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Media portrayal of the Indian community in Spain

Ángel Alcalde Fernández

DEMO-India Research Report 2015/06

DEMO-India
Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in
India-EU Migration and Partnership

Research Report
Thematic Report
DEMO-India RR 2015/06

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Ángel Alcalde Fernández
PhD Researcher, EUI

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European University Institute
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I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

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DEMO-India – Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in India-EU Migration and Partnership (DEMO: India-EU MaP)

The Demo: India-EU MaP project, co-funded by the European Commission, is a continuation of the Carim India project (www.india-eu-migration.eu) and it examines the multiple facets of Indian migration to the EU. Its overall aim is to improve migration management between India and the EU, strengthen EU-India relations, and produce in-depth empirical knowledge about the different migration streams and pathways of Indian nationals in the EU. Its specific goals include providing:

1. Evidence based research for more informed policy making and state intervention.
2. Improved source country capacity in managing migration.
3. Raising awareness among potential migrants of the risks of irregular migration.
4. Collaboration with civil society groups.
5. Empirical research and analysis of Indian communities across the EU, and their impact.

The project is led by the Indian Centre for Migration in Delhi with the partnership of the Migration Policy Centre, RSCAS, EUI.

For more information:

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)

Villa Malafrasca

Via Boccaccio 151

50133 Florence

Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 817/892

Fax: + 39 055 46 85 755

Email: mpc@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

Abstract

Drawing on a selected database of 200 articles from a broadly representative sample of the Spanish press, this paper explores the media portrayal of the Indian community in Spain. Analysis focused on the primary content of the articles, and on eight different thematic categories, including the labour market, business and investment, religion, culture, gender, education, crime, and integration. Although Spain has a relatively small Indian community, the report shows that the Indian community has a significant presence in the Spanish press, with a largely positive representation, though most of the focus is on cultural, religious and business aspects.

Key words: Media content, Indian nationals and people of Indian origin, Spain

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1. Introduction

Public debates on the issues of immigration and migration policy are greatly influenced by the way these issues are covered by the media. In a social and political climate in which immigration is considered a controversial issue, media content analysis presents a unique opportunity to compare the media's treatment of Indian immigrants in Europe.

This report discusses the media portrayal of the Indian community in Spain for the Migration Policy Centre's project on "Developing Evidence-based Management and Operations in India-EU Migration and Partnership". Through detailed content analysis of the media on themes ranging from business and investments to the education and labour market integration of Indian immigrants, this report intends to understand which issues are highlighted in the media. It also looks at what perspectives are represented with regards to the Indian community, including first and second generation migrants. Issues including linguistic and cultural integration, crime reporting, and religion and controversies over religious symbols will also be addressed.

Since the social integration of new citizens is fundamental, media portrayals can serve as a magnifying lens to measure the integration of regards to the Indian community in Spain.

The High-Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, used "diaspora" to refer to "Indians who migrated to different parts of the world and have generally maintained their Indian identity" (MOIA 2000). The Indian community in Spain is comparatively small compared to other immigrant communities such as those from China, Morocco or from Latin American countries. According to the statistics of Spain's Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2009), 35,686 Indian citizens live in Spain; this figure does not include persons of Indian origin holding other citizenships. Nonetheless, they contribute significantly to the social, cultural and economic aspects of the Spanish society and this analysis will provide some details in this regard as well.

1.1. Brief History

Migration of immigrants of Indian origin to Spain started in the late nineteenth century and reached its peak in the 1970s (López-Sala 2013: 6-8). Investment opportunities in the Canary Islands and the Spanish enclaves in northern Africa were the key incentives attracting Indian immigrants who were largely members of the *Sindhi* traders community, also known in India as the merchant community (*ibidem*). Based in the Mediterranean region and the coastal African cities, *Sindhi* traders and shopkeepers migrated to the free zones and ports of Canary Islands following the imposition of import and foreign exchange restrictions in Spain after World War II. When Ceuta and Melilla, parts of Spanish Morocco, were also declared as free ports, Indian businessmen set up trading houses and retail shops catering to the tourist trade there (*ibidem*).

By the end of 1960s, the migratory movement of this *Sindhi* community reached its peak (*ibidem*). During this period, other *Sindhi* merchants migrated to Spain, not only from India, but also from other countries including Hong Kong, Vietnam, Philippines, Curacao or Ghana (MOIA 2000, cited in López-Sala 2013).

In the 1980s, the liberalization of exports and the loss of business opportunities in the Canaries caused by Spain's entrance into the European Union led some *Sindhi* businessmen to move to other parts of Spain, such as Catalonia and Malaga in search of new opportunities (López-Sala 2013).

At the end of the 1980s a new flow of migrants began to arrive from northern India, especially from Punjab and Haryana (*ibidem*). Most were Sikhs, but there were also Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists. They started working in agriculture and construction, but also in restaurants and small retail kiosks.

According to the honorary consul general of India (Canary Islands), Gope Bhagwandas Mahtani, the young and recent members of the Indian community in Spain have taken a different direction from previous generations. They have entered different professional practices such as medicine, architecture and law.¹

1.2. Methodology

Media content analysis gives us an opportunity to assess many important factors, such as the question of whose views are being highlighted and what kind of issues are being promoted by the media. In terms of migration issues, media portrayals of a specific migrant community can provide evidence as to their successful (or unsuccessful) integration in the host society and the opinions of the local community.

