Journalistic Coverage of Immigration in the Portuguese Television: 2003-2006

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Abstract

This article aims to discuss the journalistic television coverage of immigration in Portugal, between 2003 and 2006, on the three signal open national television channels: RTP1 (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa), SIC (Sociedade Independente de Comunicação) and TVI (Televisão Independente). The article begins by presenting a brief framing on Immigration and the Media in Europe over the last decades, and then the Portuguese media field is contextualized in regard to the years analyzed. Afterwards, the empirical study research design is presented and discussed based on the concepts of *agenda-setting*, *cultural control*, *primary definers* and *moral panic,* taking Stuart Hill's theoretical framework. Finally, quantitative data concerning the journalistic coverage of immigration during *prime-time* is explored in a comparative approach for the three television channels under scrutiny.

Introduction

The global Migrations are not a new phenomenon in the world societies, but they appeared in the beginning of the millennium with a new dimension and visibility due to the globalization processes. However, it is pointed out that most of the world population continues being sedentary and the migratory flows, unlike what appears in the western mass media, are located in the Southern Hemisphere, namely in Africa and in Asia. According to recent data, there are about 200 million people displaced in the world, what corresponds to 2.8% of the world population (Castles and Miller, 2003).

In spite of the restrictions to the immigration and in accordance with the data published by the OCDE Report in 2007 concerning the International Migrations, about four million new immigrants entered in 2005, in a permanent way, in the countries that constitute this organization, a growth of 10% relative to the previous year. The countries of larger reception are the United States, Spain, United Kingdom and Canada, but also Ireland, Germany and New Zealand have increased the number of migrant workers. To these legal migrants it is necessary to add an unsettled but always growing number of people with no papers and trafficked, a problem that the national and international authorities have difficulty in managing.

Europe became, since the eighties, a space of immigration. According to Wenden (2005:19), 60% of the foreigners installed in Europe have more than ten years of permanence at the reception countries and they constitute about 6% of the European population. In this last decade, and according to the data of OCDE

(2007), the original migratory flows from the Asian continent, namely China, Pakistan and India increased, but also from Sub-Saharan Africa. These new migrants characterize a migration with its own structures of reception in work and sociability, which hinder, in many cases, the full integration in the reception countries. Another phenomenon that characterizes this last decade is the appearance of people without documentation, the "Without-Papers" which constitute a challenge to the integration and regularization in the reception countries, because they cannot be deported, and are, at the same time, difficult to regularize. The dialogue on policies concerning Immigration in the European Union has been privileging two complementary vectors: on one hand to concert internal and external preventive and defense aspects; on the other hand to develop mechanisms of integration, no discrimination and access of the migrants to citizenship, not only of the countries where they live, but also to the European citizenship. Among the defense and prevention mechanisms we can find the Schengen Agreement — signed initially in 1985 and gradually extended to all the countries joining the European Union — that establishes, for the European citizens, the warranty of circulation without borders, but forces the citizens of countries outside the Union to obtain a Schengen visa for their visit or stay inside the EU. The existence of the Schengen border forces the countries included to have centers of temporary reception for immigrants in illegal situation and at the same time complementary legislation that allows the expulsion and registration of these immigrants in the Schengen system. These mechanisms generate many of the press and television pieces in Portugal regarding the reception centers, the ones that report the expulsion and deportation of immigrants detected in irregular situation, as well as the ones that emphasize the police, terrestrial and marine, actions against clandestine immigration in the Mediterranean and the South of the Iberian Peninsula.

During the last years, the integration mechanisms have been increasing in different fronts in the whole Europe, specially the aspects concerning the acquisition of nationality, the policies for promotion of equal opportunities, and the surveillance and punishment of the employers and recruiters of clandestine workers. As for the right to nationality, it is underlined the transition from the blood right to the land right, as well as the relation of the attribution of nationality to the years of residence in the reception countries (Wenden, 2005: 20). The policies of promotion of equal opportunities primarily aim at the promotion of active citizenship and the right to the share of urban life, through rehousing policies, integration in the schools, access to employment, promotion of associativism and cultural animation. Also is worthy of mention, inside these policies, the campaigns against social discrimination, with resource to the mass media, and the periodic surveys about the perception of discrimination factors and the attitudes towards the migrants (Eurobarometer, 2006; 2007).

According to data from SEF (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras/ Borders and Foreigners Service)[1], the higher number of immigrants in Portugal was registered in 2004, around 447 thousands, starting to decrease in 2005 with the aggravation of the economical crisis. In that year, the decrease was mainly related with the requests for authorization of permanence of the Ukrainian citizens. In 2006, were counted around 409 thousand foreigners in legal situation, being possible to estimate around 170 thousand foreigners in illegal situation. The larger community is the Cape-Verdean, constituted by 65.485 citizens, followed by the Brazilian, with 65.463, and Ukrainian, currently with 37.851. The cities with larger foreign population are Lisbon (about 189.222), Faro (56.154) and Setúbal (42.927), what shows a big concentration in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Foreigners constitute around 4.3% of the population living in the Portuguese territory and present an employment rate of 72.6% in opposition to 68% of the Portuguese.[2]

The data collected in the press and in television regarding the years of 2005 and 2006, largely reflect these tendencies, with emphases on nationality acquisition and the ones referring rehousing and the integration policies in the schools. But should also be mentioned some other themes, such as the increase of publicity with people from of other ethnic groups, the documentaries and reports on themes concerning migration.

The Media and Immigration in Europe

Studies accomplished by the *European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia* (EUMC), about the attitudes towards the immigration and the minorities in the European countries, emphasize the important role of the media in the opinion making and attitudes towards the understanding of diversity. The same reports consider that the mass media have a considerable impact in the modulation of perception in the creation of attitudes in the majority population towards the immigrants and the ethnic minorities. These observations tend to intensify the cultural reinforcement function that the media can exert in the society, either emphasizing the cultural and ethnic differences to the detriment of integration and diversity, or transmitting images, values and models of a more inclusive society. On the other hand, the researches accomplished by the EUMC indicate that there are too many stereotypes associated to immigration and ethnic minorities on the mass media, and that this situation is, simultaneously, the cause and consequence

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[1] Borders and Foreigners Service (SEF) – This organism has functions at both internal and external levels. In the internal level, among others, it aims to survey and control the frontier stations, including the international area of the harbors and airports; to control and inspect the permanence and activities of foreigners in all the national territory; to proceed to the investigation of the crimes of support to illegal immigration; to utter opinion regarding consular visa requests; to recognize the right to family regrouping and manage the Shengen system. In the external level, SEF has, among other functions, to represent Portugal in the Strategic Committee for Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum, and in the High Level Working Group on Immigration and Asylum, and to establish contacts and partnerships in the scope of the Shengen frontiers.
[2] Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras/ Borders and Foreigners Service (SEF).

of the deficient political strategies to combat discrimination[3]. In 2005, the *Handbook for Integration for Policy-Makers and Practitioners*[4] recognizes that in all of the European countries increased the efforts conducive to the respect and the promotion of the immigrants' citizenship, but that there are countries in which the public opinion still presents resistance to the immigration and the cultural diversity.

