Journalism on Forced Migration in Latin America: Recommendations from Experts and International Journalism Guides from a Qualitative Study

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Wars, insurgent groups, dictatorships, and economic crises are the main reasons for forced migration. Displaced persons, asylum seekers, and refugees often face public stigmatization, as they are treated by the media as a social problem and, in many cases, seen as economic and social threats. This article presents the results of in-depth interviews with expert journalists and researchers from different Latin American countries on the phenomenon of forced migration and its journalistic coverage. Their recommendations are complemented by Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of international guides on migration journalism. The findings highlight the need for training and awareness-raising in critical skills and social analysis for journalists to understand the complexity of human mobility and approach it from a human rights perspective, as well as to project the positive contributions of migrants to the host society. Findings suggest the need to avoid disseminating and magnifying hate speech, which may be used to justify discrimination and violence against migrants. This highlights the fact that migration issues must be dealt with under slow journalism schemes, with an emphasis on research, thus avoiding falling into xenophobic discourse due to the very immediacy that the digital ecosystem demands.

Keywords: journalism, forced migration, hate speech, media framing, xenophobia, Latin America, qualitative document analysis

Introduction

Colombia and Venezuela share an extensive and dynamic border of more than 2,000 kilometers. Since the 1970s, tens of thousands of Colombians have migrated to Venezuela, both for economic reasons and because of Colombia's extensive armed conflict with paramilitary and guerrillas. "Between 1963 and 1973, 556,683 people emigrated, 69.5% men, to Venezuela, the United States, Ecuador, Panama, Canada, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia" (Mejía, 2012, p. 189). Estimates suggest that some five million people—about 10% of its population— have left Colombia, mainly for the United States, Spain, and Venezuela (Colombian Migration, 2022 National Planning Department, 2017). Since 2015, however, Colombia has become a host country for immigrants. Due to the political, economic, and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, for example, the migration of Venezuelans to Colombia has been intensifying.

Migratory movements often give rise to xenophobic discourses that demonize and instrumentalize foreigners as scapegoats to explain social problems such as unemployment, labor informality, prostitution, and insecurity (Ozdora-Aksak et al., 2021). Colombia's new role as a host country for migrants has been an issue of great relevance in political discourse and electoral contests and has also received extensive media coverage. These discourses are part of a black propaganda strategy of some political groups that, in addition, have sold their

party as the only solution to prevent the country from "becoming another Venezuela" (Uribe, 2018). These messages follow the logic of hate speeches that justify discrimination and violence (Kaufman, 2015) while simplifying complex issues, and that can even manifest themselves in physical and verbal violence against immigrants:

> The media coverage of migrations in the United States and Europe confirm the prevalence of certain negative representations in the construction of the image of immigrants in the receiving societies, in which the labels on exclusion and words like "Invaders of the Nation" stand out, as well as other negative metaphors related to the siege of the national territory of out-of-control forces such as those of natural disasters such as avalanches or waves. (Lotero-Echeverri & Pérez-Rodríguez, 2019, p. 145)

These hate speeches are also amplified in the Colombian mass media, as the authors of this paper explained in another article (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020).

The objective of this study is to define a set of actions and proposals, in the form of a guide or manual, for journalistic news coverage of migrations, focusing mainly on the functions that journalism should fulfill in a country that receives massive and forced migrations. These recommendations are based on in-depth interviews with migration researchers and practicing journalists, as well as on the Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of international guides for news coverage of migrations. The research questions are:

RQ1: What are the functions that journalism should fulfill in a country hosting massive and forced migrations?

RQ2: What must the journalist's task be when a predominant political discourse discriminates and labels the migrant as a threat?

RQ3: How should journalists overcome negative and emergency framing in the face of massive and forced migration?

Venezuelan Migration in Colombia

In Colombia, for a long time, especially during the hardest period of the war against drug trafficking and the armed conflict that had the country and the cities in check and kept extensive territories out of State control, the country's image was that of a dangerous territory and many governments recommended their citizens not to visit it (Peñaranda, 2017). This situation has improved, especially since the strengthening of the Colombian state against the armed rebels and since the signing of peace treaties with the FARC, the main guerrilla group, in 2016. Colombians have even become increasingly accustomed to receiving tourists. For 2019, the country received a record number of foreign visitors (Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 2020). In February 2022, the Colombian government agency for migration estimated that there are about 2.5 million Venezuelan migrants. In contrast, in 2014, around 23,000 Venezuelans resided in Colombia (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriore, 2022). This is, therefore, an unprecedented situation for both countries.

Journalism Responsibility

Journalism is one of the pillars for the construction of a more democratic society, as it provides citizens with information that can be useful for making better decisions and selects an agenda of issues that should be of interest to both citizens and public institutions. The media's role as guardian of public power requires the audience to believe that the media are their

representatives, based on a relationship of accountability and trust. The public must believe that the media are not complicit with political or economic powers and, furthermore, the public must trust that the media can represent the world in a reasonable, fair, and impartial manner (Lamuedra, 2012).

Lamuedra (2012, p. 189) argues that the metaphor of the press as an "impartial window" is challenged and qualified as a kind of "imperfect window" by considering the approach to news as a construction affected by the working conditions, routines and values of journalists and their media in prioritising a media agenda as a framework in which a dominant framing of facts, issues, sources of information and certain points of view is presented. This situation is reinforced by the concentration of media ownership in monopolies and oligopolies, which causes a ventriloquist effect (Arráez, 1998), whereby the same owner has multiple media outlets to disseminate a single discourse, which responds to a uniformity of news criteria, a specific thematic agenda and gives voice to the same predominant sources of information. Thus, media concentration goes against the pluralism of information, infringes the right to information and the freedom of expression and opinion (Alcalá, 2013; Díaz & Mellado, 2017).

