

The Representation of LGTBI+ People by Spanish Conservative and Progressive Press

La representación de personas LGTBI+ en prensa española conservadora y progresista

Juan Ramón Guijarro-Ojeda  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8453-2909>

Universidad de Granada, España, jrjo@ugr.es

Raúl Ruiz Cecilia  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8119-549X>

Universidad de Granada, España, raulruiz@ugr.es

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Luis Cejudo Espinosa

Abstract: This paper investigates the way LGTBI+ people are represented by conservative and progressive Spanish newspapers. With this purpose in mind, a corpus has been compiled with news items published regarding the ratification of the legal nature of homosexual marriage in Spain on November 6, 2012. As a method, we have analyzed transitivity and the semantic roles of processes as an instrument of the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology. The main results reveal that there is a substantial difference between conservative and progressive newspapers: the prominence given by the conservative press to LGTBI+ people represents just one third of that displayed by the progressive press; the conservative press reduces the levels of consciousness, voice, cognition, desire, emotion and perception as compared to the progressive, which strengthens them. Finally, the conservative press uses negative processes as an LGTBI+ people's intrinsic feature; whilst the progressive uses them to reveal social injustice against them.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, transitivity, LGTBI+, homosexual marriage, press.

Resumen: Este artículo investiga cómo las personas LGTBI+ son representadas por la prensa conservadora y progresista españolas en un *corpus* de noticias, en torno a la ratificación de la constitucionalidad del matrimonio homosexual en España el 06 de noviembre de 2012. La metodología de estudio es propia del Análisis Crítico del Discurso: roles semánticos de los procesos verbales, según el sistema de transitividad de la Lingüística Funcional. Los principales resultados revelan que existe una diferencia sustancial en el modo en que la prensa conservadora representa al colectivo LGTBI+ respecto de la progresista: la conservadora da significativamente menos protagonismo a estas personas en comparación con la progresista; la conservadora les reduce los niveles de conciencia, voz, cognición, deseo, emoción

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y percepción frente a la progresista que los potencia sustancialmente. Por último, la negatividad de los procesos es utilizada por la prensa progresista para denunciar injusticia social, y la prensa conservadora para potenciar lo negativo de este grupo.

Palabras clave: Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD), transitivity, LGTBI+, matrimonio homosexual, prensa.

Introduction

The present work analyzes the way in which two conservative (abc.es, and larazon.es) and progressive (elpais.com, and publico.es) Spanish newspapers depict LGTBI+ individuals¹, after the resolution of the ratification sentence of the constitutionality of homosexual marriage on November 6th, 2012 by the *Tribunal Constitucional*, TC [Constitutional Tribunal] (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2012). The story begins in 2005 with the summoning of an unconstitutionality resource by more than 50 representatives of *Popular* parliamentary group against *Ley 13/2005, de 1 de julio, por la que se modifica el Código Civil en materia de derecho a contraer matrimonio*, [Law 13/2005, on July 1st, that modifies the Civil Code regarding the right to become married] approved by the administration of *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers' Party] headed by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. In this law it was possible to read: “*El matrimonio tendrá los mismos requisitos y efectos cuando ambos contrayentes sean del mismo o de diferente sexo*” [Marriage will have the same requirements and effects if both intending spouses are the same or a different sex] (Single article, entry 1) (BOE, 2005).

With a view to acknowledging the way LGTBI+ people are contrastively represented in the conservative and progressive press in Spain, a transversal analysis is carried out focusing on the semantic roles of verbal processes, according to Functional Linguistic postulates, whose latest edition is to be found in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), which Fairclough (2003) articulates as the suitable element for the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

1 *Federación Estatal de Lesbianas, Gays, Transexuales y Bisexuales*, FELGTB [State Federation of Lesbians, Gays, Transgenders and Transsexuals] of Spain regularly uses the acronym LGTB, even if in numerous discourses and, depending on the agent, they introduce the “I” to include Intersexuality. We have also included +, as increasingly generalized by the most progressive collectives as a recognition to any other individual stance or sexual identity collective not considered in the normalized acronym.

We are especially interested in scientifically studying communication media due to their role of socialization agents which, plus family and education system, are essential in the current information society. When they present news reports on society, they configure at once, social reality from their discourse. The interiorization and exteriorization processes of culture and its broad range of behaviors find in media a way with singular power (Sánchez-García, 2012; Enguix, 2013).

CDA theoreticians such as van Dijk (2009) echo on this idea and pose the need for a systematic scientific study on the press and its ways to transmit information because they influence on the configuration of what we know and believe and how we learn and believe in it. In the current “information society”, keeping track of news via written and audiovisual means runs in parallel to the recursion level of proper face to face conversations with people. This information contents that circulate are cultural discourses, and vehicles of them at once, therefore, there is mediatization by the producing actors and also by receptors.

Goals

With this research, the following goals are pursued: 1) applying the study of transitivity, a key resource of CDA, as a representation instrument for LGBTBI+ individuals in the journalist discourse; and, 2) compare the Spanish conservative and progressive press in terms of the discursive use of transitivity in order to verify whether there are differences between them in the way of representing these people.

Theoretical substantiation

Social contextualization

We will analyze the social and juridical accomplishment of the aforementioned law, 13/2005, in Spain by progressive PSOE government, as well as the ratification of its constitutionality on November 6th, 2012, by the Constitutional Tribunal. It is plain to see that it has been the result of a long social reconfiguration since the end of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), which Calvo (2010) supports on three fundamental parameters:

[...] the culmination of a civil rights recognition policy that is a consequence of the strategic decisions of the main petitioners (gays and lesbians in the movement), the broadening of the structure of opportunities (due to domestic and international transformations) and the existence of a series of conditions that enable PSOE to seize the opportunities that lesbians and gays' social movement strategies as well as the evolution of the context had managed to produce (Calvo, 2010: 140).

