Abstract
In this article I will explore the main linguistic and visual strategies used to make meaning in two multimodal texts related to immigration in a local newspaper in Alicante. I will also observe how the written text and the photographs support the construction of a particular image of immigrants, whose main characteristics are poverty and exclusion.

The theoretical framework of the analysis will be visual grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006) and Critical Discourse Analysis, in order to establish a relationship between the different linguistic and visual choices that appear in the pieces of news analysed and the influence that they have in the creation of meaning in these texts and the way readers receive the message.

The aim of this research is to understand some of the negative views of immigration that readers of free newspapers have, because the analysis shows that the texts analysed offer a negative view of immigrants.

Key words
Immigration; free press; power; ideology; visual grammar; critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction
The media have an important formative and educational function in our society, and so the information that we receive through them, whatever the topic they deal with, has to be both painstakingly accurate and educational. They have an influence on all the information referring to immigrants that live in our country. In Bañón’s words (2002: 283): “The function of the media – as transmitters of
other discourses, as support to those other discourses, or as creators of their own discourses – is crucial in the public treatment of immigration”.¹

As van Dijk (1996, 1997, 2007) demonstrates, the media are the main institution in the ideological reproduction of industrialized societies. In this sense, the media as an elite body are responsible for the discourses that they produce because it is the media that controls them. In general these discourses reveal negative attitudes towards minorities, which implies that the main group, the white population, benefits, although as van Dijk (1999: 233) states “anti-racism is practically excluded from the media”.² This goes together with the polarization between ‘we-they’. In Stolke’s words (2004: 24):

“The immigrants that are already among ‘us’, not to mention those that are still to come, have become the target of hostility and of discrimination because, being from abroad, they are poor, suspicious foreigners and, therefore, undesirable, since – from the eighties – a rhetoric of exclusion has spread through Europe that particularly emphasises the cultural difference of ‘them’.”³

According to the European Network against Racism (ENAR) report (p. 22), from 2006 and until June 2007, the treatment that the media gave immigration is deficient and can be linked to the main causes of the increase of racism in our society. Experts point out that 70 per cent of news items on immigration are negative. This implies that there is certain ‘symbolic’ and ‘subtle’ racism in the media, which has a clear effect on how readers perceive the phenomenon of immigration. The power of this discourse lies in that there are many people who do not have direct contact with immigrants, and who therefore form their opinions on immigration through the data that journalists offer them. In van Dijk’s words (2008: 21): “One of the main roles of discourse is the reproduction of social representations, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, rules and values. This means that discourse is the main connection between the social and the cognitive dimensions of racism”.⁴

The pressure of deadlines and the speed with which journalists work mean that many times they do not fully take into consideration the consequences of their linguistic or visual choices in items on immigration. This pressure seems to be the justification for problems with the journalistic treatment of minorities in general, and of immigration in particular, leading to their perception as problematic and threatening, due to the frequent representation associated with certain forms of deviant social behaviour such as violence, crimes, unacceptable cultural differences, and so on.

Manuals of journalistic style dealing with the treatment of ethnic minorities point out that negative or sensationalist information about minorities should not be highlighted. Instead, the media should focus on searching for positive pieces of news that emphasize a multi-intercultural society. Journalists should inform calmly and tactfully in such a way that their work can contribute to the promotion of peaceful coexistence and to respect for democratic values. In this way, im-
migrants could be treated as citizens with all rights, as Cortina (1998: 93) makes clear: “And being aware that we as people need the acknowledgment of the social groups in which we live in order to acquire our social identity, any human beings not treated as citizens will not identify themselves as such”.

As critical readers we have to understand how the media contribute directly to the construction of the image of immigrants in our society. This image is stereotypical and simplified many times, which contributes to the encouragement of racist attitudes, as Bañón makes clear (2007a: 45): “The non-positive valuation of immigrants has become the fundamental axiological framework for those who, from the political or socio-economic Spanish elites take part in the social debate on migratory processes”.

