HATE SPEECH AND POLARIZATION IN PARTICIPATORY SOCIETY

Edited by
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The case of Spanish prime-time TV series

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Introduction

The mass media in general and television in particular contribute to disseminate distorted images of certain cultures, religions, and ethnic groups by representing them in a stereotypical way (Grovogui, 2013). These TV productions generally reinforce the *soft power* discourse (Nye, 2005; Martel, 2011) of the supremacy of Western culture over others and reveal a hierarchical structure of the argument/representation (Der Derian & Shapiro, 1989). For instance, the Orient and its mass media imaginary are constructs based on the representations made by Western writers, journalists, filmmakers, etc. As pointed out by Said (1978), orientalism is constructed as 'otherness' whose features are essentialised: it is exotic, primitive, and inferior. For Western audiences these ideas perpetuate a colonialist view of the Orient.

In Europe, the refugee crisis, the post-colonialist flows, and the strategic geographical location of some of its regions, especially the Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Greece, and Italy, have led to a rise in the immigrant population and to extreme stances towards this socio-political reality. Additionally, major acts of vandalism and terrorism linked to some of these racial or religious minorities, conspicuously linked to the so-called 'Muslim world,' have led to hate speeches in the European media and among their audiences. Indeed, Islamophobia has become pervasive.

This chapter analyses the representation of Muslims in prime-time TV series broadcast in Spain, a country with a large, firmly established Muslim community and a strategic migratory destination. It examines how the narratives chosen are built in order to offer a deliberate image of Muslim characters and certain aspects of their religious beliefs. To this end, the sample is made up of two TV series that have had a particular impact on Spanish

audiences, namely, *El tiempo entre costuras* (Antena 3, 2013–2014) and *El príncipe* (Telecinco, on 2014–2016), both relevant within the Spanish television industry and internationally broadcast.

A post-structuralist theoretical framework

The dual theoretical framework and the methodological framework employed to analyse the TV series and their representation of Muslim 'otherness' are described below.

TV series as 'cultural artefacts'

More than mere entertainment, TV series can be described as "cultural artefacts themselves, [which] embody cultural values and practices" (Algeo, 2007, p. 10). As Hansen (2017) remarks, "[a]ny society includes political, scientific, religious and artistic fields" and TV series (as with comics) "as a (potential) form of culture has a tension-ridden relationship with the latter" (p. 587). So, TV series reflect the tensions of societies and contribute not only to establish 'routinised practices,' but also to serve as indicators of the socio-political debates of concern to them (Moïsi, 2017, p. 21). In this regard, authors such as Shapiro (2009) and Gregg (1999) have emphasised the relevance of visual language for generating stereotypes and for generalising images of 'other' peoples and 'other' places. As noted by Weber (2005) when addressing political issues, popular cultural products help to "get a sense of the everyday connections between 'the popular' and 'the political'" and allow spectators to see "how IR [International Relations] myths become everyday myths—because they are circulated, received, and criticized in and through everyday popular forms like films" (p. 9) and TV series. In this way, TV series connect daily practices with global issues and contribute to create imaginaries linked to common values that become familiar and shared by the members of each society (Buonanno, 2007), such as the alleged 'Muslim character,' places of peace, or violence.

   TV series, like films and other cultural products, reflect "contemporary anxieties" (Dodds, 2003) about global issues. In their narratives they not only include references to identities, but also provide "information about places" (Dittmer, 2010, p. xvii). "Identity and power are thus invoked in multiple dimensions […] [and assign] values to places, and it constructs hierarchies of people and places that matter and those that do not" (Dittmer, 2010, p. xvii). In this sense, TV series contribute to create "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) in which audiences are encouraged to feel more empathy for some characters and less for others. In this way, they contribute, through the representations that they offer, to construct (at least one of the available) realities. As observed by Der Derian and Shapiro (1989), "[p]ost-structuralist analys[e]s pose a radical

challenge to both the fact/value distinction and our concept of facticity generally, a concept that post-structuralists claim is conventional and culturally constructed rather than founded in nature" (p. xiv). In this connection, discourses elaborated from positions of (political/social/economic) power manage to define "the world" and to establish "regimes of truth" (Der Derian & Shapiro, 1989, p. xiv).

