

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism**

**Master thesis**

**2023**

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**CHARLES UNIVERSITY**

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**Post-colonial Discourse in Spanish-speaking  
Media: Framing of October 12th in Spanish  
and Mexican Newspapers**

*Master Thesis*

Prague 2023

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**Academic Year:** 2022/2023

## **Bibliographic note**

Segura Mondéjar, M. (2023) Post-colonial discourse in Spanish-speaking media: Framing of October 12th in Spanish and Mexican newspapers, [Master thesis]. Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism. Supervisor doc. PhDr. Alice Němcová Tejkalová, Ph.D.

## **Abstract**

In the aftermath of colonial relations, the vestiges of colonialism persist in contemporary societies, manifesting themselves in spheres such as economics, politics and culture; and perpetuating inequalities between nations. The commemoration of October 12th illustrates this issue. This date marks the arrival of Columbus in America in 1492 and is celebrated as Spain's national day and in former Spanish colonies throughout the Americas. However, the celebration has faced increasing criticism due to its colonial origins. This research employs a qualitative news frame analysis to investigate the framing of October 12th celebrations in Spanish and Mexican newspapers from 2012 to 2022. The analysis reveals a predominantly critical perspective in the portrayal of the celebration, leading to increased polarisation around the event. The presence of colonial discourse, which glorifies the colonial era and exempts the colonisers from past wrong doings, has been identified and is more prominent in Spanish publications. By shedding light on the framing of the October 12th celebrations, this study contributes to understanding the persistence of colonial legacies in the media. The findings underline the need for critical examination and reflection on historical events to foster awareness and promote more inclusive narratives that acknowledge the complexities of colonial history.

## **Keywords**

October 12th; Columbus Day; post-colonialism; colonial discourse; collective memory; news frame analysis.

## **Abstrakt**

V důsledku koloniálních vztahů přetrvávají v současných společnostech pozůstatky kolonialismu, které se projevují v oblastech, jako je ekonomika, politika a kultura, a udržují nerovnosti mezi národy. Tuto problematiku ilustrují oslavy 12. října. Datum připomíná příjezd Kolumba do Ameriky v roce 1492 a slaví se jako národní den Španělska a v bývalých španělských koloniích po celé Americe. Oslava však čelí stále větší kritice kvůli svému koloniálnímu původu. Tento výzkum využívá kvalitativní analýzu zpravodajských rámců ke zkoumání rámcování oslav 12. října ve španělských a mexických novinách v letech 2012 až 2022. Analýza odhaluje převážně kritický pohled na zobrazování oslav, což vede ke zvýšené polarizaci kolem této události. Byla zjištěna přítomnost koloniálního diskurzu, který oslavuje koloniální éru a osvobozuje kolonizátory od minulých špatností, a je častější ve španělských publikacích. Tím, že tato studie osvětluje rámcování oslav 12. října, přispívá k pochopení přetrvávání koloniálního dědictví v médiích. Zjištění zdůrazňují potřebu kritického zkoumání a reflexe historických událostí s cílem podpořit informovanost a prosazovat inkluzivnější vyprávění, která uznávají složitost koloniální historie.

## **Klíčová slova**

12. říjen; Kolumbův den; postkolonialismus; koloniální diskurz; kolektivní paměť; analýza zpravodajských rámců.

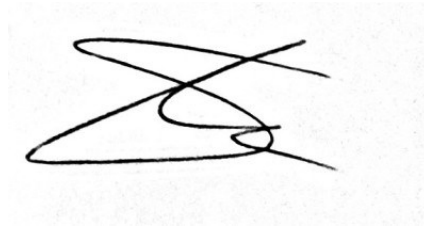
**Range of thesis: 58 pages and 120739 characters**

## **Declaration of Authorship**

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.
4. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

Prague, 27<sup>th</sup> of July 2023

Mar Segura Mondéjar

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. Segura Mondéjar', written on a light-colored background.

## **Acknowledgments**

I am truly thankful to my family for always encouraging me to pursue my professional aspirations, even if it takes me far away from them. I want to thank my classmates in Prague for being a great support during the months this thesis was written. I am also incredibly grateful to the Mundus Journalism consortium for granting me the scholarship that made these two years of Master's education possible. Lastly, thanks to PhDr. Alice Němcová Tejkalová for guiding me through this process.

Quiero dedicar este texto a los latinos que forman parte de mi vida y que me han animado a pensar de forma crítica sobre las relaciones entre nuestros países. Esta tesis se ha escrito desde la esperanza de poder crear un vínculo más igualitario entre España y América Latina.

**Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism**  
**Approved research proposal**



**Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism FSV UK**  
**Research proposal for Erasmus Mundus Journalism Diploma Thesis**

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<b>Your faculty e-mail:</b> 45510006@fsv.cuni.cz																
<b>Study program/form of study:</b> Erasmus Mundus Journalism																
<b>Thesis title in English:</b> Post-colonial discourse in Spanish-speaking media: Framing of October 12 <sup>th</sup> in Spanish and Mexican newspapers																
<b>Expected date of submission</b> (semester, academic year – example: SS 2021/2022) (Thesis must be submitted according to the Academic Calendar.) SS 2022/2023																
<b>Main research question</b> (max. 250 characters):  RQ1: What are the differences between the Spanish and Mexican framing of October 12 <sup>th</sup> ? RQ2: Has the framing of October 12 <sup>th</sup> changed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the last 10 years? RQ3: Does the ideology of the newspaper affect the framing of October 12 <sup>th</sup> ?																
<b>Current state of research on the topic</b> (max. 1800 characters):  Spain's national day is celebrated on 12 <sup>th</sup> October, the day Columbus arrived in America. In Spain, this day is often referred to as the "discovery of America", a rhetoric that implies the New World was "void of inhabitants, thereby rendering it meaningless prior to European arrival" (Ono, 2009, p. 4). However, over the past 30 years, criticism towards this colonial view has increased (Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019).  Even so, many authors have pointed to the prevalence of a distorted narrative in the way Latin America is represented in Spanish film productions (Dennison, 2013), history textbooks (Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019) and Spanish as a foreign language books (Forteza, 2020). Therefore, it is reasonable to think this narrative can be found in the media.  12 <sup>th</sup> October is also celebrated in America. Throughout the 20 <sup>th</sup> century, the narrative there has shifted from a pro-colonial view to a critical perspective towards Spanish colonialism (vom Hau, 2015). Along these lines, the idea of decolonial turn arose, which describes decolonisation as a still unfinished project at the global level (Maldonado-Torres, 2006).  In the past 30 years, scholars have studied the presence of colonialism in the media. When it comes to the representation of Native Americans in the US, Lang (2015, p. 85) found that "incognizant racism" is maintained through an unreflexive adherence to institutionalized news practices". Blaagard (2011) discovered that Denmark presents an "amputated" history of its colonial past and its media delegitimises anti-colonial demands (p. 63). The narrative by former metropolises is described as an attempt to erase pre-colonial existence to justify exploitation																

(Ono, 2009). Media have played an essential role in this process in the past and I want to study whether it continues to enable those narratives in the present.

**Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):**

This thesis would fall within the decolonial turn theory, which aims to identify the effects of colonialism contemporary power structures as well as identities, and from there deconstruct the remaining colonial remnants. (Maldonado-Torres, 2008)

Other decolonial literature, such as Bobowick, Pires and Licata's (2018) contribution, states that social representations of the colonial past "are necessary to preserve a sense of group continuity and to cultivate values and norms that prescribe behaviors within a group and between an ingroup and outgroups" (p. 2).

Framing theory is another central part of the thesis. Entman (1993, p. 52) described framing as "selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicated text, in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described".

When the media covers historical events, media frames intersect with memory frames, which shape collective memory around said events. Kubal (1991, p. 4-5) described memory frames as "historical symbols about the past that are remade in support of a party, group or cause. They are partisan reinterpretations of history" and they make a "strategic use of stories about the past". Intentionally or not, journalists engage with memory frames when reproducing them in their reporting.

According to the concept of cultural stock defined by Van Gorp (2006), readers attribute a different meaning to news depending on the previous cultural phenomena that they have been exposed to. This will explain possible different frames in different countries and time periods.

**Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):**

To carry out this research, I will use qualitative news frame analysis. This seems to me the most appropriate approach as I am trying to interpret "meanings and other unobservable dimensions of communication" (Wood, 2004, p. 65). I will follow the method as described by Linström and Marais (2012) by choosing a medium and topic, determining a time-frame, drawing a sample, identifying a unit of analysis (in this case it will be entire articles) and selection of a frame typology, which "could be done inductively, where frames emerge as the research progresses" (p. 29).

After completing the previous steps, the process of identifying news frames can begin. By carefully reading the articles multiple times, I should be able to "identify recurring themes, frames and values" (Alozie, 2005, p. 66) and then operationalize a definition for each of the frames.

Qualitative news frame analyses emphasise the cultural and political content of news frames and "how they draw upon a shared store of social meanings" (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 18). These authors (ibid.) state that this approach to frame analysis examines the keywords and metaphors in the text, identifying what was included in the frame, as well as what was left out.

**Expected research design (data to be analyzed, for example, the titles of analyzed newspapers and selected time period):**

In my thesis:  
media

continues

In my thesis, I intend to identify the frames with which October 12<sup>th</sup> is presented in the Spanish and Mexican media. I am interested in analyzing whether the frames:

- Have changed over the last 10 years
- Are different in both countries
- Differ according to the ideology of the media

To do so, I will conduct a qualitative frame analysis on news articles referring to October 12<sup>th</sup> and America. News articles from six different digital newspapers will be analyzed, the chosen outlets will be:

- Three Spanish digital newspapers from right (ABC), left (El País) and centre (El Mundo) ideology.
- Three Mexican digital newspapers from right, left and centre ideology.

The time frame will be the week before and after October 12<sup>th</sup> of the last 10 years (from 2013 to 2022). I will use Factiva to find the news articles using the search query “doce de Octubre” OR “12 de Octubre” AND “América” and limiting the search to the above-mentioned sources.

If the sample turns out too large to analyse, I will limit it to analysing articles every two years.

**Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content):**

Abstract

Introduction

Theoretical Framework

- Decolonization and decolonial turn
- Framing colonialism

Literature Review

- The role of journalism in shaping collective memory and identity building
- Representations of colonialism in the media
- Legacies of Spanish colonialism in Latin America
- Symbolism and meaning of October 12<sup>th</sup>

Methodology

- Qualitative news frame analysis

Results

Conclusion and discussion

Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the methodology; all works should be briefly characterized on 2-5 lines):

- García Sebastiani, M., & Marcellhacy, D. (2016). Celebrating the Nation: 12 October, from 'Day of the Race' to Spanish National Day. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 731-763.

This article describes the celebration of 12 October, its origin and the evolution of its meaning throughout the 20th century. It discusses the role of this date in the Spanish and Latin American nation-building process, the debates that exist around the celebration of 12 October and how these debates shape Spanish society today. This information is essential to set the context for my research.

- Vom Hau, M. (2015). From "Civilizing Force" to "Source of Backwardness": Representations of Spanish Colonialism in Latin America. *Historia Actual Online*, 37 (2), 2015: 117-133.

Relevant article to understand the changes that took place in Latin America with respect to the official narrative of Spanish colonialism. During the 20th century, the narrative went from positive ("civilizing force") to negative ("source of backwardness"). The article is important to understand what narrative I might expect to find in Mexican newspapers and where it comes from.

- Ono, Kent A. (2009). *Contemporary Media Culture and the Remnants of a Colonial Past*. New York: Peter Lang.

The book provides context for how colonialism is understood in Western societies and how it is represented in the media. Although it focuses on examples from film and television, the framework it establishes can also be used to analyse newspaper articles. It describes cases from the North American context, but I believe that some correlations can be made with the Spanish and Latin American contexts.

- Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (2014). *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the media*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

This book explains the narratives surrounding colonialism in Europe as well as the hidden narratives. It deciphers which are the building blocks of the European colonialist discourse while devoting some of its chapter to the Iberian peninsula and to the figure of Columbus and the symbolism it entails in the contemporary world.

- Usher, N., & Carlson, M. (2022). Journalism as historical repair work: addressing present injustice through the second draft of history. *Journal of Communication*, 553-564.

This article coined the concept of *second draft of history journalism*, which expresses that the media, as social constructors of reality, have the ability to address past harms (such as misrepresentation of events). Although most news is about the present, journalism has long been recognized as a cultural agent in the creation, dissemination, and maintenance of collective memory. The concept can be used to understand a potential shift in the narrative of Spanish media regarding Spanish colonialism.

**Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):**

d(s) of


Brádková, H. (2013). *Media and Space: Influence of the Colonial Past on Cotemporary Media Coverage of France and Britain*. M.A. Thesis, Charles University.

Gagniarre, L. (2015). *Framing Françafrique: Neo-colonial framing practices in Le Monde's coverage of the French military interventions in Mali and the Central African Republic*. M.A. Thesis, London School of Economics.

Kubal, T. (2001). *Collective memory and social change: Framing Christopher Columbus*. PhD Thesis, Southern Illinois University.

**Date / Signature of the student:** 15/11/2022



<b>THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY THE ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR:</b>	
<b>I confirm that I have consulted this research proposal with the author and that the proposal is related to my field of expertise at the Faculty of Social Sciences.</b>	
<b>I agree to be the Thesis supervisor.</b>	
Alice Němcová Tejkalová	
<b>Surname and name of the supervisor</b>	<b>Date / Signature of the supervisor</b>
<b>Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis:</b>	
<b>Further recommendations of literature related to the topic:</b>	

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15, 2021**, addressed to the Program Coordinator. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Mgr. Sandra Štefaniková. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

**RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.**

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## Introduction

Collective memory serves as a tool to bring past events into the present, shaping a nation's identity by delving into historical roots. To that aim, collective memory is employed on a national level to foster feelings of national identity and define the features that distinguish a nation from others. National days, among other avenues, provide opportunities to cultivate this collective memory.

In Spain, the national day is celebrated on October 12th, the day Columbus arrived in America and started a colonial experience that would last four centuries. This day is often referred to as the “discovery of America” in the Hispanic context, a rhetoric that implies the continent was “void of inhabitants, thereby rendering it meaningless prior to European arrival” (Ono, 2009, p. 4). However, over the past 30 years, criticism towards this colonial view has grown (Carretero & Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019). Even so, many authors have pointed to the prevalence of a distorted narrative affected by colonial discourse in the way Latin America is represented in Spanish film productions (Dennison, 2013), history textbooks (Carretero & Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019) and Spanish as a foreign language books (Forteza & Rubtsova, 2020). These are evidence of the existence of colonial discourse in the Spanish public sphere.

Little research has been done on the prevalence of a colonial narrative in contemporary media in the Spanish context. Given that once citizens complete their mandatory education, media is one of the few channels through which they will interact with history, exploring the portrayal of the Spanish colonial past in the media is highly relevant. Such exploration would contribute to comprehending Spain's relationship with its colonial history and its former colonies, as well as how former colonies relate to its former metropolis, Spain.

October 12th is also celebrated in America. Throughout the 20th century, the narrative there has shifted from a pro-colonial view to a critical perspective towards Spanish colonialism (vom Hau, 2015). Along these lines, the idea of a decolonial turn arose, which describes decolonisation as a still unfinished project at the global level (Maldonado-Torres, 2006). In the past 30 years, scholars have studied the presence of colonialism in the media. When it comes to the representation of Native Americans in

the US, Lang (2015, p. 85) found that “incognizant racism” is maintained through an unreflective adherence to institutionalised news practices”. Blaaugard (2011) discovered that Denmark presents an “amputated” history of its colonial past, and its media delegitimises anti-colonial demands (p. 63). The narrative by former metropolises is described as an attempt to erase pre-colonial existence to justify exploitation (Ono, 2009). Media play an essential role in this process in the remembrance of the colonial past, and how that history is used to support narratives that push present ideas.