The social construction of the other person (the other person in a real or imaginary way), seems to threaten our cultural identity or our economy. Teun van Dijk (1999) points out that when talking about immigration there is the following ideological square: (1) intensify the positive representation of ourselves; (2) intensify the negative information about them; (3) mitigate the positive information about them and (4) mitigate the negative information about us.

Taking the ideas presented in the previous paragraphs into consideration, readers should ask themselves the following questions: is our fear of becoming one of the others what explains our mistrust, or is it our theoretical cultural superiority? The discourse of the media never highlights a normalised relationship between the majority group and immigrants, which would be the ideal, in Mole’s words (2007: 9): “As the individual becomes part of the group, the group becomes part of the individual, with the result that the achievements of the group also become the achievements of the individual.”

2. Analysis of the image of immigrants in some multimodal texts: the relationships between the visual and the linguistic characteristics and the negative perception of the message

We live in a society in which multimedia elements predominate, therefore texts that surround us are made up of two elements (two modes): the linguistic (language) and the visual (photographs, diagrams, etc.). Both create the text, and in consequence it must be understood as a single unit of meaning. For this reason, a multimodal text is defined as one that has more than one mode of communication: verbal, visual or musical. The discourse of multimodal texts emphasises modes of representation that are not written, and especially, in order to catch the readers’ attention, the visual mode has supremacy (Martínez Lirola 2006: 152).

For a multimodal text to be well created, it should have the following characteristics:

1. The different elements that compose the text (verbal and non-verbal) should be complementary, i.e., there should be a close relationship between them. Images should help to identify the context of situation.
2. Everything that is part of the multimodal text (type of letters, place in which the image appears, vocabulary and syntactic structures used, etc.) contribute to the creation of the sense of the text and have a clear influence on the reader.

3. The verbal and non-verbal elements cannot be thought of as two independent units that are joined, but they have to be understood and read as a whole inside the text they create.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and understand how different meanings are communicated through multimodal texts. That is why the different verbal and visual elements that are part of this type of texts and also the effect that they have on readers will be analysed. The description will concentrate on two texts dealing with immigration published in the local newspaper ‘Metro’ in September 2007 in Alicante (Spain).

Following Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 177), the authors of the visual grammar that will be the theoretical framework of this paper, there are three main types of composition in multimodal texts:

- ‘Information value’: the place in which elements are located, for example, from left to right, from the top to the bottom or from the centre to the margins, can add a determined value.
- ‘Salience’: the different elements of a composition try to catch the readers’ attention, for example, appearing in the first or in the second place, the size of an element, the colour contrast or sharpness.
- ‘Framing’: the presence or absence of frames that connect or disconnect elements meaning that they go or do not go together.

Paying attention to these three types of composition, the main elements to analyse in a multimodal text are the following: the page layout, the headings, the salience or main characteristic, the frames that the page has, and the photograph or image.

The research was started by collecting all the pieces of news related to immigration that appeared between 1 and 30 September 2007 in the free newspapers ‘Metro’ and ‘Qué’, which are published every day in Alicante. Out of all the collected pieces of news, this paper will just offer a detailed analysis of two of them selected at random with the purpose of exploring what the image of immigrants that appears in these newspapers is like through the visual and linguistic characteristics presented in Tables 1 and 2.

