

# **REFUGEES IN THE SPANISH MEDIA**

Edited by  
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and Bernard McGuirk



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## **Treatment of refugees in the Spanish press**

Juan Manuel Arcos Urrutia, Eman Mhanna <sup>1</sup> and  
Josep Solves Almela

The notion that “an image is worth a thousand words” suggests that a single visual representation (a photograph, for example), can produce in the one who sees it a huge range of sensations and impressions that are difficult to achieve through oral or written language. It is indisputable that, on many occasions, a photograph impacts our consciousness such that what we feel remains in our memory, even a long time later. This is what happened with the image that Nick Ut captured, on 8 June 1972, of Phan Thi Kim Phuc, a nine-year-old Vietnamese girl, completely naked, who, along with other children, fled burnt and terrified from her village, mistakenly bombarded with napalm by South Vietnamese troops. It was then, and is still today, one of the archetypal images of the horrors of war. This is also the case with the photograph that Nilüfer Demir took on 2 September 2015 of Aylan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian boy who lay face down lifeless on the sand of a beach in Kos, a Greek island facing the coast of Turkey. The shipwreck also killed many other people fleeing the war in Syria, including Galip, Aylan’s five-year-old brother, and his mother, Rihan. For many, that image of Aylan represents all the pain and despair of people seeking refuge.

The impact of the aforementioned photographs has turned them into icons of war horror and its effects. Other such horrors have been fixed in our minds that have shown us, in a similarly shocking way, hunger, violence or fear. Yet these are exceptional images, the ones that have caught our attention and affected us the most. Those that we retain in our memory and represent for us a world of sensations, thoughts and values, will always stand out among the thousands or millions of images that we see every day and which we hardly notice. The rest so fill the pages of newspapers and the internet, social media and television, that we hardly see them.

It is indisputable that certain exceptional photos of war and death have had and continue to have effects on us but, probably, so do those others that apparently we do not even notice: those that randomly show us a

<sup>1</sup> Eman Mhanna is a beneficiary of the pre-doctoral contract FPU19 /00594 of the Spanish Ministry of Universities.

certain image of women, people with disabilities, believers in Judaism or the inhabitants of Nepal. Without our realizing it, these photographs with which the media and social networks bombard us constitute a fundamental element in the construction of our stereotypes and in the establishment of our prejudices. That is why it is imperative to reflect on how the mass media seek to reflect and control realities through the choice of their everyday photographs by analysing which photographs are chosen to reflect a current issue, or topic, be it the latest political decision, the last war event or the most recent arrival of migrants on our shores. In this sense, the unconscious accumulation of photographs seen daily would establish in us a “way of seeing” but, above all, of conceiving reality. In some cases, such as that of Aylan Kurdi, the image is worth a thousand words; in others, those of anonymous people, a thousand images construct a word, the word refugee, for example. But who are these people?

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines refugee as “people who have fled war, violence, conflict, or persecution and have crossed an international border to find safety in another country”. According to its data, around 100 million people were forced to flee their homes in the last decade, a phenomenon that has almost doubled since 2010 (41 million people that year compared to 79.5 million now). Two-thirds of those people come from five countries: Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Myanmar (UNHCR 2020). In Spain, according to data from the Ministry of the Interior, during 2019, 118,446 applications for international protection were formalized. This represents an increase of 112.46% compared to the 55,749 applications registered during 2018. By country, these people came mainly from Venezuela, Colombia and Honduras. Most of them are between 18 and 34 years old and 62.02% made their applications for international protection in Madrid, Barcelona or Valencia (Spain, 2020).

From these figures it can be deduced that the refugees are, for the most part, young Latin Americans whose entry was by plane. However, the mental image we have of refugees does not coincide with that: when we think of refugees, the image of Sub-Saharan people dressed in life jackets crammed into precarious boats or groups of women with scarves covering their hair in large fields strewn with tents arises in our mind. Without a doubt, this mental image reflects a part of the stories that surround the refugee in Spain, but it does not seem to correspond to the overwhelming reality of this social phenomenon. So from where did we get this mental image of refugees?

Basically, we build our image of things, people and processes through two types of experiences: the direct and personal experience of interaction with the facts and the people themselves; and vicarious experience, based

on that of people with whom we relate or whom we construct through consumption of the media. Taking into account that direct contact with these people must of necessity be limited, if not exceptional, and given the complexity of the societies we inhabit, it is a reasonable hypothesis that this image is derived sometimes consciously, but above all unconsciously, from our media diet.

Our study on the joint corpus of the DIPURE project (Arcos *et al.* 2021), which brought together a total of 3,156 journalistic pieces of the Spanish press published between 1 January 2015 and 30 June 30 2017, concluded that almost 60% of the pieces in the sample (58.78%, specifically) were accompanied by images, and that in just over half of these images (50.57% of them) migrants and/or refugees appear photographed. This means that, on the one hand, photographs are a fundamental element in the information about refugees in Spain; and, on the other, that there is a marked tendency to show in these photographs the protagonists of the story, that is, the refugees themselves. However, we also found two other trends that are of current interest. When we analysed the authorship of the photographs, we realized that most of them are not directly attributed to the medium itself, but are rather photographs from agencies, mainly EFE and Reuters. On many occasions, these photographs are common to the different headlines of the journalistic media that make up a group or communication company, such as, for example, Vocento. Secondly, we realized that, on many occasions, the physical location of the piece in question did not correspond to the one shown in the image, although this circumstance is usually clarified in the caption. These two trends indicate that there is less plurality — a tendency towards homogeneity — of points of view when it comes to reflecting the events and their protagonists. The actors chosen by the agency professionals are shown and that choice is reproduced in many media, and they are located in the same scenarios: those shown by the agencies, even if they do not coincide with the scenario that is being talked about in the specific piece. Both are tendencies to homogenize the image of refugees and the settings in which they “live”.

## **State of art and theoretical framework**

We began this chapter by mentioning the impact that the Aylan Kurdi photographs had on the gaze of the media and society in general. This image also prompted studies, especially in the field of communication, which specifically analyse photography related to refugees, taking into account that until then what predominated were works on the images of immigration for economic reasons. One of the first studies on photography

and refugees dates from 2016 and is specifically entitled “Transformative photography. The power of a photograph for social change: the death of Aylan”. The power of that image, according to the authors, is that it turned the news around by placing the child with a first and last name above the category of refugee. Furthermore, it increased the use of the word “refugiado” [refugee] and searches for the word “Siria” [Syria] in Google (Andrés *et al.* 2016, 31-32). In that same year, 2016, López and Humanes published an examination of the physical-spatial context, the human context and the photographic features that affected the representation of each of them in various central European capitals, between mid-2015 and early 2016. Among the results they observed, we can highlight that press photographs tend to represent refugees during transit, with few images placing them at the points of origin and destination, and that, as can be expected, the vast majority of photographs show refugees as a collective or group actor (López and Humanes 2016, 91-92).

