

**Breaking News on South American Immigration:
Investigating Ecuadorian and Colombian Newspaper Coverage**

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ABSTRACT

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Migration in Latin America is a phenomenon that has been depicted in local and global media as a process of poverty, danger, threat, criminality, and environmental problems. These descriptions portray immigrants as ‘newcomers’ looking for better social and economic opportunities (Ureta, 2011, pp. 14–15). From that perspective, immigrants in Latin America, as minorities, are typically represented by simplistic descriptions embedded in stereotypes, binary oppositions and the wider reproduction or repetition of those discourses (Hall, 1997, pp. 229–259). This thesis aims to analyze and describe media depictions of the increased Colombian immigration to Ecuador in six major newspapers from 2009 to 2014.

Engaging with Stuart Hall's representation theory, framing theory, Van Dijk's elite and racism discourse views, and Benson's immigration frames, this research explores the image of Colombian immigrants in the Latin American press of two countries. This theoretical contrast sets a precedent to understand media portrayals of minorities. The methodology of this research provides a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the newspapers' articles and will focus on analyzing both manifest and latent content. Given the above, this research attempts to be a practical and theoretical tool to find reliable evidence to support a forceful critique of the journalistic shortcomings of some Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers. It exposes a new form of understanding migration from a south-south or intra-regional perspective. And it endeavours to become a feasible reference in Latin America to claim a more ‘socially responsible’ and balanced journalism when depicting immigrants and other minorities in the newspapers of the region.

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CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

This thesis analyzes and describes depictions in the press of the increased Colombian immigration to Ecuador in six major newspapers of both countries. Six years of coverage, from January 2009 to October 2014, are analyzed from the following newspapers: *El Comercio*, *El Telégrafo*, and *El Universo* from Ecuador, and *El Espectador*, *El País*, and *El Tiempo* from Colombia. The analysis highlights, through the use of framing theory, the various forms of representation of Colombian immigrants in the press, as there has been an influx of Colombians to Ecuador since 2000.

Colombia's and Ecuador's political and media environments are central to understanding media depictions of the migratory movement. Colombia is a country facing an internal war, which is rooted in serious political upheaval and guerrilla violence. These kinds of conflicts have prompted thousands of Colombians to flee their country. Conversely, the Ecuadorian government, with open migratory policies, receives Colombians in an economic and political environment that has dramatically changed after a devastating banking crisis of 1997. This thesis provides an analysis of correlations between political and media environments in both countries, which will be helpful as an initial contextualization to understand the press coverage of immigration.

According to Orgad (2012), "We rely on media representations to make sense of our lives and our world" (p. 8). Based on that idea, this research is important because media depictions and the voices capable of influencing public opinion shape and reproduce the way a phenomenon is viewed within a society (Orgad, 2012, pp. 4–27). Therefore, the study analyzes the newspapers' representations of immigrants in order to understand how Colombian immigrants are represented from the perspective of the press. This will set up important traces to question journalistic practices in Ecuador and Colombia.

This thesis provides content analysis based on quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The quantitative analysis focuses its attention on the manifest content, while framing analysis, as a qualitative method to interpret meaning, focuses its efforts on both the manifest and latent content of a representative sample of news stories.

This research is unique, as it analyzes immigration from an intra-regional perspective. It is an analysis of migratory movement between two so-called developing countries, and thus it is not media analysis of migratory relations from a developing country to a developed one, where marked race and language appear as principal points with which to establish otherness. Therefore, the analysis of both countries' press is placed into a regional reality that differs from eastern-western and northern-southern economic, political and migratory dynamics.

The above concept is important because the difference in immigration between these two nations is not based on a difference of language or race. The migratory environment of both countries is between people who are physically alike and share a common language. Thus, language and visual differences in skin color or other physical characteristics do not establish otherness. Then, what does highlight differentiation when media represent these two peoples? What makes an Ecuadorian different from a Colombian and vice versa? From a lexical and semiotic perspective, the answers to these questions are subtle. It is not about physical appearance, race, language, or any other physical distinction. It is about subtle indications such as accent, intonation, and different word choices. Furthermore, other cultural characteristics may appear that establish those differences, including food preference, nationalism, personality and other cultural subtleties that are recognizable between both nationalities, but not easily recognizable by those from outside these two countries.

Given the above, this research attempts to be a practical and theoretical tool to understand the relations of the media and political environment in which immigrants' depictions in the press are developed. Additionally, the analysis of Colombian migration to Ecuador — as a case study — supports a vigorous critique of the shortcomings of the journalistic practices of some Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers.

Colombia's and Ecuador's political context

Since 2000, there has been an influx of Colombian people to Ecuador. The main cause of this migratory flow is the internal Colombian war in which several illegal military forces threaten the peaceful environment of Colombians in the southern border region of the country. This situation has attracted the attention of the Ecuadorian and the Colombian press since the late 1990s. However, press attention was intensified in 2008 and 2009 when the president of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe, initiated a military operation known to Ecuadorians as Angostura attack

or to Colombians as Fenix Operation, and the Ecuadorian government initiated an extensive project to recognize Colombian refugees already settled in the Ecuadorian territory.

In 1998, Colombia initiated a project called 'Plan Colombia' during President Pastrana's government. Acevedo, Bewley and Youngers (2008) argue that 'Plan Colombia' began as an alternative to proposing social and economic aid for rural areas. However, it later took a stronger participation in a counter-narcotic strategy connected to the war against drug trafficking and terrorism supported by the U.S. government (pp. 3–4). The Colombian president, Alvaro Uribe, elected in 2002, continued the actions to eradicate terrorism and guerrillas. However, his decisions and military actions led to strained diplomatic relations with the Ecuadorian government. The main reasons for this rupture were several Colombian encroachments into Ecuador's territory, and aerial glyphosate fumigations. Aerial fumigation over the years became a controversial issue because it damages legal crops and has adverse health effects upon the population of the southern border of Colombia, and northern part of Ecuador (Bacarés, 2013; Acevedo, Bewley-Taylor and Youngers, 2008, p. 5).

