Neo-racism and the imagination of a Spanish identity

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1990s, Spain has been the destination of immigrants from so-called "underdeveloped" and or Third World countries. This phenomenon is visibly altering the composition of the Spanish nation. Because of the historical particularities of Spain there is not much published research on Spanish national identity. According to Flynn, the lack of research is "related to the discrediting of Spanish nationalism during the Francoist dictatorship and later democratic devolution which encouraged an analogous diversification in the study of national identities within Spain" (2001, 703-718).

In order to advance the study on nationalism and national identity formation this paper investigates whether and how the representation of Third World immigrants, in the form of "otherness," and in relation to Spaniards, or "us," is contributing to the re-construction of a unified Spanish national identity. I primarily used the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) of two major newspapers in Spain: *El Mundo* and *El Pais* for the years 1994 and 2004. The contextualization of the discourses produced in the media about immigration and immigrants are guided by extensive field work conducted in Spain during the years 2006 and 2007 in the form of content analysis, field observation, semi-structured interviews with Spanish non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as well as governmental organizations (GOs) that are involved with immigration issues in Spain.

The analysis shows that contemporary discursive representations of Third World immigrants in Spain has facilitated the re-construction of a national identity, in terms of "us"

(Spaniards) versus "them" (so-called Third World immigrants) as a neo-racialized other. In this fashion, Spaniards are discursively represented as the insiders or the ones who belong to the nation, while Third World immigrants are the outsiders/strangers or excluded people. Third World immigrants are in most instances discursively constructed as being a physical, social, cultural, and/or economic danger or threat to Spain.

These characterizations belong to the category of "neo-racism," since Third World immigrants are either implicitly or explicitly represented as posing a threat to "preserving" the Spanish identity (Balibar 1991). Furthermore, these particular types of discursive representations have facilitated, in accord with Benedict Anderson's definition of an imagined community, that the members of the nation of Spain envision in their minds the "image of their communion" (Anderson 1983: 89).

Using the concept of neo-racism to investigate issues of national identity formation facilitates uncovering the type of national imagining currently taking place in Spain. Because the discourses produced in the data on the "others" are highly neo-racialized, this paper argues that the re-imagining of a Spanish nationhood in post-Franco, contemporary Spain is based, following Anthony Marx's theory (1998), on excluding "the other" as part of the definition of being Spanish rather than in the forging of a "horizontal comradeship" as Anderson advocates.

2. SPANISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND MIGRATORY FLOWS

Consensus among scholars holds that Spanish national identity and nationalism have been neglected in academic literature (Muro and Quiroga 2005: 25). Flynn states the following: "Juan Linz can assert that by the early 1990s 'there doesn't exist one book about Spanish nationalism', and I must confess that I am not able to think of anyone in Spain, or abroad, that at present may have assumed this project" (Flynn 2001, 703-18). According to Flynn, and as explained above, this is related to the discrediting of Spanish nationalism during the Francoist dictatorship.

The study of nationalism, in the context of Spain, has primarily focused on the regional or peripheral nationalism of two major regions: Basque Country and Catalonia. The emphasis on the study of nationalism, in the form of regionalism implies that Spain lacks a unified Spanish national identity. Muro and Quiroga argue that Muro and Quiroga argue that while the existence of peripheral or regional nationalisms is widely acknowledged, Spanish nationalism and Spain's national identity as a unity are constantly ignored (2001).

The lack of research in this area hinders the exploration of the formation of a complex but cohesive contemporary national identity in Spain. This formation of a cohesive, non-regionalized Spanish identity has mainly developed because of the participation of the Spanish nation-state in the international arena. Spain is now the destination of massive migratory movements of workers coming from the Global South. By 1998, statistics reflected for the first time that immigrants coming from so-called Third World countries had became the majority of immigrants to Spain, rather than immigrants from "more-developed countries". By 2005 almost 80 per cent (2.9 million people) of immigrants came from "less-developed countries" (Colectivo Ioé 2005: 6). According to the National Statistics Institute of Spain (INE), by the end of 2005, 505,373 (13.69%) immigrants out of a total of 3,691,547 came from Morocco and 491,797 (13.32%) from Ecuador.