Content analysis usually focuses on identifying and enumerating the key features of a body of news items, such as positive or negative angling, topics, settings and ideologies (Krippendorff and Bock 2008, cited in Hodgetts and Chamberlain 2014: 382).

For the purpose of this report, media analyses of articles were carried out with: *El País*, *La Vanguardia*, *El Periódico de Catalunya*, *ABC* and *El Mundo*. These publications were selected to offer a broadly representative sample of the Spanish press, encompassing a variety of opinions across different political and ideological stances. The choice of newspapers also depended on their high distribution figures and the ease of access (print or online/ paid or free). Please note that some articles may be present in both the online and print editions, while in other cases an article might be accessible only in one of the two platforms. On some occasions news articles from different Spanish news sources were also included to provide more information regarding specific themes.

Searches were carried out with different keywords and combinations such as “India”, “indio”, “origen indio”, “inmigrantes”, “sij”, “hindú”, “musulmán”, “templo”, etc. These keywords were used to search for relevant articles in the LexisNexis database and through online searches of the various Spanish press websites. After locating the articles, they were categorized into eight themes: labour market, business/investment, religion, culture, gender, education, crime and integration.

Due to the brief nature of this report, the focus of the analysis is only on the primary content of the message, not on the latent content. Therefore, the analysis will not address the details of ‘agenda-setting’ or ‘framing issues’ influencing the specific media articles. Additionally, the examples of articles cited in this report are intended only as the illustrations of the qualitative findings. Furthermore, the sources quoted in the articles have not been included in the analysis, but this could be carried out in subsequent investigations.

¹ *La Opinión*, 16.11.2014: Gope Bhagwandas Mahtani: ‘Los empresarios indios se han marchado a Las Américas’.

1.3. Results: Thematic coverage, phrases and keywords

Out of a selected database of 200 articles, the analysis demonstrates that culture, religion and business/investment are the three most widely reported issues pertaining to the Indian community in Spain. Table 1 below provides the details regarding the percentage of articles in each category.

Table 1. Percentages of articles in each category

S.No.	Thematic Issue	Percentage of articles
1.	Labour market	4%
2.	Business/Investment	14%
3.	Religion	15%
4.	Culture	30%
5.	Gender	11%
6.	Education	7%
7.	Crime	10%
8.	Integration	9%

Please note that the thematic separation of articles is not rigid since many articles combine different themes together (for example, one article can talk about education, integration and culture). Therefore, the percentages of individual categories in Table 1 are not always exclusive.

The following table highlights the words that were used in connection with Indian immigrants or immigrants of Indian origin in the Spanish media. This would indicate the kind of issues that are usually raised regarding Indian nationals, Spanish citizens of Indian origin or about the Indian Diaspora in the Spanish press coverage.

Table 2. Some examples of phrases, nouns and adjectives used around either of the two words – *indio* or *India* – in the Spanish newspaper articles

S.No.	Themes	Phrases and keywords
1.	Gender issues	women in India (<i>mujeres en la India</i>); women who were attacked (<i>mujeres que fueron atacadas</i>); gender discrimination (<i>discriminación de género</i>); http://www.google.com/url?source=transpromo&rs=rssf&q=/translate.google.com/community?source=all birth of a girl is a disgrace (<i>tener una niña es considerado una desgracia</i>); projects with women (<i>proyectos con mujeres</i>)
2.	Social collaboration	social project in India (<i>proyecto social en la India</i>); social commitment in India (<i>compromiso social en la India</i>); evangelized by Indians (<i>evangelizado por los indios</i>); the world of cooperation (<i>el mundo de la cooperación</i>); social transformation (<i>la transformación social</i>)
3.	Indian immigrant community	the Sindhis came from India (<i>los sindhis venidos de India</i>); the wealthy Sindhi minority of India (<i>La adinerada minoría sindhi de la India</i>); silent, but not less present, are the Indians (<i>silenciosos pero no por ello menos presentes son los indios</i>); foreign group (<i>colectivo extranjero</i>); citizens of Indian nationality (<i>ciudadanos de nacionalidad india</i>); the Punjabis of India (<i>los punyabíes de India</i>); the Indian community (<i>la comunidad india</i>); the Indian Dhjamal (<i>El indio Dhjamal</i>); indian immigrants (<i>inmigrantes indios</i>); difficulties in getting a visa (<i>dificultades de conseguir una visa</i>)

(Cont.)

Table 2. Some examples of phrases, nouns and adjectives used around either of the two words – *indio* or *India* – in the Spanish newspaper articles (cont.)