Researches that pore over the attitudes and values of the Portuguese towards the immigration conclude that there is a "cognitive cultural scale" among the inquired that brings the Brazilian immigrants close to them, makes them recognize the professional competence of the Eastern European countries' citizens, and creates distrust towards the citizens from the African countries (Lages and Policarpo, 2006). However, it is important to refer that these attitudes and behaviors are not specific of the Portuguese society. The periodic surveys accomplished by *Eurobarometer*, which aim at getting data about the attitudes and perception of the Europeans towards the immigrants and immigration, show that the hostility to the immigrants comes not only from objective conditions (economical vulnerability, unemployment and precariousness) but also from subjective conditions, such as the expectations and the ideological options. The same surveys point out that the European citizens are also unanimous, in spite of the particularities of each country, on recognizing that being immigrant, and or to belong to other ethnic group, is, from the beginning, a social disadvantage, that reduces the access to the opportunity market[5].

It is in this context and assuming that the mass media — mainly the radio, the press and the television — constitutes the source of reference information for the majority of the population, that becomes important to recall some of the communitarian measures addressed to the media's operators and professionals. These arrangements, assumed by the European Union and by the Member States, through specific organisms, have been aiming at awareness raising actions on the media concerning the pluricultural and multicultural reality of the European societies. Thus understanding promoted some of the present recommendations in the EU agreements of *Television without Frontiers* on the rights of the minorities and promotion of cultural diversity, human rights and incitement of racist and sexist attitudes or religion discrimination[6]. These legal devices were reinforced through the program *Media Plus* (2001-2006), that chose as one of their goals the development of cinematographic and audiovisual productions contemplating the citizenship and the ethnic and cultural minorities.

The raising awareness of the media operators and professionals has been one of the other concerns of the European Union. The *Committee on Migration of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe* (PACE) has been emphasizing the need for the European businessmen to include professionals from ethnic

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[3]Brussels, 16/07/2004 COM (2004) 508 final, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: *First Annual Report on Migration and Integration.*
[4] http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/eurobarometer/EB2005/EB2005-summary.pdf
[5] Eurobarómetro Especial 263, published in 2007 about Discrimination in the European Union
[6] Art.22a of the Directive 89/552/EEC "Television without Frontiers": "Member States shall ensure that broadcasts do not contain any incitement to hatred on grounds of race, sex, religion, nationality".

minorities and migrant communities in their boards; on the other hand, it has been recommended a larger training of the journalists in the areas of diversity and multiculturalism, as well as the development of mass media addressed to the ethnic communities (*Ethnic Media*)[7].

Within the Portuguese context is important to mention the performance of the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME), created in 2002 after the restructuring of the one-person function High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, working since 1996. This structure has elected as one of its priority action lines to "raise awareness of the media for a contribution for the integration and fight to stigmatization of immigrants and ethnic minorities, namely through the award *Prémio de Jornalismo pela Tolerância/ Journalism for Tolerance Prize*»[8]. Within this purpose, the roles of the High Commissioner, the Jesuit priest António Vaz Pinto, and the Associate High Commissioner, Rui Marques, were very important, both of them experts on the media's functioning logics and holders of privileged relations with owners, editors and journalists.

The Field of the Media in Portugal: 2002 and 2006

The current main Portuguese media groups are PT Multimédia, Impresa, Media Capital, RTP Group, Cofina, Controlinveste, Impala and Renascença Group. The groups with interest in television – opened signal or cable – are the Impresa Group, Media Capital, PT Multimédia and the RTP Group, these last two presenting a large participation of public funds.

The television market in Portugal is constituted by four opened signal channels, two public and two private, and cable channels. The broadcast of public television, in RTP, started in 1955, and in the second public channels (RTP2) it began in 1968. The private channels started to operate in the beginning of the nineties, after the approval of the Law 1988/89. SIC (Sociedade Independente de Televisão – Television Independent Society) started its activity in October of 1992 and TVI (initially Church Television – Televisão da Igreja – and nowadays Independent Television) in February of 1993. RTP1, SIC and TVI gather the majority of the Portuguese television viewers and the *prime-time*, between 8 pm and 10.30 pm constitutes the period with the higher share and higher advertising value.

In Portugal, following the proposals made by the coalition government *Partido Social Democrático/ Social Democratic Party* (PSD)/*Centro Democrático Social/ Democratic Social Center* (CDS) between 2002-2005, can be noticed a set of changes in the field of the media, that altered significantly its functioning, especially for the generalist televisions. The early elections, that ended the conservative coalition government, and conferred the parliamentary majority to the *Partido Socialista/ Socialist Party* (PS), brought a larger stability

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[7] http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/APFeaturesManager/defaultArtSiteView.asp?ArtId=112
[8] ACIME (2006), *Acolher e integrar: três anos ao serviço dos imigrantes*, Relatório de Actividades do Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (2002/2005), Lisboa: ACIME, p.11.

to the political government. In February of 2005, is announced the sale of Lusomundo Media, owned by the company Portugal Telecom, to Controlinveste Olivedesportos, a group grounded on the control of sports broadcast. The sale of Lusomundo Media is actually a consequence of the recommendations done by the Portuguese Republic President and the High Authority for the Media (AACS), by then the regulator instance of the Media, in order to reduce the influence of the State in this sector. In the same year, increases the participation of Spanish groups in the media, through the purchase by Prisa da Vertix, a company holding 28,8% of the capital of Media Capital. The purchase, by Prisa, of the operator of TVI, the market leader private station, whose profits increased 113% in the 1st semester of 2005, brought on great controversy around the strategic role of the media in the affirmation of the identity and in defense of the national interests of the country. At the same time, this purchase ended up associated to the renewal of the television private operators' licenses — and to the principles that should obey to this renewal — and to the approval of a new Media Regulatory Body with broaden functions. In the field of regulations, also important to refer the initiative of TVI, announced in September, and followed by SIC, of classifying the programs according to age groups, as well as advertising directed to children.

The media panorama of the year of 2006 is largely influenced by the legislative alterations and by the functions attributed to the new Media Regulatory Body (ERC). This entity is constituted by five members elected by the parties with majority in the parliament (PS and PSD) and financed by fees applied to the Media enterprises. One of their first attributions was the renewal of the concessions of the two private operators, SIC and TVI, followed by the proposal of revision of the Law of Television, which proposed more investments in quality programming, in the Portuguese fiction, and less time of advertising between programs.

In the concessions' renewal for more 15 years, ERC linked SIC and TVI to several obligations, for instance: the broadcast of three daily informative blocks; the broadcast of debates and interviews independent from informative blocks; the exhibition of children daily programming, transmitted in compatible schedules; the diversification of the *prime-time* programming; the contribution to independent audiovisual and the promotion of co-productions with Portuguese-speaking countries[9]. Still concerning the media legislation, it is important to refer the several measures taken by the socialist Government in order to impose limits to the property, having as criteria the maximum hearing shares, regarding television and the radio, and the indexes of medium circulation for the press. It is important to stress out that these measures caused protest reactions. They primarily expressed against the compulsory nature of financing the Media Regulatory Body, and secondly against the legislation that, in their point of view, prevents the expansion of the media groups. On the other hand, the private and public operators signed a self-regulation agreement

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[9] Cfr. Law n.53/2005, 8th of November

aiming at the promotion of programs' classification, identifying types and contributing to the protection of more vulnerable audiences. In the year of 2006, another important fact to consider was the alteration of property in TVI. This station — belonging to the group Media Capital — is held in 33% by the Spanish group Prisa, which has among their reference shareholders the European group RTL (Faustino, 2006).