In the years of democracy, Spanish society has experienced an opening toward sexual diversity actually worth praising, for over 40 years of dictatorship and a confessional State, homosexuality was repressed legally and by the police, considering it a social danger and public scandal crime, even, as a physical defect or a disease. In this way, it was managed by means of *Ley de Vagos y Maleantes* [Law on Loiters and Wrongdoers] (1933, reformed in 1954), in *Código de Justicia Militar* [Military Justice Code] (1945), or *Ley de Peligrosidad y Rehabilitación Social* [Law on Dangerousness and Social Reintegration] (1970) (Martín, 2011).

In 1978, the Spanish Constitution was democratically established, which enabled a change from a confessional state to a democratic and laic one. However, even in 1979, *Acuerdo de Asuntos Jurídicos con la Santa Sede* [Agreement on Juridical Issues with the Vatican City] was celebrated; it entails an important weight to socially perpetuate canonic marriage, though the progressive development of secularization in Spain will finally enable breaking with marriage pillars such as the indissolubility of sexuality and procreation as inseparable axis and make room for dignity, free development and affectivity as foundations for marriage. Likewise, the traditional vision of homosexuality as a sin is fading (Fernández-Coronado, 2006).

The international context has an essential role in Spain and fundamentally is its dabbling with full rights in the European Union in 1986. This last is capital with regulations such as *Resolución del Consejo de Europa* [Resolution of the European Council], *del 1 de octubre de 1981* [October 1st, 1981]; *Resolución del Parlamento Europeo* [Resolution of the European Parliament], *del 13 de marzo de 1984* [March 13th, 1984]; *Resolución del Parlamento Europeo, del 8 de febrero de 1994* [February 8th, 1994], or *Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea* [Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union] in 2000. All of them enforce the eradication of any sort of discrimination against the LGTBI+ collective. As a consequence, a number of EU countries approved fully matching laws regarding homosexual and heterosexual couples: Denmark 1989, Norway 1993, Sweden 1994, Netherlands 2000, or Belgium 2003 (Calvo, 2010).

In Spain, at political level, it is worth underscoring the fundamental task of *Izquierda Unida*, IU [United Left], which ever since 1986 has always included the approval of this right in each of its electoral programs. PSOE would not do so until 2000 elections and more specifically in the 2004 program:

PSOE will aim firstly, and develop later, a discourse and a strategy based on the need to link the ideological change to new references based upon respect of human rights, extension of civil rights, and the assertion of full citizenship (Calvo, 2010: 159).

Another important fact in Spain takes place on February 28th, 1994, the mayor of Vitoria-Gasteiz (Basque Country) opens the first registration office for *de-facto* couples with no distinction for sex or sexual orientation, only paying attention to their condition of a well-established relationship. This came together with a harsh decision of *Tribunal Supremo* (STS 66/1994), on the same day, which denied the right to widowhood pension for unmarried couples, which produced great social and media commotion (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1994). This breeding ground, together with the loss of the absolute majority in the parliament, made PSOE accept the reality and support the LGBTBI+ community, strengthening its ideals as a progressive political party. Also, another fundamental fact is the creation of LGBTBI+ working groups in the parties at national level such as in IU and PSOE, and even, in the conservative *Partido Popular*, PP [People's Party] (Calvo, 2010).

Now, the stance taken by the various social agents involved in this sort of change will be analyzed. As regards LGBTBI+ social groups and their mobilization, two positions are noticed. In the first place, a large part of the collective (COLEGAS, COGAM, Triángulo, Arcópolis, etc.) shows support for marriage equality as it entails a leap forward, the end of legislative, economic homophobia, etc. Even so, they respond there is still much to do in the education sphere or full social acceptance, and the possibility to become married would imply the danger of thinking everything is accomplished in society (Etxazarra, 2007).

Other LGBTBI+ groups such as *Gaytasuna* (Basque Country) claim that “marriage is a patriarchal, heterosexual structure... and we understood that we didn't have to repeat that...” (I.2), or that the “recognition of the superiority of heterosexual society implies, unavoidably, inferiority in being gay or lesbian. This standpoint doesn't put forward transforming society, but merging into the existing one” (D. 2) (Etxazarra, 2007: 11-12). Rather, they advocate for individual liberties, manifest and express as desired and that the structure of marriage is not the only to follow. Assuming

the institution of marriage represents for them a model of heteronormative society, though they recognize that by means of this law a series of social rights may be accessed to, which previously was not possible otherwise.

In this regard, Tudela-Sancho (2017) conceptualizes heteronormativity as the cultural configuration of the sex-gender system in which the socially privileged model is the heterosexual. This has consequences for the masculine-feminine, instinct – will, public space – private space, nature – society, natural love – morbid love binomials, in which men and the masculine always dominate the feminine: man is the family ruler, marriage takes place between a man and a woman, monogamous and faithful, and family Christian and virtuous.

Likewise, there is strong social agitation against the approval of the law spearheaded by three fronts: the Catholic church, PP and *Foro Español de la Familia* [Spanish Forum for the Family].² On June 18th, 2005, they massively demonstrated in Madrid against the approval of the aforementioned law:

PP engaged in combatting the reform in the political and legislative field, *Foro de la Familia* was in charge of keeping the “no” alive at social level via mobilizations and demonstrations on the street; for its part, the Church “morally” covered such opposition (Etxazarra, 2007: 18).

