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Introduction

Since the beginning of the construction of the European Union as a project, Europe has been and still is in the process of its consolidation, and the complexity of its creation is caught up in many paradoxes of difficult resolution. While on the one hand, the concept of the strong nation-states is being challenged by the new globalisation processes, on the other, new regionalisms and local identities emerge to claim a sense of communal belonging in a society becoming more and more homogeneous.

Also, while Europe presents a self-image of assumed multicultural and multiethnic harmony, Euro-identity leaves little room for the cultural participation of the large numbers of migrant and diasporic populations living in it. On the one hand, the EU has been thoroughly planned to achieve not only a political and economical construction but also an emotional engagement with "Europeaness", a new transnational 'imagined community'. On the other hand, though, despite the real flow of money, goods and cultural products, the matter becomes more complicated when flows of people are concerned. Non-European immigration and related issues become some the biggest debates in European and particular nation-state politics: What is the immigrants' role in the construction of Europe? What is the role of nation-states? How do immigrants shape their (trans)national identities? How does the concept of the *transnational* European identity deal with the trans-European identity of many migrant and diasporic identities?

Diasporic groups are defined by Cohen (1997:ix) as communities "settled outside" their natal (or imagined natal) territories" which accept "an inescapable link with their past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background", for what diasporic communities' have a sense of belonging that overcomes the national identity's dimension and, therefore, challenges it. Yet, what is the importance of 'belonging', being attached within a symbolic (national/diasporic) community? Sartori (2001:47) states that "human beings are unhappy when living in a state of anonymity, which explains why they seek belonging, reunion with their communities and identification with organisations and bodies in which they can recognise themselves: concrete communities (...) and later on even bigger "symbolic communities"¹.

These issues' implications (shape of identities, social inclusion/exclusion, conflict, solidarity, ...) are partly consequence, but also cause, of the increasingly important role of media in the linkage and cohesiveness of world-spread communities. The "emergent transformations in the space of accumulation and in the spatial disposition of cultural forms, do open up some new possibilities for reimagined solidarities" (Morley&Robins, 1995:41). Thus, through media, the idea of 'home' amalgamates, reinforces and maintains bonds within migrant groups. Media can be used as a support to preserve a sense of belonging, either with the country of origin (via satellite television), or with the new country's communities with which

¹ Translated from the Spanish version of his book *La Sociedad Multiétnica* (2001). Original title: *Pluralismo*, *multiculturalismo* e estranei.

they share their *new culture*, resulting from the experience of the diaspora (via local radio stations or newspapers).

The use of media in the construction of diasporic identities leads us to the notions of social inclusion and exclusion, and to consider how processes of participation interact between policy making and minority communities. As we will see further on, migrant communities do not tend to be highly organised, and the lack of proper infrastructure, money and trained personnel signifies major drawbacks for them to broadcast information on their realities. Access to media and the real possibility of involvement in media production and consumption would empower specific disadvantaged social groups, whereby their higher participation in mass media and new forms of independent media would decentralise and theoretically open up new forms of social democratisation for the excluded.

Thus, what is the situation of the migrant minorities in Spain? How does Spain deal with the generally speaking *new* multicultural society? Is there a national sensitivity as such opposed to the diverse migrant communities' identities? What is the role of the migrant communities in the construction of the Spanish identity? Where does the media stand in relation to it? How does the independent/minority media law regulation reflect the governmental aims of real social integration of the disadvantaged? Does mapping the minority media of a country reflect the repartition of power within diverse social groups? Or does it not?

The following report will exemplify the Spanish case of migrant/minority media on the light of the above questions. The theoretical ground of this project is based on both general theory on media, ethnicity and identity, as well as on particular research done in the specific case of Spain and immigration. Most of the bibliography used consists of recent publications that depict new Spanish social realities. The given data on minority media has been partly collected by visiting the media head offices and institutions involved in media policy, and partly by contacting the media centres by phone or via e-mail and the internet. The Internet sites given in the bibliography are those which contain information inserted in the text; the rest, are given in the final annex.

As a matter of fact, due to the ephemeral, dispersed and fragmented nature of many of the associations and the media initiatives, it is difficult to consider this as a representative and comprehensive report; rather, it should be taken as a snapshot to depict a constantly mobile reality.

Socio-historical context of migration in Spain

It was only in the 1980s that Spain ceased to be a country of emigration to become a country of immigration. In 1986, Spain joined the European Community and this fact triggered a trend of socio-economic developments which involved significant changes for the future of the country like an increase in salaries compared to other industrialised countries, a decrease in birth-rate, or a wider employment absorption, among other significant ones.

Thus, while on the one hand the first waves of immigration in the early eighties used to be previous emigrant Spanish people returning to their homes, by the end of the decade the number of foreigners in the country started to increase substantially. These factors -together with the fact that Spain is a country of passage for migrants travelling from the South to the North- explain the constant increase in the number of immigrants over the last twenty years. This trend was especially marked in the year 2000, as a consequence of changes in the legal process of regularisation, which seriously restricted the immigrants' right of entrance to the country.

As a result of all these changes, a new picture of Spanish society, as diverse and complex, is becoming more definite; below, we will depict the recent phenomenon of immigration in Spain from a set of diverse angles.

Countries of origin and places of residence

According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, in 2000 Spain had 938,783 immigrants, most of them from EU countries (46%), Maghreb (38%) and Latin-America (25%).² On the one hand, according to provisional data from Eurostat³, in Spain there is one immigrant per one thousand inhabitants, which in absolute terms is still a much lower proportion in comparison to many other EU countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, or Holland.⁴ Furthermore, Spain seems to be the country with the highest rate of irregular immigrants: according to official estimates, 300,000 out of 3,000,000 illegal immigrants in the EU are in Spain.⁵

Grouped by *continents*, almost 45.16% comes from the European continent, with an increasingly higher number of non-EU European countries, such as Romania, Bulgaria or Russia. The African continent comes second, with migrants originating in Morocco and Algeria, but also in Senegal, the Gambia and Nigeria. Latin-America is third (particularly countries such as Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Peru and Colombia), and finally, Asia, from which mainly Chinese and Philippines are drawn to Spain⁶.

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² Instituto Nacional de Estadística; Ministerio del Interior (2001)

³ "El País" - Temas (electronic version), 21/02/2001

⁴ For each immigrant living in Spain there are still two Spanish people living abroad ("El País"- Temas, 21/2/02).

