# Framing religion in the editorials of four Spanish newspapers (2009-2010)

## Frames *de la religión en editoriales de cuatro periódicos españoles (2009-2010)*

**Ricardo-María Jiménez-Yáñez.** He is a graduate in Philology from the University of Barcelona and has a Master`s degree from UNED and a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Navarre. He is currently an Associate Lecturer at the International University of Catalunya (UIC Barcelona; accreditation number PCD: 2017-755). He has been a visiting researcher at CASS (Lancaster University), University of Navarre, University of Manchester and University College Dublin. His most recent publications have centered on the subjects of discourse analysis and professional communication. He is the author of a book entitled *Escribir bien es de justicia* (already on its 2nd edition) published by Thomson-Reuters Aranzadi.
Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, España
rmjimenez@uic.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-8065-1289

**Abstract:**

The main purpose of this article is to analyse the framing elements of the way newspaper editorials dealt with two terms related to religions ("Benedict XVI" and "full headscarf"), using a corpus of editorials published in 2009 and 2010 by four Spanish newspapers, with a view to identifying the ideological framework adopted by these newspapers as they dealt with the theme of religion in the public square. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the methodology makes use of the framing approach (Entman), which is used mainly in communication, with that of Corpus Linguistics. The result shows a noticeable correlation between the ideological framework of the newspapers and the arguments put forward in their respective editorials. The application of framing also helps to reveal the particular slant of the newspapers in question. The outcome proves the effectiveness of using Corpus Linguistics techniques in analysing editorials in the Spanish press. Also, when focussing on the Catholic religion, the editorials analysed show radically different ideological positions, with a more noticeable polarisation between *El País* and *ABC*, and a less partisan and clear-cut approach between *La Van-*

*Resumen:*

*En este artículo se analizan los elementos y las funciones de frame y los máster frames presentes en dos combinaciones de palabras relacionadas con las religiones ("Benedicto XVI" y "velo integral"), de un corpus de editoriales de cuatro periódicos españoles (2009-2010), para investigar cómo se posicionan ideológicamente los periódicos a través de esos textos sobre la representación de la religión en la vida pública. Con un espíritu interdisciplinar, en este trabajo se une metodológicamente el enfoque de framing (Entman), que es más propio del ámbito de la comunicación, con algunas técnicas de la Lingüística de Corpus. Al representar la religión católica, los editoriales analizados ofrecen posturas ideológicas radicalmente diferentes, con una polarización más marcada entre El País y ABC, y un enfoque menos partidario, incluso a veces más difuso, en La Vanguardia y El Periódico. En cambio, en la representación del uso del velo y, por extensión, de aspectos importantes de la religión islámica, en ABC y El País los enfoques aparecen un tanto más imprecisos. Finalmente, aunque el "periodismo pluralista" de La Vanguardia y de El Periódico*

---

**How to cite this article:**

Jiménez-Yáñez, R. M. (2018). Framing religion in the editorials of four Spanish newspapers (2009-2010). *Doxa Comunicación*, 26, 145-168.

---

*guardia* and *El Periódico*. On the other hand, when dealing with the issue of the headscarf and, by extension, with the Islamic religion, the difference in the approaches adopted by *ABC* and *El País* are less noticeable. And rather interestingly, the use of framing shows up some additional approaches in relation the headscarf in both *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico* which are not to be found in the other two newspapers.

**Keywords:**

Framing; editorial; Catholic religion; Islam; Corpus Linguistics, CADS.

*ofrece una postura ideológica difusa sobre el uso del velo, se han observado matices distintos en el tratamiento de esta prenda por parte de estos dos periódicos.*

*Palabras clave:*

*Framing; editorial; religión católica; religión islámica; Lingüística de Corpus; EDAC.*

## 1. Introduction

In April 2010, 16-year-old Najwa Malha, a pupil at the Camilo José Cela secondary school in Pozuelo (Madrid), went to school wearing a hijab (an Islamic headscarf leaving only the face visible). The school authorities banned this headscarf, on the grounds that the school rules prohibited wearing any kind of headgear. In October of the same year, in the midst of scandals involving the Church, pope Benedict XVI made his first official visit to the United Kingdom.

These two events, and the intense controversy that they sparked, bring to light many interesting aspects of the way two major religions (Catholic Christianity and Islam) are represented in the public sphere. In fact, the Spanish press generally reports on a large number of issues related to religion. The "issue of religion" (for example, the relations between Church and state) generated recurring conflicts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Cárcel, 2002: 8). At the same time, the accusation of religious discrimination –in a panorama where racial, ethnic, gender and cultural discrimination are constant topics– guarantees heated responses (Bañón, 2002: 71), which receive broad media coverage. This phenomenon is characteristic in Spain, but is also mirrored in the media elsewhere: "Conflicts and controversies between defenders of Christianity, secularists and adherents of religious minorities have become more visible in public discourse, including media" (Knott, Poole and Taira, 2013: 38), and evidence suggests that these debates are often international in their scope (Woodhead, 2012). For all these reasons, when we examine issues related to religion in the media, we are looking at a topic of undisputable importance in public discourse today.

The main objective of the present article is to analyse the *frames* that shape the way religious issues are reported, focusing on the two events mentioned above, in the editorials of four Spanish newspapers: two published in Madrid (*El País* and *ABC*) and two in Barcelona (*La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*); the reasons for this choice are explained in section 2.3. This study combines the notion of *framing* with techniques from Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL). The editorial genre was chosen because of its importance in communicating the ideology of the newspaper.

## 2. Framework, methodology and corpus

### 2.1. Framework

Gregory Bateson first used the term *frame* in 1954, within the field of psychology, and it was in this discipline, and in sociology, that the notion of the frame was originally developed, although it was then taken up within other approaches, such as cognitive linguistics. Thanks to Gaye Tuchman, who introduced the metaphor of news as a window through which we observe events, the *framing* approach was adopted in studies of journalism. Within communication studies, the best known definition is that of Entman, which forms the basis for the present study:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993: 52).