The potential existence of colonial discourse in the media is a problem, as it amplifies the idea that one culture is superior to another. These ideas can result in hatred towards indigenous peoples caused by negative stereotypes (Eason et al, 2021). Besides that, colonial discourse is not an accurate representation of history, but rather a stereotyped one tailored to the needs of a colonising nation.

In order to fight potentially stereotyped ideas, it is important first to analyse whether they exist, and then understand which variables determine their existence. With the aim of providing a general description of the representation of the Spanish colonial past in the media, this research intends to identify the frames employed in Spanish and Mexican media to present the October 12th celebration. To that end, a qualitative news frame analysis is conducted. The methodology chosen allows for nuance and depth.

As little research has been done on this topic, frame analysis is a valid approach to set out a base that could enable further research. For that purpose, we seek to understand what influences the discourse on the colonial past. The country of the publication, ideology and timeframe are the three aspects found most appropriate for the understanding of these influences.

A comparative analysis between the discourse in the metropole and that of a former colony offers valuable insight into how different cultural contexts influence the framing of the same historical event, in this case, one linked to colonial legacy. Such a study provides the opportunity to analyse the postcolonial relationship between both countries by examining the power dynamics and the extent of historical reconciliation. By delving deeper into these factors, the study will provide a broad and nuanced perspective, which is necessary to analyse a complex phenomenon like colonialism.

Six different newspapers have been chosen. Newspapers, both in their digital and print form, are the most convenient media to analyse frames. Three newspapers from Spain and three from Mexico make up the sample. They have been chosen

according to their ideology, ensuring representation from the left, centre and right spectrums.

Articles published in the previous week and the following week of October 12th from 2012 to 2022 have been analysed. A time span of ten years has been considered appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, it is widely recognised that academic ideas take significant time to reach the broader realm of mainstream society. In this context, the term “decolonial turn” was first introduced in 2006, and allowing a decade after its creation provides sufficient time for its dissemination and integration within society. Consequently, this time frame allows for a sufficient period during which the decolonial turn can permeate and potentially influence diverse spheres of life.

In order to build a solid theoretical framework, I will explore four different concepts and explain how they relate to my research. The first one is the postcolonial theory, which studies the effects and implications of colonial experiences, many of those still in place after former colonies gain their independence. Colonialism left deep consequences in both colonised and coloniser lands, one of them being wealth and resource inequality. But what I am delving into in this study is the ideological implications of colonialism: the ideas that justified the subjugation of land and its people under the power of other nations. These ideas have resulted in racism and colourism, and in order to fight against them, it is of extreme relevance to understand their roots, examine whether they are still being disseminated in the present and study those channels of distribution and what is the reason behind that.

With the purpose of understanding how colonial ideas are brought to the present, the concept of collective memory and the role it plays in societies to build national identity and push forward certain narratives is essential. The link between the media and collective memory is also explored to this end.

Since the case study at hand is Spanish colonialism in Mexico, a section of the theoretical framework deals with comprehending this colonial experience, its societal organisation in a caste system and how ideology played a role in that. A subsection on the October 12th celebration follows, to give the reader a better understanding of what this celebration is, its origins and how its goal has changed over the past century.

The last section is dedicated to the theory articulating this research: framing theory. A brief introduction to framing theory is given, followed by an explanation of how it is employed in the media and in history as well.

Building up this theoretical framework and carrying out the analysis described, I will aim to answer the three following research questions:

RQ1: Through which frames are the October 12th celebration portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers?

RQ2: Has the framing of October 12th changed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the last 10 years?

RQ3: Does the ideology of the newspaper affect the framing of October 12th?

The first research question was altered from the initial proposal to the final product. Instead of focusing on the differences between the portrayal in both countries, the current research question is better adapted to the goal of this thesis, which is identifying the frames used to represent October 12th in the media. The differences between both countries will consequently be discussed once the frames are identified. In addition, the second and third questions were formulated as sub-research questions in the initial proposal. However, as they are not directly subordinated to the first question, they have been revised and transformed to independent research questions.

I supposed that that colonial discourse is still present in Spanish and Mexican media, but also that it has most likely undergone changes over the past decade. I am interested in learning what those changes are and what caused them.

A logical expectation would be that Mexican newspapers are more critical than Spanish ones. However, as colonial discourse has impregnated Mexican society over centuries, there are possibilities that it might still be mildly present.

Another presupposition is that over the past decade, the narrative has shifted, and awareness towards the negative consequences of colonial experiences has been raised. That is a general feeling I have from following the media from various European countries, but, as of now, I cannot pinpoint the potential reason for that alleged shift.

When it comes to the impact of ideology on the portrayal of October 12th, I presume right-wing newspapers will describe colonial experiences in a positive way, and left-wing publications will be more critical of them. However, the national variable (whether the newspaper is Spanish or Mexican) could be stronger than the ideological one. Furthermore, it remains uncertain how centrist newspapers will position themselves or whether left-wing newspapers may at times praise colonialism or right-wing newspapers may eventually criticise aspects of the colonial experience.

Not having enough data to work with, especially from the Mexican side, is a potential limitation. However, the choice of Mexico for this study was linked to choosing a country with a large enough media landscape to find a substitute publication in case another chosen publication is difficult to retrieve or has not published enough articles on the topic.

Finding a predominant frame in certain news articles can prove challenging at times because, ultimately, the aim of the media is to take an impartial approach. To tackle this potential issue, the focus will be put on the lack of contrast of sources or the absence of certain elements.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that my perspective as a researcher may have limitations when interpreting the results within a Mexican context. Being born and raised in Spain and having received all my formal education there, I have a broad understanding of the country, its history and its media landscape, as I also know much better Spanish from Spain. My limited knowledge of Mexican history, politics and media, and also my lack of familiarity with Mexican Spanish, can prove a challenge when carrying out the analysis. To compensate for this shortcoming, I consulted Mexican media experts prior to the beginning of this research, and I have also gained extensive knowledge of the country by reading academic papers and finding other types of information that can bring me the relevant information to tackle this issue. A way to improve this research would involve collaborating with a Mexican researcher who can provide expertise in the Mexican context. Such collaborative effort would result in a much more comprehensive examination of the subject.

This research is structured into five chapters. The first chapter, the Introduction, provides a concise overview of the problem addressed in the study, presenting its background, importance, research questions, and potential limitations. Moving on to the second chapter, the Literature Review offers a comprehensive examination of concepts associated with this research, including postcolonial theories, colonial discourse, collective memory, Spanish colonialism in Mexico, and framing theory.

The third chapter outlines the methodology employed, which involves qualitative news frame analysis. It also explains the reasoning behind the chosen sampling techniques and the choice of a qualitative approach. In the fourth chapter, the findings are presented, which includes the presenting and interpreting of the three main frames, along with two subframes. Furthermore, this chapter provides answers to the three research questions posed.

Finally, the fifth chapter serves as the conclusion. It offers a summary of the study, integrates the results with previous research, suggests ideas for future investigations, and concludes with final remarks.

## **1. Literature Review**

This chapter presents literature relevant to analysing how postcolonial discourse is present through frames in Spanish and Mexican media regarding the October 12th. The research is structured from broad ideas to more specific ones, resulting in four main chapters that tackle postcolonial theory, collective memory, Spanish colonialism and framing theory. The first section gives a general idea of postcolonial theory and describes colonialism and postcolonialism. A subsection is dedicated to colonial discourse. As this research is focused on journalism, linking the role of the media to the spread of colonial discourse is a priority.

The second section discusses collective memory and the representation of history through the media. Both concepts are relevant to the creation of national identity and to how individuals interact with the past of their nations, which is key when studying postcolonialism.

The third section focuses on the specific case analysed in this study: Spanish colonialism in Latin America, more specifically in Mexico. Social structures in Mexico during colonial times and the independence movement are described to provide a clear picture of hegemonic ideas in the past, both in Spain and Mexico. The October 12th, as a key date to Spanish colonialism, is discussed in a subsection,

A section presenting framing theory concludes the literature review. Because framing theory is central to this study, some of the ideas presented in the final chapter include a definition of framing and how it operates in the media and in history.

### ***1.1 Postcolonial Theory***

Today's world is characterised by profoundly unequal relations between countries and their peoples. The consequences of this imbalance are the unequal distribution of wealth but also cultural hegemony and its subsequent imposition of some cultures over others. Those are direct results of colonialism, and in order to subvert it, it is worth studying

what colonialism was and how it still affects the world even after colonies formally gained independence.

According to Loomba (1998, p. 8), “colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods”. This straightforward definition outlines a relevant aspect that colonisers often hide: the lands and goods that already belonged to other communities.

Although the conquest of lands inhabited by other peoples has been going on since practically the beginning of big civilisations such as the Egyptian, Roman or Persian empires, when we speak of colonialism, we are referring to the invasion of lands by European countries in the Modern era. The difference between these invasions and those that had happened up to that point is that the colonial occupation took place at the same time as capitalism was being established in the colonising country. This meant that the economic and social systems of the colonised lands were altered entirely to serve the interests of the colonising country, resulting in highly unequal relations between the two lands (Loomba, 1998). As the phenomenon of colonialism is vast and has affected a large number of countries, certain particularities need to be taken into account when analysing a specific site.

“Colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history.” (Loomba, 1998, p. 7)

Colonialism entails a complete transformation of society. According to Hiddleston (2009, p. 2), “the subjugation of that country’s native peoples and the administration of its government, economy and produce”. Therefore, even after the coloniser has been formally expelled from the land, the effects of the occupation continue to affect both the colonising and the colonised societies.

Understanding these effects and implications of the colonial experience once it is formally concluded is what postcolonialism seeks. However, after postcolonial theory emerged as a new discipline in academia, postcolonialism has received various definitions.

Postcolonialism is broadly defined as what comes after colonialism. However, some scholars refuse to use that definition as they believe that the inequalities resulting from colonialism are still present; therefore, considering that colonialism has come to an end is inaccurate (Loomba, 1998).



Postcolonialism is oftentimes understood as the opposition to the colonial legacy. Ever since colonial invasions took place, that feeling of rejection of the coloniser's impositions has existed, argues Maldonado-Torres (2008). Creating a structured strategy out of those rejection sentiments is what this author named the decolonial turn.

The postcolonial theory frequently discusses the effects of colonialism in the domains of economy, politics, and culture. I am most interested in its cultural aspect since it is the one present in the media. It stems from the necessity to justify the existence of colonialism, and it resulted in an ideology based on cultural hegemony. In the context of colonialism, cultural hegemony refers to the idea that one culture is superior to another.

Loomba (1998, p. 24) argues that "many nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers equated the advance of European colonisation with the triumph of science and reason over the forces of superstition, and indeed many colonised peoples took the same view". For that same reason, some authors claim that in colonies where settlers or mixed settlers led the independence movement, the colonial ideology remained very much in place even after independence. That is the case in Latin America, but also in Australia or Canada. Those Latin American elites who won the wars of independence from Spain, De Alva (1992, p. 270) argues, "were never colonial subjects", and they "established their own nation-states in the image of the motherland, tinged by the local colour of some pre-contact practices and symbols, framed by many imperial period adaptations and suffused with European ideals, practices and material objects". In contrast, postcolonial societies in former colonies where natives led the independence looked much different, as is the case of India.

Ideology is one of the ways through which colonialism has continued to be present around the world. As Loomba (1998, p. 23) explains, "colonialism, in as much as it was the vehicle for the export of Western technologies, also spelt the export of these ideas". Cultural supremacy is essential to the ideology spread by the colonial discourse that backs up colonialism. The idea that Western cultures are more "advanced" and have the moral duty to bring this advancement to others is the fallacy on which colonialism has ideologically relied (Hiddleston, 2009), and is also what is now understood as colonial discourse. My hypothesis is that such ideas can still be found in former colonising countries, such as Spain, and maybe even in formerly colonised countries, such as Mexico. This thesis aims to find out if that is true.

### 1.1.1 Colonial Discourse

Edward Said, one of the first authors to theorise postcolonialism, described the colonial discourse as “the tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination - the demand for identity, stasis - and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history - change, difference” (1978, p. 240).

The ideas disseminating colonial discourse are spread through education, media and commemorations. Media does not explicitly refer to news media; colonial ideas are also spread through cinema, TV, literature or other cultural media formats.

Looking at history textbooks can be very insightful in getting a good idea of the current state of a country’s official discourse on its history and identity. The government issues history education curriculums to ensure that all children from a country learn the same official narrative history and that their national identity begins to be forged at a young age (Carretero & Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019).

Spanish school history textbooks have traditionally omitted essential issues about the colonisation of America, such as the subjugation of indigenous peoples or slavery as generalised social and economic practices (Carretero/Jacott/López-Manjón 2002). Carretero and Pérez-Manjarrez (2019) found in their history education research misconceptions and discrimination towards indigenous peoples among Argentinean, Spanish and Mexican high schoolers as a result of historical narratives found in textbooks. However, it is worth mentioning that some of the adolescents interviewed for the study do not always reproduce the official narrative they have been taught, but they challenge it. The authors link this behaviour with access to the internet, where students can find alternative information to what they are taught in textbooks (Carretero & Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019).

Suppose citizens are exposed to colonial ideas during their early education. Once they finish formal education, the media will be one of the few exposures they will have to other ideas about colonialism and their country’s role in the past. Thus, the media also play an essential role in how the past is perceived.

Studies have found that cinema and social media are affected by Spanish colonial discourse (Dennison, 2013; Pérez-Manjarrez, 2022). However, I could not find

any research focusing on contemporary news media and its reflection on the Spanish colonial past. Therefore, it is relevant to explore whether the media offer the same silence around Spanish colonialism and bias as formal education and cinema do. Luckily, studies on media and colonialism have been conducted in other contexts, and they set a precedent for how colonial discourse is present in the media.

The lack of acknowledgement of the colonial past is common among former coloniser countries and is reflected in news media. That is the case of Denmark and its former colony, the now US Virgin Islands. A study into Danish newspapers reporting on a commemoration in the US Virgin Islands, which was interrupted by a local politician who criticised Danish colonialism, found out that the narrative that challenged Denmark was dismissed and flagged as an attempt to bring to the present matters that belong in the past, according to the Danish media (Blaagard, 2011). Those findings are consistent with Wallace's (2021, p. 303) conclusion that "through a 'Eurocentric discourse' (Clark, 2014), issues of racism and colonialism are largely framed as matters of the past rather than contemporary, ongoing problems (Anderson & Robertson, 2011)". This case is representative of a larger pattern in which journalistic output reproduces cultural memories, especially those that support colonial rhetoric (Blaagard, 2011).

In recent years, acknowledgement of past wrong-doings related to colonialism has arisen among Western European countries, but also in colonial settler countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand (Taleb, 2020). As a result, in some societies, the official narrative of historical events has been contested with an alternative that challenges colonialism's role.

"The content of a nation's collective memory may depend on the ways in which the past is socially constructed to serve dominant groups in the present through selective interpretations of certain historical events" (Selvanathan, Jetten & Crimston, 2022, p.2).

These researchers have identified resistance among certain social groups to acknowledge those past wrong-doings. The resistance stems from opposition from identity groups to being associated with atrocious events that do not represent the group's current values.

"When reminded of this history, perpetrator groups tend to erase, downplay, deny, reinterpret, and distance themselves from the negative actions committed by their

ingroup (e.g., Bilali et al., 2012; Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Imhoff et al., 2017; Leidner et al., 2010; Peetz et al., 2010)” (Selvanathan, Jetten, Crimston, 2022, p.2).

However, the groups recognise those wrongdoings when they see they are connected with the suffering of other groups. As in the Spanish case, the fact that the groups suffering those consequences (indigenous Americans) do not even live in the same country as the colonisers could explain a potential lack of acknowledgement, as seen previously in the Danish case.

Colonial views are also observed in the representation of indigenous people in the media. Their perspective is frequently left out of the reporting, and they are often misrepresented through negative stereotypes (Lang, 2015; Wallace, 2021). The erasure of colonialism as a cause of the current situation of indigenous people regularly happens in news media; there is a lack of context of colonial roots of problems.

