Disempowerment and Inspiration: A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Immigrant Women in the Spanish and Australian Online Press

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Abstract

The media frequently portray immigrants who arrive illegally in relation to political agendas, either supporting the dominant government discourse or a humanitarian discourse. African and Arabic immigrants who have arrived by boat in Spain and Australia are represented as being illegal, a threat (both potential and real), in need of assistance (medical and/or refuge), unhealthy, and culturally very different. The inclusion of images of African and Arabic female immigrants, are very limited in the media and include both hegemonic representations but also portrayals of them engaged in work. This article intends to be a contribution to the representation of immigrant women in the media drawing on a sample of texts from the Spanish and Australian press, online editions. Drawing upon critical discourse analysis and social semiotics to closely analyse four texts, we focus on the interpretation of visual representations in the images of these articles. The results show a similarity between the media in both countries to represent arriving female migrants using hegemonic discourses of illegality, unhealthiness and in need of medical assistance, a threat and danger which contributes to maintain the dichotomy of we-they, us-them. A second representation of working female migrants demonstrates a difference between the media in the two countries. The Spanish media present them in low paid, stereotypical and exploitative occupations in comparison to the Australian media where they are presented as inspirational and successful.

Key words: Immigrant women, asylum seekers, press, visual grammar, multimodality, social actors, media, multimodal discourse analysis.

1. Introduction

Although we are in the 21st century and women have achieved a great deal in relation to fighting for their rights as active citizens in society, there still exists classical stereotypes of gender, such as women stay at home as homemakers, women do not make decisions or do important things, women depend on men and for many men women are just sexual objects (Caetano 2012; Martínez

Lirola 2010; Walter 2010). These stereotypes affect especially women from other cultures who have emigrated because there is very little information about them: about their migratory journey, their background or their settlement in the new country upon their arrival.

The media are a powerful source of opinions and they have the power to give credibility to social realities (Fairclough 1995; Macdonald 2003). There is no doubt that media influence our knowledge, our values and our social relationships due to the influence they have in the process of social construction of reality because of the capacity they have to create representations that contribute to the creation of social identities (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007). For this reason, it is important to interrogate the linguistic and visual texts employed by the media in order to develop a critical stance towards the messages being conveyed about socio-cultural groups.

In this sense, the media in general and the press in particular play a very important role in the way women are represented. Frequently, the media concentrate on the bodies of women and forget their intellectual and moral values, which does not favour the promotion of women in work and being valued in society (Abril Vargas 2007: 26). The way in which immigrant women are portrayed has an effect on how the main population perceive them as a group and as individual females. (Coates 2012; Igartua and Cheng 2009; Igartua, Moral-Toranzo and Fernadnez 2011; Martínez Lirola 2014; Moore, Gross and Threadgold 2012). Women from other cultures are a group of the population who are marginalized because they are very stereotyped and this makes very difficult the normalisation of their presence in our society (Sharda 2014). For example, women who suffer gender violence and do not have official documents are doubly vulnerable because they lack the resources and networks of support that the main population have developed; women wearing the hijab (scarf) are seen as representative of Islam and the Muslim culture and are subjected to racist attacks (Dreher 2003).

Spain and Australia are countries to which migrants illegally seek entry by boat, travelling over vast stretches of water to make a better life for themselves and their families. While the distance travelled by these refugees may differ, they face significant dangers in making the crossing. Both Spain and Australia are predominantly western, Christian societies, while culturally different could be considered to hold similar views on migrants entering their country illegally by boat. Immigrant women in this article are those that have arrived in either country by boat, who have undertaken a dangerous journey as they fled from their home country for a range of reasons. In Australia, these women are asylum seekers, migrants who are fleeing persecution, war or seeking a better life and who say they are refugees, but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated (UNHCR 2016).

A study to compare the media representations of female asylum seekers and migrants in Spain and Australia was undertaken to determine if similar views were present across the two countries. In particular, we wanted to determine if hegemonic representations of migrant women were present in both countries or if different representations were present in the Spanish and Australian press. The main research questions were: How are immigrant women portrayed in online newspapers in Spain as compared to Australia? What scenes are they portrayed in? What actions are they involved in? How do

the linguistic and visual texts portray their identities as women/immigrants?

The following article is organized in the following sections: section two offers a literature review of studies on representations of immigrants, in particular immigrant women, in the press in Spain and in Australia; next, we outline the data sources and methodology used for the study. This section is followed by the results of the study, with detail analysis of representations of four headline images from the online versions of the major national and local press. Section five presents the discussion of the study. Finally, the article ends with some conclusions based on the analysis.