The analysis that follows (see Table 1 and 2) makes it clear that any text is connected with the environment surrounding it, because each text is created to communicate in a determined situation. Moreover, each text is a social and cultural fact because it is framed in a particular place and time in order to express certain meanings. Apart from this, the text is an interactive process because the person receiving it is obliged to make certain inferences and the sender creates the text with a determined attitude to establish a relationship with the receiver.
**Table 1. Main visual characteristics of the texts analysed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visual characteristics</th>
<th>Text 1. Date: 5 September, 2007</th>
<th>Text 2. Date: 25 September, 2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Background</strong></td>
<td>Dark background.</td>
<td>Dark background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page Layout</strong></td>
<td>Centre of the piece of news.</td>
<td>On the piece of news.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The piece of news appears in the</td>
<td>The piece of news appears in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>top left part of the page.</td>
<td>top right part of the page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Image's Size</strong></td>
<td>Small.</td>
<td>Medium size.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frames</strong></td>
<td>Non-marked.</td>
<td>Non-marked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Information value (in the multimodal text)</strong></td>
<td>New and known information: new information appears in the whole photograph.</td>
<td>New and known information: new information is in the immigrants that appear in the foreground of the photograph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position of the protagonists’ body</strong></td>
<td>Immigrants appear hunched up and bowed due to the cold weather at night.</td>
<td>Immigrants are seated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facial expression</strong></td>
<td>The immigrants’ facial expression cannot be distinguished because the photograph is very small.</td>
<td>The three immigrants that appear in the foreground look at the reader, so they interact with him/her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td>– There is a clear contrast between orange and black.</td>
<td>– There is a clear contrast between the black of the protagonists’ skin and their light clothes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal characteristics</th>
<th>Text 1. Date: 5 September, 2007</th>
<th>Text 2. Date: 25 September, 2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heading</strong></td>
<td>“Canarias sufre una oleada de pateras”. (Wave of small boats in the Canary Islands).</td>
<td>“Sigue el goteo de cayucos a Canarias”. (The trickle of small boats continues in the Canary Islands).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Written text that is not the heading</strong></td>
<td>Medium size.</td>
<td>Small size, only two lines behind the heading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collocations and emphatic expressions</strong></td>
<td>Oleada de pateras (Wave of small boats). Más de 250 inmigrantes irregulares (More than 250 irregular immigrants). Figures: 258 immigrants, 71 immigrants, 66 immigrants, 46 occupants.</td>
<td>Goteo de cayucos (Trickle of small boats). Figures: 54 immigrants. Seven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Use of the passive voice</strong></td>
<td>[...] después de ser avistada en las proximidades del Puerto de las Galletas de Tenerife. ( [...] after being sighted near Galletas Harbour in Tenerife). La última barcaza fue divisada ayer por la tarde por un avión del</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbal characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servicio Aéreo de Rescate [...] (The last boat was spotted yesterday afternoon by an Air Rescue Service airplane [...]).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcanzaron, arribaron, llegó, arribaba, podría viajar, se hallaba, precisan. (reached, arrived, could travel, was, required). They are all verbs of action that point out movement.</td>
<td>Llegaron, murió. (arrived, died)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Main verbal characteristics of the texts analysed

The first image appears in the top left part of the text. There is a clear contrast between the background and the colour of the image; orange and black are the main colours used in the image. New information appears in the whole picture because immigrants appear from left to right. Immigrants do not seem to be looking at the reader, i.e., there is no interaction between them and the readers. This suggests that the readers are active in relation to the immigrants. The way to read this multimodal text is from the left hand corner at the bottom of the image to the right hand corner at the top of the image.

Concerning lexis, the fact of using metaphorical expressions such as “Oleada de pateras” (Wave of small boats), referring to immigrants as irregular or presenting several numbers in the text (more than 250 irregular immigrants, 71 immigrants, etc.) leads the reader to explore beyond the literal meaning and arrive at the connotations hidden before the terms and expressions used by the journalist.

The second image appears in the top right part of the page, in contrast with the previous one. In this case, the background is also dark and contrasts with the immigrants represented, who wear light clothes. There is also a contrast between the clothes that immigrants wear and the colour of their skin. New information is in the immigrants that appear in the foreground of the photograph, i.e., in three of them. Moreover, these three immigrants look at the readers, which implies that they interact with the readers. The way to read this multimodal text is from the right hand corner of the image to the left hand corner of the image.

