity of the critical studies of the discourse. In this context, we propose a model of 6 stages based on both approaches: 1)Review Question, 2) Definition of sources, 3) Search strategy, 4) Keywords used description, 5)Selection criteria and result report, and 6) Synthesis and analysis.

3.1.   Review Question

The review question was defined in terms of the requirements of the research project set out in the introduction to this document. It was formulated in the following terms:

> Q.1 What representation(s) on immigration and migrants do we find in the Spanish media in the last 5 years?
> Q.2 What representation(s) of migrant women are observed in the media?
> Q.3 What representation(s) of migrant children are observed in the Spanish media?

3.2.   Definition of sources

They were defined as valid sources to be included in the project research published in paper format in academic journals with peer review and/or doctoral theses. The researchers have considered an exception with respect to the emerging issue of anti-immigration discourse, where only one non-peer reviewed publication produced by an NGO was found.

3.3.   Search strategy

A multi-search engine search strategy was proposed. Mainly, it started with an exploratory mapping inquiry without application of filters in Google Scholar. After this exploratory search, some more specific searching categories, mainly filters criteria and keywords, were defined and applied in four prestigious search engines. ScienceDirect and Web of Science were chosen for the large size of their databases and the quality of the journals indexed, mainly with the aim of finding publications in English. Meta-search engines such as Búscador Único UAM and Google Scholar, both especially powerful for searching in Spanish and English language journals because they integrate a wide range of academic repositories.

3.4.   Keywords used description

The Table 1 shows some of the words and sequences used for the searches. In summary, in English they were used as keywords: *media discourse, political discourse, migrant, immigrant, spain*. In Spanish, the key words were used: *discurso mediático, discurso político, medios de comunicación, migrante, inmigrantes, españa*. In Catalan, the words were used: *discurs mediàtic, discurs polític, mitjans de comunicació, migrant, immigrants, espanya*.

3.5.   Selection criteria

A temporary selection criterion (C1) was used, which considered the publications of the years between 2014 and 2019, both included. A geographical scope criterion (C2) was used to limit the results to the scope of Spain. The third criterion was of a thematic nature (C3), which defined addressing the issue of immigration or migrants as its central content. A fourth criterion was idiomatic (C4) which limited the selection to texts published in Spanish or English. At the same time, repeated items were eliminated by visual and manual inspection and the Zotero tool. An exception criterion (E1) was also included for an emerging issue, the anti-immigrant political discourse in Spain.

TABLE 1

SEARCH ENGINES, KEYWORDS AND FILTERS APPLIED.

Data base	Key words	Filters	Year period	Number of items[1]
ScienceDirect	S1: media discourse AND migrant	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	30
ScienceDirect	S2: media discourse AND immigrant	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	34
ScienceDirect	S3: media discourse AND refugee	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	26
ScienceDirect	S4: political discourse AND migrant	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	101
ScienceDirect	S5: political discourse AND immigrant	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	96
ScienceDirect	S6: political discourse AND refugee	TITLE-ABS-KEY PUBYEAR > 2013	2014-2019	82
Web of Science	S7: discurso mediático AND migrante OR inmigrante	Last 5 years	2014-2019	146
Buscador Único UAM	S8: discurso mediático AND migrante	From 2014	2014-2019	26
Buscador Único UAM	S9: discurso político AND migración AND españa	Only: books, chapters, articles	2014-2019	39
Google Scholar	S10: migración, político, discurso, refugiados, inmigrante, españa	No filter	2014-2019	16.100
Google Scholar	S11: migration, media discourse, political discourse, immigrant, spain	No filter	2014-2019	78.800

Source: own elaboration.
Notes: some publications appeared repeated in several search engines.

3.6. Data Extraction

Six stages were identified in the data extraction process: 1) Reading of titles, 2) reading of abstracts, 3) storage by means of a bibliographic management program and 4) Exporting and uploading to an online spreadsheet, 5) distribution of texts for collaborative revision by means of a document in the cloud, 6) extraction of

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[1] This number is thrown automatically by the search engine.