Similar to Colombia, a long period of economic and political instability characterizes Ecuador's political relations. Since 1997, four democratically-elected presidents and five non-democratic and temporary replacements have governed Ecuador. Also at the end of 1999, a bankruptcy crisis impacted the Ecuadorian economy and, in 2000, Ecuador adopted the US dollar as its official currency to avoid a major process of inflation. The economic crisis left a large segment of the Ecuadorian populace financially ruined, and it was the starting point for a large process of migration from Ecuador to Spain. As a result, Ecuadorian migrants sent a huge quantity of money home from abroad.

Nowadays, Ecuador is no longer considered a country that produces high numbers of migrants. Indeed, some Ecuadorian migrants are returning from Spain to Ecuador. This situation makes Ecuadorian society conscious of the consequences of migration as well as the efforts involved. Thus, Ecuador's societal acknowledgment that it is itself a country of migrants compels Ecuador's government to react positively to open migratory policies, especially when receiving Colombian immigrants or those of other nationalities to the Ecuadorian state.

In late 2006, Rafael Correa was democratically elected president of Ecuador and initiated several changes in economic, social, and political arenas, among them the enhancement of open

migratory policies. According to the UNHCR (2012), as of December 2011, 55,092 Colombian refugees had been recognized in Ecuador (Durango and Escalante, 2012, “UNHCR in Ecuador”). As the migratory situation grew, the attention of the government, media, and Ecuadorian civil society increased. This situation prompted Correa’s government to develop a unique registration process to recognize Colombian refugees in the country.

During the same period in which the migratory movement occurred, Correa called for a referendum to change the Ecuadorian Constitution. On April 2007, Ecuadorians voted overwhelmingly (81.72%) in favour of supporting the election of a constituent assembly to rewrite the Constitution (The Carter Center, 2008). This situation directly affected the political and media environment of Ecuador, because some changes in media ownership were evident as a direct result of the constitution. For instance, the creation of a new communication law affected media ownership, and turned some in the media against certain government projects such as the recognition of immigration. Thus, this situation may also affect to some extent the way the media responded to the migration project initiated by the Ecuadorian state.

From that perspective, the political and economic period from 2000 to 2014 in Colombia and Ecuador is critical to understanding media depictions of immigrants in both countries. Colombia’s internal war was at a crucial political point, with an increase of violence and conflict. The Ecuadorian political and financial system was also in a precarious state. Furthermore, the change of the Ecuadorian Constitution, as well as the enhancement of migratory laws and the Ecuadorian government’s support for the recognition of Colombian refugees in Ecuador, explains the political moment in which Colombian immigration took place. Therefore, both political and economic moments in Ecuador and Colombia reacted as driving forces to encourage Colombian people to move to Ecuador.

Media in Ecuador and Colombia

For the purpose of this research, it is important to understand the media ownership context of both countries, and especially of the six primary newspapers referenced in this thesis. This will provide the reader with a better understanding of Colombian immigration coverage in Ecuador and Colombia, as the recognition of Colombian immigrants was a project initiated by the Ecuadorian government during a period of high political instability and poor diplomatic relations between the two countries. This overview is intended to provide a better understanding

of the possible correlations between news depictions of immigrants and the main political and economic views of the press that may be useful to execute a further qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Further research will be needed to fully analyze Colombia's and Ecuador's media relations within the state and market-oriented powers. However, from past studies it is worth noting that the news media in Latin America are entrenched in practices of clientelism concentrated in the state and market-oriented powers (Guerrero & Márquez, 2014, pp. 1–2). Furthermore, “media systems and politics have been historically intertwined” (Guerrero and Márquez, 2014, p. 1), so elite networks of ownership influence the way media work in the region. Therefore, it is from within that particular media environment that this thesis examines the newspapers' depictions of Colombian immigrants to Ecuador.

In Colombia and Ecuador, both political and historical processes of governance, as well as the management of the private economic power in both countries, influence mass media coverage. The Colombian press, highly oriented towards neoliberal politics, often featured a discourse closer to the United States' press discourse (D'Angelo, 2010, pp. 27–38). The Colombian press is highly concentrated in the hands of powerful economic groups that are engaged in practices of clientelism, and is thus a model that exchanges benefits for political support (Guerrero & Márquez, 2014, p. 1–2). This makes media portrayal in Colombia a matter of maintaining power in dominant private conglomerates, most of the time related to political groups (Guerrero & Márquez, 2014, pp. 1–2).

For example, according to Hallin and Mancini, media systems are embedded into practices of political parallelism in which the main function of media is not simply to entertain and provide information about important events, but also to exert political advocacy as a central function (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, pp. 22–25). In that sense, the Colombian press shows a noticeable trend of political parallelism where Hallin and Mancini's ‘corporatist’ and ‘professional’ models appear (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 30). However, in Colombia the corporatist model is not distributed among various social or political groups, but rather within monopolies of familial consortiums (Zukernik, 2008, pp. 50–51).

In contrast, since the implementation of the 2008 Ecuadorian constitution and a new communication law, the picture of Ecuador's media concentration has changed somewhat.