Orientalism

When dealing with the representation of the Middle East and North Africa (hereinafter MENA) region, it is necessary to refer to Said's classic term 'Orientalism.' According to this author, Orientals (or Arabs or Muslims) have been traditionally represented as "exotic, premodern, emotional, and indolent" (Dittmer, 2010, p. 18), as well as "fatalistic" (Said, 1997). 'Orientals' are constructed as the 'other' whose features are essentialised (Tomé-Alonso & Ferreiro Prado, 2019). Conversely, the so-called 'Westerners' (Huntington, 2011) are perceived as rational, positive, and 'common.'

Although Said published his first essay on orientalism in 1978, the term is still valid. Indeed, orientalism is one of the most long-standing discourses in Western cultural products and "inescapable" for those critically involved in the non-West (Cardeira da Silva, 2016). In the media, "Islamic societies were considered for at least three decades to be in need of 'modernization'" (Said, 1997, p. ii). Similarly, "'Islam' has always represented a particular menace to the West" (Said, 1997, p. ii). For Amin-Khan (2012), orientalism is the "expression in the media in the form of raced and gendered portrayals and demonized cultural representations of Muslims and Islam, with the accompanying assumption of the superiority of Western culture" or, in other words, "the Western media's incendiary racism" (p. 1, 595). These definitions of orientalism refer not only to distant realities, but also to Muslims (or people understood as being Muslims) living in the West.

In cultural industries, this reductionist view has led to multiple representational practices and, consequently, to "stereotyping"[1] (Hall, 1997), thus influencing the knowledge and understanding that audiences have of the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Since the turn of the century, these black and white representations have gone from bad to worse, especially as regards the Muslim community. The multiple terrorist attacks perpetrated in many Western cities (New York, Washington, Paris, London, etc.) by the extremist Islamic organisation Al-Qaeda made many Westerners fear Muslims and suspect that they were terrorists and potential agents of chaos in their societies, an idea that the media were largely responsible for fostering. As De Felipe and Gómez (2011, p. 20) note, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks the American television industry soon began to create series and readapt existing ones to include this chapter of American history. *The West Wing*

(NBC, 1999–2006), *24* (Fox, 2001–2010), *The Shield* (FX, 2002–2008), and *Homeland* (Showtime, 2011–2020), plus many other fiction series, were soon being broadcast to dismayed audiences. Their constant exposure to this negative portrayal of Muslims was publicly decried by members of this community. For instance, Sue Obeidi, the director of the Hollywood bureau of the US Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), reported the negative image of Muslims/Arabs reflected in the TV series *Homeland* and its inaccurate representation of this collective (Arab characters with Persian names, a US military Muslim convert burying the Qur'an, etc.). Referring to the general media, Obeidi described how the Islamic State used the antithesis of the Muslim characters portrayed in these fictional series, to wit, 'the Muslim hero,' to swell it ranks, thus filling this representational gap in the Western media discourse (Zaheer, 2019). Examples like this highlight the relevance of studying how the concept of orientalism is currently understood, represented, and disseminated in cultural products. In this respect, TV series provide, as has seen in some of the aforementioned post-9/11 fiction offerings, a specific cultural space which serves as a stage "on which political dynamics are represented, imaginaries are shaped, conflicts are interpreted and a consensus is formed" (Iglesias-Turrión, 2013, p. 23).

