

The Representation of Immigration in the Spanish Press from a Gender Perspective (2008-2019)

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The aim of this study is to analyse how the press portrays the phenomenon of immigration from a gender perspective. To achieve this, we selected four of Spain's leading newspapers: El País, El Mundo, La Vanguardia, and ABC. We examined a corpus of 886 analysis units, compiled during the period 2008-2019, using the quantitative content analysis method. The results revealed four noteworthy aspects: the simplification of migration reality by disregarding the gender issue and, when addressed, under-representing immigrant women; the linking of

women to more social and integrative perspectives, while men are more associated with conflict and delinquency; the quantitative over-dimensioning of immigrants of African origin compared to the real figures; and, finally, when the gender issue is taken into account, the main source of information is the migrants themselves, which presents the migration phenomenon through the experiences and feelings of the people involved in the process.

Key words: immigration, gender, stereotypes, frame, press.

There is a general consensus that points to the role of the media as transmitters and shapers of images (Zapata-Barrero and Dick, 2007; Albert *et al.*, 2010; Rodrigo-Alsina *et al.*, 2016; Arévalo *et al.*, 2021; Pérez-Curiel, 2020; Ihejirika and Krtalic, 2020). The media, and specifically the written press, contribute to the shaping and transmission of realities by offering a particular presentation of each news event. On the one hand, through so-called agenda setting, they determine what is newsworthy and, in so doing, they define and generate the issues that should be thought about in the public sphere, ensuring

that certain topics prevail over others in terms of the coverage and treatment of current affairs (McCombs *et al.*, 2014; Tirado-Espín *et al.*, 2020). On the other hand, depending on how the communicator frames the news, the audience is guided as to how to think about, judge and interpret this reality (Entman, 1993; Igartua *et al.*, 2005; Helbling, 2013; Amores *et al.*, 2020).

These journalistic strategies, methods and techniques show that one of the most prominent aspects of these portrayals is the simplification of reality (Tajfel, 1984), sometimes caused by the ethnocentric view of otherness, meaning the perspective that considers one's own perspective as morally correct and valuable and that of others as exotic and inferior (Gómez-Puertas *et al.*, 2015; Rodrigo Alsina and Medina Bravo, 2013). When information refers to other groups or human collectives, the repeated use of stereotypes, the negative or positive mental images we have of other people (Cristoffanini, 2005), helps to establish a clear division between the 'us' and the 'them' (Richardson and Wodak, 2009). Besides, the 'them' "appears in the journalistic discourse not as individuals with names and surnames, but as part of a uniform amalgam, which loses its individual personality" (Casero, 2005, p. 142).

This simplification of reality applies to the differentiated treatment that the media assign to both men and women in the migration process. Representations of migrants' gender reflect a simplified and often biased view of their heterogeneity. The connections between gender, social class, race, and age of migrants tend to be diluted in a certain essentialisation of the subject as a migrant (Magliano, 2015). In this way, distinctive and constitutive aspects of migrants are silenced, schematising their reality. When the veil of invisibility of migrant women is lifted, it is possible to consider not only the geographical borders they have crossed but also the categorical ones, that are not always evident in the news that talk about them. It is well known that the types of social classification determine the image, the social representation we have of others, and therefore, the position of one or the other in the system of privileges or exclusions that shape our social relations, as well as access to rights and opportunities (Anthias, 1998; 2012; Quijano, 2014). Nevertheless, and despite the simplification with which the media tend to reflect the subordinate reality of migrant women, the intersectionality approach allows us to find valuable traces of the relationships that are established with global economy, working conditions, family configurations and migration policies, (Herrera, 2013; Shan-Jan, 2021).