The stance of the Catholic church and *Foro de la Familia* on what a family is concurs with their heterosexual, procreation and blood kinship components (Etxazarra, 2007: 16). PP, for its part, makes it clear that it is not an opposition for homosexual individuals, but to the use of the term “marriage”, as the party understands it as the union of a man and a woman, as per the Spanish Constitution of 1978. PP searches for other sort of nomenclature and juridical regulation for homosexual individuals. However, in PP we also found that *Popular Gay* Platform is dissident in this regard, together with other first-line powerful politicians such as Esperanza Aguirre, Celia Villalobos, or Alberto Ruiz Gallardón, who celebrated homosexual weddings.

Amidst this social panorama, the law is finally passed in the Representative Chamber on June 30th, 2005, with 187 votes in favor, 147 against, 4 abstentions, and 12 absent representatives. After this situation, more than 50 PP representatives resorted to an unconstitutionality resource, arguing that same-sex unions “are not marriage, thereby, they cannot be juridical configured as such”. In this way, such law is against the constitution

2 Founded in 1999, it represents four million families which defend the traditional values of the person and family in a Christian-catholic sense.

and its article 32.1, which sets forth: “men and women have the right to become married with full juridical equality”.

Nevertheless, article 32.2 states that “the law shall regulate the forms of marriage”, a fact ignored by PP in its resource. They also argued that the new formula denaturalized the marriage or that the definition by *Real Academia Española*, RAE [Royal Spanish Language Academy] referred in like manner to the union of a man with a woman. A fact that stopped on June 22nd 2012 and added a second meaning: “2. In certain legislations, the union of two individuals of the same sex, agreed by means of certain rites or legal formalities, for the purpose of establishing and keeping a community of life and interests”. PP always argued that the LGBTBI+ community could resort to the legality of “civil unions”, not necessarily marriage (García-Pedraz, 2012; Bonilla, 2013).

Over the seven years from 2005 (passing of the law) to 2012 (its constitutional ratification), relevant sociological studies verified the full acceptance of egalitarian marriage in Spanish civil society. In 2007, *Fundación BBVA* [BBVA Foundation] publish *Estudio Fundación BBVA sobre Actitudes Sociales de los Españoles* [BBVA Foundation Study on Social Attitudes of the Spanish Population] (Fundación BBVA, 2007: 7-8). On one side, 57,6% accept same-sex marriages; 29,9% rejects them, while 10,9% is neutral; on the other, 44% deems positive same-sex partners are able to adopt v. 42% against, while 14% is neutral. The survey of *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, CIS [Center for Sociologic Research] on *Actitudes de la juventud ante la diversidad sexual* [Attitudes of youths regarding sexual diversity] (CIS, 2010) concludes that 76,8% of the youth positively deem homosexual marriage.

As regards the coverage offered by the Spanish press on homosexual marriage, Guijarro-Ojeda (2015) confirms that newspapers meet their editorial lines and the conservative ones will unfold a wide range of discursive resources opposed to homosexual marriage, whilst progressive ones, in favor. Distinguishable is the voice that conservative press gives PP and the church; while the progressive mainly exposes the goals of the LGBTBI+ collective, followed by PP supporters of the law. It also analyzes topics dealt with in these newspapers and classifies them as in favor of the law (homosexual marriage, CT sentence, LGBTBI+ people, gender ideology or PSOE) and against this law (PP, church, far right or the resource of PP).

Quantitative results verify the editorial lines and reveal that pro-LGTBI+ elements are positively considered by conservatives in 24.6% of the cases, while progressive do so in 75.4%; that is to say, three times as

much. If we look at the against-LGTBI+ elements and their positive valuation, conservatives do so in 45.8% of the cases, while progressists, at least 5.1%.

Finally, the Constitutional Tribunal favorably ruled on the constitutionality of homosexual marriage on November 6th, 2012, which back then was composed of seven magistrates with progressive leanings and five conservative. Eight votes in favor (7 progressive + 1 conservative) and three against (3 conservatives) with their corresponding individual votes. Conservative magistrate Francisco Hernando did not participate as in his term as president of *Consejo General del Poder Judicial*, CGPJ [General Council of the Judiciary] had decided on measures against the law.

The sentence of TC, in words of Bonilla (2013: 41), accounts for social foundations that permeate the juridical of 1978 Constitution in an evolutionary interpretation of society because back then there were no social demands as in 2005:

More than 30 years later, TC interprets that the current image of marriage in Spain, product of social evolution, is defined as a community of affection or mutual help society that creates a link between individuals, who hold the same position in this institution, and who, voluntarily, decide to join a common family life project, consenting to the rights and responsibilities of the institution above and expressly declaring thus by means of the procedures set forth in the regulation (Bonilla, 2013: 41).

In the particular votes of the three conservative magisters, there are varied and common reasons, among others, that the function of the marriage is to perpetuate the species and now it (marriage) is denaturalized. The new law goes against the interests of underage individuals who might be adopted by homosexual couples; in this way, they would contravene the constitutional configuration of filiation and would harm the interests of the underage, as there is affective and sexual relations between fathers and mothers, which is a private matter, though not family life. A conceptual change in marriage as socially relevant figure into another of unconnected emancipation with society was rejected. Neither do they approve social behaviors condition the constitution interpretation and consider homosexual relations shall be regulated aside marriage (BOE, 2012: 202-219).