A framework for analysing orientalist discourses

In this chapter, three main approaches (Fiske, 2006) are taken to the TV medium, in general, and to TV series, in particular, as texts: (1) Reality or technical codes; (2) Representation or narrative codes; (3) Ideology or ideological codes. By using the term 'code' Fiske (2006) refers to "[…] a rule-governed system of signs, whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meanings in and for that culture" (p. 4). To study how the concept of orientalism is represented in the TV series analysed here, recourse is had to the methodological framework proposed by Tomé-Alonso and Ferreiro Prado (2019). These authors state that to analyse orientalism in an audio-visual product the focus should be placed on five key elements: (a) Exoticism; (b) Landscapes and locations; (c) Characters; (d) Music; and (e) Political systems (see Table 15.1).

Concerning the trope 'characters,' it is especially relevant to examine the actantial dimension (Greimas, 1989) of the main characters and how the relationships between Western and Eastern characters are depicted in different scenes. As Iwamura (2011) observes, "[t]he types of identifications the series forged between character and audience more substantively reveal ideological commitments" (p. 135). In this sense, it is relevant to focus on the discourse and representation of the 'other' that these prime-time TV series offered their audiences and on which of the elements described in the orientalist framework (see Table 15.1) contributed to reflect that imaginary on the small screen.

Table 15.1 Orientalist Framework

Tropes	Sub-tropes
Exoticism	Sensuality, splendour, passion or romance, bright colours, music
Landscapes and locations	Exotic places, such as the desert (a threatening, beautiful, and exotic place)
	Various locations associated with different moments or situations versus one location strongly associated with a specific moment or situation
	Duality interior/safe versus exterior/unsafe
	Characteristics of one location attributed to the so-called 'national character'
Characters	Hierarchical relations: some countries act, while others are acted upon (Dittmer, 2010)
	One-dimensional or complex? Do characters have agency? Which characters lack agency? How are characters depicted?
	• Barbarian • Violent • Criminal • Diabolic • Hateful • Submissive (women) • Obsessed with sex (men) • Ireful • Foolish
Political system	Totalitarian and/or despotic

Source: Author's own based on Tomé-Alonso and Ferreiro Prado (2019).

The relevance of space representations and locations has also been stressed in different works (Dodds, 2003; Shapiro, 2009). Cultural products tend to (re)produce landscapes that express "geographic imaginaries and antagonisms" based on "models of identity-difference" between us and them (Shapiro, 2009).

Depicting orientalism in Spanish TV series: exoticism, sensuality, and violence

As to the concept of orientalism in the cultural industries of Southern Europe, due to the migratory flows existing in countries like Spain and Italy, the representation of the 'other' or the 'foreigner' is frequently associated with African or Maghrebi immigrants. As Rizo observes (as cited in Retis, 2004, p. 127), the most, frequent representations of immigrants are based on two assumptions: (1) Immigrants as a threat or danger to society; and (2) Immigrants as people who have gone through hell and high water to reach 'their promised land.'

The representation of immigration in Spanish TV series is a fairly new line of research. For instance, Biscarrat and Meléndez Malavé (2014, p. 335) analyse the prime-time comedy *Aida* (Telecinco, 2005–2014), a TV series in which different immigrant collectives (Latin Americans, Asians, Arabs, and Africans) have a noteworthy presence. They conclude that, as TV characters, immigrants tend to be invisible or not to play the same narrative roles as those characters defined as Spanish. In more recent

studies, the psychosocial dimension of the fictional immigrant has been analysed. As regards this approach, Marcos Ramos and González de Garay (2019) claim that the negative values associated with immigrants (drug problems, violence, untrustworthiness, etc.) surpass the positive aspects in their corpus of 26 Spanish TV series.

Beyond migration and migrant topics, TV fiction allows broad audiences to 'access' distant countries by showing them other 'places' and 'realities.' As stated by Dittmer (2010), "representation makes claims about the way the world is" (p. 49). In this vein, more often than not "the narrative itself denigrates the local, favouring regional and global scales of organization" (p. 67), and dispenses with sophisticated explanations in favour of simple and uniform ones.