Though the constitution advocates a wider regulation of media to avoid monopolies, this has not been fully achieved because a number of media owners sold their media holdings to conglomerates outside the country. For instance, *El Comercio* was sold to a Mexican entrepreneur, Remigio Angel Gonzales, the owner of the Latin American television network Albavisión. Another example is the Ecuadorian broadcast channel Teleamazonas. According to Checa Godoy (2012), Fidel Egas, owner of Teleamazonas and Banco del Pichincha, “sold 48% of its shares to 140 affiliated employees (allegedly through the bank’s own credits); 30% to Plural TV, a Peruvian group... and the remaining 22% to people he trusted” (pp. 14–15). The same kinds of examples are apparent in other family consortiums within Ecuador. Thus, Ecuador’s media still occupy a position between the state and market-oriented sectors where clientelism and monopolistic practices are evidenced though the state’s efforts to regulate the concentration of media ownership (Albarrán, 2009, pp. 111–113, Zukernik, 2008, pp. 72–82).

By contrast, the Colombian media are largely unregulated. According to Guerrero and Marquez (2012), “deregulation or leaving media spaces unregulated makes them the sole domain of economic actors, as in Peru or Colombia” (p. 3). Therefore, media in Colombia remain in monopolistic relationships, in which political participation is characterized by clientelism between private economic groups and a lesser participation of the state (Guerrero & Marquez, 2014, pp. 1–2; Matos, 2012 pp. 46–48; Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. xv).

The most powerful economic groups in both countries own the majority of media, from TV and radio broadcast stations to the written press (Matos, 2012, p. 46; Zukernik, 2008, pp. 49–51). The following chart explains the media ownership relationships within Ecuador and Colombia.

Chart 1
Summary media ownership in Colombia

MEDIA OWNERSHIP IN COLOMBIA	MEDIA ENTERPRISES
Luis Carlos Sarmiento Angulo	Editorial El Tiempo (El Tiempo newspaper), Editorial Group Planeta, El Portafolio newspaper
Julio Mario Santo Domingo	Valorem S.A. (El Espectador Newspaper, Caracol TV, Caracol TV international, WGEN-TV, Gol Caracol TV; El Radio, Cromos, among other media.
Lloreda Family	El Pais newspaper, El Hubo Cali and El Hubo Palmira newspapers, among others.
Carlos Ardilla Lülle	RCN TV, RCN Radio, RCN Entertainment, TV Colombia
Alejandro Galviz Ramirez	El Hubo newspapers, Vanguardia Liberal, El Universal, El Nuevo Dia, among other local and regional newspapers.
Gómez and Hernández Families	El Colombiano and La República newspapers
*Information collected from Forbes Magazine; Albarrán (2009); Zukernik (2008).	

Chart 2
Summary media ownership in Ecuador

MEDIA OWNERSHIP IN ECUADOR	MEDIA ENTERPRISES
Ecuadorian State	<i>El Telégrafo</i> newspaper, CTV broadcasting channel, Gamavisión broadcasting channel, EcuadorTV broadcasting channel, El Ciudadano
El Universo Group (Perez-Castro families)	<i>El Universo</i> , Revista <i>Sambo</i> , <i>La Revista</i> , Fundación <i>Diario El Universo</i> , Radio <i>City</i> on los Frecuencias, <i>Diario Súper</i> de circulación nacional, Guías telefónicas de Guayaquil
Remigio González-González-Mantilla-Ortega Group	<i>El Comercio</i> , <i>Últimas Noticias</i> , <i>Radio Quito</i> , <i>Ecuadoradio</i> (Agencia de Autofrancia, Fundación <i>Diario El Comercio</i> , <i>Noticias</i>), among others related to <i>El Comercio</i> Group
Egas Grijalva Group	<i>Diniciones</i> , <i>Revista Mundo</i> , <i>Diners</i> , <i>Agencia Delta</i> , <i>Publicidad</i> , <i>Revista Económica</i> , <i>Gestión</i> , <i>Teleamazonas</i> (acciones en <i>Cambio de Eudás</i>), Paquetes Accionarios en <i>Empresas del Sector</i> (por ejemplo en el diario <i>Hoy</i>), <i>Revista Soho</i> , <i>Revista Fucsia</i> , <i>Acciones en Radio Colón</i> , <i>Revista Gente</i> .
Alvarado-Roca Group	<i>Ecuavisa</i> and <i>Ecuavisa International</i> (broadcasting TV channels), Sistema Nacional de Canales de TV, <i>Revistas: Vistazo</i> (de mayor circulación en el país), <i>Estadio</i> , <i>Hogar</i> , <i>Generación XXI</i> , <i>Univisa</i> (empresa de suministro de televisión portable), among other international broadcasting channels in Colombia.
El Suri Group (El Suri family)	Red Nacional de TV Telerama on 12 frecuencias, TV Cable (accionista), among others related
Granasa Group: Martínez-Merchán-Vivanco	<i>La Hora</i> , <i>El Extra</i> , and <i>El Expreso</i>
Noboa Group: Noboa-Bejarano-Febres-Cordero-Estrada-Nebot-Marcos (Guayaquil)	<i>Telecuatro</i> , <i>Ecuagrafi</i> (Imprentas) y <i>Talleres Gráficos</i> (Imprentas)

*Information collected from Checa-Godoy (2012); Albarran (2009); Zukernik (2008).

The Ecuadorian newspapers *El Comercio* and *El Universo* belong to private, market-oriented groups, while *El Telégrafo* is funded and managed by the Ecuadorian government. In contrast, the Colombian newspapers *El País*, *El Tiempo*, and *El Espectador* remain in the hands of Colombian economic groups.

Finally, unlike other studies, this research observes from a southern-southern viewpoint the representation of immigration in Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers — an analysis of intra-regional immigration that has not been conducted previously. From that perspective, the study attempts to find quantitative and qualitative evidence of how newspapers in Colombia and Ecuador represent the topic of immigration in the region. In doing so, the study serves as a starting point for a forceful critique of the journalistic shortcomings of both countries, especially

when representing minorities in the region. Therefore, the research attempts to develop a reflection on how journalistic practices in Latin America remain fixed in the old practices of colonialism, elite domination and subtle traces of racism evidenced in frames that may reinforce stereotypes, practices of clientelism, elite domination, and political struggles.