Empinotti (2017) and Solovova (2017), for their part, dealt with the images that accompany the publications of the Portuguese press. The first analyses in detail thirteen images from the digital Spanish newspaper *Público* and observes that there are common patterns in them in the treatment of refugees, such as their visual subordination, the use of colour to mark the difference between them and other actors, the abundance of ships and planes and, finally, that the refugees in the images do not look directly at the viewer. However, a small number of images can be found in which a single individual is the protagonist, whether or not appearing alone in it, revealing his face, and, consequently, his emotions (Empinotti 2017, 113). As for Solovava, she compares the Portuguese with the Russian media in order to observe the trends each of them maintains and if there are significant absences. Their results show that there are three common thematic nuclei — mass migration, lack of security and the humanitarian dimension — and that these revolve around a fear shared by the media in both countries with respect to the arrival of Muslims who bring their customs to Europe (Solovava 2017, 35-36).

In 2018, three other works related to journalistic photography and refugees were carried out in Spain. Casanova and Massó, for example, find in the headlines of two Spanish newspapers, *El Mundo* and *El País*, two trends in the treatment of these images: on the one hand, those headlines that mention the aid that Europe offers to refugees are accompanied by images that reflect the suffering of the latter, but in non-European fields. On the other hand, when the refugees are already seen in the European space, they are shown smiling and happy to arrive in the “land of salvation”, observing, according to the authors, a certain paternalism in the said representation (Casanova and Massó 2018, 115). López Marrupe

*et al.* take up the image of Aylan Kurdi to examine quantitative trends and ethical aspects. In this way, López Marrupe (2019, 65) analyses the images published in the Spanish newspaper *ABC*, in which, as expected, he finds a knock-on effect arising from the publication of Aylan's photograph and the trip of the Hungarian reporter to Ossama Abdul-Mohsen, whereby, they indicate, we not only learn their history, but also that of their families (Galip, Aylan's brother, who also passed away, his father Abdullah Kurdi or his relatives in Canada, as well as Ossama's children). However, the impact generated by these images was not lasting and, from the following month, October, a considerable decrease could be observed. Finally, for Marcos *et al.* (2018, 26), such images should not be hidden, as they are a powerful tool in preventing wars. They also consider that the photographer never "lies" when showing an image; that is, what appears in the images will always be true, but is truth from the perspective of the author. Therefore, images can convey or not convey something, inform or conceal information. Moreover, the photographer will hide behind the idea that he is conveying what, in his opinion, others want to see.

More recent is the work of Amores *et al.* (2020). In this case, what is analysed are the southern European media, specifically of Spain, Italy and Greece, three key countries in the context of what was called the "refugee crisis". Among the results of this analysis, we can observe the predominance of the act of "victimization" of refugees, followed by that of "burden". The latter, together with that of "threat", according to the authors, have not stopped growing in recent years. From the comparison they make between the images published in the media of the three countries, they conclude that it is in Greece that negative frames predominate: the charge frame has been maintained since the beginning of the "crisis" and the threat frame develops more frequently in Greece, but it increases considerably in Spain and Italy, too. Although the Spanish and Italian media, they say, do not differ much, the Spanish offer a more positive visual representation of refugees.

Finally, although its objective is different from the previous ones, we think it is pertinent to mention the experiment that Garrido and Delgado (2017) did with young people from the Ritsona refugee camp, in Greece. On this occasion, it is the refugees themselves who photograph from their point of view. The workshop was organized under the slogan "Photograph what you see, what you think and what you feel" and all those visions, thoughts and feelings were grouped by the researchers into five categories: "discouragement and hopelessness", "complaint and interpellation", "vulnerability", "hope and strength" and "defence of rights and empowerment" (Garrido and Delgado, 2017, 57).

Based on our own data obtained from the aforementioned analysis of

the complete corpus of the DIPURE project, as well as the main conclusions of the recent studies on photographs and seeking of refugees to which we have referred, we establish the following hypotheses:

- (1) H1: The subjects in the photographs that accompany press reports on issues related to the refuge are anonymous people — except in singular cases such as that of Aylan Kurdi — shown as groups, in transit to we do not know where, but in fact they remain in a desolate scene (refugee camps).
- (2) H2: What is narrated is the scarcity and precariousness of the permanence in the fields, detention in time and space, constant waiting for no one knows what. These “masses” of refugees are seen as both victims and threats, as deserving of help and as “burden” at the same time.

## **Objectives and methodology**

Our objective, therefore, is to analyse how the Spanish press deals with the general issue of refugees through the choice and publication of photographs. In other words, what image is built and disseminated as a construct in the Spanish press of refugees or of the seeking of refuge through the use of photographs? This involves a series of research questions, such as who or what appears in those photographs; where the person(s) or objects are located, that is, what is the physical context in which they are shown; how these people appear, and with what attributes; and, finally, what is available in all those elements about those people and their lives, that is, what story underlies the chosen and published image? In short, it is about analysing the actors, the scenarios and the stories that the Spanish media choose to tell us about the situation of refugees.

In order to try to answer these questions, we started from the general corpus of the DIPURE project (3,156 pieces in total) and selected those accompanied by photographs or any other graphic material corresponding to the year 2016 (1,855 pieces); of these, we chose those pieces in which photographs are shown to refugees (756) and, finally, we eliminated the pieces published under various headlines of the same publishing group because, being the same pieces, they do not influence the analysis. This procedure offered us a sample of 902 photos in total, which constitute the specific corpus of the research that we now present.

We then built a codebook that would allow us to obtain quantitative data about the research questions we had posed: after some identification particulars of the pieces (newspapers and date), each photograph was coded from four variables, whose options were decided after a partial study



of 10% of the photographs in the sample using an inductive procedure. Table 1 shows the items in said codebook:

<p><b>Number of News:</b>  <b>Newspaper:</b>  <b>Date:</b></p>	<p><b>Scenario characteristics (choose several):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Day</li> <li>• Night</li> <li>• Rain</li> <li>• Snow</li> <li>• Other</li> <li>• Not stated / not important</li> </ul>
<p><b>Who appears? (choose several):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refugees</li> <li>• Sub-Saharan</li> <li>• Non-sub-Saharan</li> <li>• Men</li> <li>• Children</li> <li>• Women</li> <li>• Baby</li> <li>• Other: _____</li> <li>• Police, soldiers</li> <li>• Political representatives</li> <li>• NGO / volunteers</li> <li>• Map / graph (infographic)</li> <li>• Famous</li> </ul>	<p><b>What is counted? (choose one):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The rescue</li> <li>• The arrival</li> <li>• Trip</li> <li>• Procedures</li> <li>• Permanence</li> <li>• Normality</li> <li>• Needs</li> <li>• Confrontation</li> <li>• Claim</li> <li>• Return / expulsion</li> <li>• The epic</li> <li>• Not relevant</li> </ul>
<p><b>How do they appear? (choose several):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual</li> <li>• Group</li> <li>• Crowded</li> <li>• With orange vests</li> <li>• Handcuffed</li> <li>• Walking</li> <li>• Happy</li> <li>• Serious, with uncertainty / fear</li> <li>• Other</li> <li>• Not stated</li> </ul>	<p><b>Type of audio-visual shot (choose one):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extreme close-up</li> <li>• Close-up</li> <li>• Medium shot</li> <li>• General shot</li> <li>• Not stated</li> </ul>
<p><b>Scenario (choose one):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In dinghy</li> <li>• Boat</li> </ul>	<p><b>Type of angulation (choose one):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frontal</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The sea</li> <li>• The beach</li> <li>• Port</li> <li>• Refugee camp</li> <li>• Street</li> <li>• Job</li> <li>• School</li> <li>• Home</li> <li>• In the open</li> <li>• Fence (Border / wall / rampart)</li> <li>• Other: _____</li> <li>• Not stated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chopped</li> <li>• Low angle</li> <li>• Not stated</li> </ul>
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Table 1. *Image encoding (codebook)*

The objective of this coding of the photographs was to establish the broad quantitative trends of the sample. In other words, the results of this coding would give us the guidelines for what, later, we should analyse with a more qualitative methodology.