According to a study by Berganza et al. (2017, p. 90) that surveyed a sample of Spanish journalists to find out what roles are inferred from the professional functions they perform and what importance they attach to the different types of roles they assume, three traditional roles stand out: the broadcaster, the adversary or watchdog and the lawyer or audience trainer. Three emerging roles are also identified that provide evidence of an evolutionary process in the social function of journalism in contemporary society: "the speaker of the citizenry, the entertainer of public opinion and the promoter of the status quo." The study found that journalists most often identify with the role of "speaker for the citizenry." Berganza et al. (2017) defined this role of journalism as a civic function of the profession, aimed at promoting tolerance, diversity, and dialogue, through stories about the context of which it is part, especially in "the coverage of citizens' demands, their rights and their duties" (Berganza et al., 2017, p. 91).

Media Influence

The mass media influence the definition of the issues that are discussed by the citizenry (agenda setting) and how these issues are discussed (framing) by prioritizing certain voices and points of view in their coverage of events considered newsworthy (priming; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The relationship between media and society has always been problematic in two ways. Firstly, the media control and influence society, through priming, agenda setting and framing, while, secondly, the vast changes and dynamics of information technology render media rules and regulations obsolete (McQuail, 1977).

> "News shapes audiences" views of people and events beyond their immediate physical environment. Since the mass migration of refugees from Syria represents one of the worst humanitarian crises in modern history, its news coverage necessarily shaped the way global audiences understood the crisis. (Ozdora-Aksak et al., 2021, p. 282)

The media, like other types of organisations, are not exempt from committing misconduct such as fraud, theft, misinformation, broken promises and broken laws or regulations (Green, 2007). This behaviour generally results in a lack of social trust towards media corporations, even though many of them invest in public relations strategies (Gulyás, 2011). Mistrust is increasing in the digital era as media companies have been gradually growing, and even their ownership has been concentrated in giant international empires, who's

financial and ownership structures are opaque in the eyes of society (Willenius & Malmelin, 2009).

In the public sphere, there is competition among different social actors to make their proposals and objectives visible in the public space through their influence on the media agenda and in the media's coverage. In addition, the editorial line of the media has an impact on the coverage of social issues of great importance (Valera Ordaz & López García, 2014). Furthermore, there are the cognitive biases of journalists (news media bias) described by Entman (2007) as slant: "Slant characterizes individual news reports and editorials in which the framing favors one side over the other in a current or potential dispute" (p. 165). This type of framing can contribute to polarization by reinforcing readers' or viewers' prior convictions: "People tend to select attitude-congruent news media, which would mean conflict has the potential to continuously magnify polarization" (Van Klingeren et al., 2017, p. 558).

Conflict is one of the predominant types of informative framing in the media (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020). Eberl et al. (2018, p. 217) describes how this applies to migration: "While migrant groups are generally underrepresented, when they are present in the media, they are often framed as either economic, cultural, or criminal threats and thus covered in a highly unfavourable way."

Although we analysed the issue of Venezuelan migration from the perspective of its journalistic coverage in Colombia's media, it is necessary to recognizethat the country, although part of the Global South, is integrated into the logic of globalization and that its constitutional order and institutional framework safeguard the right to information as a fundamental right, which brings it into line with Western standards of free journalism. This normative point of view:

> Generally, privilege Western journalistic norms, which were in turn exported to various parts of the world through training and textbooks, as well as through Western media capital and ownership, and which have been accelerated in recent years by globalization and economic liberalization in many countries of the Global South. (Hanitzsch et al., 2019, p. 13)

According to Dimitrova (2021), the emphasis on the value of freedom must also be contrasted with the social responsibility of both media and journalists:

> Another way to classify media within a specific country is by evaluating its rankings on a global media freedom scale and then comparing that to the existing levels of media responsibility. While some countries, particularly in the Western world, prioritize journalistic freedom, others put an emphasis on media ethics and social responsibility. (p. 2)

Method

First, we recognize that our positionality shaped our approach to the present study. The authors of this paper are two Venezuelan migrants with a Ph.D. degree obtained in Spain. We are journalism professors who work in academia as full-time faculty members. We work as professors and researchers in two universities, one in Spain and one in Colombia. Therefore, we are part of the international migrant community, potentially affected by the xenophobia described in this article.

The present study is qualitative in design and exploratory in scope. To answer the research questions, first, we conducted a literature review on migration journalism, the influence of the media on public opinion and the social responsibility of the media. This

literature review was based on a search of documents in databases such as Web of Science and Scopus, taking special relevance to those emerging documents that proposed guidelines or recommendations on the informative coverage of migration issues. To perform this search, we used the criteria and Booleans Journalism [AND] Migration, Journalism [AND] Responsibility and Journalism [AND] Agenda Setting, organizing the results only in journal articles and prioritizing emerging documents from Ibero-American countries.

In a second stage, in-depth interviews were conducted with 11 journalists and 10 researchers from Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, and El Salvador, employing purposive theoretical sampling (see Table 1). Journalists and researchers from these countries were considered because they are the main recipients or historical origin of large migratory movements in Latin America, which has forced the leading media to have, in many cases, specialized action protocols and style manuals to raise awareness of migration among the population. Second, we conducted a Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of 10 reference guides for news coverage of international migration to contrast and compile their recommendations.

The Information emerging from the interviews and the documents from the literature review was triangulated, making it possible to contrast the theoretical foundations and the perceptions of working journalists and experts in the field of migration to obtain a sufficient contextualization of the phenomenon under study from the journalistic praxis and the results of previous research.

In-Depth Interviews

The in-depth interview is a very useful technique to learn about the perspectives and experiences of the respondents, as well as their interpretations, feelings, and perspectives (Irvine et al., 2012). It also seeks to delve into a given situation from a more holistic and broad perspective, as it goes to the details and provides the "big picture" of a series of scenarios, situations, or people (Taylor & Gogdan, 1987).