Such misrepresentation is not carried out consciously; journalists and editors follow institutionalised journalistic routines, and in a system where indigenous communities are systematically marginalised, this results in misrepresentation.

## ***1.2 The Role of the Media in the Creation of Collective Memory***

Media plays a crucial role in the representation of the past in order to comprehend the present. Along with other institutions, such as the educational system, museums and national celebrations, journalism contributes to creating collective memory (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011).

In a very brief way, collective memory is described as “abstract knowledge and conceptions held by individuals about the past” (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011, p. 226). It is intrinsically related to group identity and to how the history of a nation represents its values. Defining the self-image of a group and conveying it to future integrants is an essential role of collective memory as well (Zandberg, 2010). Consequently, the focus of this concept actually lies in the present as it “serves as a resource through which current societal needs are reflected, discussed and addressed” (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011, p. 229).

Collective memory picks and chooses what events should be remembered and in which way they should be remembered. As a result, one “version” of a historical event

is endorsed by official narratives in society. Even though different agents form collective memory, it is not surprising to find similar interpretations of history done by all those agents, as they all belong to the same culture, in which one version of history is promoted.

“The media do not actually compete with the state as a mnemonic agent, but instead reflect its ‘memory-work’” (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011, p. 232).

Because there are different interpretations of a historical event in the media, it is insightful to conduct comparative research to find out the existent frames and their salience.

Collective memory is a social construct, and it is constantly evolving as society’s values change and the interpretation of the past is gradually transformed. In fact, citizens do not turn to the media to learn about the historical event being discussed but rather to find out what current interpretations are being given to those past events (Zandberg, 2010). In the case of colonialism, the assessment of the colonial past has undergone changes in former colonising countries over the past years (Tareb, 2020). Therefore, I find it interesting to study if those changes are present in how Spanish media depict the country’s colonial past.

Apart from being constantly in the making, collective memory varies from country to country and from one generation to the next one. Kligler-Vilenchik explains that one same event or character “may carry different meanings” (2011, p. 227). I am interested in analysing how the same event, in this case, the arrival of Columbus to America, is remembered in different ways in the colonising country (Spain) and one of the colonised countries (Mexico).

There are different versions of history, and those that appear in the media will enjoy the legitimacy of an institution recognised by society. Therefore, these versions will be more salient in citizens’ minds. The idea of making certain aspects more salient than others aligns very well with the framing theory, and for that reason, I will be using it to conduct my study.

### ***1.3 Spanish Colonialism in America***

Before diving into the history of Spanish colonialism in the American continent, it is necessary to provide a definition of Latin America. There are several discussions around what encompasses the term “Latin America”, but in this research, Latin America refers to “the nations belonging to the American hemisphere where Latin culture was infused”. (Sánchez-Recio, 2019, p. 32)

Spanish colonialism in America started in 1492, with the arrival of Columbus to America, and lasted until Cuban independence in 1898. Scholars consider the Spanish and Portuguese invasion of America as the founding event of colonialism.

“With the conquest of the lands that we now call Latin America, ‘began the constitution of a new world order, culminating, five hundred years later, in a global power covering the whole planet’ (Quijano, ‘Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality’, p 168). This coloniality of power expressed through political and economic spheres, Quijano continues, was strongly associated with a coloniality of knowledge (or of imagination), articulated as modernity/rationality” (Bhambra, 2014, p.117)

During these four centuries, the Spanish language became the majority language in Latin America, and Spain succeeded in converting the inhabitants of the New World to Christianity (Cervantes, 2019).

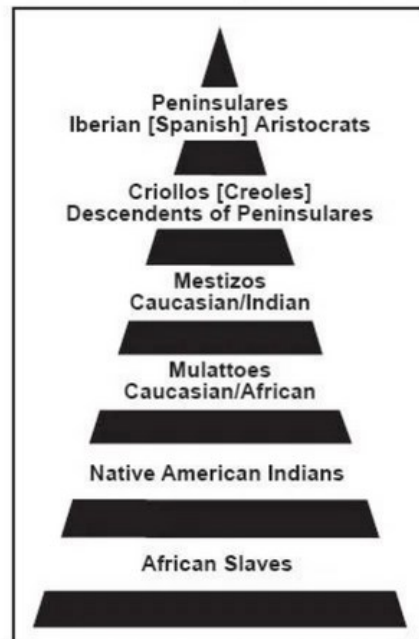
It was during the colonial era when a phenomenon that would mark the identity of Latin America began: *mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* means mixed races, and it comes from the fact that in the Spanish empire, it was common for colonisers to have offspring with Native American or Black women. The reasons for this mixing were practical: in the early years, there was a lack of Spanish women in the colonies (Katzew, 2005). However, it must be noted that some of these mixed descendants are the result of the rape of indigenous women and black women by Spanish colonisers as a form of violence and submission (De La Cadena, 2001). Therefore, Spanish men had offspring with other races, producing a large number of mixed-race people. Up to 25% of Mexico’s population in the late 18th century was mixed-race (Katzew, 2005).

“The most important effect of colonialism in Latin America was the genetic and cultural mixing that came to constitute the assumed essence of each new nation.”  
(De Alva, 1992, p.4)

Race and social hierarchy became closely linked in the organisational system of Spanish colonies in America, more specifically in Mexico, called *sistema de castas* (caste system). *Casta* was a term “used in Mexico to refer to the different races that comprised society; it also served to indicate socioeconomic status” (Katzew, 2005, p. 39).

The caste system allowed Spaniards in the colonies to occupy the highest position in the hierarchy. Creoles, descendants of Spaniards born in the colonies, came next, followed by *mestizos*, who were people with Spanish and Native American origins. In the next following position were *mulattos*, a mix of Spaniards and black. The black population was part of the more than ten million enslaved people brought from Africa to Latin America to work in the sugar and coffee plantations or serve in households (Talmage & Christensen, 2018). They occupied the lowest scale on the hierarchy, with Native Americans holding a slightly more favourable position. Through this functioning, Spaniards were able to maintain power in the colonies despite being a minority in numbers (Katzew, 2005).

#### Social Classes in Spanish Colonies



Source: John Osborne et al, 1995. *Global Studies*,  
N & N Publishing

Creoles, mainly, but also mestizos and *mulattos*, played an indispensable role on the road to independence from Spain in the American colonies. They started the independence movements, fought wars against the peninsular enemies and established new societies once they won independence wars (Simon, 2017). These new societies were characterised by pursuing Western ideas and values because those who created them were direct descendants of colonisers. For this reason, some scholars refuse to name postcolonialism what happened in Latin America, because their independence movements “were not anti-colonial struggles for liberation pitting colonised natives against foreign dominators” (De Alva, 1992, p. 7). Instead, they were a replacement of European leaders with Europeanised leaders. No ideological paradigm shift took place.

In the upcoming years, “the embrace of the West” (De Alva, 1992, p. 5) has continued to be essential in Latin America. This idealisation of Europe in general and of Spain, in particular, was partially shifted after the end of World War II when the atrocities committed during the war and the deplorable state in which the continent was left made Europe very difficult to idolise (Maldonado-Torres, 2008). In the case of Spain, the country did participate in World War II, but its Civil War (1936-1939), followed by a military dictatorship, had similar effects on the perception of the country from abroad.

### **1.3.1 How Latin Americans recovered the defence for indigenous identity**

In the second half of the 20th century, Chicanos (people of Mexican descent living in the United States) started embracing their indigenous origins as part of their identity. Thus they planted the seed for the movement that would later claim indigenous identity. However, this attitude was not generalised in the rest of Latin America, where being identified as an *indio* (Spanish term to refer to the indigenous population) carried negative connotations (De Alva, 1992). This behaviour has obvious roots in the colonisation period and in the caste system. Those who were mestizos would emphasise their European identity and try to hide their indigenous one in order to survive.

In Latin America, indigenous activism, in the way it is understood in the present, started in the 1980s. At the time, social class was the main focus of politics, and cultural differences were rarely taken into account, which prompted the birth of indigenous activist movements (Di Giminiani, 2018).



“The agendas of indigenous organisations encompassed historical demands for inclusion and anti-discrimination policies, in particular those affecting individual citizenship rights such as access to health and education” (Di Giminiani, 2018, p. 226).

After broadening their bases in the anticolonial protests of 1992, the next step for many indigenous movements was becoming political parties (Huhebert & Liu, 2017). These parties have achieved prominence in many states of the region, being the presidency of Evo Morales in Bolivia in 2006, a milestone for indigenous politics on the continent. Although there are big differences among countries due to the diversity of Latin America, in the past 20 years, many of those indigenous demands that gained strength in the 1990s have turned into policies. This is evidence of the growing importance of indigenous movements in Latin America, along with the anticolonial discourse they entail.

### **1.3.2 October 12<sup>th</sup>**

On October 12th 1492, Cristopher Columbus landed in the Bahamas. This date was the beginning of the relationship between Europe and the Americas and would mark the start of a colonial relationship. Nowadays, October 12th is celebrated in the Spanish-speaking world under different denominations. It is also Spain’s national day since 1987.

Choosing this date as the country’s national holiday hints that the conquest of America is Spain’s national creation myth and an essential moment in the forging of Spanish identity (García Sebastiani & Marcilhacy, 2017).

The history of October 12th dates back 130 years. It was celebrated for the first time in 1892 when the then “Queen-Regent María Cristina issued a decree declaring the day a national holiday for the first time on October 12th 1892, in commemoration of the ‘Discovery of the New World’” (García Sebastiani & Marcilhacy, 2017). After having lost most of its colonies, with Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to be lost in the coming years, Spain was in search of retaining some of its international influence. One of the strategies to do so was the establishment of this new celebration, which was meant to be celebrated in all of Hispanoamerica.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the celebration expanded to Latin America, and it received the name “día de la Raza” (day of the race). In this case, race refers to the Spanish-speaking community (García Sebastiani & Marcilhacy, 2017), and the event seeks to foster unity and cohesiveness both within the Spanish-speaking nations as well as inside Spain itself. The country has historically been impacted by periphery nationalism; therefore, strengthening its cohesion has always been a central goal.

During the Francoist dictatorship (1939 to 1975), nostalgia towards the Spanish empire was revived. Neocolonial and authoritarian connotations were attached to the October 12th, and the role of Spain as a “civilising” force was reinforced (García Sebastiani & Marcilhacy, 2017). In 1958, the October 12th was renamed “Día de la Hispanidad” (Hispanic Heritage Day).

After Franco’s death and the consequent end of the dictatorship, an attempt was made to tone down the colonial resonance of the October 12th celebration. From there on, it would be used to strengthen ties between Spain and Latin America as a democratic Spain sought to reclaim its place on the international stage, after having fallen behind the rest of Western Europe due to the isolation of the dictatorship. The result was a celebration devoid of meaning, as can be seen in the 1987 law that proclaimed the October 12th as Spain’s national holiday:

“The chosen date, October 12th, symbolises the historical event on which Spain, on the verge of concluding a process of state-building based on our cultural and political plurality, and the integration of the Kingdoms of Spain into a single Monarchy, begins a period of linguistic and cultural projection beyond European borders”. (Boletín Oficial del Estado (241), Ley 18/1987)

The new meaning for the celebration was reinstated in the universal exposition of Seville, in 1992. Nevertheless, the exposition still failed to portray the past in a more balanced way, as it downplayed the violence of the Spanish conquest.

“Both Expos (meaning the Seville expo in 1992 and the Lisbon expo in 1998), however, maintained a cautious silence when it came to the violent and sexist facets of the Iberian explorations and the fact that the explorers themselves had paved the way for new forms of slavery, or conversely to the massive emigrations that these same countries experienced during the twentieth century.” (Quaggio, 2020, p. 335)

In recent years, the October 12th celebration in Spain consists of military parades and a speech given by the King of Spain. Nationalist groups sometimes use the celebration to exalt their patriotism.

To this day, the designation “discovery” of America is still widely used in Spain, especially in connection to the October 12th. This term has been considered problematic by numerous scholars, who argue that the word “discovery” goes hand in hand with the defence of colonialism as progress.

“What does it mean to say that Columbus “discovered” America? Artists, teachers, politicians, and fair planners all used discovery and progress as dual legitimating ideologies to celebrate geographic and economic change as progress.” (Kubal, 2008, p. 27)

“In Spain, October 12th is called the discovery of America. In Mexico, we call it the bleeding of America.” (Chiapas Support Committee, 2019)

#### 1.3.2.1 “Día de la Raza” in Hispanoamerica

After being adopted at the beginning of the 20th century, “Día de la Raza” has been peacefully celebrated in Hispanoamerica until recently. The year 1992 marked the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ arrival to America, and it changed the perception of this historical event. Before 1992, protests against Columbus Day and everything it stands for were in the minority. However, that year the protests became massive in Guatemala City and Mexico City (Kubal, 2008). Spain also saw the birth of anticolonial movements, which “strongly supported the rights and viewpoint of indigenous peoples and demonstrated against both the memory of Iberian colonisation and the integration into a common European market.” (Quaggio, 2020, p. 334). But that was not the general dynamic in the country, which, as mentioned earlier, celebrated the Spanish legacy in America and failed to acknowledge the wrongdoings of the colonial era.

In recent years, numerous Latin American countries have renamed the October 12th with a range of new names that highlight indigenous identity and multiculturalism. The first country to do so was Venezuela, where in 2002, the October 12th was rebaptised as the “Day of Indigenous Resistance”. Many other countries have followed, with Peru renaming it to “Day of Indigenous Peoples and Intercultural Dialogue” in 2009, Argentina choosing the name “Day of Respect for Cultural Diversity” in 2010,

Bolivia approving the “Decolonisation Day” in 2011, and Ecuador renaming it to “Interculturality and Plurinationality Day” in 2011 as well. Other countries have had much more recent changes, like Mexico, which changed its name to “Pluricultural Nation Day” in 2020. El Salvador and Costa Rica have eliminated the festivity altogether, while Colombia and Honduras still call it “Día de la Raza”.

As seen by the different names and situations, Latin American countries have different sensibilities regarding the October 12th and colonialism. Without a doubt, the debate around it is very much alive on the continent.

According to collective memory scholars (Kubal, 2008), the arrival of Columbus to America as well as his figure, have been used by different groups in one way or another to push their frames of thinking about their identity.

“Through centuries of framing and reframing, activists borrowed from, reinforced, and challenged patriotic ideals on Columbus Day.” (Kubal, 2008, p.29)

#### ***1.4 Framing Theory***

The terms “frame”, “framing”, or “framework” have been present in the social sciences for a long time. However, until the 1990s, academic research had no unified definition of what frames or framing meant. Consequently, Entman (1993) proposed a definition that has been widely used and accepted ever since.

“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, p. 52)

Since the publication of this text, framing has been one of the most popular areas in communication and journalism studies (Riffe, 1997). This new theory opened up the idea that “an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). Thus, framing exposed a core issue in journalism: the impossibility of reporting impartially on issues.

This happened because framing involves highlighting certain elements of an event and omitting others, which results in an inevitably biased representation of reality. The parts of reality that frames obscure are an essential part of the theory, since, according to Entman (1993, p. 54) “frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience.”

The importance of framing lies in its impact on how individuals perceive certain problems or situations. Accordingly, Chong and Druckman (2007) place the focus on the audience when constructing their definition of it.

“Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104)

Entman (1993) also recognised that the audience is widely impacted by framing. However, he noted that framing does not influence every individual in the same way. Most likely, because how a person comprehends a frame depends on their pre-existent cultural baggage (Goffman, 1974). Because frames are determined by culture, individuals belonging to the same culture share frames of thought that allow them to obtain the same interpretations.

Once formulated, framing theory has been applied to a large number of studies in various social science disciplines, including journalism. In journalism, frames assign “meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson & Modigliani 1987, p. 143; 1989), while they also reproduce “particular definitions and interpretations of political issues” (Shah et al., 2002, p. 343). Frames are used as a way to efficiently communicate with the audience and to speed the exercise of enabling “journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely [and to] package the information for efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7).