⁵"El País" - Temas, 21/2/01

⁶ Data extracted from http://www.mir.es/dge/inmigracion.htm, web page of the Ministerio del Interior's Delegación del Gobierno para la Extranjería y la Immigración (Home Secretary's Government Delegation for Foreign Affairs and Immigration).

Grouped by *countries* -listed in order of numerical importance- the main immigrant communities are originally from Morocco (161,870 residents), Great Britain (76,402), Germany (60,828), Portugal (44,038), France (43,265), Italy (29,871), Peru (27,263), the Dominican Republic (26,854), China (24,693), the Netherlands (17,243), Cuba (16,556), the United States (15,649) and the Philippines (13,765). Moroccans are by far the largest group, as they represent a 76.51% of the immigrant population in Spain⁷.

As for their *territorial distribution*, immigrants tend to concentrate mainly in Madrid (19.83%; 158,885) and Barcelona (16.12%; 129,199), with a combined percentage of 35.95% of the total. Immigrant communities also spread along the Mediterranean coast -especially the region of Andalucia (13.62%; 109,129), Valencia and Murcia- and between the two archipelagos –the Balearic Islands (38,959), receiving mainly European Union citizens, and the Canaries (68,347), receiving mainly Venezuelan citizens. Together, these two archipelagos hold 13.39% of the total immigrant population. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that a large number of immigrants do not settle in cities but in the countryside or the coast, and another large number is actually itinerant immigration.

⁷ Data extracted from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Of these people with Moroccan nationality, a large number belong to the Amazigh ethnic group, which in Morocco is struggling to have official recognition, to defend its own language, Tamazigh, and its cultural traditions.

Reasons

Financial problems, very few professional perspectives in their home-countries and proximity to the new country (be it cultural or geographical) are the main reasons why most immigrants choose Spain as their destination. Moroccans and Ecuadorians are the two main diasporic groups; the former is close to Spain in geographical terms, the latter in linguistic and cultural terms⁸.

While in European countries, such as France or the United Kingdom, migration fluxes have been furthered by past colonial links, in the case of Spain this factor is not so central. The colonial connection with Latin America, for instance, is not reflected in the statistics as the main reason of immigration to Spain. In ranking order, the main immigrant communities come from the EU countries (four out of ten), from Maghreb (two out of ten) and from South America (one out of ten).

In the case of North and West African immigration, significant numbers of people enter through the Straits of Gibraltar, and human traffic has become, next to hashish, the most important and profitable illegal "industry". One can pay up to approximately £1,200 to share an inflatable boat with twenty other people in order to cross the strong currents of the Strait. Unfortunately, this desperate risk regularly leads these people to death; the South coasts and Canary Islands registered in

⁸ Information extracted from a special Immigration report from *El País*, 21 February 2001: http://www.elpais.es/temas/menua/sociedad.html

2000 the highest affluence of immigration in the Peninsula: more than 15,000 people were arrested and dozens of people lost their lives in the attempt⁹.

Labour

The number of foreigners with work permit in 1999, according to provisional data, was 172,838. Among these, 89.65% worked for someone else and only 10.35% worked by themselves.

The main sectors occupied by immigrants are agriculture, construction, hotel & catering business, and domestic service. In the worst cases, some *sin papeles* ("without papers", i.e. illegal) end up as hawkers, delinquents or drug dealers¹⁰.

Legalisation

Over a million Spaniards emigrated between 1973 and 1980 to European countries. However, only few years later -between 1985 and 1989- this human void was balanced by the increasing number of residents in Spain. The legal records

⁹ Information extracted from a special Immigration report from *El País*, 21 February 2001: http://www.elpais.es/temas/menua/sociedad.html

¹⁰ Information extracted from a special Immigration report from *El País*, 21 February 2001: http://www.elpais.es/temas/menua/sociedad.html

report this increase as being 65%, a number to which an uncertain number of illegal and clandestine immigrants should be added (Mateos&Moral, 2000:41).

This fact, together with the recent history of immigration to Spain, explains the fact that until the mid-eighties the country did not have to deal with the legal aspects of immigration. After forty years of dictatorship (1939-1975), and with hardly ten years of democracy (1975-1985), it was not until 1985 when the Socialist Party –ruling the country at the time- enacted the first *Ley Orgánica 7/1985* (Organic Law; commonly known as *Ley de Extranjería* –Immigration Law).

This first attempt to control the fluxes of immigration was fifteen years later redefined by the conservative Partido Popular –People's Party- (currently leading the country, since 1996). This new law -the *Ley Orgánica 4/2000*, February 2000-, was modified a few months later by the same Government into a much more restricted version, the *Ley Orgánica 8/2000*, which came into effect in January 2001. The new law was strongly criticised by many political parties and non-governmental organisations because of certain aspects such as the Administration's strong legal control over migratory moves, the toughening up of the requirements to achieve legal status in the new country, and the restrictions and differentiated social rights between legal and illegal immigrants.

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Multicultural Spain

'Multiculturalism' is a controversial term, whose distinction from 'interculturality' or 'pluralism' is not clear-cut. Nonetheless, because the intention of this section is to give and account of Spanish society and its context, it is not my intention to enter into these debates. Therefore, and in order to simplify, I will be using one of Sartori's definition of Multiculturalism understood as a mere "registration of the existence of a multiplicity of cultures" (2001:61).

The historical notion of Spain as a hegemonic country starts with the Reconquest of Spain from the Moors, with the regency of the Catholic Kings, the *discovery* of America in 1492 and the blood-cleansing Spanish Inquisition, which aimed at the expulsion of all Moors, Jews and Gypsies from Spain claiming the need for a centralist, culturalist and religious homogeneity in the interests of the State (San Román, 1997:14).

Also, in successive stages of history, despotic and authoritarian ruling powers¹¹ persevered with the aim of eliminating any culture or language within the borders of the State that would interfere with the will of homogenising a common Spanish identity. The Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia (and other minorities such as Asturias or Aragon) are today living witnesses of the historical, political, linguistic and cultural repression committed against them.

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¹¹ Felipe V's Decreto de Nueva Planta (1714) or General Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) are some examples of the cultural repressive periods of Spanish history.