The contemporary arrival of immigrants from the Global South presents a unique scenario for studying not only Spanish identity formation but for investigating representational practices in the process of identity formation. To investigate whether and how the representation of Third World immigrants, in relation to Spaniards, is contributing to the re-construction of a unified Spanish national identity, I assume that "representation is an inherent and important aspect of global political life and therefore a critical and legitimate area of inquiry" (Doty 1996:5). Therefore, at the heart of this study rests the assumption that issues of representation of groups by other groups, especially in the media, the use of language when referring to groups of people, particularly in the context of North-South relations, as well as the societal role of the media, are vital tools toward the framing of a national identity. In this sense, and agreeing with Lewis, "journalism presents a ripe case with which to study the mass

media's role in the construction of a national identity" (2008:410). The analysis of the discourses produced in the Spanish media in this fashion allows for finding out how "the other," or the so-called Third World immigrant, is constructed in relation to "us," or Spaniards.

3. NEO-RACISM AND THE IMAGINING OF A NATION: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> Racism – a true 'total social phenomenon' - inscribes itself in practices (forms of violence, contempt, intolerance, humiliation and exploitation), in discourses and representations which are so many intellectual elaborations of the phantasm of prophylaxis or segregation (the need to purify the social body, to preserve 'one's own' or 'our' identity from all forms of mixing, interbreeding or invasion) and which are articulated around stigmata of otherness (name, skin colour, religious practices) (Balibar 1991: 17-18).

The concept of race has been theorized and defined from multiple perspectives. Balibar assumes that race, and racism, are social constructs with no inherent meaning. Practices of representation inscribed in discourses produce and reproduce certain types of knowledge "which emerges within specific historical, economic, and political situations and is whatever racists have the social power to define it" (Doty 2003:24). For the purpose of this study, I follow that race emerges within specific historical, economic, and political situations and it is a socially constructed category. The concept of neo-racism follows from the above definition of race. Assuming that race is socially constructed allows for the re-definition and/or re-construction of new forms of racism such as neo-racism in response to societal changes.

With this in mind, the concept of neo-race illuminates "the construction of race within the context of the late twentieth-century globalization and its implications for national boundaries and the politics of inclusion and exclusion" (Doty 2003:24). In the current context, the neo-racism is intimately related to immigration processes, xenophobia, various forms of exclusion and the changing nature of discourses and practices of exclusion and inclusion. For these reasons, the concept of neo-racism is in most instances theorized within the context of theories of immigration. It is most common to find studies using the concept of neo-racism vis-

à-vis the inquiry of reactions to immigration such as assimilationism, multiculturalism, and/or exclusionism. Countries that adopt multiculturalism often assume that international migration brings to the receiving nation "difference" in the form of "ethnicity" and/or "race". And thus, it is up to the receiving nation-state to define what "difference" means and what policies and laws are to be created. As Castles and Miller argue, "settlers are often distinct from the receiving populations ...the differences are frequently summed up in the concepts of 'ethnicity' or 'race.' In many cases, immigration complicates existing conflicts or divisions in societies with long-standing ethnic minorities" (Castles and Miller 1998: 10).

To address issues of difference and recognition, which scholars such as Castles and Miller equate with issues of "ethnicity" and "race," nations that adopt multiculturalism try to create immigration policies and laws that deal with the cultural "pluralistic" accommodation of immigrants. In regard to issues of recognition, culture and their relationship with "ethnicity" and "race," Olson argues that cultural "misrecognition," is misleadingly juxtaposed with race and ethnicity in many instances pointing out that "[r]acial oppression is not a problem of misrecognition but a problem of *power*" (Olson 2004:110). In this sense, culture and race are in many instances incorrectly juxtaposed and confused. Culture and race, as Olson clearly shows in the case of the United States, are not always interrelated. The investigation of discourses as vehicles for uncovering the production and reproduction of societal knowledge has to be carefully inquired. Although finding the right method of inquiry is always a challenge, the concept of neo-racism, if investigated vis-à-vis the analysis of representational practices of inclusion and exclusion in the new era of globalization, permits examining various forms of exclusion associated with these global immigration processes. In this context, "communities and organizations are integrated and related in new spatio-temporal terms due to today's processes of changes such as global homogenization and the parallel emergence of local and group-specific identities" (DeCillia et al., 1999:255; see also Hall 1991).