TABLE 2

FINAL DOCUMENTS FULL REVIEWED

Year	Authors	Title	Document type
2014	González-Cortés, Sierra-Caballero & Benítez-Eyzaguirre	Discurso informativo y migración. Análisis de las rutinas productivas de televisión y la diversidad sociocultural en Andalucía	Peer reviewed.
2015	Fernández-Suárez	El discurso político de integración de los inmigrantes en el nivel regional en España: la división entre políticas de identidad y políticas sociales	Peer reviewed.
2015	García Juan	El discurso de la Unión Europea sobre medidas de integración de inmigrantes y sus derivaciones en España	Peer reviewed.
2015	Martínez Lirola & Olmos Alcaraz	Sobre menores y mujeres inmigrantes en la radio y la televisión públicas: imágenes sesgadas y ficciones mediáticas	Peer reviewed.
2015	Piquer-Martí	La islamofobia en la prensa escrita española: aproximación al discurso periodístico de El País y La Razón	Peer reviewed.
2016	Alcaraz-Marmol & Soto	The semantic prosody of the words inmigración and inmigrante in the Spanish written media: A corpus-based study of two national newspapers	Peer reviewed.
2016	Fajardo-Fernández & Soriano-Miras	La construcción mediática de la migración en el Mediterráneo: ¿no-ciudadanía en la prensa española?	Peer reviewed.
2016	Fernández & Corral	La representación mediática del inmigrante magrebí en España durante la crisis económica (2010-2011)	Peer reviewed.
2016	Mantecón, Membrado, & Huete	Fragmentación socio-espacial, inmigración europea y discursos políticos en la provincia de Alicante	Peer reviewed.
2017	Castaño, Martínez, & Periáñez	Andalusia at the crossroads of Europeanness: Immigration as a performance of coloniality	Peer reviewed.
2017	Iglesias Pascual	Generadores y transversalidad del discurso sobre inmigración en el ámbito metropolitano de Sevilla	Peer reviewed.
2017	Martínez-Lirola	Analysing visual dysphemisms in news items on the arrival of Sub-Saharan immigrants to Spain in small boats: visual strategies of pity, fear and compassion	Peer reviewed.
2017	Prieto-Andrés	Discurso político sobre la Ley de extranjería en la prensa española	Peer reviewed.
2018	Chakour & Portillo	La interpretación inferencial y los espacios mentales en el discurso mediático sobre inmigración en España.	Peer reviewed
2018	García-González	El impacto del RDL 16/2012 en la población migrante irregular. Exclusión sanitaria y producción masiva de vulnerabilidad en España	Peer reviewed.
2018a	Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González	La imagen negativa de la inmigración en los medios: ¿cuestión de estrategia?	Peer reviewed.
2018b	Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González	La inmigración en la esfera mediática: estrategias de actores políticos clave	Peer reviewed
2019	Fundación porCausa	La franquicia antimigración. Cómo se expande el populismo xenófobo en Europa	Not peer reviewed

Source: own elaboration.

relevance citations or key ideas and uploading to a document in the cloud.

After a first application of selection criteria, based on reading titles and abstracts, we selected 79 documents. Subsequently, 79 texts were fully collaboratively read by the research team, and the same criteria were re-applied. After this second filtering 17 papers met most of the selection criteria and 1 paper met the exception criteria. Then, they were considered to be interesting for the research and they were fully and thoroughly reviewed.

3.7.   Synthesis and analysis

A group of researchers participated in collaborative reading. These researchers reviewed the texts considering the inquiry questions and extracted the literal quotations or created ideas of synthesis with the information that, according to their criteria, allowed to construct an answer to the questions. These literal quotations turned into a document in the cloud. A small team used this quotations to construct a system of categories, based on some Grounded Theory Principles (Andréu et al., 2007).

Based on the review results, a thematic analysis was carried out and the following category tree was constructed:

1.0 Media discourse
    1.1. Negative words surrounding immigration
    1.2. Utilitarian economic vision of migration
    1.3. No-citizen migrant and migrant without trayectory
    1.4. Islamophobic discourse
    1.5. Migrant women and children as collective victims and voice exclusion
    1.6. Negative media discourse and others influences
    1.7. Journalist: No time for right language and latent racism
    1.8. Passives agents and victims
    1.9. The silences in the Media Sphere

2.0 Political discourse
    2.1. A conflict between monoculturalism and multiculturalism
    2.2. Proactive and reactive discourses
    2.3. Migrant as security problem

2.4. Migrants as investors and buyers

2.5. Autonomous Communities discourses

2.6. Migrant as health tourists

2.7. Anti-migrants discourse in time of elections?

This category framework is used to synthesize and present the results that answer the review questions. The initial extraction of information focused on reading the title and abstract. We present the mains results following our category tree.