Thus, one could not affirm a Spanish sensibility traditionally devoted to cultural differences within the country. On the one hand, Spaniards do not generally assume their Arabic or Jewish heritage as part of their past and, and on the other hand -as Sartori argues (2001:52)- European [and Spanish] "xenofear" today is being primarily expressed against African and Islamic immigrants. Either because Moroccans are the largest immigrant community in Spain, or because there is a historically cultural and religious confrontation which understands society and culture from antagonistic points (Western society recognises universal individual rights and the Koranic law does not, Sartori, 2001:53)¹², the fact is that rejection against Islamic/African communities is certainly strong¹³.

It would be interesting to go further into the interaction, or more appropriately the superposition, of Christian culture over Islamic culture in the particular case of Spain, which -if not as influential in all the regions of the today's Spain (because of different duration of the Arabs' settlement)- is clearly an area worth studying.

Thus, what is currently happening with the new immigration in Spain? How is it being assumed and experienced by Spaniards? Even if Spain has received a relatively large number of immigrants¹⁴ in the last 15 years, their percentage in relation to the total population of the country –predominantly white and Catholic- is

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¹² Sartoni argues that the Asian culture is also very distant to the Western one, but because it is not perceived as fanatical or militant, and because it has not a theocratic vision of the world (which does not dissociate Religion from Politics) it is not felt as threatening as the Islamic one.

¹³ Calvo, 2000:217

¹⁴ 'Immigrants' understood as non-European Union foreigners.

very small. Whereas immigrants are 8.2% of the total population in France, 10.00% in Belgium or 7.2% in Germany, in Spain this proportion is a mere 1.6%. Also, while Paris has 16.0% and London 20.0% of immigrants, Madrid or Barcelona only have 3.0%. Overall, the European immigrants' average is three times higher than the Spanish average (Calvo, 2000:125).

Yet, despite the big difference in the numbers between Spain and some other EU-countries, recent Spanish opinion polls reveal the distortion between reality and the inhabitants' perception of the extent of immigration. In the book *Europeos e Inmigrantes*, the authors study young people's opinion on immigration and come up with the following results: about 55% of Spanish society perceive Spain as having *a lot* of immigrants *-though not too many-* and 25% of them consider the number of immigrants to be *too high*

(Mateos&Moral, 2000:43). Furthermore, the idea of having "so many" immigrants in the country is not perceived as a positive multicultural phenomenon but as a threat to the integrity of the Spanish cultural identity (Calvo, 2000:127). About 54.9% of the society thinks that the immigration phenomenon presupposes more disadvantages than advantages, 22% thinks that these disadvantages are mainly related to unemployment and drugs, and only 12.2% of the population thinks in opposite terms, that is to say, that immigration pre-supposes more advantages than disadvantages for the Spanish society (Calvo, 2000:135).

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Unfortunately, the dissemination of these negative perceptions leads to some defensive local reactions and, and xenophobic feelings against the immigrants and reveal feelings of insecurity and potential menace. Some examples of this were the series of violent incidents and racist demonstrations occurred in 1999 at Can Anglada in Terrassa (Catalonia); also, in 2000 in El Ejido (Andalucia), where some locals violently attacked newly settled immigrants, following a young girl's murder by a Moroccan. Nevertheless, media reports on immigration generate polemic and discussion as, without diminishing the gravity of those events, many complained about the media magnifying its reports, giving, thus, a false impression of a highly xenophobic Spain.

Also, as far as other ethnic and diasporic minorities are concerned, Spain had had a very small Jewish presence since after the expulsion of the Jews during the Spanish Inquisition. During the first half of the 20th century, the first Jews started coming back from the Middle East, followed later on from Morocco, and continuing, during the second half of the century, by arriving from South America. There are currently about 18,000 Jews in Spain, and diverse communities, some of which only count on a regular Rabbi, Barcelona is the only city with two synagogues offering regular services.¹⁶

As far as the Gypsies are concerned, Spain is the country within the European Union with the highest number. There are approximately about 600,000 Gypsies

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¹⁵ Many other individual cases are reported on a daily basis.

¹⁶ http://urbancultours.com

(5% of the total population), 300,000 out of whom live and are settled in the Southern Spanish region of Andalucia. Nonetheless, since their expulsion during the Spanish Inquisition, they have been pushed to social exclusion or assimilation. Despite some initiatives in the eighties (housing, school education, subsidies, etc.), they still remain the most discriminated and stigmatised community in Spain (San Román, 1997).

As seen, thus, the multicultural reality of Spain is quite complex: layers of history dealing with cultural minorities plus a turn of the century which is being reshaped by another sort of difference, that of the non-European immigration. This last one, despite being lower than other European cities and countries, is clearly existent in truly multicultural cities (towns and villages), such as Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid or Almeria; these cities are the living witnesses of all these social and cultural transformations. The question is: is Spain assuming an on-going process of multicultural/multiethnic personality, or , on the contrary, is it staying rooted in a traditional model of monoculturalism? How will this relate to minority media and issues of empowerment of diapsoric/migrant communities and issues of social exclusion?

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<u>List of the most important migrant – diasporic groups</u>

Diasporic Mapping (based on Cohen's suggested categories)

Victim diasporas
Lebanese
Jewish
Palestinian
Bosnian
Kosovan (on the making)
Congo
Zaire
Angola
Labour diasporas
Moroccan
Algerian
Pakistani
Indian
Filipino
Peruvian
Brazilian
Equatorial Guinea

Cultural Diasporas	
Jewish	
Educational Migration	
Latin American	
Political Diasporas	
Nigerian	
Sierra Leonian	
Chilean	
Amazigh	

Ecuador

Greek

Chinese

Dominican

Portuguese

Diasporic Minority Media in Context

There is not a particular law for independent radios and televisions in Spain. The law enacted by the Socialist Party in 1995 referring to independent media became inefficient after one year because of the political changes that took place at the time in the Spanish Government. The conservative opposition that won the elections -the Partido Popular- invalidated the former law and has since done nothing to either re-execute or modify it. According to the affected ones, this picture is due to a lack of interest in and the lack of profitable potential of minority media in general¹⁷. Therefore, the situation of independent media in Spain is, at the current time, not quite illegal but that of "alegal", as there is no law regulating them. The local television or radio stations established before the law continue to broadcast and since then, the new ones are neither forbidden nor officially licensed. Because of this situation, counting the number of independent media in Spain becomes a difficult issue, as they are not listed in official records and the network among them is not very cohesive.

