

The perception of groups of foreigners on local radio and television¹

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the representation of foreign people in local media. It is based on the hypothesis that proximity to social environment contributes to properly explain immigration and cultural diversity. The analysis of the TV and radio chart demonstrates the existence of few TV and radio programs that enhance emotional links between immigrants and local population. From immigrant associations perspectives, it is made manifest that tension and social conflict continue to be the main factors determining their presence in mass media.

Keywords

Local radio, local television, foreigners, immigrants, programming strategies, intercultural.

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Resum

L'objectiu de l'article és analitzar la representació de la població estrangera als mitjans de comunicació audiovisual d'àmbit local, partint de la hipòtesi que la proximitat a l'entorn social contribueix a abordar el fet migratori i la diversitat cultural en clau de cohesió social i de convivència. L'anàlisi de l'oferta dels diferents mitjans, però, evidencia el baix índex de propostes programàtiques i revela l'absència de referents mediàtics que estimulin la creació de vincles emocionals entre els ciutadans nous i la societat d'acollida. Des de la perspectiva de les associacions d'immigrants, es posa de manifest que la tensió i el conflicte social són els factors que en determinen, en bona part, la presència als mitjans.

Paraules clau

Ràdio local, televisió local, estrangers, immigrants, estratègies programàtiques, interculturalitat.

1. Introduction

The international migratory flow to Catalonia has risen significantly over the last decade, with clear effects on the social structure of towns and cities. The different origins of these new citizens have altered the social fabric. Catalan society now has a new profile that is culturally and linguistically diverse. According to the report by the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (Idescat),² at 31 December 2010, 15% of the population residing in Catalonia is foreign and has quite a heterogeneous composition due to its geographical provenance.³ From a media point of view, immigration entails the incorporation of new consumers with diverse socio-demographic and socio-cultural profiles. This variation in the audience's composition has been difficult to handle by the main radio operators (Gutiérrez 2005), and also television operators (Gómez, Capdevila and Pastor 2006), which have ultimately limited the appearance of immigrant citi-

zens in their news programmes. The presence of newly arrived citizens therefore depends on the importance of the event or the presentation of personal experiences with features of anecdotes, narrations, all dressed up in a veneer of sensationalism.

One aspect of local media is the concept of proximity in their production of content and they thereby acquire a social responsibility for the region, achieving the category of public service irrespective of their ownership structure (Chaparro 1998; Sabes 2002). According to Martín Barbero (2010, 8), "[...] what is local in a global society means a project of recognition and socio-cultural creativity based on an everyday commitment exercised by citizens [...]", in which everyone must participate.

According to Ortiz Guitart (2006), a sense of belonging reinforces the emotional ties that connect an individual to a community and a region and through which foreigners carry out processes to become part of the new social environment that permit them to live together with the new cultural codes with-

out tension. In this respect, the media in general “[...] play a key role in how minorities relate to communities at a local, national and transnational level, that’s why it’s important to reflect on how they contribute to or influence the construction of this sense of community and whether it affects social inclusion or exclusion” (Mena 2008, 135). Based on this premise, the modification of the social structure caused by the significant migratory flows that have affected Catalonia should have led to new proposals to facilitate the incorporation of new citizens. The data, however, do not reflect this circumstance, as in the mass media “[...] foreigners’ consumption habits have not led to any significant changes in the media system or to the emergence of new products associated with such consumption” (Soriano 2010, 90). That’s why focusing our attention on local media can help to evaluate their influence on the integration process, social cohesion and community spirit between local citizens and foreigners,⁴ settled down in a region defined as an administrative district.

2. Local audiovisual communication and immigration: object of study and methodology

Our research had two objectives:

- a. Detect the degree of the medium’s involvement in constructing values regarding integration, social cohesion and mutual knowledge based on an analysis of the programmes offered.
- b. Discover the incidence and opinion of local content among immigrant groups, represented by their local associations.