2. Literature review

As stated, this study aims to analyze how the major Ecuadorian newspapers — *El Comercio*, *El Telégrafo* and *El Universo* — and the most-read Colombian newspapers — *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *El País* — represent Colombian immigrants from January 2009 to October 2014. This comparison identifies similarities and differences embedded in the newspapers' discourse, and answers questions such as: What kinds of frames are these newspapers conveying? What attitudes are these newspapers legitimizing and disseminating? What kinds of depiction of immigrants are included within their discourses? And how are the newspapers' narratives in both countries similar or different?

The research provides a contextualization of the political, social, and economic momentum Ecuador and Colombian experienced from the late 1990s to the present. A review of scholarly articles and other publications about Colombia's internal violence and conflict is provided, as well as important information to contextualize both countries' political, economic, and media characteristics.

Three main ideas will comprise the central schema of this thesis. First, Stuart Hall's representation theory is useful as a departure point to understand the production of meaning through language. Second, Van Dijk's approaches to racism-elite studies will help to describe the relationship between media ownership and the depiction of immigration. This motivates an analysis of the historical, political, and economic perspectives of media ownership in both countries that is useful to understand the context in which the six selected newspapers depict Colombian immigrants. And third, framing theory will guide the analysis to find the schemas in which Colombian immigrants are represented in the selected articles.

Based on the above, Stuart Hall (1997) defines representation as “the production of meaning through language” (p. 16). He states that meaning can be given to race or a specific situation through the description of ‘the other’ by representing ‘them’ in the form of ‘binary oppositions.’ Though, as he states, ‘binary oppositions’ are based on reductionist and simplistic

perspectives, they certainly exist and are embedded in daily, polarized descriptions such as black/white, day/night, and masculine/feminine. These kinds of comparisons reduce the possibility of providing a nuanced description of a particular thing, person, or event (Hall, 1997, p. 235).

Hall's concepts of 'otherness' and 'binary oppositions' will provide useful tools when reading into media representations. These concepts provide an initial schema in which to read the news of immigration, and thus help to contrast and compare practices of representing immigrants within the scope of difference, but also within the scope of detailed discourse that may move beyond stereotypes such as crime, threat, or binary depictions such as 'good' or 'bad' (Tator, 2012; Benson, 2013; Ureta, 2011; Lorite, 2004). Conversely, Hall's concepts of 'otherness' and 'difference' embedded in binary oppositions motivate this study to look for new frames and new ideas of depicting immigration, as the cultural context of Latin America and the proper history of both countries may provide different schemas.

From that perspective, Hall's concept of 'difference' propels the understanding of "the binary relation of 'the other' considered different from 'us' and named as 'them'" (Hall, 1997, p. 225). In this specific research, the citizens who comprise the civil society of Ecuador represent 'us' while immigrants are understood or possibly seen as 'the other' or 'them.' However, the analysis looks for characteristics that may describe this differentiation among Colombian immigrants and the Ecuadorian civil society. It is important to note that as well as looking for characteristics in which the press stereotypes the immigrant, this study also looks for the different nuances and entanglements in which the topic of migration is positioned within the media discourse of Colombia and Ecuador in the form of descriptive frames.

In that respect, identifying a basis of diversity in the news will help to understand media depictions created through polysemic representations (Orgad, 2012, p. 34). Furthermore, those polysemic representations produce meaning in concert with audience members' own readings of the texts. Therefore, representation evolves from the compilation of information in a society, media, and the majority of voices capable of exerting public opinion (Orgad, 2012, pp. 4–22).

Though some stereotypes may be embedded in the media discourse, there is also the possibility of finding non-stereotyping characteristics or even, as pointed out by Van Dijk (1993), traces of "subtle racism." Xenophobia can be embedded in the media discourse, but also the

possibility of non-xenophobic discourse or other kinds of descriptions. However, these ideas are important to mention because those descriptions will provide the details to further understand the representation of Colombian immigrants in the media.

Second, Van Dijk's approaches to racism-elite studies indicate that the powerful majoritarian voices of a society have significant influence on public opinion concerning minority populations. For Van Dijk, this points to the groups who own the most important media resources (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 2).

In light of the above, Van Dijk posits an important question: "what elites are we referring to and how exactly are they involved in the reproduction of racism?" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 43). This question is important to set up the environment of the Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers. Therefore, it is important to understand which elites own the media resources in Ecuador and Colombia. This will help the reading of the newspapers' articles, creating a correlation between ownership and media representation of Colombian immigrants.

As Van Dijk (1993) points out, "power elites also have special symbolic resources, such as preferential access to systems of sociocultural discourse." Furthermore, Van Dijk's study showed (as cited in Tuchman, 1978) that "not only do [power elites] make decisions that may affect the lives of many people, they also have significant control over the means of production of public opinion. Thus, they control PR departments, press offices, press releases, advertisements, reports, and other publications that describe, explain, or legitimate what they do and say, and thus also have broad access to public discourse, primarily that of the mass media" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 44)

It is important to mention that this research does not attempt to argue that newspapers necessarily originate xenophobic or racist discourse, but that the press reproduces and reinforces attitudes already embedded in the everyday 'elite discourse of racism' (Van Dijk, 2005) of a society. An 'elite discourse of racism' that usually denies the traditional forms of racism, however, instead exerting other forms (Van Dijk, 2005, pp. 122, 134, 161). This thesis will try to see what non-traditional forms of racism or rejection may be embedded in the press discourse of Colombian migration to Ecuador.