The influence of this concept can scarcely be doubted. Teresa Sádaba (2001) explains the major role of *framing* in communication studies in the late twentieth century (1980-2000), and it is still extremely influential, as shown by Borah's (2011) study analysing 93 academic journals from 1997 to 2007. As far as Spain is concerned, the articles by Miguel Vicente Mariño and Manuel López Rabadán (2009) and Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) reveal the rise and spread of approaches based on *framing* here.

It is also important to outline various other terms that will be used in this study. Kuypers defines "issue" as the object of debate or the theme that people are talking about (2010: 302); this generates social debate and may well give rise to conflict.

Also significant are the four interrelated elements that Entman calls the functions of the frame (particular definition of an issue or question, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, recommendations for dealing with the issue). In this study, we will bear in mind Entman's concept according to which *frames* shape a narrative that brings out the connections between the elements of reality selected in order to nudge readers towards a particular interpretation.

To deal with the degree of organisation within this, Entman (1993: 56) uses the term *unifying framework*, as exemplified by ideas like "war on terror" or "cold war". As Kuypers (2012) explains, in political and media discourse we often encounter *master frames*. This refers to overarching *frames* that include an entire narrative around a subject. The *master frame* operates as a kind of umbrella frame or master framework within which all the aspects of the debate on a particular topic can be understood (Azpíroz, 2012).

As has been mentioned, the present study will also apply some CL techniques. This is a methodological approach (McEnery & Wilson, 1996) with a set of principles and techniques that can be applied to many different language samples, characterised by the application of computer technology (Parodi, 2008: 95). One fundamental contribution of CL is its empirical focus, since it handles observable data as scientific evidence and uses statistical tools to detect and assess patterns and regularities (Parodi, 2008: 95). The methodological approach adopted here can be situated within "Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis" (CADA) (Baker *et al.*, 2011; Breeze, 2014; Partington, 2017; Jiménez-Yáñez, 2017).

Studies based on *framing* within the field of journalism generally rely on content analysis. This article is innovative in that it combines *framing* with CL methods in the context of the Spanish press. Previous studies that have exploited the synergy between *framing* and CL include that by Touri and Koteyko (2014), where the authors apply CL techniques to identify frames used by the British press when reporting the financial crisis in Greece. Another study by Crenshaw (2014) also brings *framing* and CL together to examine the social debates found in the press. Finally, Molloy (2015) relates the use of particular keywords to the concepts of *framing* and *agenda-setting*, in a study on the coverage of the IRA in five newspapers in 1996.

The present study will also assess the extent to which the four newspapers considered fit into the existing theoretical models of journalism.

## 2.2. Methodology

To analyse the way the editorials represent the events mentioned, the issue was identified, as were the *framing* elements related to the frequent combinations of words found in these editorials in the context of the social debates on religion. These were further analysed through a reiterative process of identification and categorisation because, as we know, journalists do not always project complete *frames* of the kind envisaged by Entman (1993). Media texts tend, instead, to allude to the aspects of each topic that are relevant to the current news story, or to points that attract the writer's interest, without presenting an all-round analysis. For this reason, I decided to identify the simple components or *framing elements* that appear in each case, and perform a preliminary analysis of the aspects highlighted in each newspaper, along the lines described by Breeze (2013) in her study of the representation of religious symbols in British media discourses.

The editorials were uploaded to SketchEngine, and CL was used to identify the frequent combinations of words, and to explore the way each one appears in context (that is, in concordance lines). The relationship between these frequent combinations and the *framing elements* or *frames* identified was established.

## 2.3. Corpus of editorials

The corpus used for this study was compiled using the editorials related to the topic of religion in the years 2009 and 2010 published in four Spanish newspapers. The editorials from *El País*, and the 2010 editorials from *ABC*, were available within the resources of the GradUN Research Group (Grupo de Análisis del Discurso de la Universidad de Navarra), and had already been uploaded to SketchEngine as part of a large corpus of editorials covering the period from 2005 to 2010. The present author added the editorials from another two newspapers –*El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*–, for the same years, and the *ABC* editorials from 2009. The rationale for this was to complement the study of *ABC* and *El País* by creating corpora of editorials from Catalonia, in order to examine whether these newspapers provided a different point of view. Possible differences in ideological positioning between newspapers in Madrid and Barcelona might thus be brought to light.

The general corpus of editorials consisted of 2,692,837 words (cf. Table 1):

**Table 1. General corpus of editorials**

| newspaper | years | words |
|---|---|---|
| *ABC* | 2009-2010 | 734,659 |
| *El País* | 2009-2010 | 778,584 |
| *El Periódico* | 2009-2010 | 522,943 |
| *La Vanguardia* | 2009-2010 | 656,651 |
| | | 2,692,837 |

**Source: author**

This general corpus was used as a basis to create a more specialised corpus focusing on religious issues in SketchEngine, in order to take advantage of the affordances this platform offers for analysing media texts. To identify the editorials on religious topics, a list of keywords was extracted, using the web corpus esTenTen11 (Eu + Am, Freeling, Lempos, sample, 11,173,609,480 words) as reference corpus.

From this list of keywords, I selected the following ones, which seemed to refer to issues related to religion (cf. Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5):

**Table 2. Keywords from *ABC* editorials (2009-2010).**

| |
|---|
| teocrático |
| nasciturus |
| laicismo |
| aborto |
| laicista |
| abortista |
| crucifijos |

**Source: author**

**Table 3. Keywords from *El País* editorials (2009-2010).**

| |
|---|
| abortar |
| Ratzinger |

| crucifijo |
|:---:|
| Rouco |
| teocracia |
| confesional |
| vaticana |

**Source: author**

**Table 4. Keywords from *El Periódico* editorials (2009-2010).**

| islam |
|:---:|
| prédica |
| pederastia |
| Ratzinger |
| teocracia |
| abortar |
| vaticana |

**Source: author**

**Table 5. Keywords from *La Vanguardia* editorials (2009-2010).**

| islam |
|:---:|
| niqab |
| teocrático |
| burka |
| pontífice |
| Rouco |
| hiyab |

**Source: author**

After this, I made a manual selection of the texts in which these keywords appeared and built a thematic corpus of editorials in each of the four newspapers, which consisted of 155,598 words (cf. Table 6):

**Table 6. Size of subcorpora within thematic corpus.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Rel_ELPE 20092010 | 29,202 of 155,598 words |
| Rel_PAIS 20092010 | 48,543 of 155,598 words |
| Rel_LV 20092010 | 30,004 of 155,598 words |
| Rel_ABC 20092010 | 46,964 of 155,598 words |
| All editorials in thematic corpus | 155,598 words |

**Source: author**

The *keywords* in the thematic corpus were then examined using *wordsketch*, which identifies the most frequent combinations and roles of each word. On the basis of these results, the decision was made to investigate further the frequent combinations (collocations) of the words with a clear ideological load in the context of the representation of religion in the public sphere.