In the first of these objectives, our aim was to determine the influence exercised by the new social fabric, a consequence of migratory movements, on the local media’s programming strategies. In the second objective, we wanted to discover the opinion of these groups regarding their presence on and treatment by the local media. Through their opinions, our aim is to discover whether audiovisual content has been generated that stimulates processes of identification and recognition among foreign citizens and that helps them to become part of the host society.

Quantitative tools were used for the methodological design (fundamental to construct the sample both of municipalities and associations), as well as qualitative instruments such as in-depth interviews, which allow us to discover the perception and experiences of the subjects in question. This qualitative instrument (within the framework of ethnographic storytelling) helps to project trends that can be extrapolated to other local situations related to society and the media.

The field work was carried out on a sample of five Catalan towns: one in the region of Barcelona, one in the region of Girona, one in that of Lleida, another in that of Tarragona and one in the region of Terres de l’Ebre, defined using the following parameters:

- a. High index of foreign population related to the total inhabitants in the municipality. The sources of information were principally the data from Idescat and reports by the Immigration Department of the Catalan government and town councils.
- b. The population’s media significance regarding immigration issues related to situations of conflict and tension but also with good community spirit. It must be noted, however, that this last reason has had little influence on building the sample, as situations of social cohesion and multicultural situations are relatively few in the media.
- c. The presence of local or county-wide media, both publicly and privately owned, but not including programmes by media classified as ethnic, aimed specifically at groups of immigrants from a certain geographical area.⁵

The media were approached from two different angles, combining quantitative and qualitative methodological tools. On the one hand, we analysed programming grids, distinguishing between in-house and external production and also defining the content based on the programme genre. On the other hand, we believed it was necessary to complement this information with interviews, held with those in charge of programming at the broadcasters, as well as some local distribution platforms.

Table 1 shows the towns in the sample and the different percentages of the foreign population, with an indication of the groups most widely present. It can be seen that, in all cases, the groups of new arrivals are greater than 22%, reaching almost 45% in the case of Salt. Morocco appears as the nationality with most presence in three out of the five towns.

It’s easy to deduce the high degree of heterogeneity of the foreign population in each municipality by observing the different percentages between the three most widely present groups and the total percentage that appears in the column for the foreign population.⁶ This circumstance influenced *a priori* the determination of the criteria to select the groups to be interviewed. The first option was to select two of the first three, i.e. the ones appearing in table 1, but the association structures in the towns forced us to adapt to their idiosyncrasies. On the one hand, as shown in table 2, we observed that there is no direct relationship between the weight of a certain group and the number of associations represented (see also table 1). So, although the largest group of new arrivals in Balaguer is from Eastern Europe, neither of the two associations registered corresponds to citizens from this place of origin. The same thing happens in Salt, where there are forty organisations for Sub-Saharan Africa countries but only one association for Latin America, although the Honduras group is the third largest in the town. Finally, in Salt, Vic and Tortosa, Moroccans are the largest group but this is only evident in Tortosa, with a higher number of associations.

Another factor affecting the final list of associations that have taken part are the difficulties in contacting people to hold the interview. However, although we had to renounce our initial criteria, we have tried to ensure the presence of two associations

Table 1. Towns that make up the sample and percentages of the three foreign groups with the greatest presence

Town	Total population	Native population		Foreign population		
		Total	%	Total	%	% groups with the greatest presence
Balaguer	16.766	12.938	77,17	3.828	22,83	7,90% Romania 6,41% Morocco 1,96% Senegal
Salou	27.016	16.160	59,82	10.856	40,18	5,89% Senegal 3,14% Romania 2,60% United Kingdom
Salt	31.897	17.738	55,61	14.159	44,39	15,95% Morocco 6,14% Gambia 4,18% Honduras
Tortosa	36.428	28.019	76,92	8.409	23,08	7,50% Morocco 3,46% Romania 2,85% Pakistan
Vic	40.228	30.036	74,7	10.060	25,3	9,5% Morocco 2,62% Ghana 2,18% Ecuador

A. Balaguer and Salou: <<http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?lang=en>> [Consulted: January-March 2011]