As the 2020 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) notes, media accounts of women, apart from their androcentric bias, are scarce, and bear no relation to their real weight in migratory flows, despite the fact that, from a sociodemographic point of view, the feminisation of migration was highlighted early on by Castles and Miller (1993). Even earlier, Morokvasic (1984) drew attention to the presence of women in migration flows and criticized academia's lack of interest in investigating the real conditions under which female migration took place. Her conclusions pointed out how the media tended to present a stereotypical view of female migrants, highlighting the emotional, domestic, and individual aspects of their migration experiences as opposed to those of men. Since that time, these biases have been maintained

and reinforced, resulting in a notable invisibilisation of the role of women in migration processes.

In this study, with the aim of analysing the visibility and representation of the migration phenomenon in the Spanish press from a gender perspective, we examined the treatment of this phenomenon by four Spanish newspapers (*El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*) over an extended period of time (2008-2019), from the beginning of the economic crisis to the outbreak of the health crisis resulting from COVID-19. A quantitative content analysis was made of the primary and secondary themes that appeared over this period, the sources, the geographical origin of the migrant and the framing. Through this analysis, we tried to answer the following research questions:

- RQ1. What is the relevance of the journalistic approach to gender in the treatment of immigration in the Spanish press?
- RQ2. Is there gender stereotyping when it comes to portraying the phenomenon of immigration?
- RQ3. How is gender stereotyping portrayed, if any, when it comes to the phenomenon of immigration?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Previous research shows that one of the consequences of the repeated use of stereotypes is the generalisation of the ‘them’ with a two-fold effect: firstly, it can conceal the enormous diversity that actually exists; and, secondly, it can be used to overstate certain aspects of the reality.

Among the most frequent generalisations we find in the press related to the ‘them’ is the idea of threat, the feeling of insecurity, suspicion and fear of the unknown, since, as Nussbaum (cited in Playà, 2010, p. 27) points out, “large groups of new immigrants tend to generate panic, particularly in times of general insecurity, and especially if the new immigrants have a visibly different set of customs and religious practices”. Thus, simplifying the reality of the ‘stereotypical them’ may accentuate the immigrant as a threat, i.e., the ‘them’ may be linked to issues of crime, violence, conflict or insecurity (Benesch *et al.*, 2019; Eberl *et al.*, 2018).

However, this simplification distorts reality in another way, as it can emphasise elements of reality, over-representing these and thereby further enhancing this projection of threat and insecurity. This can be seen when, for example, the geographical origin of the foreign protagonist in the news item is highlighted, contributing to the projection of a ‘general and group’ image or types of behaviour as opposed to individual conduct (Nash, 2005). For example, the Moroccan population has been directly linked to drug trafficking, irregularity, difficulties in integrating into the destination societies, and terrorism (El-Madkouri, 2012). The Colombian population is associated with issues such as crime and drug trafficking (Retis and Benivides, 2009) and the Chinese community is linked to violence, exploitation of their compatriots, as well as difficulties in integrating into the host society (Nieto, 2003; Merino Sancho, 2008).

In this vein, other studies point out how the simplification of the media's treatment of gender can distort the true image of immigrant women, for instance when action related to illegal activities are attributed to them, particularly those linked to sexual services or gender-based violence (Castagnani and Colorado, 2009; Hennebry *et al.*, 2017; Martínez-Lirola, 2010).

When gender bias is added to ethnic or cultural bias (Seijas, 2014), the differences in the media's treatment of women become more noticeable. For example, immigrant women of Brazilian origin are portrayed as exotic, dissolute, sexually active, corrupt and threatening to the social order (Andrade, 2014; Pontes, 2008). A similar pattern is seen in the case of women from Romania (Masanet and Ripoll, 2008). Another area in which the geographical origin of migrant women is highlighted is often gender-based violence, which, although present in all cultures (Arnosó *et al.*, 2013), is more marked in migrant women from Latin America and Africa (Román *et al.*, 2011). In the Western press, Maghrebi women are viewed as responsible for the collective identity or subjugation of women to men (Aixelà, 2001; Giardina and Márquez-Lepe, 2021).