Racial injustices cannot be presumed to be completely disengaged from cultural discrimination. In case of Spain, Third World immigrants may be subordinated groups due in part to their cultural background and the

emphasis on cultural difference as a political construct that it is intimately connected to issues of power. In this sense, race and culture seem to be impossible to separate. Furthermore, differentiating whether discrimination is due to biological, cultural, ethnic components, or a mix of these, may not be empirically attainable for every case study. The traditional, more biologically inclined, understanding of racial discrimination may in many instances be mixed with the cultural "imperative of preserving the group's identity, whose purity it sanctifies" (Doty 2003, 19). To illuminate this racial debate, I aim to differentiate, whenever possible, between discourses of exclusion based on biological differences from those based on culture and/or those constituting a form of "threat."

The concept of neo-race, therefore, is used in this investigation with caution. The present discussion aims to illuminate the concept of "race" only in the context of Spain, whether its origins are biological, cultural, "new" or "old," as a political construct brought about by forces of globalization for "constructing otherness that can lead to exclusion or discrimination" (Doty 2003: 21) but which is intimately connected, as Olson (2004) argues, to issues of power. In so doing, I follow that discourses of exclusion and inclusion, if constructed as "neo-racialized" representations, do not necessarily mean that race can be identified and that unequal power relations can be identified in a society. The concept of neo-race only helps uncover practices of discursive discrimination. Identifying patterns of exclusion in language-use is, nevertheless, very useful, for their analyses may reveal that such discourses are produced within a system of oppression. Discovering practices of exclusion are, therefore, pathways to uncovering practices of discrimination, exploitation, and unequal political and economic power in a given society.

In uncovering such discourses and the knowledge contained within them, the important thing to remember is that discrimination, in any form, is the product of constructing "the other" as an inferior group. The construction of "the other" as being negatively-different and inferior facilitates the materialization of practices of exploitation in a given society. Therefore, these constructions assist the production and materialization of unequal political and economic power relations which lead to such discrimination. In this fashion, the concept of "neo-racism" directs the researcher's attention toward uncovering the type of knowledge contai-

ned, produced, and reproduced in the discourses constructed about "us" and "the other," and which may denote the existence and/or be the product of unequal power relations.

In addition, the concept of neo-racism is inextricably linked to the making of a nation and national identity. Defining who belongs and who does not has always been an inherent part of the making of a nation. Defining concepts such as a nation, nationalism, and/or national identity have proved difficult for scholars (Anderson 1983, Lewis 2008; Bishop and Jaworski 2003). I follow Anderson's definition of "the nation" as an "imagined community" (Anderson: 1983), and I assume by following the theoretical approach proposed in this study that "mass media discourse, with its (re)production of ideologies in social life and its deictic delineation of Us versus Them, makes natural and unproblematic "our" place and purpose within the world of nations- the very essence of nationalism" (Billing 1995; Bishop and Jaworski 2003). To this end, I accept nation as an imagined community which is primarily defined as a "mental construct that is shaped in large part, but not exclusively, by mass media" (Frosh and Wolfsfeld 2006:105). In analyzing such "mass media discourses" (ibid) vis-à-vis the concept of neo-racism, however, this study challenges Anderson's assumption that nations, nationalism and national identities are imagined as a 'horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1983).

In challenging the assumption that a nation, nationalism and national identity is constructed as a horizontal imagined comradeship, I follow Anthony Marx's (1998) argument about "exclusion" as an important aspect of imagining a community. In a compelling argument, Marx challenges Anderson's definition of an "imagined community" by arguing that the former ignores the importance of exclusion in constructing an "imagined" national identity. The subordination and exclusion of some people within a territory contributes to the formation of a national identity as well. Constructing neo-racialized discourses about Third World immigrants, I argue, allows for the formation of an imagined community that is not precisely based on horizontal comradeship, but rather based on exclusion. Without the above consideration, studying discourses of "us" and "the other," and/ or discourses of inclusion vis-à-vis exclusion in forging a nation do not make sense. Studying the re-imagining of a Spanish national identity in this fashion, and by combi-

ning Anderson's definition of a nation and Marx's remark on taking into account exclusionary practices, directs this inquiry's focus toward uncovering whether neo-racialized discourses about Third World immigrants, defined as a "threat" to Spanish identity, plays a role in the imagining of a nation and national identity.