The application of the in-depth interview in this study is justified by the need to provide explanatory elements and indications of possible new prospective phenomena that serve as study variables for future research (Tejedor-Calvo et al., 2020).

We used purposive sampling to select participants since the aim of the study was to open a space for debate in which perceptions are not confined to strict theoretical categories. In this sense, the sampling strategy was intentional and judgmental. The criteria we used to select participants have been prioritized based on conceptual criteria alone, following principles of structural representativeness. Therefore, the researcher theoretically defines the variables that delimit the structural composition of the sample (Mejía-Navarrete, 2000).

The sample selection criteria are shown in Table 1. These criteria were intended to reflect the responsibility of the subjects in the field of journalism and journalism research, meeting the principles of suitability and relevance of the profile of the informants exclusively. Potential participants were recruited through direct contact with the researchers via email, on the understanding that for this analysis, the sample selection is non-probabilistic and intentional since we were looking for experts specializing in migration who reside in Latin American countries with migration crises.

The Idea of interviewing both active journalists specialized in migration issues and NGO representatives from both countries (Colombia and Venezuela) is based on the fact that while the former can explain what is being done to report on the migratory phenomenon and to avoid xenophobia in the country receiving migrants, the NGO representatives and university professors can explain what else could be done to avoid the stigmatization of migrants, from a perspective more focused on the needs of these migrants.

Thirty subjects were initially selected and invited to the research (see Table 1). Of these, only 21 confirmed their intention to participate by providing their informed consent by telematic means. The research focuses on understanding the work experience and specialized knowledge of the selected professionals. The professionals who chose to participate gave their written consent by email. As a preliminary step, they were informed in writing about the objectives and methodology of the investigation, and they were offered the confidentiality and protection of their personal data.

As personal data would be collected in the interviews, the IRBs of both institutions of affiliation of the investigators approved this study.

Table 1
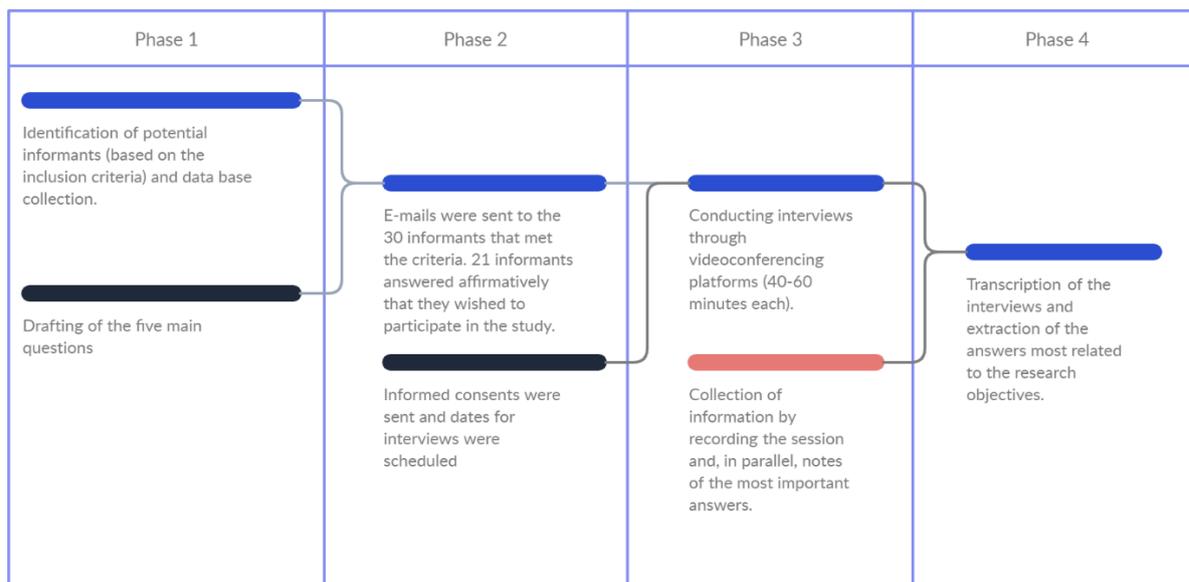*Inclusion Criteria for Informants*

Researchers	**Journalists**	**NGO Representatives**
• More than 10 years of experience in international migration research. • Residence in a Latin American country with a migration crisis (current or past). • Published research on migration, preferably in scientific articles published in the last 5 years.	• More than 10 years of experience working in the media (senior journalist). • Residence in a Latin American country with a migration crisis (current or past). • Experiences dealing with information on migration crises. • Independent media workers (non-government media)	• Directors of NGOs working on migration crisis issues. • The NGO they represent has more than 10 years of existence and proven work in the field of aid to refugees, displaced persons and asylum seekers.

The in-depth interviewing process is shown in Figure 1. Individual interviews were conducted virtually and audio recorded. The interviews lasted between 40 and 60 minutes. The transcripts of the interviews were anonymized and stored in an encrypted, password-protected digital file to protect participant confidentiality.

These interviewees were sufficient to reach the saturation point, understood as the point at which the informants begin to repeat the responses of others (Callejo, 1998), so they do not enrich the research process by contributing novel data. This saturation point was reached between interview 18 and interview 20. We conducted the interviews between October and December 2019. The informants were consulted through five open-ended questions:

    a. What is the role of journalism in a country hosting massive and forced migrations?
    b. What should the journalist do when a political discourse that discriminates and labels the migrant as a threat predominates?
    c. In everyday journalism, a negative framing of migration predominates, presenting the migrant as a threat to security, as a risk to public health, and as a labor competition. What could journalists do to improve the coverage of migration in this sense?
    d. What specific training should a journalist receive to cover the phenomenon of forced migration adequately?
    e. Which competencies do you consider most important to cover the phenomenon of forced migration adequately?