However, the media's treatment of immigration has another dimension, that of rendering other realities invisible. As highlighted by the GMMF (2020), which since 1995 has been conducting a five-yearly review of how women are portrayed in the media around the world, there is a systematic under-representation of women in the content disseminated. Comparing the results of the first report in 1995 with the latest published report (2020), it can be seen that the changes detected have been few and slow. The pieces featuring women as the main subjects account for just 24% of the total number of news items examined. These visibility figures are particularly striking if we bear in mind that statistics on international migration show that the proportions of men (52%) and women (48%) are similar (McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou, 2021; Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, 2021).

The reason for this under-representation of immigrant women in the media can be explained according to several perspectives. Some authors, such as Bach Arús *et al.* (2000) point out that women in the media are blurred by the predominant use of the generic masculine. The second argument is linked to cultural practices that confine women to domestic tasks and roles such as being a daughter, mother or wife (Sobrados-León, 2006; Martínez-Lirola, 2015). This reduction of roles to the domestic sphere is also extrapolated to society, as their jobs are mainly associated with household services (Aldaz Odriozola and Eguía Peña, 2016; Montoro-Gurich, 2017). Finally, a third element that may contribute to the invisibilisation of immigrant women is that they may suffer double discrimination: as women and as foreigners (Tuts and Martínez Ten, 2006; Vañó Juárez, 2013). This may even be triple discrimination, as in the case of Latin American women: social class, gender and ethnicity (Fernández Suárez, 2016). This segregation contributes to their diminished presence in the media. In short, as Seijas (2014) points out, from a gender perspective, the information that appears in the media is characterised by the stereotyping, invisibility and victimisation of immigrant women.

SOURCES AND METHODS

The analysis units of this study come from four of the leading Spanish newspapers (Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación, 2021), which are, in alphabetical order: *ABC*, *El Mundo* (*EM*), *El País* (*EP*), and *La Vanguardia* (*LV*). Moreover, their editorial lines present clear differences.

The study was conducted using the content analysis technique since, as Berelson (1952) points out, this facilitates “the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the content manifested in communication”. We selected units that included the term “inmigra*”, downloaded from the paid newspaper library service “MyNews” for the period 2008-2019. In order to avoid periods with exceptional migratory situations that could entail changes and differentiation in the media’s treatment of immigration (refugees, uprisings, legislative changes, etc.), a sample of news items was selected following the criterion of choosing one month as being representative of each year. This technique involves the extrapolation of the “constructed week” or “composite week” method to form a “constructed year” and permit a broader analysis over time. The approach (Krippendorff, 1990; Westley and Stempel, 1989) allows a stratified sample to be constructed and significantly reduces the total information to be analysed while ensuring statistical validity. The selected sample consisted of: January-2008; February-2009; March-2010; April-2011 May-2012; June-2013; July-2014; August-2015; September-2016; October-2017; November-2018 and December-2019. Using this approach, the total number of analysis units was 886.

The newspaper with the highest number of units was *EM* (260), followed by *EP* (240), *LV* (203), and *ABC* (183). In 136 (15.3% of the total) it was possible to identify the gender of the immigrants. Of these, 91 identify the immigrant as male (66.9%) and 45 as female (33.1%). As a corpus, this work uses these 136 units in which there is gender-differentiated treatment.

To reflect the diversity of themes linked to immigration, 20 topics identified in the preparation of the coding were finally grouped into 5 categories: “Conflict, crime and terrorism”; “EU immigration and immigration management”; “Racism and xenophobia”; “Immigrant women”; and a final bracket into which we grouped all the themes of a “Social, economic and cultural” nature.

To analyse the framing, in other words, the point of view adopted by the author of the news item when talking about the topic in question, in this paper we will follow the deductive approach of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, pp. 95-96), which posits five main frames for capturing and maintaining the audience’s attention when dealing with situations affecting individuals or institutions: (1) “Attribution of responsibility” indicates to whom responsibility for the cause or solution of the issue at hand is attributed (government, specific individuals or groups). 2) “Human interest” provides an emotional perspective of the event in order to attract the reader’s attention. 3) “Conflict” highlights the conflict between individuals or groups, namely the confrontation through reactive discourses between the different opposing parties (individuals, groups, political parties, etc.). 4) “Morality”, which considers religious principles or moral prescriptions for dealing with a situation; and 5) “Economic consequences”,

which outlines the future economic consequences that a given situation will have for individuals, groups, institutions, and so forth. To these we have added a sixth category, "Sociopolitical consequences", which identifies the consequences that a specific event or action may have for individuals, groups, institutions, and so on (Corral, 2017).