Critical discourse analysis and transitivity

The main goal of CDA is to analyze the discursive at its textual and structural levels to decipher the way this linguistic architecture produces cultural components such as manipulation, ideology, power, authority or inequality. Here, van Dijk's (2009) definition of CDA is relevant:

[...] a sort of analytical research on the discourse that primarily studies the way in which the abuse of social power, domination and inequality are exercised, reproduced and occasionally combatted, in the texts and speech within social and political contexts. Critical discourse analysis, with a particular research, explicitly takes a side and expect to effectively contribute to resistance against social inequality (van Dijk, 2009: 149).

For the sort of CDA we present here, focused on the study of transitivity, we resort to Functional Linguistic, which defines three metafunctions of language according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014): ideational, interpersonal, and textual. We are interested in the ideational function that defines that a sentence is a representation. Through this function, people represent their internal experience and external of the real world (experiential function); as well, it allows establishing logical relations (logical function). This function is carried out in a sentence by means of the transitivity system, in which processes (verbs), the roles of the participants and the circumstances that condition them are expressed. Each one, in the election made of these elements when representing reality, ideologically positions in the projection of their standpoint regarding this reality (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

Six processes that reflect various ways of experiencing are established, at once they convey various sorts of participants: 1) *material*: refers to particular attractions and events, while implies the idea of change. Participants are actors, goals, recipients, and clients; 2) *mental*: it relates to the internal experience of an individual with their surrounding world, and implies notions of emotion, cognition, perception, and desire. The participant may be sensor (high degree of awareness) or phenomenon (any participant, aware or not, heard, liked, understood, etc.); 3) *relational*: it comprises the external and internal experiences, and the notions of being and/or becoming. The participant may be: conveyor, attribute, benefactor, or attributor; 4) *verbal*: it refers to the symbolic interchanges of meanings. The participants are "sayers", people who potentially act verbally on other people, ideas, or things. We may also find the participant roles of the recipient, verbiage, and object; 5) *Behavioral*: represents a psychological or

physiological behavior such as seeing or laughing. The main participant is “the one that behaves”; and, 6) existential: it implies the existence of X, known as ‘existing’ and may be a person, institution, event, object, abstraction or action (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 247-307).

Previous studies

Although the existing scientific literature as regards the representation of LGBTBI+ individuals in press is not well detailed, it does offer a wide array of topic and methodological perspectives that verify the way explicit and latent discrimination is present in the cultural-media discourses.

In a study on the visibility of homosexual relationships in the European context of Italy, France and Spain, Carratalá (2011) notices that it is increasingly important in the public sphere and in the mass media. However, it reveals that despite the wide range of veiled homophobic traits to refer to homosexual partners, which express as euphemisms that reproduce stigmatic features. These findings come to show the presence of a prevailing and hegemonic hetero-centrism, which still unfolds a privileged heterosexual discursive centrality.

In the same sense, Clarke (2006) demonstrates that in Canada there is a latent bias in the intention of the press to represent the LGBTBI+ collective associated to the HIV pandemic, overlooking factors as relevant as poverty, racism or prevention. Over this line, Enguix (2013) analyzes media measurement and LGBTBI+ activism via the study of the impact in printed press and social media the celebration of pride in Madrid and Barcelona in 2010. The author concludes the press uses decontextualizing and stereotyping strategies, being participant of a sociocultural construction of alterity and social hegemonies. It is worth underscoring the fact that LGBT topics hegemonically relate to “gays” (males), while lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual largely remain silenced (Enguix, 2013: 43).

A parallel central study comes from Jowett and Peel (2010), as they run analysis of the *Civil Partnership Act, 2004* from a socio-constructivist standpoint to find out how it is covered in the British press. For this purpose, 348 newspapers were examined for a period of three months (November 2005 – June 2006) considering the following variables: marital status of the homosexual partners regarding the homosexual; the centrality of the “heterosexual” factor in marriage and the legalization of marriage between same-sex individuals due to *Civil Partnership Act*. Findings are overwhelming and express heteronormativity is the rule in the

representation of such topic, and leaves no room to recognize and build more radical relationships between same-sex individuals.

As regards the way the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*, conservative and progressive, respectively, cover the topic of homosexual marriages in the US, Pan *et al.* (2010) focus on the framing of information on same-sex marriage based on the ideology of each newspaper. *Chicago Tribune* concentrates on the topic of morality and its incidence on the social debate, in which the favorable verdict of tribunals do not reorient the discourse and carries on with the defense of American values of tradition and family. For its part, *The New York Times* focuses on promoting equality values and actively defends homosexual marriage after the Commonwealth of Massachusetts legalized it.

For her part, Strand (2012) studies local papers *Daily Monitor* (private) and *New Vision* (public) after the approval of the *Anti-Homosexuality Bill* in Uganda in 2009, with a view to analyzing the homophobic discursive construction of LGBTBI+ people. Their headlines, with divergent editorial lines, reproduce the homophobia rooted in this cultural context; even if it is true that *Daily Monitor* criticizes this discriminatory decree and tries to delegitimize the institutionalization of homophobia and the negative impact it exercises on citizens and readers.