Figure 1
In-Depth Interviewing Process: A Step-by-Step Process

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
Identification of potential informants (based on the inclusion criteria) and data base collection.	E-mails were sent to the 30 informants that met the criteria. 21 informants answered affirmatively that they wished to participate in the study.	Conducting interviews through videoconferencing platforms (40-60 minutes each).	Transcription of the interviews and extraction of the answers most related to the research objectives.
Drafting of the five main questions	Informed consents were sent and dates for interviews were scheduled	Collection of information by recording the session and, in parallel, notes of the most important answers.	

As seen in Figure 1, the in-depth interview process followed a four-stage protocol. In the first phase, the researchers identified and listed potential informants who met the profile of inclusion criteria explained in Table 1. To make this list, Latin American researchers specializing in migration journalism were sought from migration research groups at different universities and internationally renowned authors who had published articles on migration journalism in scientific journals in the Scopus database or the Journal Citation Reports.

To make the list of journalists specializing in migration journalism in Latin American countries with migration crises, we focused on the case of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, countries that have been experiencing a massive exodus of Venezuelans since 2016. In this sense, journalists were selected from print and digital media that specialize in migration information and have been writing about the topic for more than five years. Likewise, to choose and list the heads of NGOs, we focused on organizations from Venezuela and Colombia, as these countries have the most cross-border transit points. For the selection of these NGOs, specialization criteria were taken into consideration, i.e., NGOs that work directly with individuals and organizations that help migrants in their adaptation process to the new country and that defend their rights before public and private organizations.

While listing potential informants in the three sample clusters, the five questions explained above in Figure 1 were drafted, all focusing on the role that journalism should play in the face of migration crises.

The second phase of the process began with sending an email to the 30 informants selected in phase 1, asking them if they wished to participate in this study. This email explained the research objectives, the university institutions linked to the study, and the possibility that the results would be published in reports and scientific articles. Of the 30 informants who were sent the invitation email, 21 responded affirmatively.

Next, the 21 informants who responded affirmatively to wanting to participate in the study were sent a document detailing the following:

1. Date and time that the interview would take place and the videoconference program through which it would take place (Skype).

2. Personal data that would be kept from the interview, such as name, surname, and position.
3. Informed consent that the interview would be recorded only to transcribe the research results.

In the third phase, the researchers conducted the interviews via Skype. At the beginning of the interview, the participants were reminded again that it would be recorded and that if they had any reservations that these recordings be kept only for transcription for this research.

Independently the interviews were recorded, which were conducted through the exploration of the five main questions of this investigation, the researchers, as interviewers, took notes of the most important aspects of this to have a more precise reference of the extracts that more could serve when showing results of each one.

Finally, in the fourth phase, the authors of this article transcribed the 21 in-depth interviews, with particular emphasis on those responses that were more closely linked to the objectives of this research.

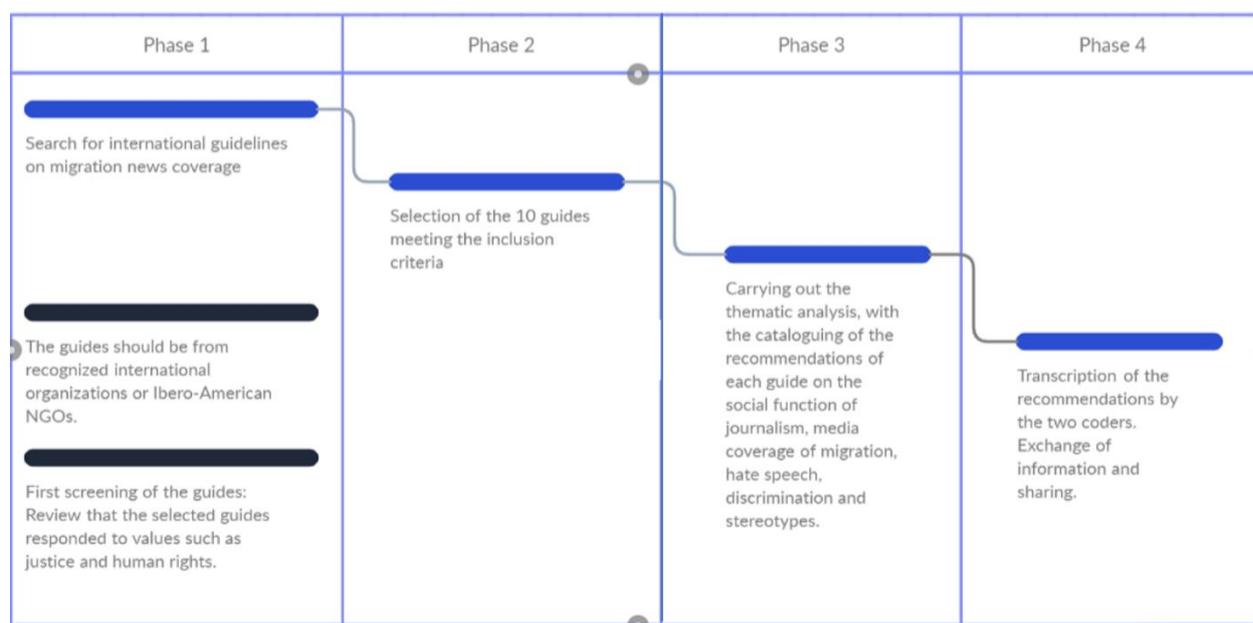## Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of Guidelines on Migration Coverage

To contrast and deepen the experts' answers, a documentary review of 10 international reference guides and manuals was carried out (see Table 2), which aim to guide journalism professionals so that their work in the informative coverage of international migration responds to values such as justice and human rights. According to Wood et al. (2020), Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) is a method widely used as a complementary tool to other methods in qualitative research and "provides a systematic methodological process for eliciting meaning from documentary evidence" (p. 457). According to Ulrich (2020), document-based research has multiple advantages, such as accessibility through digital platforms, credibility of sources, efficiency in the collection and systematization of data, and reduction of ethical conflicts typical of other research designs.