In short, some tendencies previously designed were rooted during the years analyzed. On one hand, there was the expansion of the trade model, the internationalization of companies, and technological diversification. On the other hand, the increase of regulation and self-regulation pressures aiming to make the private operators responsible for the contents conveyed and for the execution of the constitutional rights and duties legally established. The breach of these statutory obligations was object of public retraction and sanctions.

News Production and Agenda-Setting: Hints for a Reference Theoretical Framework

Theoretically, this investigation was based on the principle that in television there is a triangular relation between the production devices, the contents conveyed and the appropriations carried out by the audiences. The empirical study accomplished – analysis of the data about immigration in the *prime-time* television news – sets on the group of production devices and contents conveyed. Other studies, carried out simultaneously, focused on the reception, having as subjects of analysis the audiences from immigrants' group and immigrant descendants (Ferin et al., 2006).

Television is a structured social space, subjected to numerous external and internal tensions and pressures, configuring a field of social forces, regulated by the legislative and political powers. This field of political and social tensions reveals the society's culture and the democraticity of its institutions. In the coverage of immigration and ethnic minorities, Portuguese television journalism is simultaneously reflex and product of these tensions, carrying the weight of the culture and the imperial history and the new values of modernity. Televisions are also private or public enterprises that depend on advertisers and audiences, and whose message production space is subjected to internal and external constraints. Throughout the years analyzed, could be found signs of the tension between profit demands, which support the maximization of audiences and *infotainment*, and the constraints from the regulation and self-regulation (McQuail, 1994). In the extent to which the communication process is a continuous circuit of production-circulation-reception-production, the message tends to oscillate between the simplifier stereotypes and the *politically correct* speech. (Hall, et al. 1978)

Therefore, the production of the news appears as an outcome of different factors, namely the political and cultural agendas, the technical and professional knowledge, the production routines, the professional

ideologies, the institutional cultures, the events, the expectations, speculations and suppositions about audiences. The mixture of factors that contribute to the production of the news, makes it a socially built narrative, an individual cognitive product (of the journalist), but also collective, of the organizations and society, constituting, in its final form, an indicator of its structures and knowledge and its vision of the word. The circuit of news' production, circulation and reception is connected to the idea of agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, 1993; Dearing and Rogers; 1996). In the perspective of production, and not of audiences, once overstepped the principle of causal relation between the Media and public agendas (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), subsists the idea that there is a thematic hierarchy (Park, 1940) proposed by the Media (Berger and Luckman, 1996) and that the Media builds the reality from interest sources organized in society. The agenda-setting constitutes the process of selecting and hierarchizing the news, of creating a reality, for instance, about immigration and ethnic minorities, through informations provided by privileged sources, as the public security forces or the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME). The role of these *primary definers* is correlated to their privileged position, with their power to influence the Media (secondary definers) in the definition and hierarchization of *reality*, strengthening the dominant hegemony (Hall et al., 1978). From this relation, television defines, and not only reproduces reality and exerts an active role to *make things mean* (Hall et al., 1978).

In the theoretical framing of this empirical study, as a result of the analysis and systematic inventory of the *real* facts selected and structured in the journalistic coverage's about immigration and ethnic minorities, was also recovered the idea of *cultural control* and *moral panic*. The relevance of these two concepts, developed by Cohen (1973) and Hall (Hall et al., 1978) in the seventies, is related with the tensions identified in the journalistic coverage's of immigration and ethnic minorities, balancing between crime, social transgressions and the *politically correct* themes. These tensions reveal, in agreement with Hall's idea of *primary definers*, a struggle for hegemony and cultural control (Cohen, 1973), on which the State's agents have a main role, either in the status of security forces, or as ACIME staff, or as regulator entities. In this battle for the *meanings maps* in the field of the representations of immigration and minorities, are represented the interests of the State and Government, citizens, political, economical and religious, carrying different anxieties, expectations and fears. Independently from the positions of the different *primary definers*' groups and their interests, either manifest or hidden in the information conveyed, the concept of *moral panic* remains in a central place.

The concept of *moral panic* has its origins in the *deviant theorie* — in the exploration of Durkheim's concept of *anomie* — on to Ulrich Beck's theory of *risk society*, and on the work of Cohen about the British urban *youth problem* in the end of the fifties and beginning of the sixties, a theme that point out, for some sociologist, the contours of a social decline. *Moral panic*, a collective perception of societies in

transformation, built by agents with social and cultural control power, is expressed in the Media through an aesthetic and symbolic policy that crystallizes fears and threats, like the *changes in social status, unemployment, external invasions, violence* or the *family dissolution*. For this author, the complicity between cultural control forces and the media provides a unique opportunity for the appearance of movements supporting a new moral universe opposed to the hegemonic one, redefining the frontiers between the morally desirable and the morally undesirable (Cohen, 1973).

Stereotypes are another way to consolidate perceptions, since they limit the information, categorizing the senses in a pejorative way. *Stereotyping* is connected to the power and hegemony and, in spite of circumstantially affecting the power holder's it mainly affects the weaker and unprotected ones. Television, due to its nature and language, uses *stereotypes* as points of audiences' anchorage, allowing them to recognize *insiders* and *outsiders* and naturalize their characteristics. In order to contradict the naturalization of *stereotypes*, which denounces consolidated cultural and social relations, are necessary, according to Hall (1997), representation policies. In the perspective of immigration and minorities, the excess of negative *stereotypes* and negative news, is usually balanced with positive representations and news.

In the context of this theoretical and conceptual approach lie the following research questions: which are the cultural and social indicators in the coverage of immigration and minorities? What kinds of agenda-setting are identifiable in the coverage of these subjects? Who are the *primary definers* of the news about immigration and ethnic minorities? What constitutes news in immigration and in minorities? How are the immigrants and ethical minorities represented?

Empirical Study

In this section of the work, the data of four years of analysis, from 2003 to 2006, of the three Portuguese opened signal channels, RTP1, SIC, TVI are exposed in a comparative perspective.[10] The methodologies used are based in content analysis and in the statistical treatment of the data, supported by the application *Statistical Package is Social Science* (SPSS). The variables were organized in three groups of data regarding the Form, the Content and the Speech. The variables of Form register the descriptive data of the journalistic pieces/objects as the number of the piece, the time length, the television alignment and journalistic style. The variables of Content register the themes, actors, voices and citations of the journalistic pieces. The variables of Speech gather data related to the journalistic narrative, with special attention to Tone, Argumentation and Framing.

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[10] The choice for these channels was based on the fact that they are opened, that is, not payed, and that they keep the highest hearing rates and advertisement value.

From Form to Content

In this part of the text it is made a fact finding of the number of pieces, type of pieces, time to broadcast the pieces, the alignment, the journalistic style, as well as the place where the action of the piece took place.[11]

In the group of the *prime-time* [12]television news, 1095 pieces were registered and analyzed in the three open signal channels. The values registered in the last year of analysis, 2006, are inferior to the ones registered in 2004 (319 pieces) and in 2003. In the whole of the years analyzed, SIC is the station broadcasting more pieces about this theme in a continuous way.