Gouveia (2005) dissections the way *Diário de Notícias*, serious Portuguese newspaper, depicts gays and lesbians. Among other systemic-functional linguistic resources, the author uses transitivity to study the way homosexuals are represented in a country where they have few possibilities and little power. It is concluded that gays are largely represented, 65% of the cases, in rational attributive processes, which confines them to a clearly inactive spaces. Being so, gays are not represented as particular entities performing particular activities, but certain attributes are given to them as a quality, circumstance or possession. From afar, in 20% of the cases, the goals are material processes, while 15%, existential processes. Surprisingly, there are no cases of homosexuals who participate in mental, verbal or behavioral processes, which verifies a clear obscuring of this collective in public discourse.

The work by Bartley and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2015) studies the discursive construction of homosexuality over the Celtic Tiger Period in Ireland by means of transitivity. The results reveal negative attitudes from the church, where there are abundant negative emotive mental processes in which gays are presented as verbiage, with negative implications. In like manner, by Democratic Unionist politicians, the processes are deemed negative.

Another particularly relevant aspect is the connection of homophobic actions to criminal activities, not as an attack on a certain sexual orientation, unlike other countries in the region. This issue supposes the religious observation of a reality of marginalization and discursive repression.

In line with religious repression, Acevedo and Elgueta (2008) reach the conclusion that, counterintuitively, left-wing press in Chile conveys homophobic discourses supporting *Unidad Popular* [People's Unity]. They justify this with the mass influence of Catholicism in Latin America, which is a transversal axis to both conservative and progressive press. As well, for his part, Peterson (2011) shows that a Christian organization in the US influences the threat posed by homosexuals and their formations-kinship relationships to human capital, as they were based on affectivity relations opposed to the socioeconomic precepts of neoliberalism and its ideal family model.

Methodology

Study corpus

The total study *corpus* comprises 55 information items from the digital editions of four Spanish nationwide newspapers. Their ideological orientation is conservative (abc.es and larazon.es) and progressive (elpais.es and publico.es). The allotment of items is as follows: 17, abc.es; 13, larazon.es; 14, elpais.es; and, 11, publico.es.³ If we consider the word count, the *corpus* total reaches 36.978, distributed into 18.501 (conservative headlines) and 18.477 (progressive headlines). The large corpus of selected items date from February 8th, 2012, to April 23rd, 2013, with the exception of a single item of September 21st, 2005. The heated debates are relatively important over the periods before and after the day of the Constitutional Tribunal decision.

The news items that were gathered deal with the topic under study, a result of online search engines using the terms: *matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo* [same-sex marriage]; *matrimonio homosexual* [homosexual marriage]; *matrimonio gay* [gay marriage]; and, *matrimonio igualitario* [equal marriage]. We introduced different variables for the same term to comprise the entire possible range of this issue. Once the results of the

3 Illustrating data on the corpus at section 5. Results and analyses will be identified with the name of the paper, followed by the number of the news item within each headline, as indicated here.

various searches were validated, we were able to produce the final corpus that comprised editorials, op-eds, news items, and opinions by personalities and journalists.

Study variables

Following Richardson's (2007) methodological indications, supported on the social trend of CDA, the study variables fixed for the corpus analysis are: 1) typology, frequency, and value (positive-neutral, and negative) of the processes where LGBTBI+ individual directly intervene, as agents or patients of the material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral and existential processes; and, 2) frequency and identification level of the process participants.

Method

Once the news items were gathered, the identification of the entire corpus' processes was carried out by the two researchers individually and independently. Bearing this in mind, verbal processes whose participants are LGBTBI+ individuals or related groups and associations were considered. Once each researcher had its results ready, these were compared to find out differences and a final convergence point.

Results and analysis

In the first place, we present the partial results of conservative and progressive sub-corpora to finally present their comparison.

Conservative sub-corpora

Table 1⁴ presents typology, total number, and percentage of conservative-corpus processes. In it, a total of 80 processes in which directly participate LGBTBI+ individuals were recorded. The sort of process identified as a majority corresponds to the material and accounts for 71,25% (82,5% positive-neutral, and 12,5% negative) of the corpus total.

4 Tables and graph are at the end of the article in Annex, (Editor's note).

- [LGTBI+individuals] [actors] have wrapped [material process] the statue of the bear and the strawberry tree in a giant rainbow flag to commemorate the protection to “equal marriage” [positive-neutral value] (abc.es, 13).
- [...] more than 20.000 same-sex couples [actors] became married [material process] [positive-neutral value] (larazon.es, 1).
- “I won’t yield to [material process] a faggot [goal]” (larazon.es, 6).
- [...] homos and lesbians [actors] turned [material process] their sex into a mess with no alarm in their societies [negative value] (larazon.es, 6).

Following, with similar percentages, mental processes with 10% (62,5% positive-neutral, and 37,5% negative), and relational ones with 10% (50% positive-neutral, and 50% negative).

- The president of *Federación Estatal de Lesbianas, Gais, Transexuales y Bisexuales* (FELGTB), Boti García Rodrigo [sensor], has praised [mental process] the decision of the constitutional assembly [...] [positive-neutral value] (abc.es, 13).
- [...] only in the media do people from the *other anthropological sidewalk* [benefactors] become [relational process] *rich and famous* [negative value] (larazon.es, 6).

Finally, we find verbal processes with 8,75% (100% positive-neutral).

- Rafael Moral [sayer], congratulated [verbal process] De la Torre “on his political courage and empathy [...]” [positive value] (abc.es, 5).
- [...] some of the mottos expressed [verbal process] by the *demonstrators* [sayers] [gays and lesbians] [positive value] (abc.es, 13).

Neither behavioral nor existential processes were identified. If we pay attention to the positive-neutral or negative value of the various processes, the overall computing indicates that 65.35% of the processes are positive or neutral, as compared with 21.25% negative.