To Pan and Kosicki (1993), framing is a structured way to carry out news discourse analysis.

“Framing analysis is presented as a constructivist approach to examine news discourse with the primary focus on conceptualising news texts into empirically operationalizable dimensions—syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical

structures—so that evidence of the news media’s framing of issues in news texts may be gathered.” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 56)

Media deliberately chooses the frames that will be displayed according to the ideology of their audience. Chong and Druckman (2007, p. 117) argue that “Frames are chosen with the audience in mind, so the preferences of the audience will have a bearing on the position taking of elites (Chong, 1996).”

Frames can be present in any media product, in text but also in visual elements. In order to identify frames, researchers look for repetition of concepts or linking them to culturally familiar figures. To Matthes (2009, p. 349), “frame analysis examines the selection and salience of certain aspects of an issue by exploring images, stereotypes, metaphors, actors, and messages”.

Some of the weaknesses of framing theory include, according to Matthes (2009, p. 349), “lack of operational precision, the descriptive focus of many analyses, neglect of visuals, and insufficient reporting of reliability.”

The presence of frames in history has been widely studied by researchers. As Kantawala (2020, pp. 256-257) describes, “historical contexts themselves can be seen as frames through which one can interpret and analyse the past, giving meaning to less prominent details and buried frames that might be present between and behind the predominant contextual frames”. Framing also applies to collective memory, as is shown in the work of Kubal (2008), who focused on exploring how the character of Christopher Columbus has been framed throughout history to reenact different feelings and serve diverse purposes.

“A central contention of framing theory is that certain ways of framing reality will lead to successful movements; framing theory can be thought of as a theory of successful communication; framing theory predicts that communication can mean the difference between movement failure and success.” (Kubal, 2008, p. 10)

In this research, I am exploring an intersection between a frame used to reproduce historical events and its use in newspapers.

### *1.5 Events contextualising the evolution of October 12<sup>th</sup> in the past decade*

In order to understand how framing has evolved regarding October 12<sup>th</sup> celebrations, it is important to take into account a series of events that have deeply affected the Spanish and the Mexican society. The most important being the following:

-After the Spanish local elections in 2015 and the general elections of 2016, the country's political landscape was diversified for the first time in over 30 years. Politicians from newly formed left-leaning local parties were elected as mayors in major cities like Madrid, Barcelona or Cádiz. Such parties had similar approaches to the recently created left leaning Podemos political party. These progressive politicians used their newly acquired relevance in the public sphere to spread messages against the Spanish national day, mostly on their Twitter accounts. Numerous news articles, especially in Spain but also in Mexico, wrote about these critical messages. The result of the next general elections, in 2019, was a coalition government between PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and Podemos. As these politicians were now part of the political establishment, they toned down their discourse around October 12<sup>th</sup> and did not share as many critical opinions about it, meaning that from 2015 to 2019 there was a significant influx of articles critical of the celebration because they were reporting the views of these politicians.

-As the Catalan independence movement became more popular leading up to the 2017 referendum, Catalan politicians from pro-independence parties started sharing critical messages against October 12<sup>th</sup> or carrying out actions of criticism. Expressing their antagonism with Spain was their major objective. News articles broadly covered these events, resulting in more articles critical of the celebration in the years leading up to 2017.

-The Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 came with a questioning of historical figures. Pushback against Columbus and other characters related to Spanish colonialism was a clear consequence. It took place both in the United States, where more cities joined in renaming Columbus Day or taking down Columbus symbols, and in Latin America, where indigenous peoples took the lead in the protests. As a result, news

articles echoed these positions, increasing the articles critical of October 12th or attributing responsibility to the Spaniards for past wrong-doings. But a pushback seen in the exemption of responsibility framework also followed.

-In 2019, the recently elected Mexican President, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, sent a letter to the King of Spain demanding an apology for the colonisation that took place in his country. This movement was labelled populist by some publications, but most of the newspapers analysed wrote something about it. One year later, as mentioned previously in the analysis, the Columbus statue located in Mexico City was taken down, feeding the public debate and the articles critical of October 12th.

All these happenings are directly related to the celebration and play an important role in its perception in society and in the media.

## ***1.6 Summary***

This chapter presented the fundamental concepts that establish the theoretical foundations necessary to investigate how the celebration of October 12th is framed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers. The first section began with an introduction to post-colonial theory, which seeks to understand the consequences of colonial experiences. This introduction was complemented by a brief historical contextualisation of colonialism, followed by a more in-depth analysis of its cultural manifestation: colonial discourse.

The following section addressed the issue of remembering the past through collective memory, with particular emphasis on the role of the media in this process. Collective memory is defined as “the abstract knowledge and conceptions that individuals have about the past” (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011, p. 226). Furthermore, connections were made between collective memory and national identity.

Subsequently, Spanish colonialism in the Americas was explored, providing a brief explanation of its history, the social structures involved and the end of the colonial period on the continent. This was followed by further information on the celebration of October 12th in Spain and the Americas.



The chapter concludes with a definition of the theory of framing in the media and a presentation of the tools used to carry out framing. Framing is a fundamental element in this research, so the next chapter will go more deeply into its methodology and provide more information about it.

## 2. Methodology

Understanding how Spanish colonialism is portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers in the case of the October 12th celebration is the main goal of this research. More specifically, it aims to identify and describe the frames used to represent the October 12th celebration over the past ten years and whether the publication's ideology and country of origin impact the frames used. To gather this information, an in-depth understanding of the discourses and the context are essential; hence, qualitative research is suitable. Qualitative news frame analysis has been the method chosen to answer the research questions.

This chapter gathers the methods used to carry out the research and presents the research design that will attempt to answer the following research questions.

RQ1: Through which frames is the October 12th celebration portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers?

RQ2: Has the framing of October 12th changed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the last 10 years?

RQ3: Does the ideology of the newspaper affect the framing of October 12th?

### 2.1 *Research Design*

The idea behind this research is to examine the representations of October 12th from a coloniser and colonised perspective; therefore, newspapers from Spain and Mexico have been selected. When choosing one Latin American country to analyse, several factors led to deciding on Mexico.

-Mexico has the largest indigenous population in Latin America: cumulatively, Mexico is the country with the largest indigenous population. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), 23.2 million inhabitants in Mexico self-identify as indigenous. They represent 19,4% of the country's total population. Upon contemplation, it occurred to me that the significant representation of indigenous people

could potentially lead to the emergence of a distinct narrative that differs from the Spanish perspective.

-Mexico is the second most populated country in Latin America, with 130 million inhabitants. The extensive size of Mexico as a nation results in a proportional increase in the number of publications within its media landscape. This factor allows for flexibility in case one of the selected media outlets lacks a sufficient number of suitable articles for analysis, as indeed happened during the research.

The selected six newspapers to carry out the research are the following:

- El País, Spanish newspaper, progressive.
- El Mundo, Spanish newspaper, centrist.
- ABC, Spanish newspaper, conservative.
- Jornada, Mexican newspaper, progressive.
- El Universal, Mexican newspaper, centrist.
- Reforma, Mexican newspaper, conservative.

As the third research question aims to identify potential differences in the framing based on the political orientation of the newspaper, it was necessary to choose a progressive, centrist and conservative publication from each country. All of the selected newspapers are legacy media, which are media outlets that existed prior to the internet (Diel, 2017). They were founded in the 20th century and have existed for over 30 years.

El País is Spain's most popular newspaper, both in its print and online version, according to the Reuters Digital News Report 2021 (Newman et al., 2021). El Mundo follows as a print newspaper, and ABC ranks as the seventh most-read newspaper in the country, according to the Association for the Investigation of the Media. Nevertheless, its right-wing ideology justifies its inclusion in the research. Nogales (2013) provides extended explanations of the ideology of each of these newspapers, classifying El País as a left-wing newspaper, El Mundo in the centre-right of the spectrum and ABC on the right-wing.

In accordance with Rodelo and Muñoz's (2016) analysis of Mexican newspapers' political orientation, Reforma is classified as a right-wing publication, while El Universal falls within the political centre but slightly leans towards the left, and Jornada is deemed as the leftmost newspaper within the analysis.

This information, in conjunction with the newspaper's popularity, made them good choices for the analysis. The three newspapers are in the top 10 most popular media in Mexico, according to Reuters' 2021 Digital News Report (Newman et al, 2021, p. 124). El Universal is Mexico's most popular print newspaper, followed by Reforma. La Jornada falls in fourth place, the report says.

News articles are the unit of analysis, as they are expected to present topics from an objective perspective. This leads the audience to be less cautious about the information they read and presume it as facts rather than opinions.

Purposeful sampling was used only to select the articles that comply with the requisite I established, those being articles published on these six publications during a certain period of time and containing America and any of the other keywords chosen.

The time span selected for analysis has been the week before and after October 12th, from 6th October to 18th October from 2012 to 2022. This time range has been chosen to allow enough space to find as many articles as possible related to the celebration. If the time range was wider, articles would not relate to 12th October anymore, and the bulk of data would be overwhelming.

The articles have been collected using the Factiva news database. Only articles in Spanish have been selected; therefore, the search query is also in Spanish. After testing different keywords to retrieve relevant articles, the following search query was used:

“América” AND[“12 de Octubre”OR“doce de Octubre”  
OR“hispanidad”OR“celebración”OR“Colón”OR“día de la raza”]

Given that the objective of the research is to examine the construction of narratives about the Spanish colonisation of the American continent on October 12th, it was essential for the articles to include the word “America”.

The sources were limited to the newspapers mentioned above, both in their online and offline versions, as the text does not usually present significant changes from one to the other. A study conducted on the online and print version of four Norwegian newspapers concluded that the content of both versions is very similar (Storstul & Krumsvik, 2014).

After getting the results for each year, I reviewed the articles to exclude those unrelated to the topic or not classified as news articles (there was a large influx of opinion pieces). This process narrowed down the sample to 313 news articles.

Nevertheless, while analysing the collected data, I identified additional articles that were not pertinent to the study, reducing the total number of articles to the final count of 230. Said articles were considered irrelevant due to their lack of connection with the October 12<sup>th</sup> celebration.

## **2.2 Method: Qualitative News Frame Analysis**

“Qualitative methods are valuable when we wish not to count or measure phenomena but to understand the character of experience, particularly how people perceive and make sense of their communication experience. This involves interpreting meanings and other unobservable dimensions of communication.”  
Wood (2004, p. 69)

In order to determine and analyse the frames used to portray the October 12th celebration, the methodology employed must pay attention to context, details and depth. It is a complex reality, and a thorough analysis avoids simplifying the research or a superficial approach that does not suffice to answer the research questions. Consequently, qualitative research was the most adequate option to accomplish the study's goals.

Due to the scarce research on the representation of Spanish colonialism in contemporary media, a frame analysis from a large sample provides a general basis for the discourse of articles on this topic. According to Linström and Marais (2012: 25), framing is a suitable method for “establishing a starting point for studies of media effects”.

To operationalise the qualitative frame analysis, I followed the methodology suggested by Linström and Marais (2012). Research carried out through framing methodology often uses pre-established frames “such as the conflict frame, the attribution of responsibility frame, the economic consequences frame, and the human interest frame (Scheufele 1999: 106; Neuman, Just & Crigler 1992: 64, Semetko & Valkenburg 2000, in De Vreese 2005: 56)” (Linström and Marais, p.30, 2012). However, I considered these frames did not adjust to the content I intended to analyse, and I decided to follow an inductive approach and qualitatively create new frames.

Through pilot readings of a limited number of news articles from each year, I identified the primary frames, keeping the possibility open to identifying different frames along the analysis. The process was reading the news articles, particularly focusing on rhetorical elements, and highlighting words and phrases that suggest the article has one specific predominant frame. Careful attention was put into the analysis, as “the central analytic task in qualitative research is understanding the meaning of texts” (Kelle et al, 1995, p. 3). After the pilot reading, I identified four frames and I first established a primary definition of each frame, and as the analysis progressed, the definitions became more complex. Through a second reading, I decided to discard one of the frames, as it did not exactly meet the criteria of a frame. However, I discovered the two sub frames and added them to the study.

Careful qualitative framing analysis was performed on each of the news articles. An evaluation of the headline, the structure of the text, and most importantly, the rhetorical elements used were the main tools to attribute a predominant frame to each news article. In some cases, a secondary frame was also identified. In a small number of articles, no relevant predominant frame was attributed at all.

The data resulting from the analysis was gathered in a spreadsheet in which each article receives a number along with the newspaper where it was published, the year of publication, the predominant frame and the secondary frame and a selection of keywords and key phrases that support the choice of the frame.

This spreadsheet has been an essential tool for the analysis, as it allows the creation of filters by newspaper, year of publication, and predominant and secondary frame. Through these filters, the results’ interpretation has become much more manageable, making it possible to isolate one particular aspect and conduct a deeper analysis of it.

### ***2.3 Limitations***

Limitations of this study include the absence of multimodal analysis, which would have been desirable but would have required a reduction in the number of articles analysed. As this research aims to provide a broad overview of the topic, a general screening of a larger set of articles was deemed more appropriate.

Moreover, Spanish newspapers are overrepresented in the sample of analysed articles, which could be a potential bias. Nevertheless, the overrepresentation of Spanish news articles is not problematic because the frequency of the frame and numerical data, in general, is not the main object of the research. For that reason, the qualitative analysis is still valid even if there are fewer Mexican articles than Spanish.

Additionally, the subjectivity of the researcher is another limitation that must be acknowledged. While the researcher has striven to maintain a neutral stance throughout the analysis, the possibility of personal biases influencing the interpretation of the results cannot be entirely ruled out.

Finally, using English instead of Spanish as the language of this thesis poses a challenge, as certain nuances and cultural frameworks unique to Spanish speakers may be lost in translation. Therefore, it is possible that the content of this analysis does not fully convey the wealth of meanings contained in the cultural imaginary of Spanish speakers.

## ***2.4 Summary***

The aim of this chapter is to present the methodology and research design used to address the research questions. The study collected 230 newspaper articles from three Spanish and three Mexican newspapers. These articles were published between 6th and 18th October, spanning from 2012 to 2022. The articles were selected based on specific keywords related to the celebration and the Americas. The justification for the choice of these countries and the time period has been explained above.

The method chosen, qualitative analysis of the news frame, is described, and its suitability for this research is justified through its ability to capture details and nuances. Afterwards, a description of the analysis process and the creation of frames is provided.

The following chapter presents and interprets the findings obtained following this methodology.

### 3. Findings

This chapter starts breaking down the numeric side of the results to briefly contextualise the findings through quantitative information, although the main focus of this research is qualitative. It then describes the three main frames and two sub-frames identified in qualitative framing analysis, supporting the description of each frame with quotes from the analysed articles. Three different sections to answer each of the research questions follow. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the findings.

#### Findings in numbers

A total of 230 news articles have been analysed. They were published in the following newspapers:

- ABC, Spanish, right-wing
- El Mundo, Spanish, centre
- El País, Spanish, left-wing
- Reforma, Mexican, right-wing
- El Universal, Mexican, right-wing
- La Jornada, Mexican, left-wing

The Spanish articles outnumber the Mexican ones, representing two-thirds of the sample, while the Mexican ones account for one-third. The logical explanation is that October 12th is the National Day of Spain; hence, it is reasonable for Spanish newspapers to publish more articles about this celebration. National Day is used to build national spirit, which is clearly the attempt behind many news articles.

62% of the analysed articles belong to the second half of the analysis (from 2018 to 2022). The first three years, 2012, 2013 and 2014, are particularly scarce, with a total of fifteen articles for this time period. In order to ensure that this was not caused by a



mistake in Factiva, I manually checked the websites of each newspaper for this time period. The results indicated that, in fact, very few news articles concerning the October 12th celebration had been published.