B. Tortosa: <<http://217.126.56.220:8081/WebAJT/EstadistiquesHabitantsServlet>> [Consulted: March 2011]; Vic: Informe Estadístic, Pla de Ciutadania i Immigració d'Osona and Anuari socioeconòmic de Vic, 2009. <<http://217.126.56.220:8081/WebAJT/EstadistiquesHabitantsServlet>> [Consulted: March 2011]

Source: Authors, based on data from Idescat^A and town councils^B

Table 2. Immigrant associations present in the towns under study

Origin	Balaguer	Tortosa	Salou	Salt	Vic
Eastern Europe		1	2		
Latin America		2	4	1	4
China		2			
Southern Asia (India, Pakistan)		1		1	1
Morocco		4		6	1
Sub-Saharan Africa	1	2	4	40	12
No geographical reference	1*			3	1*

* These are Muslim religious associations

Source: Authors, based on the data provided by town and county councils.

per town⁷ that represent different groups of foreigners and that also have different objectives, activities and histories. In fact, it was through the in-depth interviews with their directors that we obtained the basic information to construct the perceptions of these social actors.

3. Representing foreign groups, a programming strategy

Programming grids are the connection point between radio and television and audiences. Both the content and organisation reflect a way of interpreting the environment by creating or consolidating certain imaginaries and therefore redirecting public opinion. In this respect, the media representation of foreign citizens in local media is fundamental, as it influences how natives perceive these groups.

Our working hypothesis was based on the idea that media which are fundamentally local would take migration and cultural diversity more into account, at least in the area of news, thereby differentiating themselves from the national and state media. It's important to point out that the conditions for implementing digital terrestrial television (DTT) and the complex broadcasting map made it advisable to include private media that also offer local programming in the analysis, in addition to the public media. Tables 3 and 4 present the radio and television broadcasters of the five towns in the sample that have been analysed in the research.⁸

Initially, we also intended to study internet portals with a rationale of local communication but this communication option was discarded after studying the terrain. It was noted that there were practically no such sites and the few portals that do exist are due to the internet presence of traditional media (press, radio and television).

3.1. Local radio stations

Except for Salou, all the municipalities have a local radio station, although the special case of Vic should be noted, which has two frequencies and, moreover, privately owned.

With regard to the content offered (see table 5), it can be seen that on Ràdio Vic and El 9 FM,⁹ continuous music (i.e. the "contemporary hit radio (CHR)" or "pop radio" format) occupies more than three quarters of the grid, while the percentage of in-house production (centred on news programmes and the audio broadcasting of some television programmes) is below 20%. The level of in-house production is higher on the rest of the broadcasters, all publicly owned, although the music content also achieves significant rates, represented generally by the adult contemporary format. The exception is Ràdio Salt which, given its interest in providing its production with an intercultural veneer, has chosen an intercultural CHR format, insofar as it's made up of music from the countries of origin of the new arrivals. However, due to rejection from a sector of the native population, the management of Ràdio Salt is thinking of altering this kind of format.

Table 3. List of local radio stations broadcasting in the sample towns

Town	Radio	Owned
Balaguer	Ràdio Balaguer	Public
Salt	Ràdio Salt	Public
Salou	-	-
Tortosa	Ràdio Tortosa	Public
Vic	El 9 FM	Private
	Ràdio Vic	Private

Source: Authors.

Table 4. List of local and county television stations broadcasting in the sample towns

Town	Television	Owned
Balaguer	Lleida Televisió	Private
Salt	Televisió de Girona Canal Català Girona-Pla	Private Private
Salou	TAC 12 Canal Català Tarragona 4TV Mediterrani	Public Private Private
Tortosa	L'Ebre TV Canal TE Canal 21 Ebre	Private Private Private
Vic	El 9TV Canal Català Osona Canal Taronja Osona	Private Private Private

Source: Authors.