### Quantitative results

Regarding the *actors*, the general data of the sample indicate that the main protagonists are non-sub-Saharan refugees, men (in 349 pieces, 38.69% of the sample), women (247 pieces, 27.38%) and children (232, 25.72% of the total). Altogether, these actors appear, then, in 91.79% of the photographs. Sub-Saharan refugees represent a much lower percentage: men appear in 51 of the pieces (5.65% of the sample), women in 21 (2.33%) and children in 9 (1%). Together, these actors are shown in 8.98% of the analysed photographs.

These actors appear mostly in groups (in 488 of the photos, 38.88% of the total) or individually (in 228, 18.17%), and more frequently as serious, reflecting uncertainty or fear (in 146 pieces, 11.63%), than happy (in 98 of the photos, 7.81%). Only 66 photos were found in which people appeared crowded (5.26% of the sample) and 16 (1.27%) in which they were wearing orange vests.

Regarding the *scenarios*, the ones that we have verified most frequently are the street (in 181 of the pieces, 20.07% of the sample), and refugee camps (in 12 pieces, 14.08% of the total of the sample). The most “predictable” scenarios, according to the dominant social stereotype, appear in much lower percentages. Thus, for example, the fence (the

border, the wall) appears in 29 photographs (3.22% of the sample), the beach in 19 (2.11%), the port in 12 (1.33%), the boat in 8 (0.89%) and the sea in 6 (0.67%).

The scenarios, based on the data obtained, generally lack drama. Thus, the vast majority of the photographs show daytime scenes (466 of them, 49.63% of the sample) in which the scenery is nondescript or is not relevant (415 photos, 44.20% of the total). We encoded only 19 photos (2.02% of the sample) with a night scene, 17 with rain (1.81%) and 13 with snow (1.38%).

Regarding *what is shown*, most of the units were coded with particulars of normality (205 photographs, 22.73% of the sample), solidarity (114 photos, 12.64%) and permanence (105, 11.64%). Together, these three approaches represent, therefore, almost half of the sample (47.01%, specifically). More “predictable” and negative approaches, such as arrival (with 6.10%), waiting (5.43%), confrontation (3.55%), epic (3.22%), rescue (2.88%), needs (2.55%) or travel (2.11%) are much less represented. Photographs showing return / expulsion (1.33%) and death (9 photographs, 1% of the sample) were exceptional.

Finally, we also include a couple of more “technical” items to complement the approach to the photographs, related to the type of shot and the angle. Both aspects are important in assessing the point of view applied to the story that is being told and to the presentation of its actors. Also in this sense, the data show a fairly “normalizing” treatment of the stories and their protagonists. The most used *types of shot* are, in fact, the general and medium (which add up, respectively, to 49% and 39.91% of the sample, that is, this type of approach accounts for 88.91% of the photos), while the close-ups, the most committed and subjective, account for 9.42% of the sample. The detailed plans, also very subjective, represent only 1.66% of the total.

Regarding *angulation*, an aspect also of great importance in the presentation of people, most of the analysed photos were coded in the frontal angulation item, the most neutral and uncompromising: this set of photos (677) represents 75.06% of the sample. Photos that use a chopped (163, 18.07%) or a low angle (62, 6.87%) represent a quarter of the sample.

This set of data gave us the “general guideline” of the photographic treatment of refugees in the analysed press. Using these quantitative guidelines, we ordered the photographs according to the highest frequency of each item in the codebook. Thus, for example, we did a search for photographs in order of frequency in “Non-sub-Saharan refugees”, “Men”, “Refugee camp”, “Individual”, “Day”, “The permanence”, “General shot”, “Front” and “Newspapers” in which published, which were the items with the highest frequency in the sample for each entry, and we went down in

frequency, always combining the highest possible frequencies. With this procedure, we selected the ten photographs that represent the highest frequencies of the analysed corpus, thereby guaranteeing that they are statistically representative of the main trends. We have specified the search criteria for each image and the final result of the selection in Table 2. These are the images to which we have applied the multimodal analysis, which explains the relationship between the photographs and the headlines of the pieces in those that were contained. We have excluded some particulars (such as, for example, the characteristics of the scenario, because some of the options, in this case “Day”, were of a very hegemonic frequency.

<b>Who?</b>	<b>Where?</b>	<b>How?</b>	<b>What?</b>	<b>Shot</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>
Non-sub-Saharan, men	Refugee camp	Individual	Permanence	General	<i>Diario de Navarra</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, women, children	Refugee camp	Group	Permanence	General	<i>El País</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, children	Refugee camp	Group	Permanence	General	<i>El Diario Vasco</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, women	Refugee camp	Group, serious, with uncertainty/fear	Solidarity	Medium	<i>La Vanguardia</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, men	Street	Group	Normality	General	<i>El Diario Vasco</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, men	Street	Group	Normality	General	<i>ABC</i>
NGO / volunteers	Refugee camp	Individual	Normality	General	<i>El Norte de Castilla</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, men, women	Refugee camp	Group	Normality	General	<i>La Voz de Galicia</i>
NGO / volunteers	Street	Group	Claim	General	<i>La Voz de Almería</i>
Non-sub-Saharan, children, police, soldiers	Refugee camp	Group	Normality	General	<i>La Razón</i>

Table 2. *Photographs chosen for multimodal analysis*



Un campo de refugiados en la localidad danesa de Thisted.

## La Policía danesa podrá confiscar bienes a los solicitantes de asilo

Los refugiados sólo podrán mantener bienes

Lakke Rasmussen contó, como se esperaba, con el apoyo de sus tres aliados del bloque de centro-

ONU para los Refugiados (ACNUR) ha dicho que alimenta "el miedo y la xenofobia" y que entre

uno, el examen de su solicitud puede durar luego varios años y los refugiados deberán costear el

## Tensión entre Alemania y Rusia por una falsa violación

• Una menor rusa que desapareció durante 30 horas en Berlín explicó a su familia que había sido raptada por inmigrantes

JUAN CARLOS BARRENA *Berlín*

La crisis de los refugiados que desborda a Alemania se está viendo acompañada de rumores y leyendas urbanas infundadas que corren como un reguero de pólvora por las redes sociales causando profundo malestar entre los políticos y las autoridades del país. Es el caso de una niña de 15 años residente en el barrio berlinés de Marzahn y origen ruso, cuya desaparición durante 30 horas ha dado lugar a una historia de supuestos secuestros y violaciones en masa cometidos presuntamente por refugiados y que la Policía y la Fiscalía se han visto obligada a desmentir tajantemente.