4.   RESULTS

In this section we present the results from the review of the corpus of authors described in the previous section. The results are presented in a synthesized and organized way based on the emerging categories system. For the construction of this category system, the content was mainly considered in relation to the research questions that guide the review. The first group of categories emerges from research that has had media discourse as its main focus. The second group of categories emerges from research that has had political discourse as its main focus.

4.1.   Media Discourse

4.1.1.   *Negative words surrounding immigration*

The Spanish media often associate migrant collectives or immigration with a lexicon of unfavourable meaning belonging to the military semantic field (Alcaraz-Marmol & Soto, 2016; Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018a), contributing to the creation of prejudices that associate immigration with the idea of invasion and conquest and other negative words. For example, in the case of *inmigración*, some researchers found in a semantic research "62 words with a negative meaning, namely *batalla* (battle), *crisis* (crisis), *explotación* (exploitation), *guerra* (war), *hostilidad* (hostility), *problema* (problem) or *preocupación* (worry)" (Alcaraz-Marmol & Soto, 2016, p. 156). Piquer-Martí (2015) states that in

general "we find a representation of the immigrant in a culturalist, differentialist and miserabilist approach" (p. 141).

According to Chakour and Portillo (2018), while in the Spanish language definition of 'immigrant' refers to leave one place to settle temporarily or permanently to another and it could include pensioners, footballers, students, workers searching for betters conditions, the reality is that 'immigrant' word is mainly associated with people that come to Spain from the so-called third world countries:

> The use of a lexicon belonging to the military semantic field has been observed, contributing to the sedimentation of stereotypes and prejudices that associate the phenomenon with the idea of invasion and conquest. Both nouns, verbs and adjectives openly accentuate the danger posed by the arrival of immigrants to the Peninsula, thanks to the assessments that connote and nuances they contain. Gentilicios are used in turn to associate the concept of threat to certain nationalities, mostly belonging to the so-called "Third World" (Chakour and Portillo, 2018, p. 84).

4.1.2. *No time for right language and latent racism*

Despite the production of professional ethical codes and writing style manuals, which aim to avoid stereotyped and superficial visions, discriminatory, racist and xenophobic practices continue to be observed in the Spanish media (González-Cortés et al., 2014). As they have investigated through interviews with communication professionals, the biggest difficulties in incorporating these professional ethical codes and writing style in the professionals' practice are the enormous speed with which news are published, which decreases the time available for reflection (González-Cortés et al., 2014).

From an analysis of the media sphere based on interviews with communication professionals from the Basque Country, Ruiz-Aranguren and Cantalapiedra-González (2018a) have highlighted the lack of a specific and systematic communicative strategy when reporting on immigration. For these authors, work routines and latent racism of journalist are some of the factors behind the negative informative treatment of immigration:

> [...] the information issued by the media is reactive, insofar as the directives lack their own agenda and strategies, so that journalistic routines acquire a fundamental weight in the informative treatment of immigration (Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018a, p. 376)

4.1.3.   *Utilitarian economic vision of migration*

For legitimate the immigration, some journalist construct a utilitarian vision of migration based on the benefits it brings to the host society. They legitimate it on the fact that the Basques also emigrated at some time and "the economic benefits and the impact on birth rates of immigration" (Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018a, p. 375). The authors criticize that sometimes the debates involving migrants discourse are focus on inclusion or not of the word 'migrant', without considering a broader analytical framework (Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018a):

> The vision of migration is very limited to the extent that it ignores the inequalities that are behind a good part of the migratory projects, inequalities based largely on unresolved colonisations and neo-colonialism, ecological disasters, wars and, in short, the existing asymmetry in the right to transit and settle in other people's territories [...] (Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018a, p. 375)

4.1.4.   *Passives agents and victims*

For Fajardo-Fernández and Soriano-Miras (2016) the construction of the media discourse on immigration in the Mediterranean reproduces the logic of the externalisation of borders and irregular migration status introduced by the European Union's migration policy. According to their analysis, migrant collectives are portrayed "in most cases as passive agents, as victims of the mafias or as objects of assistance [...] and as actors who make use of violence to achieve their purpose" (Fajardo-Fernández & Soriano-Miras, 2016, p. 142).

Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcaraz (2015) have studied the modes of representation of immigrant minors and women on public radio and television in Andalusia. According to these authors, in the radio news analyzed in which men and women are protagonists, they are linked to negative content:

in 84.84% of cases. Another characteristic that stands out in this corpus is that the voices of immigrants do not appear in them (only in one case), while the voices of people from the majority group do appear, that is, from the Spanish population" (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015, p. 7).

They also pointed out that in the corpus of radio news analysed, men and women "tend to be passive, that is to say, they are the ones who receive the actions carried out by the majority group in 78.78% of cases" (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015, p. 7).

Martínez-Lirola (2017) specifically analysed the representation of sub-saharan immigrants. According to this author, immigrants were represented in a way that the negative aspects of them and the moments of the arrival were highlighted. The general tendency was to represent them as victims, distanced from the readers and as different from the local society. The sub-saharan migrants were portrayed as vulnerable, dependent as a people-problem, as people who are sick or in need.

4.1.5. *No-citizen migrant and migrant without trayectory*

The narrative constructs a de-citizenized and borderalized migrant subject, silencing the problematization of free circulation, human rights, the problems of the countries of origin and the conditions of transit at the borders (Fajardo-Fernández & Soriano-Miras, 2016).

4.1.6. *Islamophobic discourse*

Some authors specifically study the representation of Arab and Muslim migrants in the mass media. In the first place, the use of the term Arab and Muslim (Piquer-Martí, 2015; Fernández & Corral, 2016) is observed as synonyms, which entails a Muslimisation of the Arab and an invisibilisation of secularity visions in this culture. In two Spanish newspapers of national circulation, Piquer-Martí (2015) observed an islamophobic tendency, because the thematic selection had almost always negative connotations and the virtues or successes were silenced. The main themes presented in the media analysed by the author have been integration and conflict.

The analysis of the Maghrebi representations on a corpus of national and regional newspapers in Spain carried out by Fernández

and Corral (2016) showed that this group, which has a majority presence in Spain, is generally link

> to issues such as coexistence and interculturality (25.9%), delinquency, conflicts or events (22.2%), demography and migratory movements (16.5%) and other cultural, folkloric or religious issues (10.7%). These aspects, together with labour and socio-economic issues (9.4%) make up almost 85% of the subjects we intended to measure (p. 85).

4.1.7. *Migrant women and children as collective victims and voice exclusion*

Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcaraz (2015) have noted in his study that 90.91% of migrant women and children were represented by assimilation, that is, represented as a collective or group, compared to 9.09% of the news in which they were represented individually. In the case of television news referring to immigrant women and minors, most of them were negative, 70.83% of the corpus analyzed, and referred to "arrests for prostitution and shipwrecks or interceptions of boats with women and minors arriving to the Andalusian coasts" (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015, p. 9).

The author observes relevant questions about the representation of women in the media that point to a protagonism only in a negative situation:

> In other words, when the immigrant woman is the protagonist of a news is because she is pregnant and arrives irregularly in Spain, because she has been a victim of assault and or because she is related to the world of prostitution (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015, p. 13).

The authors observe an exclusion of the voice of women and children in the media analysed and an over-representation of the voice of authorities, police and NGOs. In this context, they consider it necessary:

> to offer the testimonies and opinions of immigrants, that is, to move from talking about immigrant minors and women to talking to immigrant minors and women.In this sense, the media should offer more testimonies from people of other origins and countries, who could narrate in first person their migratory experiences, and

not leave this task exclusively to police officers, civil guards, Red Cross volunteers and politicians (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015, p. 14).

4.1.8. *Negative media discourse and others influences*

However, it has also been pointed out that the influence of the media is limited and it is necessary to consider the conditions of reception of these speeches. In the case of Spain, Iglesias-Pascual (2017) has identified as factors influencing opinions on immigration "the media, the internal vision of residents or ex-residents in these neighbourhoods and, finally, occasional displacements" (Iglesias-Pascual, 2017, p. 100).