Regarding these studies, the aforementioned orientalist framework is employed here to examine the figure of the 'Muslim other.' In order to include diverse representations of the 'other,' two different TV series are analysed: *El tiempo entre costuras* and *El Príncipe*. Both productions have been broadcast in other Southern European regions like Italy, a country that lacks equally relevant domestic prime-time TV series dealing with Muslim culture(s), an issue that is addressed instead in webseries or 'niche' films aim at a smaller and more select target audience. In contrast to Spain, systematic studies on how Muslims and their culture are depicted in mainstream television—and, more importantly, on its implications—have yet to be performed in Italy. As noted above, both *Il tempo del coraggio e dell'amore* (Canale 5, 2014) and *Il principe - Un amore impossibile* (Canale 5, 2014; Top Crime, 2017) are Spanish productions broadcast in other Southern European TV industries (for instance, Italian television) as part of a broader 'offering' of Spanish soap operas. So, although they make an equal contribution to reproducing and disseminating 'exotic' imaginaries, the emotional commitment of Spanish audiences to the plot is supposedly higher than that of their Italian counterparts (and their alleged identity) due to the absence of a direct colonial legacy in Maghreb countries like Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. In a way, these TV series are 'doubly' exotic for Spaniards.

El tiempo entre costuras: *the colonialist conception of Moroccans (the 'Moors')*

As with other cultural products addressing the Spanish Civil War, in *El tiempo entre costuras* the action takes place in different locations (Madrid, Tangiers, Tetouan, and Lisbon). The main character, the young, unassuming seamstress Sira Quiroga, decides to move from Madrid to Morocco to start a new life with her beau, Ramiro Arribas, a duplicitous man who abandons her in an unknown land and at a dangerous moment in European and Spanish history. Set in the previous century, during and after the Spanish Civil War and at the beginning of the Second World War (the

series starts in 1934 and ends in 1940), the story involves both real (Juan Luis Beigbeder, Chief of Indigenous Affairs and High Commissioner in the Protectorate of Morocco, and the British aristocrat and spy Rosalinda Fox) and fictional characters such as Sira, whose paths cross due to these historical events.

Based on the best-selling eponymous novel written by María Dueñas on 2009 and translated into approximately 30 languages, this big budget historical TV drama has been just as successful. *El tiempo entre costuras* has been broadcast on more than 20 international TV channels and streaming platforms (Cabezuelo Lorenzo, Caerols Mateo & Sotelo González, 2018). This TV series was not only the most-watched fiction series on Antena 3 in the last 12 years (Cabezuelo Lorenzo, Caerols Mateo & Sotelo González, 2018), but also influenced the consumption habits of its audience. For instance, after the first episodes had been broadcast, travel bookings to Morocco soared as the audience wanted to "follow the steps (or stitches) of character Sira" (Smith, 2014). Regarding audience engagement with this North African country, all the exotic aspects of early-20th-century Morocco are enhanced in order to help viewers to experience (both visually and aurally) the setting: crowded bazaars, men sporting fezzes (typical crimson hats), chilabas and babouches; women in hijabs, boisterous children running after foreign cars and pedestrians, narrow streets, Moorish architecture and ornaments; and the Islamic call to prayer (the Adhan) as a recurrent background sound. All these elements stress the country's exoticism, as it is typically depicted in the books, paintings, and photographs of 19th-century orientalists and disseminated by the film industry in the 20th century (Tomé-Alonso & Ferreiro Prado, 2019, p. 8). However, these aspects do not evolve during the 11 episodes of the TV series. Instead, they merely serve to create an exotic atmosphere in which the Western characters develop all their plot actions.