An analysis of the programmes offered has found that public broadcasters have more varied programming where the existence of immigration can be seen and immigrant citizens are present, either because they themselves are responsible for the production or because the product is aimed at them specifically. However, the impact of these productions on programming as a whole is not very significant, if we take into account the high indices of immigrant population in the sample municipalities.

Regarding the media, it should be noted that an across-the-board strategy to represent immigrant groups on the radio isn't very integrated within the ideology of any of the broadcasters. With regard to private broadcasters, neither El 9 FM nor Ràdio Vic produces any programme that provides visibility for the town's foreign community.

Table 5. Percentage of content in relation to the type of production

	In-house	Continuous music	Syndicated content	COMRàdio connection
Ràdio Balaguer	18,0%	41,0%	--	41,0%
Ràdio Tortosa	31,3%	64,0%	4,7%	--
Ràdio Salt	39,0%	59,0%	--	2,0%
Ràdio Vic	17,0%	83,0%	--	--
EI 9 FM	11,1%	88,9%	--	--

Source: Authors

In general terms, we have observed that the programming strategies that enable the presence and treatment of the theme of immigration are heterogeneous and governed by different parameters:

- a. The inclusion within the grid of programmes made by immigrant citizen associations and entities. This formula is only present on Ràdio Salt, precisely the municipality with the highest percentage of foreign population (44.39%). This season there are three programmes that deal with the intercultural aspect. The first, *Almohajir*, is made by a Moroccan association dedicated to teaching Arabic to children, which uses the radio as a pedagogical tool, encouraging students to form part of the programme. The second, *Salt de sons*, led by a group of girls of Moroccan origin that belong to the Magrebins sense Fronteres association, plays music and deals with contemporary issues regarding young people. And, finally, the third is *El món a Salt*, made by the Eina association and given an award by GREC (the organisation specialising in the prevention, resolution and alternative management of conflict), whose main objective is to improve the level of Catalan among young immigrants as a strategy for integration.¹⁰ All three programmes have a significant integrating component, with radio becoming an instrument employed by immigrants to get closer to the population in Salt. Catalan is the vehicle language in all of these, although other languages are also used in parallel, such as Arabic and Tamazight.
- b. Cultural diversity by promoting activities organised by associations and entities. This is a strategy present on all broadcasters although, in general, it is up to the groups and, in some cases, councils to ensure that broadcasters receive the information.
- c. Focus on outstanding people in society due to their professional or social activity. In this respect, Ràdio Tortosa is worthy of note, with magazine programmes such as *L'hora del vermut*, in-depth interviews which include the aspect of interculturism, or *Bufandes grogues*, on culture and music.

Other programmes used by local radio to get closer to their

foreign audience are *Creu i lluna* and *Freqüència social*, on Ràdio Balaguer, focused on raising awareness of municipal institutions and services and to which immigrants are sporadically invited. In any case, the analysis reveals that the *solidarity* category, a term used by the broadcaster to define both programmes, only accounts for 2% of the in-house production.

Language often becomes an argument on radio. In fact, some of the proposals by Ràdio Salt are along these lines and, in this respect, we should also note the presence on Ràdio Tortosa of *Onescat*, a beginners' Catalan course on the radio aimed at people who have just arrived in Catalonia, designed by the Consortium for Linguistic Normalisation and recorded and produced by COMRàdio.

In terms of news programmes, foreigners are mostly seen in conflictive events and, to a small extent, in festivals related to cultural and traditional activities of their countries of origin, or even exotic events, such as Ramadan or the Chinese New Year.

In general, the syndication of programmes through the platforms Sindicada, of the Local Communication Consortium, and the Federation of Local Radio Stations of Catalonia (FRLC), allows public and private broadcasters to complement their programming. But this is a low impact strategy on the broadcasters analysed, as shown in table 5. According to the people in charge of their content,¹¹ in terms of *immigration* and *social cohesion*, broadcasters tend to make their own products, believing that their idiosyncrasies cannot be exported to other municipal situations.¹² Consequently, it's logical that a Catalan course, *Onescat*, is the only programme detected within the framework of these platforms.