Table 2
Guidelines for International Migration Media Coverage

Title	Organization	Country	Year	Url
Cómo cubrir inmigración y género [How to cover immigration and gender]	International Center for Journalists (IJNET)	United States	2020	http://bit.ly/39cc4H0
Nuevas Narrativas sobre los movimientos de personas en el mundo [New Narratives on people's movements in the world]	porCausa Foundation for Research, Journalism and Migration	Spain	2019	http://bit.ly/2PyfwDU
Pistas para contar la migración: Investigar historias en movimiento [Migration storytelling tips: Researching stories on the move]	Consejo de Redacción & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	Colombia	2019	http://bit.ly/39dU8M0
Informing the Implementation of the Global Compact for Migration.	ONU Migration	Switzerland	2018	http://bit.ly/2wY1Hbu
Comunicación sobre las migraciones [Communication on migration]	Oxfam Intermon	Spain	2018	http://bit.ly/2Vyiv2P

Manual contra el inmigracionalismo [Handbook against immigrationism]	Red Acoge [Acoge Network]	Spain	2018	http://bit.ly/2Vy1ndy
Five-point guide to improve migration information	Ethical Journalism Network	United States	2017	http://bit.ly/3abNxli
Informar sobre procesos migratorios y minorías [Reporting on migration processes and minorities]	Respect words – Asociación de Emisoras Municipales y Ciudadanas de Andalucía de Radio y Televisión [Andalusian Association of Municipal and Citizen Radio and Television Stations of Andalusia]	Spain	2017	http://bit.ly/32Im20k
Periodistas contra la xenofobia: guía para no dejarse enredar [Journalists against xenophobia: a guide to avoid getting caught in a trap]	Comisión de ayuda al refugiado de Euskadi [Basque Country Refugee Aid Commission]	Spain	2015	http://bit.ly/2I6MiaY
Comunicación para el diálogo intercultural en contextos de migración, xenofobia y trabajo fronterizo: Manual para periodistas, comunicadores y comunicadoras [Communication for intercultural dialogue in contexts of migration, xenophobia and border 1481oto: A manual for journalists and communicators]	Catholic Relief Services – Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica [Latin American Association of Radio Education]	Ecuador	2013	http://bit.ly/2vpxH7W

Figure 2

Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA): A Step-by-Step Process

After selecting a sample of texts, according to criteria such as authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Morgan, 2022), the next step was to conduct a thematic analysis of the texts, oriented around the categories of analysis that seek to answer the research questions of this study: social function of journalism (RQ1), media coverage of migration, hate speech, discrimination and stereotypes (RQ2), and the role that the journalist must play when dealing with negative news about massive forced migrations. Two coders, who are also authors of this research, participated in this process, described in Figure 2.

Findings

The Role of Journalism in a Host Country of Massive and Forced Migration (RQ1)

Historically, Colombia has been a country of emigrants, a territory that expels the population. Recently, however, Colombia has received a large population influx in an intense manner, that is, in a short time. This includes, since 2016, Venezuelan migration estimated at 2,477,588 people (with a cutoff date of February 2022), according to data from the state agency Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriore (2022). Several of the informants agree that, to fight xenophobia, it is important to help people understand that the phenomenon of human mobility is dynamic and that in a previous era it was Colombian nationals who had to look for opportunities in other countries. One of the journalists says that in her work she seeks to:

> [J04] To be an anti-xenophobia instrument. That is my goal and I do my best to create content that leads to that end. We cannot enter into a discourse against migrants or see them as an enemy because they are nothing more than victims of an ideology and a failed political system that led them to this crisis. We have to repeat to audiences that migrants are here because they had no other choice, because they were forced to leave their country [...] as journalists we cannot be indifferent. In our work we must avoid adjectives, look for a counter-current that says the opposite, remember the conditions in which these people are living in our country, and show successful cases of integration. Question politicians who use migration as a xenophobic discourse to get votes.

One of the researchers added that journalists who address the issue of migration should do so with empathy and within the framework of recognizing migrants as subjects of rights:

> [R03] Journalists should always avoid generalising and stigmatising, should be careful not to portray the migrant as a victimiser, and should be empathetic. They could perhaps show "positive or success stories" of foreigners in the host country, focusing on the contribution that the migrant offers or could offer to that culture or society. The journalist should also delve into human rights issues in order to be able to cover them from that perspective. Journalists covering migration issues should think ethically, and fulfil a public service function.

The Informative work of the media takes on greater relevance due to the need to help their audiences understand a social phenomenon that is changing the country and, especially, to help combat xenophobia and discrimination against new neighbors:

> [R10] Migration is a multidisciplinary phenomenon, so it must be approached from many facets. The idea is not to show only one economic side, but to show a social problem that has a number of social aspects. Much of the journalism on

foreigners sees the migrant as a different other, ignoring the links they have with that country, but also the fact that a large part of the population that has arrived today is a returning population, that is, citizens from here who are returning. This is where the media must move towards, to show all the nuances and to show the phenomenon in its complexity and in a comprehensive way, and for this, many voices, and different ways of approaching migration are required, obviously with care in the language and a clear look at these processes and with social integration in mind.

In this context, the informants highlight a variety of functions that the media and journalists should fulfill (Table 3), including responsible journalism, combatting racism and xenophobia, and conveying that migration is a complex phenomenon.

Table 3
Media and Journalistic Functions

Responsible Journalism

- The function of journalism should be the same as always: to inform, but with much more care and empathy for the representation of the otherness.
- Inform well and broadly about what is happening. Migratory issues are complex, which requires a plurality of views.
- It is crucial to verify and contrast the information, as fake news about immigrants is often created for political interests.
- Try to cover the news associated with the topic as rigorously as possible. Use figures and indicators as close to reality as possible, if available, without misrepresenting them.
- Consult with specialists in migration issues, both national and foreign, who can give a scientific opinion on this socio-demographic phenomenon.