In *El tiempo entre costuras*, the socio-political context in the 1930s and 1940s pervades the tropes of (b) locations and (c) characters to offer a binary opposition (Hall, 1997) between Europeans and Moroccans based on a colonialist view of this North African country. The Spanish Protectorate of Morocco in which Sira starts up her own business as a seamstress was under Spanish control up until 1956. Despite the fact that the Europeans coexisted with the Moroccans, their social relationships were based on inequality and servility, as the latter worked as servants, agents, or assistants for Westerners, personified by the character of Jamila, a Moroccan female servant working at the hostel owned by Doña Candelaria. Jamila is the only native character who interacts with the Spaniards staying at Doña Candelaria's. She also timidly plays the actantial role of the 'helper' (Greimas, 1989) of the story's main character, Sira. Nevertheless, their relationship is never equal due to Jamila's submissive and humble attitude and Sira's gradually improving social status among the upper-class Europeans (mainly Spaniards, Germans, and her British friend Rosalinda Fox) residing

in Morocco. In this aristocratic and colonialist Morocco, the Arabs are also portrayed through the stereotypical figure of the 'Arab sheik' or 'Arab chief,' in order to reflect the good diplomatic relations between Spain and Morocco. This is superficially achieved by showing these prominent members of Moroccan society shaking hands with some of their counterparts belonging to Franco's political camp. However, this diplomacy with the 'other' boiled down to recruiting 'Moors' for Franco's rebel army.[2] The artist Félix Aranda, a friend of Sira's, summarises this in a conversation about Beigbeder, the High Commissioner in the Protectorate of Morocco: "He indulges Franco by continuously sending him quarrelsome Moors to the front" [Episode 3. La felicidad de unos cuantos (The happiness of a few)]. Concerning Spanish political interests in this African territory, in Episode 3 Aranda also ironically remarks, "Spain asserts its suzerainty over Morocco to relive the imperial dream. Since Cuba and the Philippines have slipped from Spanish control, Spain's as poor as a church mouse." In line with this idea, Campoy-Cubillo (2016) underscores the underlying ambivalence, beyond Dueña´s narrative, combining "the postnational drive towards a normalized Spanish identity and a nostalgic evocation of Francoist imperialism" (p. 257). During this period, the vision of the fearsome and bloodthirsty Moor was rekindled in the Spanish imaginary due to the role played by Moorish troops in the ranks of the rebel forces fighting against the Republican armies during the Civil War. It was precisely "[…] the Republicans of different leanings and the Catalan and Basque nationalists who excelled in the task of presenting the Moroccans as fanatical, bloodthirsty, murderers, rapists, drunkards, kidnappers, etc." (Martín Corrales, 2004, p. 43).

Notwithstanding the fact that the TV series does not portray these 'bloodthirsty' troops or the negative values associated with them, it does indeed contribute to perpetuate other characteristics linked to the stereotypical image of the Moors through Sira's eyes. As Martín Corrales (2004) asserts, since the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century down to the present day, different historical events (the Reconquista, the Regulars, the 2004 Madrid train bombings, etc.) have favoured a dire perception of this collective, commonly known as the 'Moors,' in Spain. This hegemonic view of Muslim people has traditionally associated them with different negative, stereotypical preconceptions, such as "[…] fanaticism, barbarism, cruelty, lechery, fatalism, laziness, duplicity, etc." (Martín Corrales, 2004, p. 40). In *El tiempo entre costuras*, some of these prejudices are introduced in certain dialogues that refer to Africa as a continent of uneducated and shabby people. For instance, this chauvinism emerges in some of Sira's lines [Episode 1. Amor y otras verdades (Love and other realities)]:

SIRA: "But why would the Moors want to learn how to use a typewriter?"
RAMIRO: "What ideas you have, Sira! Tangiers is an international city, an open port where citizens from all over Europe arrive. I can assure you that you'll love it."