4. LANGUAGE USE, REPRESENTATIONAL PRACTICES, AND DISCOURSES OF EXCLUSION IN THE STUDY OF IDENTITY FORMATION

Discourses of difference are produced in societies when a so-called "outsider" is identified in a given society, and always in relation to a so-called "insider." In this sense, "the 'other' is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully within cultural discourse when we think we speak most intimately and indigenously 'between ourselves'" (Bhabha 1999:4). Furthermore, discourses of difference are usually created around the construction of a "positive-self," or insider, and a "negative-other," or outsider. I define a discourse as an array of "diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned—differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways" (Fairclough 2001:123). Cultural institutions, such as the media in the form of newspapers, "reproduce ideas by identifying which ideas are valuable, which are not, and which should not be heard at all. In this way, the ideas of privileged groups in relation to race, class and gender are routinely heard, whereas ideas of groups who are disadvantaged are silenced" (Anderson and Collins 2001:224).

In investigating issues of representation and discourses of inclusion and exclusion as they relate to the concept of neo-racism, I examine selected newspapers first in terms of positive-self or "us" (Spaniards) vs. negative-other or "the other" (Third World immigrants). Second, I analyze the discourses related to whether immigrants from the Global South pose a "threat" to being Spanish and/or Spain. To account for the discursive representation of Third World immigrants in the selected Spanish media, and to compare the discursive differences before and after immigrants from the Global South became the majority of immigrants in Spain, I chose to analyze the discourses produced in the Spanish newspapers of

El Mundo and *El Pais* for the years 1994 and 2004. The goal of choosing these two years is to compare the discourses produced in the selected media during 1994 in contrast to what was produced in 2004, before and after immigrants from the Global South became the most significant group of immigrants in Spain.

My interpretation of the use of language depends on the historical and critical contextualization of the discourses produced in Spain. Particular attention is given to those instances in which the language use refers to migrants coming from developing countries, particularly Africa and Latin America, or the Global South, in relation to those coming from the so-called developed countries, or the Global North.

Given that the focus of this study is uncovering neo-racialized discourses about "the other," I developed two distinct categories for the study of race: biological race-discrimination and neo-racism. In doing so, I aim to find out the instances, when possible, in which the language used in the discourses under investigation belongs exclusively to the category of neo-racism. Although this empirical division is created for the purpose of this study, I do not assume that these two categories work separately, since both categories denote discriminatory use of language toward a particular group. In the category of biological race-discrimination I included all those instances in which "the other," is discursively constructed in discriminatory terms due to their skin color, physical traits and place of origin. The category of neo-racism includes the instances, in which I interpreted that immigrants are discursively represented as posing a "threat" or "danger" to the Spanish society and/or nation of Spain. This type of danger is in most instances discursively portrayed as being physical, social, cultural, and/or economic in nature, among others. In using this approach, I follow the definition of "threat" proposed by theories of neoracism. To this end, I developed the category of neo-racism in this analysis to test the validity of this new concept of race and to investigate whether the representation of "the other" in this fashion constitutes a new type of racism which for scholars such as Balibar is:

> ...[the product] of the era of 'decolonization,' of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the old metropolises, and the division of humanity within a single political space. Ideologically, current racism... centers upon the immigration complex, [and] fits into a

framework of 'racism without races' which is already widely developed in other countries…(Balibar 1991: 21).

To critically analyze the use of language within the context in which it is produced, it is necessary to define the categories of 'us' and 'the other'. Spaniards as the constructed 'us' group are defined here as a group of people to whom the selected media refers, through language use, as belonging to the Spanish society. This study defines the category of 'the other' as immigrants from the Global South who are represented through language use in the selected Spanish newspapers, *El Mundo* and *El País,* for the years 1994 and 2004, as foreign people coming to Spain in search of a job, and who may or may not adopt the host society as their new home. In order to identify whether the language used in the selected media refers to Spaniards or Third World immigrants, this study pays attention first to whether the language of the text in context refers to either "us" (Spaniards) or "the other" (Third World immigrants). Using the definition provided above, in conjunction with the analysis of the meaning of the text in the context in which it is produced, and in addition to the knowledge gained during field work, allows for differentiating when the sentence refers to "us" versus "them."