Using Cohen's moral panic perspective (1972), this thesis will also discuss elements that, to some extent, foster a sense of moral panic among the readers of newspapers. According to

Cohen, moral panic indicates a deep feeling or group of sentiments and attitudes constructed by powerful groups within a society against a purported deviant or rule-breaker. Thus, moral panic is the labeling of the other as a threat (Cohen, 1972, pp. 12–14). For this study, the moral panic idea is important to analyze, as it is the consequence of media depictions by powerful groups (Cohen, 1972, pp. 12–13; Hunt, 1997 p. 634). This study will look for what kind of descriptions may create a moral panic discourse embedded in the newspapers.

Furthermore, this concept will be contrasted with the description of Van Dijk's elite discourses to find a common point between moral panic and elite-racism discourses. Although moral panic may not be the most suitable term to describe the depiction within the press of Colombian immigrants to Ecuador, it is a valid concept to posit as a starting point with which to analyze the press's representation of immigration.

Hunt (1997) explains that societies have periods of moral panic (p. 630). As he states, “a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media” (Hunt, 1997, p. 630). Thus, this study focuses its attention on finding those stylized depictions that occur as a result of the various personal or even institutional interests of the media, governments, or powerful groups within the society.

Within this frame, Gayatri Spivak's idea of ‘outsiders’ or ‘subalterns’ as silenced voices could be suitable to analyze the press depictions. Hence, immigrants can speak, but they do not have a position of power through which their voices can be heard (Spivak, 1988, pp. 259–266). Their voices, instead, may be framed by powerful groups' views. Furthermore, Spivak argues that an apparent and misleading representation of the subalterns is implicit when their voices are represented by the voices of intellectuals or experts who do not know the subalterns' concerns, thus “the subaltern cannot speak” (Spivak, 1988, pp. 249–266).

Additionally, to study media and migration, other studies pertaining to the topic were analyzed. For instance, Ivan Ureta (2011) argues that to imagine the relation among media, migration, and public opinion, it is important to understand that “social imaginary is very dynamic.” Therefore, social imaginary as the force that creates an image of immigrants, is neither stable nor static, thus capable of reinforcing within public opinion the meaning of certain descriptions around immigration. Furthermore, the context of news is always changing, thus the

dynamic of distortions and changes are perspectives to be considered in media depictions (Ureta, 2011, p. 14).

However, Ureta (2011) insists that this dynamic social imaginary is rarely reflected in the news. It is a subtle feature, he argues, because the international trend is to rely on “branded concepts” that depict “seasonal products” (pp. 14-15). For instance, terms such as “international migration,” “human mobility,” “Islam,” “terrorism,” and “economic crisis” are branded concepts, which from Ureta’s perspective are dominated by the public relations industry (Ureta, 2011, pp. 14–15). From the above, Ureta’s approach is useful in analyzing Colombian and Ecuadorian depictions because it provides the idea of looking for branded concepts that may be simplistic depictions of describing Colombian immigration to Ecuador.

From a pilot study I conducted, certain patterns of describing Colombian refugees were identified. Those patterns, as categories of discourse analysis, are essential to give an initial idea of media representation of immigrants around the world. Consequently, these patterns or key themes of newspaper coverage are useful to initiate the study. The key themes are: 1) Refugees described as illegal or with a sense of illegality; 2) Numbers and Exaggeration; 3) Criminality, Threat, Sexual, and/or Drug-dealing Connotation; 4) Need for ‘Immigration Control’; 5) The Role of Government and the State in Refugee issues and Human Rights; and 6) Sense of Pity (Philo, Briant & Donald, 2013, pp. 56–57).

Additionally, to describe the representation of immigration using some other categories proposed by Benson (2013) will be useful to guide the research. In a study of French and American news coverage, Benson proposes 10 broad immigration frames (Benson, 2013, p. 6). He argues that three frames portray immigrants as victims, three frames portray immigrants as heroes, and four describe immigrants as a threat (Benson, 2013, pp. 6–7).

Each of these frames contains subcategories embedded in the concept of representation. For instance, the frames of immigrants as victims take into account categories such as “global economy,” “humanitarian,” and “racism/xenophobia” (Benson, 2013, p. 6). The three frames that portray immigrants as heroes comprise the subcategories of cultural diversity, integration and good worker depictions (Benson, 2013, p. 6). Finally, Benson describes four frames to describe immigrants as a threat: 'jobs frame,' 'public order frame,' 'fiscal frame' and 'national cohesion' (Benson, 2013, pp. 6–7). As stated by Benson (2013), “the six victim and hero frames correlate

roughly with pro-immigration advocacy, whereas the four threat frames correlate with anti-immigration advocacy” (p. 7).

However, although Benson's categories and subcategories are useful for this research, some of them, such as the public order, fiscal, and national cohesion subcategories, are not suitable for the Colombia/Ecuador context. For that reason, this study will develop further categories and subcategories more suitable for the Latin American context.

In sum, this approach will be supported with the expertise of past studies, as well as other categories that describe depictions of immigration. However, the study will create its own categories to complete the study. For that reason, the contextualization of the media and political contexts in both countries is important. Furthermore, the local, south-south perspective, will be prioritized.

3. **Methodology**

The methodology used for this research is a content analysis based on quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative analysis as a systematic description of the text focuses its attention on manifest content (Berelson, 1952, p. 18, in Kolmer, 2008, p. 118; Priest, 2012, p. 108), while the qualitative study focuses its efforts on both manifest and latent content (Priest, 2012, p. 108). Furthermore, the main qualitative method that this study will use to compare and contrast the main sample of news articles is framing theory. Both methodologies are equally important, as they complement each other.

Content analysis as a quantitative methodology addresses questions of patterns of selection and news topics (Ter & Koeman, 2005, p. 940). It helps to uncover numerical pictures of minorities' portrayals through the processes of data gathering, categorization, and a comparative quantitative analysis of the selected categories (Löffelholz & Weaver, 2008, p. 125).