The idea of savagery and filthiness is refuted by some characters like Ramiro and Doña Candelaria who, in reply to Sira, remarks, "Maybe they live in Africa, but people there also wash themselves" [Episode 2. El camino más difícil. (The most difficult path)]. Apart from these misconceptions, Sira also discovers that the rigid Spanish morality at the time does not apply in Morocco, mainly witnessing rather than participating in debauchery:

> It was a time of discovery. I found that there were substances that, once smoked, could alter the senses; that love did not depend on races or sexes and that there were passions of the flesh that involved other combinations than those of a man and a woman lying on a bed.
>   [Episode 1. Amor y otras verdades (Love and other realities)]

But these discoveries soon turn sour when Ramiro abandons Sira, who is incapable of finding her bearings in that strange land until Doña Candelaria takes her under her wing and helps her to open her seamstress business. This is when she starts to make the acquaintance of different Europeans and to create a special bond with the British aristocrat Rosalinda Fox, Beigbeder's lover. Fox's British outlook acquaints the audience with the high living standards of other Europeans in the protectorate. The progressive decolonisation of other countries, such as India, is briefly introduced in some of this character's lines: "Maybe India is no longer the paradise it used to be for many English people" [Episode 5. El sol siempre vuelve a salir (The sun always rises again)]. Western nostalgia for the lost Eastern paradise is reflected by this remark.

This nostalgia is also perceived when Sira returns to Madrid (1940) with a double identity: she continues to work as a seamstress while spying on her German clientele for the British government. In this new stage of her life, she masquerades as the Moroccan national Airish Agoriuq (her Spanish name written backwards). In order to attract the attention of upper-class Europeans and the wives of German officials residing in Madrid, she resorts to several clichés associated with the exoticism and sensuality of Morocco: she usually wears a turban and organises a fashion show full of colourful, audacious garments made of exclusive oriental fabrics, among other things. Ultimately, she offers the drab society of post-war Madrid the exoticism of distant, forbidden countries.

By and large, the concept of orientalism is fully developed in the TV adaptation of *El tiempo entre costuras*. On the one hand, this TV series leverages the exoticism of Moroccan aesthetics to captivate the audience. As "[a]ll the stunning visual excess that it offers, the exotic locations and the wholly absorbing yet restrained melodrama of its narrative, is a welcome tonic to Spain's persistent economic crisis" (Kemp, 2016, p. 171). On the other, it contributes to enhance other aspects linked to the stereotypical image of the Moor, insofar as it does not feature any relevant Moroccan characters, thus excluding the point of view of the 'other.' In fact, these

characters are more like props employed to flesh out the landscape or play symbolic roles linked to professions at the service of the Westerners living in Morocco.

El Príncipe: *terrorism and drug trafficking on the Southern European border*

Set in Ceuta, *El Príncipe* narrates the investigation of the disappearance of a young Muslim man who is an alleged terrorist. The plot revolves around Javier Morey, a chief inspector working for the Spanish National Intelligence Centre (hereinafter CNI) who travels from Madrid to Ceuta to investigate a terrorist network based in this North African city. Once there, he falls in love with the heroine, Fatima, a young Muslim woman related to a drug trafficker and the missing Muslim man. Police corruption and bad practices and the investigation of the terrorist group Akrab complete the plot. Taking its name from El Príncipe (The Prince), a mainly Muslim neighbourhood in Ceuta, and produced by Mediaset, the series was popular in Spain (21.9% share), Israel, and a number of Latin American countries. In other Southern European countries like Italy, its share peaked at 17.92 and even 24% during the second season.

Transporting the audience to the southernmost border of Spain and Europe, in *El Príncipe* Ceuta is depicted as a city fraught with danger and immersed in illegal activities. The streets of the Muslim majority neighbourhoods are full of criminals, drug dealers, and would-be terrorists. The Spanish authorities are frequently questioned and the leaders of those neighbourhoods are Muslims who try to control the young in their own interests. These aspects underscore the hazards of living in border localities.