4.1.9. *The Silences in the Media Sphere*

Ruiz-Aranguren and Cantalapiedra-González (2018b), through interviews, collect the media silences from the point of view of the NGOs working with migrants issues in the Basque Country. According to their research, the silences are related to: 1) the experiences and difficulties experienced by many migrants in their daily lives, 2) the life of women workers in domestic service, 3) discriminatory and racist police actions including raids, 4) raids on women sex workers and 5) information on the economic contribution of immigrants. We observe that specifically two of the issues mentioned as media silences by the interviewees are related to women.

4.2. Politicians' discourse on immigration

4.2.1. *A conflict between monoculturalism and multiculturalism*

According to Prieto-Andrés (2017), based on Zapata-Barrero (2009) theory, the political discourse on immigration underlies a conflict between monoculturalism and multiculturalism. From his point of view, there are two types of discourse: a) a monocultural one, which is called reactive because it reacts against the historical process. This discourse seeks to re-establish a past, manage the conflict and focuses on the negative alterations of interculturality. It interprets migration as something negative and threatening, opposing citizens to immigrants; b) the one that leads to a

multicultural future, which he calls proactive, which assumes the irreversibility of the process and seeks to shape it as a framework to orient social changes. This discourse represents immigration as an opportunity, appeals to the entire population, whether they are citizens or not, voters or not, and advocates respect for pluralism.

4.2.2.   *Proactive and reactive discourses*

According to Prieto-Andrés (2017) analysis of six Spanish newspapers, El País, El Mundo, ABC, Heraldo de Aragón, El Periódico de Aragón and La Vanguardia, there is "an almost absolute equality between proactive and reactive discourses in all the media analysed, which manifests a global vision of the media, divided and contradictory, but it undoubtedly reflects the positions of the social actors present in the press and therefore of our society" (Prieto-Andrés, 2017, p. 702). He has also stated that mixed speeches, which mix different rhetoric, are scarce (10.5%) and states that the influence of the two main Spanish national political parties is demonstrated. When the Popular Party (PP) is the main source of the media content, a reactive discourse predominates, and if the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) is the main source, there is a balance between the two discourses (Prieto-Andrés, 2017).

Across the political spectrum, an argument was chosen based on the assumption of an irreversible migratory process leading to a multicultural future that represented a historical opportunity and a challenge for the future (García-Juan, 2015). Prior to the economic crisis, as the researcher García-Juan (2015) points out, an idea of social cohesion and non-discrimination prevailed, a respect for the principle of democratic equality, instead of placing the discourse around the idea of security, the interest of the State and national citizenship. "The political discourse was essentially unanimous in terms of the legal framework, focusing above all on what it was intended to achieve (integration and equal rights) and not on what it was intended to avoid (insecurity and instability)" (García-Juan, 2015, p. 148).

4.2.3.   *Autonomous Communities discourses*

Due to the institutionality and distribution of some political responsibilities in the matter of foreigners towards the autonomous

communities, the discourses on immigration and migrants take diverse community nuances. In general, for Fernández-Suárez (2015), the development of regional governments at different speeds and the existence of different positions in defence of a self-identity mark to a great extent the creation of the discourse on immigrants' integration.

Fernández-Suárez (2015) states that in Catalonia, the Autonomous Community that receives one of the greatest flows and has the largest migrant population in Spain, a more plural and complex discourse is developed than in other Autonomous Communities. According to Fernández-Suárez (2015), this has allowed for a series of political debates around issues related to immigration: a) the municipal registry of immigrants in irregular administrative situation in the different municipalities, and administrative procedure that gives access to the use and enjoyment of Welfare State resources; b) access to social rights and resources of the Welfare State, where it was discussed whether to guarantee this right for the foreign population with a residence permit or to maintain it for the migrant population as a whole, bearing in mind that the increase in the foreign population did not lead to an increase in investment in social policies; c) extension of political rights, for example, the granting of votes in local elections and the change in the requirements of legislation on access to Spanish nationality to make it more flexible; d) the prohibition of the burqa in public spaces; e) the vision of integration and its political philosophy; f) immigration and the use of the Catalan language.