Por ese motivo han causado estupeor e indignación las declaraciones ayer del ministro ruso de Exteriores, Serguei Lavrov, en las que acusó a las fuerzas de seguridad de la Justicia de este país de tratar de echar tierra sobre el asunto y "repñar la realidad por cuestiones de política interior". Lavrov definió que "la muchacha no desapareció voluntariamente".

El jefe de la diplomacia rusa se suma así a la campaña orquestada por varias emisoras

Figure 1. *Belongings of those who possess nothing are confiscated*

Refugee camps are one of the first images that come to mind when we hear about people fleeing war or persecution. In this news article from *Diario de Navarra*, published on 27 January 2016, the contrast that is created between the headline and the image is interesting. While the first refers to the possibility of confiscating assets from asylum seekers by the Danish Government, the image shows a man walking among the tents of a refugee camp in the Danish town of Thisted, wearing seemingly makeshift clothing and flip flops. For there to be confiscation, it is necessary that there be valuables or, at least, belongings. However, the first impression that this image generates is that of a lack or absence of resources. The tent is generally associated in our imaginary with the loss of everything or with “non-possession”. We can also see that this idea is greatly reinforced by the gesture of putting your hands in your pockets. Although this behaviour is usually synonymous with disinterest, indifference or even distrust, on this occasion we believe that it may be another complement to “non-possession”, since the refugee in the image does not appear with a backpack, a suitcase or accompanied by his belongings, but rather stripped of all of them. It should be noted, on the other hand, that the refugee does not appear looking at the camera, but at another person whose shadow is reflected in one of the tents. Failure to look at the camera, which is

equivalent to addressing the viewer, may express a lack of confidence that the viewer can understand or support you. Finally, we note that the photo occupies a prominent place in the news, approximately the entire upper third of the page.



Una mujer atiende a su hija junto a una tienda de campaña, ayer en el campo de refugiados de Idomeni, en Grecia. / JOURNAL D'OCULUS / AP/WIDE WORLD

Las claves del acuerdo con Ankara

**Evoluciones.** Desde ahora, Grecia devolverá a Turquía a todo migrante o refugiado llegado desde el país vecino.

**Acogida.** Por cada sirio expulsado a Turquía, la UE acogerá a otro que viaje legalmente. Para ello deberá fijarse un esquema de reparto que algunos Estados miembros rechazan.

**Visados.** El mayor logro para Ankara es acelerar, hasta junio de este año, la desaparición de la necesidad de utilizar visados para viajar a la UE.

**Más dinero.** Europa duplicará hasta 6.000 millones el dinero previsto para que Turquía atienda a los fugados.

**Adhesión europea.** Bruselas respalda un compromiso genérico de avanzar en la apertura de capitulos.

## La ONU cuestiona la legalidad del pacto europeo para expulsar a refugiados

LUCÍA ABELLÁN. Bruselas  
Los recelos expresados por la ONU y por organizaciones de derechos humanos respecto al revolucionario acuerdo sobre refu-

giados de Idomeni, mostraron ayer su inquietud por un pacto que permitirá expulsar a gran escala a partir de ahora a todos los

damente preocupado", admitió el alto comisionado de la ONU para los refugiados, Filippo Grandi, en el Parlamento Europeo. Los líderes comunistas se dedicaron ahora a

goría a ciudadanos europeos (los que originalmente motivaron la creación de Ginebra, tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial). Para los sirios, cuenta con un esquema de protección que no coincide exactamente con la etiqueta de refugiado. Los expertos comunitarios lo consideran equivalente y ese es el resguardo legal que les permite defender el acuerdo.

Amnistía Internacional rebate ese argumento al que atribuye la-

Figure 2. *The normality of uncertainty*

This image appeared in *El País* on 9 March 2016 and also occupies practically the entire top third of the page. In it, a refugee camp appears again; this time, that of Idomeni, in Greece. The headline reads “The UN questions the legality of the European pact to expel refugees”, alluding to the pact signed between the European Union and Turkey. The protagonists of the image are a woman and four girls, probably her daughters (the caption of the photo indicates that at least one of them is), sitting in front of a pop-up tent. In the background, groups of adults can be seen standing, some walking. No one looks at the camera, except for the youngest girl, who appears crying in her mother’s arms. The idea behind the image is that of uncertainty: sitting waiting for something when you don’t know if it’s going to happen or not. In a general view of the image, we could also talk about a certain resignation. However, two elements that break with this perception can be rescued: they are the campfire and the doll that the standing girl plays with. The campfire represents heat, protection from the cold and, therefore, the will to keep going. But, probably, the highlight is the doll that one of the girls is holding and which

she looks at as if she is trying to search for something, which throws a bit of “normality” into such an abnormal situation.

**MUTRIKU**

## Varias iniciativas solidarias para ayudar a los refugiados que llegan a Europa

**:: GORRITIBEREA**

**MUTRIKU.** Mutriku vive una efervescencia solidaria para con los refugiados sirios, fundamentalmente, que han llegado a Europa vía Lesbos. Por una parte un grupo de ciudadanos se ha sumado a la iniciativa 'Katiuska Erronka' puesta en marcha en Donostia y están recogiendo todo tipo de calzado para enviarlo a los campos de refugiados junto con lo que se recoja en la capital guipuzcoana. La recogida se está llevando a cabo en la tienda especializada en juguetes didácticos Tipi-Tapa, situada en la plaza Zabel, hoy viernes de 16.00 a 20.00, mañana sábado de 9.30 a 13.30 y el lunes, martes y miércoles de la próxima semana de 10.00 a 20.00 horas.

Por otra parte la iniciativa puesta en marcha por el colectivo Zabel Eskulan Taldea, llevará a cabo la próxima semana toda una recogida de material sanitario y de higiene, artículos para los niños y varios para enviarlos a Lesbos gracias al Comité de Ayuda al Refugiado de Eibar.