For the qualitative analysis, this thesis uses framing analysis to look for meaning and representation in the text. It gives the researcher “more room for interpretation, captures a more dynamic process of negotiating meaning, and highlights the relationships within discourse” (Reese, 2007, p. 152).

Framing analysis carries a dissecting perspective in which deconstruction of the article is needed to grasp the meaning. The theory coined by Goffman as ‘frame analysis’ describes the process of making sense of events explained through frames (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10–11). From

that perspective, a frame is a schema of interpretation that can be natural or social (p. 21). Therefore, this research looks for the schemas of representation or frames that describe immigrants in the press of Ecuador and Colombia. In doing so, frame analysis is a strong theoretical basis to interrogate discourse on media and the possible effects that those frames have in shaping public opinion (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

To be more precise, Goffman describes framing theory as the moment in which a person interprets an event through “frameworks or schemata of interpretation” (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). However, a broader definition of the concept indicates that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

From that perspective, frame analysis is used to describe the schemas in which the representations of immigrants appear in Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers. This research applies a sample and a pre-test to find basic frames used as a departure point to verify the schema of framing. As Entman explains, a consistent framing implies a “common understanding” (Entman, 1993, p. 56). It means to find frames, codify them, do a pre-test, and explain those codes and test frames in order to create a “common understanding” of the frames and codes selected. This accordance validated the efficacy of the selected frames.

To summarize, this thesis will analyze immigration depictions from the scope of Hall’s theory of representation. This will be achieved through a content analysis that provides a quantitative technique to analyze manifest content and a qualitative study done through the scope of framing theory to analyze both the manifest and the latent content of news. To look for new contextualized frames of depicting immigration as well as news immigration approaches is the main motivation of this research, which overall attempts to support a forceful critique of journalistic practices in Ecuador and Colombia when describing minorities.

CHAPTER 2

Content analysis

Content analysis as a quantitative methodology enables us to answer questions about the patterns of selection and news topics (Ter & Koeman, 2005, p. 940). It helps in uncovering numerical pictures of minorities' portrayals — in this particular case, Colombian immigrants to Ecuador.

The newspaper sample retrieved for this research was found in one Colombian and two Ecuadorian libraries. Keywords and sentences such as “Colombian refugees,” “Colombian refugees in Ecuador,” “Colombian immigrants,” “Colombians in Ecuador” and “Colombian displaced people” were used to locate news related to the topic. This search helped to obtain a macro news sample for the study, and gave a primary idea of the dates in which the topic of Colombian immigration to Ecuador received major coverage.

In total, the search gathered 1,080 newspaper editions. From that, 187 articles related to Colombian immigration were recovered and categorized into values such as item number, database, headline, headline translation, newspaper, country, date, year, section, and word count. The 187 articles were used for the manifest content analysis. This analysis was useful to measure the relevance of the articles. Values such as word count, the headline's prominence, and placement or section within the newspaper helped to decide its relevance for the next qualitative analysis. It was a categorization that helped to select or deselect an article.

To select the most important articles for the qualitative analysis, the research organized within the quantitative analysis a template with three levels of relevance. This template helped to organize the data to identify the most predominant and descriptive news in the sample. From this, three levels of relevance were established: Relevance 1 (R1), Relevance 2 (R2), and final relevance (FR).

Relevance 1 (R1) rated the importance of every article according to headline prominence. Relevance 2 (R2) defines the importance of every article according to word count and section placement values. Both relevance levels helped to classify the articles into rating categories such as very high (VH), high (H), medium (M), or low (L).

From the above, Relevance 1 (R1) and Relevance 2 (R2) helped to measure a final relevance (FR). Final relevance (FR) mixes the R1 and R2 criteria (headline prominence, word count and section) to gather a final sample useful for the qualitative analysis. For the final relevance, only articles rated as High (H) and Very High (VH) in the Relevance 1 and Relevance 2 processes were taken into account. The articles selected from this were those rated with three and two stars. Thus, final relevance is the final criteria that helped to select the most predominant or descriptive news after an in-depth reading of each article classified as High or Very High.

Chart 3

Final Relevance

Final Relevance	R1			
R2	VH	H	M	L
VH	***	**	*	n/a
H	**	**	n/a	n/a
M	*	n/a	n/a	n/a
L	*	n/a	n/a	n/a

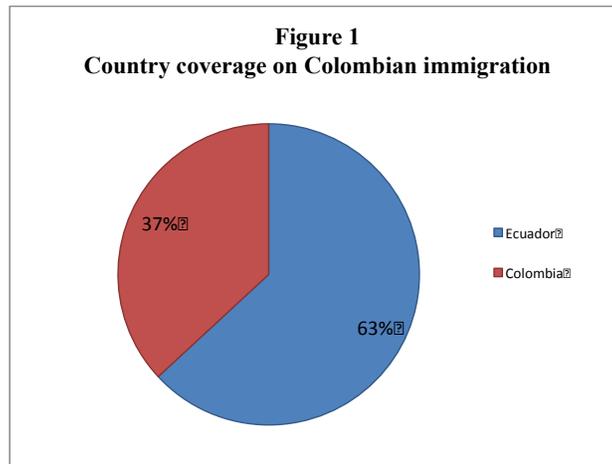
(*) n/a = not applicable

In that respect, this content analysis helped to obtain a general idea about which articles are the most predominant in word count or size, section or placement, and headline relevance. Additionally, the content analysis measured the daily coverage of Colombian immigration to Ecuador, and provided a primary numeric picture of which articles are the most relevant for the qualitative analysis.