S.No.	Themes	Phrases and keywords
4.	Political institutions	the Indian organization Lokpanchayat (<i>la organización india Lokpanchayat</i>); Indian government (<i>gobierno indio</i>); the political authorities of India (<i>autoridades políticas de la India</i>)
5.	Cultural, historical or socio-economic issues	marriages in India are arranged (<i>matrimonios en India son concertados</i>); come from multilingual contexts (<i>vienen de contextos políglotas</i>); spectacularly surrealist and kitsch films (<i>los filmes espectáculo surrealista y kitsch</i>); Bollywood films (<i>las películas de Bollywood</i>); masala films (<i>masala filmes</i>); indian art (<i>arte indio</i>)
6.	Business/ Investment	foreign investors (<i>los inversores extranjeros</i>); the Indian economy (<i>la economía india</i>); Spanish companies in India (<i>empresas españolas en India</i>); invested (<i>invertido</i>); manufacturing of defense equipment (<i>fabricación de material de defensa</i>); Indian company (<i>empresa india</i>); a bazaar of Punjabi products (<i>un bazar de productos punyabíes</i>)
7.	Religion	Sikhs (<i>los sikhs</i>); more traditional (<i>los más tradicionales</i>); Sikh religion (<i>religión sij</i>); wear turban (<i>visten turbante</i>); sacred temple of the Sikhs (<i>templo sagrado de los sijs</i>); black turban and large and thick beard, characteristics of the Sikh community (<i>turbante negro y barba larga y tupida, característicos de la comunidad sij</i>); Sikh origin (<i>origen sij</i>), Sikhism is a tolerant religion (<i>sijismo es una religión tolerante</i>); a maestro of Parsi origin (<i>el maestro de origen parsi</i>)
8.	Population and statistics	The Indian population grew after the regularization (<i>La población india creció a partir de la regularización</i>); a large group of Indian citizens (<i>un grupo numeroso de ciudadanos indios</i>); a great number of people of Indian origin (<i>un mayor número de población de origen indio</i>)
9.	Crime	expulsion order (<i>una orden de expulsion</i>), false names (<i>nombres falsos</i>); victim of xenophobic attacks (<i>víctima de ataques xenófobos</i>); object of racism (<i>objeto de racismo</i>); falsifying documents (<i>falsedad documental</i>); illegal immigration (<i>inmigración ilegal</i>)
10.	Labour market	to find work (<i>encontrar trabajo</i>); Sindhis (<i>los sindhis</i>); owners of souvenir shops (<i>propietarios de tiendas de souvenirs</i>); human capital (<i>capital humano</i>); business visa (<i>visados de negocios</i>); Indian computer experts (<i>informática indios</i>)
11.	Integration	common language (<i>lengua común</i>); language immersion (<i>inmersión en una lengua</i>); gypsies come from India (<i>los gitanos proceden de la India</i>); gypsies of Rajasthan (<i>gitanos del Rajastán</i>); flamenco was born in India (<i>el flamenco nació en India</i>)
12.	Education	educated with Catalan Jesuits in India (<i>educado con jesuitas catalanes en India</i>); the Spanish universities (<i>las universidades españolas</i>); young Indians (<i>jóvenes indios</i>); overcome the 'Indian' barrier (<i>supere la barrera que los indios tienen</i>); exchange program (<i>programa de intercambio</i>)

2. Education

The results of the media analysis demonstrate that educational concerns of Indian immigrants in Spain or problems encountered by their children were not high on the agenda of the mainstream Spanish press. There is practically no interest in Indian students in Spanish schools or in higher education, with just about 7% of the articles focusing on this theme.

The articles that did address these issues mainly concentrated on three topics: teaching cultural tolerance in Spanish schools; teaching entrepreneurship to Spanish students through collaboration with an Indian company; and, the reasons why relatively few students choose to study in Spain.

For example, the newspaper *El Periódico de Catalunya* published an article, *Conocerse para tolerarse* [To get to know to tolerate],² discussing the case of a school in Barcelona. In this school students in sixth grade, aged 11 and 12 years, have frequent opportunities to learn more about other cultures and to enhance their knowledge regarding other countries, with the objective of promoting peace and tolerance. In their case, the students were encouraged to speak during their class with Indian students of the same age studying in Pune (India) by Skype. Before the Skype sessions, students conduct secondary activities to know more about India's geographic location, history, social organization, languages, customs, etc. The article also highlights interesting aspects of this cultural exchange where the Spanish students and their counterparts in India prepare thirty questions for each other, addressing: the characteristics of their respective schools (such as the number of classrooms, buildings, nationalities of students, number of hours); details about the classes (subjects, duties, duration); leisure activities (holidays, museums, sports); and the description of the daily life of students (the city, traditions, meals, timetables). The article particularly emphasised the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of non-violence and the importance of supporting multiculturalism.

Another article, though not published in mainstream Spanish press, is worth highlighting here: it discusses the cultural exchange program between schools in Spain and India through the 'School to School' programme, initiated by the Vicente Ferrer Foundation. Entitled *El programa de intercambio entre colegios de España e India de la Fundación Vicente Ferrer vuelve a las aulas* [The exchange program between schools in Spain and India by the Vicente Ferrer Foundation returns to schools]³ the article was published in *Europa Press*. The piece discusses this unique initiative where children come into contact with the reality of Indian students through lectures by members of the Foundation and with the help of teaching resources addressing issues such as family, traditions and the natural environment.