The distribution of licences is shared between the Central and the Autonomous Governments within Spain. To start with, there are four different types of radio stations: commercial, municipal, institutional and associative/independent, and the concession of the broadcasting space works differently in each case. On the one

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¹⁷ Phone interview with Doris Buesa, MigraMedia (Radio Contrabanda).

hand, commercial radio stations compete among themselves through an official selection process. Municipal radio stations are embedded in the infrastructure of the self-ruling municipality. Institutional radio stations depend on either the Spanish Government or on each Autonomous Government. Finally, associate radio stations are independent and, as mentioned above, there is no law that regulates their concessions.

In the case of television, the Central Government controls the Government's institutional (TVE1, TV2) and some main private channels (Antena 3, Canal Plus, Tele 5), and the other television channels are under Autonomous Government's control.

In the particular case of Catalonia, for instance, - one of the areas which receives a higher number of immigration- the media produced there partly depend on the Direcció General de Mitians Audiovisuals (Audiovisual Media General Management), a body created by the Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Autonomous Government). With regard to the radio stations, the Generalitat controls the Frequency Modulation (FM), whereas the Spanish Government controls the Medium Wave (MW). With regard to the television stations, the Generalitat controls two institutional channels (TV3 and Canal 33) and has powers to control the Catalan local televisions, be them private (Flaix TV or City TV, for instance) or municipal (TV Girona, BarcelonaTV, etc.).

¹⁸ These independent radios are not illegal but often officially accused of disseminating radical ideologies.

Yet, going back to the main topic of this report, where would the different *diasporic minorities* and their construction of self-identity fit in the mapping of the general Spanish minority media? On one hand, fairly recent and still not generally strongly organised increasing number of immigrants, and on the other hand, the lack of concessions due to the lack of regulation, together with the difficulties and the expenses of starting a new medium (be it television, radio station or press) explain the fact that in Spain there are hardly any minority media produced by particular ethnic minorities.¹⁹

In which media platforms do they self-represent their voices, express their daily concerns and claims? To start with the *press*, there are several imported newspapers (most in Arabic), but no ethnic press is produced in Spain. If there is any, it is usually in the form of news bulletins and magazines. These are published by governmental, non-governmental or private organisations, supported mainly by local people and institutions, though generally counting on different immigrants' collaborations: "Revista Refugiados" –published by the High Commission of the United Nations for the Refugees-, "Revista Mundo Abierto" –published by the Centre of Refugees Admittance in Madrid-, "Inmigrante" –published by the Association of Solidarity with the Immigrant Workers, in Madrid-, "Revista Sin Fronteras" –published by the Catalan Association of Solidarity and Help to the Refugees, in Barcelona, together with the Defence Committee for the Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in Spain, in Madrid-, are just few examples.

¹⁹ The small amount of existing migrant media fits into the category of associate/independent radio stations/television, and therefore, treated as such.

The case of "El Raval", is of particular interest because it is amied at being a service for the people of El Raval in Barcelona, one of the neighbourhoods with a highest proportion of immigration (Moroccans, Pakistanis, Hindus, Chinese, among other ethnic minorities). "El Raval" s editorial line is clearly anti-xenophobic and publishes opinions, and articles and contributions from the different groups living in the neighbourhood. The main idea is to give a different perspective of the neighbourhood, which only appears on the mainstream media in relation to violence and delinquency (usually associated to immigrants). Occasionally, when the information is deliberately targeted to certain immigrant community, the articles are published in Arabic, or other languages (Urdu, Tagalo, etc.). Financially, "El Raval" depends only on the advertising from small businesses in the neighbourhood, and does not receive funding from any official institution; it monthly publishes 5,000 copies that are distributed within the neighbourhood for free, or mainly within the circles of people with close interests and sensitivity. It is not distributed in the open market.

With regard to the *audio-visual* media, municipal radio or television stations are there to offer a space of representation to the citizens of the municipality they embed, including, obviously, minority communities. Nevertheless, the idea of participation of all local communities in the municipal media is not usually put in practice, and the participation of minorities is almost non-existent. Is it because these minorities are being excluded from society? Or is it because society excludes these minorities? Is it because the media institutions have yet to consider the real

meaning of media democratisation, and its implications on social inclusion or exclusion? How could/should immigrants satisfy their communicative needs within and outside their own communities?

Apart from the municipal media, there are a few independent local radio stations in Spain particularly sensitive to social issues and which count on the collaboration and participation of diasporic and immigrant communities. One of them is Radio Contranbanda, in Barcelona. Since 1995, Radio Contrabanda has been involved in broadcasting programs to raise public awareness of and discussion on social issues related to immigration. From 1995 to 1998, once a week this radio station would periodically broadcast for one hour, a program called "Altres Veus" ("Other Voices") which would deal with topics concerning all immigrant communities in Barcelona²⁰. Also, in 1997 the project of MigraMedia started; this is a radio space to reflect and intervene within the media from an intercultural perspective. MigraMedia has been since its beginning involved in activities to support immigrants' access to local media, in training, in the development of information material, seminars, etc. It has also been involved in several European networks dealing with issues of radio and migration²¹. From 1996 to 1998, Radio Contrabanda was also involved in the project "Ones per a la diversitat" ("Waves for

²⁰ The team has the collaboration of a Moroccan man.

²¹ After doing some research on the communicative needs, some of the executed initiatives MigraMedia were: a three months' media training course (radio, press, audio-visual, internet) for immigrant communities (Maghrebis, Philippines, Argentineans and Equatorial Guinea), analysis on the appearance of immigrants in mainstream media, a seminar in "Communication and cultural diversity" at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, an exhibition on "Immigration and the Press", an internet training course for immigrants in collaboration with Pangea, published "Mala Premsa" –considerations on immigration and media, plus a video entitled "Immigrant Women we challenge our invisibility".

diversity"), a net of radio programs on immigration and multiculturality. Currently, the broadcast of "Altres Veus" and "Ones per a la diversitat", is less regular.

Other initiatives have been led by diverse independent radio stations, which are active in helping out social minorities establish their voice in society. Radio Vallekas, in Madrid, is one of the first and more engaged radio stations on immigration issues and has been broadcasting programs produced in collaboration with ethnic migrant communities —especially the Ecuadorean one. "Callos y Guatitas" is a Sunday program broadcast simultaneously in Spain and Ecuador, which reports and gives news on Ecuador and the immigrants living in Spain. Also, via telephone, it puts relatives living in Ecuador and Spain in contact, as well as informing on Ecuadorian immigrants' associations in Madrid, or release Ecuadorian music. The program is part of a much broader project of co-development in which diverse entities from both countries are involved.