Combating 19otos19o and Xenophobia

- To make known the characteristics of those who wish to integrate into the destination countries and the benefits.
- Avoid stigmatizing the migration process and present the various reasons why people decide to migrate.
- Showing life stories helps the population to understand better and achieve empathy for the foreigner.
- Establish views without prejudices, clichés, or stereotypes.
- Inform professionally and with a diversity of sources without portraying immigrants as criminals.
- Integration should be encouraged because migration, in many cases, is not temporary.
- The media should not replicate xenophobic or discriminatory language. The role of the media must be formative.
- Be cautious with the words chosen to in writing. The use of certain words can negatively affect the entire community of displaced persons and forced immigrants. These words can be, for example: problems, crime, poverty, crisis.

Helping to Understand Migration as a Complex Phenomenon

- Educate and go beyond the immediate news and social alarm. A country that is receiving migration needs to understand the phenomenon it is experiencing and understand the needs of the people who are arriving.
- Tell the stories of migration with rigor and depth.

- Explore the causes and consequences of the migration phenomenon.
- Contextualize and tell the stories with respect and without prejudice, avoiding the simplistic vision of the media spectacle.
- Repeat often to audiences that migrants are here out of necessity and because they were forced to leave their country.
- Offer information and invite reflection on the causes of migration.
- Provide multiple views that account for the complexity of migration in all its dimensions (sociocultural, political, psychological, economic, etc.).

The Journalist's Job When a Political Discourse that Discriminates and Labels Migrants as a Threat Predominates (RQ2)

According to Kaufman (2015), hate speech is characterized by referring to historically discriminated groups, by its aggressive or humiliating nature, by inviting others to despise and denigrate against the group in question, and by its clear intentionality to exclude or harm. Following Bustos et al. (2019), currently, the rise and popularization of social networks have caused their dissemination to be practically unlimited, so cyberhate is increasingly explicit due to the difficulty in identifying the authors, who often hide behind anonymity. In contrast, journalistic content must respond to ethical criteria under the logic of a profession conceived as a public service:

> [R01] Journalists must present other versions and unmask, with solid arguments, the strategies used by the political discourse to discriminate and label migrants and to stigmatise the migration process. In his or her work, journalists should present the different reasons why the majority of migrants decide to make this decision, as well as show the collective and individual changes that this process entails, both for the sending and receiving countries. It is also useful to provide multiple perspectives that account for the complexity of this process in all its dimensions. It is very important for the professional to recognize the role he or she plays as a journalist in shaping an informed and critical society. In this sense, the journalist must be informed and qualified to understand the implications of this process and, above all, to inform about good practice initiatives that show the complexity of the migration process.

Both journalists and the media have an essential responsibility in the face of the proliferation of hate speech (Fletcher & Park, 2017), especially when developing news coverage on migration:

> [J05] Journalists must narrate migration stories with rigour and depth. Explore the causes and consequences of the migration phenomenon. Contextualize. Tell stories with respect and without prejudice. Avoid contributing to a biased and xenophobic view: tell the whole story, with multiple perspectives, contrasting and verifying data and facts.

The experts highlighted several strategies to avoid framing migrants as threats (see Table 4):

Table 4
Strategies for Journalists

- Avoid nationalistic exacerbations.
- Avoid stereotyped and pejorative charges against the migrant population.
- Address xenophobic statements bypresenting other versions and unmasking with solid arguments the strategies used in political discourse to discriminate and label the migrant.
- Explain through factual data how the migrant population can become a growth opportunity for the receiving country.
- Present the migratory movement as an opportunity for the development of the values of coexistence and integration. Show successful cases of integration.
- Avoid qualifying adjectives.
- Offer broader contexts than the anecdotal and circumstantial.
- Seek truthful information so as not to fall into false interpretations or conclusions, or failing that, try to be neutral until the information is corroborated.
- Avoid generalizations so as not to fall into discrimination, discredit, and sow repudiation towards an entire group.
- Avoid becoming a sounding board for xenophobic and discriminatory speeches, even when this information is of interest to many media because it generates a lot of traffic and virality in social networks and, consequently, economic return.
- If there is a political environment that discriminates against migrants, it is precisely the journalist's role to show the other reality, question these discourses, and play a critical role.

In the proposals made by the experts, the need for quality journalistic work that goes beyond the repetition of statements from sources, almost always official, stands out. Most of the journalistic content published every day is classified as "conventional journalism," characterized by its brevity, by the few sources consulted, almost always of an official nature, and, especially, by the fact that it is often limited to simply transcribing what the sources say (Hunter, 2013).

In this regard, one journalist emphasizes the primary need to recognize the complexity of the journalistic work on the migration phenomenon:

> [J01] Mass and forced migrations, such as the Venezuelan one, have become a media phenomenon. Hence, the role of the media and journalists in the face of this phenomenon is key in shaping the currents of opinion and raising public awareness of the arrival of immigrants. The role of journalism in this type of situation is not only to inform, but also to analyse and guide. Journalism must explain the causes of this migration, not stigmatise the immigrant, avoid information bias and, when the case merits it, present the migratory movement as an opportunity for the development of the values of coexistence and integration. Journalists should be formed in data journalism to analyse the figures on migratory flows, as well as the sources, in order to obtain a global overview of the issue that is as close to reality as possible. Also, in solutions journalism to not only expose the problem, but to show the initiatives that exist or are being developed to positively manage the massive flow of Venezuelans and to participate in workshops to tell the specific stories about migration in a different way, to show the faces, how they live, their aspirations and their integration into the country that welcomes them.

Overcoming Negative and Emergency Framing (RQ3)

In contemporary society, the media continue to play a central role as a source of information that potentially reaches the whole of society. Castells (2009) explains that information from the mainstream media also influences media of lesser impact and other potential influencers, mainly through three functions: agenda-setting, priming, and framing (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; de Vreese et al., 2011; McCombs & Evatt, 1995).