Enhancing the youth skills in higher education through collaboration with Indian partners was the second notable issue highlighted in the Spanish media. For example, the newspaper *El Mundo* published an article discussing a project shared between a Spanish university and an Indian company in teaching entrepreneurship. Entitled *La Universidad de Mondragón enseñará emprendizaje en la India* [The University of Mondragón will teach entrepreneurship in India],⁴ the article discussed the ambitious collaboration agreement between the University of Mondragón with an Indian businessman to train and create 10,000 entrepreneurs. In addition, the article underlines their hopes of creating a center that will become a creative space and an incubator for entrepreneurs and Indian companies.

The third relevant issue, the low level of interest of Indian students studying in Spain, was not usually discussed by the major mainstream Spanish newspapers. One of the Spanish financial newspapers, *Expansión*, published an article *Por qué los indios no se matriculan en las universidades*

² *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 11.2.2014: Conocerse para tolerarse.

³ *Europa Press*, 12.9.2013: El programa de intercambio entre colegios de España e India de la Fundación Vicente Ferrer vuelve a las aulas.

⁴ *El Mundo*, 31.3.2015: La Universidad de Mondragón enseñará emprendizaje en la India.

españolas [Why Indians do not enrol in Spanish universities].⁵ This highlighted the challenges confronted by Spanish educational institutions in attracting Indian students: limited financial resources, bureaucratic and complex institutions, high competition with American and other European universities, limited marketing initiatives, scarce supply of bilingual programmes, etc. The coverage also included a mention of the program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Spain-India Foundation called “Indian Leaders” (*Líderes Indios*). The most interesting aspect of this article was the emphasis on how Indian students could be a good resource in helping Spain’s shattered economy. By bringing in more Indian students who are “are accustomed to pay more for seats” (“los estudiantes de lugares como Mumbai o Delhi que vienen a Europa están acostumbrados a pagar más por las plazas”), the article suggested that the collapse of funding in public schools might be addressed. Spanish universities had advantages too: only one Indian university was among the top 500 in the world compared to 10 Spanish universities; and, it was also noted that to study Spanish “is fashionable” (“está de moda”) in the Indian subcontinent.

3. Labour Market

According to the OECD’s International Migration Outlook 2013 (OECD 2013: 296), Spain has seen the largest increase in unemployment of OECD member countries since the beginning of the economic crisis. This has affected both natives and immigrants. The unemployment rate for foreign nationals in Spain was 36.5% at the end of 2012 while for natives it was 24.2%. Furthermore, the report stresses the effects of the economic crisis, which has made it very difficult for immigrants to find a job. This, in turn, has negatively affected immigrants’ status regarding permit renewal, family reunification, and *ad hoc* regularisation (for example, the “*arraigo*” process requires an employment offer of at least one year). Hiring non-resident foreign nationals has been restricted and priority given to foreign nationals already residing in the country (*ibidem*). The use of instruments for recruiting non-resident foreign nationals (Shortage Occupation Lists and the collective management of hiring in the country of origin) has also been reduced (*ibidem*).

However, some positive measures were also adopted in the 2011 New Aliens Act and Regulation to prevent legal migrants who had lost their jobs from losing their legal status: this applied mostly to those receiving unemployment benefits or to those whose partners can support them (*ibidem*).

In terms of media portrayals of the Indian community, three themes can be easily identified. The first is the contribution of the Indian migrant community in the local economy. For example, the *El País*’ article *Asia está aquí* [Asia is here]⁶ discusses the first settlements of the Sindhi community in Spain that, it argues, had a deep economic impact. In addition to the Sindhi community, it also highlights the contributions of the Sikh community to the Spanish economy. It is interesting to note that the article clearly defines the Indian community in terms of different ethnic or religious categories rather than referring to them as just the “Indian community” or “Indians”. The article also suggests that Sikhs are “the most traditional as can be seen by the fact they wear turbans” (“los más tradicionales y que se pueden reconocer porque visten turbante”).

The second theme arising from the analysis are the challenges encountered by Indian immigrants with the Spanish financial crisis, unemployment and difficult visa procedures. For example, an article in *El Periódico de Catalunya* refers to the case of Karpal Singh,⁷ who would like to return to India, as he feels that there is no longer a possibility of finding work in Spain (“no tiene nada y que es consciente de que no volverá a encontrar trabajo”). Other articles have underlined the importance of easing labour movements by issuing business visas to highly mobile migrants from Asia and by

⁵ *Expansión*, 2.6.2014: Por qué los indios no se matriculan en las universidades españolas.

⁶ *El País*, 9.6.2011: Asia está aquí.

⁷ *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 8.3.2012: Retorno al Somorrostro.

helping them improve their living conditions.⁸ They have also suggested the introduction of visa programmes similar to the former German Green Card, to be given to Indian IT experts.

Additional themes addressed in the articles refer to the wider Indian Diaspora, especially in the United States, the UK, Germany or other countries with a large Indian community. These articles generally have a positive take on the Indian community and refer to the important contribution of Indian immigrants to the country's local economy. They also provide examples of how Indian immigrants have had economic and professional success abroad and how they have contributed to their country of origin by setting up high-tech centres in cities such as Bangalore and Hyderabad.⁹

4. Business/Investment

The Spanish media has a slightly higher coverage (14%) on India-Spain business relations, especially on topics regarding partnerships between Spanish companies and Indian companies, Indian companies investing in Spain and Spanish companies investing in India.