Radio Gladis, in Barcelona, is also an example of a radio station in which immigrant communities are actively involved. Radio Gladis is a Latin-American music station, which takes some time from Radio P.I.C.A. (Barcelona), a semi-independent radio station, sustained primarily by a commercial spirit rather than a socio-critical ideology (as opposed to most independent radio stations). Another example used to be Radio Manlleu's "La Veu de la Diversitat" ("The Voice of the Diversity"), which was produced and broadcast in Catalan and Tamazight; the broadcast took place from 1993 to 2001. It mainly dealt with topics related to

immigration, interculturality, learning about other cultures, useful information for the immigrants, and so forth.

Stepping out from the world of radio and entering into that of local and independent television, there are hardly any initiatives for/from the different ethnic groups. Only Barcelona Televisió and TeleMadrid (municipal television stations) seem to have broadcast programs concerning the immigrant communities' sensibilities. In the case of Barcelona Televisió, twice a day during the weekends (for a space of half an hour), the "Info" program works as a cultural bulletin presented in different languages by a "representative" of each of the several (not all) immigrant minorities in the city of Barcelona. While on the one hand the program opens up some symbolic spaces of self-representation for the immigrants, on the other hand it broads up several theoretical questions like who (and why) has a space in the program; what is the selection among the participant communities or who decides on the content of the reported news. Also, why are these news not about social and political topics, but only about cultural events in Barcelona; what is the meaning of broadcasting a program in diverse languages without subtitles; if this fact helps to become aware of the linguistic and cultural diversity within society, or, on the contrary, if this leads to a cultural *ghettoisation* in which there is no real exchange of communication but only co-existence of close entities.

On the other hand, Tele Madrid, which also broadcasts the news program "Telenoticias Sin Fronteras" targets the program to the foreign population in Madrid. The program conveys daily information "in a digestive way, with all the

diversity of the current Spanish society: the influences from Africa, the Orient, South America and the Arab world."²² "Sin Fronteras", presented by four people form different ethnic backgrounds, also aims at gathering useful information of interest for the immigrant population (such as official exams, seminars, talks, and other kind of activities). Thus, apart from these scattered examples, the general panorama concerning the interaction between media and ethnicity, in the Spanish case is rather empty.

Why is there such a limited media production by minorities and how is the lack of migrant media mirrored in policies of social exclusion? First of all, on the one hand, most immigrants are still in precarious situations and are not too concerned with creating their own media, though they complain about how they are represented in the mainstream media and this is, nowadays in Spain, one of the main topics discussed about the media world. On the other hand, even when they are interested in producing their own media, the legal ambiguities and the cost of it makes such a project very difficult one to start. Secondly, a large number of immigrants are connected to satellite, which keeps them in contact not only with their country of origin but also with a whole transnational "community". An example would be the case of the Maghrebis in Spain, and the news via satellite that they get to watch, not only from Morocco, but also from the whole of the Arab world; they had probably never been so close to. Satellite television, therefore, together with the use of the Internet, connects the Maghrebis and transforms the

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²² Interview at William Gibbs, presenter. Accessible at http://www.musiciansgallery.com/start/woodwind/saxophones/gibbs(william).html

parameters in which they reshape their identities within the new (trans) national context. Thirdly, the trend for the Spanish minority media and the spaces for the migrant cultural diversity seem to be echoed on the official and political discourses and actions dealing with immigration. That is to say, helping for social *integration*²³ rather than preserving the value of these differences –as would be more the British case. *Integration*²⁴ is understood on the one hand as assimilation, and on the other hand, as participation, as opposed social *exclusion*.

Thus, if the recent arrival of immigrants, their lack of infrastructure, plus satellite, plus the trend of integrating the social ethnic diversity within the existing media justify the lack of independent migrant media in Spain, one should wonder what directions will the situation of this minority media take in the future. If "social exclusion does not refer primarily to material deprivation, but rather to the degree of access and use of wide range of services and participation in society" (Winden, op.cit.²⁵), one should consider to what extent governmental policies should encourage minority media (funding, infrastructure, engagement) to participate from the diversity of social cultural production. On the other hand, one could also examine to what extent should one expect migrant communities to develop their own media production; is that a necessarily expected process?

²⁴ Integration is the key word used in the current political discourses, i.e. in the Parliament of Catalonia. See 'General Recommendations' in "Document de la Comissió d'Estudi sobre la Política d'Immigració a Catalunya" (Document of the Studying Commission on the Politics of Immigration in Catalonia): "Catalonia should be a country able to offer settling perspectives and social integration to those who arrive there and are willing to stay; to offer individual and collective perspectives. This means a socially articulated country, with a cultural and political project, open and plural, though well defined (...) as a benefice of the society to which one belongs or wants to belong." (Text translated from the Catalan original).



Mapping diasporic media

By kind of Medium

Radio

(None of these radios is fully produced by ethnic minorities in Spain, though they collaborate in certain programs of the below listed independent radios.)

- RÀDIO CONTRABANDA (Barcelona)
 MIGRAMEDIA
 MUJERES DE CONTRABANDA FM
 Passatge Madoz, 6, 08002 BARCELONA
 Program Controller: Doris Buesa
 Tel + 34 93 317 73 66
 Fax +34 93 412 47 10
 E-mail migramed@pangea.org
- RKM (Vitoria)
 C/ José Lejarreta, 11
 01004 VITORIA-GASTEIZ
 Tel. + 34 94 528 89 28
- RADIO CARCOMA (Madrid)
 Apartado 24086 MADRID
 Tel. + 34 91 367 25 02
 www.nodo50.org/radiocarcoma
- RÀDIO KLARA LLIURE I LLIBERTÀRIA (Valencia)
 C/ Hospital, 2, 7° 5ª, 46001 VALÈNCIA
 www.radioklara.org
- RADIO VALLEKAS (Madrid)
 C/ Puerto del Milagro, 6 posterior 28018, MADRID
 Tel. 91 777 35 45
 www.radiovallekas.org

