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Media Representation of Community Identity: The Romanians Working in Spain

Abstract

This paper proposes an insight into identity delineation reflected in diasporic media, within the recently born Romanian community in Spain. Our research will attempt at revealing how two print publications, *The Romanian from Spain (Românul din Spania)* and *We in Spain (Noi în Spania)*, produced and consumed by Romanian “diaspora” in Spain, stand for epitomes of stringent issues and essential identity features of a diasporic community. This article presents two approaches of quantitative and qualitative exploratory research; the former is an analysis of the semantic content of the headlines printed on front pages, while the latter is a qualitative content analysis of news frames emerging from dominant topics and themes apparent in the two publications. The two publications support the institutional project of “diasporization” to different extents; they are constructing the image of a “coherent” and engaging Romanian diasporic entity and enhance its group consciousness. Nevertheless, they rather reproduce a schematical, idealized diasporic experience than take into account the diversity of migrants’ identity positioning.

Key words: diaspora, migrants, diasporic media, frame, identity

Rezumat

Articolul de față propune analiza configurării identității comunității românești recent constituite în Spania, ca proces reflectat în media diasporică. Cercetarea evidențiază modul în care două publicații tipărite, *Românul din Spania* și *Noi în Spania*, produse și consumate de „diaspora” românească din Spania, reproduc anumite caracteristici identitare ale unei comunități diasporice. Sunt prezentate două abordări ale unei cercetări exploratorii cantitative și calitative; prima constă în analiza conținutului semantic al titlurilor de pe prima pagină, iar cea de a doua este o analiză calitativă de conținut a cadrajelor știrilor care se conturează din subiectele și temele prezente în cele două publicații. Cele două publicații menționate susțin proiectul instituțional al „diasporizării”, construind imaginea unei entități diasporice „coerente”, prin anumite caracteristici (angajament, conștiință de grup etc.). Totuși, experiența diasporică este prezentată într-o formă schematică, idealizată, fără a releva întotdeauna diversitatea practicilor identitare și poziționărilor asumate de migranți.

Cuvinte-cheie: diasporă, migranți, media diasporică, cadraj, identitate

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1. Introduction

This paper proposes an insight into identity delineation as reflected in diasporic media, within the recently born Romanian community in Spain. We have chosen identity analysis of this diasporic community for numerical and socio-cultural reasons. The statistics supplied by Romania's Embassy in Madrid (<http://madrid.mae.ro/>) show that, "at present, the displaced Romanians form the largest foreign community in Spain. According to available data, the number of the Romanians enrolled in the registry of community citizens is approximately of 900,000 people". These high numbers are explained by "geographic and linguistic accessibility" (Trandafiu, 2006, p. 141) which makes Spain one of the destinations preferred by the Romanians.

The Embassy website specifies that Romanian community is "strong, well integrated into Spanish environment" and "plays a significant role in the development of bilateral relations, being an important contributor to both Spanish and Romanian economies".

Concerning the main economic fields in which the Romanians are employed in Spain, the data provided by the National Institute of Statistics of Spain (INE) about the distribution of foreign workers, in March 2012, indicate the following hierarchy: services (153,035 persons), agriculture (78,510), independent entrepreneurs in building, restaurants, services, etc. (23,380), domestic activities (18,084) and others.

On Romania's Embassy website, there is some relevant information about Romanian community organizations. Thus, "[i]n recent years, more than 150 Romanian associations have been constituted in Spain, whose declared objective is to facilitate the Romanians' integration into Spanish society and preservation of Romanian linguistic and cultural identity". To this very end, Romanian language media have been produced in Spain, consisting in ten publications (some of them exclusively online, others, in both print and electronic versions) that offer additional electronic spaces for online communities, facebook, twitter, etc., as well as in five radio stations.

On the other hand, we have to mention the reason for choosing print media in our scientific endeavour. Print media analysis is all the more necessary as there is a gap to be filled in this research field, in the sense that most studies have so far emphasized the virtues of new media, their intimacy, interactivity and immediate reaction that boost interpersonal relationships, both at local and global levels. In exchange, there is little literature about representation of values and life experience in traditional diasporic media that have a more local than global impact.

Consequently, our research will attempt at revealing how two print publications, *The Romanian from Spain (Românul din Spania)* and *We in Spain (Noi în Spania)*, produced and consumed by Romanian "diaspora" in Spain, stand for epitomes of stringent issues and essential identity features of a numerous community. The choice of the corpus was dictated by the fact that these publications echo both community and institutional views. Moreover, *The Romanian from Spain* self-declares press market supremacy as "the most read publication of the Romanians in Spain" (according to www.romanul.eu). The selected issues cover the period between May, 10 and June, 27, 2012, corresponding to a critical situation for the host country, during which the right-wing Spanish government, led by Mariano Rajoy, was determined by the European Union and by world finance institutions to take the toughest steps of economic austerity, with severe consequences on working people's employment, a fundamental problem in Romanian community everyday life.