2. Literature Review

In this new era of globalization, women have become more active in migration and they have become the protagonists of their migratory journeys in the last decades (Lipszyc 2004; Martín 2006; Martín and Sabuco 2006; Pham 2014). As Pham (2014: 30) notes:

> The circulation of women has existed since recorded history. Families and groups circulate women as slaves, as brides, as workers, and as prizes. Although some cultures still practice the blatant trade of women as commodities, modern societies circulate women in much subtler form. For women to partake in their own value or worth as a social and economic actor, their sociocultural milieu has to support and encourage such actions.

The fact that women emigrate contribute to their empowerment because they are free to start a life journey in a new country, to be involved in a different culture, to face new situations without the support of the family (Folgueiras 2009). In this sense, women have become actors in migration and they decide to leave their countries of origin for different reasons whereas in the 90's women's migration was associated with family regrouping (Yuval-Davis 1997).

Parella (2003) talks about a triple discrimination as far as women are concerned: for being women, for being immigrants and for the job they do. The last type of discrimination associated with women has to do with the fact that most immigrant women work as prostitutes or in jobs related with taking care of others, mainly elderly people or children (Aierbe 2008; Anderson 2000; Juliano 2000). Agrela (2005) comments that public discourses transmit, on the one hand, a representation of immigrant women as responsible for the wellbeing, balance and family integration and, in contrast, they also transmit the idea of immigrant women as being vulnerable, which contributes to perpetuate stereotypes around gender in the 21st century society.

Behind the presence or the absence of news items in which immigrant women are represented there is an ideology and a set of values. As ter Wal, d'Haenens and Koeman (2005: 938) note 'journalists themselves are part of a society that is pervaded by prejudices. Journalists provide information in such a way that it is in correspondence with their own worldviews and this may include a widespread prejudice'.

In addition, journalists may influence and are influenced by government representations, rhetoric or agendas associated with immigrants, especially

asylum seekers who arrive by boat (Klocker and Dunn 2003; Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison and Nicholson 2013; Hightower 2014). The discourse is largely derogatory and dehumanising, with these immigrants portrayed as illegal, not 'genuine' refugees, queue jumpers, dangerous or sick (Gale 2004; Klocker and Dunn 2003; Esses, Medianu and Lawson 2013; Hamilton 2013; Hightower 2014; Horsti 2007; Macken-Horarik 2003) and has become the dominant, hegemonic view. In Australia, this discourse influences public opinion away from considering the humanitarian issues associated with asylum seeking toward issues associated with border security (McKay, Thomas and Blood 2011) and affirms a 'politics of fear' (Gale 2004).

Research makes clear that although there have been advances in the situation of women, they are still discriminated against and in many areas of society they are treated differently and with less opportunities than men (Hogan and Marandola 2005; Laurenzo Copello and Durán Muñoz 2014; Paxton and Hughes 2007; Varela 2005). Some Spanish studies have paid attention to the representation of women in the media in general and in the press in particular (Abril Vargas 2007; Castagnani and Colorado 2009; Martínez Lirola 2010; Martínez Lirola and Olmos Alcaraz in press; Masanet Ripoll and Ripoll Arcacia 2008; Nash 2007; Nuñez Puente and Establier Pérez 2008; Sobrados 2006; Rodríguez 2002; Román, Garcia and Alvarez 2011). These studies highlight that the importance of the female migratory movement is not reflected in society because immigrant women are not very visible in media discourse, which implies that their recognition as active members of society is minimized. Moreover it is rare that immigrant women's voices are heard and their testimonies are taken into consideration (Berger 2004; Milner 2012).

Similarly, Australian studies place immigrant women, as well as men, as voiceless individuals reinforcing their difference to 'us' (Dreher 2003) with the media constructing 'them' as the 'others' in comparison to 'Australians' (ADB 2003; Bleiker et al 2013; Gale 2004; McKay et al 2011; McMaster 2002). They are more often represented in images as part of a group assisting to dehumanize them, not as individuals, which may promote an emotional connection between the reader and the immigrant (Bleiker et al 2013). Women are rarely present by themselves but in situations requiring assistance from men, including the border forces. Reports that offer alternative views are mostly human interest stories (Pickering 2001). The images of asylum seekers in the Australian media are thus highly selective and highly political (Bleiker et al 2013: 411).

In regards to the representation of immigrant women in the Spanish press, studies have found there are few news reports on them in the Spanish press (Agrela 2005; Casal and Mestre 2002; Checa 2005; Pérez Grande 2008). In general, these studies confirm that women are not as visible as they should be in migration stories and therefore, they are not given the importance they deserve in society. They have also found that their representation are based on limited topics around stereotypes, such as being represented as passive, victims, associated with negative topics, or discrimination, (Castagnani and Colorado 2009: 654). In Australia, stereotypes are also present (Mckay et al 2013) as well as binaries such as 'bogus/ genuine; refugees/boat people; law abiding/ criminal; legal/ illegal; good/ evil' (Pickering 2001: 172).

