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DOMINANT NARRATIVES IN THE MIGRATORY DISCOURSE OF COLOMBIA; AN  
ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF SPEECH IN LOCAL TELEVISION NEWS AND  
THE OPINIONS OF COLOMBIAN CITIZENS

A Thesis Presented

by

JENNIFER ANDREA MOYA CASTANO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,  
University of Massachusetts Boston,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2020

Conflict Resolution Program

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## ABSTRACT

# DOMINANT NARRATIVES IN THE MIGRATORY DISCOURSE OF COLOMBIA; AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF SPEECH IN LOCAL TELEVISION NEWS AND THE OPINIONS OF COLOMBIAN CITIZENS

August 2020

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Directed by Assistant Professor Jeffrey Pugh

Colombia is an underdeveloped country that has little experience as a host country of migrants. The massive arrival of Venezuelans has sparked a number of social concerns. Currently, Colombia is the largest recipient of Venezuelans in the world, with 1.5 million Venezuelans. The lack of regulatory migration policies and programs or institutions that support migration processes makes this phenomenon more difficult at a large scale. However, the Colombian government has made efforts to support the Venezuelan population, which

have been contested by some Colombian citizens. State actors, non-state actors, and Colombian citizens have all been forming and developing a range of narratives that can welcome, stigmatize, dehumanize, or value these migrants. For this reason, this thesis aims to describe the characteristics of the dominant narratives in Colombia related to the migratory discourse as a tool of understanding the internal conflicts related to integration, identity, belonging, and negotiation that has been deployed within this migratory phenomenon in Colombia. This thesis thus contributes to the conflict resolution and securitization literature on migration in Colombia as a relatively new phenomenon, by providing an analysis of this narrative. The present work includes qualitative and quantitative research, with descriptive scope, with reference to migratory narratives in Colombia. Quantitative research includes the content analysis of 80 television videos from local news in Colombia on migration over the last 5 years. The quantitative analysis allows, first, the exposure of the types of messages that are transmitted in the television news and the way in which migrants are being framed by the media, such as victims, villains, heroes, and strategic actors. Second, the analysis of the television news identifies characteristics of the dominant narratives that could create social boundaries. On the other hand, the content of the qualitative research allows for the analysis of 20 interviews conducted with Colombian citizens, who are adult residents of working age in the city of Bogotá, exposing subjective perspectives and opinions regarding migration. The qualitative analysis allows: first, the identification of the type of dominant narratives in which the participants are framing migrants; second, a distinction between the similarities and differences of the content of the dominant narratives that were found on TV news and in interviews within each population. This shows the power of narrative as a social construction

that affects the integration of migrants, and also shows the importance of personal interactions with immigrants in shaping which narratives resonate.

**Keywords:** Migration, narrative, discourse, frame, perception, borders, conflict, securitization.

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## CHAPTER 1. PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

### **1.1.Introduction**

As a consequence of 50 years of armed conflict, Colombia has been characterized by having high rates of migration and internal displacement worldwide. In 2018, UNHCR reported Colombia as the country with “the largest number of internally displaced population with 7,816,500” (UNHCR. 2018. p.35) million people, and has more than 4.7 million Colombians" (p.2) living abroad. However, the situation has changed. In recent years, Colombia has become the largest recipient of Venezuelan migrants in the world. “Colombia is host to 1.5 million Venezuelan refugees and migrants—the largest number by far,” (Panayotatos, Tindell & Weiss. 2019) generating a relatively new phenomenon for Colombia.

Although Colombia has little experience as a host country for migrants, the Colombian government has made efforts to support the Venezuelan population. With the massive arrival of Venezuelans, the internal dynamics have changed. As a consequence, the reception efforts have been disputed by Colombian citizens. To understand the reasons why government efforts have been disputed by Colombian citizens, it is necessary to understand how immigration discourse is deployed in Colombia. Exploring different sites of migratory

discourse formation, such as the stories that are shared in the media regarding migration and the perceptions of Colombian citizens who interact daily with the migrant population, allows for a better understanding of the internal conflicts related to integration, identity, belonging, and negotiation that result from the migratory phenomenon. The content of migration discourses can “stigmatize or welcome foreigners, value them or dehumanize them, and can frame migration as a cultural / economic threat or a humanitarian duty.” (Pugh. J, & Moya. J. 2019. p.1) The narratives shared in the media, especially in television news, can influence the formation of migratory discourse; however, the interpretation of the messages depends on the recipient of the message. The interpretation of the content of a message does not always match the original intentions of the author. (Sandoval.C & Pochet. M. 2001.p.192) That is to say, “the meaning is entirely the product of interpreters.” (Sandoval.C & Pochet. M. 2001.p.192) For this reason, the migration content that the media shares together with the perceptions of Colombian citizens who interact daily with the migrant population allows a joint construction of migration discourse in Colombia.

The main objective of this thesis is to identify the relationship between the dominant migration discourses and the attitudes of Colombians towards Venezuelan migrants. Guided towards a critical understanding of the components of migration discourse, the identification of dominant characteristics in which migrants are framed can help understand the social boundaries which “separate those from within from those outside and create barriers to the total integration of migrants in a host country.”(Pugh. J. 2017) This analysis promises possibilities of understanding and addressing interventions in a different way for the field of conflict resolution, promoting the integration of migrants.

In order to explore migration discourses in Colombia, the narrative contents of two data sources were analyzed. First, the narrative contents of 80 videos of local Colombian television news that talk about Venezuelan migration were analyzed. Second, 20 interviews were conducted with working age Colombian citizens residing in the city of Bogota. The content analysis of these discourses were analyzed using the model proposed by Crawley, McMahon, and Jones in the article "*Victims & Villains: Migrant voices in the British media*" which categorizes migrant framing as victim, villain benefit, or threat, reflecting "the ways that speakers and writers construct arguments about certain topics. By framing, they link the topic to other events and issues and make value-judgements about its implications and impact on society." (Crawley, McMahon. S, & Jones. K. 2016. p.4) The data was subjected to a framing analysis because the early recognition of the discourse content could clarify some of the social integration barriers that migrants are currently experiencing, and that have an impact on the dynamics of integration in the host country.

The selection criteria for the Colombian citizens that were interviewed being working-age adults and residents of the city of Bogotá were chosen strategically. In March 2019, Migración Colombia reported that 56.5% of Venezuelan citizens have a defined status in Colombia are between 18 and 39 years of age, and it issued a special residence permit (PEP) in order to extend their stay in Colombia. I interviewed Colombian citizens in the same age range, considering that they are in the same stage of development in their life cycle as the dominant group of their Venezuelan counterparts. Also, the city of Bogotá has the highest concentration of Venezuelans in the country, with 31.9% of the Venezuelan population. This

increases the contact of the migrant population and Colombian citizens and makes Bogota an appropriate geographic setting for the study.

This thesis contains chapters that seek a thorough understanding of the complexity of the migration discourse in Colombia. Chapter 1 introduces the topic and describes the problem in general. A historical background will be provided in order to understand and contextualize the current migration reality in Colombia. Chapter 2, Literature Review, surveys the relevant scholarship and theories related to the securitization of discourses, formation of identity, and migration in Colombia and border conflicts. Chapter 3, Methodological design, describes the processes of data collection and coding. This chapter contains the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the two data sources (television videos and interviews). Chapter 4, Results, presents the data that were found, and analyzes the results of the qualitative and quantitative research. Chapter 5 establishes conclusions regarding the interpretation of the data and answers the research questions through the lens of the theories set forth earlier in the thesis. The last part of this chapter provides some future ideas that could be used to address the migration phenomenon, in order to contribute strategies to mitigate border conflicts using a conflict resolution approach. Finally, the bibliography includes references that were used in this this thesis along with the index of tables, figures, graphs, and appendix.

## **1.2 Research problem statement**

“Cross-border migrations have been at the center of public attention of many societies, constituting a high priority issue for governments and international organizations.” (Arango, J. 2015.p.1) The high number of global migrants generate questions regarding the causes for



which the population is mobilizing. From an economic perspective, “migrations result from the unequal spatial distribution of capital and labor” (Arango, J. 2015.p.3) However, according to the United Nations, “The world is witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record. An unprecedented 70.8 million people around the world have been forced from home by conflict and persecution at the end of 2018.” (UN, 2018.p.1) These statistics are the representation of social, economic, and political problems. At the same time, these figures demonstrate that human mobility is given as a voluntary or forced act for human beings, in order to preserve life.

In 2014, the Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) stated that: “currently some 30 million Latin American and Caribbean persons live outside their countries of birth.” (p1) In this case, it could be estimated that by 2015, 12.7% of migrants worldwide came from Latin America and the Caribbean. (ECLAC. 2017.p1) Migration-related statistics are useful because they allow us to recognize a phenomenon that changes over time. In the same way, they allow us to recognize that “the growing restrictions on the freedom of people to move has not led to fewer people crossing nationalized borders. Exactly the opposite: today more people are doing exactly this than ever before” (Anderson. B, Sharma. N, & Wright. C. 2009. p.1) For this reason, “States have a key interest in how other states behave. Thus, a state’s foreign policy is largely focused on how to influence other states to align their behavior more closely with the state’s own interests.” (Andersen, D & Crawford, K. 2018.p.92)

For the specific case of Colombia, migration and displacement is not a foreign theme. According to the annual Global Trends report presented by UNHCR, in 2018: "Colombia is

the country with the most internally displaced persons in the world with 7.7 million people.” (UNHCR, 2018)

Regarding Venezuela, multiple causes of an economic and political nature have led millions of Venezuelans to live abroad in recent years. The Coordination Platform for refugees and migrants from Venezuela reported that there were about 5,095,283 Venezuelans displaced abroad by May 2020.

Of these, Colombia has welcomed 1,825,687 million Venezuelan citizens. This number states Colombia as the largest recipient of Venezuelans in the world. For example, in the case of Colombia being one of the neighboring or transit countries for Venezuelans, and for being a developing country like many others, Colombia has its “own pre-existing needs as well as vulnerable populations.” (Stein, 2020.p1) Because of these complex social dynamics, Colombia has been impacted and its capacity has been overwhelmed. (Stein, 2020.p1) These new dynamics have had effects at a social and economic level. For this reason, it is vitally important to address migration issues in a timely manner in countries like Colombia that have little experience as a recipient country.

At the same time, as a relatively new phenomenon in Colombian territory, narratives regarding migration are developing: “news and information related to migration enjoys a constant presence in the media.” (Arango, J. 2015.p.1) For this reason “the press plays an important role in the development of frames, or story lines that help people to interpret the world” (Farris, M. & Silber Mohamed, H. 2018. p.4) It is vital to explore the content of television news in Colombia, in order to identify the type of dominant messages that are being shared with the Colombian population, as well as to explore what people think about

these messages. Dominant narratives play an important role in the inclusion or exclusion of the migrant.

It should be borne in mind that "representations, including images, symbols, concepts and language, create the framework of interpretation" (Vertovec, S. 2011. p.248) on a social level. If they are not taken into account, potential opportunities to address the migratory phenomenon and other complex social dynamics unfolding from the migration issue, such as discrimination or xenophobia, will be lost.

### ***Research questions***

What kind of dominant narratives are shared in the Colombian local television news related to the migration of Venezuelans? What kind of dominant narratives can be identified in working age adults, who are Colombian citizens residing in the city of Bogotá, regarding the migration of Venezuelans in Colombian territory?

Taking into account the dominant discourse shared by local television news in Colombia, which characteristics of the dominant narratives could contribute to social boundaries in the Colombian territory?

What similarities and differences can be established between the dominant narratives embedded in local television news in Colombia, and the opinions of Colombian citizens residing in the city of Bogotá of working age, regarding the migration of Venezuelans in Colombia?

### **1.3 Justification in terms of needs and relevance of the investigation**

Discourse about migration in the Colombian territory has become more salient because of the mass migration of Venezuelans. Multiple state, non-state actors and the population itself, have expressed their opinions on this theme. For example, in the mass media, discourses related to migration have been shared. These discourses that seep into the media share narratives with the Colombian population that have power and can shape what and how individuals are thinking about problems (Farris, M. & Silber, H. 2018. p.4).

Colombians have shown interest in being supportive toward this Venezuelan population. The number of migrants in Colombia continues to increase rapidly. Faced with this reality, the government has taken clear and immediate actions to address the situation.

Studies of discourses can be illuminating in the process of resolution of border conflicts. The content of migration discourses can show dominant narratives that reflect social problems that must be addressed, such as xenophobia. The early identification of these contents could also be helpful at a psychological level in the integration process of migrants, mitigating impacts at the level of mental health. The way in which border conflicts are addressed can help migrants to “recover from a temporary state of disability known as culture shock.” (Adler, S. 1997.p.446)

Although Colombia has been more supportive toward migrants than some of its neighbors, it is necessary and important to evaluate the way in which a narrative framework regarding the subject is being developed.

Through an analysis of local television videos in Colombia and interviews with Colombian citizens, this thesis seeks to describe and analyze the type of content that can be

currently found regarding migration in Colombia. The interviews will show subjective opinions regarding the type of messages that the population is obtaining from the media. At the same time the interviews highlight personal opinions regarding perceptions of migration.

This research seeks to provide information that will be useful at the multidisciplinary level in fields such as conflict resolution, securitization and social psychology, taking into account that there is little information regarding the analysis of migratory discourses in Colombia as a relatively new phenomenon.

## 1.4 Objectives

### *General objective*

Identify, describe and analyze the type of dominant narratives that are being developed in Colombia regarding migration that can potentially be related to the attitudes of Colombians towards Venezuelan migrants.

### *Specific objectives*

#### Quantitative

- Classify the types of messages that local television news is sending to the Colombian population, within a framework of (Villain, victim, hero, political contention, other frame/no frame) according to the classification that is offered in the article “*Victims & Villains migrant voices in the British media*” (Crawley et al 2016)
- Identify the dominant narrative that local television news in Colombia is sharing regarding migration.

Qualitative:

- Describe the opinions that Colombians that have been interviewed share regarding migration.
- Describe the opinions that Colombians that have been interviewed share regarding the migration of Venezuelans in Colombia.
- Classify the type of frames that can be identified in the interviews within a framework of (Villain, victim, hero, political contention, other frame/no frame) according to the classification that is offered by Crawley et al (2016).
- Identify similarities and differences between the dominant narratives (way in which migrants are framed) of local television in Colombia and the narratives of the interview participants.

### **1.5. Background of the investigation**

*“Humans are a migratory species, yet some would divide us into two kinds: The migrant and the native” (Hamid. 2019. p.17)*

Migration is not a new issue, “there have been records of displacement from remote times of groups and human individuals between countries or within one.” (Bonilla, A. 2007. p.1)

The reasons for the constant human mobility can be diverse; for example, some of these may be “ethnic, religious and / or political persecutions, in addition to economic or simple pursuit of an improvement in the quality of life.” (Bonilla, A. 2007. p.2) Consequently, reasons why the population leaves their countries, or moves within their territory, are tied directly to the social context that is lived in a certain period of time. This research focuses on the current migration of Venezuelans to Colombian territory. Therefore, it is necessary to contextualize for the reader the details that concern the current migration phenomenon between these two countries.

## ***Colombia***

Historically, Colombia has been characterized by high human mobility. During more than 50 years, the “escalation of the armed conflict” (Cárdenas, & Mejia, 2006, p.2) was the main reason to displace people in Colombia. However, there are more elements that should be considered related to Colombian immigration; for example, "variables such as the per capita income gap, economic cycles, and labor market indicators affect the decision to migrate." (Cárdenas, & Medina, 2006, p.2) The reasons are diverse and have changed over time.