En el capítulo de material sanitaria-



Las necesidades de los refugiados llaman a la solidaridad.

ca medicamentos. Dentro de los artículos para los niños, en el apartado de alimentación infantil se incluirá leche en polvo, biberones de plástico, chupetes y pañales. Se enviará también material escolar y se incluirán también balones hinchables, juguetes de todo tipo en buen estado y juegos de mesa, sin olvidar las mantas, sacos de dormir, tiendas de campaña o porta bebé

próximo lunes 11 de abril y se cerrará el domingo 17. El local estará abierto de lunes a viernes de 10.00 a 12.00 y de 16.30 a 19.30 y el sábado y el domingo de 12.00 a 14.00 horas. Zabel Eskulan Taldea cuenta ya con una veintena de solidarios para repartirse el trabajo y sobre todo el embalaje. A estas dos iniciativas hay que sumarle también las recogidas que han organizado en los tres colegios. Gor-

Figure 3. *The campfire and the children*

The campfire and the children are, once again, the protagonists of the image of the news item in *El Diario Vasco* of 8 April 2016. It is also a refugee camp. However, the camera shot from which the image was taken, as well as the fusion of the colour of the sky, the smoke from the campfire and the white tents, all looking like a single greyish and blurred background, make the first thing we see when we observe the image the group of five children surrounding a campfire in the open, in the middle of nowhere, bearing in mind, above all, that the story as a whole occupies a quarter of the page, to the left and below, and that the image is relatively small in size. We can say that the image reinforces the words of the headline, which talks about “Various solidarity initiatives to help refugees arriving in Europe”. The caption in the photo emphasizes the “need” of refugees and therefore intensifies the requirement for that “solidarity”. When it comes to minors, the call for solidarity tends to be more far-reaching. We would no longer be talking about the usual image of adult men trying to jump over a fence or reaching a shore in a boat — associated in the social imaginary, especially because of the narrative that the media

tried to spread for years, with the arrival of an imminent danger (especially in the use of words such as “wave” and “alluvium”) — but of children who really need help, because they are, as the image shows, “abandoned” and, therefore, requiring our aid. The image is an appeal to the solidarity of the viewer. As in the previous photo, within that abandonment, we see some elements of “permanence” or what we could call “resistance to adversity”: the campfire and the attitude of the children. We have already pointed out that the campfire represents the heat and the will to continue living, but here, perhaps, the most striking thing is the attention that the minors are paying to what seems to be a conversation among them. This image reminds us of the heroes of many films whose protagonists are often small, without special powers, but who, with good company, which frequently occurs in an unplanned way, manage to achieve their goal, usually to save something or someone.

FE EN EL MUNDO



María-Paz López

## El islam de los refugiados

**S**i no lo hacemos movidos por la piedad, hagámoslo al menos por estrategia. Europa se empiqueñece de miedo logístico existencial ante la llegada de miles de refugiados que huyen de la guerra en Siria, Iraq y Afganistán, en su mayoría musulmanes. Mientras los países centro-europeos —con la excepción de Alemania— se atrincheran con vallas fronterizas, y los países del sur, como España, bregan con sus propias miserias sin que esas personas sean una prioridad, el populismo derechista y nacionalista saca tajada del temor de buena parte de la población ante esta nueva invasión sarracena.

Los vientos de la historia están trayendo a Europa a personas con las que no costábamos. Gaste o no, los refugiados ya están aquí: inscritos como solicitantes de asilo allí donde han podido, arracimados en la frontera griega como en sudias en Budapest, atacados en Turquía cuando querían proseguir viaje, pugnando por embarcarse desde Libia, o víctimas de traficantes que les envían al Mediterráneo a abo-

nanos no asumir que esta llegada copiosa de refugiados incluye un ingrediente de ardua asimilación para muchos europeos, que perciben el islam como un cuerpo extraño y peligroso. Hay miedo a que esa oleada venida de Oriente Medio dinamite una identidad forjada durante dos mil años. Muchos europeos bautizados han abandonado la práctica religiosa, pero temen por los valores democrati-

ese número crezca al sumar la población extranjera ya asentada. Pero lo cierto es que levanta temores. Por eso las autoridades están llamadas a legislar sobre reintegración de los recién llegados, y a actuar con firmeza si ellos o sus líderes vulneran nuestras leyes o incitan a vulnerarlas. El sermón de una mezquita de Cornellá de un imán suadi defensor de Bin Laden es inaceptable. Al igual si sus temores

ra parece lejano. Para los gobernantes, la gestión simultánea de la crisis de los refugiados y la del terrorismo yihadista entraña enorme complejidad. En realidad, sólo dos aspectos los vinculan: el origen geográfico y la religión. La violencia infligida en Siria e Iraq por el Estado Islámico (EI) está expulsando de su tierra a miles de mujeres, hombres y niños que buscan cobijo y futuro en un continente que perciben como de promisión. Europa. Y aunque en ese flujó hay fieles de otras religiones (cristianos, yudíos, drusos), lo fe mayoritaria es la de Mahoma, la misma que dicen profetar los terroristas. Es una verdad incómoda, sobre todo para los musulmanes.

Pero para aquellos europeos que concentran en ellos todos sus prejuicios, hay otra verdad incómoda. Es la que seducen los servicios secretos de países de la UE: dicen que entre los migrantes que viajan con precariedad apenas se camuflan yihadistas, pues estos tienen acceso a medios de transporte y suelen partir por puertos occidentales. No hay pues incompatibilidad de fondo entre aceptar refugiados y combatir el terrorismo islamista con mejor coordinación policial a escala europea.

Lo estratégico es seducir a los refugiados y guardarlos para el proyecto europeo. La Europa unida no puede permitirse desistir su grite,



© AP/WIDEWORLD

**En Europa hay miedo existencial a la llegada de tantos musulmanes, que se suma al temor al terrorismo yihadista, del que los propios refugiados son víctimas**

**Idomeni.** Una religión confusa a una refugio de Oriente Medio es un campamento improvisado en la frontera de Grecia con Macedonia.

cos, por su modo de vida, por la emancipación no son tenidos en cuenta por los gobiernos,

Figure 4. The “threat” of Islam

This image from an opinion article in *La Vanguardia* (8 May 2016), taken from a medium shot, has the main objective of highlighting the clothing of the refugee women, specifically the veil they wear on their heads, which indicates that they are Muslim. From the caption we know that what we see in the background is a refugee camp, an improvised one on the border of Greece with Macedonia, but what really seems to interest the person who laid out this page is the focus on “what kind of people” are those who arrive in Europe: refugees of Muslim religion. Moreover, the headline already “warns” of “The Islam of refugees”, being completed with a highlight that occupies the centre of the article, right next to the image, which reads, “In Europe there is existential fear of the arrival of so many



Muslims, which adds to the fear of jihadist terrorism, of which the refugees themselves are victims”. This same image, inserted in another context, could have been an example of solidarity with refugees, since we see that a nun also appears to be reassuring a refugee woman, but the para-text that surrounds her causes the figure of the nun to merge with that of the refugee women to focus on an alleged “threat” from Islam, which brings the arrival of refugees to Europe. This is suggested by the headline and confirmed by the prominent one, which includes words such as “fear, terrorism or jihadist”. The use of “so many” in that same highlight (“the arrival of so many Muslims”) will also affect the interpretation of the image. Actually, not many people appear in the photo. However, as the photo is taken, from that middle angle, the feeling is conveyed that there are more people, especially because none of them are looking towards the camera, but rather towards other actors or with a lost gaze, before the background blur of the tents.