Similarly, international studies (Bouchoucha 2010; Moore et al 2012; Sadiqi

2010; Zabos 2010) also point out that women are underrepresented and mis-represented in the press and their appearance can be associated with them being victims of illegal associations or a metaphor for a particular culture (Dreher 2003; Ewart and Cockley 2007). The discourses of victimization that appear in the press show immigrant women as dependent, backward, traditional, imprisoned in the family, objects of men's desire, disempowered, etc. (Zabos 2010: 26). For this reason, it is necessary to investigate the gender dimension of migration, as Sadiqi (2010: 17) makes clear:

> In general, women have less freedom to choose because more women than men are poor, illiterate, and culturally marginalized. In a world where political and economic events are moving faster everyday with the advent of globalization, it is urgently necessary to take gender issues into consideration when dealing with migration. A gender approach to migration can help to foster a 'win-win' approach to North/South migration.

3. Methodology

This research intends to be a contrastive study of the representation of migrant women in two countries: Spain and Australia. For this reason, the authors have used the online version of different newspapers in each country. We collected all the news items related to immigrant women, or where immigrant women appeared in the image associated with a news item, published from 1 March 2013 to 31 May 2014. The Spanish corpus consisted of 31 news reports obtained from the three main newspapers, i.e., *El País* (11 items)*, El Mundo* (10 items) and *El ABC* (10 items). In Australia, the corpus of 33 articles was also obtained from three newspapers, i.e. the national newspaper *The Australian* (7 items) and the two Sydney papers, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (11 items) and *The Daily Telegraph* (15 items). These newspapers were chosen because they are the most read ones in both countries. News items were collected that included images of immigrant women. For example, images that included women arriving from another country, illustrating an article about refugee intake or undertaking work. All news items were located on the 'front page' of the online newspapers. Once the corpus was collected, we analysed all the news items. The examples presented in the next section are representative of the main characteristics found in the said newspapers from both countries.

Principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) were used to analyse the online newspaper articles that include visual representations of immigrant women in Australia and in Spain to investigate further their social reality. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies the representation of out-groups in order to observe the ideology, power and social relations that predominate in a given society (KhosraviNik 2010a, 2010b). CDA intends to understand the relationships between discourse and society by deconstructing what is behind the linguistic choices used to refer to specific social situations where some social groups are considered inferior. Consequently, it pays attention to the linguistic and visual strategies used to empower certain social groups and to exclude others (Fitzgerald and Young 2006; Gee 2014; KhosraviNik 2009; van Dijk 2009; Wodak and Meyer 2009).

In this sense, CDA studies the way social power abuse and hegemony appear in discourse. As Fairclough (1989: 12) makes clear: 'Indeed, what are often presented as cultural and linguistic differences are above all differences in power'. The concepts of power and hegemony are relevant to this study because they define the social order and reproduce social inequalities such as the situation of immigrant women. Hegemony is understood in the Gramscian sense: '[...] the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental' (Gramsci 1971: 12).

In addition, the semiotic model of visual grammar proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) informed the critical multimodal discourse analysis. This model of visual grammar is built upon Halliday's (1985/1994) systemic functional grammar which utilises the three metafunctions of ideational (what is happening and being represented), interpersonal (how the relationship between reader and writer is developed) and textual (how the text coheres) to analyse and describe meanings in written and spoken texts. In Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar meanings are conveyed through the metafunctions of representational (similar to the ideational), interactive (similar to the interpersonal) and compositional (similar to the textual). In order to study the main characteristics of the images we drew upon the analytical potential of the representational aspects of narrative and conceptual representations, of the interactive aspects of gaze, shots and angles (perspective), and of the compositional aspects of information value, salience, and framing. Colour as a mode (van Leeuwen 2011) that conveys meanings across all three metafunctions was also employed, highlighting interpretations as relevant to one or all of them. Moreover, van Leeuwen's (2008) work on a classifying the representation of human beings as social actors in discourse also proved useful as a means to interpret if immigrants were represented in groups, as individuals, as passive or active, etc. Therefore, this has been employed in the analysis of the online newspaper articles. In combination, these tools provide a lens through which to interpret the images in the online newspaper articles and make connections to the social construction of the identities of migrant women by the media.

We were also especially interested in employing multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) because we were going to offer a detailed analysis of some news items where we find a photograph apart from the written text. MDA studies the combination of language with other resources such as images, gestures, music or sound. Language and other resources create meaning in multimodal or multisemiotic phenomena such as multimodal texts, videos or websites. In this sense, 'MDA itself is referred to as 'multimodality', 'multimodal analysis', 'multimodal semiotics' and 'multimodal studies' (O'Halloran 2011: 120).