Table I Total of pieces per year and per channel

TV Channels /Year	RTP1	SIC	TVI	Total
2003*	56	70	92	218
2004	80	127	112	319
2005	99	118	96	313
2006	82	96	67	245
Total	317	411	367	1095

* Due to the Projects' beginning date, only the months from April to December were analyzed.

Comparing the four years, we can observe that there is some regularity in the volume of pieces due to the Christmas Season and New Year agendas, always associated with pieces which have integration and solidarity as main theme. During the four years are not perceptible agendas planned out with the same covering regularity. However, it is noticed along these years some events that invariably raise extensive coverage, for instance, the demolitions of degraded neighborhoods (2003, 2004 and 2006), prostitution (2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006), the «Arrastão de Carcavelos»[13] or the issues related with transgressions, crime, etc.

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[11] The following works and authors, enunciated in alphabetical order, were taken into account: Berkwowitz, D. (1997), *Social Meanings of News*, London, Sage;Casey, B et al., (2002), *Television Studies*: the Key Concepts, London, Routledge; Cohen, S., J. Young (eds) (1973), *The Manufacture of News*, Londres, Constable; Goodwin, A., Whannel, G. (1997), *Understanding Television*, London, Routledge;Traquina, N. (1993), *Jornalismo, Questões, Teorias, 'Estórias'*, Lisboa, Vega; Tuchman, G. "As notícias como realidade construída" in: Esteves, J.P. (2001), *Comunicação e Sociedade*, Lisboa, Horizonte, pp. 91-104.

[12] The analysis of the *prime-time*, between 20h and 22h30m, is based on the fact that this is the period of the day no which the television news register the highest hearing rates.

[13] An event or pseudo-event reported by the Portuguese media, based on the alleged robbery made by a group of youngsters of African origin to swimmers at the Beach of Carcavelos, surroundings of Lisbon, on the 10th of June of 2005. This day, a national holiday celebrated as day of Camões and of the Portuguese Communities. Later on, the robbery and report built by the media, was denied.

Table II Months with more pieces per year and respective agendas

	2003	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**
Month and Agendas	**July** (37; 7.1%)	**January** (74;	**January** (36;	May **(30; 12.2%)**
	Visit of the Brazilian President Lula	Christmas Season; «Shares for immigration»	Christmas Season; «Searches in prostitution bars»	**«Brazilians in Vila de Rei»**
	October (48; 21.4%)	**February** (37;11.6%)	**June** (52; 16.6%)	August **(30; 12.2%)**
	Time Magazine «Mothers of Bragança»	«Searches in prostitution bars» in Intendente in	«Arrastão de Carcavelos»	**«New Law of Immigration»**
	December (34; 15.2%)	**May** (32; 10%)	**December** (35;11,2%)	December **(41; 16.7%)**
	Christmas Season	**Period of Immigrants' census**	**Christmas Season; «Deported in Oporto Airport »**	**Christmas Season; The New Law of Nationality**

In 2003 it is pointed out the «Visit of President Lula da Silva» to Portugal in July, and the agenda created around the agreement for legalization of the Brazilian immigrants, nominated *Agreement Lula*. In October, the publication in the *Times Magazine* of a piece on the «Mothers of Bragança»[14], denouncing the high number of Brazilian women prostituted in the city, had as consequence an increase of the number of pieces in the generalist televisions' *prime-time*. The following year, 2004, besides the routine agendas, it can be registered the ones associated to the revision of the immigration policies, as well as the ones appearing as a sequence of the prostitution phenomenon and women's traffic.

In 2005 and 2006, the months of January and December include a great number of *routine* pieces, while the months of June and May are ruled, respectively, by pieces on the «Arrastão de Carcavelos» (June of 2005) and the arrival of Brazilians to Vila de Rei invited by the mayor of the City (May of 2006). It is also pointed out, that the political campaigns for the legislative elections, in 2005, and the rehousing taken place in Amadora in 2006, also contributed for the huge number of pieces registered in these two years in January.

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[14] Event that agitated the city of Bragança in March/April 2003, and that consisted in the denunciation, done by the married women of the city, of prostitution houses and of the Brazilian women's activity in prostitution.

The dimension of the agenda created by the event «Arrastão de Carcavelos» is reflected in the 52 pieces accounted, corresponding to 16,6% of the annual television pieces. However, it is important to remark that only 11 pieces were directly subjected to this theme in June, since the facts and events that it created, for instance, manifestation of the far-right, visit of the Portuguese Republic President to Cova da Moura,[15] leaded to an increase of the number of pieces during this month. On the whole, there are 15 pieces (4,8% of the total main subjects) whose main theme is the «Arrastão de Carcavelos».

Along these years, there are few pieces subordinate to the themes Immigration and Ethnic Minorities that make the opening of the television news, being most of them integrated in the alignment. However, it stands out that, when the pieces make the opening of the television news, they constitute *hard news*, strong events with continuity, that raise the attention of the media, have great audience potential and remain for some days or weeks in the alignment schedule. So, for instance, in 2003 we found 12 pieces that made the opening of the news, most of them directly or indirectly related with the case «Mothers of Bragança»; in the following year only 7 are registered, also related with the «Searches in prostitution houses in Intendente»[16] or also with accidents of diverse nature. The following years, 2005 and 2006, registered, respectively, 12 and 6 pieces in the opening, pointed out in the first year, 6 related to the «Arrastão de Carcavelos».

The majority of the pieces analyzed from 2003 to 2006, are included in the News Report style, with or without live broadcast, being registered few studio and *Off* interviews, though this type has grown significantly in 2005. In 2006, with the medium increase of the pieces' time, the reports with live broadcast increased and the pieces characterized as *Off* reduced.

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[15]Slum of the suburbs of Lisbon, witch population is predominantly of Cape-Verdian origin.
[16] Degraded square in the town centre of Lisbon

Table III Pieces per television type
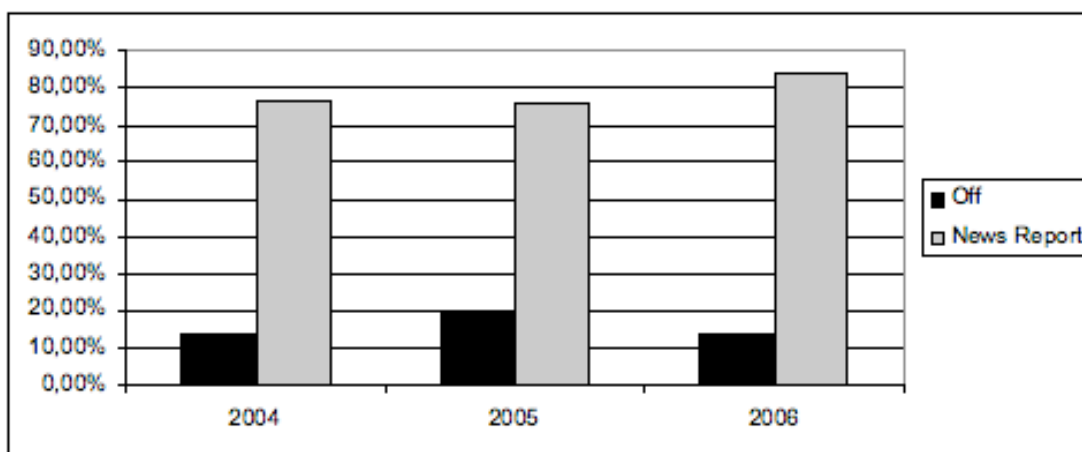
The whole metropolitan area of Lisbon is the geographical place in the origin of most of the pieces (211 pieces, 37.8%) followed by the ones happening in the scope of Portugal (124 pieces, 22.2% of the whole). These values correspond, on one hand, to the *macrocephaly* of Lisbon, not only political, but also of television, since it gathers all the headquarters of the television stations. On the other hand, the reference to Portugal shows that many of the pieces concern the country, and are locate in the sphere of politics and legislation. Another interpretative factor that should not be ignored is the restructuring in the television stations, the budget cuts and a certain economy of means that are reflected in the concentration of the pieces produced in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, where the television stations are located. It is also important to mention that, in the last two years, SIC is the station that produces more pieces with the metropolitan area of Lisbon as the action location, followed by RTP and finally TVI.