Los hermanos sirios Hamza y Ahmed Ayash colaboran con el proyecto ‘Balegur’ del tolosarra Joseba Mercader (en el medio). : JOSE MARI LOPEZ

## Dos refugiados sirios llegados a Donostia se implican en un proyecto social

Figure 5. *Involvement of refugees*

In Spanish regional newspapers, especially those in the north of Spain, we frequently find images that reflect both the solidarity of the Spanish and the integration of refugees. Here we find an example that combines both. In the centre of the image, we see a Basque artist, Joseba Mercader, surrounded by two Syrian brothers identified by their own names, Hamza and Ahmed Ayash, all three collaborating in the elaboration of a work of art made with recycled material for a solidarity project. In the photo, one of the brothers appears placing a piece, being guided by Joseba Mercader, a fact that conveys the idea of involvement, a word precisely used in the headline (“Two Syrian refugees who arrived in Donostia are involved in a

unos chicos muy majos y predispuestos desde el principio. El idioma no se presenta como un obstáculo en esta tarea. «Si hay ganas de entenderse se hace un esfuerzo. Hablamos en inglés, aunque ellos también entienden algo de español», resalta la codirectora del Museo Naval.

### Poniendo tapones

El pasado sábado por la tarde ambos sacaron tiempo para ayudar a Joseba Mercader. Se reunieron en la terraza del Museo Naval y le ayudaron a montar la parte del borde de la ballena, especifica el tolosarra. «Estuvieron auxiliando muchos tapones de plástico, ya que con silicona se cae», matiza. Se estuvieron dedicando por completo a esta tarea y sus esfuerzos están dando sus frutos, dado que el trabajo va por buen camino y está próximo a terminarse.

Tampoco queda más remedio, ya que esta obra se presentará este jueves en el Museo Naval, a las 18.00 horas. Joseba Mercader sigue avanzando, pero no podrá contar con Hamza y Ahmed hasta mañana, dado que se encuentran ocupados. Eso sí, en ese día serán de mucha ayuda para el fotógrafo guipuzcoano, puesto que tendrán que darle el «veniate final» a este proyecto», indica Socorro Romano.

En esas últimas horas, los dos refugiados tendrán trabajo, aunque «la ballenota» –tal y como apoda cariñosamente Mercader a este proyecto–

social project”). Although at first glance it may seem like a merely symbolic collaboration, the representation of refugees “in action” is relevant; that is, working or being active, unlike the image of passivity that many other images related to them show. It is common for the appearance of refugees in solidarity projects to reflect their representation as recipients of charity or as participants in programmes that are intended to help them, but here what we see is different because it is an environmental awareness project in which they are participants. Finally, it can be said that the image conveys the idea that “refugees not only receive our help, but also collaborate to help us”.

## Daesh secuestra a 800 familias para usarlas como escudos en Mosul

► Crece la represión de los yihadistas, que han asesinado en estos días a 232 personas

Localidades en las que Daesh secuestró a los rehenes



MIKEL AVESTARAN ENVIADO ESPECIAL A BAZKERTAN



En menos de dos semanas las fuerzas kurdas e iraquíes se han situado a las puertas de Mosul. Daesh habría perdido «entre 800 y 900 combatientes» en la defensa de la capital del «califato», según estimaciones de EELU, una defensa que prepararon desde el primer día de su llegada al poder y que completan estos días con el secuestro de «800 familias, decenas de miles de personas» de las aldeas del extrarradio para usarlas como escudos humanos, tal y como denunció la Oficina de Derechos Humanos de la ONU.

Faisal Mahmoud, mando peshmerga que supervisa este lugar recientemente liberado. El socavón dentro de la mezquita es enorme, la vista se pierde en la oscuridad. «No se puede entrar, puede haber trampas. Hay que esperar a que pasen los especialistas en explosivos», advierte. Las ventanas están tapadas con mantas y hay pequeños boquetes para facilitar el



Dos inmigrantes preparan su «mudanza» en el centro de París

## Nuevos campamentos de refugiados en París sustituyen a Calais

► Los asentamientos se encuentran a solo quince minutos del centro de la capital

Barrios étnicos

Norte y este de París Los nuevos campamentos, han

Figure 6. Refugees “occupy” the outskirts of the city

The story in the Spanish newspaper ABC of 29 October 2016, entitled “New refugee camps in Paris replace Calais”, is preceded by a picture in which two men are seen settling into what would be a new refugee camp. The environment, however, is not the usual one, since we can see buildings around them and not the usual structures erected in the open or on the tracks of an old railway. The refugees are settling in the streets of the city, in the middle of a residential area and, in effect, the subtitle warns that “The settlements are only fifteen minutes from the capital”. This contrast between buildings and makeshift settlements on the street could be considered an allegory of the encroachment of the “other” into “our” territory. In addition, both the title and the image convey the idea that refugees will continue to try to access “our welfare state”. In images taken at the border, which are the most canonical, these attempts seemed more distant and complicated to achieve, but in this image they appear much nearer. In the combination of the elements that make up the para-text

(mainly, image and headline) there is a feeling of failure in the closure of Calais, as refugees continue to try to reach out and, above all, to get closer. The truth is that, tacitly, a message of “threat” reaches the viewer in the face of the approach of these people whom they do not know and cannot know — because they are not identified at any time — since they “occupy” their own space, like uninvited guests.



Ángel García sintió más impacto por la cercanía, territorial, a tan solo tres horas de Madrid en avión

Pese a la delicada situación de las familias, este drama ha pasado a un segundo plano

esos campos de refugiados están en Europa y que Grecia es un país muy similar a España.

Se trata de un drama que sigue latente y que aún así aha pasado a segunda planta en el panorama informativo según este responsable.

Preguntado por si verdaderamente somos conscientes de esta realidad, respondió que «para nada», en su opinión, «el tema de refugiados y de la guerra en Siria informativamente tienen muy poco recorrido». En su opinión, «a mípedir con la que se mueven las noticias», no se corresponde con la gravedad real de la situación. Recuerda que «todos los días cruzan personas en bote y siguen muriendo». Además también estima muy grave el hecho de que tantas personas estén desplazadas de su hogar, pese a que en los campos de refugiados se hace todo lo posible porque las condiciones de vida sean óptimas.

**Otros movimientos**

Por otro lado, el drama de los refugiados ha hecho movilizarse a población sensible, sirva de ejemplo las personas que apoyan y forman parte de la Asamblea de apoyo a personas migrante Salamanca. Una de sus últimas acciones fue sumarse a la Caravana a Grecia, en la que conocieron este drama en primera persona.

La inacción de algunos responsables políticos también se traduce en miedo en cuanto a que los que participaron en este viaje que tenía carácter de altavoz, simplemente

## Cruz Roja reconoce que los refugiados sufren por culpa de la incertidumbre

Figure 7. Red Cross, a saving hero who helps those who suffer

This image from the newspaper *El Norte de Castilla* (5 August 2016) is also situated in a refugee camp, specifically Skaramagan, in Greece. In it, a Red Cross technician can be seen heading towards a refugee camp made up of modular units. This and three other photos reflecting the work of the Red Cross in Skaramagan camp occupy roughly the top half of the page, which is devoted entirely to the story entitled “Red Cross recognizes that refugees suffer from uncertainty”. The shot allows us to see a refugee camp installed in an open space, not paved, with a wet floor, with mountains in the background. These images represent part of the “suffering” referred to by the owner. We also see Ángel García Hernández, head of Health and Relief at the Red Cross in Salamanca, heading towards these facilities. The figure of this official appears larger than that of the people who inhabit the field, a perspective which helps create the impression of a saving hero who goes to help those who suffer.