Analyzing the articles, one can clearly see that the focus on business and investment spiked on four specific occasions. The first occasion was during the visit of the former Spanish king, Rey Juan Carlos, to India, October 2012. Second, during the official visit of president of Catalonia, Artur Mas, to India in November 2013. Third, during the grand wedding celebrations of Shristi Mittal in Barcelona, the niece of Indian billionaire Lakshmi Mittal. Finally, the fourth occasion was during the visit of the Minister of Economic Development and Competitiveness for the Basque government, Arantxa Tapia, to India, March 2015.

On the first occasion, the former Spanish king's visit to India was widely covered in the national press, especially in the newspaper *ABC*. *ABC*'s article highlighted that "The King encourages India to invest in Spain" ("El Rey anima a la India a invertir en España")¹⁰ and sought to open up business opportunities for Spanish companies there. He was photographed with different Indian businessmen during official meetings and conferences, not least with Indian businessman Analjit Singh, founder of Max group, who announced an upcoming investment in Majorca.¹¹

During the official visit of Artur Mas to India, the press focused on his meetings with various Indian companies and businesses.¹² For example, he visited the headquarters of the company TATA-Ficosa, which is a joint venture between the Indian conglomerate TATA, and the Catalan company Ficosa. Later he attended the signing of an agreement between the Catalan automotive company, Zanini, and the Indian company Polyplastics, for the implementation of a production plant in Pune (India).

The third occasion, the grand wedding celebrations of Shristi Mittal in Barcelona, was widely covered in the Spanish press. There were discussions of the cultural aspects of Indian weddings (discussed later in this report) but also about the positive economic impact of this wedding on the local economy, which was funded by successful business tycoon Lakshmi Mittal. For example, the article published in *El Periódico de Catalunya*, titled *El magnate que paga las bodas en metálico* [The tycoon who pays for the weddings in cash]¹³ creates a pun around the word "metálico" which means metal but also means money, signifying the wealth of the Indian steel magnate. The article described

⁸ *El País*, 22.10.2014: Lo principal es avanzar.

⁹ *Málaga Hoy*, 14.3.2014: "España no habla de diáspora pero empieza a haberla y es de alto nivel".

¹⁰ *ABC*, 27.10.2012: El Rey anima a la India a invertir en España.

¹¹ *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 26.10.2012: El Rey afirma en la India que las reformas estan dando frutos.

¹² *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 29.11.2013: Rajoy agita el debate escocés y Mas le acusa de "intoxicar"; *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 1.12.2013: Mas receta en la India.

¹³ *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 1.12.2013: El magnate que paga las bodas en metálico.

his history, his political clout and his global business empire's success, adding that he is expected to "flood Barcelona with rupees and stimulate tourism with the wedding" ("espera que el próximo fin de semana riegue Barcelona de rupias y estimule el turismo con la boda").

The recent visit of Arantxa Tapia to India was another occasion covered by the Spanish media. Tapia's mission to India was to analyze market potential for Basque companies and to establish contacts with Basque companies already working in India. She was quoted as saying that Basque companies "must find their place in the modernization of India", a country where there are already 63 Basque (from Spain) firms.¹⁴

Other notable issues highlighted by the Spanish media were: the partnership between CIE Automotive Partners with Indian company Mahindra; Gamesa's (one of the leading companies in the renewable energy industry) new ventures in India; and the slow progress being made in the signing of the Free Trade Agreement between India and the EU.

5. Integration

According to the OECD's International Migration Outlook 2013, general budget cuts have affected the fund for the Reception and Integration of Immigrants and Educational Support: this had proved one of the main sources of funding for Regional Government activities for the integration of migrants (OECD 2013: 296). Additionally, the Central Government temporarily suspended its financial support for the fund in 2012 (*ibidem*). A health reform has also, since September 2012, imposed some limits on irregular migrants' access to certain basic free health services (*ibidem*).

The economic crisis seems not to have caused a negative social perception of immigration. According to the 2013 Centre for Sociological Research Barometer Survey, only 2.9% of Spaniards considered immigration a problem and fewer still (0.4%) a fundamental problem (*ibidem*). Similarly, the *Second Global Report on Findings on Social and Intercultural Coexistence in High Diversity Regions* compiled by the Community Projects section of "La Caixa" concluded that the economic and employment crisis did not seem to have a negative impact on the perception of cultural diversity (*ibidem*).

Official concerns that unemployment and the crisis could increase racism and xenophobia promoted the government, in 2012 and 2013, to implement a number of awareness-raising and training actions. These included training the staff of law enforcement agencies on racism issues. Further, anti-racism training was implemented in 2013 in education and justice, the latter involving prosecutors, judges and court clerks (*ibidem*).

In terms of the Spanish media's portrayal of the Indian community, articles discussing the integration of Indian community were relatively low (9%). The main issues highlighted were: the need for the standardization of an "integration" test to grant citizenship; local initiatives to promote language immersion and cultural understanding; the historical Indian origins of the gypsy community; and, the successful integration of the Indian community in Spain through the analysis of Punjabi migrants in Catalonia.