All articles from all newspapers were analysed because quantitative results were not the central focus of the research. Therefore, there is an imbalance between the number of articles analysed per publication. ABC alone represents one-third of the whole sample, reflecting that the celebration has a much more critical role for this newspaper. The number of articles for the other newspapers is more uniformly distributed. El Mundo represents 18% of the sample, followed by El Universal with 15%. Next comes El País with 13% and Reforma with 11%. La Jornada has a sensibly small number, accounting only for 7% of articles in the sample.

After performing a qualitative analysis, I made a statistic of frames occurrence, so I can briefly map it to see which of them prevailed in the discourse. The criticism frame of October 12th is by far the most common; it accounts for 52% of the sample. However, it must be noted that this frame has two sub-frames, which slightly change the intention and meaning of the article. Each of the subframes accounts for 17% of the total number of criticism articles. Afterwards comes the frame glorifying the colonial past, representing 20% of the articles. The union frame follows with 18%. Finally, no predominant frame was identified for 6% of the articles.

The following three sections will describe the frames identified in order to answer the first research question:

RQ1: Through which frames is the October 12th celebration portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers?

### ***3.1 Criticism of October 12<sup>th</sup>***

The inherent nature of journalism lies in its focus on polemics and on extraordinary or unexpected events. O’Neil and Harcup (2019, p 220) list conflict as the third in their set of news values based on the analysis of 2000 news articles. It is, therefore, not surprising that the critical approach towards October 12th is the most dominant frame, as it generates conflict.

The criticism of the October 12th frame focuses on critical opinions or statements about the celebration. Such messages tend to focus on a refusal to commemorate October 12th or condemn the Spanish colonisation process, occasionally resulting in defence of indigenous communities.

Negative associations towards the celebration are the defining feature of this frame. It is characterised by the use of contentious words, creating a two-sided conflict. The most used terms in this frame are genocide, violence, coloniser, colonisation, decolonisation, protest, attack, rejection, polemic, debate, question, slavery and occupation.

The existence and predominance of this frame evidence a **division of opinion** regarding how the Spanish colonisation, in particular, but identity in general, is perceived. A potential permeation of postcolonial ideas from academic theories into mainstream society explains this frame's predominance. It has resulted in a current debate around colonialism and responsibility, as well as increased awareness. Undoubtedly, a relevant group of actors in the public debate question the current celebration of October 12th and attach pejorative connotations to it. These actors include left-wing Spanish politicians and public figures, as well as Catalan, Basque and Latin American politicians. Their criticism stems from a desire to confront Spain, and one way of doing so is by questioning its national day and history.

An exemplification of this behaviour is that articles dealing with statements made by politicians against October 12th do not delve into the content of such statements through a retrospective analysis of the colonial past. Instead, they tend to limit themselves to reproducing quotes, given that such statements contain phrases and words that will most likely activate cognitive frames in the reader. Anticolonial statements thus become catchphrases deprived of meaning and reflection. The lack of indigenous voices in most articles indicates a superficial approach to the topic, as not even the most directly affected groups by colonialism are featured in it.

However, this is not always the case. Connections between colonial past and present-day issues are established in other articles, particularly in left-wing publications as these examples portray.

“Spanish colonialism brought the figure of the white woman and established, throughout the continent, a model of woman, of beauty and virtue, a very specific subject of femininity that functions to this day in Latin American societies. The non-white woman is, par excellence, the ugly, the unwanted, the one destined for the cheapest and hardest jobs”, says María Galindo the founder and member of the activist group Mujeres Creando. (El País, 13-10-2020, article 157<sup>1</sup>)

The colonisation process initiated in 1492 continues today with the projects imposed by foreign companies in Mexico and the rest of the continent, regardless of whether the native peoples oppose it. (La Jornada, 13-10-2022, article 230).

“In Mexico the wounds are still open, not so much because of what happened in the 16th century as because of the current lacerating inequality... Sometimes the only way to explain it in a simple way is to go back to the Conquest,” says the expert over the phone. (El País, 9-10-2022, article 226)

The mere use of the criticism frame by a newspaper does not necessarily imply that the newspaper endorses such remarks. When articles of this type are published in El Mundo or ABC, they intend to cause outrage among readers. In a social media-driven society, characterised by a constant influx of content and a continuous shortening of attention spans, newspapers seek to provoke strong emotional reactions in their readers in order to capture the public’s attention. The link between provoking emotion and the virality of news articles has been studied by researchers (Al-Rawi, 2017). Attacking an individual’s sense of belonging or national pride is certainly an effective strategy to provoke an emotional response, often one of anger and indignation.

The language employed confers that these newspapers question critical approaches. Using inverted commas around terms such as genocide or colonisers is quite common, remarking that the publication merely repeats words that a source said. Allegedly or “what is considered” serve a similar function.

Colau and “Kichi” link 12-O to a “genocide”. (headline, ABC, 13-10-2015, article 25)

Native American groups argue that the Italian explorer’s arrival in the New World marked the beginning of genocide against indigenous peoples, as well as the transatlantic slave

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<sup>1</sup> Article numbers can be found in the Appendix.

trade. Thus, Columbus Day allegedly highlights Western imperialism and the oppression of black people. (El Mundo, 13-10-2017, article 66)

“**Discovery of America**” has always been a recurring phrase used to describe when the colonisers arrived on the continent. However, critics (Forteza & Rubtsova, 2020; Maldonado-Torres, 2006) consider that it **entails a colonial view**, as it puts into value the existence of America only when the continent becomes known to Europeans.

The different sensitivities around this phrase are reflected in the analysed articles. Mexican newspapers tend to avoid it. However, it still appears on some occasions. From 2015 onwards, the phrase has been more criticised, writing discovery between quotation marks or saying the “so-called”.

Attempts to reclaim the American voice in the so-called “discovery” of the continent. (Reforma, 13-10-2015, article 29)

Celebrations of the “Discovery of America” gradually fell into disuse, giving way to the celebration of the cultural diversity that exists on the continent. (El Universal, 13-10-2018, article 103)

“We exist because we resist, the misnamed discovery of America is not an ephemeris of celebration, but of protest and resistance” stated members from the National Congress for Indigenous and from the Indigenous Council of the Government. (La Jornada, 13-10-2022, article 230)

When it comes to Spanish publications, the word discovery is more commonly used. Quotation marks or “so-called” are used before discovery less commonly, but it does appear in this recent excerpt from El País.

According to Navarrete, this contrast marks differences that seem insurmountable. As does the erroneous concept of “discovery”, Navarrete considers Columbus Day to be a misconception. (El País, 12-10-2022, article 203)

A topic that often comes up in this frame is the **demand for the removal of statues** representing characters linked to the colonisation of America or the vandalism of

them. Columbus is the most central figure, but it is not only limited to him; Hernán Cortés or Junípero Serra are other mentioned characters. This behaviour is an obvious expression of rejection against such figures and the events they represent. Removal of statues is much more heavily discussed in America than in Spain. In fact, in the Iberian country, no statues related to colonisation have been removed as of today. In Mexico City, the Columbus statue situated in Paseo de la Reforma was removed on 10th October 2020 and replaced by a monument to an indigenous woman. This event gave rise to numerous news reports evaluating the action and linking it to criticism of October 12th.

Rodrigo Hidalgo, a researcher at the Colegio de Cronistas de la CDMX, said that the authorities should rethink the historical contribution of the statue of Columbus on Avenida Buenavista. (...) “I think it is an ideal moment to reflect on it in a critical way and without falling into what many people have fallen into; that the statue should be destroyed, that it should be removed. If not simply to assess whether it is appropriate for it to occupy an important place in the public space”, the historian considered. (Reforma, 11-10-2020, article 152)

As the use of the criticism frame increases, two sub-frames of it can be identified. They appear as secondary frames, while the criticism frame appears as primary. The first is the subframe of attribution of responsibility, and the second is the subframe of exemption of responsibility. Both actions, attributing or exempting responsibility, are reactions to initial criticism of the 12th October celebration. For that reason, they appear mostly in relation to the critique.

### **3.1.1 Attribution of Responsibility for Past Wrong Doings**

The subframe attribution of responsibility for past wrong-doings seeks to increase the degree of critique and specify who is responsible for the problem at hand.

What differentiates this sub-frame from its main frame is the pointing of blame and victimhood. While many actors use the critique of October 12th as an often empty slogan, with no genuine interest in comprehensively analysing the situation or proposing solutions, the articles that present this sub-frame extend the analysis and provide context.

Columbus was known for his tyrannical and brutal methods. The Spaniards complained of his poor management and of the lightness with which he had his own people executed on the scaffold. This treatment was also to the detriment of the natives, who suffered torture and corporal punishment when their work was not considered diligent enough by Columbus. (El Mundo, 11-10-2016, article 43)

Articles that entail attribution of responsibility tend to dive into the past and point out the Spanish colonisers as perpetrators of questionable actions, as is the case in the previous example. They highlight the damage inflicted towards indigenous peoples and sometimes link it to the present.

Those images caused her “pain for my people”. Celeste still reflects on the subject a lot, she admits, but finds it hard to understand that it is a source of pride today. Although her memory is blurred by the passage of time, she recalls that in her Peruvian school she was told about the clashes and the plundering of the indigenous people by the Spanish. (El País, 12-10-2020, article 132)

The measure happened two days before the Day of the Race, day that recalls the creation of a new cultural and social identity, a product of the encounter between the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Europeans. However, academics and some historians agree that this was the beginning of a regime based on systematic discrimination against indigenous people. For some, it is inappropriate to recall a historical event that did not actually unify, but marked a series of divisions that continue to persist to this day. (El Universal, 12-10-2020, article 147)

Terms related to the suffering of indigenous peoples, such as discrimination, atrocities, looting and slavery, are also often used. A recurrent topic in this sub-frame is demanding an apology from Spain; therefore, words such as “apology” and “apologise” are very present.

Hopefully it will be re-examined, so that next year these ceremonies will be held with apologies to the original peoples so that atrocities such as looting and plundering will not be committed again. (La Jornada, 13-10-2020, article 164)

The idea of demanding an apology became popular among Mexican newspapers from 2019 onwards when Mexican president Andrés Manuel López Obrador sent a letter to the King of Spain asking for an apology. Nevertheless, indigenous communities have described the intention behind that letter as opportunistic.

As early as 2019, groups such as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation and indigenous leaders rejected the President's demand to Spain to ask for apologies, seeing it more as political opportunism than an honest request, especially in view of this year's midterm elections. (Reforma, 9-10-2021, article 187)

There are a few articles in which this frame appears as predominant. Said articles are historical explanations of events that occurred in the 15th and 16th century, and they mention or focus on how the Spanish colonisation or the figure of Columbus had a negative impact on indigenous populations.

The sub-frame is more commonly used among the centre and left publications, both Mexican and Spanish.

### **3.1.2 Exemption of Responsibility for Past Wrong Doings**

The criticism towards October 12th and Spanish colonialism is not taken lightly by patriotic actors, who see those condemnations and demands for apologies or reparations as an attack on the Spanish identity. Consequently, a counter-attack could be expected. This response is visible in the exemption of responsibility for past wrongdoings subframe, which focuses on downplaying the harmful effects of Spanish colonialism through multiple strategies.

Highlighting the fact that colonisation took place more than 500 years ago is one of the strategies. Considering these events as distant and a matter of the past is an argument for not questioning the colonial era. However, commemorating them is a topic of the present, as they are still being celebrated.

“Kichi” publicly lamented that Spain celebrates Columbus Day by bringing to the present-day events that took place more than 500 years ago. (ABC, 14-10-2015, article 21)

Related to this one, is the idea of not judging the past with present-day moral criteria.

He further argues that a person who lived in the 16th century should not be judged by the ethical and legal parameters of the 21st century. (ABC, 15-10-2020, article 144)

Stressing the technical and cultural advances brought by the colonisers is a point often made to defend the good consequences of colonial rule.

“I am surprised that a Catholic who speaks Spanish should speak in this way about a legacy such as ours, which was precisely to bring Spanish, and through the missions, Catholicism and, therefore, civilisation and freedom to the American continent” said Isabel Díaz Ayuso, president of the community of Madrid and member of the Popular Party. (Reforma, 9-10-2021, article 187)

A more subtle way of using this sub-frame is by excluding who were the perpetrators of abuses.

Another strategy is focusing on the fact that the colonialism of other countries/nations was worse, yet they are not as criticised as Spain, according to the authors. In this example, the Aztec and Inca empires are targeted:

Taking advantage of the approach of October 12th, Día de la Hispanidad, Javier Moro considers that “the Spanish black legend in America is highly debatable, as Spain had to confront societies that were indeed tremendously cruel, as the Aztecs and the Incas who subjugated their peoples”. (ABC, 14-10-2015, article 33)

The concept of the Spanish black legend (*leyenda negra española*) represents this sub-frame very accurately. The Spanish black legend refers to the idea that the legacy of the Spaniards in the Americas has been misrepresented by overly portraying a negative impact. It is the antithesis of taking responsibility. Only the Spanish newspapers use this concept, and its mentions become more predominant with time as the criticism against Spanish colonialism also increases.

However, the sub-frame is not confined to Spanish media, as it appears in Reforma. Nevertheless, El Mundo and especially ABC make broad use of the frame. Its



employment increases as the criticism of October 12th does so; it becomes more common from 2019 onwards.

### ***3.2 Glorification of the Colonial Past***

The glorification of the colonial past frame is the most accurate representation of colonial discourse. Remembering the colonial period with nostalgia and attributing positive connotations to it are the distinctive features of this frame. It focuses on the positive contributions of Spanish colonisation in America.

To Spain's ambassador in Haiti, Manuel Hernández Ruigómez, "the great historical project of Spain, which not only colonised but also transferred its customs, beliefs, culture, language, institutions and way of life". (ABC, 12-10-2014, article 15)

They claimed that the arrival of the Spaniards, without denying some acts of cruelty, should be described as positive. Among other things, for incorporating the country into civilisation and the world of culture and education with the creation of universities, the drafting of laws that attempted to regulate the treatment of the indigenous people, the introduction of the printing press, and the establishment of a new culture and education system. (ABC, 15-10-2020, article 130)

Detailed explanations of historical episodes or characters characterise the frame. The descriptions often emphasise the adventurous character of the conquest voyages, explaining them as exciting journeys. The term "discovery of America" is used in almost all articles in which this frame is predominant. The "expansion" (and not imposition) of the Spanish language and culture, together with the Christian religion (referred to as evangelisation), is portrayed as enriching, and the disappearance of other cultures caused by colonisation (Deeds, 2003) is not mentioned. Along these lines, encouraging words are employed to describe colonisation, such as feat, splendour or achievement. The term "colonisers" is rarely used, it is replaced by "conquerors" or "discoverers".

Among the most used words and expressions in this frame are prowess, notable figure, immense legacy, splendour, great imperial powers, fond nostalgia, achievement, deed, glory, cultural assimilation, forge an empire, greatness and universal empire.

Whenever this frame is dominant, the arrival of Spanish conquerors to America is referred to as one of the most important episodes in world history.

The discovery of America is, for the president of the PP (People's Party), Pablo Casado, "the most brilliant stage in the history of mankind, together with the Roman Empire". (El Mundo, 15-10-2018, article 94)

"It was one of the most important milestones in the history of Spain. Thanks to the discovery and what my ancestors carried out, yesterday was a celebration throughout Spain and a large part of the world. More than 500 million inhabitants of the planet speak Spanish thanks to the Discovery of America". (ABC, 13-10-2018, article 97)

Such statements aim to present Spain as a powerful actor on the international stage, precisely one of the intentions behind the creation of the October 12th day.