# Un día en la vida de un refugiado en París

Un joven sudanés relata a La Voz cómo sobrevive en la capital de Francia

● Alexandra Fernández París

Al norte de París, en el barrio de Jaurès, las tiendas de campaña se acumulan a lo largo de la avenida de Flandre. Un caos de sofás, colchones, mantas y tendales: una reproducción a escala de la Jungla de Calais en la que viven cerca de mil refugiados. El campamento se ha convertido en «la casa» de Mohamedin desde su llegada a la capital a principios de septiembre. El joven sudanés de 22 años se encuentra en pleno proceso de solicitud de derecho de asilo tras escapar de su ciudad de origen, Nyala, la mayor de Darfur. La región lleva años siendo maltratada por el Gobierno central y las milicias progubernamentales, que han arrasado ciudades enteras y convertido el sur del país en un gran campo de refugiados.

«Primero fuimos de Sudán a Libia en coche, después de Libia a Italia en barco y al final



**Refugiados en París.** Arriba, imagen del campamento de refugiados de la avenida de Flandre, al norte de París, y junto a estas líneas, el joven sudanés Mohamedin en el campamento. AFP/A.F.

en la avenida de Flandre. «Me ayuda en todo, cuando estoy enfermo, con mis documentos...», explica Mohamedin.

Dos amigos suyos han ido con él a casa de Geneviève para que les ayude con sus solicitudes de asilo, en las que tienen que narrar su vida en Darfur hasta que se fueron, por qué se fueron y por qué no pueden volver. «El gobierno ha atacado la zona con bombas químicas», ex-

Figure 8. Frozen “normality”

Published in the newspaper *ABC*, this image has its origins in a similar context to that of the resettlement of the Calais refugees in Paris, but there is a notable difference between the two: while the *ABC* story depersonalized the refugees and the moment of “occupation” of the Parisian streets was shown, in this photo of *La Voz de Galicia* (17 October 2016) the focus is placed on the quality of life of these people (“A day in the life of a refugee in Paris”). Indeed, the subtitle and the second photo tell us specifically about the story of one of those refugees: a young Sudanese named Mohamedin, who appears looking at the camera and smiling next to a tent (“A young Sudanese tells *La Voz de Galicia* how he survives in the capital of France”). The mattresses on the floor, an armchair and even some ropes hanging between the trees show a type of “non-normal” permanence, of a life on the street, without a roof or any protection, but what is most striking is the contrast between what we could call “the refugee zone” and what is seen around it: while the photo depicts the refugees sitting or conveying an impression of immobility, as if they were frozen in time and waiting, around them we can see the city and movement, represented mainly by the bus that seems to be making a turn. Again, it is the presence of a minor that breaks with the resignation that predominates in the image. He is seen leaning on one leg, as if trying to balance himself, which can be interpreted as a sign of relative normality, in the middle of such abnormal circumstances, as we saw in other examples.

## Almería

# Almería marcha por la dignidad de los refugiados

**Sociedad** Cientos de personas pidieron ayer un 'pasaje seguro' para los que huyen de la guerra

**SAMUEL NAJAS**

Almería

Cerca de 200 personas participaron en la mañana de ayer sábado en el centro de la capital en una marcha para pedir dignidad para los cientos de miles de refugiados que llegan a Europa huyendo de la guerra.

La marcha contó con un gran número de almerienses que, con su presencia, quisieron gritar bien alto contra la "enorme injusticia que se hace con los hom-

bres, mujeres y niños que huyen de la guerra de Siria, y de otros países demandando, cuando se les niega ayuda humanitaria" y contra "la vergüenza por la actitud de las autoridades de la Unión Europea que no hacen absolutamente nada por ellos".

La protesta, que se inició en la Puerta de Purchena, se desarrolló en un ambiente festivo por el Paseo de Almería y concluyó frente a la puerta de la delegación del Gobierno de la Junta, donde se leyó un manifiesto.



**PROTESTA MUNDIAL.** Ciudadanos de un total de 25 países acudieron ayer sábado a movilizaciones para exigir a todos los gobiernos, ya los europeos en particular, que abran vías seguras de acceso al territorio para que quienes huyen de la guerra.



**AMBIENTE FESTIVO.** Gran parte de marcha se desarrolló entre cánticos.



**MANIFESTANTES.** Clamaron para que las personas no tengan que jugarse la vida.



**EMPATÍA.** Pidieron ponerse en el lugar del refugiado.

Figure 9. *Safe passage for refugees, now!*

In this headline from the newspaper *La Voz de Almería* (28 February 2016) the metonymy of “the town for its inhabitants” is used (“Almería marches for the dignity of refugees”), an impersonalizing strategy that conveys the idea that everyone, without distinction, is offering their unconditional support to the refugees. But if we compare what the headline says with the main image, we perceive that the latter allows us to see only the first rows of the demonstration, focusing our attention on the message of the banner raised by the participants (“Refugees/Safe passage, now”) rather than the number of these. Most likely with the intention of capturing the entire message of the banner, the main image is taken from a considerable distance, so that the unique features of the protesters are not apprehended; that is, they are represented primarily based on what they do and not who they are. In the three smaller images that follow the main one, some specific faces can already be identified, although, once again, the core of the portrait is the message they convey. We also do not know if there are refugees among the protesters or not. The last image (right) appeals directly to the viewer by addressing the following words written on an orange tray, which reminds us of the colour of the life jackets with which we have so often seen refugees who suffer shipwrecks: “And if it were you” is to be understood as “and if you were the refugee / the one fleeing the war, etc.” Another message that we see in that same photo, although somewhat blurred, is that of “Safe passage to Europe”, also translated into Arabic and raised by one of the protesters. The images not only show what the protesters claim, but also what they denounce: the staging of the boat in which we are used to seeing refugees arriving on

European shores and, on it, the messages “Peace now” and “No to war”, with which the protesters want to convey the idea of the tragic alternative that potentially awaits refugees if we do not guarantee them a “safe passage”.