- RADIO 56 (Madrid) www.radio56.es.fm
- RADIO BEMBA http://orbita.starmedia.com/~radiobemba/rbiinfo.htm
- RADIO GLADYS PALMERA (Barcelona) www.rgpfm.com/BB/NULL/WORKING/pronto.html
- RADIO BRONKA (Barcelona)
 Tel. + 34 93 359 49 00
- RADIO TAS TAS IRRATIA (Bilbao)
 Program co-ordinator: Catherine
 Tel. + 34 94 415 14 14
 Fax. + 34 94 416 40 88
 www.tas-tas.org
- ONA DE SANTS-MONTJUÏC (Barcelona)
 Program coordinator: Raúl Segura
 C/Premià 15, 2n, 08041, BARCELONA
 Tel. 93 431 84 08
 Fax. 93 331 40 85
 E-mail: onadesants@jazzycyber.com
 www.onadesants.es.fm
- RADIO MANLLEU (Manlleu)
 C/ Gran, 15, 2n, 08519 CALLDETENES
 ramon.anfruns@mx3.redestb.es
- RADIO RESISTENCIA www.radioresistencia.cjb.net
- RADIO CIUTAT VELLA (Barcelona)
 Plç. Pedro, 1, 08001, BARCELONA
 Tel. 93 442 97 01
 Fax. 93 329 85 05

Television

BARCELONA TELEVISIO (Barcelona)
 Via Laietana, 48A 08003 BARCELONA
 Tel. 932 688 900
 Fax. 932 688 905

Program director: Cuki Pons

www.barcelonatv.com

E-mail: btv@barcelonatv.com

- TELE MADRID (Madrid)

Paseo del Príncipe, 3 28223 POZUELO DE ALARCON (MADRID)

Tel. 91 512 82 00 Fax. 91 512 83 00

E-mail: prensa@telemadrid.es

www.telemadrid.com

Press (newspapers, magazines, ...)

Many publications where immigrants collaborate depend on immigrant associations or NGOs that publish their news bulletins/magazines and their distribution is limited to cultural centres/associations and specific interested addressees.

* Newspapers:

Imported:

. Arabic:

AL-ARAB (daily)
 159 Acre Lane, LONDON SW2 5UA

Editor: A. S. Elhluni

Tel. (00-44)(0) 20 7274 9381 Fax. (00-44)(0) 20 7326 1783 E-mail: editor@alarab.co.uk

AL-AHRAM-INTERNATIONAL (weekly)
 Al-Ahram House, 203-209 North Gower Street, LONDON NW1 2NJ

Editor: Abdalla Attia

Tel. (00-44)(0) 20 7388 1155

- AL-HAYAT (daily)

Kensington Centre, 66 Hammersmith Road, LONDON W14 8YT

Editor: Jihad El Khazen

Tel. (00-44)(0) 20 7602 99 88 Fax. (00-44)(0) 20 7602 4963

AL-WATAN (daily)

Editor-in-Chef: Mohammed bin Suleiman Al taie P.o. Box 463 Pc113 Muscat – Sultanate of Oman

Tel. (00-968) 59 19 19

Fax. 59 12 80

Editorial Fax. 501 501 www.alwatan.com

alwatan@omantel.net.om

- ASHARQ AL AWSAT (daily)

Arab Press House, 182-184 High Holborn, LONDON WC1V 7AP

Editor: Abdul Rathman Al-Rashid Tel. (00-44)(0) 20 7831 8181 Fax. (00-44)(0) 20 7831 2310

 AZZAMAN ARABIC DAILY NEWSPAPER (daily) www.azzaman.com

* Magazines:

. Print:

REVISTA GITANO (two-monthly)

Cultural Magazine Published by the Asociación Secretariado General Gitano Antolina Merino, 10 28025 MADRID

Tel. + 34 91. 422 09 60 Fax. +34 91. 422 09 61 E-mail: gitanos@asgg.org

www.asgg.org/00RESENAS.htm

MASALA (monthly)
 Multilingual

Tel. + 34 93.441 80 29

E-mail: masala@sindominio.net, masala@ravalnet.org

www.sindominio.net/masala www.ravalnet.org/masala

- EL RAVAL (weekly)

Bilingual. Moroccan Community.

Direction and Coordination: Javier Alegría

Tel. + 34 93. 442 22 76

E-mail: javialegria@elraval.com

www.elraval.com

- BCN Oberta

Multilingual

C/ Menéndez Núñez, 1, 3r 2a, 08003 BARCELONA

Tel. 93- 319 28 50 Fax. 93- 319 98 92

E-mail: bcnoberta@comcomunica.com

Coordinator: Josep Maria Deop

REVISTA HISPANO-CUBANA (four-monthly)

Director: Guillermo Gortázar

C/ Orfila, 8, 1° A, 28010, MADRID

Tel. 91- 319 63 13 Fax. 91- 319 70 08

E-mail: <u>f.h.c@hispanocubana.org</u>

www.revistahc.com

. On-line:

- EL CALL

Digital bulletin expressing the voice of the Jews in the Catalan Countries.²⁶ Old issue.

www.fortunecity.com/victorian/coldwater/252/num4.html

- COMCOSUR

²⁶ The historical notion of Països Catalans (Catalan Countries) include Catalonia, Valencian Country, Balearic Islands, Franja de Ponent (Catalan-Aragonese border) and the Roussillon (south-east France)

Project for independent media targeting to exchange good quality news between South America and Europe.

www.comcosur.com.uy

REVISTA FILIPINA

A magazine of Hispano-Philippine language and literature.

Director: Edmundo Farolán

http://hometown.aol.com/elfaro26164/revista.html

REVISTA DIBET

Publication for the Armenian community, with international news.

www.dibet.com

ARMENIOS ONLINE

Guide for the Argentinean and world-wide Armenian community, which includes history of the genocide, migrations, news, directory, humour, jobs, and other resources. www.armeniosonline.com.ar

. Old numbers; not found in existence in the present time:

AFRICA MENSUAL (monthly)

Communication link for the African community living in Catalonia/Spain. Main language Spanish, plus a last page summary in French and English. Published in Sabadell (Barcelona).

SUDACAS, LA REVISTA DE LA CLACA (Barcelona): The voice of the Latin

Americans in Catalonia. Language: Spanish. Published by the Casal Llatinoamericà a Catalunya.