The Colombian population moved externally and internally to preserve their life, during more than 50 years of internal armed conflict. For example, “between 1980 and 1990, Colombia contributed, respectively, 83% and 82% of all Andean migrants.” (Flores, 2004. p.194) according to The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4.7 million Colombians were living abroad. (p.2) Additionally, the report *Global Forced Displacement Trends* presented by The United Nations High Commission for Refugees UNHCR in 2018 showed that "since 2015, Colombia continued reporting the largest number of displaced population internally with 7,816,500 at the end of 2018."(p.65)

Under this context, it is necessary to highlight the meaning of forced displacement. First, this type of migration under duress and complex circumstances is not exclusive to the Colombian territory, but has a particular political dimension that was determined by a law established by the Colombian government in 1997, Senate of the Republic of Colombia, 1997, Law 387:

Any person who has been forced to migrate within the national territory is displaced, leaving their place of residence or habitual economic activities, because their life, their physical integrity, their personal security or freedom have been violated or they are directly threatened

on the occasion of any one of the following situations: internal armed conflict; internal disturbances and tensions, widespread violence, massive violations of Human Rights, violations of International Humanitarian Law or other circumstances emanating from previous situations that may drastically alter public order (Senate of the Republic of Colombia, 1997, Law 387).

In addition to this definition, the historical dimension must be taken into account.

“The process of forced displacement is a dynamic phenomenon whose analysis requires a situational approach.” (Duriez, T. 2019. p.1) Migration is shaped by the current situation of a territory and it is impossible to understand the causes of the phenomenon without presenting history. In the case of Colombia, it would be impossible to speak of forced displacement without considering the meaning and consequences of “the armed confrontations that have plagued this territory since the mid-twentieth century.” (Duriez, T. 2019. p.1)

Human mobility abroad has also been a potential option for the Colombian people. According to Rodriguez, 2011, although Colombians chose different destinations to emigrate, the reasons always had roots in political violence, and it has to be examined from a framework of social inequality. (p.10) For this reason, during the twentieth century, Colombians were interested in moving to countries such as the United States, where they saw opportunities related to economics, security, and quality of life. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), during the twentieth century, Colombia experienced three waves of migration: into the United States (between 1965 and 1975), into the Bol. Rep. Of Venezuela (1980s), and into Spain (since the late 1990’s) In the case of Venezuela, as a host country for Colombia, “In 2015, almost 1 million Colombians lived in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.” (UN, The World Migration Report. 2018.



p.76) The current transformation period that Colombia is experiencing includes internal and external factors that can be linked with the phenomenon of migration.

After the peace agreement signed in 2016, “Colombia began to transition out of five decades of violence.” (UN. The World Migration Report, p.81) The Colombian population affected by the conflict had high expectations related to the peace agreement. For example, under the expectations of the peace agreement, the rural land reform was one of the most important aspects. The objective of the land reform was to encourage the displaced population to return to their homes and boost the local economy. (Negret. P, Allan. J, Brackowski. A, Maron. M, & Watson. J. 2017. p.499) But this has not happened. For example, according to the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) in January of 2020, the unemployment rate was 13%, showing an increase in unemployment at the national level. This is just one of the representations that do not guarantee a safe return of the displaced population under specific social characteristics. The option of a safe return implies a set of environmental characteristics that establish minimum levels of safety and guarantee a decent standard of living. Additionally, the wave of migrating Venezuelans added new challenges that have to be addressed by the government, along with the internal current challenges of Colombia. (Silva, J. 2018)

Externally, the “deteriorating economic and social conditions in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela are leading many Colombians to return home, while many Venezuelans continue to leave their country, both across the border to Colombia and elsewhere.” (UN. The World Migration Report, p.81) By May 2020, The Coordination Platform for refugees and migrants from Venezuela reported that there were about 5,095,283 Venezuelans

displaced abroad. The report *Global Trends of Forced Displacement*, emphasizes that this number "refers to people who have abandoned Venezuela as a result of the deterioration of circumstances in the country, but they have not applied for asylum in the country in which they are located." (p.68) The Coordination Platform for refugees and migrants from Venezuela also reported that Colombia has welcomed 1,825,687 million Venezuelan citizens. A situation that turns Colombia into the main recipient of Venezuelans in the world, hosting 45.18% of the Venezuelans displaced abroad. However, by 2019, the number of Venezuelans in Colombia increased to 1.5 million, according to UNHCR.

In the face of the massive migration of Venezuelans, the Colombian government has made efforts to generate support for migrants; efforts that have defined political interests. "Since 2018, [Colombia has] responded to a mix of solidarity and national political, security, and economic interests amidst the increasingly tense relationship between the Venezuelan and the Colombian governments." (Santos, 2019. p.1)

The tense relations between Colombia and Venezuela imply political discourses that deeply involve the way in which the notion of security is perceived; what happens in the neighboring country along with the internal policies of other states may pose threats for states such as Colombia. (Andersen, D & Crawford, K. 2018.p.91) In the case of Colombia, a crucial political moment was unleashed in 2018. During the presidential elections, there was a migration boom in Colombia and this was used as a discursive tool that allowed the candidate Iván Duque, representative of the Democratic Center (uribista / right-wing party), to win the elections against Gustavo Petro, representative of the left. These two candidates were the most voted on in the presidential elections of that year according to the BBC,

Colombia, in 2018. With these results it was possible to show a clear political polarization. Colombia was divided. As explained in a BBC article, experts said that this situation could be described as a kind of class war, a "product of the deep inequalities and tensions that have persisted in Colombia for decades." (Boris, 2018)

Taking into account that Venezuela is a socialist country, the figure of the leftist candidate Gustavo Petro was implicitly associated in Duque's political speeches with the current situation in Venezuela; For example, his famous phrase: "We are not going to become another Venezuela." (Revista Semana. 2018 by Ivan Duque) "We are experiencing the most outrageous migration and humanitarian crisis in the recent history of the region, on account of a dictatorship that annihilated freedoms." (Revista Semana. 2018 by Ivan Duque) With these statements of the current president of Colombia, possible dangers for Colombians are implied if a different political position is supported. From my point of view, Duque's campaign speeches framed, from a human security perspective, certain guarantees that addressed "individuals and communities that are safe from both chronic, long-term threats to their well being and from more sudden threats to their physical safety "(Andersen, D & Crawford, K. 2018.p.7) but framing Venezuelan politics as the main threat, for Venezuelan citizens (who are victims) and for Colombians who could become victims if the another political party is supported. This suggests the reasons why the Colombian government is interested in providing humanitarian aid and supporting the migration phenomenon. The aid that has been offered to Venezuelans recognizes the vulnerable situation of the migrant population. However, migrants have been associated with poverty, vulnerability, within a profile of victims. (This will be explained later in depth in the results found)

### Colombian current migration policy

It is necessary to discuss Colombian migration policy as being the first step in conceiving Colombia as a country that recognizes and supports the needs of the migrant. A brief explanation of the main characteristics of migration policy in Colombia will be made.

The migration phenomenon is relatively new in Colombia, where "for many years the state maintained a separate management of emigration and immigration, considering the two phenomena in isolation without fully recognizing the rights and importance of the migrant population." (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.207) However, due to the crisis in the neighboring country of Venezuela, the management related to migrants has changed. "With its current policy, Colombia has designed a migration policy based on the full recognition of the migrant population." (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.207) This generates a welcoming atmosphere for Venezuelan migrants. In this way, the current immigration policy in Colombia integrates multidimensional aspects of migration. The policy "respects the security conditions of the migrant and the State through a human rights approach, which implies co-responsibility and the commitment of the different state sectors linked to population movements." (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.207)

The Integral Migration Policy (PIM), was created in 2009 with the objective of benefiting the migrant. This policy "ensure sufficient, effective and coordinated attention on all dimensions of development of the Colombian population abroad and foreigners residing in the country." (Conpes 2009: 53) Cited by (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.226)

It should be recognized that in 2009 the migratory rates of Venezuelans did not reach the current numbers. Consequently, it can be affirmed that by 2009 efforts were already being

made to improve the gaps in migration policies. First of all, the need for the change of migration policies was recognized and established.

In the same way, the PIM document includes five fundamental principles that must be taken into account in order to address migratory dynamics in a manner that is adequate and consistent with public policies. The following are the established principles:

Coherence and reciprocity with other countries; integrality and the long term ability to confront in a flexible way the different scenarios that are presented and to which it is necessary to respond; concordance with foreign policy; full observance of individual guarantees, considering the migrant as the subject of rights and obligations according to national legislation and international law; and finally, the principle of targeting, giving priority to the attention of the foreigner or the Colombian abroad in conditions of greater vulnerability. (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.226)

In order to fulfill the main objective, the PIM includes seven dimensions that must be split jointly to guarantee the rights of migrants in Colombian territory, just as those Colombians living abroad should have. For this the action plan involves:

dimensions (educational; cultural; social; economic; participatory and community; of security; institutional and informative) with specific tasks that must be developed by the Ministries of Education, Culture, External Relations, Social Protection, Commerce, Environment, Housing and Territorial Development, and Interior; as well as by other entities, such as the Institute Colombian Educational Credit and Study Abroad (ICETEX), the National Learning Service (SENA), Migración Colombia and DANE. (Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.227)

This detailed explanation of the action plan underscores the multiple entities that are part of the network of action for migrants. These places have tools and resources to cooperate with integration, support, development of new communities, assimilation, and all kinds of

needs that the migrant population could face. All of this is in order to guarantee a more humane and sensitive process for the migrant. At the same time, while this information is ideal, due to the massive migration of Venezuelans, it has many gaps. Colombia has strong policies to support the displaced people abroad, but not for the population that is migrating into the country. However, the situation is difficult; Colombia has received the support of other international organizations to continue cooperating in the Venezuelan migration process.

According to Christian Krüger an immigration official, in the last few years, Colombia has developed a system of temporary permits with the intention to regulate the migratory flow. For example, one of the migration tools is the Special Permit of Permanence (PEP), which allows Venezuelans to stay in Colombia for up to two years. This special permit allows them to work and have access to education and medical attention. The Border Mobility Card (TMF) is another transit tool that allows Venezuelans to enter and leave the cities close to the border. This TMF is usually used by Venezuelans that want to enter the country for a short period of time, especially to buy goods. Colombia has not implemented a humanitarian visa for Venezuelans. This is the reason why there have been different special permits developed, in order to control the migratory flow.

### ***Venezuela***

Venezuela has not always been a country that sends its population to other countries. In the past, Venezuela was typically a country that received migrants. The geographical location, and its immense wealth in natural resources were an attraction for migrants.

Between 1940 and 1960, “Venezuela played a vital role as a receiving country for European emigrants, who came fleeing from the Spanish civil war, the Second World War and the Soviet invasions, as well as those fleeing from the misery of the post-war” (Mateo, C. & Ledezma, T. 2006.p.247)

However, over the years, the situation has changed dramatically. According to Mateo, C. & Ledezma, T. (2006), in the 1980’s, Venezuela lost its appeal to migrants because of the problems of the economic recession. This caused thousands of Europeans to return to their countries of origin. In turn, it began to report the departure of Venezuelans to other countries.

Since the 1980s, thousands of highly qualified Venezuelan scientists and people have been emigrating. “The emigration of Venezuelan scientists and technologists, mainly to developed countries, began slowly but progressively from 1983, became more evident after the social outbreak of 1989 and became more acute in the 1990s.” (De la Vega, I. .2005. p.266)

According to Vivas Peñalver & Páez (2017), since 2000, three migratory waves with specific characteristics can be distinguished. First, from 2000-2012, a segment of the population left Venezuela seeking new opportunities. Second, in 2012-2015, there was growing hopelessness that led to increased forced migration, and third, from 2015, a migration of despair caused a mass displacement of people fleeing for survival.

The migratory wave of 2000-2012, a population leaving Venezuela seeking new opportunities, was characterized by middle-income professionals, entrepreneurs, and students. The reasons why migrants in this wave decided to leave Venezuela was due to

insecurity, political reasons or overall social degradation. The main destinations for migrants in this period of time were the U.S., Spain, Italy, Portugal. (p.2)

The 2012-2015 wave of Venezuelan migration, fleeing growing hopelessness, included a mix of social strata, including middle-income and low-income migrants. The reasons why migrants in this wave decided to leave Venezuela were due to the economic crisis, insecurity, political repression, and the beginning of food and medicine shortages. The main destinations for migrants in this period of time were: the U.S., Europe, Colombia, Panama, Dominican Republic. (p.2)

From 2015 to today, the migratory wave is the result of the economic and political crisis that Venezuela is facing, which has been intensifying. The current mass emigration of Venezuelans is a reality regardless of social class or educational level. This migratory wave includes all of the social spectrums, but also shows an increasingly flow of low-income people. (Vivas Peñalver & Páez, 2017) Multiple factors were responsible for marking a delicate situation over time for Venezuela; for example,

The absence of coherent policies in the medium and long term, inflation (unknown until then) and the progressive devaluation of the currency. The process of decomposition of an economy characterized by the inability to apply a policy aimed at breaking with oil dependence has been systematically exacerbated, generating high rates of unemployment, progressive deterioration of public services and corruption at all levels. (De la Vega, I. 2005.p.260)



This current economic and political crisis has unleashed multiple consequences for the population. These consequences especially include the shortage of food, water, medicine and money, which have dire impacts on Venezuelans. It is estimated that “nearly 90 percent of the country’s population lives below the poverty line, and more than half of families are unable to meet basic food needs.” (Mercy Corps. 2020. p.5) This is one of the main reasons why Venezuelans have been forced to leave the country.

According to Mercy Corps (2020), Venezuela is considered as a country that has generated the largest movement of refugees and migrants worldwide. This phenomenon has only been overcome by Syria, a country facing war. By February 2020, 4.7 million Venezuelans have left Venezuela. So far, according to Colombia migration (2019), Colombia is hosting 1.8 million of Venezuelans, making Colombia the top destination.

According to the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) the current Venezuelan migration has been characterized by its rapid growth. Migration flows are highly diverse and include displaced populations, economic migrants, and forced migrants. As mentioned before, "in social terms, the most recent flows are mainly made up of impoverished middle classes and poorer sectors." (CLACSO. 2019.p.22.) However, one of the most important and peculiar characteristics of this migrant population is that many of them are professionals and many have higher education. According to Vivas Peñalver & Páez, in this migratory case, 90% of the population has a university degree, 40% of the population a master's degree or a certificate and 12% of the population a doctorate. These statistics reveal that this population is very qualified. (Vivas Peñalver & Páez. 2017.p.8) These particular characteristics of the Venezuelan migrant population could imply economic

benefits for the recipient country, taking into account that a high percentage of migrants is qualified at the educational level. Changing the current image of the Venezuelan migrant as a victim would allow an empowerment of the migrant population towards the exploitation of their abilities.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration can be understood as something hopeful; as an opportunity. However, under many circumstances, it can be understood as something that “describes the desperation of those trying to escape war, starvation, disaster: How strong is the push to leave? To abandon what you love? To walk into the unknown with all your possessions stuffed into a pocket? It is more powerful than fear of death” (Golberg. 2019. p.4)

This chapter is divided into four large groups that cover different theories that highlight relevant arguments of this work. The first focuses on migrant social interactions, including theories based on individual needs, identity, and social relationships, as a fundamental aspect to establish a social balance and ensure a process of integration of the migrant. The second, which focuses on the importance of the deployment of migratory discourse, encompasses the securitization of the discourses, and also discusses the importance of the media content (as essential characteristics of the formation of the migratory discourse in Colombia), as well as the current Colombian migratory law. Third, contact theory, discusses a global intersection between the social interactions of migrants and the host society, and the external dominant narratives that are developing in the context. Both social interactions and the external dominant narratives present in the context, can shape individual narratives related to

migration and change attitudes. In the fourth section, two empirical works that had explored the content of the migratory discourses and the way in which the media frames migrants will be presented.

## **2.1. Migrant social interactions**

The main argument of this work reflects how social interactions are fundamental to establish a social balance between the migrant and the host society. For this, it is necessary to address three fundamental theories, which together, show the importance of the social interactions that the migrant experiences with the host society. First, aspects of Maslow's theory cooperate in an understanding of the individual needs required for optimal development of the individual in a migratory situation. Second, an ecological model highlights the importance of what happens in the environment and how it affects the development of the individual. Third, from the social identity theory, it is possible to establish the importance of identity linked to the feeling of belonging of a group and how this can create borders with other groups.

The migratory act physically involves people who move from one place to another for different reasons; “we moved when it is intolerable to stay where we are. We move because of environmental stress and physical dangers and the small-mindedness of our neighbors and to be who we wish to be. To seek what we wish to seek.” (Hamid. M. 2019. p.1) For this reason, when a person is involved in a migratory situation, the person leaves with values,

history, a background, dreams, hope, and a set of characteristics that helped the individual to categorize himself as a part of a group.