Indigenous communities tend to be left out of articles that feature this frame. But, if mentioned, they are portrayed as peacefully assimilating Spanish culture. The following quote from ABC represents this idea:

Pre-Hispanic cultures took for granted the idea that "there will come a day when great men dressed in metal will come by sea and change our lives for the better". (ABC, 12-10-2019, article 110)

Events such as celebrating the figure of Columbus have also been considered a glorification of the past. This excerpt is an example:

In front of the monument to the Capitulations, the work of Mariano Benlliure, which presides over the Plaza de Isabel la Católica and was erected to commemorate the fourth centenary of the Discovery of America, the authorities placed a wreath and a laurel wreath in honour of Christopher Columbus. (El Mundo, 12-10-2017, article 81)

Besides positive adjectives, colonial language is utilised, such as the expression "New World", which defines the existence and identity of the American continent only in relation to Europe, displaying a Eurocentric vision. Another one is the saying "el imperio español, donde nunca se ponía el sol", a phrase that rhymes in Spanish and

translates to “the Spanish empire, where the sun never set”, a way to convey the large spatial extent of the Spanish colonies. In the previous quote, colonial language is utilised to describe indigenous communities, calling them “prehispanic” and, again, defining their identity around the Spanish axis.

The origin of the celebrations lies in the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus on October 12th 1492. The three caravels arrived at the island that was baptised San Salvador, today Guanahani, in the Bahamas. It was on this date that the splendour of Spain began, becoming the empire in which the sun never set. (ABC, 12-10-2016, article 42)

The frame intends to magnify the idea of the Spanish nation and create a sense of greatness and pride in the reader, thus fostering the creation of national spirit and belonging. For this reason, the frame is especially used by Spanish newspapers, particularly, by the patriotic newspaper ABC. Spain is glorified, even incurring occasional historical inaccuracies. One example is “the millinery history of the country” (Reforma, 12-10-2015), which is technically not correct because historians point out that the country of Spain started existing by the end of the 15th century; therefore, it cannot have a millinery history. Just as the previous frame strongly featured quotes from progressive politicians, this one has a strong presence of quotes from conservative politicians and figures.

During the Franco era, the regime began to refer to the Spanish colonial era in order to foster the national spirit (García Sebastiani and Marcilhacy, 2017). This framework is a product of that rhetoric.

Glorification of the colonial past as the predominant frame is quite marginal in the analysed sample. But the publication that surely uses it the most is ABC, an expected result due to the nationalist and patriotic tendency of this newspaper. The publication keeps using the frame during all analysed years. Only two articles published by Mexican newspapers align with this frame, more specifically by Reforma in 2012 and 2014. The remaining articles were published by El Mundo and El País.

### 3.3 *Union of Two Cultures*

The origin of the celebration of October 12th lies partly in an attempt to unite Spain with its former American colonies. Spain's main goal behind this move was to maintain some of its relevance in international relations. Therefore, it is expected that one of the frames used to represent this date is that of the union. This frame focuses on the junction of different cultures as a positive result of colonialism and, in consequence, tends to portray the colonial experience as an enriching one for both colonisers and colonised. This type of representation puts the coloniser and the colonised on the same level, ignoring the power exercised by one over the other. Subjugation and cultural hegemony are absent in this framework, as, according to the frame, both cultures are equivalent to each other and experienced an equal cultural exchange.

Articles with a cheerful tone are the norm for this framework. This is perceptible through its most popular expressions: "encounter of two worlds" and "encounter of two cultures". Other popular terms are contribution, work together, share, commemorate, celebrate, Hispano-American, community, family, cultural diversity, richness, *mestizaje*, brotherhood, Iberoamerica, Iberosphere, unite, exchange and explore. All these words have positive connotations. Explore, for example, has a much less aggressive approach than conquer.

Besides a union between Spain and Latin America, the idea of a union between Latin American countries is also present.

More than 8 thousand people paraded yesterday down Fifth Avenue in Manhattan to celebrate the 50th edition of the Hispanidad and the union among the nations of Latin America. (Reforma, 13-10-2014, article 11)

The Spanish monarch called to not set borders to the joint aspirations of Iberoamerica. (Reforma, 12-10-2014, article 13)

In these articles, language is one of the main points of union between Spaniards and Latin Americans.

“I think that in Latin America, where I have been a few times, the rejection of Spanishness is not generalised. As with the Romans, language unites us in an absolute way” mentions the professor Emilio del Río Sanz, author of the book “Roman Calamari”, which highlights the connections between present-day Spain and Ancient Rome. (ABC, 19-10-2020, article 154)

The exchange of words in the Spanish language is a recurrent topic, as well as the exchange of food. Cultural products that attempt to bring Spain and Latin America closer are also part of this framework.

“The Spaniards brought wheat, beans, chickpeas and lentils to America. And we brought with us potatoes, tomatoes, corn, cocoa and peppers.” (El Mundo, 18-10-2015, article 38).

Everything changed for the world the day wheat met corn and cassava. (El País, 13-10-2017, article 85).

Latin American countries expressing their appreciation for Spain is a tool often used to confer legitimacy.

“A manifesto was also read by members of immigrant communities from Latin America, in which they defended Spanishness and Hispanism.” (ABC, 12-10-2016, article 53)

Spaniards and Latin Americans share thousands of things in common, as well as a language spoken by 500 million people around the world. (El País, 12-10-2016, article 58)

This frame represents colonialism in a positive light while being significantly less direct or aggressive than the glorification of the colonial past one. News articles where it is predominant have a friendly tone; subsequently, violence is always left outside the picture.

The frame displays a simplistic approach, equating all the Latin American cultures that existed in 1492 when there were significant differences between them. Newspapers resort to this framework in order to publish a feel-good story to celebrate October 12th.

All publications except for La Jornada use this frame at some point. It is fairly used in the first years of the analysis, up to 2018. Afterwards, its popularity fell, especially among Mexican newspapers. An increased polarisation towards colonisation

and representation of the colonial past is a possible explanation. As the debate becomes heated, newspapers rather talk about October 12th through a conflict lens, both attacking or defending the celebration. Consequently, portraying the celebration in this unionist approach becomes less popular.

### ***3.4 Summary***

Three frames and two subframes were identified to represent the October 12th in Spanish and Mexican newspapers. One frame, criticism of October 12th, and its subframe, attribution of responsibility for past wrong-doings, display negative connotations regarding colonisation. Another frame, glorification of the colonial past, and the subframe exemption of responsibility for past wrong-doings defend the colonial era. The remaining frame, union between Spain and Latin America, has an escapist approach, not making very direct assessments of colonialism but representing it as a cultural exchange between equals.

Anti-colonialist ideas were present in both Spanish and Mexican publications at the beginning of the last decade. However, as of 2019, criticism against celebrating the colonial era has increased in both countries, although significantly more so in Mexican newspapers.

## Discussion

This research aimed to examine the portrayal of the October 12th celebration in Spanish and Mexican newspapers, considering the significance of this date as Spain's national day and a commemoration in Mexico. The objective was to gain insights into the frames used by the media to depict the celebration, and thus the media's reflection of the colonial past, as newspapers play a crucial role in shaping collective memory.

By exploring how the past is remembered and celebrated, this study contributes to understanding how nations perceive their identity and role in a globalised world.

After providing descriptions, analyses and interpretations of each frame in the Findings chapter, I will now proceed to answer the second and third research questions while putting the findings in discussion with relevant literature. The research questions are the following:

RQ1: Through which frames is the October 12th celebration portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers?

RQ2: Has the framing of October 12th changed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the last 10 years?

RQ3: Does the ideology of the newspaper affect the framing of October 12th?

### Evolution of October 12th framing from 2012 to 2022

Different events have caused a shift in the representation of October 12th over the last few years, resulting in a more polarised view in the second half of the analysis compared to the first half.

Said events have translated into more articles related to October 12th as well. The increased number of news articles shows how the topic has become more discussed in recent years. The events are the surge of left-leaning party Podemos in the Spanish political landscape, the Catalan independence movement in Spain and its effects in the country's self-perception, the Black Lives Matter movement and its reevaluation of colonial history and the approach of Mexican President López Obrador towards Spanish colonialism. They are explained in depth in pages 29 and 30.

These events have heavily shaped the media coverage of October 12th, antagonising different actors on the issue and demonstrating the fluidity of public

discourse and the interconnection of social science phenomena. Given that these happenings have caused a rapid shift in the media's perspective, this research provides good insight into the quick evolution of collective memory.

The response to these events in the media has included the rejection towards colonialism, and it confirms that Said's (1978) post-colonialist ideas have taken hold in today's society and that former colonies are now aware of the effect that colonialism had on them and are not hesitant to demand justice. Besides Said, a number of other scholars (Maldonado-Torres, 2006; Bhambra, 2014; Loomba, 1998) have contributed to expanding post-colonial theory and bring it closer to mainstream society.

This study is documenting a pivotal phenomenon within the context of colonial history: the overthrowing of Spanish cultural hegemony in Mexico. The findings indicate a growing scepticism within Mexican mainstream society towards the Spanish legacy in the country, a phenomenon that started in the middle of the 20th century (Maldonado-Torres, 2008) but had not completely taken a hold in Mexico. This questioning was not prevalent at the beginning of the previous decade; however, over the course of the analysed years, it has progressively gained momentum and influence. Through the frame of criticism of October 12th, a causal interpretation of reality is being pushed, which is one of the functions of frames defined by Entman (1993).

According to De Alva (1992), colonial ideas remained in place in Mexico as the descendants of colonial settlers were the ones who led the independence movement. In line with this idea, the social organisation of colonial Mexico was based on the superiority of Spaniards, while indigenous and black people remained at the bottom of the social pyramid (Katzew, 2004). Maintaining such social organisations for almost four centuries surely had long-lasting effects in Mexican society.

In the case of Spain, the praise of colonial ideas is more recent. The Franco regime honoured the colonial era with the intention of fostering national spirit (García Sebastiani & Marcilhacy, 2017). Since the regime ended in 1975, less than fifty years ago, finding a glorification of the colonial past frame among the articles was a predictable outcome. This frame is constructed by a set of stereotypes (Matthes, 2009) that emerged based on ideas spread during the two described historical periods.

Quaggio (2020) explains that in the decade of the 1990's there was an attempt to leave behind the colonial narrative in Spain, which had been reintroduced during the Francoist dictatorship, in order to pursue better relationships with Latin America. This



accounts for why the glorification of the past frame is not as present in El País and El Mundo, while shedding light on the existence of the union frame.

The impact of different historical periods on the framing of October 12th resonates with Kantawala's (2020) assertions, emphasizing that historical contexts can be seen as frames that portray events according to the prevailing interests at a given moment.

#### Connection between framing and ideology

The findings reveal that the portrayal of the October 12th celebration in the media serves various political and ideological agendas, ranging from advocating indigenous rights to reinforcing Spanish national identity to highlighting commonalities between Spaniards and Latin Americans. This aligns with Kubal's (2008) assertion that activists have historically used Columbus Day to advance, challenge, or reinforce patriotic ideals.

Ideology surely affects the frames used in the cases of some publications, while for others, a more nuanced explanation is needed.

Publications that fall on the extremes of the ideological spectrum display the kind of attitudes that can be expected of them. That is the case of ABC and La Jornada, for which recognising frames is easier due to a more opinionated text.

ABC shows a considerably conservative approach, as expected. Among its articles, there are very few acknowledgements of the suffering of indigenous communities due to the Spanish colonisation. When these acknowledgements do happen, the suffering is downplayed or compared to that of other colonial powers, always with the intention of highlighting how benevolent the Spanish empire was in comparison to others. Therefore, many of the articles fall into the glorification of the colonial past frame. Such views align with the findings of Eason et al (2021), according to which national narratives were pushed through a negative portrayal of minorities, in this case indigenous peoples.

La Jornada has an intensely combative approach regarding colonialism, being the criticism frame predominant in all of its articles except for one. It focuses more on indigenous communities than other publications.

These findings are in line with Chong and Druckman's (2007) observation on how the media displays frame in accordance to the ideology they presume their

audience to have proves very true in this research, especially in the cases of La Jornada and ABC.

Those in the middle of the spectrum show difficult-to-predict behaviours. El Mundo uses all of the frames, moving from glorifying the colonial past in some articles to condemning actions carried out against indigenous communities in others. It picks up on the trend of talking about the “Spanish black legend” from 2020 onwards and exempting the Spaniards from past wrongdoings.

El Universal predominantly portrays colonialism in a negative light, with most of its articles resorting to the criticism frame. However, a few articles use the union frame instead. Nonetheless, the newspaper’s texts are distinguishable from La Jornada, due to their less confrontational tone. Occasionally, El Universal employs the frame of attribution of responsibility.

Reforma and El Universal share a similar stance in their coverage. Initially, both publications had a less critical approach to the issue, but over the years, the articles increasingly opposed the October 12th celebration. Nevertheless, sporadic articles use the phrase discovery of America or amplify voices that defend colonial times.

Reforma’s articles were particularly surprising, as the right-wing newspaper shifted to a more critical approach to the colonial era in 2019.

El Mundo has a few articles criticising colonialism and acknowledging indigenous suffering. But in the years 2016 and 2017, it defends Spain and the Spanish nation more fervently, probably because this is the peak moment of the Catalan independence movement.

Most of El País’ articles reflect the criticism against October 12th; however, it sometimes has more conservative approaches, like in some articles published in the context of Catalan mobilisations. A similar explanation to the one just mentioned about El Mundo also suits this case.

But, as mentioned earlier, that is not the general trend. The newspaper also includes attribution of responsibility relatively early on. The articles El País are not very opinionated, making it difficult to distinguish a predominant frame in some of them.

A reason to believe such ideas could be found in newspapers is the fact that the colonial discourse is present in other Spanish media formats (Dennison, 2013). The results of the study have confirmed that those ideas have been displayed in newspapers from both countries, but that ideology will really make the difference in how

predominant such ideas are. The effects of this have been appreciated in the analysis, as Mexican newspapers portrayed October 12th celebrations in a positive light at times.

#### Differences among Spanish and Mexican framing

Each country was on a different side during the colonial process, and consequently, different portrayals of October 12th could be expected. However, several factors need to be considered. The fact that Spanish colonial rule has been preached in the colonies for centuries could lead to a positive representation of the celebration in Mexico. Besides that, the surge of postcolonial theories in academia and the growing attention indigenous communities have received in the previous decade could also have impacted the Spanish representation. These factors make the question difficult to answer and convinced me to carry out this research to describe the current state of remembering Spanish colonialism.

Mexican newspapers have evolved to a much more critical position regarding the celebration in the past decade. Especially from 2019 onwards, the criticism frame is increasingly used. Accordingly, the use of the other two frames that carry a positive aspect of the celebration has decreased. Slight differences between the three publications are present, but this is a general trend.

The language used on both sides of the Atlantic is contrasting. Defining Mexican identity only in relation to Spanish one is a common tool in the Spanish articles. An example is that Mexican publications use the term “original peoples” to refer to indigenous communities, while Spanish one use “pre-Columbian/pre-Hispanic peoples”. The latter defines indigenous identity in terms of Spanish identity.

The variety of frames is larger among Spanish newspapers. Criticism is present, as is the defence of the colonial era or the view that tries to ignore its negative effects. As mentioned earlier, building national identity is the main goal of this celebration in Spain. Therefore, it is logical that patriotic publications would defend it.

Spanish publications are, in general, much less concerned with indigenous communities. They are not as mentioned, and indigenous sources are barely cited in the news articles.

Findings go in line with those of Blaaugard (2011), Clark (2014) and Wallace (2021), according to which colonising countries dismissed narratives that challenged the colonial era by flagging them as an attempt to bring to the present matters of the past. The exact same strategy has been found in Spanish newspapers. Selvanathan, Jetten &

Crimston (2022) consider that these difficulties in acknowledging past wrongdoings of a nation come from a resistance to being associated with atrocious events that do not represent their current values. The omission of an indigenous perspective in Spanish news articles is along the lines of Spanish history education (Carretero & Pérez-Manjarrez, 2019).

In the realm of collective memory, media reflects the collective memory version from the state (Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011). In that regard, the shift observed in Mexican media is coherent, since for López Obrador's government criticising and addressing colonialism in collective memory is a priority. Not only the topic becomes relevant in the agenda, but the media reflect the same narrative that the president has.