Related Web Pages:

General:

 PANGEA.ORG INTERNET SOLIDARIO: a server for the organisations and people working for social justice.

www.pangea.org

- ANDALUCIA ACOGE: a non-profit, a-political and non-confessional organisation

working in the field of immigration.

www.acoge.org

 INDYMEDIA (independent media centre): Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage.

www.indymedia.org

SECTOR3: a consultancy service working as a link between the Public Sector,
 the Private Sector and the Third Sector (Non-Governmental Organisation and
 Non-Lucrative Organisations), to promote joint initiatives.

www.sector3.net

Latin American:

- CIRCULO HISPANOFILIPINO: a link to the Hispanic culture of the Philippines.
 www.montinola.org/lahispanidad
- PATRIA GRANDE: a connection with the Argentinian news www.lapatriagrande.com.ar
- FUNDACIÓN HISPANO CUBANA: news and links related to Cuba
 www.hispanocubana.org
- CASA DE AMERICA: a resource centre on Latin American information.
 www.casadeamerica.com

Islam:

- WEBISLAM: portal of the Islam in Spain.
 www.webislam.com
- SELECCION DE LAS NOTICIAS MARROQUIES: for Moroccans in Spain: www.map.co.ma/espanol/noticias/noticia.htm
- ARABICNEWS: news on the Arabic world.

www.arabicnews.com

- MOROCCAN VOICES FROM EL EJIDO: human rights server. Statement of the El Ejido Immigrants' Comission.
 - www.humanrights.de/news/el_ejido/220200_update.htm
- AFROL MARRUECOS. El Portal Marroquí.
 www.afrol.com/es/paises/Marruecos/marruecos.html
- ASOCIACION DE LA COMUNIDAD HISPANO-PALESTINA: information about the Palestinian History and Diaspora.

www.alquds-palestina.org; http://Comunidadpalestina.org

- COMUNITAT PALESTINA DE CATALUNYA: a space of resistance and reivindication for the Palestinian cause from Catalonia.

www.catalanopalestina.org

Jewish:

 HAREDIM NET SEPHARAD: forum to study the Torah, Talmud, Kabala. Only for Orthodox Jews. Christians are not admited. Only Jew Men; Women not admited. Laic Jews not admited.

http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Haredim

 JCHATMADA MADRID: space to promote communication among young Jews living in Madrid.

http://groups.yahoo.com/group/jchatmad

CONGREGACION BET-EL (Madrid)

www.members.xoom.com/betelspain

- SINAGOGA LA JAVURA (Valencia)

www.uscj.org/world/valencia

- ATAR (Mallorca). Web of the Israeli Community in Mallorca. Includes magazine "El Call", material for the education of the Jews in Spain and a Hebrew calendar.

www.members.fortunecy.com/elcall

ATID. Basic data about the Atid Jewish Community of Catalonia
 http://atid.freeservers.com

ELS LINKS D'AMOS: collection of links about predominantly Jewish theme
 http://fortunecy.com/victorian/coldwater/252/linkscat.html

Gypsies:

- GITANOS DE HOY: poems, articles about the origin of the gypsy race, stories, legends, and some jokes with gypsies as main characters.
 www.personal.psu.edu/users/j/j/jjo136/los gitanos de hoy.htm
- UNIONROMANI. Unión del Pueblo Gitano: a bond among the Gypsy people.
 www.unionromani.org
- FUNDACIÓN DEL SECRETARIADO GENERAL GITANO: non-lucrative foundation that offers services for the Gypsy community within Spain and the rest of the European Union.

www.asgg.org

Conclusion: The Spanish Experience

In the context of the everyday more consolidated project of the European Union, issues on community construction are being discussed also on a daily basis. As a consequence of the global processes, migratory and diasporic moves are increasing and changing the social landscape of nation-states. These ones, as a result, are trying to come to terms with the flexibility of its identity, which is being pushed by new migrant communities that claim spaces for their recognition.

The implications of this general description of the situation explain the crucial role that media play not only in the construction of community identities, but also in the avoidance of social exclusion. On the one hand, if media function as a sustaining base of shared information within a community, migrant (minority) media work as a link to *home* for the displaced communities, be it with access to the origin country's media (press, satellite, internet, etc.), or with access to migrant media produced in the host country. On the other, because media play the role of platforms of expression, migrant communities tend to aim at having their own media where to speak up for their interests and concerns.

The aim of this project is, thus, to examine these questions in relation to the Spanish experience, though mass immigration and migrant media seem to still be a too recent case to be analysed from a thoughtful perspective. Due to the lack of consolidated independent media networks, it has been difficult to find the collected

samples, and despite the difficulty of drawing precise conclusions because of the risk to extrapolate particular data to a wider panorama, the trend of the situation concerning migrant/diasporic minority media in Spain leads to the general points that I summarise as follow:

- The phenomenon of large immigration is, in Spain, still a fairly new one. Therefore, ethnic minorities' associations are (if existent) not highly organised yet; it was only in the 1980's that Spain progressively stopped being a country of emigration to become a country of immigration. Compared to other countries within the European Union, the number of migrant and diasporic communities is very limited. Gypsies are an exception, for not only have they been in Spain for centuries, but also it is in Spain where the largest Gypsy community of the EU-countries is located.
- Due to the constant *waves of immigrants*²⁷ desperately trying to enter Spain, the conservative Partido Popular modified the immigration law established in 1985 by the former Socialist party. The new law was enacted in the year 2000 and became very controversial mainly because of its highly restrictive criteria of the new immigrants' right of entrance. Nevertheless, despite immigration laws, global trends seem to reveal a continuation of migration moves in the future, for what one has to consider the way the new communities processes of social exclusion/inclusion will develop in Spain, as well as the way the country will face its new multicultural society.

- Spain has traditionally not quite accepted its long-life *multicultural* character. Not only Jews, Moors and Gypsies were expelled during the Spanish Inquisition, but also all along its history Spain has been with discomfort with other peripheral identities²⁸ that would undermine its centralist and homogenising aim. In addition to this, the entrance of specifically non-European immigration (which implies different religions, colour of skin, languages and values) is giving a new, more complex dimension to the Spanish multiculturality. General polls reveal the phenomenon as being perceived as a negative rather than a positive reality; prejudices against Gypsies and Arabs are still among the strongest.
- Policies referring to the subject of social integration tend to be monoculturalist rather than stressing multiculturality. Compared to the British case, for instance, the Anglo-Saxon model works more under parameters of politics of difference, whereas the Spanish one tends to amalgamate diversity within one dominant pattern of social construction. The roots and the circumstances of the two models make of them non-comparable frameworks.
- There is no specific law regulating the existence of independent and minority media. The first legal intervention in relation to the issue was introduced in 1995 by the Socialist Party, which was suspended one year later by the successor

²⁷ 'Waves' as a general mainstream media term to refer to the large number of arriving immigrants.