Among the participants who perform or receive the action of these processes in the conservative corpus, there is a wide range of individuals or LGTBI+ collectives. Some of these participants are famous persons because of their occupations, namely: Ricky Martin, Johanna Sigurdaddottir (Iceland’s Prime Minister), Elton John, Roman Emperor Julius Caesar, Boti García Rodrigo (Spanish LGTBI+ activist), Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin (known lesbian couple), or Rafael Moral (president of *Colegas* in Andalusia Region, Spain). The rest of LGTBI+ agents always follow generic people

who are named as follows: same-sex partners, gay and lesbian couples, homos and lesbians, *los de la otra acera antropológica* [those of the other anthropological sidewalk], homosexual couple, two men and two women, LGBTBI+ associations/collectives, couples, homosexuality, pressure groups, gays and lesbians, lesbian mother, minority pressure group, tow same-sex individuals, rainbow, de facto partners or youth with gay tendencies.

If we pay attention to statistics, we would be able to quantify that out of the 80 participants of the conservative corpus, the agents identified account for 20% of the total, while the unidentified or generic accounted for 80% of the total.

Progressive sub-corpus

For its part, Table 2 gathers the verbal processes identified in the progressive sub-corpus. As noticed, the total reaches 242 processes. According to frequency, we have material processes with 35.4% (79.1% positive-neutral, and 20.9% negative):

- *Homosexuals* [actors] demonstrate [material process] in defense of their families [positive-neutral values] (elpais.es, 1).
- Gay *collectives* [actors] celebrate [material process] the inclusion of homosexual marriage in DRAE [positive value] (elpais.es, 2).
- ‘For the natural and Christian marriage, and the effeminates [goals] shove it up their assess’ [material process] [negative value] (publico.es, 2).

Verbal processes account for 29% (92.8% positive-neutral, and 7.2% negative):

- *Esther* [sayer] *explains* [verbal process] that her mother, [...], now represents her daughter and her woman with naturality [positive value] (elpais.es, 7).
- “Only the father can be here!”, the doctor shouted at [verbal process] *Herminia* [a lesbian, recipient] [negative value] (elpais.es, 7).

Mental processes, with 24.4% (74.6% positive-neutral, and 25.4% negative), hold the third place:

- Lesbian, gay, *transsexuals and bisexual* collectives [sensors] *consider* [mental process] positive and important the decision of RAE to include same-sex unions in the definition of marriage [positive-neutral value] (elpais.es, 2).
- Many *families* [sensors] *have experienced* [mental process] angst in finding out if they were to be cancelled all of a sudden [negative value] (elpais.es, 7).

- [*Carlos and Emilio*] [sensors] fell in love [mental process] under the threat of the Law on Loiters and Wrongdoers [...] [negative value] (elpais.es, 7).

Relational processes reach 7.8% (68.4% positive-neutral, and 31.6% negative):

- “If you are [relational process] single or your partner [existent 1] is [relational process] a woman [existent 2] [...] [neutral value] (elpais.es, 7).
- [...] *Gays* [existent 1] are [relational process] ‘*children* [existent 2] of ‘hostile, alcoholic and distant fathers’ and ‘overprotective mothers’ [...] [negative value] (publico.es, 2).

Finally, virtually with no representation, we have existential processes with 2% (40% positive-neutral, 60% negative), and behavioral with only 1.4% (100% positive-neutral).

- Before 2005, *legally, we were no one* [existential process]” [*Esther, lesbian woman*] [existent] [negative value] (elpais.es, 7).
- Over these seven years [*Emilio Menéndez and Carlos Baturín, a gay couple*], they [those that behave] *have experienced* [behavioral process] the happiness of a sort of love recognized by the law [...] [positive-neutral value] (elpais.es, 7).

An 80.6% of the processes is considered positive or neutral, as compared with 9.4% negative.

In the progressive corpus, the participants of the actions of the various processes belong to people with a proper name, popular or not, and to generic references to LGTBI+ individuals. Among the names we underscore: Antonio Poveda and (president of FELGTB), Carla Antonelli (PSOE representative and transsexual activist), Pedro Zero (PSOE representative and LGTBI+ activist), Rafael Salazar (president of COLEGAS), Boti García Rodrigo (known Spanish LGTBI+ activist), José María Núñez (president of *Fundación Triángulo*), Rubén López (coordinator of *Arcópoli* gay university group), María José Ariza (vice president of FLG), or Agustín López (COGAM spokesperson).

When generically referring to the LGTBI+ collective the following terms are used: homosexuals, entities / LGTBI+ entities, gay collectives, gays and lesbians, gay and lesbian associations, gay and lesbian collectives, organizations, lesbian, gay, transsexual and bisexual collectives, pride parade, homosexual couples, gay persons, gay citizens, attendants (gays), have become a married gay couple, same-sex parents, same-sex individuals, homosexual unions, gay families, same-sex couples, queers, gays, children of gays, homosexual unions or gay adults.

Out of the 242 processes identified in the progressive corpus, 65.7% belongs to identified or famous participants, whereas 34.3% is classifiable as nonidentified, or generic.

Conservative-progressive press comparative analysis

Graph 1 shows the comparison of the representation of LGTBI+ individuals in both sorts of headlines, in which it is noticed a series of differences that allow appreciating with certain clarity the way the conservative and progressive presses depict this collective. In two corpora with almost identical word count, it is noticeable the number of processes which involve LGTBI+ individuals in the conservative and progressive press. In the first, we have identified 80, while in the second, 242. It is plain to see that in the progressive press, there is triple interest in bringing them to the limelight, regardless of the processes they are associated to.