This analysis was performed as follows: first, frequent combinations of lexical items were identified *(n-grams)* using the *wordlist* function, and those with relevance for the present study were singled out for further analysis. Table 7 shows the 25 most frequent combinations of this kind from the corpus of editorials about religion (Table 7). Those combinations which are proper nouns, or names of institutions, are marked with *:

**Table 7. Frequent combinations of words in the entire religion corpus.**

| frequent combinations of lexical items | freq./million words |
|---|---|
| Benedicto XVI* | 9,6 |
| iglesia católica* | 5,7 |
| ley del aborto | 4,3 |
| Rodríguez Zapatero* | 3,4 |
| libertad religiosa | 3,2 |
| sociedad española | 3,2 |
| aborto libre | 3,1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| crisis económica | 3,1 |
| Santa Sede* | 2,8 |
| Tribunal constitucional* | 2,8 |
| reforma de la ley | 2,6 |
| conferencia episcopal* | 2,6 |
| poderes públicos | 2,5 |
| objeción de conciencia | 2,5 |
| Juan Pablo II* | 2,5 |
| vida humana | 2,5 |
| Al Qaeda* | 2,4 |
| jerarquía católica | 2,4 |
| opinión pública | 2,3 |
| Bibiana Aído* | 2,3 |
| Barack Obama* | 2,3 |
| interrupción voluntaria | 2,3 |
| Partido Popular* | 2,3 |
| velo integral | 2,2 |
| abusos sexuales | 2,2 |

**Source: author**

The number of frequent combinations for each newspaper ranged from 25 to 49. The decision was made to use the first one ("Benedicto XVI") and one related to Islam ("velo integral" (full veil)). The next step was to decide which "issues" were raised around these two focal topics.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. Results concerning frames on pope Benedict XVI

#### 3.1.1. Assessing the frames around pope Benedict XVI in editorials in El País

The *framing elements* related to each of these topics were analysed. For reasons of space, an exhaustive list of all the *framing elements* identified in the editorials will not be presented.

In *El País* editorials, the *framing elements* are almost all negative, in other words, the pope is considered to be problematic in himself, because he is a conservative, dogmatic spiritual leader who does not act with clarity.

Among the defining elements, which overlap with causal elements and aspects of negative framing, the most important appear to be the following:

– Pope Benedict XVI is part of an ecclesiastical hierarchy which wants to reconquer Europe to impose an extremely conservative worldview.

– The pope is a powerful person who can mediate in world affairs.

– Benedict XVI is not a credible figure because of his failure to resolve cases of abuse when he was prefect of a congregation, even though he has said that he wants to put an end to sexual abuse.

As causal elements, we find the following:

– Popes are conservative.

– Popes cannot move away from traditional Catholic teachings.

There are numerous elements of negative evaluation which overlap at times with these defining elements, as we have seen:

– His behaviour is inconsistent, because when he headed the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, he advised people to handle abuse cases confidentially.

– Many people see Benedict XVI as following John Paul II in betraying promises made at the Second Vatican Council.

– Although Benedict XVI seems to be committed to putting an end to abuse, he is doing this slowly.

– On occasions, his declarations are a grave offence to society.

– The pope makes mistakes which receive considerable criticism.

– Finally, the pope's behaviour as spiritual leader is despotic.

The positive evaluative elements can be summarised as follows:

– Benedict XVI harshly criticised the founder of a religious institution who had committed abuse.

– Pope Benedict XVI made an effort to reconcile faith and reason.

– The pope sometimes admits his mistakes (his lack of proficiency with internet, divisions within Catholicism).

– The pope showed that he was sorry about the sexual abuse committed by members of the Catholic church.

– Benedict XVI is capable of writing texts with literary quality, and in one encyclical he uses clear, categorical language to define economic problems and their solutions.

No solution is offered, because in the editorials in *El País* the pope himself is perceived as a problematic issue.

*3.1.2. Assessing the frames around Benedict XVI in editorials in El Periódico*

When we observe the *framing elements* surrounding "Benedict XVI" in editorials in *El Periódico,* we find that on the one hand, the pope is presented as rigid and dogmatic, but that he is also seen as an influential figure who has the potential to do good in the world. The *framing elements* thus display a certain degree of contradiction.

The defining elements related to this issue can be understood, in some cases, as elements strongly associated with positive or negative evaluation:

– The pope has prestige, he is influential, and his voice is heard worldwide. He is a global leader.

– The pope travels frequently and meets many people. On his journeys he carries out balanced acts of diplomacy to resolve conflicts and seek peace.

– Popes are sensitive to the social issues of our day.

Causal elements are mentioned:

– The pope is dogmatic, rigid and traditional (the weight of tradition guides the magisterium of the Church).

– For some time, pope Benedict XVI was an example of a powerful figure who ignored the problems of humanity.

Elements of positive evaluation are found:

– Benedict XVI has considerable cultural and moral importance.

– The pope has apologised for cases of pederasty among the clergy, and has admitted that these are crimes.

– Some people hold the pope responsible for problems that are nothing to do with the Church.

– The pope tackles thorny issues and gives support to Catholics. He dialogues with Anglicans, and takes on other complex issues.

– The pope builds bridges with the victims of sexual abuse.

– The pope uses his influence positively (to free prisoners in Cuba), without interfering in state affairs.