To find and analyze the discourses produced in the media, I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) and content analysis. The method of content analysis can help identify patterns in language use in the selected texts and which later can be used to critically interpret them. The identification of these patterns is essential for uncovering whether language use contributes to immigrants' and Spaniards' identities. To operate this study, I use a content analysis computer program called "Concordance,"[1] applying it to *El Mundo* and *El País* for the years 1994 and 2004. This program allows enumeration of words in the newspapers, identifying the frequency in which individual words are repeated in the texts. More important, it designates the exact location of each word, making it available for contextual analysis. I use Concordance in the following manner. The approach consists in the contextual interpretation of only three significantly relevant words: *inmigrantes* (immigrants), *los sin papeles* (those without papers), *irregulares* (immigrants without holding a legal status in Spain). These pre-selected words appear to have significant relevance during fi-

eld work research in Spain. After this process of selection of words, I critically interpreted the context in which they appear. Attention is given, therefore, only to the meaning of the context in which the words *inmigrantes*, *los sin papeles,* and *irregulares* appear. In other words, I do not pay attention to the textual meaning of the selected words but rather to the meaning of the context in which these words appear.

Following interpretation of contextual meaning of the target words, the researcher further analyzes such meaning in terms of significance for the subsequent construction of categories. Therefore, the categories in which the target words *inmigrantes*, *los sin papeles*, and *irregulares* are classified are heuristically grounded from the texts. The interpretation of the context in which a given word and the subsequent categorization of the meanings are entered in a computer qualitative program called Fieldworks Data Notebook Version: 2.4.2006 (SIL). This qualitative program is an electronic note-book which allows me to easily keep track, counting after interpretation the amount of times that the contextual interpreted meaning of a selected word repeats, and therefore, it allows for applying basic statistics. To report the total number of times a word repeats under the different subjective categories, years, sources and fields, this study creates tables with the aid of the computer program Microsoft Office Excel 2007. These tables allow the researcher to record the total word frequency as counted by the computer program (content analysis) as well as the enumeration of a word after using context analysis for the different categories, sources and years.

In using CDA, I assume that discourses offer the means to describe or narrate "reality" in a particular way. Discourses can be viewed "as the flow of knowledge – and/or all societal knowledge stored- throughout all time" (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 34). Additionally, discourses relate to the concepts of history and ideology. With this in mind, critical discourse analysis, being a descriptive method, is an invaluable tool for uncovering how and whether the language-use in the discourses produced in the Spanish media of *El Mundo* and *El Pais* for the years 1994 and 2004 reproduce certain types of ideas and ideologies about Spaniards in contrast to immigrants from the Global South. CDA is used in this study to help me uncover - vis-à-vis the identification of patterns in language use (which are only visible after their critical interpretation) - what type of knowled-

ge is produced and reproduced through language-use in the Spanish media. CDA is useful for critically describing and identifying patterns in language use and the flow of knowledge they contain. CDA facilitates, therefore, uncovering the ways in which discourses in the Spanish media contribute to reflecting and shaping contemporary Spanish reality and identity formation in the re-imagining of a unified national identity.

5. CONSTRUCTING US AND THE OTHER

The discourses and the language used in the media, following the above criteria, are compared to investigate whether they have changed as a result of the arrival of immigrants from the Global South or Third World countries. Comparing discourses produced before and after they became the largest immigrant group facilitates elucidation of patterns to be examined. These patterns further assist with uncovering the extent to which representations in the form of belongingness and otherness underlie the production of knowledge. To show the results of my findings, in relation to the categories of race, I constructed tables 1 and 2 presented below. To this end, I interpreted all 528 instances in which I designate that the language used in the newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo* in the years 1994 and 2004 pertains exclusively to Third World immigrants. Tables 1 and 2 show all instances and percentages in which I designate that the language used for the given year and sources belong to the category of race: biological-race discrimination and neo-racism. First, I present results of findings for the year 1994 registered in table 1 and follow with those for 2004 in table 2.