We were also interested in discovering the main sources used by the media analysed and the frequency with which these were utilised to produce the news items published. Twenty-three sources were identified and grouped into four broad categories: "Official institutions" (central, autonomous, or local government and authorities; government and opposition political parties; the European Union; international organisations); "Security forces and bodies"; "Civil institutions" (trade unions, NGOs, the media itself —publisher or journalist—, thinkers or academics, the Catholic Church or other religious sources, the courts, the reader, etc.); and, finally, "Migrant" (testimonies of the migrants themselves or migrant associations).

Regarding the treatment of the content of the units of analysis, a codebook was elaborated to facilitate the identification of the main themes, frames and sources. The quantitative analysis of the results obtained was then entered into the SPSS programme in order to create tables and extract quantitative information.

RESULTS

GENDER SEGREGATION BY NEWSPAPER

The differences by gender in the newspapers analysed (Table 1) show that ABC is the periodical that gives the most prominence to men (82.4%). This is followed by LV (69%) and EP (68.9%). On the other hand, the least gender-discriminatory newspaper is EM, with 42.2% of the units identifying women.

Table 1. Analysis units according to migrant gender by newspaper (n and %)

	ABC		LV		EP		EM		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Men	14	82.4	20	69.0	31	68.9	26	57.8	91	100
Women	3	17.6	9	31.0	14	31.1	19	42.2	45	100

Source: Prepared in-house.

Source and Gender

According to the editorial policy of the newspaper, each media outlet has a preference for certain sources to which they give more prominence and a greater say, thereby selecting and framing the topics they cover (Benson and Wood, 2015).

As can be seen in Table 2, of the 886 units in the general corpus, the most frequently used category of sources is "official institutions" (38.1%), with

ABC standing out (48.5%). This is followed by sources whose origin is “civil institutions” (36.9%), particularly in *LV* (51.6%). After this comes “migrants” (14.5%), emphasised by *EP* (18%) and, lastly, “law enforcement agencies” (10.5%), where *EM* (15.4%) is slightly more prominent than *ABC* (13.9%).

Table 2. Main source used by non-gender-sensitive newspapers. Expressed in number of news items (n) and percentage (%)

	ABC		LV		EP		EM		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Official institutions	49	48.5	54	29.7	72	43.1	83	36.6	258	38.1
Law enforcement agencies	14	13.9	7	3.8	15	9	35	15.4	71	10.5
Civil institutions	29	28.7	94	51.6	50	29.9	77	33.9	250	36.9
Migrants	9	8.9	27	14.8	30	18	32	14.1	98	14.5
Total	101	100	182	100	167	100	227	100	677	100

Source: Prepared in-house.

When examining the analysis units in which the gender of the immigrant is distinguished (Table 3), we can see that the main source in all media, both in the case of women and men, is that which comes from the “Migrants” themselves (46.2% and 49%, respectively). In addition to this trend, it is also worth noting that in the case of women, the use of “Civil institutions” sources stands out (28.2%), while in the case of men it is the “Security forces and corps” source (17%).

Table 3. Main source by gender of migrant (n and %)

	Official institutions	Law enforcement agencies	Civil institutions	Migrants
Men (72)	9 (13%)	12 (17%)	16 (22%)	35 (49%)
Women (39)	5 (12.8%)	5 (12.8%)	11 (28.2%)	18 (46.2%)
Total (677 units)	258 (38.4%)	71 (10.5)	250 (36.9)	98 (14.5%)

Source: Prepared in-house.