Research has contributed to understand how different modes of communication contribute to the creation of meaning (language, photographs, music, graphics, etc.) (see for example, Baldry and Thibault 2006; Bezemer and Jewett 2010; Bowcher 2012; Jewitt 2009; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2006; O'Halloran and Smith 2011; Royce and Bowcher 2007). In this sense, Machin (2007: x) highlights that the main point of MDA is 'the idea that all modes need to be considered with the same kind of detail, as semiotic systems

in themselves, whose potential choices, patterns and grammar can be described and documented'.

4. Results

Following a critical multimodal discourse analysis, which also drew of principles of CDA, our approach will be qualitative. For this reason, we will analyse in detail four multimodal texts in order to observe the main ways in which immigrant women are portrayed in Spain and Australia. The discussion will refer to the main similarities and differences in the representation of immigrant women in both countries. From the cross-country analysis we found that female migrants were represented in images in new items as 'arriving female migrants' that reinforced the dominant hegemonic discourses associated with representation of migrants as illegal, a threat, dangerous, criminals, unhealthy and/or in need of medical assistance. However, the corpus also revealed a second representation of 'working female migrants' that demonstrated a different discourse in the media across the two countries. The Spanish media presented working female migrants in low paid, stereotypical and exploitative occupations in comparison to the Australian media where they were presented as successful, entrepreneurial and part of the mainstream society - just like an Australian.

Due to the limitations of this paper, the analysis will concentrate on the image, its caption, the heading and the subheading of each news item since they are the textual elements that contribute more fully to catching the readers' attention. The four selected images are representative of the two categories of migrant women within the data set, with two examples of each included with detailed analysis and cross-cultural comparison. The first category of arriving female asylum seekers captures the similarity across the data sets of the hegemonic representation while the second category of working female migrants, who were asylum seekers, demonstrates a major difference between the media discourse of Spain and that of Australia around the jobs migrant women undertake once they have settled into the respective societies.

4.1 Arriving Female Migrants: Hegemonic Representations

The first Spanish text (text 1) demonstrates the reinforcement of the dominant, hegemonic discourse that arriving female immigrants are unhealthy and in need of medical care.

There are six social actors in the first photograph, five belong to the Social Security Forces of Spain and to the medical services; this is clearly distinguished by the clothes they wear. The different colours of their clothes make clear to distinguish them: blue (The Police), orange (medical workers) and green (The Civil Guard). The black woman represented is the protagonist of the news item and the only person whose body is not cut. It is outstanding that although she is represented in the process of being taken to the hospital after having given birth in a small boat, there are three members of the of the police (one of them is a civil guard – *guardia civil*) surrounding her. This contributes to highlighting the fact that she has arrived to Spain without documents and therefore, she is in an illegal situation. Following Kress and

van Leeuwen (2006: 59), this is an example of a narrative process or pattern because it '[...] serves to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements'.

Text 1 Una mujer de origen subsahariano da a luz en una patera frene a Almería (A woman of sub-Saharan origin gives birth in a small boat next to Almería) [Headline]

Figure 1 EFE Los servicios sanitarios trasladan a la mujer que ha dado a luz en una patera (Sanitary services move the woman who has given birth in a small boat). (ABC, agenciasalmería, 21 May, 2014)

Covering the woman with a red blanket contributes to her being the focus on attention. In addition, the fact that she is being carried and accompanied by two men wearing a bright colour such as orange foreground her because the use of colors juxtaposition and colors contrast highlights individuals (van Leeuwen 2011). Moreover, she is made even more salient by situating two policemen in each of the corners of the photograph and the two medical workers looking at her, which also contributes to giving a sense of protection. In addition, all the social actors are connected by vectors and they all guide readers to concentrate on the woman: the heads, shoulders, and hands of the three men in the foreground and midground take us to her; in addition, the elbow of the policeman on the left and the representation of the civil guard as the only social actor looking at the audience right behind her head emphasize the woman as the centre of attention. In this sense, the attention of the woman as an individual is outstanding (van Leeuwen 2008: 38), which is not the most common case in news items about immigrants since the general tendency is to represent them as collectivized and assimilated (van Leeuwen 2008: 37).

Moreover, it is also interesting that although she is the protagonist of the news item, more than half of her body appears on the left of the visual whereas it is a policeman and a medical worker who appear on the right. There are two social actors on the right. One right in the centre and two on the left, i.e., they

are all over the visual surrounding her as the main focus of attention. There are four social actors (including the woman) in the foreground, two in the midground and a van that belongs to the Red Cross appears in the background.