The pieces produced in the regional delegations present themes predominantly associated to Crime, namely prostitution, trials of the reported crimes, or even accidents. As a cause for this situation, can be articulated the hypothesis that, having the works of the regional delegations great difficulty in entering the alignment, they appeal several times to strategies founded in the *infotainment* what would give them a bigger broadcast possibility. On the other hand, it is also important to refer that the production in the delegations of the private channels is awarded to independent producers, what tends to strengthen some informative criteria that guarantee, from the beginning, the broadcast of the pieces produced.

Table IV Pieces per scope or action location

Region	2003*	2004	2005	2006
Lisbon	68 (30.5%)	113 (35.4%)	127 (40.6%)	84 (34.3%)
Portugal	52 (23.3%)	71 (22.3%)	54 (17.3%)	70 (28.6%)
Other Region in focus	North (42; 18.8%)	Centre (34; 10.7%)	North (30; 9.6%)	Centre (22; 9%)

* The data concerning this year include the months from April to December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI

Content and Actors

In this section we make a fact finding concerning the two main themes specially focused on the pieces (Subject1; Subject2), as well as the Actors (Actor 1; Actor2) and their voices. The literature about immigration and ethnic minorities in Portugal underlay the categorization of the themes.[17]

As defended by many academics (for instance, Hall, 1978) and international organisms such as the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* (EUMC) and the UNESCO, and verified by international and national opinion studies, the televisions are responsible for the creation of a public opinion concerning the immigrant foreigners. The contents of the images conveyed by televisions, largely contribute to the construction of the immigrants' and ethnic groups' identities when they refer, for instance, their country of origin, the juridical situation, occupation, or subjects to which they are more frequently related to. In this perspective, the information presented here, together with other studies, namely the ones developed by Lages and Policarpo in 2004 and 2005, allow to make a sketch of the immigrants' identities presented by the Portuguese television stations.

Along the years analyzed, the Brazilians are the immigrants with more references as singulars, even though, in the whole of the group, are registered more pieces in which were present immigrant from several nationalities. In the year of 2005, and due to the «Arrastão de Carcavelos» and of the agendas it created, the references to the so called «second generations» emerges, with 48 pieces and 15,3% of the total, values that decrease significantly in the year of 2006. This visibility is in consonance with the data registered by SEF and studied by the specialists on this subject. However, it can be verified that, during these years, some alterations indicating new migratory movements, such as the decrease of the number of pieces where are present citizens of Eastern Europe countries, namely Ukrainian and, in opposite, an increase of references to the Chinese and Romanian communities. Also worthy of mention, the decrease of

[17] Bganha, M.I. e Marques, J.C. (2001), *Imigração e Política: o caso português*, Lisboa: Fundação Luso-Americana; Bastos, J.G. e Bastos, S.P. (1999), *Portugal Multicultural*, Lisboa: Fim de Século: 12-14; Cádima, R. e Figueiredo, A. (2003), R*epresentações (Imagens) dos Imigrantes e das Minorias étnicas nos Media*, Lisboa, ACIME; Ferin Cunha, I. et al., (2002), "Media e Discriminação: um estudo exploratório do caso português", *Revista Obercom*, nº 5, pp. 27-38; Lages, M. e Policarpo, V. (2003), *Atitudes e Valores perante a Imigração*, Lisboa, ACIME; Miranda, J. (2002), *A Identidade Naciona*l: Do Mito ao sentido Estratégico, Oeiras, Celta; Pires, R. Pena (2003), Migrações e Integração, Oeiras, Celta; Vala, J., Brito, R., Lopes, D. (1999), *Expressões dos racismos em Portuga*l, Lisboa, ICS.

pieces in which are identified members of the gypsy ethnic group, which can be explained through multiple hypotheses, such as the campaigns for public raise awareness, near the private operators and journalists, in order to omit the reference to the gypsy group, if it has no relevance for the reported news.

Table V Pieces per nationality or ethnic group

Nationality/ /Ethnic group	2003*	2004	2005	2006
Brazilians	57 (26%)	59 (18.5%)	57(18.2%)	50 (20.4%)
Several origins	47 (21.5%)	69 (21.6%)	72 (23%)	84 (34.3%)
"Second Generations"	n/a **	12 (3.8%)	48 (15.3%)	16 (6.5%)
Ukrainians	12 (5.5%)	47 (14.7%)	12 (3.8%)	8 (3.3%)
Chinese	2 (0.9%)	7 (2.2%)	18 (5.8%)	5 (2%)
Gypsy	28 (12.8%)	28 (8.8%)	15 (4.8%)	7 (2.9%)
Total	219	319	313	246

* The data related to this year include the months from April till December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI ** In the year of 2003 the modality "Second Generations" was not considered.

Regardless of most of the pieces focusing adults, is noticed that there is an increase of the number of pieces that focus children and young sons and daughters of immigrants. These pieces have, in most of the cases, the schools as scenery. On the other hand, it is verified that remains to be dominant the Mixed modality, that is, pieces which focus the two genders (man and woman), in spite of being stated in the last years a decrease of the pieces on women. This situation demonstrates that a woman alone has a small capacity to generate news, except when she is associated to prostitution, or in very exceptional cases, when she is individualized as a success example, like the immigrant candidates to exert medical practice in 2004. Regarding the first condition, it is verified that Woman picks a larger number of pieces in 2003, what should be read in consonance with the case «Mothers of Bragança» and the publication, in the *Time* magazine, of the report about the prostitution in the north of Portugal.