According to Fernández-Suárez (2015) in the Community of Madrid, unlike Catalonia, the question of identity is resolved in a territorial identification that assumes the Spanish language as its own. Within this framework, political discourse focuses on "the demands imposed on foreigners to access social and political rights during their residence in Spain" (Fernández-Suárez, 2015, p. 56). The Popular Party of Madrid bases its discourse on the defence of the legacy of European societies and on the defence of the Catholic heritage, advocates a system of meritocratic integration in the discourse, in which foreigners strive to gain their space in the receiving society and must assume their decision to integrate. It also advocates a Spanish national identity and the devolution of responsibilities in matters of foreigners to the central government (Fernández-Suárez, 2015). On the other hand, the Socialist Workers

Party in Madrid defines itself in the matter of immigration by defending positions such as the normalisation of access to public services, guaranteeing equal opportunities around a vision of interculturality (Fernández-Suárez, 2015). While the United Left Party defends a vision of intercultural integration, a proposal halfway between multiculturalism and assimilationism (Fernández-Suárez, 2015).

In Andalusia, according to Fernández-Suárez (2015), in the political discourse of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, the main concerns are the living conditions of irregular immigrants in agriculture, social integration and normalisation of access to social services. For the Popular Party, the issue of immigration does not play a central role, however, they raise the need to articulate an orderly migration and put an end to the arrival of irregular immigrants, emphasizing that foreigners should exercise their rights and duties as citizens. For Fernández-Suárez (2015) "at the local level the discourse on integration is openly assimilationist without excessive nuances, and in relation to equal opportunities there is a defense from a paternalistic view of immigrants residing in this region" (p. 62).

4.2.4.   *Migrant as security problem*

Castaño et al. (2017) have analysed the political discourse in the Comprehensive Plans for Immigration in Andalusia, according to this author "these policies, which are in harmony with the EU's agenda on immigration from outside its borders, have contributed to the reinforcement of an imaginary in which immigration is regarded as the cause of cultural fracture and division, a potential hazard for security, an instrument and a consequence of economic growth, and a phenomenon that needs controlling and regulating" (p. 69-70).

4.2.5.   *Migrants as investors and buyers*

Mantecón et al. (2016), have analyzed the political discourse in the province of Alicante, a province that implemented a policy of building real estate and attracting migrant buyers from high-income countries by offering housing. In this framework, they identify "four basic attitudes of politicians towards foreign residents: a) of arrivals

as "heroes"; b) of gratitude towards arrivals; c) of "invisibility" of arrivals; d) of arrivals as a kind of "plague" (Mantecón et al., 2016, p. 75).

4.2.6. *Anti-migrants discourse in time of elections*

Although in the period before and after the economic crisis immigration issues had not been positioned in the electoral debate, this situation changed in the last elections. Perhaps the high point is the emergence of an anti-immigration discourse, in a political scenario marked by polarisation, the territorial crisis, the increase in the arrival of immigrants through the Southern Border and the openly populist treatment.

For the first time in the history of democracy in Spain, a political party catalogued as far-right has parliamentary representation. In the last elections held on April 28, 2019, the political party VOX won 10.26% of the votes, breaking into Congress with 24 deputies. According to the analysis of Fundación porCausa (2019) this party develops a speech in which "they advocate the expulsion of all illegal immigrants, as well as those who have committed crimes, prioritizing the interests of Spanish citizens over migrants, in addition to building another wall at the borders of Ceuta and Melilla" (p. 40).

The president of this party also builds an Islamophobic discourse by proposing the closure of mosques and constructing a categorization of migrants according to cultural and linguistic proximity. In the words of Santiago Abascal, former member of the Popular Party and current president of VOX, "an immigrant from a brother country in Latin America, with the same culture, the same language, the same world view, is not the same as immigration from Islamic countries" (Sosa, 2017). The discourse of the VOX political party shows a strong rejection of multiculturalism, defending Spanish nationalist culture and the religious framework of Catholicism (Fundación porCausa, 2019).

4.2.7. *Migrant as health tourist*

Some recent cases of political discourse on health system reforms have also been analysed. García-González (2018) notes that the recent health reform has been based on xenophobic political discourse by equating "health tourism" and "irregular migration".