### Summary of discussion

The research has expanded knowledge on how colonialism still affects messages distributed by the media. It can be concluded that cultural colonialism exists in the media. Especially in conservative Spanish newspapers, but sometimes also in Spanish centrists or even in Mexican newspapers. These ideologies have been deeply ingrained within post-colonial societies for an extensive period, thus it is unsurprising that their presence still endures.

All in all, the ideology of the publication is a reliable predictor of the frames used when the publications are at the extreme of the political spectrum. For those in the middle, the country where the newspaper comes from is a more relevant predictor.

An increased sense of social justice regarding colonialism and resistance to acknowledge past wrongdoings clash, resulting in acute polarisation. The research documents this phenomenon, portraying the increasing divisiveness of today's society in matters of identity.

Overall, this research sheds light on the attitudes and frames employed in Spain and Mexico regarding the colonial past, highlighting the significant role of media in framing reality. The study underscores the importance of communication and framing theory and emphasises the obscured aspects of reality that frames can overlook.

## Conclusion

The findings of the research have been presented in the previous chapter. In the current chapter, a summary of the study can be found, followed by implications for practice, recommendations for further research, and conclusions. The aim of this chapter is to reflect on the study and link it to previous work done in the field of postcolonialism, collective memory and media, while also drawing connections to the potential impact its findings can have. In order to inspire future research in line with the current study, this chapter provides suggestions on potential avenues for further investigation. To conclude, final thoughts are shared to summarise the essence of the study and its broader implications.

The goal of this study is to identify the frames through which the celebration of October 12th (the date of the arrival of the Spaniards in America) has been portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the past decade. Recognizing differences between both countries, the ideologies of the newspapers and a potential shift in the timespan analysed are part of the research. Postcolonial theory, collective memory and framing theory were employed to build the theoretical framework. This study is of a qualitative nature and qualitative news frame analysis has been the methodology employed to identify the frames.

A total of 230 articles have been analysed, published the week before and after October 12th from 2012 to 2022. The articles have been published in six different media outlets: three Spanish newspapers (El País, El Mundo, ABC) and three Mexican newspapers (La Jornada, El Universal, Reforma). The newspapers have been selected in accordance with their ideology: left, centre and right. The predominant frame in each article was established through careful analysis of the words and expressions employed.

The three research questions of this study are:

RQ1: Through which frames is the October 12th celebration portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers?

RQ2: Has the framing of October 12th changed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers over the last 10 years?

RQ3: Does the ideology of the newspaper affect the framing of October 12th?

All of them have been answered through qualitative news frame analysis. Three predominant frames and two subframes have been identified in total: the frames criticism of October 12<sup>th</sup>, glorification of the colonial past and union of two cultures, and the two subframes attribution of responsibility for past wrong-doing and exemption of responsibility for past wrong-doings.

The October 12th celebration received less attention from Mexican newspapers, but when it did, a similar approach among both countries was found in the first half of the analysis (years from 2012 to 2016). Articles portraying the colonial era in a positive light could be found in publications from Spain and Mexico. In the second half of the analysis, however, Mexican newspapers took a much more critical approach towards the celebration, coinciding with a more critical stance taken by the Mexican government. Polarisation regarding the topic increased, and as a result, Spanish publications turned to a defensive attitude at times, observed in one of the subframes.

Ideology has proven to be a good predictor of the frames employed for newspapers standing on the extremes of the ideological spectrum, namely the right-wing Spanish newspaper ABC and the left-wing Mexican newspaper La Jornada. Those with more centrist ideologies display various discourses, at times criticising the colonial era and in other instances downplaying its negative effects.

This research intended to identify the frames through which the October 12th celebration is portrayed in Spanish and Mexican newspapers, to expand knowledge on the representation of colonial history in the media.

When it comes to possibilities for further analysis of this topic, different approaches can be taken to broaden the knowledge on media representation of colonial history. Space and time constraints led me to choose only two countries for this analysis. However, I believe that it would be enriching to study the representation of the colonial period in other former Spanish colonies to identify the variants that influence this phenomenon.

Analysing a broader time frame dating back to the Francoist dictatorship, going through the Spanish transition to democracy and the Sevilla Universal Exposition of 1992 (500 anniversary of the arrival of Columbus in America and also the year when the narrative started shifting) would be insightful to gain a better understanding into the pace of narrative transformation and the extent to which the narrative has transformed over the past thirty years.

News articles have been the unit of analysis of this study because, to readers, they are the closest text to impartiality one can find in a newspaper. Nevertheless, the topic at hand is profusely discussed in opinion articles. Therefore, content discourse analysis on opinion articles about October 12th would be a valid approach to continue delving into collective memory and the media, since scholars (Kligler-Vilenchik et al, 2014) have found that the public turns to opinion pieces to find interpretations of historical events.

The Black Lives Matter movement had a major impact on changing the representation of history. As this movement was of international character, I consider it relevant to study the extent to which it has influenced the relationship to colonialism in other parts of the world.

Regarding the practical implications of this study, I believe researching the frames used in media is a good thermometer of public opinion. This research has proved the amount of criticism and polarisation existing around the October 12th celebration. Based on my understanding, a national day should not be a source of discussion but rather a celebration of what unites the citizens of a country. October 12th is not accomplishing that function anymore; hence, the Spanish government should consider finding another date that would not cause as much confrontation among its citizens and one that would not compromise its relations with other countries.

The findings of this research have proven the existence of colonial ideas in the media, which engage in an inaccurate portrayal of history, besides contributing to the oppression and misrepresentation of indigenous communities. Communicating the results of this study to the analysed newspapers would be an attempt to raise awareness towards the type of narrative they are engaging into. Along those lines, this research could provide a foundation for developing a comprehensive guideline that promotes more suitable approaches to representing colonial history.

This research has produced a number of significant conclusions, one of them being its expansion of the knowledge on representation of colonial history in contemporary newspapers, contributing to the fields of collective memory in the media and postcolonialism in Spain and Mexico. Findings have concluded that colonial history and collective memory around it are framed in accordance with the narrative that different actors want to push, which is in accordance with Kubal's (2008) findings. Newspapers have used frames that resonate the most with their readers' ideology, a behaviour described in framing theory (Chong and Druckman, 2007).

The findings have concluded that colonial discourse continues to exist in Spanish and Mexican newspapers, more commonly in Spanish ones. It is manifested through the glorification of the colonial past, a narrative that was pushed in Spain during the Francoist dictatorship (García Sebastiani and Marcilhacy, 2017) to foster national spirit. Other avenues that evidence the presence of colonial discourse are the exemption of responsibility for past wrongdoings and praising the union of Spain and its former colonies, avoiding acknowledging or discussing negative consequences of the colonisation. The latter is related to the new narrative that Spain wanted to adopt regarding its colonial past after the dictatorship: focusing on improving its relationship with Latin America (Quaggio, 2020).

An important shift towards a narrative critical of colonial history in the past three years has been identified, linked to the Black Lives Matter movement and the push against colonial legacy of Mexico's president Andrés Manuel López Obrador. It also evidences a permeation of decolonial ideas from academia (Said, 1978; Maldonado-Torres, 2006) into mainstream society, providing with optimism that negative stereotypes related to colonialism are gradually dissipating from society.



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## Appendix

### Full sample of analysed articles

Article number	Publication	Date	Headline
1	ABC	11/10/2012	Hillary Clinton felicita a España por la Fiesta Nacional del 12 de Octubre
2	El Mundo	11/10/2012	SOS Racisme no descansa el 12-O para protestar por 'la colonización' de América
3	El Universal	13/10/2012	Donan réplica de Cabeza Olmeca a ciudad de Nueva York
4	El Universal	11/10/2012	Joya relojera en honor a Cristóbal Colón
5	Reforma	13/10/2012	Barcos famosos
6	ABC	13/10/2012	Evo Morales dice que tener relación con la Embajada de EE.UU. «es como una caca»
7	ABC	12/10/2013	Del día de la Hispanidad al de la Resistencia Indígena
8	ABC	12/10/2013	La ONU celebra hoy, 12 de octubre, el día de la lengua española
9	ABC	12/10/2014	Don Felipe preside el desfile por primera vez como Rey
10	ABC	12/10/2014	España, a un paso de los restos de la nao Santa María
11	Reforma	13/10/2014	Pasaporte
12	El País	11/10/2014	Desde esta excavación partió Colón a América
13	Reforma	12/10/2014	Un impulsor de las Cumbres
14	El País	13/10/2014	Bolivia reelige a Evo Morales para un tercer mandato



15	ABC	12/10/2014	«Los españoles debemos liderar este proyecto»
16	ABC	12/10/2015	La bandera olvidada que representa a toda la Hispanidad
17	Reforma	12/10/2015	Reivindica España unidad en día nacional
18	El Mundo	12/10/2015	Colau arremete contra la Fiesta Nacional: 'Vergüenza de Estado aquel que celebra un genocidio'
19	Reforma	11/10/2015	'Ocultó Colón origen catalán'
20	ABC	17/10/2015	«La hispanidad está en la sangre del español, sea vasco, catalán o andaluz»
21	ABC	14/10/2015	El alcalde de Cádiz se queda solo en su guerra antiespañola
22	El Mundo	13/10/2015	Podemos no tiene "nada que celebrar"; Dirigentes del partido y alcaldes como Ada Colau cargan contra la celebración del 12-O
23	ABC	13/10/2015	España reivindica unidad en la última Fiesta Nacional de la legislatura
24	El País	14/10/2015	Sin selva no hay kawahivas
25	ABC	13/10/2015	Colau y «Kichi» relacionan el 12-O con un «genocidio»
26	ABC	13/10/2015	Fernández Díaz, contra Colau y «Kichi»: faltaron de manera impropia a las instituciones
27	Reforma	12/10/2015	Acusan a España de celebrar genocidio
28	El Mundo	11/10/2015	¿Qué significa para usted ser español?
29	Reforma	13/10/2015	Califican en España octubre 12 de genocidio
30	ABC	12/10/2015	NN.GG. ensalza los valores de la hispanidad en las fiestas de Pulgar
31	ABC	12/10/2015	Willy Toledo arremete contra el Día de la Fiesta Nacional
32	ABC	10/10/2015	Llanos de Luna llama a honrar el «legado

			inmenso» de España con motivo del 12-O
33	ABC	14/10/2015	Javier Moro: «Los libros sirven a veces para rescatar a la gente del olvido»
34	ABC	14/10/2015	Podemos quiere preguntar a la ciudadanía en qué fecha celebrar la Fiesta Nacional
35	Reforma	12/10/2015	Un descubrimiento de película
36	ABC	14/10/2015	Así fue la lucha en el Imperio español por defender los derechos de la población indígena
37	El País	13/10/2015	Colau y el alcalde de Cádiz critican la celebración de "un genocidio"
38	El Mundo	18/10/2015	"Un ordenador nunca sustituirá el olor de la tierra"
39	El País	12/10/2015	Colau y Kichi critican que el 12-O se celebre el "genocidio" en América
40	La Jornada	13/10/2015	Pueblos indígenas de AL celebran la "resistencia"
41	La Jornada	13/10/2015	"Vergüenza de Estado que celebra un genocidio": alcaldesa de Barcelona
42	ABC	12/10/2016	¿Qué se celebra el 12 de octubre?
43	El Mundo	11/10/2016	12 de octubre: 12 falsos mitos sobre el descubrimiento de América
44	ABC	12/10/2016	El jesuita vasco que acuñó el término «Hispanidad»
45	El Mundo	9/10/2016	En Badalona no habrá 12 de Octubre
46	ABC	11/10/2016	La «misión secreta» de Colón, el corsario que quería robar todo el oro de Cipango
47	Reforma	11/10/2016	Regresa Macías a Las Ventas
48	El Mundo	10/10/2016	Podemos rechaza el 12-O por "franquista"; Albiol exige al PSC que rompa con el partido de Colau en Badalona por declarar laborable la Fiesta Nacional
49	El Mundo	13/10/2016	Maduro arremete de nuevo contra España: "la

			Corona debe pedir perdón a los pueblos de América"
50	El Mundo	12/10/2016	La Justicia obliga a Badalona a celebrar la Fiesta Nacional; El Ayuntamiento de Podemos y la CUP acata que no podrá abrir hoy pero llama a movilizarse
51	ABC	12/10/2016	12 de Octubre; TVE celebra la Fiesta Nacional dentro y fuera de España
52	ABC	11/10/2016	Fernández Díaz tilda de «aberración» propia de «ignorantes» definir el 12-O como un genocidio cultural
53	ABC	12/10/2016	Miles de catalanes se manifiestan en Barcelona en favor de la unidad de España
54	ABC	18/10/2016	Así se repartieron el mundo España y Portugal en 1494: el Testamento de Adán que detestaba Francia
55	El País	12/10/2016	Iglesias acusa de “hipócritas” a quienes acuden al desfile
56	El País	13/10/2016	1.300 invitados y algunas ausencias destacadas
57	ABC	11/10/2016	A la caza de los héroes españoles: estatuas mancilladas y nombres censurados por la leyenda negra
58	El País	12/10/2016	A los dos lados de un océano
59	ABC	11/10/2016	El primer Día de la Fiesta Nacional con un Gobierno en funciones y sin líder de la oposición
60	ABC	12/10/2016	Juan de Rojas, el hidalgo sagreño que fundó La Habana
61	El País	12/10/2016	México / Madrid
62	ABC	12/10/2016	¿Desde cuándo existe España y la nación española?
63	El País	14/10/2016	El sentimiento latino que habita en Madrid

64	El Universal	12/10/2016	Regresaría estatua de Colón en Argentina
65	La Jornada	13/10/2016	Afromexicanas enfrentan negación de sus derechos, discriminación y violencia
66	El Mundo	13/10/2017	La mala suerte del Día de Colón; El autor explica cómo se instauró el 12 de octubre como Día Nacional en nuestro país, mucho después de que la fecha fuera festejada por otros países en América. Subraya que pudo escogerse cualquier otra fecha
67	ABC	10/10/2017	El Ayuntamiento de Madrid cede una nave de Matadero para un acto contra el día de la Hispanidad
68	ABC	12/10/2017	Entusiasmo en Canarias con la Fiesta Nacional
69	ABC	13/10/2017	Plantón de Rommy Arce a la fiesta indígena contra la Fiesta Nacional
70	El Mundo	12/10/2017	Los concejales de Badalona investigados por atender en el Ayuntamiento el 12-O el año pasado vuelven a abrirlo
71	El Mundo	12/10/2017	El apocalipsis de los kalinago
72	ABC	7/10/2017	Navarra cambia la Hispanidad por el Día de la Resistencia Indígena; Entre los grupos típicos que actuarán habrá un grupo de «txistularis» vascos
73	El Mundo	15/10/2017	La sed de oro de los conquistadores
74	ABC	9/10/2017	La historia de los españoles olvidados que cambiaron el mundo en treinta años
75	El Mundo	10/10/2017	El Ayuntamiento de Badalona volverá a abrir el 12-O pero evita la desobediencia
76	El Mundo	11/10/2017	EH Bildu pide declarar el 12 de octubre "Día de los pueblos indígenas"
77	Reforma	6/10/2017	Conquistadores americanos