This article presents two approaches of quantitative and qualitative exploratory research; the former is an analysis of the semantic content of the headlines printed on front pages, while the latter is a qualitative content analysis of news frames emerging from dominant topics and themes apparent in the two publications.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Diaspora versus ethnic migrant workers – identity features

With Georgiou (2005, p. 483), the phenomenon of diaspora refers to minorities in nation-states that “have some connection (imagined or real) and share a sense of belonging within a larger community spreading beyond national boundaries (the diasporic element)”.

The concept [of diaspora] now encompasses very different realities and types of community organization (Macri, 2010, Introduction), if it is compared to traditional diaspora referring to Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion (Macri, 2010, Introduction). According to specialized literature, there is a “critical edge of the concept” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 52) of diaspora, a “general and eclectic term” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 33), since its meaning is no longer restricted to historically displaced groups that settled outside the borders of their national states. That is to say “‘ethnicity’ and ‘mobility’ or ‘displacement’ [are not] sufficient parameters” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 52) to define present day diasporic phenomena. There is a need of finding how these parameters have evolved with communities originated in the recent search for jobs that has pushed migrant workers to leave their East European countries, at the beginning of the 1990s and to settle in diasporic groups, in Western Europe. The displacement of a large number of mainly young people was possible in the context in which Eastern European states citizens won the legitimate right to circulate, live and work beyond national boundaries. This transnational movement has become a socially significant phenomenon after some former communist states, Romania included, joined the European Union, in 2004 and 2007, respectively. These new European citizens acquired the right to work legally, in destination countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany, France or Great Britain. Involving millions of people, this phenomenon has led to changes in the ethnic structures of the above-mentioned countries.

As Trandafoiu (2006, p. 132) explains, these displaced groups (of Romanians) “have been called transnational communities, returning seasonal labourers, migrant workers, temporary diasporas and over-stayers” and there is not only the name that indicates that “this is another type of diaspora – albeit differently constituted, exhibiting different patterns and claiming new needs” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 131). Unlike traditional diasporas, new “diasporic groups still maintain a strong link with their home and continue to contribute culturally and financially” (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 132). These are diasporas in the making (Iordanova, quoted in Georgiou, 2002, p. 6).

Closer to our research interests, we have to mention that Marcu (2011) did some deep-going research on recent Romanian migration to Spain, outlining one of its important characteristics, the so-called “circular labour migration [...] (that) has functioned between Romania and Spain since 2002” (Marcu, 2011, p. 3). The authoress explains “that the economic crisis, as reflected in the lives of immigrants, has greatly affected their decision making” concerning “return migration”. In 2010, the rate of unemployment among immigrants to Spain reached 45%, according to Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración de España (Marcu, 2011, p. 4).

2.2. Diasporic media and community identity

According to Tsagarousianou (2004, pp. 62-63), “‘diasporic media’ is a term that refers to a considerable and highly diverse array of organizations, practices and settings where diasporic narratives are constructed. It is also beyond question that these differ considerably in terms of their degree of institutionalization, durability and accessibility as well as their popularity, and as to the degree of their involvement in the reproduction of official or plebeian/demotic discourses”.

Addressing “particular ethnic, linguistic and/or religious groups that live within broader and diverse multicultural societies” (Georgiou, 2005, pp. 482-483), “the media provide frameworks for identity and community [...] significantly available as components of the collective imaginary and resources for collective agency” (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005, p. 434).

Moreover, “diasporic media [...] can provide a sense of contemporaneity and synchronicity to the dispersed populations that make up a diaspora and to their everyday lives” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 64), through the narratives provided by the media that help them hold up together. Silverstone and Georgiou (2005, p. 434) agree that “[t]he media, both large and small, private and public, are absolutely crucial to the management of everyday life”. As Dayan (1999, p. 434) specifies, the reason for which the displaced produce diasporic media “[is] to express and reflect their daily lives as minorities”.

It is the sharing of these stories that contributes to the “construction of common experiential frames” (Dayan, 1999, p. 434), which, in their turn, foster integration into and identification with a social group. Through a dynamic exchange of information and life experience, community identity is continually constructed and reshaped. Besides referring to communication networks developed within a diasporic community, due to diasporic media, Tsagarousianou’s (2004, p. 62) concept of “connectivity” also “focuses on the dynamics of interaction between migrant groups and societies of settlement as well as erstwhile homelands”. The extent to which the narratives of the members’ everyday life, published, broadcast or posted in diasporic media, are consumed by community audiences as local, particular or universal stories (Georgiou, 2005) is a matter of analytical approach.