These proclamations promoted the idea of health-driven migration and a representation of migrants as a threat to the stability of the health system.

5.   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

According Grobet (2014) and Staglianó (2014), in differents geographical context the media discourse in the news often focuses on myths about the number of migrants or their economic impact, potentially legitimizing ethnocentric and nationalist rhetoric, or undermining policy efforts regarding the long-term integration of migrants and refugees. According to our review, this situation remains in Spain, mainly affecting the groups with a majority presence in the country. In studies older than the scope of our review, we have found that immigration is usually represented by zoomorphic metaphors, such as birds alluding to movements, phytomorphic, such as trees alluding to roots and uprooting, metaphors of the semantic field of water as currents, torrents, avalanches, or of the semantic field of war as invasion, conquest (Susana-Creus, 2012).

In Spain in the last five years, the media representation of migrant women remains mainly negative (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015). In the case of women and children, they are presented as a collective, as passive and as victims (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015). Also media silences have been observed in relation to migrant women in domestic service and the violence received by migrant women in prostitution. Overall, in the period under review we found little peer review research addressing the discourse about migrant women and children. Only one paper (Martínez-Lirola & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015) has addressed the issue directly. However, other studies published in congress proceedings analyse the representation of migrant women in the labour market in political discourse. For example, in Andalusia region, Periáñez-Bolaño (2015) states that the semantics of "socio-labour integration reproduces and marks the feminization and racialization of domestic work and and care-related services" (p. S37/98). It also describes the emergence of a political discourse denouncing the domestic demand for hiring immigrant women on the basis of gender, language and cultural variables (Periáñez-Bolaño, 2015).

In the area of topics silenced in the media sphere, it is interesting to note that some researchers have described a group of topics through interviews with the migrants themselves (Ruiz-Aranguren & Cantalapiedra-González, 2018b). According to this research, the experiences and difficulties experienced by many migrants in their daily lives appear very infrequently in the media, also the discriminatory and racist police actions. Along these lines, we can state that there is still a debt of representation with respect to immigrant groups in the Spanish media.

On the other hand, media also constitute a space for political expression where the demands of migrant people are formulated. Nevertheless, the absence of an explicit pro-immigration or free circulation discourse is observed. The only exception is the positive discourse that values immigration as workers, as investors and buyers (see for example Mantecón et al., 2016). We observe that this discourse focuses on the working capacities of the immigrant and does not value the identity and cultural issues that he or she brings with him or her. It is a discourse in which the immigrant is subordinated and reified as a workforce only.

In political discourse, the approaches of the various parties flow between the poles based on visions of multiculturalism and monoculturalism, introducing approaches of both according to the political scenarios. The discourse of the irreversibility of the migratory processes assumed by both left and right wing political parties is also notorious (García-Juan, 2015). Within the framework of the political discourses of the Autonomous Communities, we find main ideas around the access of foreigners to their social and political rights (Fernández-Suárez, 2015). In this framework, the political discourse in Spain is modulated by the regional dynamics of governments and parties and may contain local nuances.

The emergence of the anti-immigration discourse in Spain related to right-wing parties like VOX is still under-researched. In the period analysed, we found only one publication without peer review published by an NGO (see for example Fundación porCausa, 2019). The anti-immigration discourses by current far-right political representatives creates dehumanizing categories and classes of desirable immigrants according to language and religion as main elements of legitimation. One of the most relevant conclusions on this point is that the discourse of the VOX political party shows a strong rejection of multiculturalism ideology, defending the Spanish nationalist culture and the religious

framework of Catholicism (Fundación porCausa, 2019). It will also be interesting to track and analyze in the future how the emergence of a radical anti-immigration discourse affects the discourse of other parties and Spanish political institutions.

In the period reviewed, we found no peer-reviewed studies analyzing discourse in social network services like Facebook or Twitter. This type of studies seems to be less frequent and perhaps more complex to carry out. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that we have left out of this study the methodological review that allows us to describe and review the analytical procedures employed by the researchers. Both analyzing the discourse in social networks and reviewing the methodologies are interesting topics to continue deepening in future publications.

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