78	ABC	13/10/2017	De los «Novios de la muerte», a la Guardia Civil: la historia de las unidades que honran la Fiesta Nacional
79	ABC	12/10/2017	La asignatura pendiente del 12 octubre entre Argentina y España
80	El País	13/10/2017	Barcelona celebra el 12 de octubre con más participación
81	El Mundo	12/10/2017	Granada rinde homenaje a los Reyes Católicos
82	ABC	12/10/2017	Maduro carga contra España y contra el Rey por celebrar la Fiesta Nacional
83	El Mundo	13/10/2017	Hasta la cabra de la legión huele a libertad
84	El Mundo	15/10/2017	Fray Junípero decapitado
85	El País	13/10/2017	Cuando el trigo encontró al maíz
86	El Universal	12/10/2017	Cae avión tras desfile militar en España
87	El Universal	11/10/2017	Indígenas en AL: maltrato y olvido
88	La Jornada	13/10/2017	Venezuela y Bolivia repudian conquista española
89	El Universal	12/10/2018	¿Día de la Raza o de la Hispanidad?
90	ABC	14/10/2018	La lucha contra la Leyenda Negra en Estados Unidos continúa
91	ABC	9/10/2018	Intersindical tilda el 12 de Octubre de «colonialista»
92	El Universal	12/10/2018	Indígenas toman carreteras de Michoacán por el 12 de octubre
93	ABC	14/10/2018	La misteriosa obsesión de Cristóbal Colón por ocultar sus orígenes
94	El Mundo	15/10/2018	Pablo Casado: "La Hispanidad es la etapa más brillante del hombre junto al imperio romano"

95	ABC	11/10/2018	El rencor oculto de Portugal hacia el «bocazas» Cristóbal Colón: «Hablaba mucho y sabía poco»
96	ABC	12/10/2018	Las razones que desmontan el mito del genocidio en América: las enfermedades mataron al 95% de población
97	ABC	13/10/2018	Carmelo Romero: «La Junta ha dejado a Huelva en la estacada»
98	Reforma	11/10/2018	Mestizaje gastronómico
99	Reforma	12/10/2018	Tesoros culinarios
100	ABC	12/10/2018	Así fue la estrategia europea de Isabel la Católica, la histórica Reina de España que admira el líder de VOX
101	El País	12/10/2018	Turbulencias en Latinoamérica
102	El País	12/10/2018	Galiza Nova prende “lume á monarquía” en el día de la “masacre”
103	El Universal	13/10/2018	El Día de la Raza antes era un día de fiesta
104	La Jornada	13/10/2018	En tres estados, protestas por el Día de la Raza; en Michoacán bloquean 4 vías
105	ABC	12/10/2019	¿Por qué coincide la Fiesta Nacional de España con la Virgen del Pilar?
106	El Mundo	12/10/2019	Así era realmente América el día que llegó Cristóbal Colón
107	ABC	18/10/2019	El castigo de una furiosa Isabel La Católica a Cristóbal Colón por esclavizar a 1.600 indios
108	El País	14/10/2019	Washington reniega de Colón
109	ABC	14/10/2019	El origen del odio a Colón y a lo español en EE.UU: «El indigenismo busca lo mismo que el nacionalismo aquí»
110	ABC	12/10/2019	El 'otro' 12 de octubre: la flota perdida de la Orden

			del Temple que pudo llegar a América antes que Colón
111	El Universal	12/10/2019	Pueblos originarios de Chiapas conmemoran 527 años de resistencia
112	ABC	14/10/2019	«Estar de Jauja», «valer un Potosí» y otras expresiones que derivan de los descubrimientos del Imperio español
113	El Universal	13/10/2019	"Masoquista, quien diga que antes era mejor"
114	El País	13/10/2019	Marichuy: "De los indígenas, al Gobierno mexicano solo le interesa el folclore"
115	El Universal	13/10/2019	Conmemoran tzotziles 527 años de resistencia
116	ABC	9/10/2019	El embajador de Guaidó acude al primer acto oficial en España y coincide con el representante de Maduro
117	ABC	15/10/2019	La Fundación Cajasol celebra los 500 años de la primera vuelta al mundo con un ciclo de conferencias
118	Reforma	13/10/2019	Postulan replantear conflicto colonial
119	El Universal	13/10/2019	Inauguran el cuarto encuentro "Libertad por el saber 1519"
120	El País	12/10/2019	¿Sabes a qué país de Hispanoamérica corresponde cada bandera?
121	El Mundo	12/10/2019	Dura crítica a Trump por la política del español
122	Reforma	12/10/2019	Unen mundos
123	La Jornada	12/10/2019	López Obrador insiste en que mandatarios de otras regiones pidan perdón por los estragos de la Conquista
124	La Jornada	13/10/2019	Protestas en 18 estados, en el día de la resistencia indígena

125	El Universal	11/10/2019	Embajador español destaca relaciones profundas con México
126	ABC	13/10/2020	La misión secreta de Colón y otros tres misterios históricos del Día de la Hispanidad
127	El Universal	13/10/2020	Presentan en redes opciones para reemplazar la estatua de Colón
128	El Mundo	13/10/2020	Campaña en EEUU para defender la memoria de Colón; El gobernador de Nueva York celebra el 12 de octubre a pesar de la polémica abierta en torno a las estatuas
129	El Mundo	12/10/2020	Andrew Cuomo moviliza a Fauci y Bocelli para "rehabilitar" a Cristobal Colón
130	ABC	13/10/2020	Maduro acusa al conquistador español Francisco Fajardo de «genocida» y quita su nombre de la autopista
131	El Universal	11/10/2020	El otro monumento a Cristóbal Colón que aún queda en la CDMX
132	El País	12/10/2020	Con un pie en cada relato: la conquista, vista por jóvenes nacidos en América y emigrados a España
133	El Mundo	14/10/2020	La capital mexicana baja a Cristóbal Colón del pedestal;
134	El País	12/10/2020	El Gobierno de Ciudad de México abre el debate sobre la permanencia de la estatua de Colón
135	ABC	12/10/2020	El ADN de Cristóbal Colón: una miniserie y un documental descubrirán el misterio de su origen
136	El Mundo	13/10/2020	Un grupo de indígenas intentan derribar la estatua de Isabel la Católica en Quito
137	El País	10/10/2020	El Gobierno de Ciudad de México retira la estatua de Colón a dos días de la conmemoración de su arribo a América



138	El Universal	12/10/2020	Se malinterpretó propuesta para que España y Papa ofrezcan disculpas
139	El Mundo	11/10/2020	Bildu dice que Euskadi "no tiene nada que celebrar el 12 de octubre" y equipara el "sometimiento" a Latinoamérica con la defensa de la Constitución
140	El Mundo	12/10/2020	El independentismo protesta ante sedes del Ejército en Cataluña
141	Reforma	13/10/2020	Eliminan festejos por 12 de octubre
142	El Universal	10/10/2020	Sheinbaum llama a reflexionar permanencia de monumento a Colón
143	Reforma	12/10/2020	Felicita Ebrard a España por Día de la Raza
144	ABC	15/10/2020	La verdad sobre Fajardo, el español que fundó Caracas y Maduro quiere borrar de la historia por «genocida»
145	El Universal	12/10/2020	Protestan comunidades de Oaxaca contra CFE y el despojo de territorio
146	ABC	13/10/2020	Vandalizan en Badajoz tres estatuas relacionadas con el Descubrimiento de América
147	El Universal	10/10/2020	Retiran monumento a Colón para ser restaurado
148	El Universal	10/10/2020	INAH hará análisis y restauración de escultura Colón
149	ABC	12/10/2020	La Sevilla de Cristóbal Colón
150	El Universal	11/10/2020	Llaman a analizar regreso de la estatua de Colón
151	ABC	9/10/2020	Lugares colombinos: Antes del grito de «¡Tierra!»
152	Reforma	11/10/2020	Descartan la remoción del Colón en Buenavista
153	Reforma	12/10/2020	Rondan a Colón advertencias y retiro
154	ABC	18/10/2020	«Deberíamos estar muy orgullosos de los

			emperadores hispanos Trajano y Adriano»
155	El Mundo	17/10/2020	La primera dama de México tras el tesoro azteca
156	El Universal	11/10/2020	Piden a Sheinbaum explicar retiro de estatua de Colón sobre Reforma
157	El País	13/10/2020	Un grupo de activistas interviene la estatua de Isabel la Católica en La Paz con ropa de mujer indígena
158	El País	11/10/2020	México retira una estatua de Colón tras llamadas a su derribo
159	Reforma	13/10/2020	Repudian a colonizadores
160	El País	14/10/2020	La última batalla de Moctezuma es por su penacho
161	El Universal	12/10/2020	Gobierno nacional indígena apoya petición de disculpa al Vaticano
162	ABC	13/10/2020	Abucheos al Gobierno y vivas al Rey en una Fiesta Nacional marcada por la tensión
163	La Jornada	13/10/2020	“No hay nada qué celebrar; han sido más de 500 años de resistencia”
164	La Jornada	13/10/2020	Pide el Presidente insistir a Austria para que ceda el penacho de Moctezuma
165	La Jornada	13/10/2020	Plantea Sheinbaum un proceso de unidad para la elección en Morena
166	El Mundo	12/10/2021	12 de octubre, en directo   Miles de personas marchan por el centro de Barcelona en defensa de los "valores constitucionales"
167	ABC	12/10/2021	Por qué el 12 de octubre era conocido como el Día de la Raza
168	El Universal	11/10/2021	12 de octubre, una fecha que divide a España
169	El Universal	12/10/2021	AMLO coincide con Beatriz Gutiérrez Müller: si no hay razas es inconcebible el racismo

170	El Universal	13/10/2021	En el Día de la Hispanidad, cientos exigen reivindicar los derechos de los indígenas
171	ABC	12/10/2021	El alcalde de Palos de la Frontera a los revisionistas del Descubrimiento: «Son unos ignorantes de la historia»
172	El País	12/10/2021	12-O, la fiesta nacional aún por definir
173	El Universal	12/10/2021	Agradezco a quien haya tenido la idea de dejar de celebrar el día de La Raza: Beatriz Gutiérrez
174	El Mundo	12/10/2021	Cs marca "perfil" y rasga la unidad constitucionalista en la manifestación del 12-O
175	ABC	11/10/2021	Cristóbal Colón XX: «Los ataques al descubridor lo son también contra España»
176	ABC	15/10/2021	Últimas noticias y última hora de hoy viernes, 15, octubre 2021 en internacional
177	Reforma	12/10/2021	Las razas no existen.- AMLO
178	El Mundo	12/10/2021	Tres de cada cuatro ciudadanos están orgullosos de ser españoles, aunque los jóvenes sienten más desafección
179	ABC	9/10/2021	Biden proclama también el Día de los Pueblos Indígenas en el Día de Colón
180	El Mundo	7/10/2021	Un mapa falso para desacreditar a Colón y su Descubrimiento
181	El Mundo	15/10/2021	Estados Unidos y la herencia hispana que sí se quiere celebrar
182	ABC	14/10/2021	Últimas noticias de historia hoy jueves, 14 de octubre del 2021
183	El País	18/10/2021	Rachel Kushner: “Para entender nuestra historia con los conquistadores no necesitamos una estatua de ellos”
184	Reforma	9/10/2021	Monumento en cuestión

185	ABC	7/10/2021	La asociación Héroes de Cavite celebra a lo grande la Hispanidad en Cartagena del 8 al 17 de octubre
186	El Mundo	13/10/2021	Colón, pieza clave de occidente
187	Reforma	9/10/2021	Perdón a México: Un debate incómodo en España
188	El Mundo	13/10/2021	Sánchez y Casado se ignoran en su particular 'guerra fría'; Podemos vuelve a aprovechar la fiesta del 12-O para arremeter contra la Monarquía
189	El Universal	12/10/2021	"Es hora de dejar de celebrar el genocidio": Tenoch Huerta sobre el Día de la Raza
190	El Mundo	9/10/2021	"La Oficina del Español no es un chiringuito; es una idea necesaria"; Consejera de Cultura, Turismo y Deporte en Madrid
191	El Universal	13/10/2021	Esta es la mujer de Amajac que tomará el sitio de Colón
192	El Universal	10/10/2021	Vox exige que se rinda tributo a Hernán Cortés y obligar a México a que limpien su tumba
193	ABC	7/10/2021	Caídos por EE.UU.: un homenaje a los españoles olvidados de la batalla de Brooklyn
194	ABC	11/10/2021	Un documental para romper con los tópicos de la Leyenda Negra
195	ABC	14/10/2021	El Colegio CEU San Pablo Sevilla conmemora el Día de la Fiesta Nacional de España
196	Reforma	13/10/2021	Misma fecha, dos visiones
197	Reforma	18/10/2021	Buscan recuperar sentido histórico
198	El Mundo	11/10/2021	La localidad extremeña de Medellín pide a México repatriar los restos de Hernán Cortés por la "deriva anti-española"
199	El País	18/10/2021	Los Ángeles más allá del cine

200	La Jornada	16/10/2021	Maduro propone a España crear una comisión de la verdad sobre la conquista
201	La Jornada	11/10/2021	Vox exige que México reivindique a Hernán Cortés el 12 de octubre
202	La Jornada	12/10/2021	Pueblo donde nació Hernán Cortés reclama repatriación de sus restos
203	El País	12/10/2022	¿Día de la Raza o día de la Resistencia indígena? Preguntas para conmemorar este 12 de octubre
204	ABC	12/10/2022	¿Por qué el día del Pilar es festivo nacional y por qué se celebra hoy, 12 de octubre, el Día de la Hispanidad?
205	El Universal	11/10/2022	¿Día de la Raza o día de la Hispanidad?
206	ABC	7/10/2022	Cabalgata de la Hispanidad 2022 en Madrid: una exhibición del folclore de las culturas hispanas
207	El Mundo	12/10/2022	El 77% está "orgulloso" de ser español y el 70% pide que los símbolos españoles tengan presencia
208	El Mundo	9/10/2022	Camilo emociona hasta el desmayo al público del Día de la Hispanidad
209	ABC	12/10/2022	El mayor misterio de la llegada a América de Cristóbal Colón, según Ferrer-Dalmau
210	ABC	14/10/2022	Las cartas ignoradas desde 1505 donde Colón reconoce al verdadero artífice del descubrimiento de América
211	ABC	12/10/2022	El 'ecosistema' que impulsó a Colón
212	Reforma	13/10/2022	Chocan Gobierno capitalino y MH, ahora por estatua de Colón
213	ABC	17/10/2022	Misión cumplida en las II Jornadas de Hispanidad celebradas en Cartagena
214	ABC	17/10/2022	El olvidado discurso en el que Reagan elogió a

			España: «La herencia hispana debe hacernos sentir orgullosos»
215	Reforma	13/10/2022	Rechaza la Miguel Hidalgo estatua de Colón en Polanco
216	El Universal	13/10/2022	Tenoch Huerta tuitea en contra del Día de la Raza: "¿Le pedirían a los judíos que celebraran a Hitler?"
217	El Universal	15/10/2022	La joven de Amajac, símbolo de que se acabe la discriminación en nuestro país, dice Sheinbaum
218	El Universal	14/10/2022	Falsas afirmaciones de Sheinbaum, dice alcaldía Miguel Hidalgo; "no se oponen a recibir estatua de Colón"
219	El Universal	14/10/2022	Va joven de Amajac en glorieta, dice Sheinbaum
220	ABC	13/10/2022	El Colegio CEU San Pablo Sevilla celebra el Día de la Fiesta Nacional de España
221	El País	10/10/2022	Madrid aglutina a la inmigración hispanoamericana
222	ABC	12/10/2022	La deuda impagada con los héroes españoles que contribuyeron a la independencia de EE.UU.
223	El País	7/10/2022	María Lionza, la imagen del culto espiritista de la que se apoderó el Gobierno de Maduro
224	ABC	17/10/2022	Roca Barea: «Los imperios occidentales están haciendo el tonto de una manera espantosa en Ucrania»
225	El Mundo	10/10/2022	Douglas Murray: "Muchos antirracistas radicales creen que '2+2=4' es una idea supremacista blanca"
226	El País	9/10/2022	Todos quieren ahora a la Malinche
227	La Jornada	13/10/2022	Seguirá diálogo para acordar qué habrá en la ex glorieta de Colón

228	La Jornada	14/10/2022	Buscarán otro espacio para la estatua de Colón, ante el rechazo a instalarla en el parque América de Polanco
229	La Jornada	12/10/2022	Asamblea Interuniversitaria decide sumarse hoy a marcha por 530 años de la Conquista
230	La Jornada	13/10/2022	Indígenas siguen en lucha por sus derechos y supervivencia