Another valuable idea about diasporic media is that they reflect differences of orientation experienced by heterogeneous communities producing them, and changes that inform group identity with every new generation of migrants. This important consideration is clearly expressed by Dayan (1999, p. 435): “minority media production and consumption change across the generations, as the experiences of migration and settlement themselves change over time and require consequently different orientations”.

Dayan (1999, p. 438) equally considers that “the media are crucial both at an individual as well as at a collective level as a means of self-expression and claims for status”.

3. Analytical framework

3.1. Publication headlines on the front page

We rely on specialized literature in the field of print press and start by citing Özer and Paksoy’s (2007, p. 711) consideration that: “When all the headlines are evaluated together, it is possible to claim that they reflect the main idea of the text”, assimilating newspapers as a whole to coherent macro-texts.

According to van Dijk (1991, p. 115), headlines stand for one conventional category, besides leads, main events and context, whose function is to articulate “text relevance structure”. Radu (2006, p.75) specifies that the combination of these categories results in a propitious zone for the manifestation of the journalist’s originality. Within text relevance structure, “[a]s every newspaper reader knows, [headlines] are the most conspicuous part of a news report: they are brief, printed ‘on top’, in large bold type, and often across several columns. Their main function is to summarize the most important information of the report. That is, they express its main ‘topic’” (van Dijk, 1991b, p. 49).

In addition to that, we rely on the fact that “the category of Headline in a news discourse has a fixed form and position [scheme] in news items in the press” (van Dijk, 1985, p. 69). Corroborating “theme” and “scheme”, we attempt at applying the author’s “theory of semantic microstructures” through front page “thematic and schematic structures” that involve the headlines in our corpus.

In terms of “schematic structure”, we also assume that the placement of a headline on a publication front page guarantees relevance of the theme under the headline. Headline placement is an important editorial decision, a process of subjective selection that will influence the characteristics of that media publication representation of a phenomenon or event, or group identity. Together with headline size, article length and inside position, front page position represents a salient cue about thematic significance. Concerning headline size and position on front pages, mention should be made that in visual perception theories, besides font size (bigger characters are first perceived), there have been experiments proving that, in languages where writing develops from left to right, the elements on the left side of a page are more prominent than others.

3.2. Media frames

Using a “framing” approach at textual levels (“media frames”), in keeping with the conceptual model of the “applicability” effect provided by Scheufele (1999), Scheufele and Scheufele (2009), Scheufele and Iyengar (2012), we aim at explaining how the two publications under research make visible Romanian community inclusion and participation in the life of the host society. The “applicability” model assumes that “the mode of presentation of a given piece of information (i.e., frame) makes it more or less likely for that information to be processed using a particular schema” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 13). There is an interaction effect between a framed message and the mental schemata of receivers within meaning construction.

Price, Tewksbury and Powers (quoted in Scheufele, 1999, p. 113) analysed the influence of certain characteristics of media coverage on the “knowledge activation process, in particular, effects of news frames on the applicability of ideas and feelings”. Empirical research by Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997, p. 569) showed that the “applicability” of frames (appropriateness evaluation by individuals) is likely to increase their “relevance” to the judgement process: “frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame”.

Existing research on applicability effects supports the perspective that media frames are more operative in terms of audience frames when “[they] resonate with an underlying, culturally shared audience schema” (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2009, p. 114). There are obvious

individual differences based on “people’s value systems, predispositions, and pre-existing knowledge levels” (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2009, p. 114).

Following Scheufele and Scheufele (2009), we postulate that some frames can be more “applicable” than others to the recipients’ cognitive schemata.

A frame “connects different semantic elements of the story (e.g., descriptions of an action or an actor, quotes of sources, and background information) into a coherent whole” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59). It has a structuring function directing attention as well as restricting the perspectives available to audiences (Hall, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59). “Similar to a wooden frame around an oil painting, any given news frame will draw attention to certain *objects* and *relations* while downplaying others” (Scheufele and Scheufele, 2009, p. 128).

Pan and Kosicki (1993, p. 59) classified framing devices in news discourse (i.e., the tools that “make a frame communicable” being conceptualized “into concrete elements of a discourse”) into four categories: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. The syntactical structure of news refers, on the one hand, to “macrosyntax” (in van Dijk’s view, 1988, p. 26), conveying salience through “sequential organisation of structural elements (i.e., headlines, leads, episodes, background and closure)” and also to writing conventions related to impartiality and facticity by quoting sources of authority. The characteristics of news script structure consist in describing newsworthy events and storytelling (including characters, human emotions, etc.). The thematic structure of a news story is “a multilayer hierarchy with a theme being the central core connecting various subthemes as the major nodes that, in turn, are connected to supporting elements” such as episodes, background information, examples and quotes (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61). Concerning rhetorical structure, it refers to “the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61). The frame “is constructed through comprehending and interpreting the structural relations and functions of the various signifying elements” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 63).