3.2. Local television stations

The model to implement DTT has divided the territory into zones that go beyond that of municipality and county. This has affected programming, as the definition of "local" is related to the municipalities covered but also to how far these channels can be classified as "public service" (Guimerà 2010).

The television stations studied are predominantly privately owned, as there is only one public station. However, in their

ideology, all include the media presence of the associations from the respective towns and counties as a fundamental principle that furthers social and regional cohesion. On the other hand, an analysis of the programmes offered shows a lack of strategies to strengthen the presence of immigrant associations and entities as a tool that reflects the new social reality at a municipal and county level. From the perspective of the television channels, reasons of an economic nature have been given but also the belief that it is not necessary to treat immigration and social cohesion in any special way since the everyday life of the town is very calm. This lack of coverage changes depending on the news stories at any particular time.

On the whole, in-house weekly productions on the six television stations analysed exceed 50% of all the programmes offered, with the exception of TV Girona, which does not reach 44% (see graph 1). It should be noted that all apply the strategy of rebroadcasting programmes and that, in some cases, this happens more than three times a day. In all, three of the broadcasters analysed do not broadcast 24 hours' a day.

With regard to the in-house production of programmes related to the theme of "immigration and social cohesion", there is no explicit intercultural focus in the ideology of these television stations.

In general, all the channels are governed by the principles of freedom, respect and non-discrimination, although some go further and apply the ethical code of the College of Journalists.¹³ This season only Lleida Televisió has a specific programme, every fortnight, that tackles immigration and social cohesion, entitled *Mirades*. On the other hand, there are programmes in which social cohesion is tackled across the board with all kinds of entities, activities and citizens, such as *IdEntitats*, on TAC 12; *Cafeïna*, on Lleida TV, and *La Terrassa*, on El 9TV.

The presence of immigrant citizens and their cultures on the news is diverse and variable and depends on the area of coverage of each television station, the number of foreign citizens, their capacity to form associations, their capacity to generate activities and, evidently, the extent of controversial and/or criminal acts in which they might be involved. In this last circumstance, the participation of immigrant citizens is subject to the same conditioning factors as for native citizens, as the most important thing is how newsworthy the event is.

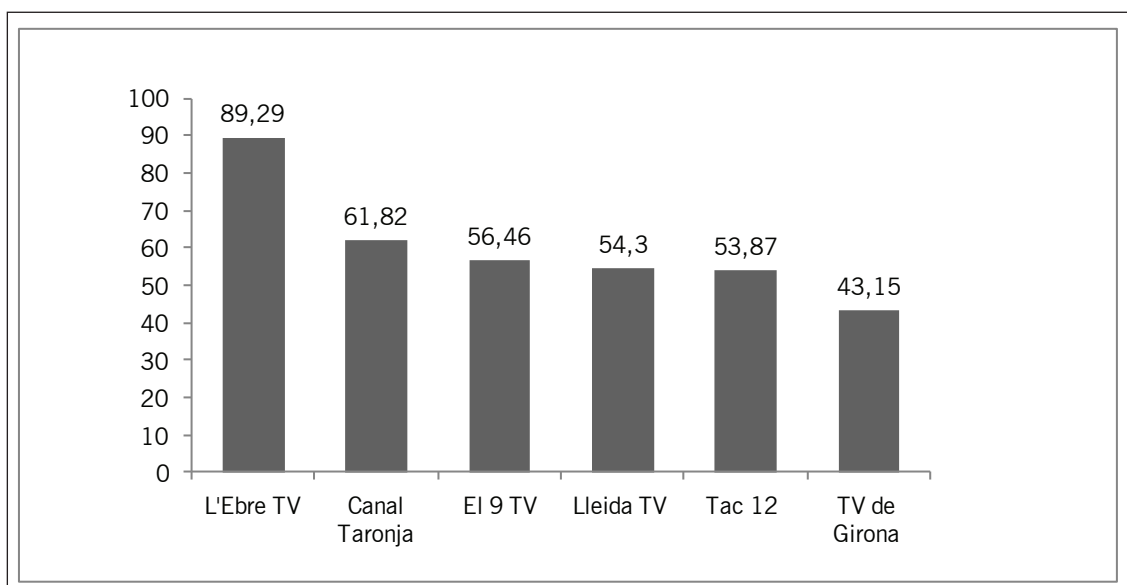
With regard to external production that complements programming, these TV channels are mostly supplied by the Local Audiovisual Network (XAL), and also (according to the broadcasters) by platforms such as Comunicàlia, Televisions Digitals Independents de Proximitat (TDI), TVlocal.cat and by local producers.¹⁴ In this area, of note is *Civilis*, a XAL container programme which includes the documentary miniseries *El món a les mans*, winning the Audiovisual Diversity Award in the television category, given by the Commission for Audiovisual Diversity (MDA) of the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC).