– The pope tries to restore unity within the Church.

Negative evaluative elements found are as follows:

– Popes sometimes oppose the scientific community on questions of sexual morality.

– Some see Ratzinger as a persecutor of heretics, others as a person who was going to introduce intellectual criteria in the papacy.

– Benedict XVI is not open to dialogue or to modernity. Sometimes he acts tactlessly.

– The pope breaks with Christmas tradition (by bringing the Midnight Mass forward to 22.00).

– There are doubts about whether Benedict XVI could have done more to tackle the problem of sexual abuse.

– Benedict XVI has failed in his relationship with Jews and Muslims.

– The pope's visits provoke controversy and protest.

– The pope attacks laicism.

– The pope's actions are sometimes motivated by political calculations.

Only one solution is presented:

– The world needs a modern pope who is open to dialogue.

### 3.1.3. Assessing the frames around Benedict XVI in editorials in ABC

The *frames* in *ABC* editorials are not organised around the notion of a problematic issue. In this newspaper, the pope is presented as a moral authority who follows his principles and proposes solutions to the world's problems. The following defining elements are mentioned:

– He is the head of the universal church and the leader of millions of Catholics.

– He has an exceptional personality, moral authority, and is the most respected leader in the world.

– The popes have always followed the same line of action, and do not change their moral concept of love and the value of sex as an element united with love.

– Pope Benedict is both a pastoral leader and a serious intellectual.

– He denounces attacks against the Catholic church.

The following element can be identified as causal in nature:

– The pope seeks mutual understanding in order to solve the problems facing society.

Positive evaluative elements are found:

– The popes have always condemned totalitarianism of any kind.

– When there is a papal visit, respected figures give the pope a cordial reception.

– Benedict XVI condemns abuse committed by Catholics and demands absolute transparency, while acknowledging that the Church has not always been vigilant in this area.

– The spontaneous welcome given to the pope in Glasgow shows that people of good faith can overcome historic differences.

– The pope is trying to resolve the disagreements between Anglicans and Catholics.

– In contrast to the opportunism characteristic of politicians, the pope embodies the spirit of concord and justice.

– The pope speaks clearly to the victims of injustice and shows courage in facing up to difficulties with determination and firmness.

– Benedict XVI uses words that are both serene and precise.

– For hundreds of millions of people around the world, the pope has historical and spiritual authority, and this allows him to speak out about laicism.

– The Holy See has a long tradition of diplomacy, with great experience in handling difficult situations.

– Benedict XVI is not an extreme conservative, in fact his words and writings offer an innovative vision that adapts the Christian message to reality, with an open mentality, but without betraying the important principles.

– On one of his journeys, he defended the essential role of women.

– Benedict XVI speaks out clearly to condemn antisemitism.

– On his visits, the pope acts wisely, approaching the most controversial issues from the perspective of Christian teaching.

No elements of negative evaluation of the pope appear in the editorials published in *ABC*. In the leading articles on religion, the negative appraisals are always directed at the government of Rodríguez Zapatero and at laicism.

As far as solutions are concerned, since for *ABC* the pope is essentially unproblematic, the only elements that might fall into this category are the recommendations for the Church and for society as a whole:

– Christians need to overcome historic differences that no longer make sense.

– The world has to find a just solution for the millions of people who lack the essential elements needed to subsist, and who suffer all types of abuse.

– The pope must continue to clean up the inside workings of the Church.

*3.1.4. Assessing the* frames *surrounding Benedict XVI in editorials in* La Vanguardia

To conclude this overview of editorials in the four newspapers, we must devote some attention to *La Vanguardia*. Interestingly, in these texts the problematic issue is that the pope is a courageous and influential leader who wants to do good, but who is surrounded by controversy. The following defining elements are provided:

– The pope is one of the major European intellectuals, an authority in doctrine, leading a human institution with great historical experience, and millions of people worldwide listen to his messages.

– He is an influential figure and his words make an impact.

– Every pope has his own style.

No causal elements were identified, but the following elements of positive evaluation appeared:

– The pope's visits are useful in that they open new debates and try to heal historic problems (e.g. the Pope's visit to the UK).

– The Holy See sets an example of good manners and has a modern outlook on Europe.

– The pope visits difficult countries and acts bravely.

– The pope defends the function of religion in public life.

– The pope proclaims the need for dialogue and defends peace and harmony.

Negative evaluation centred on the following elements:

– Benedict XVI finds it hard to adapt to media culture and makes some grave mistakes.

– In one speech, the Pope sparked a conflict with Islam.

– The pope has a strictly moral and religious view of social issues.

A single element was identified that can be classified as a proposed solution:

– The need for dialogue.

## 3.2. Results concerning frames on the full veil/burqa

### 3.2.1. Results on frames about the full veil in editorials in El País

In the editorials in *El País*, from the very first editorial a clear distinction is made between the full veil and the veil that only covers the head and hair. In these texts, the full veil is called *burka* or *niqab*; the term "velo" (veil) or "pañuelo" (headscarf) is used for the type of scarf that only covers the head.

The problematic issue envisaged in *El País* is the move to prohibit use of the full veil in public spaces. Five of the six editorials focus on the use of this garment; only one is concerned with the debate surrounding the headscarf. The problem seems to centre on the use of the "full veil", while the "headscarf" constitutes a subordinate *frame* that will be addressed later.

The defining element is as follows:

– Wearing the "full veil" is not a religious obligation: "the full veil is not even a religious obligation, but can be explained by certain traditions which are only found in certain countries and in certain fundamentalist sectors" (PAIS-063)[1].

Only one positive note appears:

– In Spain, the full veil is a minority issue.

The following negative evaluative elements were found:

– Wearing the full veil hinders women's personal and social development and is discriminatory. This is stated as "obvious", without further explanation (PAIS-062)[2].

– Since elections are coming, the political parties may want to ban this garment for electoral reasons.

– The use of the veil is closely related to the problems of immigration and the rejection of immigrants at times of crisis.