In this study, we focalize on collating all four structural dimensions of news discourse (i.e., structural and lexical features of news stories) in the analysis of signifying elements for frame construction, that could “set up parameters of a cognitive ‘window’ through which a news story is ‘seen’” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59).

4. Corpus and Methodology

4.1. Research corpus

Our research focuses on 31 front-page headlines of the two free of charge print publications devoted to Romanian diaspora in Spain, namely *The Romanian from Spain* (*Românul din Spania*) and *We in Spain* (*Noi în Spania*). We selected nine issues published in the period May, 10 – June, 27, 2012.

The Romanian from Spain is a by-monthly publication, both in print and online versions. Print versions contain 24 pages per issue. The first issue under research is no. 72, which concerns the lapse of time in May, 10-23, and is divided into the following sections: “Contact” (information about the institutions of the Romanian State in Spain, such as Consulates, documents for the immigrants, etc), “Current news”, “News from Romania”, “Spain”, “Advertising”, “Announcements and Services”, “Sports”, “Spanish version”.

In issue 73, covering the events of the period May, 24 – June, 6, there is a slightly different division of sections: the numbers of pages devoted to “Contact”, “Current news”, “Announcements and Services”, “Sports and Advertising” are maintained, while the other sections are one page longer or shorter than in issue 72. There is also a different section entitled “Useful information”. Issue 74, covering the newsworthy events within the June, 7-20 period, follows almost the same section pattern as issue 72, except for the absence of “Spain” section.

We in Spain is a weekly publication, both in print and online versions. Print versions contain 16 pages per issue. The 6 issues (317, 318, 319, 320, 321 and 322) under research cover the events that occurred between May, 17 and June, 27, 2012. Consequently, the issues of both publications refer, approximately, to the same time interval. Issue 317 sections bear the following titles: “Letters+” (1 page), “Useful information” (2 pages), “Madrid Community” (1 page), “In Spain” (1 page), “Advertising” (2 pages), “Current news” (1 page), “My business” (1 page), “In Romania” (1 page), “Sports” (1 page), “Health” (1 page), “Femina club” (1 page), “Announcements” (1 page), “Spanish version” (1 page). There is a slight variation of section pattern in issue 318: “Madrid Community” and “My business” are not included, while, besides common sections to issues 317 and 318, there are other sections, such as “In Romania”, a 4-page supplement entitled “A Project for a New Beginning (Productive return to Romania)” and a “Free time” section (1 page).

Issue 319 section pattern is almost the same as that of issue 317, except for a special section: “Opinion poll” (1 page). As to issue 320, its special section is entitled “My business” (1 page), like in issue 317. In issue 321, the special section is entitled “Romanians from Spain” (1 page), while in issue 322, two other sections reappear, namely “Madrid community” (1 page) and “My business” (1 page).

In terms of front page “formal structure” (Marinescu, 2010), there are layout similarities between the two publications. The most salient article of each issue is to be found on the left side of the page, under the very title of the newspaper, while other headlines are placed on the right side, in *The Romanian from Spain*, and both on the right side and the down left side of the page, in the case of *We in Spain*.

It is worth mentioning that *The Romanian from Spain* front page includes a second important headline, placed to the right of the newspaper title.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1. Quantitative and qualitative analyses

We devised an analytical instrument, a three-criterion grid, for the quantitative analysis. Some criteria were inspired by van Dijk’s (1983) and Deacon and Golding’s (1999, p. 174-183) indices of significance/relevance of text information contained by the headlines.

The first quantitative step consisted in building a hierarchy of front page headlines. To this end, we assigned points to the headlines, in keeping with the following criteria:

- 1) front page visibility, substantiated by sizes of print characters and positions as against other headlines in the economy of the page, was measured through points from 3 to 1, with a bonus of 1 point for signed articles¹;
- 2) inclusion of article texts in special or permanent sections, as unique articles within sections or alongside other articles (from 3 to 0.5 points)²;
- 3) the length of the article is compared to the length of other articles on the inside page where it is placed³. We calculated the sums of these points for each headline, in order to in-

for the articles comparative “shares”. In the calculations under 2) and 3), there were slighter levels of relevance differentiation between 3 or 4 article pages or page sections. That is why, for 4 or more items, we assigned only 0.5 points.