Another significant aspect is the distribution of frequencies among the various processes. As regards material processes, in the conservative press, they account for 71.25% of them, whilst in the progressive, only a half, i.e., 35.4%. Material processes imply awareness or not from the actors or goals, and refer to actions that produce changes. In this regard, it is evident that the conservative press depicts the LGTBI+ collective mainly as people who do things, with poor awareness of the struggle against inequality. This delays the mental or verbal processes in which the participants' awareness level and effectiveness is very high.

One of the most significant differences comes hand in hand with mental processes that entail internal experiences of the world and notions of cognition, desire, emotion, and perception. In the case of LGTBI+ individuals, data are indeed revealing, for in the progressive corpus they only represent 24.4% of the processes; while, in the conservative, merely 10%. For the progressive press, it is important to underscore the humanization of this collective; whereas, the conservative prefers not to give the collective these characteristics and emotions.

- *Carlos* [sensor] is *concerned* [mental process] that the judges of *Tribunal Constitucional* are proposed by politicians and express their ideological filiation (elpais.es, 7).

These mental processes are highly significant in the progressive corpus because they are commonly used for expressing the internal way LGTBI+ individuals react before the social injustice of not being recognized with the same rights as heterosexual persons.

In the same line, we have the case of verbal processes. While in the progressive press, they reach 29%, in the conservative, only 8.75%.

- “They blocked us in the Register, we thought would not be able to marry”, *Herminia* [sayer, lesbian] *explains* [verbal process] (elpais.es, 7).
- *Ricky Martin* [sayer] *says* [verbal process] that “if the law on gay married would be modified” [...] (abc.es, 3).

In this case of struggle for social rights, it is very relevant that progressive press presents LGTBI+ people as sayers and have a voice in the fight for equality, either personally, as a group or collective. As for the conservative press, we may speak of silencing, in line with what Carratalá (2010) advocates for. A number of linguistic queer studies (Motschenbacher and Stegu, 2013; Giffney and O'Rourke, 2017) concur that this silencing of LGTBI+ people or events is one of the main discursive discrimination strategies against this collective.

If we heed the positive-neutral and negative value of the processes in the corpora, we notice there are no actually significant differences in the frequency. Conservative press gives a positive-neutral value to 78.75% of the processes, while the progressive to 80.6%; on the negative side, conservative press reaches 21.25%, and progressive 19.4%. Well now, there is a relevant difference regarding each headline group's intention in the negative values. The conservative press depicts LGTBI+ in pejorative roles, agents or patients, while the negative, in the progressive, is aimed at denouncing negative actions against this collective:

- [...] there are solid studies that *advise against* adoption by *homosexual couples*, etc. (larazon.es, 12) [negative value].

Even in the case: [...] some “*lobbies*” to *support you* [...] (larazon.es, 12), which at first has a positive value, is nothing more than a discursive game, in which irony prevails as the intention is clearly negative to question the actions of LGTBI+ pressure groups.

As noticed in the following example, in the case of the progressive press a negative factor is resorted to denouncing the homophobic stance of former Minister of the Interior, Fernández Díaz: [...] *I'm against* the right to adopt in the case of *same-sex couples* (elpais.es, 10) [negative value]. Or in the cases of: “let the faggots adopt maggots” (publico.es, 2) o “[...] *homosexuality is a personality disorder*” (publico.es, 2), in which the words of homophobic individuals against gay marriage are literally quoted.

Finally, the comparison between the percentage of the identification level of the participants in the various processes in the conservative and

progressive corpora is revealing. Participants are identified by means of their full name or by normalized LGBTBI+ associations account for 20% of the conservative corpus, against 65.7% in the progressive one. Conversely, generic participants or who cannot identify reach 80% in the conservative corpus, whilst the progressive only 34.3%.

These disparate data between the analyzed sub-corpora verify the data from the processes analyzed in this work and may be interpreted as a blatant attempt by the conservative corpus to hide the LGBTBI+ collective; whereas the progressive corpus clearly supports the visualization of LGBTBI+ participants by their full name regarding the capital issue of the constitutionality of same-sex marriage in Spain.

The analysis of this study's results verifies the results of research works at national (Carratalá, 2010) and international (Gouveia, 2005; Jowett and Peel, 2010; Pan *et al.*, 2010; Bartley and Hidalgo, 2015) levels about the discursive treatment of LGBTBI+ individuals or homosexuality itself. By and large, the discursive repression against this collective and their rights is verified, or else, in the best of cases, the unfolding of euphemistic obscuring resources. When contrastively analyzed, progressive and conservative presses, as Pan *et al.* (2010) did, our study corroborates the pattern that progressive press advocates values of rights equality, thereby, it actively defends homosexual marriage; for its part, the conservative press in spite of not launching a homophobic frontal attack for it would be illegal in Spain, it does use discursive resources to hide and strip this collective of its rights.

Conclusions

If we fixed the conclusions of this work on the basis of the goals stated at the beginning of it, we may affirm that the application of transitivity as an instrumental methodology for CDA has demonstrated be valid to unveil the discursive twists and turns of the press, and in this case, understand the media and social representation of a collective. The linguistic and discursive resource of transitivity has been utilized consciously and unconsciously by two sorts of headlines, and truth is, the results concur with what is socially expected from each editorial line.