²⁸ Basques, Catalans, Galicians.

conservative Partido Popular. Thus, the new appearing media remain not in an illegal but an "alegal" status, and consequently, there are no official records of the number of independent media (press, radio, and television).

- Representation of immigration is currently widely discussed within the Spanish media industry, though the debates do not go further onto migrant media participation for democratic social inclusion. Unlike mainstream media, municipal television and radio stations supposedly work as platforms of expression for the whole of the local society to which they represent, but the reality is quite different; there is hardly any presence of the ethnic minorities in them. Nevertheless, there are several local media (press: Masala; radio: Radio Contrabanda –MigraMedia-, or television: TeleMadrid, for example) which are sensitive to the silent existence of migrant/disporic communities and have been involved in several projects to open spaces for the migrant voices in the media industry.
- Therefore, the immigrant and diasporic communities in Spain have not -in general- developed a stable and systematic media production of their own. The current situation of independent migrant/diasporic media is, thus, practically non-existent. The cost and the required infrastructure for developing media platforms, plus the minority media legal ambiguities, and the commonly more basic needs immigrants have to deal with are some of the main reasons for the non-existence of television or radio stations fully run by displaced ethnic communities. Satellite television and Internet publications are the usual means

to communicate among the diasporic communities. On the one hand, satellite may cause the migrants to have a sense of belonging to a broader transnational community, such as the case of Muslims and the Islamic community. On the other hand, Internet allows cheap production, easy access and wide dissemination of information. Unfortunately, many immigrants do not have access to the Internet, be it because of lack of access or technology literacy.

- The reality for the migrant media in Spain is, thus, a *fragmented* one (with lack of networks among communities); an *ephemeral* one (with initiatives that start and die, that do not consolidate); and existent in the form of *collaborations* or participation in the already existent local/independent media (with articles, announcements, practical information and so forth)
- The existence of migrant media functions as statement of diverse and complex realities intertwining within the local society, and the local and mainstream media. These media not only open up spaces to express the real needs of migrant/diasporic communities within Spain, but also empower the socially excluded minorities. The lack of migrant media in Spain, and the scarce number of initiatives on the local media may reveal the social inequalities many migrant communities face.
- If media offer the power of self-representation, one should expect any excluded community to aim at having an independent means of communication, which

will allows expressing its voice. Also, one should wonder if this will also be the case of the settling communities in Spain, and in the affirmative case, what will be the future for those media. Will they reinforce (transnational) migrant community construction within the new country? How will second generations relate to it? What is the transcendence of it all? Perhaps only the future will be able to say.

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 Mancha
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- www.elpais.es

- http://www.musiciansgallery.com/start/woodwind/saxophones/gibbs(william).ht
 ml
- http://urbancultours.com

Related links:

- ACOGE: <u>www.acoge.org</u>
- AMIC (Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants a Catalunya): (0034) 93 850 65 00
- ATIME: Workers Association of Moroccan Immigrants in Spain:

 www.solidarityonline.org/solidaridad/chi/atime.htm
- AMARC (Asociación Mundial de Radios Comunitarias):
 www.amarg.org/amarg/esp
- ARCE (Asociación de Revistas Culturales de España): www.arce.es
- ASSOCIACIÓ ITRAN/ESTELS (Catalano-Amazig): abdelghani@eresmas.com
- CARITAS (Spain)/CÀRITAS (Catalonia): www.caritas.es/www.carites.es
- CIEMEN (Centre de les minories ètniques i nacionals): www.ciemen.org
- COL.LEGI DE PERIODISTES DE CATALUNYA: www.periodistes.org
- CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE LOS MEDIOS AUDIOVISUALES
- CONSELL DE L'AUDIOVISUAL DE CATALUNYA: <u>www.gencat.es/cac</u>
- CONTRAINFORMACIÓN NODO50: www.nodo50.org
- COORDINADORA DE ONGS DE EUSKADI DE APOYO A INMIGRANTES: harresiak@euskalnet.net

- DIRECCIÓ GENERAL DE MITJANS AUDIOVISUALS: www.gencat.es/dgrtv
- DIRECCIÓN DE INMIGRACIÓN DEL GOBIERNO VASCO: macumiranda@ej.gv.es
- EL PAÍS: www.elpais.es.
- FUNDACIÓ CIDOB (specialised in international relations, development and international development): www.cidob.org
- FUNDACIÓN CIPIE: <u>cipie@nexo.es</u>
- GUIA DE LA RADIO (web): www.guiadelaradio.com
- INSTITUT DE LA COMUNICACIÓ (INCOM). Migrations Observatory
 (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona): www.blues.uab.es/incom/
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA: www.ine.es
- INSTITUTO OFICIAL DE RADIO Y TELEVISIÓN: www.rtv.es/oficial/iortv.htm
- IOÉ: (00 34) 91 531 01 23
- LABORATORIO DE ESTUDIOS INTERCULTURALES DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA: <u>www.ugr.es</u>
- MIGRAMEDIA, within Ràdio Contrabanda: migramed@pangea.org
- MINISTERIO DE TRANSPORTES Y TELECOMUNICACIONES: www.mtt.cl
- MINISTERIO DE CIENCIA Y TECNOLOGIA: www.setsi.mcyt.es
- MINISTERIO DE INTERIOR: www.mir.es
- MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES: www.mtas.es
- MULTICULTURAL MULTIMEDIA CHANNEL:
 www.mmc2000.net/mmc2000/english/home.html
- NODO50: <u>www.nodo50.org</u>

- OBSERVATORI MIGRACIÓ I COMUNICACIÓ (MIGRACOM). Migration and Comunication's Observatory (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):
 www.migracom.org
- OBSERVATORIO PERMANENTE PARA LA INMIGRACIÓN: www.seg-social.es/imserso/biblioteca/docs/i0 publicatoi00.html
- PORTAL COMUNICACIÓ (web): www.portalcomunicacio.com
- S.O.S. RACISMO (Spain)/ S.O.S. RACISME (Catalonia): www.sosracismo.es/ www.sosracisme.es
- SECRETARIA PER A LA IMMIGRACIÓ:
 www.associacio.net/links/directory/5 adm autonomica.pdf
- SINDOMINIO: <u>www.sindominio.net</u>
- TELEVISIÓN LOCAL (web): www.tvlocal.com
- XARXANETA (network of alternative media in Spain):
 www.xarxaneta.org/kios2.htm