We calculated the sums of these points for each headline, in order to infer the comparative “shares” of the articles whose headlines were printed on the front pages.

The second step supposed summing up the points (resulted from step 1) of thematically related headlines. It implied grouping headlines along thematic areas, trying to reduce thematic diversity to a few comprehensive main themes.

A qualitative “framing” analysis was also completed, focusing on how the two publications participate in and represent the process of “diasporisation”, as Georgiou (2002) termed it, in its dual aspects: the thread of continuity in ethnicity and group identity, and a re-identification through status changing in the host society.

In terms of a “macroconstruct” and of the “applicability” effect (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), the analyzed publications address two main characteristics (“frame elements”) that are likely to influence readers’ interpretation of two topics: individual interest and group identification.

The sample consists of all the articles in the two publications (33 in total) that relate to the themes of community “inclusion” and “participation” in the diasporic context in which they live and evolve. Relying on a small sample, we identified some frames using an inductive approach that supposed investigating “choices about language, quotations, and relevant information” (Shah & al., 2002, quoted in de Vreese, 2005, p. 54), that is to say examining elements of syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structures.

In terms of syntactical structure, the frames that we found derive (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54) from both headlines and news text (i.e., lead paragraphs, authoritative sources, quotes). “A headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers’ minds; it is thus the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure. A lead is the next most important device to use. A good lead will give a story a newsworthy angle, suggesting a particular perspective to view the event reported” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, pp. 59-60). Significant devices in each of the other three structures used in the sampled articles (e.g., story grammar, vivid image, concrete case, stylistic choices, exemplars, etc.) were also interpreted as quite effective means for substantiating the frames.

Coded variables were topics, themes, meaningful sentences, and sources quoted in direct speech or paraphrased.

4.2.2. Results and discussion

The first sums obtained after step one range from 2 to 10 points; the two-point headline is published in *The Romanian from Spain*, while the ten-point one appears in *We in Spain*. Likewise, we noticed that the discrepancies between the largest and the smallest sums are slighter in the first publication (2 to 7) than in the second (4 to 10).

Step 2 calculations resulted in the following major thematic areas. Thus, in the *The Romanian from Spain*, there are two dominant themes:

- Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish administrative system practices affecting Romanian community (22.5 cumulative points)
- Economic crisis, unemployment, job opportunities (20.0 points)

At this point, we have to mention the difficulty (and the approximation) of thematic categorizations of headlines in the two publications making up our corpus, as far as some head-

lines may be thematically interpreted in various ways. For instance, the headline “Spain wants to stimulate the Romanians to go back home” (implying material incentives) was thematically grouped alongside other headlines that mention governmental measures and policies concerning the migrants, but it also has economic implications (second thematic area) that are in favour of the Romanians’ return to their homeland.

As to the main thematic areas contained by front page headlines in *We in Spain*, the hierarchy is the following:

- Successful Romanians (materially and culturally integrated) in Spain (49 points)
- Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish system practices affecting Romanian community (35.5 points)
- Economic crisis, unemployment, job opportunities (26.5 points)

The thematic area of legislation is on the first place in *The Romanian from Spain* and on the second place in *We in Spain*, which implies that both publications give a central place to information of this kind. In the latter, the sum total of the points is even higher than in the former.

Concerning the economic crisis, the second dominant area, there is a clearer distinction in *We in Spain* between economic problems (9 points) and job opportunities (17.5 points). This positive/negative distinction (economic difficulties vs. possible solutions) led to the application of a third measurement: summing up the headline points obtained in step one after regrouping the headlines in keeping with the idea of encouragement given by each publication to this community, in terms of staying or not staying in Spain, at the peak of the economic crisis.

The results of the last measurements are the following:

- *The Romanian from Spain* gives reasons (through headline significance) to the Romanians to leave Spain and to come back to Romania (31 points accumulated by articles in favour of their coming back, as against 6.5 points accumulated by headlines suggesting that the Romanians should remain in Spain)
- *We in Spain* headlines/articles recommend that the Romanians should remain in Spain (62 points in favour of staying as against 38.5, in favour of leaving)

There is a quantitatively demonstrated difference between the approaches of the economic crisis by the two publications: *The Romanian from Spain* insists on/reflects a trend of re-orientation (new movement), at a score of 31 to 6.5 points, while *We in Spain* reflects/constructs a more optimistic perspective on staying in Spain and struggling for community strengthening: 62 vs. 38.5 (see *supra*).

When comparing the media coverage of the selected themes of “community inclusion” and “participation” in the diasporic context, no significant differences appear between the two publications in the way each frames these topics.