### ***Maslow's hierarchy of needs***

The adjustment of migrants in a new society is closely related to the needs proposed by Maslow. "Immigration is a major disruption in the life pattern of an individual." (Adler, S. 1997.p.445) When an individual is in a migratory situation, "the move makes severe behavioral demands on the individual and is almost invariably accompanied by various manifestations of emotional disturbance" (Adler, S. 1997.p.445) Basic aspects of Maslow's theory are a tool to interpret the needs that cooperate in an optimal development of the individual in a migratory situation,

Maslow outlined a motivational hierarchy consisting of five categories of human needs arranged in ascending order: physiological- basic needs satisfied by such stimuli as food and sleep; security-need for a safe environment free from immediate threat; social-affiliative and love needs; a desire for social acceptance; esteem- need for enhancement and acceptance of self; and self-actualization-striving for full realization of unique characteristics and potentials.

The key notion in the model is that as a need category lower in the hierarchy becomes satisfied, its determination of behavior diminishes and the next higher need category becomes prepotent.

(Adler, S. 1997.p.444)

In this order of ideas, the immigration situation puts the individual's needs in an impoverished state. The process of adjustment "can be seen as a recovery process in which the immigrant gradually moves back up the hierarchy toward self- actualization" (Adler, S. 1997.p.446) In fewer words, the individual in a new environment can have different

experiences and can have the ability to recover and move forward in the pyramid; of course, only if the situation in the new context can help with his development and progress. This progress up the hierarchy “involves people overcoming insecurity, overcoming loneliness, overcoming self-confusion, in other words, recovering from a temporary state of disability known as "culture shock".” (Adler, S. 1997.p.446)

In order to advance in the pyramid proposed by Maslow, the quality of the interactions and filial links that the individual can develop are what allow him to move forward.

### ***Ecological model***

From a psychological perspective “human development occurs in the midst of a vibrant, complex environment” (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3) The things that happen in the environment are important and have to do with the development of the individual. The environment is defined and constituted by “Social and cultural practices and institutions that provide most of the experiences that the people have” (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3) In the case of migration, it is not different. It is important to question what kind of things are happening in the environment around the individual. For this reason, “an initial step in gaining this understanding is to describe the social and cultural context in relation to the psychological experiences” (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3) In this order of ideas, by describing aspects of the environment that surrounds the individual, it is possible to generate an interpretive bridge for their psychological intervention.

Bronfenbrenner’s framework describes an ecological systems approach which, "provided developmental psychologists with a new way of thinking about the many environmental

influences that affect human development." (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3) The model focuses on the "subsystems, or components, of the human ecological niche as well as the ways that these subsystems interact with and influence each other" (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3) In this case, the individual is constantly interacting with multiple systems of which he is part, and is experiencing a process of interaction and development; "the subsystems range from the immediate, or the proximal, process of development (the microsystem), such as the family or school, to patterns of culture such as the economy, customs, and bodies of knowledge (the macrosystem). The historical context is described in the chronosystem" (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.3)

This theory encompasses and relates to "the processes and conditions that govern the lifelong course of human development in the actual environments in which human beings live." (Gauvain & Cole. 2004 p.4) For this reason, the narratives of inclusion and exclusion that are developed around migrants play a crucial role in the highest levels of Maslow's hierarchy, in order to achieve a successful cultural immersion and development of the individual. In this order of ideas, the migrant has specific needs related to the "desire for social acceptance; esteem-need for improvement and acceptance." (Adler, S. 1997.p.444) The migrant will be able to meet these needs if it is possible to find a social support according to his situation. However, part of the immersion process involves a negotiation of belonging that deploys questions of identity.

### ***Social identity theory***

Identity is a relevant piece when individuals can perceive themselves as part of a group. "In many social situations, people think of themselves and others as members of the group, rather than as unique individuals." (Van Lange. P, Kruglanski. A, & Higgins, E. 2012) In a migratory situation, the uncertainty of not knowing what it means to be welcome or not in the new society creates a conflict of belonging. The "discernible markers of difference that distinguish out-group individuals from the in-group" (Pugh, J. 2018) are related to the conflict of belonging, where identity is questioned with a clear border that differentiates them from us, causing border conflicts.

As Van Lange. P, Kruglanski. A, & Higgins, E. (2012) explained from a Social Identity Theory, it is necessary that people interact to exist. A person can make sense of who they are based on their group characteristics. This theory focuses on the social context as a determinant of the self-definition and the behavior a person is having under a specific situation. "This theory argues for the importance of distinguishing between social psychological processes at individual, interpersonal, group, and intergroup levels." (p.15) This helps to understand why interactions are valuable and are associated with the process of social change.

On the other hand, this theory offers a link that allows a relation between narratives and actions. According to Tajfel (1970), modern societies have attitudes of intergroup discrimination, which are deployed from the in-group that can perceive the out-group as being in some way different from the constitution and the characteristics of the in-group. (p.1) For example, in the migratory situation of Venezuelans living in Colombia, a source of



difference could be something as simple as an accent. Even when both populations speak Spanish, the accent allows Colombians to trace differences and identify the migrant. Under more complex situations, such as access to jobs, and depending on the qualified skill of the migrant, it can cause economic or social competition, which “can lead to discriminatory behavior; that behavior can then in a number of ways create attitudes of prejudice; those attitudes can in turn lead to new forms of discriminatory behavior that create new economic or social disparities, and so the vicious circle is continued.” (p.1)

However, even when this theory is established within a group level, the differences of identity that are formed between groups creates a reality that also establishes a bridge that allows an opportunity for social change. This theory allows a positive approach to social change because “it provides a different way of thinking about individuals and groups, with an explicit emphasis on the impact of social contextual factors” (Van Lange. P, Kruglanski. A, & Higgins, E. 2012.p.15)

## **2.2. Deployment of migratory discourse**

### ***Securitization theory***

In Colombian territory, the current immigration situation in Venezuela has been described in multiple scenarios as a crisis. It is possible to find in newspaper headlines, news, and reports made by the state, where the migration phenomenon in Colombia is described as a crisis. For example, in 2019, Migración Colombia, published a report on its official page with statistics that reflect the migratory flow of Venezuelans in Colombia. The report is

titled: “This has been the evolution of the Venezuelan migration crisis - August 31, 2019.”

From a securitization theory, this headline highlights political and social interests that justify the responding actions of the government. In other words, by establishing this situation as a crisis, the government is more likely to be able to take extraordinary actions.

The securitization theory is relevant in this work because it “provides a conceptual apparatus to trace the discursive processes through which actors employ speech acts laden with the language of survival, threat, and danger to shift the shared meaning of migration as a humanitarian or economic phenomenon to one of security.” (Pugh, & Moya, 2019) In this position, the actors are able to establish who is going to be protected from specific threats. In the migratory situation between Colombia and Venezuela, this thesis found that the Colombian government labeled the migrants through the media mostly as victims, showing how under a socialist government that was affected by an economic crisis, the consequences were experienced by the Venezuelan citizens.

According to Buzan, Weaver, Wilde, (1998) a community has the option to choose how to deal in a particular way with different situations from a political perspective. For this reason we can refer to specific things as security problems. Thus, the securitization of a situation will happen when a referent object portrays an existential threat (effect), and the relevant audience accepts the threat in order to justify the use of extraordinary measures by a specific ‘protector’. In this case, the actors want to identify a threat that can become the center of attention and focus, in order to justify the actions. However, not everything follows the general logic of securitization; “even if the general logic of securitization is clear, we have to be precise about its threshold. A discourse that takes the form of presenting

something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization- this is a securitizing move” (p.25) In this order of ideas, for the 2018 presidential campaign in Colombia, the popular expression used by current right-wing president Duque: "we are not going to become another Venezuela," refers to a securitizing move. The threat presented in this situation was the possibility of becoming victims due to a socialist state. In this case, it highlighted “the discourse about the Venezuelan migration through the identities of the Colombian government as the savior, the migrants as victims and villains, and the Venezuelan government as the villain.” (Sánchez, C. 2019. p.3) By this period of time, Colombians knew that people from Venezuela were suffering from scarcity of food and inflation, which was clearly affecting the Venezuelan population. When the Colombian government is speaking about Venezuelan migration the “Colombian government is not only speaking about the issue itself or describing it, but is also building meanings and images of the Colombian government, the migrants, and the Venezuelan government in a context of particular power relationships between two governments” (Sánchez, C. 2019. p.2)

More than a million Venezuelans had migrated to Colombia by 2018, and the way in which migrants were portrayed as victims of a socialist state was clear in the media. This statement can be supported by the data that was collected. In other words, the threat was related to the possibility of having an economic, political and social crisis if the Colombian citizens decided to support the left-wing party. This argument is also an explanation of the reasons why Duque's government has made multiple efforts to support Venezuelans in Colombia.

One of the most important pieces of the process of securitization depends on the audience accepting the securitization speech act. Here is when the content of the narratives have value. The message is transmitted by different actors with specific content, but the audience will decide if they accept the threat or not. When the threat is accepted, the extraordinary measures will be justified and approved by the audience. (Buzan, Weaver, Wilde, 1998) In the Colombian case, the securitizing move portraying Venezuela's government as a threat and the migrants as victims has been contested by Colombian citizens. The interviews that were conducted allowed me to find and understand subjective interpretations of the people that are experiencing the migratory phenomenon, as well as the reasons why Colombian citizens were contesting the Colombian government's decisions around migration.

### *Narratives*

According to Brian Richardson, narrative is defined as "a representation of a causally related series of events. This definition would include verbal as well as nonverbal narratives 'causally related' would be understood as 'generally connected' or part of the same general causal matrix" (Richardson, B. 2000. p.170)

Within a migratory context, the narrative would be building a story around the individual that is facing the migratory situation with various elements that are causally intertwined and are portraying the phenomenon. In consequence, "the ways in which immigrants are portrayed can influence the attitudes about immigration." (Farris, E.M & Heather, S.M. 2018.p.1) In this order of ideas, narrative has power in the context because it is designated:

as temporal, causal, minimal, and transactional. The first posits the representation of events in a time sequence as the defining feature of narrative; the second insists that some causal

connection, however oblique, between the events is essential; the third and most capacious, Genette's, suggests that any statement of an action or event is ipso facto a narrative, since it implies a transformation or transition from an earlier to a later state; the fourth posits that narrative is simply a way of reading a text, rather than a feature or essence found in a text. (Richardson, B. 2000. p.170)

In this way, it can be said that the stories that these narratives tell are important and powerful to the extent that the aspects of their content are identified. For this reason, “the ‘problem’ of immigration is constructed” (Vertovec, S. 2011.p.244) under a story that is "imagining the nation in terms of us/them" (Vertovec, S. 2011.p.245)

### *The power of the narratives*

As it was described before, the narratives include representation. Thus, "representations, including images, symbols, concepts, and language, all create the frame of interpretation" (Vertovec, S. 2011.p.248) The way in which a story is represented, allows a specific message. Then, as Vertovec cites Grillo (1985) in his article *The cultural politics of nation and migration*, and exalts that “we must examine who presents the ‘representations,’ that is, whose view is ‘represented’ in a political sense, by what means, and how evaluated.(p.2) Cited by, (Vertovec, S. 2011.p.248) In this context, the symbols have a function and they are “employed to justify arguments, rationalities and decisions;” (Vertovec, S. 2011.p.248) For example; In the case of the media, who is telling the stories and what do they want to represent?

### ***The media***

The narrative content shared by the media has multiple visual and auditory representations that justify arguments related to a phenomenon. For example, “the media’s choice of words and images shapes the way that people perceive and evaluate policies”(Farris, E.M & Heather, S.M. 2018.p.1) However, within a migratory phenomenon, the media "plays an important role in developing frames, or story lines that help people to interpret the world” (Farris, E.M & Heather, S.M. 2018.p.4) In this case, the media puts the information together that includes representations of immigrant and national culture and develops a story related to values, consequences and the future. For this reason, “the media not only provides information but also represents events, issues and people in particular ways, influencing people’s awareness of what is important and perceptions of who belongs in communities (Bleich et al 2015)” quoted by (Crawley, H. , McMahon, S. and Jones, K. 2016.p.12)

### **2.3. Contact theory**

Allport’s hypothesis (1954), stated that the direct contact between hostile groups will bring the opportunity to reduce intergroup prejudice but only under specific conditions. If the conditions are met, the intergroup contact will allow a possibility of reducing prejudice and discrimination. If the contact is possible but the conditions are not met, the contact is not guaranteed to reduce discrimination. The four conditions are: to have equal status, personal interaction, cooperative activities, and the creation of social norms that favor racial harmony.

According to Gordon W. Allport (1954), one of the most important components of his theory involves the understanding of the consequences of a prejudice. A prejudice is reflected as a hostile attitude or feeling toward a person because the person belongs to a group that has some assigned qualities. The qualities that are assigned to a particular group can be unfounded judgements if it is a negative prejudice. The implications of negative prejudice and discrimination may escalate levels of violence. Forms of violence against a specific group can start from verbal violence, but in escalated levels, involve avoidance, discrimination or legalized institutionalized racism, violence against people and property, and in the worst situation, extermination or genocide. (Chapter 4)

The Contact hypothesis is a theory that involves multiple elements that were introduced earlier in this thesis. This theory is a bridge to a possible resolution of border conflicts that can potentially cooperate with the mitigation of discriminatory and violent dynamics towards a given population. This is the last theory that supports the argument I am making, because it is a link between thoughts, assumptions, narratives and actions. If the dynamics of conflict are not addressed, according to Allport, it could mean an escalation of violence. This is a theory that involves elements of identity, in-group and out-group interactions, negotiation between groups, narratives, actions, and political and environmental changes, in order to persuade a set of conditions that can allow a healthy interaction between different groups

## **2.4. Empirical works**

The following are two examples of empirical research that had explored the content of the migratory discourses and the way in which the media frames migrants.

The article, *The Victims and Villains: Migrant voices in the British media*, proposes an approach that allows to explore the way the media is framing migrants, by using a methodology based on the framing analysis. First it is important to clarify what a frame is. According to Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016) "the term 'frame' refers to the ways that speakers and writers construct arguments about certain topics. By framing, they link the topic to other events and issues and make value-judgements about its implications and impact on society." (p.4) This work mentions how different studies have created multiple ways to frame migrants. The authors established some specific frames that can potentially be found commonly; Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K., proposed "a distinction between victim frames, presenting migrants as victims of inequality and/or discrimination and in need of support to overcome it, benefit frames, highlighting the contribution (real or potential) of migrants to the host society, and threat or villain frames, presenting migrants and migration as a challenge to people's jobs and /or security." (p.4)

The structure of this article is composed of: a frame analysis of the print media, a set of interviews with key stakeholders, and focus groups with migrants. The kind of data collected by the authors helped them to build an argument based on the analysis about migration in the media related to the issues and the frames, the migrant voices in the media as victims and villains, the migratory stereotypes, the political and media debate on migration. In my perspective, one of the most relevant questions of the article asked, "do the migrant voices matter?" (p.12)

The theoretical framework proposed by Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016) inspired me to explore and analyze the way in which the media frames stories about migrants



in Colombia. The authors proposed some types of dominant frames, such as victims, villains, heroes, and political contention. In order to classify in a deeper way, they also extended the categorization using subframes. These categorizations allow the reader to have a detailed notion about the frame. The following table is a summary of the frames and subframes with its respective explanation.

Frame title		Description
Victim frames	Humanitarian frame	Immigrants are people in disadvantaged situations (victims) and should be supported to improve their welfare and have their rights guaranteed
	Integration frame	Immigration poses challenges but is a reality that cannot be avoided. Migrants integrate over time but there should be changes in the host country to accommodate them.
Villain frames	Burden frame	Immigration measures to support arrivals are necessary but costly to state and local authorities so cannot go on indefinitely. Should lower immigration to protect the local state.
	Competition frame	Immigrants compete for already scarce jobs and funds, increasing poverty, unemployment and insecurity, putting natives at risk.
	Control frame	Immigration is too high and out of control. Border and integration policies are ineffective, requiring stronger borders and reduced migratory flows. Governments should have control over migration levels and integration dynamics.
	Public order frame	Immigrants are dangerous, criminal and/or violent and this poses a threat to the public order and safety of native people.
Hero frames	Economic benefit frame	Immigration brings many benefits to the host society and economy and these should be recognised.
	Cultural benefit frame	Particular immigrants have contributed strongly to our country and are a positive representation of our society.
Political contention frame		Immigration is a contentious and divisive phenomenon, which divides people. It should be debated and addressed to reflect people's concerns.