In Spain there is no standard test or a manual of questions to assess the degree of integration of immigrants who aspire to gain Spanish nationality. This problem was highlighted in an article¹⁵ in *El País* which quoted an immigrant of Indian origin, Vikas, who took the examination after living in Spain for ten years but was still not granted Spanish nationality. This was despite him speaking perfect Spanish, being married to a Spanish national and having a good job.

¹⁴ *El País*, 23.3.2015: Tapia dice que las empresas vascas deben buscar su hueco en India.

¹⁵ *El País*, 11.1.2015: ¿Aprobaría usted el test de 'españolidad'?

Regarding local initiatives, two media examples are worth highlighting. The first is an *El País* article on the local government's programme to encourage Catalan speakers to use their language while speaking to immigrants, to encourage "language immersion".¹⁶ The second example is the article in *El Periódico de Catalunya* that discusses a local initiative by an Indian immigrant in Barcelona, who organizes a walk around Sant Antoni market and Raval, culminating in a visit to the Sikh gurudwara. Her objective is that of breaking traditional stereotypes about Indians and explaining the details about India's multicultural background to locals and tourists.¹⁷ Quoting the Indian organizer, the article describes her hopes and objectives for this guided walk: "It is like a bridge between Catalan culture and India, a virtual journey to get to know my country" ("Es como un puente entre la cultura catalana y la India, un viaje virtual para que conozcan mi país").

The third topic, pertaining to the Indian origins of the gypsy community, has also been mentioned in the Spanish media. In an *ABC* article, *El Cante de las Minas de La Unión viajará hasta la India en 2014*,¹⁸ the author quotes a press conference at the Cervantes Institute in New Delhi, where the speaker said that the gypsies of Rajasthan (India) brought flamenco when they arrived in Europe and they wanted to show the world that flamenco was born in India. Another *ABC* article¹⁹ highlights how it is widely accepted that gypsies are from India but their status prior to migrating and the reason they did so still remains a mystery.

Finally, the cases of Punjabi immigrants in Catalonia were presented in the *La Vanguardia* newspaper in an article,²⁰ which emphasized their success in integrating into the local community. Quoting a Punjabi immigrant, the article described his journey from India to Spain and how finding a job has helped him to integrate ("Al tener trabajo, mi integración no ha sido difícil").

6. Crime

Irregular immigration to Spain has subsided in recent years, not least due to the policy aimed at combating irregular immigration and co-operating with countries of origin and transit (OECD 2014: 298). However, illegal land border crossings from Morocco to Ceuta and Melilla increased, from 2,800 in 2012 to 4,200 in 2013 (*ibidem*).

The Spanish press has a notable interest (10%) on crime committed or involving Indian nationals or people of Indian origin. For example, around 50 immigrants of Indian origin were found living in the forests of Ceuta²¹ and a news story highlighted the problems encountered by these immigrants, including their financial problems, danger from human traffickers and the mafia, ill treatment from local authorities and problems arising out of living in the jungle or on the streets. The article stated that most of them did not have any identity cards, because they had been advised to destroy their documents so as to provide fake names to the Spanish authorities and escape being identified as Indian citizens.

Other news stories spanned a range of crimes committed involving Indian immigrants or Spanish nationals of Indian origin, including: tax evasion, homicide, fake marriages to EU nationals, fiscal fraud, bribery, extortion, black market, human trafficking and irregular migration. For example, in *ABC*, an article²² discussed a complex structure of companies run by an Indian citizen dedicated

¹⁶ *El País*, 16.2.2009: Un musical a lo Bollywood para promocionar la "lengua común de Cataluña".

¹⁷ *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 10.12.2014: La India Barcelonesa.

¹⁸ *ABC*, 14.5.2013: El Cante de las Minas de La Unión viajará hasta la India en 2014.

¹⁹ *ABC*, 7.6.2014: El enigma histórico de los gitanos.

²⁰ *La Vanguardia*, 30.1.2012: Del Punjab a Olot.

²¹ *interviú*, 31.8.2009: Medio centenar de inmigrantes indios llevan 18 meses en un bosque de Ceuta.

²² *ABC*, 18.11.2014: El jefe de la trama india detenido vivía en un residencial de lujo en Conde Orgaz.

primarily to tax evasion for products from China and EU. The language used in the article was largely neutral but was negative towards the company. Though not really representing a negative perception of the Indian community, the article mentioned the man's ethnicity, "an Indian who has now Spanish citizenship" ("el indio nacionalizado español") and most of the other people arrested in the company were also Indian nationals ("la mayoría ciudadanos indios").

Crimes of racism and discrimination against Indian citizens were also underlined in various articles by the Spanish press. For example, a news story in *El Periódico de Catalunya* focused on the issue of racism against Indian tourists visiting Barcelona. Entitled *No vamos a volver a BCN*, the article described the experiences of three young tourists of Indian origin who were allegedly victims of discrimination and racist behaviour on the part of the local police. They were detained and questioned twice without any justification while visiting tourist sites in Barcelona. One of the alleged victims was quoted as saying that: "If you have dark skin do not go to Barcelona, you will not be respected by the authorities" ("Si tienes piel oscura no vayas a Barcelona, no vas a ser respetado por las autoridades"). A hotel source quoted in the news story said that such incidents are not isolated cases. Rather, they are one example of many, which not only violate fundamental rights, but that also have a negative impact on the tourism sector.