Table 1 - Discursive Racial Representation
of TW- Spain, 1994

Negative- other (TW Immigrants)	El Pais 1994			El Mundo 1994			Totals year 1994	% Total Year
	Inmigrantes	Sin papeles	Irregulares	Inmigrantes	Sin papeles	Irregulares		
Criminals	63	0	0	33	0	0	96	18,18%
Religion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,00%
Physical/identity Threat	50	0	0	34	0	0	84	15,91%
Neo-racism							180	34,09%
Biological Race discrimination	15	0	0	58	0	0	73	13,83%
Total race							253	47,92%
Positive-other (TW immigrants)	4	0	0	1	0	0	5	0.95%
Other categories for TW immigrants as negative-other							270	51.13
Total TW Immigrants	308	0	2	218	0	0	528(N)	100%
Total no meaning (Refers to immigrants from Global North)	24	0	0	120	0	5	149	
(*1)	532	0	4	535	0	5	1076	
(*2)	450	0	2	526	0	5	983	
(*3)							927	

Source: Enumeration by Concordance content analysis computer program, with context analysis compiled by author from *El Pais, El Mundo* internet edition in the year 1994. (March, 2008)
(*1) = It designates the total number of enumeration of a word (after using context analysis).
(*2)= It is the word frequency as counted by the computer (content analysis)
(*3) = Of the total interpretation 1076, 149 no meaning and 399 total Spaniards and 528 Third World immigrants

Table 1 above shows that from the total 528 (N), or instances in which I interpret that the language used in *El Mundo* and *El País* referred exclusively to Third World immigrants, in only less than 1% of the instances, the language is used to refer to immigrants from the Global South in a positive manner. In other words, after interpretation of all those 528 instances, I designate that in 99% of the times the language used to refer to Third World immigrants designate them as a homogenous "negative other," or as not belonging to the Spanish society for negative reasons.

In relation to the category of race, it indicates that from the total 528 (N), in 73 instances I designate that the language used in *El Mundo* and *El País* when referring to immigrants from the Global South have the meaning of biological discrimination. In other words, 13.83% of the times discourses about Third World immigrants describe these immigrants as being different because of their physical traits, skin color, and place of origin. For instance, *El País* 1994 repeatedly publishes quotes such as the following: "*Los pobladores de sus 207 chabolas son inmigrantes magrebíes. El asentamiento estorba para concluir un collector de aguas residules necesario en la zona*" (El País, November 2, 1994). [The residents of 207 shacks are Moroccan immigrants. This settlement is blocking the completion of a sewer collector which is necessary to develop this region of the city (My translation)]. This newspaper, and the quote used above, emphasizes that these immigrants are Moroccan and, as such, their condition as poor immigrants coming from Morocco hinder the plans of the Spanish society. In this regard, the representation of "the other" as poor in close proximity to mentioning their place of origin, Morocco, leads to the discursive representation of this group of immigrants as an impediment for economically developing this particular area in Spain, constituting a form of discursive discrimination.

In regard to the category of neo-racism and for the purpose of investigating whether Third World immigrants are constructed as a threat as defined by theories of neo-racism, I developed the sub-categories of criminal, physical, economic and religious threats. After interpreting all 528 instances in which the language use pertains exclusively to Third World immigrants, I discovered that in 34.09% of the occasions, the discourses produced by the Spanish newspapers construct "otherness" as forms of threats to either Spain or to being Spanish. The category of neo-racism includes various sub-categories. Therefore, from this total of 34.09% designated to the category of neo-racism, I found that 15.91% of the instances the language represents immigrants from the Global South as posing a physical threat to the Spanish identity, society and nation; while 18.18% of the instances signify a threat because of being criminals, and 0.00% because of their religious practices.

In 1994, selected Spanish newspapers consistently published news in which the language-use perpetuates the representation of "the other" as a threat to the Spanish society. For instance, "*La consejera de Asuntos Sociales de la Junta de Andalucía, Carmen Hermosín, descartó que se produzca una nueva avalancha de inmigrantes ilegales*" (El País, March 3, 1994). [Carmen Hermosín, adviser of social affairs for the regional Andalucian government, ruled out the possibility of having a new avalanche of illegal immigrants (My translation)]. The quote illustrates that these groups of immigrants are seen as a threat to Spain for being numerous and that they are as dangerous as an avalanche.

In other instances, the newspapers under investigation report news about Third World immigrants alluding to their aggressive behavior and as being a danger or consittuting a threat to Spanish society for breaking the law: "*García,...., ha denunciado que algunos inmigrantes rompen a patadas las puertas de viviendas desocupadas para instalarse en ellas y ha anunciado que pedirá en la Junta Local de Seguridad Ciudadana que se adopten medidas para atajar este problema*" (El Mundo, July 25, 1994). [Garcia has reported that some immigrants broke into unoccupied homes by kicking down the closed doors. The goal was to inhabit these unoccupied homes. He has announced that he will ask the local neighborhood watch or Local Agency for Citizen Protection for the adoption of the necessary measures to stop this problem (My translation)].