Causal elements were not mentioned explicitly, but implicitly we might perceive the lack of comprehension of this garment in western countries, the fear of offending the Muslim population, and a generalised rejection of Muslim immigrants.

In the editorials in *El País* the following solutions are proposed:

– Reflection is needed before the veil is banned.

– The full veil can be rejected for security reasons, without passing new laws.

Regarding the headscarf, which forms a subordinate *frame* in the editorials in *El País*, there is an attempt to define this as a symbol of religious identity, but one with discriminatory connotations. As elements of moral evaluation, it is notable that:

– There are no clear solutions concerning how to regulate its use.

– There is a contradiction between the student's individual freedom and the principle of laicity, and a further contradiction between this principle and the right to education.

– An over-strict policy concerning the veil might trigger a negative reaction on the part of fundamentalists.

– It is not the same to ban religious symbols in schools as to exercise control over what individual students choose to wear; however, there is no clear indication as to what should be banned.

Various elements are proposed as a solution in the context of this *frame*:

– Common sense should guide the decision about what to ban.

– The girl in question should attend school so that one day she will reject the use of this symbol herself.

---

[1]  (PAÍS-063): editorial in *El País*, 17 June 2010, "Los límites del velo integral".

[2]  (PAÍS-062): editorial in *El País*, 5 June 2010, "Afrontar el debate".

–   The new law about religious freedom will establish a hierarchy of values that all are obliged to respect, whether they are Muslims, Jews or Catholics.

### 3.2.2. Results concerning frames *about wearing the full veil in the editorials in* El Periódico

For their part, the editorials published in *El Periódico* make a distinction between the *burka* and *niqab*, terms designating the "full veil", and the "headscarf" that only covers the head. The full veil is always called the *burka* or *niqab*. The editorials in *El Periódico* do not provide such an explicit account of the difference between the full veil and the headscarf as in *El País*, although their use of the terms is accurate.

The central issue raised in the leaders in *El Periódico* is that banning the full veil could be counterproductive. The *framing elements* about banning the full veil and the headscarf appear not to entail very different *frames* in this newspaper, but fit within the same set of *frames*, perhaps because the journalists in question are not familiar with these garments. The differences that do exist are found in the area of the moral evaluation.

The only definition proper of the veil provided in this newspaper is that its use is not motivated by religious reasons.

Negative evaluations centre around the following *framing elements*:

–   The veil poses a restriction on women's rights.

–   It is not necessary for religious reasons (this is also part of the definition).

–   The real problem is the integration of Muslim immigrants in European societies (this idea appears in the context of France, and in that of harmonious coexistence in our society).

The elements of negative moral evaluation concerning the ban on the veil are:

–   If it is banned, more people may want to wear it.

–   It is not the same to ban the veil in schools and prohibit the *burka* in the street.

–   Politicians should adopt a clear strategy and not be carried away by electoral reasons.

No causal elements were identified, but among the solutions, which seem to be offered whether or not the veil is banned, we find:

–   There should be more dialogue about the veil/headscarf, and demagogy must be avoided.

–   Political parties must be careful not to provoke xenophobia.

–   Everyone needs to be easy to recognise in public places.

–   The state should not tell us how to dress in public places.

–   We should work towards an all-round, general and civilised solution.

### 3.2.3. Results concerning the frames around the full veil in editorials in ABC

In *ABC,* the combination "velo integral" is only used once, and the term "velo islámico" only three times, to designate the type of scarf used to cover the head and hair. For *ABC* the issue is that this garment must be banned, an idea that is clear from the outset.

The following elements used to define the veil also provide evidence of negative evaluation:

– This is a degrading garment which is a form of discrimination against women.

– It is a symbol of the woman's subjection to her husband or father.

– It shows distance from or rejection of the customs of the host country.

– The veil is not a question of religious freedom, and so religious beliefs have nothing to do with the issue.

The only positive moral evaluation is that:

– The full veil is beginning to trigger debate in western countries.

Various elements of negative evaluation are found, in addition to those listed above. Among these we find references intended to discredit the Socialist party (PSOE), some of which clearly make reference to this party, while others are veiled allusions:

– Under the excuse of multiculturalism, we find an ideological fallacy which will hinder integration and in some cases, like that of the *burka,* lead to intolerable discrimination incompatible with the Rule of Law.

– The veil is soon going to be a problem all over Europe.

– Allowing the veil in public spaces goes against modernisation.

– Tolerating the veil is the product of false progressivism (the PSOE's attitude): this is an absurd instance in which the party's intransigent radical laicism towards the Catholic church contrasts with its permissive attitude towards Islam.

En los editoriales tampoco no se han identificado elementos de *frame* relativos a las causas, como sucede en los editoriales de los otros periódicos.

The elements containing solutions found in *ABC* are as follows:

– Any belief practised freely within the framework of the law is worthy of respect, but no one (not even Muslims) can demand privileges that go against the principles of equality and the aim of full integration which should underlie immigration policy in modern societies.

– Article 16 of the Constitution guarantees religious freedom, but always within respect for the basic rights of freedom and equality on which the political system is founded.

– No specific law banning the veil is needed, since there are already rules that stop people from covering their faces completely.

*3.2.4 Results concerning* frames *about the veil in editorials in* La Vanguardia

To finish this overview, let us consider the *framing elements* associated with the term "velo integral" in editorials in *La Van-guardia*. The central issue here appears to be that banning the veil will cause a heated social debate.

Here, again, the *framing elements* that define the issue coincide with negative evaluations. The following definitions were identified:

– The veil is a religious symbol.
– The full veil is a garment which denigrates women and undermines the basis of social life.

No causal *framing elements* were detected, but various types of negative evaluation were found:

– The full veil is giving rise to a heated debate, which might be motivated by social concern, or by electoral tactics.
– The issue of religious neutrality of state schools is completely separate from the question as to whether citizens can exercise their rights to wear religious symbols.

Elements referring to possible solutions are as follows:

– Legal regulations about the veil are legitimate, but more reflection and interest is needed from a higher political level.
– We should be flexible as far as the veil or headscarf is concerned, but we should not accept the widespread adoption of the full veil.
– The Muslim community should reflect on the need to moderate and adapt its customs to each situation.