There is a clear distance between the different social actors represented and the audience. We are invited to observe the action without participating in it because the people represented are not in a close shot. Distance is symbolic and it suggests that the woman represented is a stranger and has nothing to do with us. As regards social relation, there is a frontal' horizontal angle, in which the frontal plane of the image producer (and likewise the viewer) and the frontal plane of the represented actors are parallel. The frontal angle means 'involvement' between the viewer and the people represented in the visual, i.e., the social problem being portrayed affects the Spanish society and the immigrant women who arrive. This idea is reinforced because the social actors are observed at eye level (van Leeuwen 2008: 139). Considering social interaction, this is a clear example of an offer image because most of the social actors do not look directly at the readers, and therefore there in no explicit demand. In this sense the different people are represented as '[...] objects for our scrutiny rather than as subjects addressing the viewer with their gaze and symbolically engaging with the viewer in this way' (van Leeuwen 2008: 141).

There are several differences in between the representation of the black woman as a member of the immigrants who try to arrive to Spain in order to find a better life ('they') and the Spanish population ('we'). She is clearly represented in a vulnerable position and passive because she requests medical help after giving birth. The five men surrounding her appear in powerful positions because they are the ones providing medical help and controlling social order. The fact that they appear surrounding her suggest that their main purpose is to avoid that she escapes. Taking into consideration van Leeuwen's representation of social actors (2008: 32), the Sub-Saharan woman is represented as 'patient' (goal), i.e., as a person to whom the action is done, she is the only person laying down in the photograph, and therefore it is understood that people from the main group are the 'agents' (actors), those doing the main actions and those of taking care and controlling in this visual. In this sense, the caption also reinforce that the sanitary services, i.e., people from the main groups are active, whereas the immigrant woman is the one being moved, i.e., she is passive. However, the fact that the heading makes clear that she has given birth, which is a threat for the Spanish population because being born in Spanish territory gives human beings Spanish citizenship.

The analysis of this visual suggests that the Sub-Saharan woman is problematized because she is a passive human being who needs help and invades Spain. Her face and her legs can be clearly distinguished and there is no doubt of her race due to the colour of her skin. Consequently, she is categorized by her race, which suggests that she belongs to a different culture. This representation contributes to creating a social distance between the Sub-Saharan woman as a member of the group of immigrants who try to arrive in Spain and the Spanish population because this kind of arrival is presented as a threat for Spain.

The first Australian text (text 2) similarly demonstrates the dominant, hegemonic discourse in the media around arriving immigrants but reinforces that they are illegal, a threat, dangerous, and should be treated as criminals. Male and female migrants are treated in the same way, with no differentiation according to gender. They are unhealthy and in need of medical care. This discourse is similar to the concept of 'fortress Europe' but is not as frequently represented in the Spanish press, where it appears only in around 20% of the cases compared to 45% in the Australian newspapers.

The image heads the article, *Families and Children Face Stay on Christmas Island as PNG transfers in doubt*, being placed below the heading by line. Asylum seekers are generically referred to as group, not distinguishing them as individuals by country, ethnicity or name. The photograph is accompanied with the caption 'Customs officials carry out checks on a group of asylum-seekers at Christmas Island yesterday'. It supports the government's rhetoric of asylum seekers as illegal and possibly dangerous and the 'crack down' on illegal entry into Australia of what may be economic refugees. The written text specifically refers to the change in the term used to label asylum seekers from 'irregular maritime arrival' in favour of 'illegal' arrival'.

Text 2 Families and Children Face Stay on Christmas Island as PNG transfers in doubt [Headline]

Figure 2 Customs officials carry out checks on a group of asylum-seekers at Christmas Island yesterday. Source: Supplied (The Australian, October 22, 2013)

The image is taken at eye level positioning the viewer as part of the scene, looking on at what is happening in a neutral way. t is taken on board what we presume to be an Australian navy boat, at sea still or in port, or possibly on a wharf (based on railing). Open water can be seen in the background. The asylum seekers have reached 'safety' as they are not shown aboard the boat they arrived on. Asylum seekers from Africa can be seen sitting on the deck, both women and men. It is a middle distance shot so we can't see the exact location of the asylum seekers in the image. The represented participants are

viewed from the side on an oblique angle. Oblique angles mean 'detachment' or 'what you see here is not part of our world, it is their world, something we are not involved with' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 136).

The image, similar to that in Text 1, is an example of a narrative process involving five main social actors, an African Muslim female and an African male, presumably also Muslim, and three Customs and Border Protection officials. Five other actors, three women and two men, can be identified in the scene, sitting on the ground. Three of them are visible, a male and two females, who have their eyes downcast. A female wearing a scarf is obscured by the legs of those standing and the other, a male, is cut off by the edge of the image. The visible male on the ground has a cloth covering his mouth as if he is either trying not to spread or catch any germs. All the asylum seekers are African.

In the unfolding action of the narrative process, two of the main social actors, the African Muslim female and male, are standing with their arms raised and outstretched in a submissive position. Their posture is the same used by criminals when the police catch them and conduct a body search. The two asylum seekers are being searched physically by the two male Customs and Border Protection officials, dressed in navy uniforms with this department title on the back of their navy uniform shirt. They are wearing disposable blue gloves as they conduct their search, which is carried out by touching the arms, legs, and body of the asylum seeker. For the Muslim female this would be considered offensive (Bouchoucha 2010) but she is submitting to the search. The third official is standing and appears to be looking down on the seated asylum seekers.