To report findings for the year 2004, as mentioned above, I created table 2 presented below.

Table 2 - **Discursive Racial Representation of TW- Spain, 2004**

	El Pais 2004			El Mundo 2004			Total Year 2004	% Totals Year
Negative- other (TW Immigrants)	Inmigrantes	sin papeles	irregulares	Inmigrantes	sin papeles	Irregulares		
Criminals	0	0	0	10	0	0	10	0,90%
Religion	31	0	0	2	0	0	33	2,96%
Physical/identity Threat	272	32	31	106	11	7	459	41,20%
Neo-racism							502	45,06%
Biological Race discrimination	93	2	4	33	17	8	157	14,09%
Total race							659	59,16%
Positive-other (TW immigrants)	29	1	0	3	0	0	33	2.96%
Other categories for TW immigrants as negative-other							422	37.88
Total TW Immigrants	785	55	46	182	30	16	1114(N)	**100%**
Total no meaning TW immigrants (Refers to immigrants from Global North)	90	0	0	8	1	0	99	
(*1)	1341	93	80	286	49	25	1874	
(*2)	1319	90	76	283	40	19	1827	
(*3)							1775	

Source: Enumeration by Concordance content analysis computer program, with context analysis compiled by author from *El Pais, El Mundo* internet edition in the year 2004 (March, 2008).

(*1) = It designates the total number of enumeration of a word (after using context analysis).

(*2) = It is the word frequency as counted by the computer (content analysis)

(*3) = Of the total interpretation 1874, 99 no meaning and 661 total Spaniards and 1114 Third World immigrants.

To create this table, I interpreted all those 1114 (N) instances, in the Spanish newspapers of *El Mundo* and *El País* for the year 2004, in which I designate that the language-use refers to Third World immigrants exclusively for the given year and sources. After interpreting all 1114 appearances, I found out that in 97.04% of the times, these immigrants are represented in the media in a negative manner, while they are constructed positively only 2.96% of the times. This means that the majority of the

times, "negative" narratives are used to refer to immigrants from the Global South. While in only a very small percentage the language used when referring to Third World immigrants raise positive issues about these immigrants. In comparing findings for the years 1994 and 2004, I found out that the production of discourses containing negative rhetoric and/or alluding to narratives of exclusion about immigrants from the Global South are similar for both years. In both years, negative representations of the immigrant group under investigation are very high. This is true even before immigrants from Third World countries became the majority of immigrants in Spain.

In regard to the category of race, after interpreting all those 1114 (N) instances alluding exclusively to immigrants from the Global South, I found out that 14.09% of the times, these discourses discursively discriminate these immigrants due to their physical traits, skin color, and nationality or place of origin, or what I refer to the category of biological-race discrimination. For the category of neo-racism, I found out after interpretation of all those 1114 (N) instances that immigrants from the Global South were represented as forms of threats in 45.06% of the occasions. From this percentage, I interpreted that in 41.20% of the times Third World immigrants are represented in the selected media as posing a physical/identity threat to the Spanish identity and/or society; 0.90% of the times, they are represented as criminals, and 2.96% as a threat for religious reasons.

This data shows that in 2004, as compared with 1994, the proportion in which Third World immigrants are represented as a physical threat to Spain or being Spanish (41.20%) is much higher than in 1994 (15.91%). Progressively more, the Spanish newspapers are publishing news about the increased number of immigrants coming from the South into Spain. In 2004, *El Pais* repeatedly publishes quotes similar to this one "*de cero a 6.073 subsaharianos en seis años*" [from 0 to 6,073 Sub-Saharan Africans in six years]. This quote, if analyzed in context, shows that there is a fear about the fast increase of immigrants coming from Sub-Saharan Africa in the past years. By reporting the increase of immigrants from the less developed countries in this fashion, the newspaper is making sure that the readers know that there has been an important increase of a certain group of immigrants.