This research therefore considers the broad framework of quality journalism studies from a global perspective, which recognizes the influence of the process of economic and cultural globalization on journalistic practices and the values that guide the profession (Dimitrova, 2021). In this regard, journalists must provide information and invite reflection on the causes of migration, understanding society as a globalized phenomenon:

> [R09] Journalists, by vocation, owe their work to the facts and, consequently, to the search for the truth. Communicating implies generating communities and this is only possible by favouring the understanding of reality. Offering information and inviting reflection on the causes of migration; making known the identity of those who wish to integrate in the countries of destination, as well as the benefits that this entails; establishing views without prejudice. In a globalised society, the journalist must have the tools to recognise the different sources of information, confirm and contrast them; approach the facts with openness and recognition of the phenomenon in all its factors; as well as openness and ethics in the treatment of information in relation to a situation that generates suffering for the population of the country of origin and concern for the region of destination.

The experts made a series of proposals that contribute to improving news coverage of migration and overcoming the typical negative or emergency approach to the phenomenon, which can lead to fearful public opinion. These strategies avoid using immigration as a synonym for social emergency (see Table 5).

Table 5
Strategies to Avoid Using Immigration as a Synonym for Social Emergency

- Avoid, as far as possible, the pressure of immediacy. The treatment of this complex and delicate phenomenon requires a great deal of research and insights from recognized experts in the field.
- Guarantee the balance of sources and to avoid opinionated and subjective charges towards migrants.
- Pay attention to scientific research on migratory processes in addition to consulting experts. Complex problems require other angles and other sources.
- See training to understand the implications of forced immigration and to publicize good practice initiatives.
- Learn about refugee issues, pendular migrants, regular migrants, irregular migrants.
- Avoid sensationalist headlines that guarantee click-baiting.
- Dismantle harmful myths about the effect of forced migrations based on statistics and demographics.
- Promote the design and execution of public policies that help overcome any adverse situation from forced migration.
- Investigate and report when the immigrant is not allowed to transition to a better life, with a minimum of dignified conditions.

-	Interview immigrants to contribute to humanizing them, to give them a voice and existence that is denied to them from the generalization of information.

As can be inferred from the recommendations in Table 5, high-quality news coverage of international migration requires that journalists have access to ongoing training that allows them to strengthen their skills and competencies so that they can contribute to understanding and avoid hate speech and discriminatory discourse:

> [J07] Journalists should become aware of the damage they can do to a population with their comments and opinions. On the other hand, they should educate themselves about key concepts such as refugees, pendular migrants, regular migrants, irregular migrants and also stop click bating strategies. Another important thing is to always verify that the facts or data you are giving about the migrant population are real.

The Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of the ten guides on media coverage of international migration (see Table 2) showed that they identify ten primary normative criteria (discussed in Table 6) that guide the work of journalism professionals in addressing the issue of migration, which are visualized, as a summary, in Figure 3 below. All the guides recognize the need to build media content that does not deepen the separation between "Us" and "Them" (the otherness). According to van Dijk (1992), this distinction between people born in a territory and those born abroad is at the base of racist discourses.

Figure 3
Recommendations of the Guidelines for Migration News Coverage

The guides invite journalists to overcome stereotypes, stigmas, and labels that reinforce negative imaginaries towards migrants. Therefore, they recommend that journalists avoid generalizations when referring to this diverse population and avoid adjectives such as illegal immigrants and terms referring to natural catastrophes. These recommendations agree with the opinions of the experts consulted and are also supported by conclusions that have been noted in the scientific literature (Table 6).

Table 6
Recommendations from the Literature

1. Caution when developing discourses that could reinforce the us-them distinction. An effective strategy may also be to turn to what unites us, based on the human condition, and not only what separates us (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020).
2. Avoid stereotyped language, often based on labels that generalize (Cortés, 2020; Merino & López, 2018).
3. Know the normative framework of migrations, both national and international, especially treaties on Human Rights. The labour migration guidance for journalists of ILO[1] presents all conventions and recommendations concerning international legal standards that are important "for safeguarding the dignity and rights of migrant workers" (International Labour Organization, 2021).
4. Make responsible use of images, both photographs, and videos. From some primary ethical considerations, especially on recognizing minors and people in vulnerable situations (Alfaro, 2019).
5. Rigorousness in work with information sources. From the selection of valid sources and, in a special way, highlighting the need to contrast and verify the information collected (Díaz & Mellado, 2017).
6. Caution against hate speech and xenophobia. Based on recognizing an ethical commitment, journalism can avoid repeating or transcribing insulting statements or generalizations that stigmatize a vulnerable group (Cortés-Martínez, 2018).
7. Understand the complexity of the migratory phenomenon, the causes that cause displacement, the motivations of migrants, the responsibilities of national and international entities, the desired and undesired effects of human mobility for the host, transit, and origin territories.
8. Be aware of the gender perspective, which allows to adequately visualize women, how they are affected in a differentiated manner, their rights, needs, and struggles for equity (Ollay & Tornay, 2016; Rodelo, 2016).
9. Data and visualization journalism requires the skills to understand the main figures of a problem and translate them for proper understanding by the target audiences.
10. Social responsibility and self-regulation of the profession, following democratic principles, require journalism to ensure the right to information and opinion responsibly and for the common good (Díaz del Campo & Chaparro-Domínguez, 2018; Suárez Villegas, 2015).

According to the guides reviewed in this research, these recommendations should be assumed from empathy with the other, with the social sensitivity of professional ethics. In addition, the need for responsible and critical journalism, oriented from the human rights perspective, is highlighted, especially in a country that has recently become a recipient of migrations.

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[1] In addition to the normative references highlighted above, the ILO guide is configured as an electronic portal, structured by thematic sections, which also includes a news section and a photo section, all of which add valuable resources for the journalist's daily work on human mobility.