The intertextuality of *El Príncipe* should also be highlighted. It contains references to news about Ceuta which often appears in the media, its demographic makeup, its multicultural background, and its problems. Spanish audiences watching the TV series can easily connect with other programmes, such as *España mira a La Meca* [Spain looks towards Mecca] by Telecinco on 2018, which supposedly offer a 'serious' analysis of Ceuta's Muslim reality. Such allusions include the key role played by the Spanish police in combating crime, the widespread violence among Muslims, and the risk of radicalisation relating to some places of worship. This sense of danger and difference is reflected in the locations and the characters of *El Príncipe*.

Ceuta's peripheral location is highlighted by the fact that Morey travels there from Madrid. It is an 'exotic' place where the Spanish identity mingles with or is even absorbed by the Moroccan one. The visual difference between the skyline of Madrid and Ceuta places the accent on the modern/pre-modern dichotomy (Funnell & Dodds, 2017). Also, as observed by Funnell and Dodds (2017) when studying James Bond, his journey from Madrid to Ceuta and back again stresses the Spanish

capital's vulnerability to terrorist attacks and the CNI's battle against terrorist networks. The danger posed by the mainly Muslim neighbourhood, where the action takes places, is succinctly summed up in the following statement, which is often repeated by different characters in the TV series: "In *El Príncipe* everything ends in salty water: in tears … or at the bottom of the sea."

The orientalist content of *El Príncipe* can be clearly seen when analysing the male characters, their roles, and their character traits. Muslim males are either terrorists or drug dealers dabbling in crime and murder. These Muslim character traits contrast with the hero role played by an 'authentic' Spaniard. In fact, it is possible to identify a racialised construction of character identity which contributes to the racialisation of the nation-state (Dittmer, 2013, p. 47). The Spanish identity thus seems exclusive to those without a Moroccan background, for in *El Príncipe* the Spaniard-Christian and Moroccan-Muslim pairings are self-evident.

The idea of exoticism and tradition is reinforced by the female characters. Besides being stunningly beautiful, the heroine Fatima follows a double logic of submission and rebellion. She has a conflictive relationship with her family who wants her to observe traditional (Muslim) values. Despite her attempts to do so, she ultimately rebels against tradition and, accompanied by Morey, walks to freedom. This journey from tradition to freedom allows for a gendered interpretation of protection by showing a woman who needs to be saved (Dittmer, 2013). The veil that she wears represents her submission to those pre-modern (and oppressive) values.

In the main, as Karzazi (2019) notes, the TV series does not take advantage of its large audience share to raise awareness about the problems of this Spanish region. On the contrary, it offers a monolithic and stereotypical imaginary replete with "mysterious, exotic, dangerous characters, in a way that turns the Muslim residents of this neighbourhood into criminals, drug traffickers or terrorists" (p. 121). In this vein, orientalism allows *El Príncipe* to define the Southern border of Spain.

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has illustrated the orientalist outlook that Spanish TV series maintain when depicting 'Muslim territories' and 'Muslim peoples.' This stereotypical picture of Muslim difference is a leitmotif in the two prime-time TV fiction series analysed here. First, in the two TV series the Spanish-Western places are contrasted with those identified as mainly Muslim. The dirty and noisy streets of Tangiers and the narrow and suffocating streets of El Príncipe in Ceuta represent those spaces occupied by the 'others.' This difference stresses the "division of wealth between the rich, white foreigners and the poorer locals" (Funnell & Dodds, 2017, p. 118). It is also an example of what Shapiro (2009) calls 'cartographies of

violence': the TV series' narratives draw parallels between Muslim majority countries and insecurity, crime, and terrorism. Therefore, citizens can easily identify 'dangerous,' pre-modern and 'uncivilised' countries or spaces and understand the need to intervene in them. In this regard, another space-related dichotomy can be identified: there are "countries that act and those that are acted upon" (Dittmer, 2010, p. 59). While European intelligence agents are plotting in Tangiers, police officers from Madrid are going about their work in Ceuta, thus creating the idea that these North African territories are no more than a chessboard for Westerners (Dittmer, 2010, p. 59).