The woman is wearing a hijab, consisting of a red scarf over another scarf, and a long sleeved, floor length black dress. She has a 'medical' identification bracelet on her left wrist. The man is dressed in jeans and a blue shirt, with a white singlet underneath. He has a 'medical' identification bracelet on his right wrist. Both asylum seekers are looking straight ahead and have a blank, 'expressionless' look on their faces.

The male asylum seeker and the officer conducting the search are the most salient, while our eye is also drawn to the red head scarf being worn by the female asylum seeker. We are drawn to the face of the male and the blue hand of the officer. The focus on them is also reinforced as the male is the tallest of the participants, they are positioned in the centre of the image, and with his arms outstretched they take most space. The red scarf worn by the female, attracts our attention due to the contrast with the blue water and the blue and navy clothing of the others. The red also conveys connotations of danger symbolically (van Leeuwen 2011) and in this context is also associated with the identity of the female participant as Muslim.

The main participants are placed on the right of the image reinforcing the message that the officials are guarding 'us' from 'them' and ensuring 'our' protection. The focus of the action is also placed in the top half of the image, in the ideal position. This positioning may be interpreted as providing a message that the asylum seekers future is one in which they will be treated as criminals. The reality for the asylum seekers is they have made it into Australian custody, where the authorities have control over what they can do

and where they can go which includes being sent to a detention centre in another country such as Papua New Guinea.

The analysis suggests that not only are these people illegal they may be dangerous and possibly contagious. They have arrived in Australia by boat not through the normal refugee or migrant channels, and 'we' Australians need to be protected from them. The image reinforces that the government is doing their job in protecting 'our' borders from an invasion of illegal immigrants and are actively ensuring 'our' safety. The discourse reinforces that the government is in control of who enters Australia and it can refuse entry. The woman is treated in the same manner as the man, with no differentiation in treatment. She is also considered as possibly dangerous as well as illegal.

4.2 Working Female Migrants: Difference and Departure from the Hegemonic

Images of female migrants in the press were also categorised as representations of 'working female migrants' who could be viewed as integrated into the mainstream society in each country. It is in this category that a departure from the hegemonic discourse is demonstrated in the Australian media in comparison to the Spanish media. In the Spanish corpus, the media presented working female migrants in low paid, stereotypical and exploitative occupations. In comparison, the Australian corpus did not include any images of working female migrants in these types of work. The Australian media included representations of female migrants as inspirational examples of success stories, including educational, social and corporate success, which can be associated with integration into Australian society.

The second Spanish text (text 3) demonstrates the representation of female migrants working in stereotypical female jobs of low status where exploitation is prevalent.

> Text 3 Cobran quince euros a mujeres inmigrantes por aceptarles el curriculum. Las empresas sancionadas por la Inspección ejercían de mediadoras para encontrar trabajo como empleadas domésticas. (Women are charged fifteen euros for accepting their CV. The companies sanctioned by the Inspection were mediators to find a job as domestic workers). [Headline]

Figure 3 Imagen de archivo de dos mujeres en pleno trabajo en un domicilio particular. (Image from archives of two women working in a private house). (ABC, 13 March, 2013)

In this photograph there are two social actors who appear cleaning a house and therefore they are represented as active, in contrast with the other visuals in which the woman was passive. In this case, women are doing a job, they are the actors (van Leeuwen 2008: 32). However, it is important that the activity they do is cleaning, which is one of the traditional jobs associated with women apart from jobs connecting with taking care of children or elderly people (Abril Vargas 2007; Aierbe 2008). In addition, this job is one of the lowest status for women and therefore, it has a low salary.

Women are represented in the environment in which they work; the photograph and the caption make reference to immigrants' occupation (van Leeuwen 2008: 42). The two women are the most salient elements in the visual because they appear in the centre of the visual. There is one woman in the foreground and one in the midground. This points out that the room they are cleaning is quite big; it seems to be a wealthy house. The fact that there is nothing on the right of the foreground, the place of the most important part of the information following the principle of information value (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 177), contributes to giving importance to the two woman since readers would start reading the visual from the woman foregrounded in the centre of the visual.

The two women are connected by the use of vectors connecting their heads and their arms. The fact of presenting one of them kneeling down covering part of the legs of the woman who is standing also contributes to see them as a unity. Moreover, the two immigrants are homogenized due to the clothes they wear. They might be working for a cleaning company because we observe that there is something written at the back of the shirt of the woman who is standing up.