As far as vocabulary is concerned, as it happens in the previous text, there is also a metaphorical expression “Goteo de Cayucos” (Trickle of small boats), which highlights the fact that immigrants do not stop coming to the Canary Islands. Since the written text is very small in this multimodal text, there are only two numbers: 54 and 7. The use of numbers contributes to reinforce the idea of immigrating being a problem beyond control.

The analysis presented in the previous tables and paragraphs shows that texts do not have meanings in themselves but that it is the transmitters and the receivers of them that give meaning to them. In this way, there is a symbolic con-
struction of reality through texts and the media assume a fundamental role in the construction of ‘the social way of thinking and saying’. Many times, that reality goes together with certain stereotypes that are useful to place the described reality, in this case immigration, in the reader’s mind. For example, the fact that both texts have a dark background, that the image is not very big or that immigrants are represented as idle adds negative connotations that contribute to the negative view that a great part of society has about immigration.

It is the visual characteristics as well as the linguistic characteristics of the texts analysed that contribute to the construction of the negative image already mentioned. For example, the use of the passive voice is justified in text 1 because in this way it helps the writer avoid stating who performed the action, i.e., the police is avoided in the first example: The fourth boat arrived in the early morning with 71 immigrants on board, after being sighted near Galletas Harbour in Tenerife.7

The choice of the passive voice is justified due to the tendency to place long elements or those with more semantic burden at the end of the structure. Similarly, the passive voice accomplishes the information principle that consists of the subject usually having known information and the agent having new information, as happens in the following example in text 1: The last boat was spotted yesterday afternoon by an Air Rescue Service airplane when they were around 100 miles from the Canary Island called Hierro.8

There are certain characteristics in the images analysed that show that immigration is only described partially: the people represented always appear idle. The previous analysis points out that the photograph is a central element in journalistic narrative because it illustrates the written text and sometimes it is the first way of approaching a text for readers. The image of immigrants that appears in the press is not created by chance, but controlled by intentions and motivations that many times mean that the images are stereotypical and negative, which does not favour the social integration of immigrants.

3. Journalists as creators of the discourse. An introduction to the variable of tenor

Journalists choose the images, the lexis and the grammar of texts such as those analysed with a clear purpose. It is not an innocent choice, because the cultural values transmitted are very concrete. In this way, it can be seen that the journalist has a privileged social position inside the majority group; moreover, he/she knows what the newspaper (as a social institution) expects from him/her. In Bourdieu’s words (1991: 109): “In fact, the use of language, the manner as much as the substance of discourse, depends on the social position of the speaker, which governs the access he can have to the language of the institution, that is, to the official, orthodox and legitimate speech”.

There is an implicit reader to whom texts are addressed and from whom a determined answer is expected. This is conditioned by the way in which texts are
created: what is included in and what is excluded from them, what is highlighted and is made the most prominent element in them, how the different people, places and things are represented, etc. (Martínez Lirola 2006: 158).

The media’s audience is invited to establish a clear difference between whites and other ethnic groups, between ‘we’ and ‘they’, between the ‘citizens’ and the ‘foreigners’. The act of presenting information pointing out these differences can contribute to racism if the image offered of minorities is always partial and negative (Bañón 1996 and 2002; van Dijk 2003; Zapata-Barrero and van Dijk 2007, Martínez Lirola 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, in press). Moreover, the role of the media can be very positive in society, as Cottle (2000: 2) states: “[…] the media can also serve to affirm social and cultural diversity and, moreover, provide crucial spaces in and through which imposed identities or the interests of others can be resisted, challenged and changed”. In general, the view of immigration offered by the press concentrates on the picturesque and the negative. For this reason, this vision is unipolar because immigration is not explored from different angles.