INTERNACIONAL CRISIS DE REFUGIADOS EL FUTURO DE EUROPA

L. Sorja, A. Serena - Bruselas, París  
Nuevas medidas y nuevos recursos para analizar la crisis de los refugiados. La Comisión Europea tiene previsto presentar esta mañana en Bruselas un nuevo plan de acción que permita desbloquear la situación que viven los demandantes de asilo. Después de las actuaciones similares de algunos países con la

imposición de cuotas de entrada arbitrarias e ilegales y de que se haya llegado a utilizar gases lacrimógenos para disuadir a los refugiados, se hace más urgente que nunca que Bruselas lidere una propuesta que convenga hasta a los más reacios. Se prevé que se hable de dinero y de ayuda humanitaria. Y el encargado de presentarla será Christos Stylianides, responsable

en la Comisión de la gestión de crisis humanitarias. Las nuevas medidas, junto con la situación de caos en la frontera entre Grecia y Macedonia, y el bloqueo que sufrirá alrededor de 30.000 demandantes de asilo en el país heleno estarán según las news en la próxima columna dedicada en exclusiva a la inmigración que se celebrará en Bruselas el próximo lunes. «La Comisión está

muy preocupada por las imágenes que se ven en ayer... todas las medidas que se tomen en las fronteras deben ser conformes al Derecho internacional y europeo... Y esto sólo demuestra una vez más que la única solución que vale es una solución colectiva, una solución europea», señalaba en rueda de prensa el portavoz del Ejecutivo comunitario, Margaritis Schinas. La

nueva propuesta llega en un momento en el que la ONU ha declarado que Grecia está al borde del colapso. Considera «inmensamente» una crisis humanitaria en el país por la afluencia masiva de refugiados y la falta de recursos. En los primeros dos meses del año, han entrado al país heleno un total de 122.000 personas, entre refugiados e inmigrantes, según señalaba desde Ginebra el coordinador para la crisis de refugiados de ACNUR, Vincent Cochetel. Más de la mitad de las llegadas son mujeres y niños, muchos de los cuales duermen en la calle en pleno invierno. La imagen es dramática, pero a pesar de la urgencia, Europa sigue dividida sobre cómo afrontar la crisis. La Comisión pretende por ello volver a insistir en la reubicación y dar un impulso para apoyar a Grecia. Desde Atenas se ha solicitado ayuda europea por valor de 400 millones de euros y todo apunta a que tendrá una respuesta positiva por parte de la CE. El diario Wall Street Journal estimaba en su edición de ayer que el plan de acción contará con un paquete de ayudas por un importe de 700 millones de euros en los próximos tres años.

**Cierre de la Jungla**  
La «Jungla» de Calais se desmantela despareciendo bajo la acción de los tractores con palas que derriban una a una las cabinas que los inmigrantes se habían construido a la espera de tener una ocasión para llegar al Reino Unido. Ayer, fue un día más tranquilo, después de los enfrentamientos que se produjeron el lunes entre un grupo de inmigrantes y activistas, y las fuerzas del orden. Pero el dispositivo policial seguía siendo igual de impresionante: un centenar de funcionarios que filtraban el acceso a la zona para evitar que se interrumpiera el trabajo de desmantelamiento.

## La ONU alerta del colapso de Grecia

La Comisión Europea presenta hoy un plan de acción de entre 400 y 700 millones de euros para desbloquear la situación de los casi 30.000 inmigrantes atrapados en el país heleno



Un niño ante el bloqueo policial cerca del poblado de Idomeni en la frontera norte de Grecia con Macedonia

Figure 10. *The Entrance Plea*

As we have mentioned previously, the figure of children tends to be more powerful in news about migration, wars or catastrophes, among others, and they more easily stir the consciences of viewers. The image that occupies the central part of this article from *La Razón* (2 March 2016) is a good example and, above all, an allegory of the reality of refugees, since the refugee is represented by a child who appears seated, waiting, with his back to the viewer in front of a chain of burly policemen who are standing guard to access to Macedonia, on its border with Greece. This figure of the seated minor represents the vulnerability of the refugee and, at the same time, could be interpreted as a sign of the innocuousness of these people, who only wait to cross the border to save their lives. The police, in this image, represent power, so in the gesture of appearing to look away from the refugee child, we find a cipher of the abandonment of power to these people, who need help, who are waiting for something from them. The child seems to ask with his gesture, and with the direction of his gaze towards the policemen, for entry, but there is no indication of demand or

claim in the said image. Headline and subtitle describe this situation with words such as “collapse” (“The UN warns of the collapse of Greece”, “unlock” or “trapped” (“The European Commission today presents an action plan of between 400 and 700 million euros to unlock the situation of the almost 30,000 immigrants trapped in the Hellenic country”). While the protagonists of the image are the refugees (represented in the figure of the minor) and the Greek authorities (represented in the figure of the border police), the main actors of the verbal information will be the UN and the European Commission, which arise as intermediaries between the previous two.

## **Conclusions**

The main objective of this research was to determine the general image shown of refugees in the Spanish press through the photographs published in its pages, to understand the majority point of view that is adopted in their presentation to readers. Specifically, it was about analysing the actors (people) that appear mostly in the said images, the place or setting in which they are situated and the story the photographs tell us, or which implicitly underlies them. Ultimately, it was a matter of locating and making explicit the “narrative” hidden from the images of these people most frequently disseminated by said media for the consumption of the Spanish public. A key concept in our approach is, therefore, that of “master narratives”. As Carolina Figueras (2015) has explained very well:

In sociology, master narratives are formulas or scripts that we use to tell stories. Master narratives shape our expectations about how things work in the world and constrain how we interpret reality. In fact, they operate as frameworks of knowledge that legitimize certain ideologies and impose limits on alternative ways of thinking and understanding the world. Master narratives provide patterns for explaining our experiences and telling our stories. [...] The master narratives include a good number of historical stereotypes regarding gender, social class and ethnicity (Yosso 2006, 9), and they serve to simplify complex social problems, presenting people and events in a one-dimensional way (Espino 2008). The media adopt and perpetuate the master narratives that shape the ideas, images and meanings of everyday social reality. (Erdmans 1999, 341)

From our study of the joint corpus of the DIPURE project, it was concluded that, on the one hand, photographs are a fundamental element in

information about refugees in Spain; and, on the other, that there is a marked tendency to show in these photographs the protagonists of the story, that is, the refugees themselves. We also deduced from those data a scarce plurality — a tendency towards homogeneity — of points of view when reflecting the events and their protagonists and the scenarios in which they are situated.

On the other hand, from the latest research on press photographs in information about refugees (López and Humanes 2016; Empinotti 2017; Solovova 2017; Casanova and Massó 2018; Marcos *et al.* 2018; López Marrupe 2019; Amores *et al.* 2020), it is concluded that the media show refugees during transit, with few images that place them at the points of origin and destination, as a collective or group actor, that the refugees in the images do not look directly at the viewer, that a tendency to paternalism persists, that the “victimization” of the refugees predominates and that from the images it can largely be deduced that they are a “burden” and/or a “threat”.

Our quantitative and qualitative research consolidates all these conclusions from the previous literature, and it reinforces some other ideas that, together, show what image of refugees the press is offering in its selection of photographs. The first of these ideas is that refugees, the protagonists of this news, are fundamentally anonymous entities, inasmuch as they do not look at the camera and, therefore, do not establish a relationship with the reader, but also because they appear fundamentally in groups, *en masse*, as an amorphous and anodyne collective, distant and impersonal. The second is that this collective subject is located “outside” of “our” territory, in faraway settings, geographically and conceptually, because refugee camps are peripheral places that, in reality, are not a place, but a space in which time seems to have stopped and in which expectations seem unrealizable.