7. Religion

News stories addressing the religious issues of the Indian community in Spain are more frequently published in the Spanish press (15%) compared to other topics. Most of the articles discuss Sikhism or the Sikh community, though there are also other stories that refer to Hindu temples, Hindu festivals and religious traditions. Rarely did journalists write about other Indian religions: Islam, Christianity, Buddhism or Jainism. This is probably because the Indian community in Spain is dominated by a Hindus and Sikhs.

Articles regarding Sikhism covered a variety of issues: Sikh traditions; references to the building of a *gurdwara* (a place of worship); and also a controversy regarding their demands to be exempted from wearing helmets²³ (due to their turbans) while riding bikes. After the violent attacks against Sikhs in the United States (at a Sikh temple in Wisconsin), *ABC* correspondents visited a Sikh temple in Madrid to learn about the beliefs and customs of the followers of Sikhism. Their article, titled *Ni son musulmanes ni son hindúes, son sijes, y están en España*,²⁴ highlighted the history and experiences of a strong Sikh community in Spain (about 20,000). The article also brought out the discrimination they face because many people confuse them with Muslims and associate them with criminal activities. The news story also focuses on the Sikh tradition of having five elements: the *kesh*, or uncut hair; the *khanga*, small wooden comb for the hair; the *kara*, metal bracelet; the *kechera*, cotton underwear, and the *kirpan*, a curved dagger (though in Spain, they are banned from carrying *kirpan*).

Articles discussing the Hindu religion and Hindu festivals have also been published in the Spanish press. For example, the Spanish tradition of *fallas* (creation of large effigies that are burnt at the end of the festival) was engulfed in a controversy in 2013 due to some effigies being made in the form of Hindu Gods such as *Ganesha* and *Shiva*. An article²⁵ in *El País* reported the detention of a man accused of threatening to immolate himself in protest against the burning of Hindu *fallas*. The story referred to two Hindu associations from Valencia who filed a formal complaint to request that the effigies of Hindu Gods should not be burned as it would be "sacrilegious" ("acto sacrílego"). The article further reported that the festival's committee later decided to remove the effigies as "a proof of good faith and cooperation" ("en prueba de buena fe y de cooperación").

²³ *ABC*, 10.12.2013: La comunidad sij pide no tener que llevar el casco por la dimensión de su turbante.

²⁴ *ABC*, 12.8.2012: Ni son musulmanes ni son hindúes, son sijes, y están en España.

²⁵ *El País*, 19.3.2013: Un detenido por la polémica de la falla con símbolos hindúes.

8. Gender

Within the database, 11% of the articles can be categorized as gender related, though they rarely focus exclusively on the experiences of Indian men and Indian women in Spain. Gender as a thematic issue for articles related to the Indian community has been more focused on the situation of Indian women in India and across the globe.

News stories have focused on a wide variety of issues related to the experiences of Indian women, including the importance of recognizing the rights of women for successful integration into Spanish society; reproductive rights and surrogacy; and sexual violence and arranged marriages. For example, an article²⁶ in *El País* highlighted the possible difficulties that women from the Indian community have in integrating in Spanish society. The journalist mentioned that the role and rights of women will experience major changes in the second and third generations. In another news story²⁷ on the Punjabi community in Olot, experiences of wives of Indian male immigrants were mentioned, where it was noted that the women also desired to work, but they felt that would be unable to find a job due to the economic crisis.

India as a destination for Spanish couples seeking a surrogate was a popular topic discussed by several Spanish newspapers. For example, in an article²⁸ in *El Mundo*, the wide popularity of the Indian surrogacy ‘industry’ was discussed. There was also references to a growing interest in Indian institutions on the part of Spanish citizens who are not able to have a surrogacy in Spain because it is far more expensive and not legally recognized. The article also highlighted the bureaucratic problems associated with surrogacy owing to the fact that since June 2013, a new and stricter visa regime has complicated things for Spanish couples. Since homosexuality is illegal in India, only heterosexual married Spanish couples can legally have a surrogacy in India. Plus new visa rules adopted by the Ministry of Home Affairs also requires a document attesting that the recipient country “recognizes the surrogacy”, which in the case of Spain is impossible because it is considered illegal. The practice has been tolerated because a Spanish father’s children have a constitutional right to obtain Spanish nationality. But the new documentary requirement presents an obstacle to gaining an exit visa in the Spanish passport of babies born to Indian surrogate mothers.

Cases of sexual violence and inequality in India have been much noted in the Spanish press, especially after the horrific gang rape of an Indian medical student in December 2012. It has generated debates in the press on gender equality issues in Spain and interest in protest marches in Spanish cities. For example, in an article²⁹ in *La Vanguardia*, Spanish protests and sensitization programmes were reported, which are being conducted with the objective of mobilizations for equality and solidarity. A reference to the latest incidents of Indian women being victims of acid attacks was made in the article.

Other notable examples of news stories in this area have addressed the social contributions of Spanish authorities, NGOs and government towards funding programmes in India. This would support the development of Indian girls and disadvantaged women. Most notably, the role of a Spanish NGO Vincent Ferrer Foundation was frequently referenced.

²⁶ *El País*, 9.6.2011: Asia está aquí.