## 4. Conclusions

### 4.1. Conclusions concerning the model of journalism

The most striking finding is that the four newspapers concerned offer such a different framing of Benedict XVI. When we compare the *framing elements* in *El País* and *ABC*, we can note the difference between the numerous negative evaluative elements on the pope in *El País*, compared to the abundance of positive elements in *ABC*. On some points, diametrically opposed *frames* are established in *El País* and *ABC*, as illustrated in Table 8.

**Table 8. Opposite *framing elements* in editorials in *El País* and *ABC*.**

| framing elements in *El País* | framing elements in *ABC* |
|---|---|
| The pope is an extreme conservative. | The pope adapts the Christian message to modern times, with an open mentality. |
| The pope is dogmatic and backward looking. | The pope addresses the problems of the modern world in all spheres, including social and political life. |

| | |
|---|---|
| The pope makes mistakes and manipulates science for ideological reasons. | The pope acts prudently and scrupulously. |
| The pope tries to be a disinterested mediator. | The pope has authority for millions of people, thanks to his historical and spiritual legitimisation. |
| The pope is undiplomatic. | The Holy See has centuries of experience in diplomacy. |
| The pope misses opportunities for reconciliation. | The pope sends messages of solidarity, peace and understanding from a Christian perspective; he promotes religion in the interests of peace; he seeks real solidarity, peace and freedom for persecuted Christians. |
| The pope is old-fashioned as far as sexual morals are concerned. | The pope has a consistent moral understanding of love and sexuality. |
| The pope is not credible or clear. | The pope clearly proclaims the Christian message. |
| The pope is alone. | People of good faith follow him and he is received cordially wherever he goes. |
| The pope wants to impose the faith. | The unity of faith and reason lies at the heart of his thinking; he offers teachings based on eternal values. |
| The pope hushes things up and acts in a calculating way. | He unflinchingly tackles controversial issues from the basis of Christian doctrine. |
| The pope shows his weakness. | He shows courage in addressing cases of abuse; he has an exceptional personality; he condemns the falsity of indiscriminate attacks on the faith. |

**Source: author**

With a view to obtaining a perspective on this, let us consider some negative *framing elements* on the pope in *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico* (Table 9):

**Table 9. Negative evaluative *framing elements* in *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*.**

| framing elements in *La Vanguardia* | framing elements in *El Periódico* |
|---|---|
| (N/A). | Sometimes he opposes scientists on issues of sexual morality. |
| The pope is dogmatic and inflexible. | The pope is not open to dialogue. |
| The pope acknowledges that it is hard for him to connect with media culture, and makes mistakes with this. | The pope intervenes tactlessly in public debate. |
| Some people who attack the pope do not adopt the same critical attitude to other religious leaders. | (N/A). |

| | |
|---|---|
| (N/A). | The pope is reactionary on issues affecting believers and citizens in general. |
| The pope has a strictly moral and religious vision. | (N/A). |
| (N/A). | The pope causes disconcertment among Catholics because he is conservative in matters of morality, but he criticises capitalism and the exploitation of the weak by the strong. |
| (N/A). | The pope is sometimes motivated by political calculations. |
| (N/A). | The pope applies the policy of keeping silent and hoping that matters will die down. |
| (N/A). | The pope criticises capitalism. |
| (N/A). | The pope breaks with Christmas tradition. |
| It is far-fetched to accuse the pope of complicity in cases of abuse. | The pope could have done more against abuse cases when he was prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. |
| In a speech, the pope sparked a conflict with Islam. | The pope has failed in his relationship with Muslims and Jews. |

**Source: author**

In this case, we can see that several of the negative *framing elements* in these newspapers are not matched in the other publication. For example, *El Periódico* accuses the pope of attacking laicism, which is not mentioned in the other newspaper, while *La Vanguardia* mentions that people apply different standards to the pope and other religious leaders, an idea that is not reflected or countered in *El Periódico.*

From the *framing elements* analysed in this context, it seems that we can begin to draw some conclusions concerning the model of journalism that characterises these different newspapers. Along these lines, some studies – such as that by Bartolomé Castro and Rodríguez-Virgili (2012) – suggest that the Spanish press is still practising what López-Escobar *et al.* (2008) call "trench journalism": that is, a way of doing journalism in which representatives of two entrenched ideological positions confront each other, ruling out any possible compromise or dialogue. This is particularly clear in the case of the framing of Benedict XVI in *El País* and *ABC*: these newspapers offer opposite *frames* which reveal two diametrically opposed ways of understanding reality. López-Escobar *et al.* state that this model of journalism is not peculiar to Spain, but is still powerful here, with greater polarisation in the press and in private radio channels. This antagonistic approach is also discussed in the wide-ranging study by Contreras (2004), who analyses *framing* in the discourses on the Catholic church in the international press.

On the other hand, we should also note that there is a major difference between *El País* and *ABC* – which embody contrasting outspoken stances –, and *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia.* The *framing* of the pope in editorials in *La Vanguardia* is more positive than that found in *El Periódico.* But unlike the "trench journalism" found in the *frames* in *El País* and *ABC*,

in *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico* we find a mixture of positive and negative evaluations. These newspapers clearly offer a different perspective from those of the capital, as can be seen from the Table presented above (Table 9). If the definition of "trench journalism" matches with what we find in *El País* and *ABC*, for the other two (*La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*) we could use the term "pluralist journalism", which is characterised by the cooccurrence of some contradictory *framing elements*, others that are similar, and others that are unique to each newspaper. This points to the presence of a model of journalism close to the so-called "neoliberal or pluralist model" (Rodríguez-Virgili *et al.* 2014: 67) which is more characteristic of northern European countries, in which newspapers do not take clear ideological positions aligned with the main political parties, but rather give voice to a range of opinions reflecting the different trends present in broad sectors of civil society, at least as far as social issues like religion are concerned.