### ***1. Migrant news story frames***

***Source: Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016)***

The conclusions of the article show that people who work with migrants were concerned about the ways in which the media report on migrants. The 46% of all stories in this article framed the migrants as villains (framing migration as a threat). Also, the authors identified that 85% of the articles did not include migrant voices. It is relevant because it shows that migrants are being silenced in this particular context. It is also important to mention that the authors found that the “migration stories in the British press in the run-up to the 2015 General Election were not entirely negative and exclusionary.”(p.44) In 38% of the stories, the migrants were framed as victims. In this case the stories were more likely to include migrant voices.

The article, *Words of (Un)welcome: Securitization & Migration Discourses in Ecuadorian Media*, “employs multiple methods, including content analysis of more than 800 newspaper articles on migration in three Ecuadorian newspapers over eight years, frame analysis of more than 100 television news videos, and content and social network analysis of more than 400 tweets harvested in the aftermath of an anti-immigrant incident in 2019.” (Pugh, J., Moya, J. 2019. p.1) These methods were used in order to explore “how state and non-state actors compete to promote or combat securitizing discourses about migration through different media in a Global South receiving country” (Pugh, J., Moya, J. 2019. p.1) This article is relevant because it involves a Latin American country that has been welcoming Colombians for a long period of time.

This work takes into account aspects of the identity of the migrant, the way in which a negotiation of identities and belonging is displayed, the social constructions that are carried out around the narratives and how the framing of migrants affects their human security. This work reflects an analysis of the securitization discourses exploring multiple lenses that allowed the examination of the social construction of migration securitization in Ecuador.

Although this article involves Colombia in a different role, as a country that sends population, it has multiple elements that are very relevant for this investigation. For example, (Pugh & Moya. 2019), includes a framing analysis of more than 100 television news articles, using the approach proposed by Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016). The conclusion of this specific section will help to identify some kind of similarities and differences with the current collected data in another Latin America territory. In this case, it was found that on television news “victim frame is the most common, followed by the villain

frame, and that nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of television news stories analyzed included the voices of migrants, while ‘refugee’ is the dominant label used to discuss this population.” (p.29)

One of the interesting parts of the article offered by the authors Pugh and Moya (2019) is the analysis of the discourse of more than 400 tweets "in the immediate aftermath of a violent backlash against Venezuelan migrants and a presidential tweet that attempts to blame all Venezuelan migrants for the violent act of one Venezuelan criminal." (p.2) In this platform, the reactionary discourse was explicit, rich, and reflected a different kind of voice from the public opinion. Also, it reflects the link between narratives, identity, and actions. The date reflects the dominance of the state actors in their role in migration securitization.

The examples of the empirical works were selected in order to identify all the aspects that were mentioned in the theoretical framework. These are examples that closely reflect the most important aspects of this work and that will help in the analysis and construction of conclusions regarding this relatively new phenomenon in Colombia.

## CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

Starting from an exhaustive analysis of the migratory discourse in Colombia, I sought to identify the type of dominant narratives related to migration which are manifested in the Colombian population and the media, more specifically in the local television news.

The analyses of the migratory discourse between Colombia and Venezuela are limited due to the very recent nature of the phenomenon. For this reason, a thorough search and analysis of the type of narratives that are found in local television news, and in Colombian citizens is carried out. This is in order to identify the content of these speeches in an early stage, hoping that this information can be used for a better treatment of the migrants in Colombian territory.

### **3.1 Type of investigation**

The present work is composed of quantitative and qualitative data, in order to explore different aspects of reality since "these aspects lend themselves to different methods of inquiry." (Sandelowski, M. 2000.p.2). This combination of data would help to expand the descriptive scope of the quantitative research question, in order to get a better understanding

of the migratory discourse in Colombia. In the article *Selecting a quantitative or qualitative research methodology: An experience*, Sogunro Olusegun uses Creswell's (1994) definition of a quantitative research as: "an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analyzed with statistical procedures" (p.3) The quantitative research question in this paper focuses on describing the kinds of messages that the local television news is sharing with the Colombian population. On the other hand, Krause describes qualitative research, in his article entitled *Qualitative research: a field of possibilities and challenges qualitative research*, as,

characteristics of the studied, that is to say the description of characteristics, of relations between characteristics or of the development of characteristics of the object of study. In general, it dispenses with the registration of quantities, frequencies of occurrence or any other data reducible to numbers, with the description of qualities through concepts and relationships between concepts. (Krause, 1995, p.21).

The qualitative research question in this paper focuses on describing and analyzing the qualities and the characteristics of the collected narratives and their content referring to the framework of migratory discourse in Colombia, as a new phenomenon. For this reason, the semi-structured interview provides information related to experiences, opinions, personal perceptions of the effects of the migratory phenomenon, and in general, the type of perception that the individual has regarding Venezuelans in Colombia. This data collection instrument allows for the opportunity to go beyond the description of the type of messages that the analysis of television news provides, enriching the research.

### 3.2 Research design

This thesis employs a pragmatic interpretative framework. The work focuses on describing and analyzing the way in which the migratory discourse in Colombia has been built and developed in the last few years. Related to the migration of Venezuelans to Colombian territory, data from interviews with Colombian citizens and local television news will be collected, for this it is necessary to:

1. Create a Colombian local television news database. The database will collect the videos that talk about the migration of Venezuelans in the Colombian territory. The database will help to code the types of messages that television news is sharing with the Colombian population. For this segment of the investigation, the model proposed by Crawley, McMahon & Jones, 2016., will be followed as the reference to code the type of frame that the videos are communicating. "The term 'frame' refers to the ways that speakers and writers construct arguments about certain topics, by framing, they link the topic to other events and issues and make value-judgments about their implications and impact on society." (Crawley, McMahon & Jones, 2016. p.4). The collection of this information will identify the type of message being transmitted to the Colombian population through the media. This classification will show if the message refers to the Venezuelans living in Colombia as victim, benefit, or villain frames. The videos will be collected from the TV news that the participants mention in the interviews.
2. Design an interview instrument and apply it to 20 adults in a working-age (young adults) with Colombian citizenship, being residents in the city of Bogotá. The

objective of this interview is to capture the opinions of some Colombian citizens related to the migration of Venezuelans.

Note: The information that the database and interviews provide will illustrate the type of discourse that is being created and developed in Colombia regarding migration as a new phenomenon for this society.

It should be clarified that under a pragmatic interpretive framework, "the important aspect of research is the problem being studied and the questions asked about this problem." (Creswell, 2013. p.22) In consequence, the analysis categories will provide characteristics related to the narratives that constitute the current migratory discourse in Colombia.

### **3.3 Population**

In order to describe and analyze the migratory discourse in Colombia, it will be necessary to explore two important populations that can show and contain these narratives. First, the research population of media discourses is represented by a sample of 80 local television videos that talk specifically about the migration of Venezuelans to Colombia. Second, 20 interviews were carried out with Colombian citizens in a working-age (young adults) residing in the city of Bogotá.

The migration phenomenon between Colombia and Venezuela has historically shared different causes, including economic ones; For this reason, it is important to explore the opinions of people who are in a productive age range (working-age/young adults). For example, in the past between 1970 and 1990 "the authors point out that the fundamental motivation for which the Colombian population entered Venezuela was of a labor type,

constituted mainly by young adults” (Flores, 2004.p.195). Subsequently, between 2000 and 2011 a similar phenomenon was found, as Ochoa describes it: “Colombia has at least half a thousand executives, engineers, geologists and other Venezuelan oil experts that come to work.” (Ochoa, M. 2012 p.187) This statement again denotes a productive age. Recently, the reasons are not different and involve economic causes. For example, according to Migración Colombia, in its *Venezuelan Radiography in Colombia March 2019*, there are 76,204 valid visas and 593,383 special residence permits (PEP) of Venezuelans, of which 58.7% were given to people of productive age.

The age of a population becomes vitally important in the migratory phenomenon. When the distribution of the population by age is dominated by young adults of working age, “this provides a window of opportunity for a bigger economic growth and a reduction in poverty. That is, as the relative size of the labor force increases, the country’s output expands because there are simply more workers and producers.” (Aguirre, G. 2016.p.1). However, this involves the need to implement “economic, social, and governance policies are needed to prepare a favorable landscape for the uptake of a large workforce into the more-productive sectors.” (Aguirre, G. 2016.p.1)

On the other hand, it is vital to explore the opinions of the residents of the city of Bogotá for two reasons; first, “Regarding the characteristics of Colombians abroad, the majority come from five regions of the country: Valle del Cauca, Cundinamarca –especially Bogotá–, Antioquia, el Eje Cafetero, and Atlántico, ”(Ciurlo, A. 2015. p.216) Second, according to Migración Colombia in the report *Así ha sido la evolución de la crisis migratoria Venezolana*, it highlights that by 2019, Bogotá is the city with the highest number of



Venezuelans, with a total of 357,667 corresponding to 24.03% of the total Venezuelan population in Colombia. (Migration Colombia, 2019) Due to this volume, it can be agreed that Bogotá has significant experience as a receiving location, and as place of origin for migrants.

### 3.4. Data collection techniques and instruments

To make a selection of data, it must meet the following inclusion and exclusion criteria:

Criteria	Inclusion	Exclusion
<u>Videos database:</u> The video contains information related to the migration of Venezuelans to Colombia and belongs to a local Colombian newscast. <a href="#">No human subjects-Secondary data/TV news stories</a>	*	
<u>Videos database:</u> The video contains information related to the migration of Venezuelans to Colombia but it does not belong to a local Colombian newscast or the video does not belong to any of the newscasts mentioned in the interviews by the participants. <a href="#">No human subjects-Secondary data/TV news stories</a>		*
<u>Videos database:</u> The video includes information about migrants living in Colombia from countries other than Venezuela. <a href="#">No human subjects-Secondary data/TV news stories</a>		*
<u>Videos database:</u> The video talks about migration but it does not provide specific details that may be related to the research problem (do not talk about Venezuelans) <a href="#">No human subjects-Secondary data/TV news stories</a>		*
<u>Interview:</u> Participants must be of Colombian nationality in a working-age (young adults) <u>NOTE:</u> It is clarified that all research participants will be adults, (children / under edge/ minors <b>will not be included</b> ). According to the Colombian law: <p>LAW 27 OF 1977, (October 26), THE CONGRESS OF COLOMBIA, DECREE: ARTICLE 1. For all legal purposes, call of legal age, or simply older, to whom you have completed eighteen (18) years."By which the age of majority is set at 18 years." (Administrative Department of Public Administration, 1977)</p> <p>This research will include just adults (18 or older) years old, young adults in a working-age who wish to participate voluntarily.</p>	*	
<u>Interview:</u> Participants must be residents in the city of Bogota.	*	

*2. Criteria for inclusion and exclusion of research, where the particular characteristics of the units of analysis are evidenced*

*Source: (Moya, 2019)*

For the quantitative research question: the collection of local television news related to migration of Venezuelans in the Colombian territory will be made from the internet. The videos will be collected and downloaded from the internet from the original websites of the local television channels, as well as YouTube. Each video will have a short description in the database that will aid in the analysis of the results; For example, each video will have the link where it was found, the year, the local news that made it, the duration, date, and the number of people who have seen it. All of the clips will be tabulated in a matrix in Excel.

For the qualitative research question: the interviews will be conducted via Skype. Each person will receive an informed consent via email that authorizes the participation in the interview and the recording of the call in its entirety. Each person will respond if they agree with this process via email or verbally during the interview.

This set of data collection will be done in two ways; verbally (through the recording of the call), and written. Each of the interviews will be fully transcribed in order to encode and analyze the information collected.

Because the instrument of data collection is a semi-structured interview, it includes questions that will be asked of all research participants. However, this type of interview leaves enough flexibility to introduce new questions depending on the direction of the conversation. The following questions are examples of some of the questions that will be asked in the interview.

### *Interview questions*

1. *Demographic data:* Age, sex, neighborhood, number and contact email.
2. *Bogotá:* Are you from Bogotá? If yes: Have you lived in a different city besides Bogotá? Which one? How long did you live there? Can you share the reasons why you decided to move to that city? How was the process? Can you describe some of the emotions you felt when you arrived in that new place?  
  
If it is not: What department are you from? How long have you lived in Bogotá? At what age did you decide to move to Bogotá? Can you share the reasons why you decided to move to Bogotá? How was the process?
3. *Working-age:* At what age did you start working?  
  
Do you currently work? If yes: How long have you been working, there? How do you describe the process of finding a job in Bogotá?  
  
if not: Can you describe the reasons why you are not working at the moment?  
  
How do you describe the process of finding a job in Bogotá?
4. *Experiences:* Do you know Venezuelan people living in Bogota? if yes: Could you describe the type of relationship you have with them? From your experience, and your contact with Venezuelans, can you tell me an experience / story / anecdote that you remember with them?
5. *Opinions:* Can you describe how you perceive the migration of Venezuelans in Bogota? What do you think of what is happening in Venezuela? Can you tell me

where you got that information? For example: social media, television news, newspapers, etc.

6. *Personal perceptions of the effects of the migratory phenomenon:* Can you describe some of the effects that you can perceive of the migration of Venezuelans in Bogota? Can you describe what has changed?

### **3.5. Data processing and analysis techniques**

1. Stipulate inclusion and exclusion criteria for the population (Population # 1: television videos. Population # 2: Colombian citizens who will participate in the interview)
2. Data matrix in Excel classification and analysis of videos according to the article (Crawley, McMahon & Katharine Jones, 2016)
3. Coding of the interviews according to the type of message. Taking into account that the interviews allow us to collect another type of data, the codification would include: personal experiences, opinions, personal perceptions of the effects of the migratory phenomenon, and in general, the type of perception that the individual has regarding Venezuelans in Colombia. (Population # 2)
4. Categories of analysis, classification of the narratives.
5. Analysis of the similarities of the narratives between the two populations.

## CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

### 4.1. Presentation of the results

The results of this investigation will be presented in two parts; **1.** First part of the investigation: Results of the television news database, **2.** Second part of the investigation: Results of the interview.

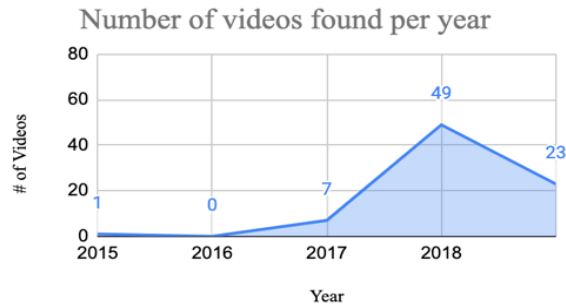
#### *First part of the investigation: Results of the database*

##### Description of the videos

The collection and analysis of 80 Colombian local television videos included a total of 3:50:36 hours of video talking about the Venezuelan migration in Colombia. The videos have a total of 3,316,767 views on the official YouTube platform. The videos were collected between 2015 and 2019. The year with the highest number of videos was 2018 with 61.25%

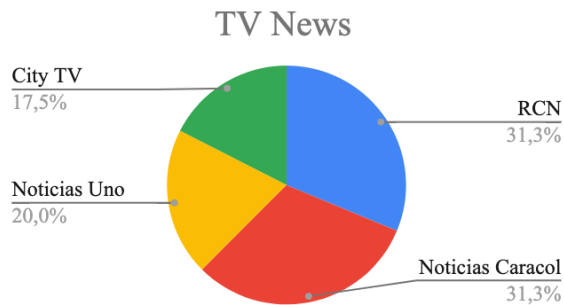
Year	Total # of Videos
2015	1
2016	0
2017	7
2018	49
2019	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>

#### *3. Total number of videos per year*



*1. Number of videos found per year*

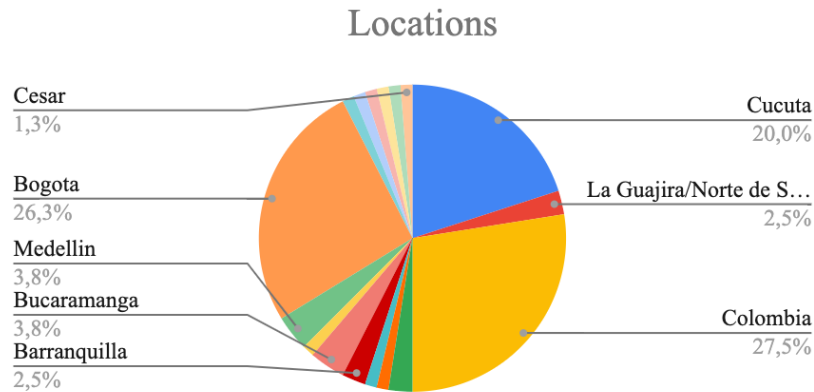
The videos belong to four renowned local television news in Colombia: RCN, Noticias Caracol, Noticias Uno, and City TV. All of the television news sources included in the database were mentioned by the interview participants (Second part of the investigation: Interview.)