Of all the platforms, XAL is the one that makes foreigners most visible as typical citizens. But, on occasion, their proposals have been rejected by society, forcing them to suspend broadcasts due to various complaints from sectors of the native population.¹⁵

An analysis of the programming of local TV stations that form part of the sample concludes that immigrant citizens aren't taken into account as potential viewers either. The premise used is often that, because they don't know Catalan, they are less likely to take part in programmes and, consequently, to become a potential audience.

The fact of migration from an intercultural perspective is not

Graph 1. In-house production levels for television in terms of broadcasting hours, including retransmission



Source: Authors.

tackled, therefore, as part of an overall intention for these programmes to continue or as any kind of plan. The presence of these programmes is one-off and fluctuates and, on occasion, also depends on the initiatives of town councils, provincial governments and immigrant associations themselves.

Before ending the sections dedicated to the media, we would also like to point out the lack of immigrant professionals on the staff of the radio and television channels analysed. Their inclusion would reflect the multicultural reality and would strengthen social recognition of immigrants among the native population.

4. Social actors and local broadcasting media

But what do immigrant groups think of the programmes offered? Do they feel represented? How do they relate to local operators? In an attempt to answer these questions, in-depth interviews were held with various heads of entities in the towns under study. Four Latin American associations were contacted, two from Morocco, two from Sub-Saharan Africa and one Romanian.¹⁶

With regard to television, interviewees reveal a generalised consumption of national and state channels and a more limited consumption of local broadcasters, as only four of the nine associations interviewed state that they regularly follow local programmes and/or news. In the African groups (both in the case of Morocco and Sub-Saharan Africa), their consumption habits also included television stations from their countries of origin, received via satellite.

In general, radio arouses little interest and its function is limited to “accompanying” other activities, such as driving or working. In the local sphere, in some cases people weren’t even aware that these stations exist.

According to some interviewees, these habits only alter when there are conflicts in the community (as the local media are expected to provide more local and detailed information), and also when the programme is made by the new arrivals themselves.¹⁷ In view of these results, it seems reasonable to deduce that this lack of interest of new arrivals in local media is due merely to the fact that they don’t feel represented. This idea connects with the criticism of the interviewees regarding the media as a whole, as they feel that, whenever they cover immigration and immigrants, they don’t always help foster community spirit and integration. There are various reasons given to justify this criticism:

- Classist attitude of the media, which emphasise the immigrant origin of some people and ignore it with others, such as football stars.
- Emphasis on the negative or problematic aspects of migration and/or of people who have migrated.
- Preserving clichés and stereotypes that result in the background and personal values of new arrivals being ignored.
- Little professionalism on the part of some media, confusing countries and cultures.

- Reinforcing stereotypes and the exotic elements of some territories, especially African, ending up projecting a distorted image of the reality of these countries and their inhabitants.

4.1 Representing diversity

The interviewees agree that the reality on the street (diversity) is not always represented on the media. To give more media visibility to the group and its association itself, the entities attempt to establish stable relations with broadcasters and newspapers. In some cases, they are satisfied with the results but in others they lament the media’s lack of interest, more inclined to show conflicts than the activities carried out within the day-to-day life of the community.