## 4.2. Conclusions concerning methodology

a) Regarding methodology, this study shows that a combination of *framing* with Critical Discourse Analysis and CL is feasible, within the perspective of CADA. Together, these methods and techniques allow us to uncover differing ideological positions on specific issues within the editorials of the newspapers analysed.

b) As for "Benedict XVI", the following conclusions can be noted. The editorials in *El País*, offer a coherent *master frame*, because the *framing elements* add up to a fully developed view bringing together various negative *frames* about the pope in a fully consistent way. In *La Vanguardia* positive definitions and evaluations are offered, but here the *master frame* is not complete or coherent, although the ideological orientation is more positive than that of *El País* and *El Periódico*. In *El Periódico*, the key issue is that the pope is an influential figure in the world who could do good, but who is held back by dogmatism. In *El Periódico* the negative vision of the pope is interspersed with positive appreciations. In the case of *ABC*, the framing of the pope is entirely positive. Here too, the *master frame* is complete because the vision is quite consistent: all the elements of the *frame* offer a positive representation of the pope which is in line with the definition provided.

c) From the analysis of "velo integral" we can draw the following conclusions. The editorials in *El País* do not present a complete, coherent *master frame*, because no causal elements are found, and there is a subordinate *frame* (concerning the headscarf) which is not properly integrated into the whole. However, the evaluation of the issue is generally quite well developed here. The editorials lean towards fuller public debate to resolve the issue. *El País* also mentions the possible electoral issues surrounding bans on the veil. Although this newspaper tends to support banning the full veil, the leader writer examines various nuances and identifies many areas of confusion, as well as taking into consideration the fundamentalists' possible reactions. The articles by Giró and Jarque (2006 and 2007) on immigration in the press show convincingly that *El País* expressed itself in favour of allowing the headscarf in schools. However, in the texts analysed here, no such tendency is visible.

Editorials in *El Periódico* also lack a coherent *master frame* on this issue, as they do not make a clear distinction between the full veil (burqa) and the headscarf, and although they touch on the causes, they fail to explain properly the difference between the different types of head covering. They lack a convincing explanation about the religious symbolism of these garments, and do not discuss the question of individual freedom.

The issue in *ABC* is the ban on all kinds of veil. The writer makes frequent reference to false progressivism motivating those who want to permit the veil, and the fallacies used by those who defend the veil but want to ban Christian symbols in public places. This newspaper seems to formulate its arguments on the veil specifically with a view to delegitimising the Socialist party, PSOE. As we have seen, this is sometimes overt, and sometimes merely implicit.

The editorials in *ABC* use the term "velo islámico" more often than the other newspapers, perhaps so that readers are not confused by the terms *niqab, burka* and *hijab*. If we compare the evaluative language in *ABC* from the 2009-2010 religion corpus with the study by Abella (2007) on editorials from 2002, we find that this newspaper maintained a very stable ideological stance across this period on the subject in question.

In *La Vanguardia* the need to be flexible with the veil or scarf which leaves the face visible is contrasted to the problem of whether to ban the burqa, although the *frames* presented are not essentially different. The writer insists that the authorities should take a stance on this issue, and not leave the decision to the local councils. In only one text does the writer hint that wearing a headscarf can be compared to wearing a cross.

The need for Muslims to integrate is a theme in these texts, as seen in *El Periódico, ABC* and to some extent in *El País*. The ambiguous notion of *common sense* is also raised in the context of what to ban and what not to ban, an aspect that is also mentioned in the other newspapers.

In contrast to the vague allusions in *El País*, the analysis in *La Vanguardia* shows religious neutrality in state schools to be clearly different from the question of the citizen's right to wear religious symbols. The leaders in *La Vanguardia* understand the veil, not the "velo integral", as a religious symbol. Only in *La Vanguardia* is an appeal made to Muslims to reflect on how to adapt to the customs of the countries where they live.

*La Vanguardia* also fails to present a coherent *master frame*, since no causal elements are present, and since the writer does not clarify whether or not these veils or scarves are religious symbols. Although Giró and Jarque's study based on texts from 2002 (2006, 2007) suggests that *La Vanguardia* was in favour of wearing headscarves in schools, we can see here, as was the case in *El País* and *El Periódico*, that there has been a change in ideological positioning. The editorials in this corpus do not provide evidence of a favourable stance, but rather recommend flexibility and add further nuances to our understanding of the issues. In this respect it is clear that the Barcelona-based newspapers show a different perspective from those published in the capital when they discuss different forms of Muslim headscarf.

The ideological polarisation observed between *El País* and *ABC* on the subject of Catholicism is much less evident when it comes to their handling of the Islamic veil. When these newspapers refer to Islam, we perceive a high degree of uncertainty or even contradiction, as Breeze (2013) obseved in her study of the *framing* of different religious symbols in the British press. In *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico,* the *frames* on the veil reflect the rather inchoate public opinion that is taking shape around a topic that is just coming into the public arena, concerning a garment that is new to Spain. However, we should note that the two Barcelona newspapers seem to adopt a rather different position from the two newspapers based in Madrid

In their evaluations of the combination "velo integral" we see inconsistent attitudes towards wearing the full or "Islamic" veil and exhibiting religious symbols in general. For *El País,* the full veil or burqa is not a religious symbol, but the headscarf

is one. In editorials in *El Periódico* neither type of head covering is a religious symbol. For *ABC* neither garment is worn for religious reasons. In *La Vanguardia* the veil is considered a religious symbol, and yet the difference between the headscarf and the burqa is not analysed. This confusion can doubtless be ascribed to the uncertainty and disconcertment surrounding Islam in Spanish society. It is thus clear that the reporting of affairs related to Islam in the western media is characterised by a lack of understanding and a poor grasp of the underlying issues.

In the introduction, the question was posed as to whether editorials on two such different issues, radically different in their protagonists and implications, might bring to light different postures on the part of the newspapers concerned. In my view, the results obtained here confirm that Islam is not well known or understood in the west, and that its media representation shows a high degree of inconsistency (Llamas, 2013). On the other hand, issues related to Catholicism reflect a highly polarised underlying stance, particularly in the Madrid-based press, which is doubtless conditioned by historical factors.