Table VI Pieces per Gender
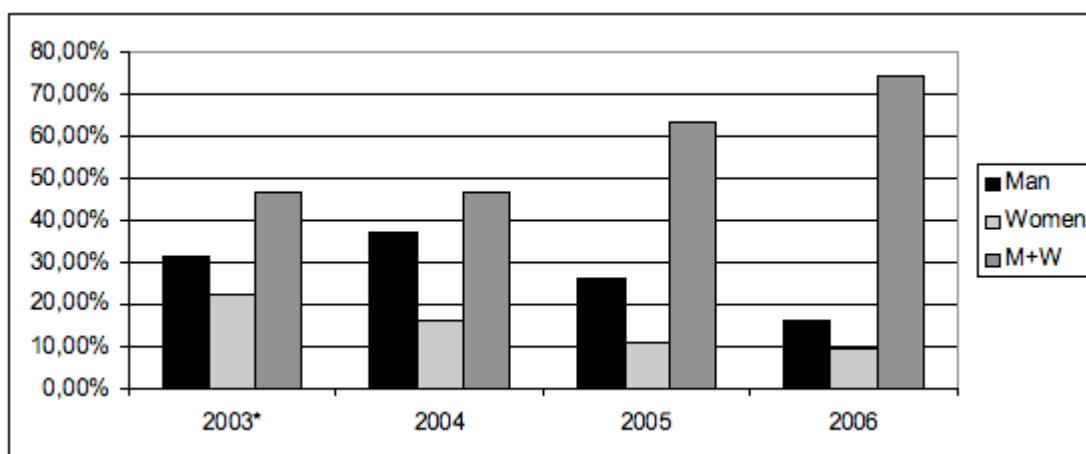
* The data related to this year include the months from April till December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI

Until this moment in the presentation, it was exposed the immigrants' characterization, regarding the nationality, age and gender. Starting from now, it is intended to understand which the importance is granted to them in the journalistic pieces.

In the first place, it is observed that the immigrants are the actors more focused along these four years, both as main and secondary actors, followed by the security forces (PSP, SEF, GNR, PJ) and the common people. Therefore, it is observed that, in 2003, the immigrants gathered 52.5% of the pieces, remarking that they are more a passive than an active actor, and the security forces 35.2%, as an active actor. In 2004, the number of pieces having the immigrants as actors decreased, 30.3%, but, in exchange, the active role increased; in 2005, it can be noticed that the immigrants return, again, to have a more passive role, going up a little the following year. In the whole of the nationalities, it is noticed that the Brazilians and the citizens of the Eastern European countries (Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine and Romania) are the ones acquiring larger prominence as active actors, since they get the higher values on the quotes (citations). The *Second generations* acquire larger protagonism as actors in 2005, 25 pieces (8.0% of the whole), although their active expression only corresponds to 14 pieces and 5.4% of the citations, what demonstrates that their function is still significantly of a passive actor. The data of 2005 is related, just as mentioned, to the «shock waves» following the «Arrastão de Carcavelos», because in 2006 the values regarding the *Second generations* are quite inferior, what can also be a consequence of the new Law of Nationality and of the consequent acquisition of Portuguese nationality.

Along these years, it was in 2003 that was registered, in the modality of actor, the largest number of pieces on citizens of the gypsy ethnic group (28 pieces, 12.8% of the whole), followed by the year of 2004 (25 pieces, 5.2%) and with values much inferior to the years of 2005 (7 pieces, 2.2%) and 2006 (5 pieces, 2%). The voices of these actors were also more active in 2003, with 22 pieces, corresponding to 8% of the whole. In the following years, that expression decreased in consonance with the reduction of the number of registers signaled. One of the interpretative hypotheses for this situation, can once again be found in the effort done by several organisms, among them ACIME, to make the agents and operators of the media aware about the discrimination related to the nomination of the ethnic group.

It is also underlined, that the values regarding the protagonism of the State/Government present some oscillations, related to the electoral campaigns and to the different political agendas of discussion and promulgation of the Laws of Immigration and Nationality. On the other hand, certain stability is verified in the indicators of participation of the common people, specialists and businessmen, largely as active actors. It is inferred, from the data, witch continues to exist a considerable contribution of the official sources, although there are more consistent indications from other sources, namely the ones coming from the civil society.

Table VII Voice attributed to the main actors (Citation 1) per year, number of pieces and percentages related to the whole of the pieces.
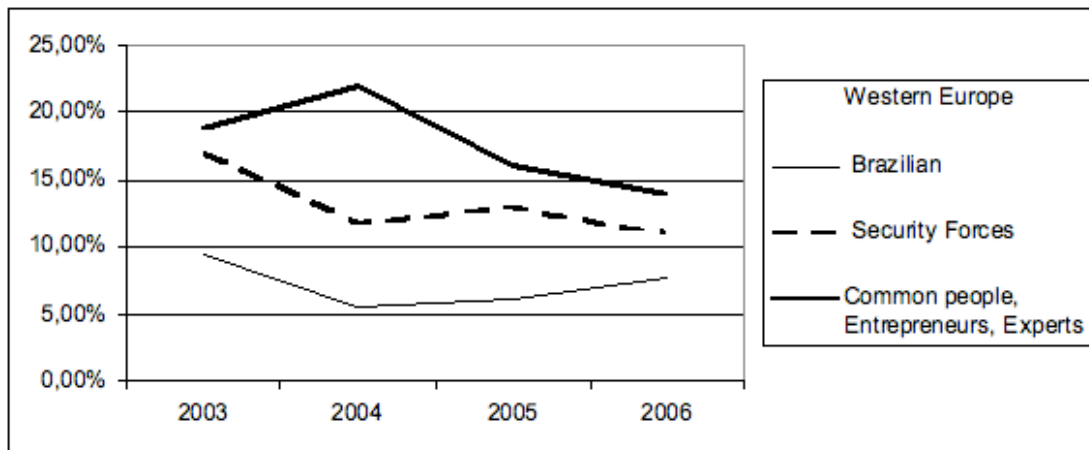
* The data related to this year include the months from April till December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI.
** In 2003 it was only contemplated the modality People.

But which themes are these protagonists associated to? Which are the events and the subjects that more prominence have in televisions? Do all television station give equal emphasis to all subjects? Is there any difference, regarding the subjects approached, between public and private television?

The criteria for 2004 was used, in order to get more conclusive answers regarding the questions initially formulated; these are not possible to obtain for the year of 2003, since for this year were only analyzed the months from April to December. For the remaining three years, the subjects were aggregated in five semantic fields: Social Transgression (Crime, Exploitation, Mafia, Prostitution and Violence); State/Government (Deportation, Legalization, Legislation, Naturalization, SEF, Security and Terrorism); *Sociography* (Underground, Social Conditions, Unemployment, Discrimination, Education, Economy, Family, House, Work, Homeless and Health); Inclusive Policies (Culture, Integration, Regrouping, Religion); Media Routines (Accidents/Incidents, Agendas, Statistics and Studies about Immigration

Table VIII Aggregation of the main subjects

Themes Aggregated (Subject 1)	2004	2005	2006
Social Transgression	**105 pieces** **34.5%**	**119 pieces** **37.7%***	**66 pieces** **26.9%**
State/Government	42 pieces 13.3%	38 **pieces** 12.1%	24 pieces **9.8%**
Sociography	49 **pieces** 21.3 %	65 **pieces** 20.8%	75 **pieces** 30.6%**
Inclusive Policies	36 **pieces** 11.3%	34 **pieces** 10.8%	29 **pieces** **11.8%**
Media Routines	29 **pieces** 9%	42 **pieces** 13.5%	**13 pieces 5.2%**
Total of Pieces	**319**	**313**	**245**

* Include the pieces referred to the «Arrastão de Carcavelos»
** Include the pieces referred to the «Brazilians in Vila de Rei».