In short, when not differentiated by gender, the use of sources from official institutions predominates. However, when gender is identified, the “Migrant” source is the most prevalent, reaching 49% in the case of men and 46.2% in the case of women.

MAIN SUBJECT MATTER ACCORDING TO THE GENDER OF THE IMMIGRANT

When analysing the predominant themes, the results tend to link women to topics grouped in the “Social, economic and cultural” category (47.2%), which, when added to the “Immigrant women” category (36.1%), accounts for 83.3%. In addition, women are hardly ever linked to the “EU migration policies” and “Migration management” categories (16.7%), even less to “Racism and xenophobia” (5.3%) and not at all to “Conflict and crime”. In contrast, men are principally associated with “EU migration policies” and “Immigration management” (36%), followed by “Conflict, crime and terrorism” and “Social, economic and cultural” (30.6% each) and, finally, with “Racism and xenophobia” (2.8%).

A detailed analysis by newspaper (Table 4) shows that *ABC* does not associate immigrant women with a specific topic, being more generalist, which makes it impossible to classify them. In contrast, when male immigrants are identified as the protagonists, they are linked to the “Social, economic, cultural” theme (50%). *LV* focuses mainly on “Social, economic, cultural” topics for both women (42.9%) and men (52.6%). *EP* clearly emphasises specific themes related to “Migrant women” (71.4%). On the other hand, for men, the themes are “Conflict” (42.9%) and “EU immigration, immigration management” (38.1%). Finally, in *EM*, there is a preference for “Social, economic, cultural” issues when the subject of the news item is an immigrant woman (58.8%). In the case of men, the topics “EU immigration and immigration management” (45.8%) and “Conflict, crime, and terrorism” (33.3%) stand out.

Table 4. Main theme by gender and newspaper (n and %)

	ABC (%)		LV (%)		EP (%)		EM (%)		Total			
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W (n and %)		M (n and %)	
Conflict, crime, and terrorism	0	0	0	10.5	0	42.9	0	33.3	0	0%	22	30.6%
EU immigration, immigration management	0	12.5	28.6	31.6	0	38.1	23.5	45.8	6	15.8%	26	36%
Racism/ xenophobia	0	0	28.6	5.3	0	0.0	0	4.2	2	5.3%	2	2.8%
Immigrant women	0	0	0	0.0	71.4	0.0	17.6	0.0	13	34.2%	0	0%
Social, economic, cultural	0	50	42.9	52.6	28.6	19.0	58.8	16.7	17	44.7%	22	30.6%
Total	0	11.3	100	26.8	100	29.6	100	33.8	38	100%	72	100%

Source: Prepared in-house.

Immigrant Origin According to Gender

As has been pointed out, the generalised treatment by the press not only contributes to rendering certain realities invisible, but also to hyper-visibility of others, by linking geographical origin with certain topics or focuses (Table 5).

Table 5. Geographical origin of migrants by newspaper and gender (%) and totals (N and %) in the sample

	ABC (%)		LV (%)		EP (%)		EM (%)		TOTAL			
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W (n and %)		M (n and %)	
Eastern Europe	0.0	11.1	16.7	5.6	0	0.0	0.0	9.1	1	3.0	4	5.2
Rest of Europe	33.3	0.0	16.7	0.0	0	10.7	0.0	0.0	2	6.1	3	3.9
Africa (Maghreb)	0.0	33.3	50.0	38.9	23.1	39.3	27.3	27.3	9	27.3	27	35.1
Africa (Sub-Saharan)	0.0	11.1	0.0	38.9	15.4	7.1	54.5	45.5	8	24.2	20	26.0
Africa (rest)	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	15.4	39.3	0.0	0.0	4	12.1	14	18.2
Latin America	0.0	11.1	16.7	5.6	46.2	3.6	9.1	9.1	8	24.2	5	6.5
Rest of America	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
China	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	1	3.0	1	1.3
Rest of Asia	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	0	0.0	3	3.9
Oceania	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	33	100	77	100

Source: Prepared in-house.