Increasingly, as compared to 1994, immigrants from the South are represented in the investigated media as invaders and/or as illegal and dangerous individuals who are not desired in Spain. As such, they are represented as a "threat" — as defined by theories of neo-racism—. This threat also manifests in the increase of news published related to the need for increasing security policies to prevent immigrants from the Global South from entering Spain. For example, *El País* repeatedly publishes articles including quotes similar to the following and which illustrates the previous claim: "*La policía ha reforzado los controles fronterizos en el paso de La Jonquere (Girona), donde diariamente son detenidos y devueltos a sus países de origen unos 150 inmigrantes irregulares*" (El País, August 31, 2004). [The police have reinforced border control in La Jonquere (Girona, Spain), where around 150 illegal immigrants are daily arrested and returned to their countries of origin (My translation)].

The quantitative comparison of the results produced concerning biological race-discrimination between the years 1994 and 2004 shows that overall there has not been a significant change for this category. The increase of instances in which Third World immigrants are discursively represented, and thus discursively discriminated against, because of their skin color, place of origin, and/or physical traits for the year 2004 is only 0.26% points higher, as compared with 1994, varying from 13.83% in 1994 to 14.09% in 2004. However, concerning neo-racism, the increase is slightly higher, varying from 34.09% in 1994 to 45.06% in 2004. These numbers translate into an 11 percent points increase for the category of neo-racism or a percentage change of 33%. This means that in 2004, as compared with 1994, there was a change in the type of discourses produced about Third World immigrants.

Racialized discourses have changed significantly *after* immigrants from the Global South became evident in Spain. Of particular interest is noticing that discourses of difference have moved from being centered on issues related to physical traits, skin color and place of origin, and over all to what I designate as biological in nature, toward being centered on issues related to posing physical, cultural, and economic threats to the Spanish society, or what I call neo-racialized discourses. More specifically, the discursive representation of Third World immigrants as a form of neo-racialized "other" threat particularly shows in the increase of the

category labeled as "physical threat." This category has increased from 15.91% points in 1994 to 41.20% points in 2004. This means that racialized discourses of difference in which "the other" are represented as a threat to the unity and identity of Spain have increased by 25.29% points. From here, I infer that the increase in numbers of immigrants from the Global South in the Spanish society has had the effect of changing the type of discursive representations constructed about "the other," and has increasingly moved toward representing this other as a danger or threat to the Spanish society.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This article ought to examine whether and how the representation of Third World immigrants, in relation to "us" or Spaniards, is contributing to the re-construction of a Spanish national identity. In investigating representations of "belongingness" and "otherness," the main finding is that the discourses produced in the Spanish media are constructed as binary oppositions, representing Spaniards, regardless of the region in which they live, as a homogenous "us," and immigrants from the Global South as a negative "other." Moreover, above representations of otherness are expressed in the form of race so as to ask whether they continue to shape the imagining of nationhood, national identity, and nation-building in Spain. This article highlights the important finding that the concept of neo-race has become a useful theoretical device to analyze the use of language in constructing racialized discourses about otherness, for it shows that the arrival of immigrants from the Global South has increased their discursive representations as a threat (as defined by theories of neo-racism).

In addition, my findings show that the origins of the production of discourses alluding to exclusion, otherness and negative rhetoric about Third World immigrants is not contingent on the massive increase in number of these immigrants in the Spanish society. Discursive representations about Third World immigrants— as racialized and/or excluded groups in the form of "otherness"— were already produced by 1994. Even though, not until the end of the 1990s did immigrants coming from Third World countries become, for the first time, the majority of immigrants in

Spain. Therefore, from these findings, I additionally conclude that the motor of production of discourses of exclusion are not so much related to the quantity of Third World immigrants living in the Spanish society but rather to the fact that these immigrants simply arrive, live, are visible and noticeable. Particularly interesting is to highlight the finding that the quantitative increase of immigrants from the Global South to Spain has had the effect of raising the production of discourses of difference alluding to forms of "threats." This finding, therefore, suggests that immigration from the Global South not only triggers the production of negative representations in the host society but nationalistic discourses in the form of threats as well.

Because of this main finding, I find problematic accepting Anderson's proposition that nations, nationalisms and national identities are imagined based on the construction of a 'horizontal comradeship.' According to Anderson, a nation "is imagined as *community* because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991:7); however, my findings reveal that practices of exclusion become essential in the re-imagining of a Spanish national identity and community. In forging a national identity, it becomes essential defining those who does not belong, and more importantly who constitutes a threat to the Spanish nation and its national identity.

NOTE

[1] The version used for this study is called Concordance 3.2. A sample of this software can be found at http://www.concordancesoftware.co.uk/ .