*2. Summary Tv News*

The videos mention different cities in Colombia. However, 27.5% of the videos do not specify a city in Colombia. 7.5% of the videos name multiple cities, and 65% of the videos name an exclusive city. The cities that were mentioned in the videos are: Bogotá with 40.4%, Cúcuta with 30.8%, Bucaramanga with 5.8%, Medellín with 5.8%, Pamplona 3.8%, Cesar with 1.9%, and Cartagena, Tunja, and Balboa with 1.9% each. The city most frequently

named by television news is Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, and Cúcuta, which is bordering Venezuela.

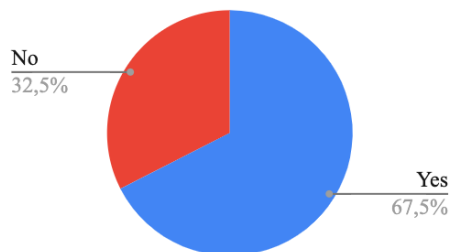


*3. Location of the stories*

### Content

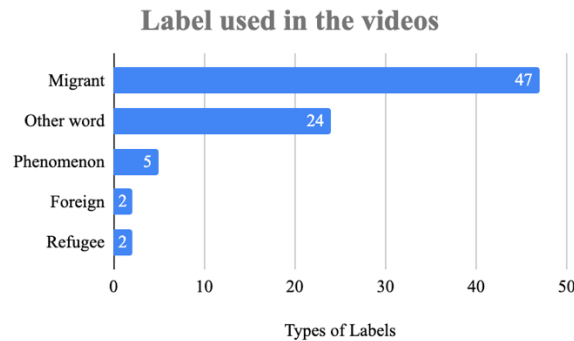
It was possible to identify that 87.5% of the videos named some type of State actor and only 12.5% of the videos do not include any state institution. On the other hand, only 21.3% of the videos included some type of non-state institution, such as UNHCR, which is supporting the process of migration in Colombia. Only 16.25% of the videos included the two types of institutions (both state institutions and non-state institutions). Two-thirds of the videos included a migrant's voice.

The video includes migrant voices (Yes/No)



*4. Migrant voices in the Tv news*

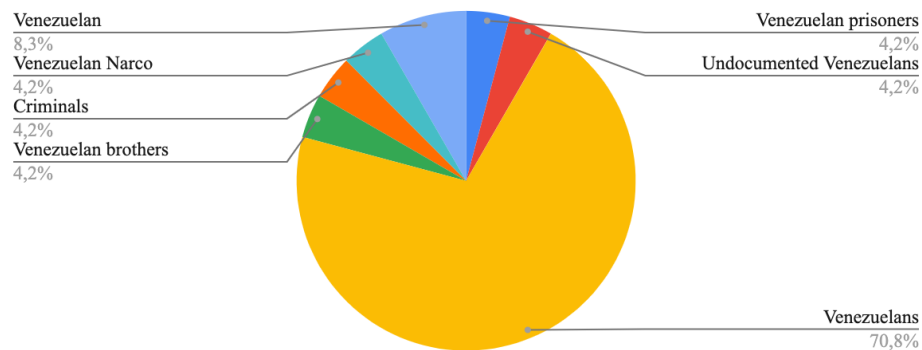
The videos used different words to describe Venezuelan migrants. Of the 58 videos, 75% describe Venezuelans in Colombia as migrants, 29.75% use other words, 6.25% describe a phenomenon, 2.5% describe this population as foreigners, and 2.5% describe them as refugees.



#### 5. Label used in the videos

It is important to specify the words that were used within the “Other word” classification since this classification was the second most frequent with 30%.

#### Words that were used under the label: Other word



#### 6. Words that were used under the label: other word

It was possible to identify that 70% of the videos that used “another word” to describe people of Venezuelan origin living in Colombia, used the word Venezuelan.

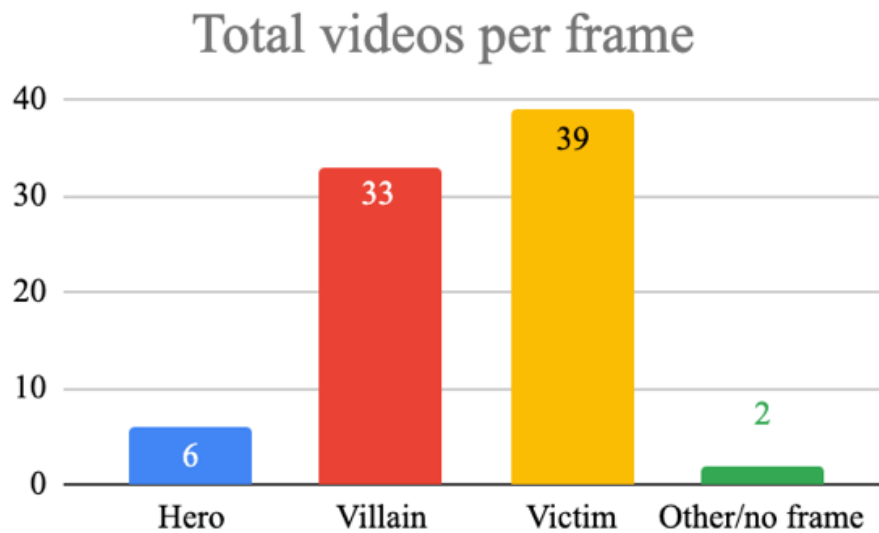


### Frames:

The analysis and classification of the television videos revealed that 48.75% of the videos show Venezuelan migrants as victims, 41.25% as villains, 7.5% as heroes and 2.5% do not belong to any frame.

<i><b>Dominant Frame</b></i>	<b>Total Videos</b>
Hero	6
Other/no frame	2
Victim	39
Villain	33
<b>Suma total</b>	<b>80</b>

*4. Total videos per frame*



*7. Total video per frame*

The following table shows the percentages that were found for each frame and subframe and helps to inform the interpretation of the messages that are being sent.

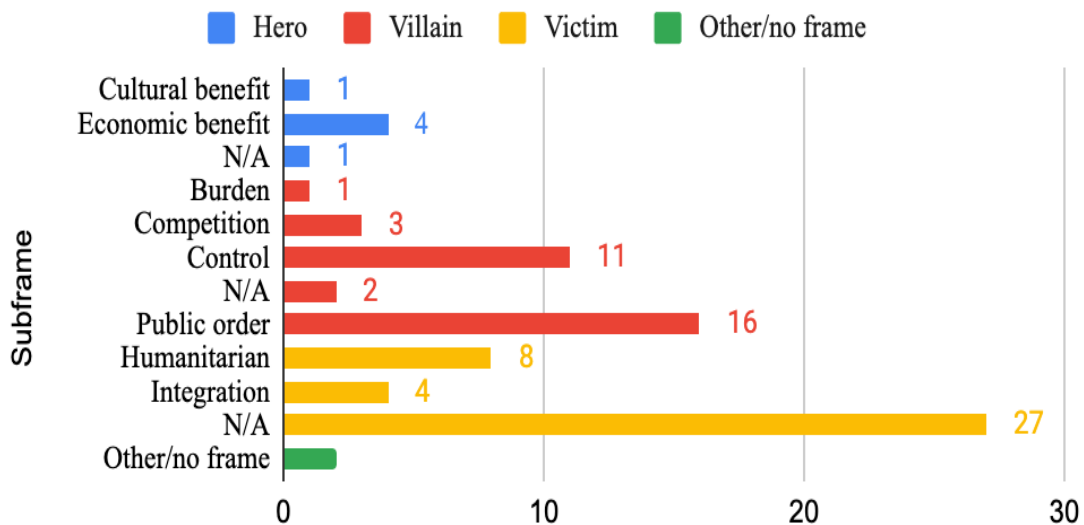
Resume of Dominant frames and Subframes			
<i>Dominant Frame</i>	<i>Subframe</i>	<i>Total Videos</i>	<i>%</i>
Hero	Cultural benefit	1	1,25
	Economic benefit	4	5
	N/A	1	1,25
Total Hero		6	7,5
Other/no frame	N/A	2	2,5
Total Other/no frame		2	2,5
Victim	Humanitarian	8	10
	Integration	4	5
	N/A	27	33,75
Total Victim		39	48,75
Villain	Burden	1	1,25
	Competition	3	3,75
	Control	11	13,75
	N/A	2	2,5
	Public order	16	20
Total Villain		33	41,25
<b>Suma total</b>		<b>80</b>	100

##### 5. Resume of dominant frames and subframes

The messages that are dominant in the narrative offered by television news in Colombia are related to frames that show the migrant as a victim or as a villain in general. It was not possible to classify all the videos within the subframes pre-established by the study “*Victims & Villains migrant voices in the British media*” by Crawley, McMahon, & Jones. Since the information of the videos does not fully conform to the categories defined by the study, these videos were classified with the category (subframe N/A), indicating that it has a defined frame but not a subframe. However, the videos show a distinction between the Venezuelans

who arrive in Colombia within a framework of vulnerability or within a framework of criminality. For example, some of the videos that show the *walkers* (Venezuelan migrants who decide to walk from Venezuela to Colombia, and who because of their economic situation do not have the capacity to pay for transportation), are shown as victims. The videos demonstrate the difficult situations that they must face. However, this type of video does not fit within the framework of victim-humanitarian since there isn't any kind of help offered, nor within victims-integration since it does not show any type of immersion in the new country.

### General classification of frames and sub frames present in the videos



8. General classification of frames and subframes present in the videos

This graph demonstrates that the highest percentages show the Venezuelan migrant within a framework of victim in general (without any defined subframe) at 33.75%, as

victim-humanitarian at 10%, as villains that affect the public order at 20%, as villain-control that show a “phenomenon out of control” at 13.75%, and as a hero-economic frame that activates and cooperates with the Colombian economy at 5%.

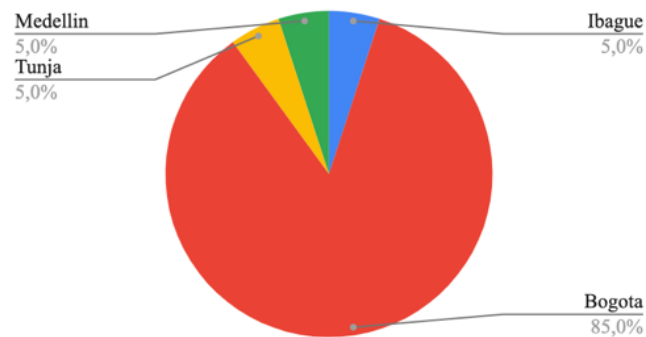
### ***Second part of the investigation: Interview***

The presentation of results will be carried out in the order in which the interview was structured; **1.** General information of the participants related to the city of Bogotá, **2.** Working age, **3.** Opinions regarding the migratory phenomenon, **4.** Media, and **5.** Experiences. Finally, a summary of the narratives that could be found in the interviews (frame classification) will be made. This section will include a summary table with quotes that show some of the messages that were mentioned by the participants regarding their perceptions of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia.

### ***General information of the participants related to the city of Bogotá***

For the second part of this research work, 20 people who are currently residents of the city of Bogotá were interviewed. Of those 20 participants, 17 were born in the city of Bogotá, and the other 3 participants were born in Tunja, Medellín, and Ibagué. All participants are between 19 and 33 years old.

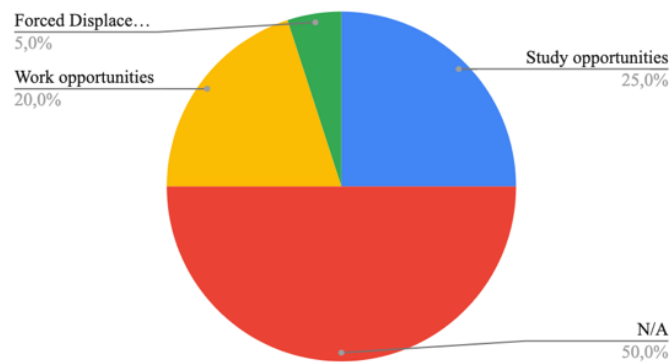
Cities in which the participants were born



*9. Cities in which the participants were born*

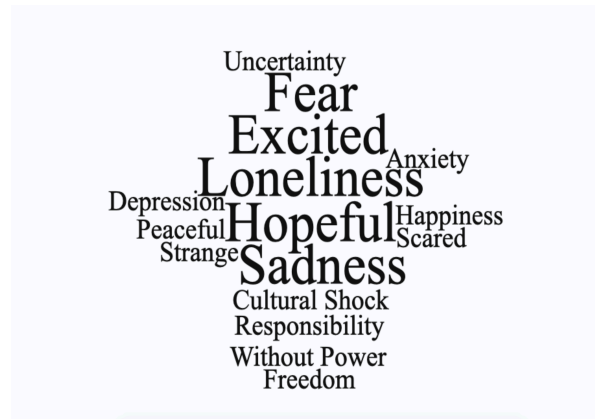
10 of the 20 participants interviewed have lived in a different city (other than Bogotá). People who reported having lived in a different city, had experiences of 1 to 27 years living outside of Bogotá. The population that reported having lived in a different city mentioned that the causes were related to: 50% for study opportunities, 40% for job opportunities and 10% for forced displacement.

Reasons that motivated the decision to move to another city



*10. Reasons that motivated the decision to move to another city*

Half of the interviewees who lived in a different city expressed that when they arrived in the new city, they experienced emotions such as:



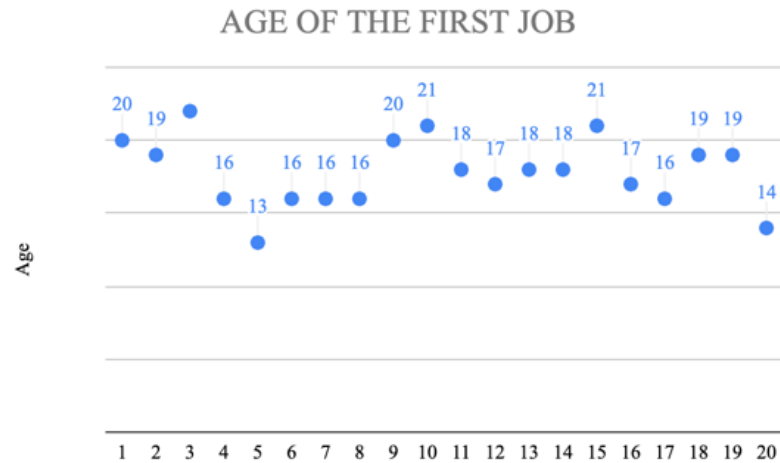
*11. Emotions experienced by participant under a migratory situation*

*Note: Note that word size is associated with the number of times a word was repeated in the interview transcripts.*

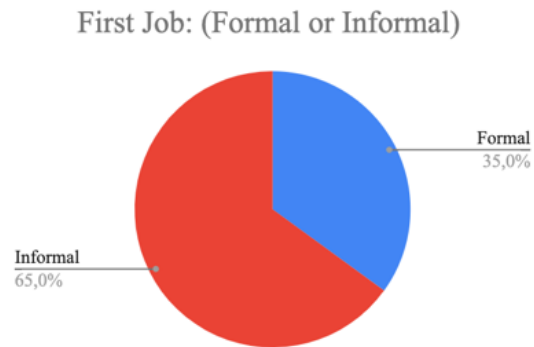
The graph shows that participants who were involved in a migratory situation experienced feeling mostly related to "fear, sadness, loneliness, hope, and excitement." Similarly, the participants mentioned that in their experiences they felt "good and bad things" at the same time. The phrase "mixed feelings" was frequently used to describe the variety of feelings. The future, the expectations of "improvement" (quality of life, better income, opportunities, etc.) were part of the descriptions that the participants mentioned. It should be clarified that a single person who was interviewed faced a situation of forced displacement, and this person said that although he was forced to leave Bogotá, this city gave him the opportunity to build the life he has now.