²⁷ *La Vanguardia*, 30.1.2012: Del Punjab a Olot.

²⁸ *El Mundo*, 17.11.2013: El útero de alquiler del mundo.

²⁹ *La Vanguardia*, 9.3.2015: Mujeres de todo el mundo se movilizan por la igualdad.

9. Culture

Indian cultural festivals, yoga, cuisine, marriage ceremonies, music, art and films (especially from Bollywood) are quite popular in the Spanish media. According to our analysis about 30% of the Spanish press articles referred to Indian culture. Though it is not possible to all topics in this brief report, there follow some samples.

News stories about Bollywood, Hindi cinema, Indo-Spanish movie co-productions and Spanish locations being used in Indian movies were amongst the most popular cinema-related news pertaining to the Indian community. For example, Madrid hosted the XI edition of the festival Imagineindia in 2012. This was covered in a news article³⁰ of *El Mundo*, along with the details of the Bollywood and Bengali movie industry. Renowned Indian film director, Satyajit Ray and his famous “Apu’s trilogy” were also discussed. In another news story,³¹ the popularity of Spanish locations for Indian films was highlighted. The article talks about the famous Indian movie *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (the Hindi name roughly translates to *You Do not a Second Chance in Life*), a film depicting a bachelor road trip, which was filmed in Costa Brava, featuring the Tomatina festival in Buñol, and beautiful Andalusian villages. Furthermore, a news article³² was written about Santiago de Compostela (Spain) hosting the President of the association of producers of Indian cinema.

In terms of music, a famous orchestra director from India, Zubin Mehta, and the sitar player, the late Pandit Ravi Shankar, were regularly featured in Spanish press articles. In an interview³³ with *El País*, Zubin Mehta discussed his next performance in Spain and the influence of famous Spanish conductor and composer, Francisco Casanovas Tallardá, on his career. Other news stories³⁴ talked about Pandit Ravi Shankar (especially at the time of his death) and his worldwide popularity.

The grand wedding celebrations of Shristi Mittal in Barcelona, the niece of Indian billionaire Lakshmi Mittal, was widely covered in the Spanish press. The wedding preparations, cuisine, costumes, wedding traditions (for example, the Indian tradition of a groom coming to the wedding on a horse) and the grand fireworks were all reported.³⁵

10. Conclusion

This report has shown that the Indian community has a significant presence in the Spanish press, with a largely positive representation, though most of the focus is on cultural, religious and business aspects. However, content analysis cannot tell us definitively what audiences make of news items or what meanings they take away from such texts (Hall 1997 cited in Krippendorff and Bock 2008: 382). Additionally, further research is needed to understand the influence of the local socio-political and economic contexts that may determine, in part, the way the Indian community is depicted. Furthermore, ‘agenda-setting’ or ‘framing issues’ touching on specific media articles should be investigated further.

The Indian diaspora is a powerful global community with members making a significant contribution to their host country, while maintaining strong links with their country of origin. The remittances from the overseas Indian communities to India are the highest in the world, standing at US\$ 70 billion in 2013, according to the World Bank (2014). Even though Spain has a relatively small

³⁰ *El Mundo*, 19.5.2012: *Una de indios*.

³¹ *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 2.5.2012: Los mundos posibles del cine.

³² *ABC*, 9.8.2013: Santiago enamora a Bollywood.

³³ *El País*, 31.10.2013: “*Los políticos que nos quieren arrebatar la cultura son criminales*”.

³⁴ For example, refer to the article *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 13.12.2012: Adiós al coloso del sitar.

³⁵ For example, refer to the article *El País*, 4.12.2013: Barcelona se prepara para una gran boda india.

Indian community, their portrayal in the mainstream media shows their importance and may give clues as to how to improve their integration in Spanish society.

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- La Vanguardia*, 9.3.2015: Mujeres de todo el mundo se movilizan por la igualdad

Appendix. Brief descriptions of some media sources

ABC. This is a Spanish national daily newspaper and is considered the third largest general-interest newspaper in Spain, and the oldest newspaper still operating in Madrid. It is generally considered to represent conservative and right wing political views and supports the Spanish monarchy.

El Mundo. This is the second largest daily newspaper in Spain. It often expresses the views of the centre-right and has liberal overtones. It has a substantial online presence and many of its readers are based in Latin America. It produces different printed editions for the various Spanish regions such as Andalusia, Valencia, Castile and León, the Balearic Islands and Bilbao.

El País. This is a national daily newspaper, based in Madrid, and along with El Mundo and ABC one of Spain's most read newspapers. Based in Madrid, El País also produces regional editions as well as a world edition that is printed and distributed in Latin America. It has a pro-democracy and socialist in editorial terms.

El Periódico de Catalunya. This is a national daily newspaper published in Barcelona, both in Spanish and in Catalán. It is considered ideologically Leftist, Catalan and progressive. It receives subsidies from the Catalanian Government.

La Vanguardia. This is a national daily newspaper published in Barcelona, both in Spanish and in Catalán. It receives subsidies from the Government of Catalonia. It is mostly distributed in Catalonia, but still has Spain's fourth-highest circulation among general-interest newspapers. It is considered a Catalan nationalist newspaper, though its editorial line is centrist and is moderate in its opinions.