Found at the intersection between the individual and the communal, the 27 topics listed under these themes (6 of which being common to articles in both publications) and included in the sections of “Current news”, “Letters+”, “Useful information”, “My business”, “Testimony”, “Romanians from Spain”, “Opinion poll”, and “Spain”, build the image of an active community that generally manages to adapt to the host society, maintains its roots and cultivates convergence values and associative practices. The identified categories of sources were: Romanian officials in Spain (Romanian Embassy, Romanian Ambassador), Spanish authorities (Presidents of autonomous regions, Vice-counsellor on immigration of the Government of Madrid Community), guests from Romania taking part in cultural events (artists, philatelists), Romanians belonging to their Community in Spain (a politician, a writer, a parish priest,

a nurse, a transportation worker, a construction worker, a female caregiver, a restaurant owner, a shop owner, a house cleaning maid, a businessman), and associations (through press releases). The sources' opinions about the selected themes were mapped from both personal and community perspectives.

Analyzing the above-mentioned variables (topics, themes, meaningful sentences, and sources quoted or paraphrased) through the four structural dimensions of news discourse (i.e., structural and lexical features of the news stories), we identified five frames that we labelled "cultural empowerment", "associative commitment", "political involvement", "ethnic identity revival" and "personal achievement".

One frame (e.g., "associative commitment") is to be found in several topics, and conversely, several frames (e.g., "cultural empowerment" and "associative commitment") may shape the same topic.

"Cultural empowerment" is the dominant frame located in 18 articles selected in the sample (6 in *The Romanian from Spain* and 12 in *We in Spain*). The most powerful framing devices used by the two publications, in this case, stem from the thematic and rhetorical structures. The theme and subthemes of Romanian community "positive participation" and "visibility" in cultural events, derived from meaningful sentences and sources quotations, underline the journalists' view that community cultural production is likely to empower its members while bridging its cohesion and its interaction with the host society. The sense of belonging to a diasporic community is growing with participation in cultural events, religious ceremonies, cross-cultural meetings, etc.

*Several Romanian writers and artists founded the 'Lucian Blaga' Union on Saturday, May 26. "The event that took place in the town of Camarma de Esteruelas, Madrid Community, was attended by Romanian writers and artists from provinces of this country where we all live and work", states a press release. ("The Union of Romanian artists and writers 'Lucian Blaga' has just been created", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news)*

Awareness of community identity is strengthened by numerous community groups and associations (based on national identification – "associations of Romanians") and their cultural, economic and civic projects. The two publications have a special focus on the associations that mobilize members to organize various events. Enumeration of a variety of associations appears in the lead of most articles. The "associative commitment" frame underpins the previous dominant topic.

*On the occasion of Children's Day, on June 1, the Association of Romanian Women from Europe (AMARÉ), the Romanian House in Getafe, the Association of Romanians from Mostoles, the IBERDACIA Association, the ROINTEGRA Association, the Association of Romanians from Villanueva de la Cañada and the Association for Violence Prevention and Assistance (APAV), in collaboration with the City Hall of Getafe, are organizing a great concert... In the opening, Romanian children will give a performance of poetry, music and folk dance. ("Children's Day Concert at Getafe", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 73, p. 9, Spain)*

Through their syntactical structure (i.e., headline, lead, background and closure, providing newsworthiness), the articles in both publications highlight the role of the community professional associations "in promoting an image of unity and cohesion of Romanian com-

munity in relation to Spanish authorities” (“The Ambassador of Romania met with Romanian associations”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news). The good image of an active involvement of the associative sector, outlined by the publications citing authoritative sources, is likely to generate political capital for Romanian community in relation to Spanish authorities.

*The representative of Madrid Community assured Romanian community representatives of the appreciation and support of the regional government of Madrid, and of the importance given by Spanish authorities to Romanian citizens, the largest foreign community in Spain, that they consider a priority to define regional integration policies. He also appreciated the importance of the pragmatic dialogue between the associative sector and Madrid Community and expressed interest in direct interaction and organization of joint actions that provide visibility to Romanian community in Spain. (“New meeting of the Embassy-Associations Dialogue Group; main topic, the impact of legislative reforms in Spain on the Romanians”, in *We in Spain*, no 319, p. 8, Current news)*

The “political involvement” frame, substantiated at the level of the syntactical and thematic structures of the articles, focuses on political activities motivated by the community interests of representation. Liberal politicians are mentioned to act more publicly.