### Working age

All interviewees reported that they had worked at some time in their life. Currently, 16 people are working, compared to 4 people that reported that they are not working because they are full-time students. All participants reported having obtained their first job between 13 and 21 years old. 8 of the 20 participants worked underage (13 to 17 years old.) Of these 8 participants, only 1 followed the regular process of "issuing work permits for minors." The rest of the interviewees obtained their first job informally without work permit for minors. 13 interviewees reported that their first job was informal, compared to 7 people who were hired under all laws established by the Colombian government. It was evident in the population interviewed that young people mostly have access to informal jobs. 10 of the interviewed participants said they had access to their first informal job because of a family business. Being family businesses, the participants expressed that they did not obtain the work permit since it was not required by their relatives. It should be clarified that to obtain a work permit for minors in Colombia, it is necessary to confirm that the minor is not going to perform any work that is forced or that puts the child at risk. If the employment is informal, it is not possible to verify that the work performed by the minor is consistent and under Colombian laws that seek the protection of the minor. In some situations of informal work by minors, the minor can be involved in child exploitation among other types of vulnerabilities.



*12. Age of the first job*



*13. Type of job (first job)*

All the participants interviewed described the process of finding work in Bogotá as a "complicated" process. All participants used this word to describe a variety of factors that make the process of finding work in Colombia a complex process. Among the reasons that were mentioned to describe this process as "complicated," the interviewees mentioned that wages are very low. They also described working conditions to be "bad." For example, interviewees mentioned long hours of work for little money, types of contracts being

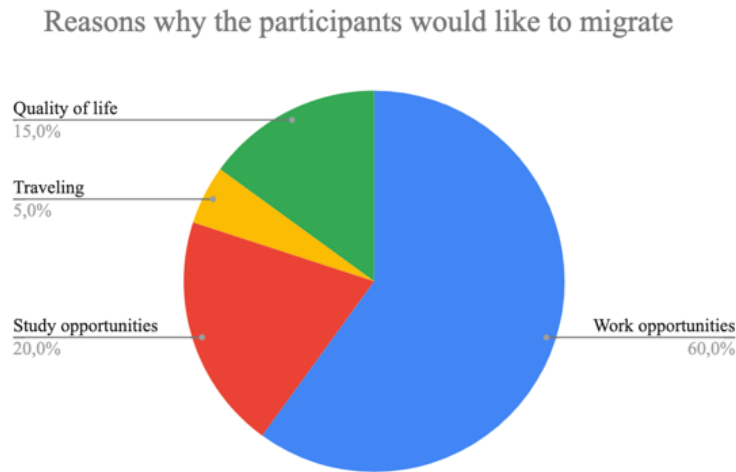


“temporary or hourly” that reduce benefits for the worker - such as the right to have paid annual vacations, demand for work experience even for people who have just graduated, a lot of experience at a young age, few job offers, informality at work, and requiring them to have contacts at work. The following quotes were mentioned by the participants and reflect what they described as “complicated” when it comes to finding work in Colombia:

- “Working conditions, payments, schedules, are bad, are very bad”
- “Contracts that they are now implementing are for "the provision of services." You are not entitled to anything; to have vacation, to get sick, they pay you only for what you work, then it is complicated”
- "I know people who studied psychology at my university who have not yet gotten a job and they are already graduated two or three years ago, others who got a job but don't earn much and have to sacrifice a lot to get some salary"
- “They demand a lot of experience at a young age” “if you don't have experience, they don't hire you” “If you have no experience you get paid less”
- “There is a lot of informality of work within the country and there are no conditions to work well;” “many people who are professional sometimes end up in informal jobs, such as bartenders, as taxi drivers”

With the question: if you had the opportunity to migrate to another country, would you do it? 16 of the people interviewed answered "Yes," and 4 participants answered "Maybe." All of the participants interviewed mentioned some reason why they would like to migrate to another country.

The reasons the people interviewed mentioned that they contemplated the possibility of migrating to another country, if they had the opportunity, were: job opportunities (12 participants), study opportunities (4 participants), quality of life (3 participants), and one person mentioned the opportunity to travel. Regarding job opportunities, participants referred to better wages, better working conditions such as schedules, days off, vacations, medical insurance, etc. Regarding the opportunities for study, participants mentioned that studying abroad is a way to access better job opportunities. In the same way, this was related to the possibility of traveling. Regarding the quality of life, the participants described situations with which they are not satisfied in Colombia, such as public transportation, access to healthcare, access to education, and security.

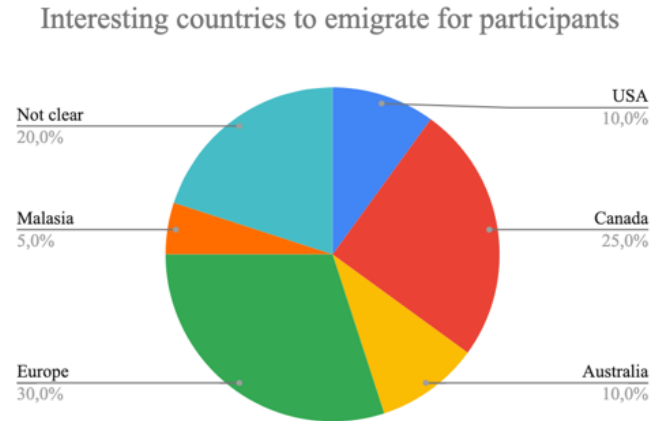


*14. Reasons why the participants would like to migrate*

The following are quotes that reflect some of the reasons why the participants are interested in the possibility of migrating:

- “If I had a chance to study I would, I would like to study and get the chance to know other places”
- "I would like to migrate to first world countries where there are certain guarantees, where people regardless of whether they have a high, medium or low purchasing level are guaranteed basic services such as education, health, housing, transportation, there is a generalized respect for human rights, something that is very different in Latin America”
- “I already had the opportunity to live in another country with many opportunities such as the USA, unfortunately in Colombia we have a lack of opportunities for professionals therefore there are some countries in my interest like Canada that offer better opportunities for professionals and additionally a very high quality of life in which people can live better.”

Among the countries of interest mentioned by the participants are countries such as Europe, Canada, Australia, USA, and Malaysia.



#### *15. Interesting countries to emigrate for participants*

It should be specified that the people who responded "maybe" were people who described their current employment / economic situation as stable, and who considered the possibility of living in a different city or country only if this means "a situation much better than the current one." These people described that they feel happy in their current job, that they consider themselves to have a good salary, and adequate working conditions such as: defined schedules, weekends off, and the right to annual vacations, among others. For this reason, they clarified that they would only migrate if there is a possibility of work under conditions that imply guarantees that exceed and improve their current conditions. On the other hand, the participants explained the reasons why they have not made the decision to migrate. Within these reasons, family factors, economic, academic (currently studying professional), and the need to have a defined plan were named. The following are some of the responses that participants mentioned:

- "Something personal like not leaving my parents alone"
- "My idea is to leave as a professional, but it is a slightly longer process"
- "I want to finish my degree first"
- "I cannot go without anything, I am an engineer and I want to do it as a profession elsewhere"

### *Opinions regarding the migration phenomenon*

Within this category, questions were asked that sought to explore the opinions of the participants regarding migration in general. Subsequently, the specific case between Colombia and Venezuela was discussed. Specifically, the case of Bogotá and changes that the participants perceived within the city due to the massive arrival of Venezuelan migrants were discussed. Finally, participants were asked to think of Venezuela's current situation. This last question was followed by an exploration of the types of sources that these people use to acquire information.

### *Opinions of the participants regarding migration in general*

When I asked about what participants think about migration in general, their answers largely reflected a positive framework. It should be clarified that this question was asked after asking if the participant would like to migrate, a question in which 100% of the population mentioned some kind of positive reason to migrate. However, when the specific case of Colombia was discussed as a host country, the responses varied mostly within the framework of a negative narrative, referring to frames portraying the migrant as a villain or

victim and that are evidenced in complex social dynamics such as xenophobia, or apoorophobia.

Migration as a phenomenon in general was described by the participants as: a human right, something necessary, an alternative to improve life, something that is part of human nature, as a search for a better lifestyle, a way to experience new possibilities and opportunities, something good, as a phenomenon that involves people and families with stories, and some participants named the distinction between voluntarily migrating or forced migration. Regarding voluntary migration, ideal situations were described, where the migrant has the possibility to choose and migrate with guarantees of improvement for their life. On the other hand, forced migration was related to survival factors, violation of human rights, fear and sense of danger. The following quotes are some of the answers that participants mentioned:

- "Migration is a subject of human nature. When there are humans, the migration process is generated"
- "When we talk about migration, I only think of people, families, children and quality of life. Migration is not just that people move from one place to another, people leave with traditional thoughts with a giant set of things"
- "There are two ways to migrate, the first one migrates with hope, thinking of some improvement conditions and another is to migrate with fear"
- "Migration is a human right"

### Colombia as host country

In the case of Colombia as a host country, participants described that they feel that Colombia is not prepared to be a host country. 18 of respondents mentioned that they feel there is a lack of control in Colombia regarding migration. These 18 respondents said that, "there is no control at the borders" and that, "anyone can enter the country." The participants perceived the migration phenomenon in Colombia as something that is uncontrolled, and that it has brought social, and economic consequences. Participants spoke of Colombia as a country "that is not doing well economically and that Colombia is a country that cannot even support its own citizens, and necessities." 12 participants mentioned that Colombia should prioritize its internal problems such as poverty and food shortages in some regions, before becoming a host country that helps migrants. 12 participants mentioned that "Colombian citizens should be first before a migrant", referring to the types of aid that are offered by the Colombian government to migrants. The participants perceived that Colombia does not have the economic or legal strategies to guarantee a migratory process. Some of the answers given by the participants were:

- "There are not enough policies to know what Colombia is going to do with the migrants and especially what the country is going to do to make the migrants productive."
- "Well, Colombia can't support its own citizens, much less with those outside"
- "Colombia has given more attention to them than to the people here in Colombia"
- "It is difficult to welcome other people who come looking for opportunities when there are not even enough opportunities for people here"

- "The refugee law in Colombia is very poorly designed just like the immigration law, apart from that we do not have a legal system or a social system to support the process of migration"

This question exposed narrative frameworks that relate the migrant to a villain. Many of the interviewees described the migrants within the framework of burden frame, competition frame, control frame, and public order frame. The answers showed that for Colombians, the migration phenomenon implies multiple efforts for Colombia at the monetary, public, social, and security level. Participants mentioned that the lack of border control increased insecurity and gave examples such as increased theft in the city. The participants related the massive arrival of people with the reduction of opportunities and in this case in particular, the migrant was related to the alteration of public order.

*Note: This interview was conducted in a period of time where Colombians were in an indefinite national strike. During the protests, Venezuelan migrants were accused of the alteration of public order. 15 participants mentioned the national strike on November 22nd, 2019 and some kind of relationship with migrants and their participation in the national strike.*



### Changes perceived by participants in the city of Bogotá

Participants mentioned changes in the city of Bogotá as a result of the massive migration of Venezuelans. The following image includes the changes that the participants mentioned regarding the arrival of Venezuelan migrants to Bogotá:



#### *16. Changes perceived by Colombian citizens regarding the arrival of Venezuelan emigrants to Bogotá*

During the arrival of Venezuelan migrants to the capital, the participants mostly perceived changes related to security. These changes included an increase in begging and child labor, a reduction in job opportunities for Colombians, along with the deterioration of current working conditions, an increase in informality at work, informal sales on the streets, an increase in population, and a deterioration of the city were mentioned. On the other hand, there were innovative responses. One of the participants mentioned that the migration phenomenon “increased the number of flags in the city” and specifically that the migration phenomenon promoted nationalism, the participant clarified that this did not happen before. Another participant mentioned that “the conversations changed.” The participant made reference that in the past there was never common conversation about Venezuelans in Colombia, but now, "no matter where or when, the subject is always about Venezuelans."

Another participant mentioned that what exists is a psychological change rather than a purely physical one. "This is a new situation that is forcing people to change their way of thinking." Especially in this part of the interviews, it was possible to identify from Social identity theory how the new identity boundaries around nationality have been developing and are more salient, and how these new limits are activating negative out-group views. Again, this question reflects the same type of narratives that describe and relate the migrant to a villain. However, this question also allowed for narratives to be revealed that classify the migrant as a victim and a person in a situation of vulnerability, where the migrant was related to poverty, begging, and child exploitation

*Participants' perceptions about the current Venezuelan situation and the sources that participants use to obtain information on the subject*

In this part of the interview, participants mentioned that there are different factors that have led Venezuela to the current situation. The factors that were mentioned by the participants involved three groups of responses: First was the relationship of the Venezuelan economic crisis with an economy based on the exploitation of natural resources such as oil. Second, a crisis in democracy that has led to the violation of human rights was mentioned. Third, they mentioned the phenomenon of an apparent "lack of empowerment" which refers to power dynamics where Venezuelan citizens "allowed" the government to reach the current situation. The participants talked about the shortage of food, medicines, and the deterioration of services as the last social manifestation that forced Venezuelans to emigrate for survival. These are some of the answers given by the participants:

- "Not just Venezuela, but at a Latin America level, we are suffering a crisis in democracy, that crisis in democracy is represented in authoritarian forms that is represented in forms of excessive concentration of power"
- "Venezuela cannot be conceived as a democracy, it is a dictatorship that is being supported by a minority, the people of Venezuela are in a situation of high vulnerability"
- "There is something that is not negotiated in life, they are Human Rights, they are rights that are being violated because the government is installed as a dictatorship"
- "The people allowed the government to have the power they have now." "There is no intervention or something that really tries to change things"

The following image reflects the sources that participants use to acquire the information, among these are:



*17. Sources for obtaining information*

### Media

Previously, participants mentioned the different ways they obtain information and television news. This part of the interview reflects the perspective that participants have

regarding local television news. However, the answers obtained in this section were unexpected. All of the participants said they do not trust the information provided by local television news in Colombia. The participants argued that television news in Colombia is influenced by political aspects, and that depending on who is telling the story, the information will be delivered in different ways (type of channel, type of political support, theme).

Participants were asked to choose two words to describe the information that television news sent to Colombians and highlighted words such as: Convenient, sensationalist, opportunist, polarized, biased, uniformed, harassing, deft, and low quality.



*18. Words used by the participants to describe the information that television news sent to Colombians*

18 of the participants named a specific news channel that they watch, clarifying that they are equally cautious with the information they receive and that they do not trust the information at all. They specified that they prefer to follow alternative media or international news. The other 2 participants did not name any TV news stations of preference but clarified that there are spaces such as restaurants where at lunchtime they have access to any of the

local news. Four local news channels were mentioned by the participants: City TV, Noticias Uno, RCN, and Noticias Caracol.