## 5. Bibliographic references

Abella Vázquez, C. M. (2007): "La aparición de los discursos sobre el multiculturalismo en España: el debate del velo en la prensa escrita". *Athenea Digital*, 11, pp. 83-103.

Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015): "Framing o teoría del encuadre en comunicación. Orígenes, desarrollo y panorama actual en España". *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, pp. 423-450.

Azpíroz, M. L. (2012): *Diplomacia pública: El caso de la guerra contra el terror.* Barcelona: UOC.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyanowski, M., McEnery, T. & Wodak, R. (2011): «¿Una sinergia metodológica útil? Combinar análisis crítico del discurso y lingüística de corpus para examinar los discursos de los refugiados y solicitantes de asilo en la prensa británica». *Discurso & Sociedad*, vol. 5(2), pp. 376-416.

Bartolomé Castro, M. y Rodríguez-Virgili, J. (2012): "Pugna de *frames* en el debate político español". *Estudios sobre El Mensaje Periodístico*, 18(2), pp. 439-457.

Borah, P. (2011): "Conceptual issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature". *Journal of Communication*, 61(2), pp. 246-263.

Breeze, R. (2013): "British media discourses on the wearing of religious symbols", in Belle, H. Van, Gillaerts, P., Gorp, B. van, Mieroop, D. van de & Rutten, K. (eds.): *Verbal and visual rhetoric in a media world.* Leiden: Leiden University Press, pp. 197-211.

Breeze, R. (2014) "Perspectives on North and South. The 2012 financial crisis in Spain seen through two major British newspapers". *Discourse and Communication*, 8(3), pp. 241-259.

Cárcel, V. (2002): *Historia de la Iglesia en la España contemporánea.* Madrid: Palabra.

Contreras, D. (2004): *La iglesia católica en la prensa: Periodismo, retórica y pragmática.* Pamplona: EUNSA.

Crenshaw, E. (2014): "American and foreign terrorist: an analysis of divergent portrayals in US newspaper coverage". *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, vol. 7(3), 363-378.

Entman, R. M. (1993): "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm". *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 51-58.

Giró, X. y Jarque, J. M. (2006): "Prensa escrita e inmigración: Estudio sobre la opinión de los diarios sobre la inmigración procedente de fuera de la Unión Europea y sobre la cobertura informativa de conflictos destacados que tienen relación con ella (Octubre 1999-Junio 2002)". *ZER Revista de Estudios de Comunicación*, n.º 20, pp. 251-270.

Giró, X. y Jarque, J. M. (2007): "El discurso editorial sobre inmigración", en Zapata-Barrero, R. y Van Dijk, T. A. (eds.): *Discursos sobre la inmigración en España. Los medios de comunicación, los parlamentos y las administraciones*. Barcelona: CIDOB, pp. 17-44.

Jiménez-Yáñez, R.-M. (2017): *La representación de la religión en editoriales de cuatro periódicos españoles (2009-2010)*. Breeze, R. y Olza, I. (dir.). Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona.

Knott, K., Poole, E. & Taira, T. (2013): "Christianity, Secularism and Religious Diversity in the British Media", in Gillespie, M., Herbert, D. & Greenhill, A. (eds.): *Social Media and Religious change*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 37-58.

Kuypers, J. A. (2010): "Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective", in D´Angelo, P. & Kuypers, J. A.: *Doing News Framing Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, pp. 286-312.

Kuypers, J. A., Cooper, S. D. & Althouse, M. T. (2012): "George W. Bush, the American press, and the initial framing of the War on Terror after 9/11", in Denton, Jr. (ed.): *The George W. Bush Presidency: A Rhetorical Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Llamas Saíz, C. (2013): "Metáfora y discurso: el debate en torno al velo islámico en la prensa española", in Delbecque, N., Delport, M.-F. y Michaud Maturana, D. (eds.): *Du signifiant minimal aux textes. Études de linguistique ibéro-romane*. Limoges: Éditions Lambert-Lucas, pp. 207-224.

López-Escobar, E. *et al.* (2008): "Election News Coverage in Spain: From Franco's Death to the Atocha Massacre", in Kaid, L. L.: *The Handbook of Election News Coverage around the World*. New York: Routledge, pp. 175-191.

McEnery, T. & Wilson, A. (1996): *Corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, reprinted 2005.

Molloy, D. (2015): "Framing the IRA: beyond agenda setting and framing towards a model accounting for audience influence". *Critical Studies on Terrorism, Special Section: Emergent Voices in CTS*, pp. 1-13.

Parodi, G. (2008): "Lingüística de Corpus: una introducción al ámbito". *Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada Concepción* (Chile), 46(1), pp. 93-119.

Partington, A (2017): "Varieties of non-obvious meaning in CL and CADS: From 'hindsight post-dictability' to sweet serendipity". *Corpora* 12(3), p. 339-367.

Rodríguez-Virgili, J., López-Escobar, E. y Tolsá, A. (2011): "La percepción pública de los políticos, los partidos y la política, y uso de medios de comunicación". *Commucation & Society*, XXIV(2), pp. 7-39.

Rodríguez-Virgili, J., Jandura, O. y Rebolledo de la Calle, M. (2014): "La personalización de la política en la cobertura mediática: una comparación de las campañas electorales en España y Alemania". *Trípodos*, 34, pp. 61-79.

Sádaba, T. (2001): "Origen, aplicación y límites de la teoría del encuadre *(framing)* en comunicación". *Communication & Society*, 14(2), pp. 143-175.

Touri, M. & Koteyko, N. (2014): "Using corpus linguistic software in the extraction of news frames: towards a dynamic process of frame analysis in journalistic texts". *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 18(6), pp. 601-616.

Vicente Mariño, M. y López Rabadán, P. (2009): "Resultados actuales de la investigación sobre *framing*: sólido avance internacional y arranque de la especialidad en España". *ZER Revista de Estudios de Comunicación*, n.º 26, pp. 13-34.

Woodhead, L. & Catto, R. (eds.) (2012): *Religion and Change in Modern Britain.* London and New York: Routledge.

## Acknowledgements