The study of the various processes unfold by each corpus has unveiled significant data regarding the representation of the LGBTBI+ collective by the headlines. The conservative press hides these individuals in its public discourse; strips them of certain conscious actions, while, at once, gives them

minimal human qualities such as cognition, perceptions, desire or emotion. Likewise, their voice is silenced at individual, couple or group levels, while the negative nature of the processes where they are implicated is presented as intrinsic to this collective.

Furthermore, progressive press gives LGTBI+ individuals preeminence, consciousness and voice, as well as human cognitive, desire, emotion, and perception qualities. The intention of using negativity in processes clearly focuses on socially denouncing homophobic or heteronormative attitudes toward this group of people.

All in all, this makes it clear the cultural depth of negative attitudes such as homophobia or heteronormativity. In the Spanish case, forty years had already passed since the first demonstration in favor of homosexuality in 1977 (Enguix, 2017), and presently, negative discourses are still reproduced explicitly or implicitly, as those quoted here. All of this in a country where in 2014, one point two million people attended the Pride Celebration in Madrid

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Annex

Table 1

Total processes related to LGBTBI+ individuals in the conservative corpus

Process	Conservative press					
	Positive, neutral		Negative		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Material	47	82,5	10	17,5	57	71,25
Mental	5	62,5	3	37,5	8	10
Relational	4	50	4	50	8	10
Verbal	7	100	-	-	7	8,75
Behavioral	-	-	-	-	-	-
Existential	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	63	78,75	17	21,25	80	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 2

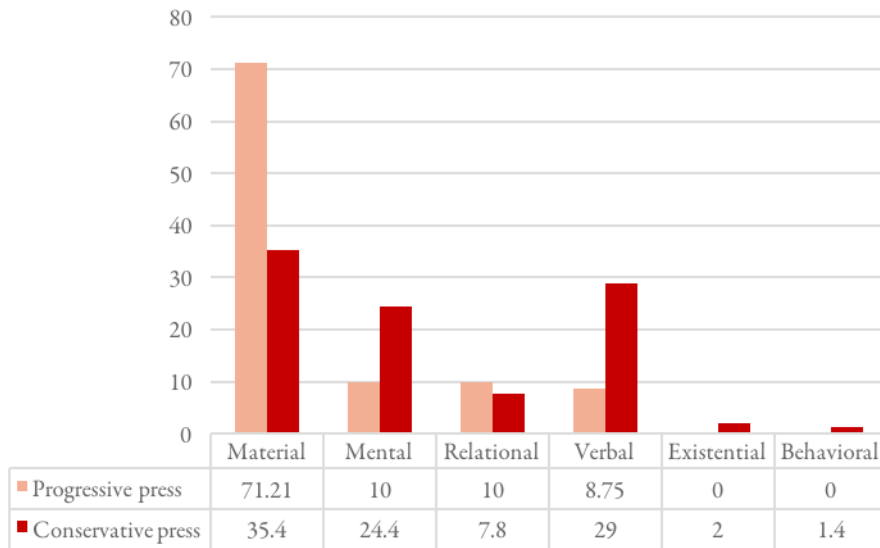
Total processes related to LGBTBI+ individuals in the progressive corpus

Process	Progressive press					
	Positive, neutral		Negative		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Material	68	79.1	18	20.9	86	35.4
Verbal	65	92.8	5	7.2	70	29
Mental	44	74.6	15	25.4	59	24.4
Relational	13	68.4	6	31.6	19	7.8
Existential	2	40	3	60	5	2
Behavioral	3	100	-	-	3	1.4
	195	80.6	47	19.4	242	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Graph 1

Percentage comparison between processes in conservative and progressive corpus



Source: Own elaboration.

Juan Ramón Guijarro-Ojeda. Doctor in Didactics of Language and Literature; full professor in the Department of Didactics of Language and Literature from Universidad de Granada (Spain). Main research lines: gender studies in language and literature, critical discourse analysis, interculturality. Recent publications: Ruiz-Cecilia, Raúl and Guijarro-Ojeda, Juan Ramón (2016), “Lenguaje e ideología: a propósito de la nueva ley del aborto española”, in *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, no. 71, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México; Barozzi, Stefano and Guijarro-Ojeda, Juan Ramón (2016), “Sexual identities in EFL at Primary School level: A pre-service teachers’ perspective from Spain”, in *Porta Linguarum*, no. 25, Spain: Grupo Editorial Universitario; Guijarro-Ojeda, Juan Ramón (2018), “Gender as a Global Issue in Foreign Language Teacher Training”, in Lopes, António and Ruiz-Cecilia, Raúl [eds.], *New Trends in Foreign Language Teaching: Methods, Evaluation and Innovation*, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Raúl Ruiz-Cecilia. Doctor in Didactics of Language and Literature; full professor and director of the Department of Didactics of Language and Literature from Universidad de Granada (Spain). Main research lines: critical discourse analysis, critical reading in foreign language, interculturality, and gender education. Recent publications: Ruiz-Cecilia, Raúl and Guijarro-Ojeda, Juan Ramón (2016), “Lenguaje e ideología: a propósito de la nueva ley del aborto española”, in *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, no. 71, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México; Pérez-Valverde, Cristina and Ruiz-Cecilia, Raúl (2014), “Narrativas de la identidad docente en la formación del profesorado de lenguas extranjeras”, in *Andamios. Revista de Investigación Social*, no. 24, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México; Ruiz-Cecilia, Raúl (2011), “De la lectura intensiva a la extensiva en la clase de ILE. Fundamentos didácticos”, in *Odisea: Revista de Estudios Ingleses*, no. 12, Spain: Universidad de Almería.