According to the news that the participants have seen about the migration of Venezuelans, they were asked: How do television news channels show Venezuelans in Colombia? 16 of the participants mentioned that they identify the information presented about Venezuelans in the television news within a framework of victims and villains. Two of the participants classified the messages that the local news of Colombia deliver to the population only as villains, and the other two participants only as victims. To describe this information, the participants used mostly examples. Here are some of the answers obtained by the participants:

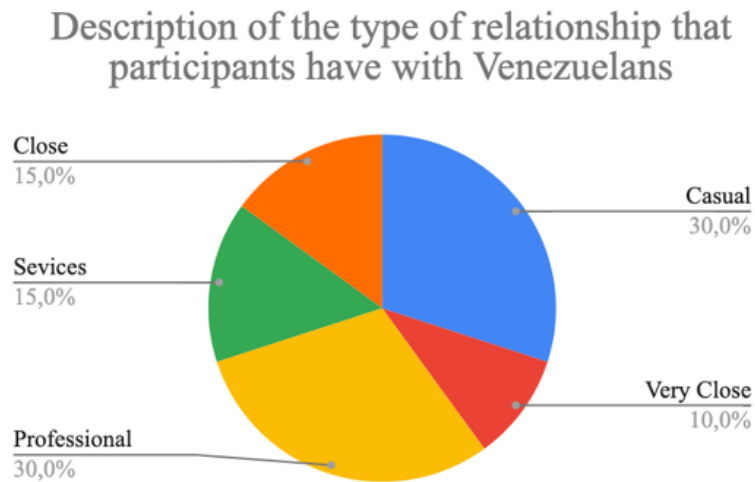
Frame	Example
<b>Victim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "I think the TV news wants to cause pity, they show Venezuela starving as a country that is going through a bad situation and the TV news just want us to see poor people"</li> <li>• "The TV news shows Venezuelans as people who need something"</li> <li>• "They also obviously show that the Colombian government helps them too much"</li> <li>• "The TV news show them like people with low resources which makes them look poor"</li> </ul>
<b>Villain</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "For example, you can see on TV news a story like this: "person is attacked by Venezuelans and is stabbed""</li> <li>• "For example, it seems a story with a headline that says: "Venezuelans are being paid to commit crimes or to go through vandals in a protest""</li> <li>• "You see in the TV news, "so many Venezuelans committed these crimes""</li> <li>• "You see in the TV news, for example: "today so many Venezuelans were deported for being caught stealing""</li> <li>• "Now there is only news of Venezuelans who got on the bus to steal"</li> <li>• "TV news generally shows Venezuelans as people who are under the margin of the law"</li> </ul>

*6. Examples that the participants used to describe  
the types of messages that the local news of Colombia delivers*

With the examples that the participants mentioned, it was possible to identify messages that project frameworks of victimization and criminalization of the migratory phenomenon.

### Experiences

This part of the interview sought to explore the direct experiences that the interview participants have had with Venezuelans. Participants were asked if they knew any Venezuelan who lived in the city of Bogotá. All the participants answered yes. All participants have had a type of contact with Venezuelans. Subsequently, they were asked about the type of relationship they have with Venezuelans. Among the answers that were obtained, the participants described relationships of type: 1. Professional, where they explained having worked with a Venezuelan immigrant. 2. Casual, where they expressed having had some kind of contact with Venezuelans, in a daily context; for example, buying candy on the bus. 3. Services, where they clarified that they have obtained some type of service from a Venezuelan immigrant and for which they have paid; For example, 8 participants reported to have had an experience with Venezuelans related to beauty spaces such as nail salons, salons, and barbershops. These people gave anecdotal testimonies from their contact experience. 4. Close, where relations of friendship and closeness with the migrant were described and 5., very close, where cordial, friendly relations were described, and emphasized the duration of the friendly bond.



*19. Description of the type of relationship that participants have with Venezuelans*

In this same category, participants were asked if they remembered any kind of anecdote or stories with Venezuelans. Two people responded that they had no specific anecdote to remember that had impacted them. 18 of the participants shared a story with a Venezuelan immigrant. It should be clarified that in this question it was the only part of the interview that evidenced a different type of frame from that of the victim and villain (referring or describing the Venezuelan migrant). In this question it was possible to show that 7 of the participants shared an anecdote where the Venezuelan migrant was categorized as a hero. This suggests that direct contact allows a different view of the migrant. The following chart contains examples of the type of stories that were collected in the interview.

Frame	Example Anecdote
<b>Victim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“I saw something very sad; a Venezuelan was asking for money on a bus. Someone gave him a box and the Venezuelan were very grateful and thought it was food ... When he opened it, the box was full of chicken bones. I think this is a situation that offends and degrades the self-esteem of that person. I never thought that someone could offend them that way. Of course this person just cried”</li> </ul>
<b>Villain</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“In the Transmilenio a Venezuelan tried to rob me, I don't know what he wanted to get out of my backpack. He didn't steal anything, but it was because I realized he was putting his hand in my backpack. I yelled "hey, you should work or do something" this is how they make people feel xenophobia</li> </ul>
<b>Hero</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"I know a Venezuelan girl, she is a doctor like me. We work in the same hospital. The way she treats patients is unique. She is a very understanding, professional and very good person. She seems to see her family in each one of the patients and that is very beautiful. I think she represents the majority of Venezuelans"</li> </ul>

### *7. Examples of the types of stories that were collected in the interview*

Note: The meaning of this table will be deepened in the next section, Analysis of the results.

To conclude this category of information, participants were asked if they know anything about the immigration laws of Colombia. 18 of the participants reported not being familiar with immigration laws or the types of requirements that migrants need to enter and / or to stay in Colombia. Two people reported being familiar with immigration laws. One of these people is a human rights lawyer who works with Venezuelan migrants in the city of Bogotá, and the other person practices psychology and is familiar with the processes of hiring migrants. For this reason, the participant knows the requirements, and processes related to work permit. Ten of those interviewed mentioned that they have heard on television some of the requirements that migrants need to enter Colombia but clarified that they are not sure of the origin of this information. Within this category the participants said that they have heard that migrants: need a passport, visas, and a work permit, that if they break the law they can be deported, and that now, children born in Colombia could have Colombian nationality.



***Summary of the narratives that were found in the interviews (frame classification)***

To finalize the presentation of results, a general analysis of the types of dominant narratives that could be found in each interview was carried out. Each of the participants during the interview gave examples, opinions, experiences, personal experiences, and perceptions that describe their own thoughts regarding the migration of Venezuelans. All participants included some type of frame to describe the Venezuelan migrant. Nine of the participants showed three types of narratives (victim, villain, hero). Eight of the participants showed only two types of frame (victim and villain). Three of the participants referred to Venezuelan migrants only in a victim framework.

All of the interviews included a description of the Venezuelan migrant within a victim framework. The types of vulnerabilities that this population has, was evidenced by all interview participants. Secondly, as a dominant narrative, 17 of the interviews included a frame of villains. In this type of frame, it is possible to find examples where the participants describe Venezuelans as threats to the host country. Finally, 9 of the interviews provided narratives that speak of the Venezuelan emigrant as a hero. It is important to mention that positive close experiences with Venezuelans allowed a different framework of description to appear.

The following chart shows the types of frames identified in each interview.

# Inter	Frames		
1	Victim	Villain	Hero
2	Victim	Villain	N/A
3	Victim	Villain	Hero
4	Victim	Villain	Hero
5	Victim	Villain	Hero
6	Victim	Villain	Hero
7	Victim	N/A	N/A
8	Victim	Villain	Hero
9	Victim	N/A	N/A
10	Victim	Villain	N/A
11	Victim	Villain	N/A
12	Victim	Villain	N/A
13	Victim	Villain	Hero
14	Victim	Villain	N/A
15	Victim	N/A	N/A
16	Victim	Villain	N/A
17	Victim	Villain	N/A
18	Victim	Villain	Hero
19	Victim	Villain	Hero
20	Victim	Villain	N/A

*8. Types of frame identified in each interview*

#### **4.2. Analysis of the results**

The results that were found include multiple characteristics of the theories that were chosen to support this work. The results showed similar characteristics at the theoretical and empirical level that provide a better understanding of the formation of migration discourses in Colombia as a relatively new phenomenon. The analysis of results includes the interpretations and links that can be established with the theory after the tabulation of the data. This analysis will be carried out in two parts: The first part includes a general analysis

of the videos collected, taking up the types of dominant narratives found in the stories, and directly relates them to relevant theoretical aspects. Second, it includes a general analysis of the interviews. This part of the analysis provides an interpretative notion of the reasons why participants say what they say in the interviews. In the same way, this analysis includes relevant characteristics that were found in the two types of data (TV news and interviews) and that offer a social interpretation from the theories postulated in the theoretical framework. To conclude this analysis of the results, I identify similarities and differences between the dominant narratives that the two types of data offered. This responds to the last specific objective established in Chapter 1.

***First part: General analysis of the videos***

The collected videos showed that the highest number of television news stories that talked about Venezuelan migrants was given during 2018; a year in which there was a Colombian presidential election between a left-wing candidate, Gustavo Petro, and a right-wing candidate, Iván Duque. As explained in Chapter 2, Theoretical framework, part of the political strategy that Iván Duque carried out was to emphasize a threat to Colombians related to the possible consequences that a socialist government would bring to Colombia. Duque, with his popular phrase "we are not going to become another Venezuela," emphasized the role of Venezuelan migrants as victims of their state. This was supported by the data that was found, since more than half of the videos from 2018 framed the migrants as victims. The videos contain a wide range of narratives which, from the theory of securitization, reflect political securitization moves. For example, some of the videos include

military images where the Venezuelan government restricts protests in a hostile way. These videos include people injured, some from the use of tear gas. On the other hand, the most common TV news channels highlight the testimony of ‘walking migrants’ (Venezuelan migrants who cannot afford transportation because of their economic situation and decide to walk from Venezuela to Colombia). These stories reflect a particular victim framework where there is no intention of helping in a humanitarian way or integrating the migrant. What these stories offer is the inclusion of the voice of the migrant as a real testimony of the reasons why migrants seek to leave the country. These stories can contribute to a more empathetic and inclusive framework in the host country for a short period of time as was explained by Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016)

Another important feature included in these videos is that they highlight how the Venezuelan state cannot meet the basic needs of its citizens, such as the provision of food. From a human security perspective, food security has a big impact on the population. According to Andersen, D., & Crawford, K. (2018) “Food is essential to life. Without food, or with insufficient quantities of food, an individual loses the ability to work, learn, participate in social and political life, fend off disease, or flee natural disasters or organized violence. ” (p.233) This is the reality that President Duque uses to support his statement, "We will not become another Venezuela." This message constantly reinforces the possible threats that could occur in Colombia under a socialist government where food shortages, from a human security perspective, have had irreversible consequences.

Note: It is necessary to clarify that when I speak of the possible threats that could occur under a socialist government, I am referring to some of the characteristics portrayed in the discourse of Iván Duque during his political campaign in 2018.

In this section, it is important to remember that 87.5% of the videos named only state actors. This reflects that state actors are the ones who are mostly sharing a message about migration through the media. In my perspective, it is curious to find that only 21.3% of the stories include a non-state entity, since worldwide organizations such as UNHCR have consistently supported the migration phenomenon in Colombia. Although the voices of the migrants were included in 67.5% of the collected videos, these videos mostly used their voices to expose their vulnerabilities; especially in the videos of walkers, where Venezuelans speak of suffering, hunger and agony after walking 877 kilometers from Venezuela to Bogotá. Although the migrant's voice is included in more than half of the videos, the spaces where the migrant's voice is incorporated are shaped by the specific message that the broadcaster (usually a state actor) wants to share.

These stories speak of events that mostly took place in the city of Bogotá and Cucuta, the cities that according to Migración Colombia, have the highest statistics of Venezuelan migrants. Consequently, Colombian citizens who are residents of these areas have a higher probability of contact with the migrant population.

Unlike countries such as Peru, or Ecuador, Colombia does not have a humanitarian or tourist visa for Venezuelans. In Colombia, temporary permits have been issued to regulate the migratory situation of Venezuelan migrants on a temporary basis. The permits are issued for two years and it is possible to extend them for two more years. From my personal

perspective, Colombia is handling the migration of Venezuelans as something temporary, although there are no guarantees that in the next few years, the economic and political situation in Venezuela will improve and guarantee a safe return for its displaced population abroad.

To end this section of the analysis, it is important to remember that the dominant narratives in the local television news in Colombia framed the migrant mostly as a victim with 48.75% of the stories. 41.25% of the stories marked them as villains and only 7.5% as heroes. The integration of the migrant in the host country depends largely on the way in which the member of a group different from the in-group is perceived. If the migrant is constantly related to need, poverty, and illness (victim frames) in a host country, this implies that different resources must be distributed to meet the basic needs of the migrant. This point will be explained and deepened within the results found in the perceptions of Colombian citizens regarding migration, in an effort to stipulate the possible consequences of a relationship between the in-group and the out-group, when there is conflict over the distribution of resources within an underdeveloped country.

### ***Second part: General analysis of the interviews***

The interviews were a rich information base to understand the reasons why the Colombian government's assistance towards migrants has been questioned by Colombian citizens. The interviews offered many details, including: the ages in which the participants first joined the workforce, the notions that they have regarding access to work, opinions regarding migration in general, opinions regarding the migration of Venezuelans in

Colombia, notions of what happens in Venezuela, differences due to the massive arrival of Venezuelans to the country, and the experiences they have had from direct contact with the Venezuelan population.

The interviews in general showed a high level of acceptance of the idea of migrating. The entire population that was interviewed mentioned that they would contemplate the possibility of migrating. All participants named reasons to migrate that show opportunities to improve their current lives. All participants expressed that they consider developed countries such as the USA, Spain, Germany, Australia, among others to migrate. They mention that these countries have guarantees of human rights and quality of life that Colombia does not have. All participants contemplate this migratory idea from the perspective of their own decision and life improvement, migration was never mentioned in reference to a situation of forced displacement. Participants highlighted the complexity of migrating. Half of the interviewees already had experience living in cities other than Bogotá, within the country or abroad. The exhaustive migratory requirements that are demanded from Colombians to migrate to developed countries like the USA were manifested in the talks.

On the other hand, when they were specifically asked about the current situation of Colombia as a host country, the answers were not the same. All participants mentioned that Colombia has no control of the migration phenomenon. Twelve of those interviewed mentioned that Colombia should first address its internal situations (poverty, hunger, health) before offering help in these aspects to migrants. The meaning of control established by the participants was compared with the personal experiences of migrants regarding the requirements that a Colombian has to meet abroad to obtain immigration status in a

developed country. In my perspective, this is an anachronistic and decontextualized comparison since Colombia is an underdeveloped country and could not demand the same types of requirements that are requested by developed countries. However, it is clear that this reciprocal expectation is a source of the tension that the participants have related to the meaning of control. Under the migratory experiences reported by the participants, all mentioned the rigor of the requirements requested by the host countries, among them, being economic solvency. They clarified that if these requirements are not met there is no possibility of entering those developed countries. For this reason, participants use a very popular phrase in the interviews: “In Colombia, everyone can enter” reflecting the notion of a lack of control they perceive regarding migration policies in Colombia. These narratives shared by migrants are related to dynamics of belonging and negotiation, and who deserves the help first. It should be remembered that later, 18 of the interviewed participants mentioned that they do not have any knowledge about the immigration law in Colombia or about the requirements that are necessary to enter Colombia. This will be addressed later in the recommendations section but it is important to mention that Colombia does impose a series of requirements for people who wish to enter the Colombian territory and much more stringent requirements including a visa system if migrant intentions involve long stays, or application to the Colombian residency.

The characteristics mentioned above regarding the opinion that participants have regarding migration give details of why the migration of Venezuelans in Colombia has been questioned by citizens. First of all, it was clear that Colombian citizens are not satisfied with social aspects such as mobility, public transport, health systems, poverty, and access to work,



among others. It was possible to recognize that these were some of the reasons why they would like to migrate to developed countries that provide guarantees regarding a better quality of life. From my interpretation, Colombians do not reject the idea of migration but reject the lack of diligence that the Colombian state has had during more than 50 years of internal armed conflict with its citizens. Violent social situations compromised vital aspects for Colombians such as security and access to social services. After the signing of the peace agreement, expectations of quality of life improvement were high. Part of the expectations of the peace agreement involved the design of a return plan for Colombians currently living abroad. However, social circumstances along with the mass migration of Venezuelans has prevented this from improving. The Colombians interviewed said that it is a positive thing that the state helps Venezuelans, but simultaneously mentioned that with the same urgency the state should provide internal solutions for nationals in vulnerable situations. The competition for resources between the in-group and the out-group is clear. From contact theory, situations that involve a state of competition between different groups foster stereotypes and prejudices and make integration difficult. If migration is viewed as a competition for resources, this reflects and explains why migrants are being framed as villains and victims mainly. In the same way, Colombian citizens that were interviewed perceive migration as an opportunity to improve quality of life, and for them there are no such guarantees in a country like Colombia.