The heading refers to immigrant women in general and there is no reference to any specific woman in the news items. Consequently, they are represented

as anonymous individuals (van Leeuwen 2008: 38). The heading refers to the discrimination of migrant jobseekers due to the fact that they were charged for the acceptance of their CV in order to get a job as domestic workers, which is a low skilled job with a low salary.

The interpersonal relationship with the visual is created by the social distance established between the two immigrant women represented and the audience. They appear in a long shot and therefore they are represented as strangers who have a very different social reality, which contributes to highlighting the differences between them and us. However, we observe them at eye level (vertical angle) and frontally (horizontal angle), which suggests that although we are detached from their reality and the job they do, we are invited to observe them, to analyse what they do, making clear that 'They are depicted as socially 'below us', as low in power compared to us' (van Leeuwen 2008: 139).

The analysis of social interaction makes clear that this is also a clear example of an offer image because none of the woman look at the audience, and therefore they do not request an answer from the audience but they offer themselves to be observed, according to Unsworth (2010: 285): '[...] a demand image has the gaze of one or more represented participants directed to the viewer and hence 'demands' some kind of response in terms of the viewer entering into some kind of pseudo-interactive relation with the represented participant; an 'offer' does not have the gaze of any represented participant directed to the viewer and hence provides a portrayal for the viewer's contemplation'.

The characteristics of the visual presented in the previous paragraph also contribute to highlighting the difference between we and they; they clean our houses, we need them to do jobs we do not want to do, we are not interested in them as individuals, they only thing that matters is the actions they do in order to benefit us.

The second Australian text (text 4) demonstrates a different discourse associated with working female migrants in the Australian media as represented in the corpus collected. In comparison to the Spanish media, female migrants are represented as inspirational, successful and integrated within the Australian society. Whereas the previous texts include participants involved in actions (narrative processes), Text 4 is an example of a conceptual representation with participants involved in 'being' or 'having'. Conceptual processes are seen to 'represent participants in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence' and 'in terms of class, or structure, or meaning' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 79). In other words, they will define, analyze or classify people, places and things.

The two Muslim women, who are physically identified through their choice of clothing such as the headscarf, are the only social actors in the image. They are represented in a natural environment, outdoors in a park with one sitting on a fence perhaps while the other leans against it. Both are positioned close together, affirming their similarities and the point of the news item.

Text 4 Zarina Karimi and Samsia Moosawi live their HSC dream after fleeing Afghanistan [Headline]

Shamisia Mossawi and Zarina Karimi are about the sit their HSC. Source: News Limited (The Daily Telegraph, October14, 2013)

The two women are the focus of the image and the news item, being nominated (van Leeuwen 2008: 41) through the use of their full names, Shamisia Mossawi and Zarina Karimi. They are the most salient component of the image due to their size and the contrast to the surrounding environment. Their placement in the centre focuses the viewer's attention on them and the park in which they are is not as significant as it is around them on the margins. To the right of the two women, in the foreground, is a flowering plant that partly covers the side of Zarina but does not obscure it. To the left is a field with a garden in the background. It could be interpreted that the two women are part of the Australian environment, as natural as the plants that surround them.

Neither of the women are active participants, engaged in doing something as in the previous Spanish (Text 1 and 3) and Australian (Text 2) texts, but are represented as belonging to particular groups through conceptual symbolic processes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) where the participants are the Carrier of their identity (the Symbolic Attribute)and identification (van Leeuwen 2008). Van Leeuwen (2008: 42) notes that 'identification occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are'. Shamisa and Zarina are identified in the image as young, Muslim females through physical identification. They also symbolically have the attributes of Muslim, high school students, Afghani refugees, and successful migrants. The heading and caption reinforce these interpretations aligning with a symbolic reading of 'successful immigrant' and 'inspiration' to others, particularly other refugees.

The interpersonal relationship with the image is established through both women looking directly at the viewer, demanding their attention. As mentioned in the description of text 3, the gaze of the represented participants demands some kind of response from the viewer in terms of a 'pseudo-interactive relation' (Unsworth 2010: 285). The pseudo relationship also

invites the viewer to observe the participants in an equal power relation through the use of an eye level (vertical angle) and a slightly frontal (horizontal angle) mid-shot, which encourages the viewer to have a closer involvement with the two women.

In comparison to the depiction of Spanish migrant women in society, we are encouraged to associate and identify with the two female participants. They are a positive part of our society and while they can be still identified as 'other', especially through their physical appearance, they are also 'just like us', they can be successful and inspirational. They have taken control over their lives and taken their place in Australian society with the associated power being utilised to their advantage. The message in these types of Australian news items is that not all migrants are in need of assistance, sick or dangerous, and when they are accepted into our community and become part of it, their achievements can be recognised.