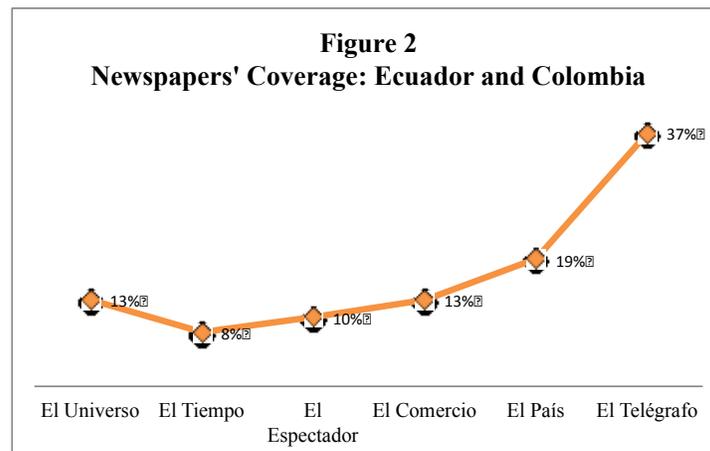
Content analysis findings

The most significant findings of this content analysis fall under four points. First, from 2009 to 2014, Ecuadorian newspapers published more articles about Colombian immigration to Ecuador than Colombian newspapers. Second, the number of articles published in each newspaper may reveal that newspapers’ coverage is dependent upon media ownership. Third, the amount of coverage shows a significant increase in 2009 and 2010 in contrast to the other years. Finally, the articles appeared in different newspaper sections, suggesting that journalistic coverage of the migratory topic can be treated from a number of distinct frames or perspectives evidenced in the placement of an article.

Quantitative comparison: Ecuadorian newspapers vs. Colombian newspapers



This thesis examined 187 articles for the quantitative analysis. From them, 118 articles were published in the Ecuadorian newspapers, and 69 articles in the Colombian newspapers. From that, 63 per cent of the physical sample belonged to the Ecuadorian newspapers while 37 per cent came from the Colombian newspapers' coverage. Therefore, the Ecuadorian newspapers published more than the Colombian newspapers during the six years.



From a country comparison, the Ecuadorian newspaper *El Telégrafo* covered the migratory topic the most among the Ecuadorian newspapers. *El Telégrafo* articles represent 37 per cent of the total sample, while the other Ecuadorian dailies, *El Comercio* and *El Universo*, were each responsible for 13 per cent of the total coverage. For the Colombian newspapers, the analysis demonstrated that *El País* accounted for 19 per cent of coverage, while 8 per cent and 10 per cent belonged to *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, respectively.

This comparison lets us infer that the Ecuadorian newspapers view the topic of immigration with more interest than the Colombian newspapers. This situation may be due to the fact that the migratory movement troubles the Ecuadorian press, as it occurs as a direct consequence of the Colombian violence and directly affects the social and economic lives of the Ecuadorian population along the border. In contrast, the Colombian newspapers may find it more newsworthy to discuss their own conflict rather than the number of people leaving Colombia. However, it is certain that what is implied by the amount of coverage is a relative lack of interest in the Colombian press to describe the phenomena, when compared to the Ecuadorian press coverage.

The analysis also concludes that two newspapers paid the most attention to the coverage of Colombian immigrants to Ecuador: *El Telégrafo* and *El País*. Based on this observation, it is important to understand that *El Telégrafo* is a newspaper funded and managed by the Ecuadorian state, and as the recognition of Colombian refugees to Ecuador is a project initiated by the Ecuadorian government, the amount of coverage provided by this newspaper may be correlated to a propagandistic view of publicizing a successful state project. However, to assert this idea, another kind of analysis would be necessary. From this view, what matters is that a political position may be correlated to the amount of coverage provided, so perhaps a political frame could appear within the qualitative analysis. Similarly, *El País*'s coverage is also greater than the other Colombian newspapers. Thus, the same situation as in *El Telégrafo* may occur. However, both ideas will be analyzed later in the qualitative study.

In sum, *El Telégrafo* and *El País* newspapers covered the immigration process the most in both countries. However, *El Telégrafo* from Ecuador covered the topic to a greater extent than *El País* from Colombia. The main reasons for this may be a correlation between the political, economic, and media environments of both countries, especially for the Ecuadorian daily. However, for the Colombian newspapers, the correlation is different and the coverage may be explained from journalistic approaches of newsworthiness, which considered these types of news more important than others. At this stage of the study there is no real evidence of any of these correlations. However, it is important to note that the qualitative analysis will expand and better explain these correlations in order to find possible political or economic frames that may be embedded in the depictions of immigrants.

Years of coverage

The analysis showed that 2009 and 2010 were the predominant years of coverage for both countries' newspapers. After those years the amount of coverage declines. This may be a result of two political situations: the Colombian military operation known as Fenix Operation or Angostura attack, and the Ecuadorian government project to register Colombian refugees, known as Enhanced Registration in 2009.¹ These two events acted as important parallels to increase the newsworthiness of the immigration coverage of both countries.

In 2008, Colombian military forces entered Ecuadorian territory without permission. Their main objective was to kill guerrilla fighters who had crossed the border into Ecuador to escape Colombian forces. The Colombian president at the time, Alvaro Uribe, ordered the military to attack these guerrilla groups in Ecuador without seeking the permission of the Ecuadorian government. Not only were a number of guerrillas killed, but also one Ecuadorian and four Mexican research students. This situation prompted Ecuador to break all diplomatic relations with Colombia for two years.

In 2009, diplomatic relations remained strained. However, Ecuador's government initiated a project to recognize Colombian people who live in Ecuador as refugees fleeing the Colombian conflict. The project, named "Enhanced Registration 2009," was widely covered by the Ecuadorian press. Conversely, the Colombian press largely ignored this initiative, and its editorial lines paid more attention to the political and diplomatic context of both countries.