Informality at work and access to work were points of concern for respondents. Thirteen of the interviewees had informal jobs in the past and all described the process of finding work in Colombia as a complicated process for different reasons that were explained in the

presentation of results. In this particular case of access to work, another point of competition was identified with the Venezuelan population. Colombians identify and perceive that Venezuelan migrants are qualified people, many of them professionals, and show concern about access to local (formal and informal) jobs in the country for migrants. Migration can be seen as a competition where migrants are villains who take the jobs of locals (villain frame / competition) or can be seen as a way to activate the economy (hero-economic frame). Migrants under social circumstances that guarantee opportunities, have the power to cooperate with the local economy. However, this depends on the way in which the phenomenon is approached. In the case of Colombia, the frames that dominate the migratory discourse are focused on framing the migrant within the framework of need (victims) and threat, such as villains. The frames that highlight the positive characteristics and abilities of migrants could cooperate with the fight against stereotypes from contact theory.

Recall that, the contact theory, Allport's hypothesis, states that if the social environment meets four conditions, (have equal status, personal interaction, cooperative activities, and the creation of social norms that favor racial harmony) this could result in a reduction of stereotypes and prejudices towards the out-group. This was possible to show in the interviews. The Colombians that were interviewed named some anecdotes and close experiences with Venezuelan migrants. 7 of those interviewed mentioned personal anecdotes with migrants and framed them as heroes. *Table 8: Examples of some of the different frames present in the interviews*, shows how personal experiences allow the Colombian citizen to interact with the migrant under optimal social conditions and think differently about them. These participants also mentioned frames of villains regarding the increase in insecurity and

frames of victims linking migration with poverty; these were spoken about at a general level, referring to Venezuelans as a phenomenon or a group. However, under direct contact that followed the conditions stipulated by the theory, the answers were consistent with the hypothesis of contact. Even one of the participants mentioned after the anecdote, that “probably the way my Venezuelan friend is, is probably the way that all Venezuelans are.”

# Interview	Victim Frame Example	Villain Frame Example	Hero Frame Example
1	"There are many entities of the Colombian state that help them, where they can get food and help for the children"	"There are so many Venezuelans in Colombia and it means that Colombians have fewer opportunities. In Colombia there is no filter, whoever wants to enter to Colombia can do it"	"My manicurist is Venezuelan, she is super good! She works very hard, she does her job very well, she strives to achieve these things. She has two kids and works so hard because of them"
2	"We have helped Venezuelans a lot with clothes and food. They had to leave their country because of what is happening."	"Migration in Colombia has increased crime, has greatly influenced employment for Colombians, at the borders there are no filters"	"I know a Venezuelan girl, she is a doctor like me. We works in the same hospital. The way she treats patients is unique. She is a very understanding, professional and very good person. She seems to see her family in each one of the patients and that is very beautiful. I think she represents the majority of Venezuelans"

*9: Examples of some of the different frames present in the interviews*

Finally, I want to include the analysis of an extra question that was asked during the interview. This question was not originally planned to be included in the results of this work. However, after the constant persistence of the participants naming characteristics and aspects of the identity of Venezuelans, I decided to ask them to describe Colombians and then describe Venezuelans. Four participants said that they could not describe a Venezuelan or a Colombian since they are very diverse populations. However, the rest of the participants provided some kind of description. The next two figures show the words that the participants used to describe the Colombians and Venezuelans.

These descriptions are endowed with mostly positive aspects for the description of the in-group (Colombian citizens). On the other hand, it was evident that negative adjectives were mostly used to describe the out-group (Venezuelan migrants). It is possible to identify how the positive aspects of a Colombian's identity are highlighted as they are the ones telling the story, and it is possible to recognize that as being the in-group, it is difficult to mention negative aspects of the group to which they belong.



20. Descriptions of Colombians Vs. Descriptions of Venezuelans

With respect to the descriptions obtained about Venezuelans, mostly negative aspects were mentioned, and are linked in general to poverty, begging, and need. However, it should be mentioned that people who reported close, direct and quality contact with a Venezuelan immigrant also named positive characteristics of the out-group.

This example gathers and evidences aspects of most of the theories covered in the theoretical framework, which included, group membership negotiations, identity negotiations between members of different groups, and identity distinctions between groups. These quality interactions can reduce stereotypes and prejudices.

Finally, this data helps to understand that the type of dominant narratives that have been developed in the Colombian context regarding migration have deep social concerns at the

level of structural violence. It is possible to identify in the conducted interviews that the idea regarding migration is accepted by these citizens. However, the concerns about Colombia as a host country are around the social situation of inequality that Colombia always has had. Dominant narratives show that the Colombians that were interviewed perceive that the Colombian context has very deep social needs, such as, high levels of poverty, growth in the unemployment rate, food and water shortages in specific places like Chocó, problems that were emphasized in multiple interviews. These examples correspond and represent the structural violence that participants perceive and live in their context. The narratives of the participants helped me to understand that they do not reject the idea of migration, but that they reject the way in which the government makes decisions regarding the migration phenomenon. The participants expressed feeling vulnerable and as victims in their own territory when their basic needs, as they expressed, are not taken into account. State actors, since 2018, have consistently framed the migrant as a victim or as a villain, in the media. This framing, in the long term, has generated a collective rejection of Colombian citizens towards migrants related to poverty. The migrant has been directly associated with poverty (people in need), and this has turned into a concern related to the distribution of resources and the way in which the basic needs of the population in the Colombian territory are supplied. Consequently, a state of intergroup competition has been established by the characteristics of inequality that the Colombian territory possesses.

### 4.3. Discussion

The two data sources that were created and analyzed (database TV videos, interviews) allowed the identification of relevant characteristics regarding the content of the migratory discourse in Colombia. This process allowed me to describe and analyze the type of dominant narratives present in the local television news and in the opinions of the 20 people interviewed.

The results of this research are related and similar in some aspects to the article “Victims & Villains migrant voices in the British media” by Crawley, McMahon, & Jones. The data in this article showed concern about the way in which the media reports and frames the migrants. The present work reflected through the interviews that the participants do not trust the information that the media transmits about migrants. In the same way, the participants detected and described that the press categorizes migrants as a threat to Colombians or as victims. These results are congruent with the study mentioned above.

Unlike the article "Victims & Villains migrant voices in the British media" by Crawley, McMahon, & Jones, where it was reported that 85% of the stories do not include any type of migrant voice, in the results of the stories on local Colombian television, only 32.5% of the stories did not include the voice of the migrant. This percentage shows that Colombian television news is including the voice of the migrant 67.5% of the time, a representative percentage compared to the British study. In a social context, the inclusion of the migrant's voice could generate an expression channel to share the migrant's stories and perspectives. On the other hand, Crawley, McMahon, & Jones mention in their article that the stories that show the migrant as a victim, generate “a more empathetic and compassionate migratory

narrative” (p.44) However, they clarify that this works only for short periods of time. It is necessary to remember that the data showed that local TV news in Colombia has been framing the migrant as a victim since 2018. The results in the present study evidenced feelings of rejection of the narrative that shows the migrant as a victim involved in a situation of begging, and poverty. Participants believed that a massive number of migrants in a situation of vulnerability could mean more challenges for an underdeveloped country like Colombia, which has very deep social problems.

On the other hand, the article Words of (un) welcome: securitization and migration speeches in the Ecuadorian media (Pugh. J., and Moya. J. 2019) offers a look at the interpretation of the contents of the narrative discourses in a closer context, Latin America. Some similarities were found: The Pugh. J., and Moya. J. 2019 article offered the analysis of more than 100 television news articles, analyzed under the Crawley, McMahon, & Jones approach. The results of this article were similar to the present thesis. The findings in both papers show the same dominant frames. The migrants are portrayed mostly as victims, then, the villain frame is the second most relevant. Both papers also show that the voice of the migrants was included in the stories. The dominant presence of state actors in the stories was relevant for both papers.

One of the differences that was possible to establish between these two works was related to the role of state actors in migration securitization. For the Colombian case, it was possible to recognize a securitizing move, related to the way in which the migrants were framed strategically as victims during the presidential election of 2018 by Ivan Duque. Even when

Duque's strategy worked out to win the elections, currently his actions and decisions around the migratory phenomenon have been contested by Colombian citizens.

Another notable difference occurs in the nature of the data. The article by Pugh & Moya. 2019, obtained public opinions through tweets, unlike the present work that obtained public opinions with interviews. The tweets that were analyzed in the article by Pugh & Moya. 2019, provided the possibility of identifying public opinions through reactionary discourse in a specific case of violence involving a Venezuelan criminal stabbing a pregnant woman in the streets of Ecuador. This case unleashed aggressive and xenophobic narratives in the Ecuadorian context towards Venezuelan migrants in general. In the case of the present work, the qualitative data was analyzed with a different approach. The interviews conducted allowed me to recognize subjective opinions regarding the perception of the migration of Venezuelans in general. The nature of this data allowed me to identify that the 20 participants did not express xenophobic speeches as evidenced by the article's tweets (Pugh & Moya 2019). However, although no xenophobic dominant narratives were evident, it was possible to identify other particular aspects that are manifested in acts of rejection towards migrants, on different grounds. It is clear that the article by Pugh & Moya. 2019, shows how a specific migratory discourse is triggered after a violent act. For example, the tweets that were published by the president of Ecuador blaming Venezuelan migrants in general after the stabbing of the pregnant woman sparked rioting against foreigners. In the case of Colombia, multiple villain frames were evidenced during the interviews since the participants mentioned actions of vandalism, which involved Venezuelan migrants in a national strike that took place on November 21, 2019. Even when they are different situations that involve



migrants altering the public order and breaking the law, it is possible to identify how these types of acts generate a display of narratives that frame and reinforce stereotypes of a collective or group in a general way under a frame of villains.

After listening, analyzing and relating the data obtained in the interviews and videos, it was possible to consider a definition that I had not contemplated in the theoretical framework. The data showed that the participants support the migration phenomenon, and no rejection of foreigners (xenophobia) in general was manifested. However, it was possible to identify a rejection of the foreigner involved in situations of poverty, begging, and in need of resources. Sadly, the rejection or acceptance of the migrant in the Colombian territory could be deeply related to the socioeconomic status that the migrant possesses.

The characteristics related to the identity of the groups (Colombians vs Venezuelans) were clear in Figure 19: Descriptions of Colombians and Venezuelans, where the characteristics of the in-group (Colombians) were notoriously positive in contrast to the negative characteristics granted to the out-group (Venezuelan migrants). These characteristics offered by the dominant narratives of the participants allowed me to consider the meaning of the term apoorophobia. The author Adela Cortina (2017) in her book *Apoorophobia, the rejection of the poor: A challenge for democracy*, establishes that, under different social contexts, "the problem is not of race, ethnicity or foreigners. The problem is poverty." (p.21) It also clarifies that:

"Those who produce real phobia are not so much foreigners or people of a different race as the poor. Foreigners with means do not produce rejection, but quite the opposite, because they are expected to contribute income and are received with

enthusiasm. Those who inspire contempt are the poor, who seem to be unable to offer anything good, whether they are emigrants or political refugees. "(p.2)

In this order of ideas, the understanding of the term apoorophobia connects perfectly with the Colombian context. The structural violence, and the perception of inequality that the participants have, are enough reasons to understand why they contest the actions that the Colombian government is taking around the migratory phenomenon and the thoughts and actions of rejection against Venezuelans migrants. The identification of these characteristics of the dominant discourse now open a window to a better approach to the resolution of this border conflict case. These narratives of rejection are related to the fear and anxiety that Colombians may be experiencing. Under the complex social dynamics that this country has as an underdeveloped country, now another challenge is added with the migration phenomenon. Migration has brought significant social change to the Colombian territory. Now this study can help identify the characteristics of migratory discourse that can address this conflict in an early stage.

This concept allowed me to connect aspects at all theoretical and empirical levels that were established in the theoretical framework. For example, this concept is consistent with the historical waves of migration in Colombia. In the past Colombia received wealthy Venezuelan businessmen in the past few years, who worked especially in the oil field without any social complications in their integration processes. However, currently the Venezuelan migrant does not meet these characteristics of wealth and social status. This current wave of migration has been in search of surviving an economic crisis. The concept also allows the opportunity to link the meaning of negotiation of resources between two different groups.

Social identity theory, the ecological model, and contact theory apply perfectly in the description of the phenomenon under the particular characteristics of the Colombian social context. The interviews also confirm the positive consequences of healthy interactions, which suggests that one of the best ways to address this phenomenon will be establishing strategies for safe and healthy contact between Colombian citizens and Venezuelan migrants. However, it also involves an environment that allows equal opportunities for both groups. In my perspective, this could be the most complex part since it is related to the state and legal decisions around policy.

#### **4.4. Recommendations**

- The following recommendations are made from a multidisciplinary perspective. Different fields of research can directly promote the search for social change.
- Based on contact theory, and with the objective of reducing stereotypes and prejudices towards Venezuelan migrants, the promotion of healthy interaction spaces can promote the resolution of border conflicts.
- Given that the local media frames the migrants mostly as victims or as villains, it would be vitally important to create opinion spaces that allow the migrant to be framed in another type, which highlights their abilities and skills. For example, working with alternative newspapers, social networks, and public opinion columns could allow the creation of these new ways to show migrants.
- The empowerment of the migrant population can change the existing stereotype that links the migrant with poverty and disability. Amplifying the voice of the migrant and

- generating an empowerment of the same from the use of the skills they have, can demonstrate what migrants can contribute to the host country. In this case the migrant would move from a state in need to a state of empowerment and capacity. This proposal could be developed, for example, through the collection of testimonies of Venezuelans who are established in Colombia under stable conditions of life (work, health, housing) and who can share testimonies that highlight the particularities of their history from overcoming a situation of vulnerability.
- At a higher level, it should be borne in mind that the study of the law and migratory policies are of vital importance to foster a favorable environment for the integration of migrants. At the state level, changes in the immigration norm are needed. Although this is a distant possibility that depends on high state leaders, I consider that for example, academic fields can contribute their research to the development of arguments that support the deep need for a change in immigration regulations.

## CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

Responding to the first research question that was raised, regarding the type of dominant narratives that are present in the migratory discourse in Colombia, from two sources of data (TV news, and interviews), the analysis of this data allows me to conclude that:

The dominant frames that constitute the narrative of the stories analyzed are framing the migrant as a victim and a villain. For the specific case of the interviews, it was possible to identify frames that portray the Venezuelan migrants as heroes. This frame was found only from the personal experiences of close contact that the participants had with migrants.

The dominant narratives that are shared by local television news in Colombia portray migrants as victims and villains and contain characteristics that contribute to social boundaries in the Colombian territory. First, in the specific case of migrants as victims, the qualities of these kinds of videos reflected a dominant narrative that included stories which were dotted with images and testimonies of migrants in a situation of need such as begging and hunger, and these stories included the migrant voice in a strategic way. Also, it is important to mention that the TV news have been framing the migrants mostly as victims, since 2018. The constant projection of these types of messages, for more than two years, reflects a way to harden social boundaries between Colombian citizens and Venezuelan

migrants as it was expressed by the population interviewed. These types of projections through the media can develop a sense of competition for resources under the complex Colombian contexts and can increase the stereotypes about the Venezuelan migrants. In the case where Venezuelan migrants were framed as villains, these videos were filled with pictures of migrants violating the law, being captured, or being involved in crime. The qualities of these videos create boundaries that could create a link that associates an entire group of people as dangerous.

The similarities and differences identified between the dominant narratives of the two sources analyzed (TV news and interviews) have been developed in the results chapter of this thesis. However, it is possible to conclude that the two sources framed the migrant as a victim, and an association between migrant and poverty was established. It was also possible to find that the two sources analyzed described the migrant in a villain framework and a relationship was established between migrants and the notion of security. The main difference stipulated was the impact of quality contact. Direct quality contact and positive personal experiences with migrants, reflected frameworks that described the migrant as a hero. This difference illustrated the importance of contact theory within the resolution of border conflict that Colombia and Venezuela are currently experiencing.

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