In order to change this situation, various associations are thinking of setting up a good promotional team working under professional criteria. At the same time, however, it has been observed that some entities that had been in operation for a short time were unaware of the circuits that could be used to publicise their activities. In this respect, the role of councils is key to putting associations in touch with the local media.

Another option to access the media is by making their own programmes. As we have already explained, and with the exception of Ràdio Salt, there are no programmes made by the associations, although this option is desired by half the groups interviewed.¹⁸ Some entities have even started to think of projects and establish contacts. For example, the Moroccan and Nigerian associations are hoping to make a bilingual programme that combines Catalan with Arabic/Tamazight with English, respectively. The Moroccan associations value the use of two languages very highly because there is a significant part of the group that does not speak or understand Catalan and this seems to be a good way to integrate them without excluding the native audience.

When the interviewees are asked to reflect on radio and television programming, some representatives from the associations state that they would like a weekly news programme for the local area made in various languages. They would also like foreigners to be more present in programming as a whole (for example, in fiction) and value positively the possibility to collaborate permanently in debate programmes, round tables, magazine shows, etc. But the interviewees believe that broadcasters are only prepared to invite them for the odd, sporadic participation in order to be politically correct but without taking on any more commitment.

In addition to media access, another element considered vital to boost the presence of cultural diversity is the existence of references that can encourage identification. In the words of Mohamed Chriyaa, president of Magrebins Sense Fronteres (Salt), “what these groups need are references [...], [they must see] that there are figures in the media [...] and local media can provide that positive thing, what associations are doing, what groups are doing individually”.

5. Conclusions

- According to what the data suggest, local media do not always behave as a space for information and communication for all the human and cultural diversity that makes up a community. The broadcasters studied do not include the new social reality of immigrants or cultural diversity in their ideologies. Neither is there a principle of positive discrimination with regard to the presence and treatment of the migratory situation.
- This lack of strategies means that there are few radio or television productions specialising in the processes of migration and social cohesion. In fact, on television, this content is provided by the odd distribution platform or results from the initiative of a journalist or producer sensitive to the issue. In the case of radio, some programmes are made by immigrant associations and entities interested in this situation. Investigating this aspect, it is significant that this lack of projects to strengthen interculturalism is often justified by the absence of conflict in the municipality, confusing the lack of conflict with the existence of social cohesion.
- The media acknowledge a tendency to limit news coverage for immigrant citizens to events classed as conflictive. Without doubt, this increases tension in the social environment and reinforces a negative imaginary among the native population which is not sufficiently countered by seeing events of a festive nature organised by associations. Those in charge of the media also state that, when they look for sources of information, they do not usually go to immigrants or their associations and that this production routine is not altered even when the events affect them directly as citizens of the municipality.
- The media studied do not have immigrant professionals on their staff as yet, a fact that might result in the few productions actually made by foreigners not being able to compete with native productions, as well as radio and TV programmes excluding other points of view.
- From the interviews with those in charge of associations we can observe that, although they live in the same region, the new arrivals do not recognise themselves in the local broadcasting media and are therefore not interested in the programmes offered and stop being a potential audience. They also indicate that this lack of references in radio and television content weakens the feeling of belonging and identification with the host society.
- The entities would like the local media to provide an across-the-board view in all spheres as a sign of normal citizen life. They argue that representation will provide them with references that will help to create emotional ties with the region and will also improve the native population's perception of the immigrants, something that will gradually further social cohesion and community spirit.
- In general, not knowing the language does not appear to be a crucial obstacle to these groups consuming radio and tel-

evision programmes. When it comes to them making their own programmes, however, some associations propose that programmes should be produced in two languages, Catalan and their own. They believe that this bilingualism is an integrating formula that does not exclude the native population.

The question is, therefore, to combine the interests of the media and the expectations of the native and non-native audience, a complex task when one part of the population, the foreign part, does not feel represented nor does it recognise itself in the content offered by local radio and television. However, these media are still responsible for furthering social cohesion to improve the community spirit and this involves attending to the whole of the population that, as a consequence of international migratory flows, has become multicultural. Including the global context of the migratory situation helps to understand this reality without distorting it and also serves to combat the stigma and stereotypes that still exist regarding immigrants.