5. Discussion

The analysis of the news items selected shows that immigrant women are portrayed in a hegemonic manner as vulnerable and in need of medical assistance (Text 1), as low paid workers (Text 3), as dangerous human beings (Text 2) similar to representations of immigrants in the media. However, in Australia they are also portrayed as successful and inspirational (Text 4). The hegemonic representations of female migrants reinforce the dominant discourse in which asylum seekers are portrayed as 'problematic' or 'problem-people' that need help or support; this is the case in 78% of the corpus analysed. In general, the images analysed suggest the idea of the women represented are in illegal situations, doing something wrong, which reinforces the idea of them being dangerous and different to the main group – they are the 'other' (ADB 2003; Bleiker et al 2013; Gale 2004).

The different visual analyses point out the hierarchical relationship between us (people from the main group, Australians and Spaniards) and them (the immigrant women represented) similar to other studies (for example, Dreher 2003; Bleiker et al 2013). The news items analysed suggest that there are significant differences between the main group of society and the people from other cultures that arrive, but only in relation to reinforcing the hegemonic view of migrants who enter the country without going through the immigration process in the home or transition country.

Immigrant women in both countries are involved in scenes that display their vulnerability, ill-health, or illegality. They are not active participants but are the focus of the action of others, particularly in Australia (Text 2) where border police (us) are frisking the bodies (them). However, in Spain, immigrant women are also involved in actions, even if the action is cleaning (12% of the news items analysed). They have work and are earning money to live as a part of Spanish society. The two Spanish visuals portray immigrant women in 'normal' female activities: giving birth and working (when women are portrayed as prostitutes they are also working). While the two Australian visuals situate immigrant women as part of the activities associated with asylum seekers arriving in Australia and being part of Australian society.

When immigrant women appear represented within the community the general tendency in the Spanish press is to represent them working as cleaners, in unskilled jobs that provide women with low salaries and may be working without permission, i.e., illegally. They are not actors in their own social reality but acted upon. However, in the Australian press, immigrant women are rarely represented as working. It is only after they have been in Australia for a longer period of time, living in 'our' culture and appearing as 'integrated' or 'inspirational' that they may be included in images (36% of the news items analysed): what could be seen as human interest stories (Pickering 2001). Migrant women appearing within the community are generally represented in the Australian press as role models and inspirational. They are seen as successful in education, in society or in corporate life.

The texts analysed show that there is always a relationship between texts and the society in which they are framed. As Economou (2006: 211) points out, 'the role played by prominent images in print media feature stories is a critical and primary one in positioning or orienting readers attitudinally towards the text that follows or accompanies the image'. In this sense, the majority of images of migrant women portrayed in our corpus, i.e., 96%, as in the examples described, does not increase the possibilities of shortening the differences between the main group and immigrant women. It assists to promote the differences, reinforcing a negative discourse associated with government and political discourse around illegal immigrants, especially those that arrive by boat. As Dreher (2003: 124) notes 'this discourse of 'othering' provides very little opportunity for documenting the impacts of harassment, vilification and violence against Arab and Muslim Australians'.

6. Conclusion

The media, in general, and the newspapers under analysis, in particular, have power in society. Their voices are legitimate and they belong to and shape the dominant views of society, emphasising the information they transmit in the news items as credible and the 'truth' (Fairclough 1995; Fitzgerald and Young 2006). Consequently, the visuals under analysis reproduce the ideology of the journalists that have created the news items and of the newspaper owners and editors.

The lack of visibility of immigrant women does not contribute to their empowerment. The news items used in this article are a sample of invisibility because in more than a year there were less than a hundred news items on immigrant women. This invisibility affects all aspects and areas of their individual and collective lives. Therefore, the position of women with respect to power is peripheral, as women without power. For this reason, it is essential to promote their empowerment so that they can participate as active citizens in society and 'talk back' to the media about how they are portrayed or should be represented which more accurately reflect reality (Dreher 2003).

Media representations of immigrants continue to reinforce hegemonic discourses associated with the movement of African, Arabic, or Asian people to western countries, such as Spain and Australia. The themes of dehumanization, criminalisation, political rhetoric, belonging and outsider

continue to provide a narrow view of immigrants, their lives and their potential to contribute to their adopted country. The ideology and the hegemonic power of the main group of the population, in this case the Spanish and the Australian society, is reflected in the news items analysed where the representation of immigrant women is partial and different to the main group.

The scarce representation of women in general and of immigrant women in particular makes it impossible to talk about active citizenship in which women and men from different cultures share power and responsibility. The invisibility of women in general and immigrant women in particular in the press does not contribute to the empowerment of women nor to social justice.

The partial representation of immigrant women observed in the corpus of examples does not favour the development of a society established on democratic and equal principles. In this sense, it is necessary to rethink the images of immigrant women in the press in order to question their role in the migratory movement nowadays and to better represent their voices and realities.

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Text 2 http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/policy/families-and-children-face-
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