Once again, the observation of this table shows that the year of 2006 presents some differences comparatively to the previous years, with a larger representativeness of the pieces aggregated in *Sociography* and a smaller number of pieces in Social Transgression. It is also important to regard that, in 2005, the value of this last indicator reflects the «Arrastão de Carcavelos» as main theme. It is also pointed out, for this year, the number of pieces registered in media routines, which is in consonance with the electoral actions that took place. Comparing the main subjects with the subjects registered as second (Subject 2), it can be observed a larger balance in the distribution of the values through the themes. It is underlined that the themes aggregated in *Sociography* are those assuming more stable values throughout the three years analyzed, acquiring, in 2006, larger prominence as main. In 2004 and 2006, it can be remarked that the themes aggregated in State/Government acquire a significant value, compared to the year of 2005, what corroborates the influence of the government agenda on the media agenda. On the other hand, in the year of 2006, it is verified, just as for the Subject 1, a reduction on the pieces aggregated in Social Transgression and a balanced distribution through the themes State/Government, Inclusive Policies and Media Routines.

Table IX Comparison between Subject 1 and Subject 2 (aggregated)

	2004		2005		2006	
	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 1	Subject 2
Social Transgression	**34.5%**	**36.6%**	**37.7%**	**29.2%**	26.9%	17.4%
State/Government	13.3%	25.3%	12.1%	10.9%	9.8%	**35.4%**
Sociography	21.3%	14.5%	20,8%	21.5%	**30.,6%**	13.9%
Inclusive Policies	11.3%	19.2%	10.8%	12.8%	11.8%	13.8%
Media Routines	9%	4.3%	13.5%	4.2%	5.2%	11.8%

Speeches: from the Tone to the Framing

In the comparison of the years in analysis, it can also be noticed some changes in the narrative styles, classified in the framing type and in the argumentation used. These variables, and respective modalities, assume, in consonance with works accomplished by international and national investigators (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1991), that the News, in the press and in television, is a narrative style — involving the hierarchical report of political, economical and social events — where the enunciator expresses, through certain linguistic strategies, his point of view and comment.

The tone, that is, the way as the piece is discursively organized and expresses a content interpretation, suffered significant alterations along these four years analyzed. These alterations are common to the three channels, but it is observed that in 2006 most of the pieces have a neutral tone, what had not happen in the previous year. Therefore, it is verified that, in 2006, RTP1 presents 67 pieces, in the whole 82, having a neutral tone, corresponding to 81.7% of the exhibited pieces; SIC reaches 84.3% with 81 pieces of the exhibited 96; and TVI exhibited in 67 pieces, 54 having a neutral tone, corresponding to 80.5% of the whole.

Table X Tone per piece.
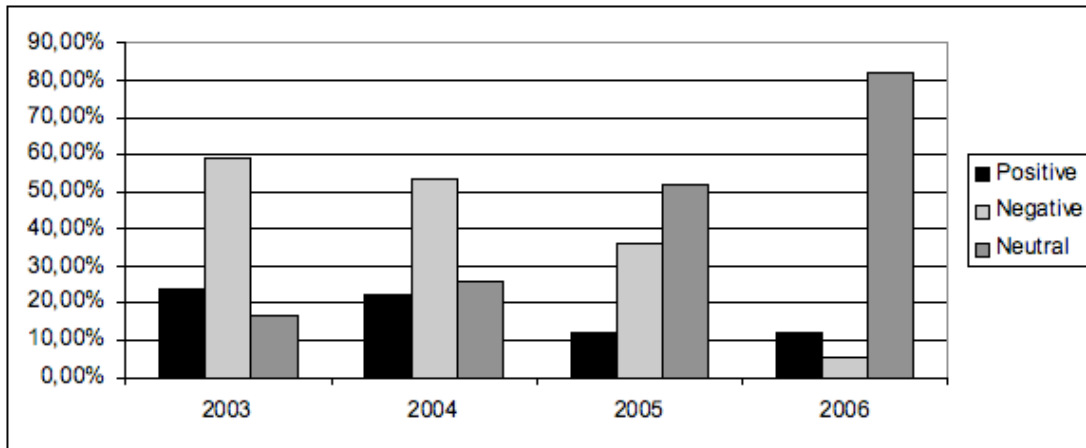
* The data related to this year include the months from April to December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI

The variable *Framing*, witch will be presented after, intends to apprehend the way through which the enunciator makes the hierarchy of the information, when he identifies the thematic *isotopies* selected by him. In this perspective, the modalities of this variable have as objective the identification of the discursive contexts in which certain events are included in and treated.

Table XI Framing of the pieces

Framing	2003*	2004	2005	2006
Drama	19,2%	14,4%	12,1%	**1,6 %**
Epic	4,5%	0,6%	1,3%	**0,0%**
Ironic	1,3%	0,6	0,6%	**0,4%**
Moral	11,2%	8,2%	1,6%	**0,0%**
Police	11,2%	35,1%	14,1%	**1,6%**
Factual	**	**40,8%**	**70,0%**	95,9%
Other	**27,7%**	0,3%	0,3%	**0,0%**
Total	**224 pieces (100%)**	**319 pieces (100%)**	**313 pieces (100%)**	**245 pieces (100%)**

* The data related to this year include the months from April to December in the channels RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI
** In 2003 the modality "Factual" was not contemplated.

In this table, it can be observed that the modality *Factual*, witch registers narratives predominantly centered in the action and facts description, won progressive importance along the years analyzed, being identified, in 2006, in more than 95% of the pieces.

As for the variable *Argumentation*, that intends to identify the comment strategies or attitude of the enunciators of the News, it can be noticed the growth of the assertive modality, that corresponds to the use of statements founded in the description of the action or event, where the enunciator tries to maintain some distance from the fact reported. This modality, introduced in the report of 2004, registered 115 pieces, corresponding to 36.1% of the whole; the following year it obtained the same percentage of the total, with 113 identified pieces. In 2006, the percentage of pieces registered in this modality, ascended to 54.3% (133 pieces) in a total of 245.

Conclusion

In the first place, it is intended to evidence that the theme Media, Immigration and Minorities entered definitively in the routines of television production, it occupies a space in the alignment and reflects, on a continuous way, the Portuguese and European political-government agendas, being possible to talk, in these cases, about routine "issues", as well as normalized framings.

Nevertheless, it can be observed that there is a tendency towards the decrease of the volume of news. This fact may have many interpretations, from the context of the news' production: the scarcity of raw material, the lack of audiences' interest on them; the tensions and constraints among the different groups of *primary definers*. If the number of pieces has been decreasing it may be possible to systematize some of the agendas. Throughout the years analyzed, there are agendas as consequence of routines, like Christmas season and New Year festivities; others resulting from the Government's legislative activity; or also the ones created by events with a great public impact, like the prostitution of Brazilian women. The persistence of this last agenda, from 2003 until 2006, confirms sociological studies (Padilla, 2004; Lages and Policarpo, 2006) that relate the perception of the Portuguese about Brazilian immigration, especially about Brazilian women, with the colonial past. Even though the prostitution agenda has been changed within the last years, including events about prevention of human being's traffic and punishment of exploiters, in reality the news' pieces keep the same speech: sensual women, night environment and police searches. In these pieces the colonial stereotypes related with women from the tropics are present in the roles attributed to Brazilian women and their representation.