Second, the Muslim characters appearing in the two TV series mostly have negative connotations. They are either liars (*El tiempo entre costuras*) or violent criminals or terrorists (*El Príncipe*). The very few 'good' Muslims who appear on screen are closer to the Western characters. Therefore, it is their relationship with the West that defines whether Muslims are 'good' or 'bad,' rather than their own character traits (Alsultany, 2012, p. 15). In contrast, the Western characters possess mainly positive attributes. In the two TV series, the main characters are Spanish. The responsibility of national security thus falls to the national hero or heroine, who tracks down and combats dangers abroad. The national hero thus actively contributes to the "process of territorial differentiation" (Dittmer, 2013, p. 110) between 'our' space and 'theirs' [where] the hero continuously intervenes "[…] not only to produce territorial understandings of the nation-state" (Dittmer, 2013, p. 183), but also those of the relationships with other territories inhabited by Muslims. It is important to stress the representation of Muslim women. Although they can be portrayed as submissive, they also appear in other roles. In *El Príncipe*, the female character (Fatima) rebels against family traditions. In this case, the female character is more akin to the Western characters and in conflict with Muslim men. The narrative revolving around this pugnacious woman includes "discourses of liberation or salvation of Muslim women from their dangerous Muslim men" (Aguayo, 2009, p. 47).

Finally, socio-political and economic differences appear in the two TV series. While places associated with the Western characters are represented as free, democratic, and advanced, those mainly occupied by their Muslims counterparts are depicted as more primitive, pre-modern, and authoritarian. This "association of contrasting values with different places enables differentiation based on sociocultural border that relates to the political border but may not be congruent with it" (Dittmer, 2013, p. 111). The modern/pre-modern dichotomy also offers a "visual representation of power" (Funnell & Dodds, 2017, p. 121) and explicitly stresses the contrast between advanced and backward civilisations.

The orientalist representation of Muslim 'others' contributes to the differentiation between their space and the Spanish/Western one. These

simplified portrayals of Muslims in Spanish TV series are not new. As some authors have asserted (Flesler, 2008; Campoy-Cubillo, 2016; Vázquez Atochero, 2019), due to its location Northern European countries have historically associated Spain with their conception of North African countries and peoples. As Flesler claims,

> Spanish reality entails an old anxiety about Spain's belonging to Europe, and the efforts at overcoming its 'difference' linked in its various historical manifestations to notions of racial impurity, religious fanaticism, underdevelopment, poverty, and a general sense of inferiority in relation to a more-developed Europe.
>
> (2008, pp. 18–19)

Therefore, this stereotypical image is not neutral (Lippmann, 1956). For instance, Campoy-Cubillo (2016) singles out as one of the factors behind the commercial success of *El tiempo entre costuras*, "the ongoing efforts to normalize discourses of Spanish national identity to make them pliable to the requirements of its integration in the European Union" (p. 257).

   This concern has also been shared by other Southern European countries (Italy and Greece) which, as with Spain, are strategically located on the migratory routes from Africa and the Middle East to Europe. They have often been criticised by other EU Member States for the "excessive permeability" of their borders as regards immigration (Triandafyllidou & Ambrosini, 2011, p. 252). These cultural artefacts help to reinforce national identities and highlight the common traits that these 'peripheral' Southern European societies share with those EU Member States.

Notes

1 Referring to the difference established by Dyer (1977) between 'typing' and 'stereotyping', Hall states that "'typing' is essential to the production of meaning." On the contrary, 'stereotyping' "[…] is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order" (Hall, 1997, pp. 257–258) by using binary oppositions and reducing and naturalising the differences between two different cultures.
2 These troops were known as 'the Regulars' or the 'Indigenous Regular Forces.' They were infantry units of the Spanish Army formed by soldiers recruited from Ceuta, Melilla, and the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, which were officered by Spaniards. These combative units played a major role in the Spanish Civil War.

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