In the sample of news items analysed, the African origin of the featured migrants stands out. If the articles are about women, 63.3% are from Africa. In the case of men this is 79.3%. This media dominance is in stark contrast with data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE, 2021) on the origin of migrants: 22% of all migrants originate from Africa, of which 17.8% are women and 26.2% are men. The next most prominent origin in the press is Latin American, with a huge difference in prominence in terms of women, 24.2% compared to the 6.5% of male appearances. This actually reflects the demographic statistics in the case of women (23.2% of Latin American immigrants), but not in the case of men (18.6%). As for European migrants, both from within and outside the EU, the visibility is low for both women and men. Only 9.1% for both sexes, while the European presence in Spain accounts for 39.8% of migrant men and 40.7% of women. Finally, we note that references to migrants from China, the rest of Asia, the rest of America and Oceania are very low or absent in the sample analysed.

By newspapers, the presence of African women stands out in *EM* (81.8%), followed by *ABC* (66.7%), *EP* (53.9%) and *LV* (50%). Men of African origin are the most prominent in all the media outlets: *LV* (77.8%), *ABC* (77.7%), and *EM* (72.7%), with *EP* having the highest number of references (96.4%).

GENDER AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

We complete the analysis by presenting the main frames used by the media studied.

In the case of women, the most widely used frame (Table 6) is “Human interest”. When women are the focus of the news stories, this frame is used 80% of the time, followed by “Attribution of responsibility” (8.9%), “Conflict” (4.4%), “Morality” (2.2%), “Economic consequences” (2.2%), and “Political consequences” (2.2%). If the news items feature men, although the most frequently used frame is also “Human interest” (48.4%), its frequency is much lower than that seen in the case of women. On the other hand, the “Conflict” frame (29.7%) and, to a lesser extent, “Attribution of responsibility” (16.5%) and “Sociopolitical consequences” (5.5%) are somewhat more common. However, for men, the media outlets do not use either the “Morality” or the “Socioeconomic consequences” frames.

Table 6. Main frame by newspaper and gender (n and %)

	ABC (%)		LV (%)		EP (%)		EM (%)		TOTAL			
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W (n)	W (%)	M (n)	M (%)
Attribution of responsibility	33.3	35.7	0.0	5.0	0.0	25.8	15.8	3.8	4	8.9	15	16.5
Human interest	66.7	57.1	77.8	45.0	100	48.4	68.4	46.2	36	80.0	44	48.4
Conflict	0.0	7.1	11.1	50.0	0.0	12.9	5.3	46.2	2	4.4	27	29.7
Morality	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0
Economic consequences	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0
Sociopolitical consequences	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.9	5.3	3.8	1	2.2	5	5.5
Total	100	15.4	100	22.0	100	34.1	100	28.6	45	100	91	100

Source: Prepared in-house.

By newspaper, when news items identify the gender of the protagonist, it should be noted that, for women, *EP* always uses the “Human interest” frame (100%), which is also the most common in *LV* (77.8%), *EM* (68.4%) and *ABC* (66.7%). In contrast, the “Conflict” frame was infrequently identified in *LV* (11.1%) and

EM (5.3%). As for the other frames, “Morality” is mainly used by *LV* (11.1%) and “Economic consequences” by *EM* (5.3%).

If the identified gender is male, the “Human Interest” frame is the most used, although in a lower proportion than in the case of women: *ABC* (57.1%) and *EP* (48.4%) and *EM* (46.2%) and *LV* (45%). The newspapers that make most use of the “Conflict” frame are *LV* (50%) and *EM* (46.2%), while those that make the least use of it are *EP* (12.9%) and *ABC* (7.1%). With regard to the remaining frames, it is worth noting that “Sociopolitical consequences”, which is hardly ever used when the news item identifies female migrants, is used by both *EP* (12.9%) and by *EM* (3.8%). The “Morality” frame is not linked to male immigrants.