Journalists must carefully prepare headlines for journalistic content on migrations since most users only read the headlines. The use of images must be responsible, ethical, and consistent with text content. When registering the images, journalists must also respect the right to privacy of migrants, especially minors. Migrants may be reluctant to be photographed for cultural reasons or fear of reprisals against them when fleeing from violence.

Different guides insist on the need to consult the sources of information necessary to understand the phenomenon to narrate so that the journalists present a variety of points of view, including the migrants themselves as sources of information when trying to create content on international migration, and also hear the voice of host communities. Journalists must always avoid reproducing hate and racist speech, which are the basis of discrimination and violence.

Discussion and Conclusions

The intensity of migration has significant consequences on the host societies since human mobility is a complex phenomenon that generates controversy, polarization, and demonization (Mastro, 2019). The work of the media positions an agenda of issues and highlights specific attributes ranging from how they describe migration, the predominant discourses, which actors are given a voice, how the information is framed, and even in the selection of images used to illustrate the text (Oliver et al., 2012). According to Theorin et al. (2021), negative portrayals of migration predominate in the media, who depict it as a threat to the security and economic well-being of the receiving countries. Media coverage of migrations "continues a long history of underrepresentation and misrepresentation of underserved racial/ethnic groups" (Mastro, 2019, p. 32). This undoubtedly affects social perceptions, influences public opinion, and affects relations with migrants' people (Berkowitz & Liu, 2014; Muñiz et al., 2014; Rodelo & Muñiz, 2017). Exposure to predominantly negative media content is linked to anti-immigrant and xenophobic attitudes. Negative media "produce negative emotions, encourage attitudes that dehumanize immigrants, sway support for immigration policy, and prompt harming behaviors, under certain conditions" (Mastro, 2019, p. 33). According to Lecheler et al. (2015), exposure to certain news frames-traditionally conflictive-causes emotional reactions that influence citizens' opinions, attitudes, and behaviors. This means that there are media outlets that seek to portray (for audience motivation) the negative, the danger, the alert. This news coverage generates damage in the perception of otherness, that is, in this case, of migrants.

According to interviewed participants, journalistic coverage of migration, especially of Venezuelan migration and its complex humanitarian crisis, has been an enormous challenge for journalists in all the countries involved. This challenge is related to their capacity to fulfill the main functions that journalism must fulfill in the social context of a country that receives forced migrations: the commitment to responsible journalistic work that meets the quality standards of the profession. These standards require that their work be oriented towards the search for the truth through verification and contrast of all data and statements collected and conducted with honesty that allows identification of the limitations of the results obtained.

In this context, the informative work of the media takes on greater relevance due to the need to help their audiences understand this social phenomenon and, especially, to help combat xenophobia and discrimination against foreigners. The fulfillment of this social commitment requires responsible journalism, in which information is verified with honesty so that journalists do not play a role in the face of the proliferation of hate speeches when developing informative coverage on migrations.

As confirmed by (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020), in daily journalism, especially in the news, there is a predominantly negative framing of migrations, which presents the migrant as a threat to security, as labor competition, and as the recipients of social aid that could be

allocated to the native population. The experts consulted suggest that it is necessary to improve the news coverage of migrations and overcome a negative and emergency frame, doing investigative journalism, slow journalism, and, above all, works that deepen the humanization of traditional frames and encourage empathy, from the understanding that, as humans, we are all migrants.

This work requires an awareness of journalists and ongoing training, not only in the mastery of digital skills (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020), which allows them to understand the cultural, aesthetic, and social dimension of the communicative processes and fieldwork with people in vulnerable situations, from the values and respect for Human Rights.

Through media literacy that reinforces the critical sense of journalists in the face of the statements of the representatives of public authorities and their ability to curate the overabundance of information currently available in favor of themselves and their audiences, journalists will be able to strengthen their handling of languages and narratives and incorporate and adequately manage processes of interaction with users, typical of digital scenarios. The literacy and intercultural dialogue processes are an imperative need and a cross-cutting field for collaborative work between the media, professional associations, universities, and the social sector, to promote continuous training sessions and foster spaces for cooperation, such as observatories on migration and against hate speech.

It Is evident that the work of the media positions an agenda of Issues and highlights specific attributes, from how they report on migration, the predominant discourses, which actors are given a voice, how the information is framed, and even in the selection of photography to illustrate the text. This can influence social perceptions and affect relations with migrants (Berkowitz & Liu, 2014; Rodelo & Muñiz, 2017).

The experts consulted confirm that the primary news sources on migration are government officials or spokespersons of the political or economic powers, while migrants are rarely mentioned in news reports. In media discourses on the recent Venezuelan migratory phenomenon, there is more talk of Venezuelans than of migrants, and even the word "Venezuelan" is presented as a substitute for immigrant, as if it were not possible to find Venezuelans in another situation, as a manifestation of a phenomenon that Cortina (2017) recognizes as "aporophobia," whereby the poor are rejected and not so much the foreigner. Canelón and Almansa (2018) stated that overcoming the invisibility of migrants is an advance towards an approach that allows recognizing them in their dignity as subjects of rights and an opportunity for mutual enrichment.

In scenarios of forced migration, the need for journalism committed to a human rights approach that helps to understand and contrast the risks of disinformation and hate speech is reinforced, following the recommendations of the ethical guidelines of international entities for media coverage of international migration, as part of the ethical commitment of journalism in the fight against speeches that serve to justify violence and discrimination.

A line of work of great interest to give continuity to this research, due to its repercussion and, especially, its multiple interactions, could be to contrast the analysis of media agendas with the content generated by users on digital social network platforms, as a reaction to journalistic coverage, due to its connection with the problem of disinformation and the dispersion of hate speech. It is also necessary to compare other territories with forced migrations, such as Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Australia, and the United States.

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