Notes

1. This article is the result of research financed by the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) *Els mitjans de comunicació local en el procés d'integració de la població estrangera resident a Catalunya. Estratègies i polítiques programàtiques*, as part of the VII Call for grants for research projects into audiovisual communication.
2. <<http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?lang=en>>
3. According to this report, groups from Latin American account for 28% of the total foreign population, while the European Union and Africa represent 26% each and 10% corresponds to Asia and Oceania. Those of less impact come from non-EU countries and North and Central America, with 5% respectively.
4. Different terms are used indistinctly throughout the text, such as *new arrivals*, *immigrants* and *foreigners* to refer to these groups.
5. Ethnic media have started a debate regarding their role as instruments for integration, in part caused by the commercial synergies they generate (Retis 2006). Although they fulfil an identity function and help to preserve emotional ties with the country of origin (Lario Bastida 2006; Mena 2008), they seem to delay the consumption of the media from the host society. According to Huertas and Brignol (2008), as from ten years after having migrated, interest wanes in news from the country of birth and media consumption is mostly concentrated on programmes from where the person resides.
6. This figure is quite significant in the case of Salou, which has a difference of 28.55 percentage points, and Salt, with 18.12 points, implying a wide range of groups. However, although the percentage difference in Vic (11 points), Tortosa (9.27) and Balaguer (6.56) is lower, the situation is similar.

7. The Muslim Association of la Noguera (Balaguer) decided not to take part, although an interview had been arranged.
8. Interviews were held with the people in charge of the following broadcasters: Ràdio Salt, Ràdio Balaguer, Ràdio Tortosa, El 9 FM, L'Ebre TV, TAC 12, TV de Girona, Lleida TV, El 9 TV and Canal Taronja Osona. The interviews were held between December 2010 and April 2011.
9. 9 FM started broadcasting in 2010, with the aim of becoming a county-wide broadcaster.
10. This programme will disappear from the grid due to the withdrawal subsidies that had made its production possible.
11. Both content managers were interviewed between February and March 2011.
12. For more information on the production of radio programmes by immigrant groups, see the article by Núria de José "Les emissores municipals, pioneres en integració", in *Xarxa COM*, no. 14, 2011, p. 23-24.
13. Of particular note among these articles from the Ethical Code is article 12:
"Act with particular responsibility and rigour in the case of news or opinions with content that might arouse discrimination due to reasons of sex, race, belief, social and cultural origin and illness, as well as incite the use of violence, avoiding expressions or accounts that are vexing or harmful for the personal condition of individuals and their physical and moral integrity."
14. The contribution of the different platforms to the programming of each broadcaster varies in each case. There are broadcasters that only work with XAL programmes (TAC 12 and El 9 TV) and others that use programmes from four different sources (Lleida TV). The content managers of XAL and Comunicàlia were interviewed between March and April 2011.
15. This is the case of TV de Girona.
16. The associations that took part in the research are: Associació Africana (Balaguer), Associació Aliança de Romanesos de Tot Arreu (Tortosa), Associació AMIC Amazigh (Vic), Associació d'Equatorians de Catalunya Comarca d'Osona (AECCO) (Vic), Asociación Cultural Latinoamericana de Tortosa (Tortosa), Casal Argentino Salou de 20 de Junio (Salou), Casal Hispano Argentino de Catalunya (Salou), Dones Nigerianes Progressistes de Girona (Salt), Magrebins sense Fronteres (Salt). The interviews were held in March and April 2011.
17. This would be the case of the programmes made on Ràdio Salt by the various associations.
18. Specifically, these are the Associació AMIC-Amazigh (Vic), Associació Aliança de Romanesos de Tot Arreu (Tortosa), Dones Nigerianes Progressistes de Girona (Salt) and Asociación Cultural Latinoamericana de Tortosa (Tortosa).

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