CONCLUSIONS

The first aspect that should be highlighted is that the use of the generic masculine in the wording of the news items does not facilitate gender identification in most of the pieces analysed (84.6%). Accordingly, only 15.4% of the 886 news items in the main corpus explicitly state the gender of the immigrant. When this is identified, male immigrants are portrayed twice as often as female immigrants, differences that do not reflect the percentages of female (48%) and male immigrants (52%) in Spain. Therefore, in response to RQ1, it can be stated that the Spanish press prefers a generic treatment of immigration rather than an individualised one that allows gender differences to be identified and, when it does this, it gives disproportionate prominence to men as opposed to women.

The analysis of journalistic sources reveals that, when immigration is dealt with generically, institutional sources predominate (38.4%) followed closely by civilian sources (36.9%). In contrast, when gender is identified, the predominant sources are migrants themselves or their associations (47.5%). This association between gender and the type of source used to report the news, mostly the migrants, implies giving a voice to the protagonists of the phenomenon, which leads to a more realistic portrayal of the experiences and feelings experienced by migrants in the migration process.

As for the themes preferred by the newspapers, the idea of conflict is more related to men, while actions with a more social and integrative character are more related to women. This fact could be partly explained, on the one hand, by the use of the sources selected by the media, since in the case of men there is a greater use of sources from the “Security Forces and Bodies” category. This is also reflected in the frames, with “Human interest” standing out, especially in the case of women (80%), compared to men (44%). The use of the “Conflict” frame is also noteworthy, when involving men (29.7%) compared to women (4.4%).

In terms of the geographical origin of migrants, immigrants from the African continent, especially the Maghreb, both women (63.3%) and men (79.3%), are given a prominent role in the media, which is clearly disproportionate to their real demographic weight. Conversely, European migrants, the most numerous group (approximately 40%), are barely identified in the analysed units. Therefore,

in response to RQ2, it can be said that the Spanish press, even when it is aware of the gender perspective, uses stereotypes to represent immigration.

Regarding the way in which the different media deal with the subject matter, it is worth noting that the newspapers *EM* and *EP* most frequently report on “Social, economic and cultural” issues when women are the focus of the news items. On the other hand, when the focus is on men, topics related to “Conflict and crime” and “EU immigration and immigration management” stand out. These same media outlets are also the ones that place most emphasis on the geographical origin of immigrants, although the newspapers *EM* and *ABC* place greater emphasis on African origin. Finally, of the frames most commonly used by each newspaper, although the “Human interest” frame predominates in both genders, it is particularly prominent in the case of women, especially in *EP* and *LV*. In the case of men, *LV* and *EM* frequently make use of the conflict frame. In short, in response to RQ3, it can be said that there are significant editorial differences in the treatment of immigration according to gender in the various media outlets.

It could be pointed out that the treatment of immigration in the Spanish press generally continues to under-represent the presence of women in the migratory phenomenon. There are several reasons that may help explain the predominance of the male gender over the female. On the one hand, it seems that traditional cultural and economic patterns in which the male gender has prevailed are still very much present in reality, despite awareness-raising or sensitisation policies on these issues, not only from different institutions but also from style recommendations for the treatment of gender in the media. On the other hand, it should also be taken into account that, until a few decades ago, migration was traditionally identified with the male gender, a fact that may also have contributed to further entrench the male gender-immigration binomial. Finally, the use of stereotypes may favour the identification of immigrant with natives of Africa, which highlights even more this origin in the news, thereby reinforcing the over-dimension of its real weight within migration in Spain.

When it explicitly recognises their role, it provides a stereotypical portrayal of them, framing their presence in news items where the “Human interest” perspective prevails, focusing on the more emotional, family, individual and intimate aspects of female migrants, which can lead to the news being sensationalised. This reinforces existing social perceptions, in which public, political and economic aspects are still mostly attributed to men. It is therefore desirable that journalists reformulate their narratives and stories around migration with greater sensitivity towards the gender issues involved. They should also check their information, get to know the demographic reality of immigration in terms of numbers and gender, as this will lead to a more truthful transmission of reality.

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