*So far, 20 Liberal Clubs have been created in Spain in several regions: Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, Corredor de Henares, Roquetas de Mar, Bilbao, La Coruña, Lorca, Reus, Benidorm, Getafe, Valdemoro, Parla, Quintanar de la Orden, Coslada, Valencia, Arganda del Rey, Alcala de Henares, Alcorcon. “Liberal clubs in Spain are intended to be a communication platform open to everybody who supports liberalism, liberal principles...”. (“Liberals have set up 20 affiliated sections of the National Liberal Party in Spain”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news).*

The quoted source speaks about fostering political participation, promoting a more politically aware Romanian representation:

*“I think it’s time to change something at the political level too, to have a real political representation made up by capable and knowledgeable people as to specific issues that face the Romanians abroad”... says Gelu Vlaşin, a Romanian writer living in Spain, coordinator of Liberal Clubs (“Liberals have set up 20 affiliated sections of the National Liberal Party in Spain”, in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 9, Current news).*

The two publications focalize on the Romanians’ cultural heritage, values and traditions, meaning to “update” the social imaginary of a community that maintains its roots. In doing so, they stress an “ethnic identity revival” frame, conveyed by significant elements in terms of syntactical, thematic and rhetorical structures.

*The Federation of the Associations of Romanian immigrants from Spain (FEDROM) opens... the ‘Lucian Blaga’ Romanian library (...), designed as a means to improve mutual knowledge of Romanian and Spanish cultures and, above all, to maintain the Romanian language and literature identity matrix, with its configuration of cultural values. (“Romanian Library at the FEDROM”, in *We in Spain*, no 322, p. 2, Letters+).*

Community ethnic behaviour involves the use of ethnic symbols, practices (e.g. building community orthodox churches, favouring ethnic food stores and food consumption strategies, etc).

*The Union of Romanian workers from Spain started a campaign in June and July, to support Romanian retailers and to stimulate the consumption of Romanian products. ("Campaign to increase Romanian products consumption", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 4, Current news)*

These publications also emphasize events that respond to current cultural community needs of the second generation born in the host country (for which expressing ethnic identity – new ethnicity (Hall, 1991) – must be made more explicit).

*64 Romanian children, most of which are pupils attending the Romanian language, culture and civilization course in schools in Arganda del Rey, gathered in the city, accompanied by parents, grandparents or friends from Romanian community. (...) These pupils living away from homeland participated in the "Knowing Romania" contest, showing off their agile wits, their knowledge and love for Romanian history, geography, literature and traditions. ("Romanian culture and Children's Day in Arganda del Rey", in *We in Spain*, no 321, p. 2, Letters+)*

Likewise, both publications outline the endeavours of Romania's Embassy in Madrid "to increase Romanian community wish to involve its members in the efforts made by Romanian authorities in order to preserve national identity with the children of Romanian citizens in Spain" ("Finals of the 'Knowing Romania' Contest", in *The Romanian from Spain*, no 74, p. 3, Current news).

The "personal achievement" frame is used only by the weekly *We in Spain*. It is a particularizing frame, stemming from the Romanians' diasporic experiential stories. A script structure of the articles that present an individual case and emotional narratives is expected to influence readers' beliefs. Economic and social projects make up an essential part of community identity. Individual achievements in this respect are inspiring.

The script depicts a type of pattern route to achievement: the sources (ordinary people in most cases) talk about how protagonists started from very low, with little money, but overcame obstacles and frustrations through hard work and sacrifices, with creative ideas.

*"Besides a few personal belongings in the suitcase I had a blanket and a pillow. Seven nights I slept on a bench in a park in Villaverde Alto. I love the tree, the bank, the alley where I slept those nights... It's a memory of mine, I couldn't forget it", she confesses. ("I respect and love myself", in *We in Spain*, no 321, p. 8, Romanians from Spain).*

*"I have worked side by side with my employees, and now I dominate precast market in Spain" (...) I don't stop running. I worked on the building sites of the Universities of Seville, Elche, Vigo. I worked in Ibiza, Tenerife. I usually go where there is work to do". ("We who have worked abroad will raise Romania", in *We in Spain*, no 318, p. IV, Testimony)*

The framing devices that appear in all discourse structures aggregate the stories through headlines, leads, background, characters, quotes, exemplars, metaphors, emotions, etc. The subtheme of social interaction in the diasporic context emerges from all stories: developing relationships at the workplace or at a private, personal or family level triggers faster integration into the host society.

“We have had customers, both Romanian and Spanish, since 2008. They come only to us when they prepare a new fishing party”, says *Cristina*. (“We have customers who come only to us when preparing a new fishing party”, in *We in Spain*, no 322, p. 9, My business)

He's been living in Spain for six years. “Here I met my wife. When you raise a family here and have a personal life, you will go on”, said the young man, born in Bucharest. (“How are our compatriots?”, in *We in Spain*, no 319, p. 9, Opinion poll – Lucian Ionescu)

Through articulating the frames of “associative commitment”, “political involvement” and “personal achievement”, both publications contribute to a re-identification of the studied community owing to members’ status changing in the host society, based on mediated common positive experiences and practices of the “included”.