Information professionals are the constructors of informative discourse and, therefore, they are actors and directly responsible for the image of immigrants transmitted by the media for which they work. Consequently, these professionals and the receivers of this information have to contribute to the creation of a social dialogue and a social debate, which refers to “[…] the public appearance of different opinions on any topic that, due to its importance, for a certain period of time arouses the interest of several sectors in society” (Bañón 2002: 24). For this reason, it is necessary to think of the receiver not only as a consumer (Bañón 2007b) but also as an active citizen who needs to be informed about immigration with the maximum rigour.

The receiver of the message is exposed to news items in which information is presented dramatically many times, with no need; there are times when this information is simplified in such a way that the reader seems to be invited to activate certain racist and discriminatory prejudices, as Sendín and Izquierdo (2007: 5) point out: “[…] the action of the media when selecting and emphasizing certain information gives them an interpretational perspective, a setting inside a framework of ideas that condition their perception and assimilation within coordinates of comprehension (and ideology)”.

For this reason, the receiver of the message has to become an active agent and constantly has to debate the truthfulness of the messages received from the media. In this way, responsible institutions will make sure that the informative treatment of immigration is fair as far as immigration is concerned, i.e., journalists working on pieces of news related to immigration should be constantly well informed in the complex reality of immigration.

Immigrants’ voices are not present in the pieces of news analysed. Consequently, immigrants should be given the opportunity of expressing their opinions. The elite’s discourse, in which the media discourse is included, sometimes legitimises those practices of exclusion and hostility against immigrants (ter Wal 2002: 425).
Following Burke (1944), society is a conversation in which people join, make a contribution, and leave. Machin and van Leeuwen (2007: 39) say the following about this aspect:

“Global media models of the world and its peoples are one voice in that conversation. They not only entertain, they also transmit views about the way the world works, about how people behave or should behave, and about the problems we encounter and the solutions that are available for dealing with them.”

Understanding society as a conversation implies that there are different participants that take part in a determined context. Therefore, the variable of tenor, which is present in every communicative situation in discourse, needs to be taken into consideration.

The variable of tenor (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 22) determines the levels of style and formality in discourse. Tenor makes reference to the different participants that take part in communication, to the different roles and social positions that they have in society. In Halliday and Hasan’s words (1980: 12):

“The tenor of discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved.”

Poynton (1985) states that there are three dimensions inside the notion of tenor, to which I shall refer briefly:

The power dimension observes whether the relations between the participants are equal or not. There is an equal situation when we are with friends, whereas there is not an equal situation between a boss and an employee. The contact dimension makes reference to the existence or not of a contact relation between the participants. It is evident that there is contact between a couple, and there is no contact between people one does not know. The affective involvement dimension refers to the extent to which the participants are emotionally involved or committed in a situation. People normally involve affectively with friends but they do not do so with colleagues. It is possible to establish a contrast between formal and informal situations according to these three variables.

4. Conclusions

It is necessary to increase the different types of discourse on immigration. A committed discourse on immigration is necessary to create an integrated and intercul-
tural society. The media and every public institution are responsible for the creation of this kind of discourse; each citizen is also responsible as an active person with responsibility in social life.

The members of the press, and specifically each journalist or photographer, together have the power to persuade and to manipulate the image of institutions or social groups. This goes together with the social demands and expectations of the society or the culture in which the texts are framed. For this reason, we constantly have to demand of our journalists that they demonstrate rigour in the way immigration is presented; moreover, they have to make the effort to create positive images of this social phenomenon, in such a way that the stereotypes and prejudices we are used to finding in the press are gradually reduced. In this way, it will be realised that immigrants have been enriching our lives for years, i.e., the cultural diversity and plurality that immigrants bring to our society has to be emphasized as something positive.

In general, the discourse on immigration in the press is racist for several reasons: (1) the meanings expressed normally concentrate on negative facts, as the texts analysed point out; (2) the photographs selected to illustrate facts have dark colours most of the time, and immigrants tend to appear dirty or emaciated; (3) the words chosen, for example, ‘discrimination’ is a verb that has been nominalised, tend to avoid mentioning who discriminated against whom; and (4) the syntax chosen uses many examples of the passive voice in order to avoid mentioning the agent.