It is important to point out that the pieces located in the center, interior and north of the country are the ones that, proportionally, emphasize this agenda the most. This is due to the fact that the security forces are themselves constituted as unique and important *primary definers*, but also by the amount of *infotainment* included in the news pieces.

From all the data registered stands out that the majority of the pieces focus the immigrant Men, or equally Men and Women. The pieces focusing on only Women are mainly in the years 2003 and 2004, and are related with prostitution. The news pieces about Men present them as relatively young, in a clandestine situation, many times involved in crime, member or victim of organized crime. The Brazilian citizens are those with more visibility as criminals, followed by the citizens from Eastern Europe countries. The Africans and descendants of African immigrants form the Portuguese-speaking countries (PALOP) are less visible, with the exception of the «Arrastão de Carcavelos». The most common stereotypes are the «malandro/ruffians» Brazilian and the «Mafioso» Eastern European. The pieces focusing Women and Men are, in most of the cases, those intending to show the integration paths or the integration of couples and families. The narratives describe the successful paths of integration of immigrants and the *kindness* of Portugal as a reception country. Few reports approach the situations of power abuse or work exploitation

Even though the majority of the pieces have been, since 2005, common people, experts (lawyers, teachers, doctors, firemen, etc.) and the immigrants as the most prominent actors, in reality the *authority* these groups show is different. The common people and experts usually have an active function, witch can be identified by the testimonies they give. The immigrants have preferentially passive roles, that is, they are

subjects in an action told by others. All together, these groups have an authority far from the concept of *primary definers* (Hall et al., 1978), to which the security forces and even the governmental institutions are close. It can be also noticed that among the immigrants, the Brazilians are the ones appearing more times as actors, even though proportionally they do not make themselves be heard. The presence of the Brazilians as actors in a big number of pieces can be interpreted as a reflex of the prominence of the community in Portugal. Nevertheless, the same does not happen with Cape Verdean actors, flagrantly absent, despite of being the largest community in Portugal, surpassed by the immigrants from Eastern Europe. Cape Verdeans, as well as other African immigrants, appear few times as actors, and even fewer times when their voices can be heard, despite the numerous subjects on which they are involved in.

Another issue is related with the permanence, although in progressive decrease, of the pieces focused on the themes aggregated in *Social Transgression*, and to the growing visibility of the themes included in the category *Sociography* and *Integration*.

These observations are particularly important when it is known that the year of 2005 included the «Arrastão de Carcavelos»; but this data should also be contextualized regarding the internal and external regulation mechanisms of the editing and the media. Therefore, the case «Arrastão de Carcavelos» dominates the year of 2005 and it will be responsible for the acquired visibility of the *Second generations*, both in the press and in television. Within a context of deep economical recession, televisions presented, based on police sources and a manager, a *moral panic* report as consequence of the invasion of a middle class beach by suburban black young people and the aggression to unprotected families on the beach. *Moral panic* appears as a social reaction to a real, or perceived as dangerous, phenomenon, that will potentially threat positions, interests, ideologies and values. In addition, the *panic* is *moral* because what one fears is a possible threat to social order or to an idealized conception created by it, like the harmony among different ethnic and social groups (Penglase, 2006). The report of the «Arrastão de Carcavelos», based on photos taken by the beach manager, created in the Portuguese society a fear for an uncontrollable implosion of the suburban neighborhoods, mainly inhabited by descendants of immigrants from the African ex-colonies. The television pieces revived colonial fear's, revived speeches of the interests injured by the decolonization, and mobilized the interests related with integration.

In a first moment, the representation of the event and the speech underlying it, seems to have, recovered, not only the speeches associated to the colonial traumas, as well as the idea of *moral panic* underlying the fears associated to moments of economical, political and social crisis. To evoke S. Hall and al. (1978) and his work of around thirty years, *Policing the Crisis*, is, in this perspective, a contribution to contextualize the event and to its interpretation. All of the factors enunciated by Hall, around the *mugging* — assaults with violence perpetrated by Jamaican black young people in London — seem to be repeating in Portugal, thirty

years later, in the event «Arrastão de Carcavelos». This similarity appears as much as in the actions of the media, as in the politicians' declarations, in the police sources and, partly, in the public opinion. The event, denied in the following days — by other witnesses, other media operators, higher instances of the police, ACIME and some intellectuals — as a non-event, or an event built by the media, and mainly by television, deserves, however, a larger reflection. The event, pseudo-event or built event, emerged as credible in several society instances, being included in a line of other cases broadly reported and documented by the media — juvenile gangs' crimes, degraded neighborhoods and school failure — and in close relation with hierarchies and colonial imaginaries.

The discussions that this case entailed were determinant, not only for the implementation of measures concerning Media regulation, but also for the accomplishment of alterations to the Law of the Nationality, allowing the extension of the Portuguese nationality to descendants of immigrants and emigrants. Simultaneously, some actions were released, aiming at the youths' of the urban suburbs integration and the rehabilitation of degraded neighborhoods. Also important to refer, that the same event determined the eruption of far-right movements, and with xenophobe and racist tendencies.

On the theoretical and conceptual level, this event incited to the reflection about the *subtle racisms* numbed under the layer of *moral panic* and the *politically correct.* The agenda generated by that event began a process of inversion of some acting characteristics of the society and of the Portuguese state, identified as institutional racism, such as bureaucratized procedures at the school, in the public administration and in the access to certain public services. In the field of the Media, it strengthened the cultural control, giving more protagonism to other *primary definers*' groups associated to immigration policies, regulation institutions and self-regulation. This is the perspective on which can be understood the tension between interests and perceptions that reinforce the *moral panic* culture – and the news about crime and deviation related with immigration – and other group of interests that appeal to a culture of tolerance and integration, trying to use television as a vehicle of *good practices* of immigration. This confrontation for cultural and social control of the representations of immigration and ethnic minorities is also present throughout these years in the characteristics of the journalistic speech. If in the first years analyzed can be observed a negative tone and a police or dramatic framing accompanied by a security argument, in the last years prevail the neutral tone, the factual framing and the assertive argument. These indicators, independently from the themes approached, show that there is a decrease on the use of the raw material immigration and ethnic minorities as *infotainment* and indicate a new culture of representation of immigration and ethnic minorities.

In conclusion, the visibility or invisibility of the immigrants and minorities equally raises a public debate, not always explicit on its plural dimensions around the Identity and the Difference, but especially on the

immigration policies and inclusion. In the television news — the nature of the image, the television editing and the assumption about the values of the audiences — are exhibited pieces on which the procedures can be read both as good practices, and of reinforcement of the cultural and or ethnic exoticisms, or still, as forms of making invisible the difference of access to social opportunities. At the same time, the nomination of the ethnic belonging in the media, can lead to the ethnicization of the social relations and of society, hindering the conviviality among communities with diverse cultural and ethnic origins. On the other hand, the good practices — that advise the non nomination of the ethnic group — can turn invisible the communities that need to affirm their existence, as well as their difference, while identity in construction or renegotiation. The dilemmas exposed resound in the media, and the options that seem to be politically more correct, concerning the production of the news, not always have consequences in the appropriations of the citizens that one wants to explain to or to integrate.

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