The “ethnic identity revival” frame is used to sustain and strengthen ethnic identification of this diasporic community, in terms of a “retold, rediscovered, reinvented” identity (Hall, 1991, p. 58). The frame of “cultural empowerment” supports “group consciousness”, seeking “visibility in public space” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 10) through “engagement” in cultural activities.

5. Conclusions

As it was demonstrated in the headline quantitative analysis, in their issues published between May, 10 and June, 27, 2012, the diasporic publications *The Romanian from Spain* and *We in Spain* submitted to public debate partially different outlooks on the community of the Romanians working in Spain. The difference consists in distinct interpretations of the economic crisis effects. Concerning variation of editorial approaches in diasporic media, Dayan (1991, p. 93) explains that “there are numberless ways of conveying the necessary knowledge for the construction of a community”.

As far as the major themes in the corpus headlines are concerned, in *The Romanian from Spain*, most headlines referred to the comprehensive thematic area that we entitled “Legislative provisions (provided by the EU, Spanish and Romanian governments), Romanian and Spanish governmental policies and Romanian and Spanish system practices affecting Romanian community”. This reflects the interest of a large category of Romanian people in official provisions that were specially designed for them. This publication fulfils its mission of informing its readership about these aspects, all the more so as legislative changes are frequent in times of crisis.

In *We in Spain*, the theme of legal provisions was on the second place, because the publication focused on “Successful Romanians (materially and culturally integrated) in Spain”. This kind of information is useful and motivating for the Romanians who are trying to open their own business.

A third major thematic area that we found in the headlines of both publications was the present day economic crisis. It was differently represented in *The Romanian from Spain* and in *We in Spain*: while in the former the emphasis is placed on unemployment, as the crisis consequence affecting mainly foreign workers, in the latter, we found more headline information on job opportunities. *The Romanian from Spain* pessimistic outlook on the economic situation (present in most headlines on this theme) shows that this publication presents to the unemployed Romanians in Spain the alternative of going back to Romania. That would correspond to Morokvasik-Müller’s idea of reactivation of human mobility during crises

(quoted in Marcu, 2011). It is not the case of *We in Spain* which conveys a more optimistic message to the largest category of Romanians in Spain, the workers that have kept their jobs, being better adjusted to the economic environment.

The framing of the themes of “community inclusion” and “participation” in the life of the host society, produced by the two publications, encourages readers to identify with an active civic community, appreciated by Spanish authorities, an evolving community that endeavours to strengthen its cohesion and its ethnic roots while striving to integrate into the host society. These publications underline the work of promoting community cultural identity and sociability in the diasporic environment, performed by numerous associations (secular and sacred), as well as by consular and embassy officials.

The readers of the weekly *We in Spain* learn about their compatriots’ life and work stories framed as successful experiences. The script of the stories, consistent with the “personal achievement” frame, draws attention on “action, characters, and human emotions” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 60). Experiential stories show hardworking persons, making sacrifices to succeed in life, using initiative and entrepreneurial skills to overcome obstacles. Concerning the stories thematic structure, (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 61) consider that “very often, to appeal to human interest and to increase psychological proximity to the audiences, journalists start a story with a vivid image or a concrete case and gradually lead to a point that logically functions like an empirical generalization”. This frame produces emotional arousal (Graber, 2007) and positive affect, likely to make the frame “relevant”, “strong” (emphasizing available considerations), therefore more “applicable” to the recipients’ schemata (“perception of its relevance” according to Nelson & al., 1997). Another frame that implies increased applicability effects on readers’ schemata is “ethnic identity revival”. Readers are supposed to identify with this frame due to activated memories (availability for retrieval) grounded in their home country. The other three frames are less applicable (according to research on value models approached through framing effects, e.g., Nelson & Oxley, 1999), except that there is a strong personal motivation for readers to engage in applicability evaluations.

The two publications support the institutional project of “diasporization” to different extents; they are constructing the image of a coherent and engaging Romanian diasporic entity and enhance its group consciousness. Nevertheless, they rather reproduce a schematic, idealized diasporic experience than take into account the diversity of migrants’ identity positioning.

Notes

¹ 3 points = large-sized letters + left side position on the front page, under the publication title; 2 points = medium-sized letters + right side position on the front page; 1 point = small-sized letters + bottom of the page.

² 3 points = unique article of a section; 2 points = one of the two articles of a section; 1 point = one of the three articles of a section; 0.5 points = one of four or more articles of a section.

³ 3 points = unique article on the inside page; 2 points = one of the two articles on the inside page; 1 point = one of the three articles on the inside page; 0.5 points = one of four or more articles on the inside page.

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