The different choices found in the texts (capital letters, bold type, etc.), the size, colours, the different ways in which elements are placed in multimodal texts (up and down, right or left) have an effect on the construction of meanings and, consequently, they have an affect on the way we read a page because there is normally a hierarchical relationship between elements. Consequently, we need to be active citizens in our society and we need to develop a critical perspective to read texts that use different modes to express meaning.

Some visual and lexical elements (see the analysis presented in section 2) transmit a negative image of immigrants, which contribute to their social exclusion because they are represented as individuals to be avoided. The multimodal texts on immigration analysed create the idea of ‘illegal immigrants’ which goes together with certain stereotypes: it seems that immigrants do not work, do not smile, are always dirty, etc. This implies that any people who have not had contact with people from other cultures assume the image of immigrants presented by these texts is the only and authentic one.
**Text 1.** Canarias sufre una oleada de Patera (Metro, 5 September 2007)

**Text 2.** Cerrado por inundaciones (Metro, 25 September 2007)
References


Notes

The translation of all quotations that appear in the article has been done by the author.

1 The original version of this quotation is the following: “La función de los medios de comunicación como transmisores de otros discursos, como apoyos a esos otros discursos o como generadores de discursos propios es determinante en lo que se refiere al tratamiento público de la inmigración” (Bañón 2002: 283).

2 The original version of this quotation is the following: “[...] el antirracismo está prácticamente excluido de los medios de comunicación” (van Dijk 1999: 233).

3 The original version of this quotation is the following: “Los inmigrantes que ya están entre ‘nosotros’, no menos que los que están por venir, se han convertido en el blanco de la hostilidad y de discriminaciones por ser, en tanto que extranjeros, pobres, extraños sospechosos y, por consiguiente, indeseables, desde que – a partir de los años ochenta – se ha difundido en Europa una nueva retórica de exclusión que hace especial hincapié en la diferencia cultural de ‘ellos’” (Stolke 2004: 24).

4 The original version of this quotation is the following: “Uno de los roles principales del discurso es la reproducción de las representaciones sociales, tales como el conocimiento, las actitudes, las ideologías, las normas y los valores. Esto significa que el discurso es la principal interrelación entre las dimensiones social y cognitiva del racismo” (van Dijk 2008: 21).

5 The original version of this quotation is the following: “Y, habida cuenta de que las personas para cobrar nuestra propia identidad necesitamos el reconocimiento de los grupos sociales en que vivimos, aquel a quien no se le trata como ciudadano, tampoco se identifica a sí mismo como tal” (Cortina 1998: 93).

6 The original version of this quotation is the following: “La valoración no positiva de los inmigrantes se ha convertido en el marco axiológico fundamental para todos los que, desde las élites políticas o socioeconómicas españolas, participan en el debate social sobre los procesos migratorios” (Bañón 2007a: 45).

7 Original text in Spanish: La cuarta embarcación llegó de madrugada con 71 inmigrantes a bordo, después de ser avistada en las proximidades del Puerto de las Galletas de Tenerife.
La última barcaza fue divisada ayer por la tarde por un avión del Servicio Aéreo de Rescate cuando se hallaba a unas 100 millas al sur de la isla canaria de El Hierro.

The original version of this quotation is the following: “[...] la aparición pública de opiniones dispares a propósito de algún tema que, por su importancia, suscita, en un determinado periodo de tiempo, el interés de amplios sectores de la sociedad” (Bañón 2002: 24).

The original version of this quotation is the following: “[...] la acción de los medios al seleccionar y enfatizar determinadas informaciones les otorgan una perspectiva de interpretación, un encuadre dentro de un conjuto de ideas determinadas que condiciona su percepción y asimilación dentro de unas coordenadas de comprensión (e ideológicas)” (Sendín and Izquierdo 2007: 5).

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