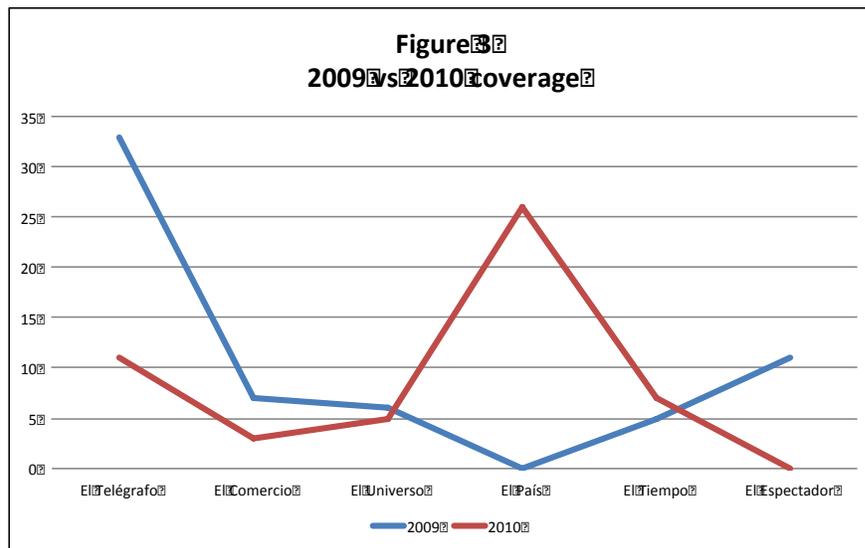
In 2009, Ecuadorian newspapers reported 46 articles about Colombian immigration. *El Telégrafo* published 33 articles, and was the newspaper that reported the topic the most that year. *El Comercio* and *El Universo* covered the topic in a middle range. The sample retrieved consisted of seven articles for *El Comercio* and six for *El Universo*.

The same year the Colombian newspapers' sample retrieved only 16 articles from the three newspapers. *El Espectador* published 11 articles. Its coverage was greater when compared to *El Tiempo* and *El País*. *El País* does not have any articles in the sample, and *El Tiempo* only published five. In short, *El Telégrafo* from Ecuador and *El Espectador* from Colombia were the two newspapers that published the most about Colombian immigration to Ecuador during 2009.

¹ Registro Ampliado 2009

In 2010, Colombian newspapers' coverage surpassed the number of articles published by the Ecuadorian newspapers. *El País* appears to report the most. The sample of *El País* newspaper includes 26 articles. It surpasses the amount of news reported by the remaining five newspapers in both countries. *El Tiempo* from Colombia increased its coverage from five articles in 2009 to seven in 2010. However, the Colombian daily *El Espectador* did not show any articles in its sample. *El Telégrafo* from Ecuador published 11 articles in 2010, a lesser amount of coverage than in the previous year. During the same year, *El Comercio* and *El Universo* from Ecuador also had a smaller amount of coverage than the previous year. The *El Comercio* sample found three articles and *El Universo* five.

At the end of 2010, diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Colombia resumed. Seemingly as a result, the 2011 press coverage of the topic decreased. This variation indicates that a correlation exists between the coverage of Colombians' migratory movement and the political relations between both countries. Most of the news related to Colombian immigrants to Ecuador was enclosed in political dialogues in which a constant discussion about the diplomatic relations of both countries was exposed. Though at this point of the research it may be speculative to say that immigration news seemed to not be as important as the diplomatic conflict between both countries, it is worth mentioning because this concept gives a primary idea of an important political and diplomatic frame for the analysis.



In 2011, the Ecuadorian daily *El Telégrafo* continued to publish on the topic. However, its coverage is less than in previous years. The Ecuadorian newspapers published 18 articles in total:

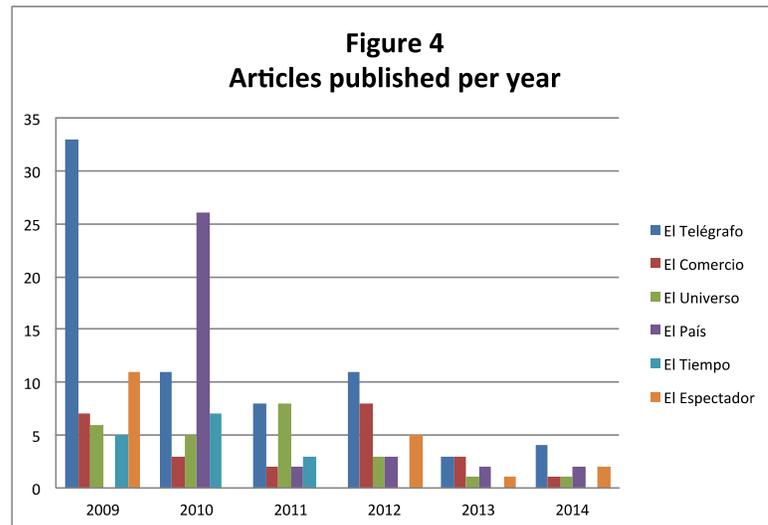
El Telégrafo (eight), *El Universo* (eight) and *El Comercio* (two). It is the first time that *El Telégrafo* published the same number of articles as *El Universo* in the six years of analysis. In the same manner, the Colombian newspapers showed a decrease in coverage. The Colombian newspaper *El País* published two articles and *El Tiempo* three. The sample did not reveal any articles from *El Espectador*. Though both countries' newspapers published fewer articles during 2009 and 2010, it is evident again that the Ecuadorian newspapers' coverage is also higher in 2011 in comparison to the coverage provided by the Colombian newspapers.

From the above, *El Telégrafo* decreased its coverage and attains the same reporting level as the other Ecuadorian dailies. This decrease may support the statement that *El Telégrafo* described the topic of immigration as a tool to negotiate the broken diplomatic relations with Colombia in 2008, 2009 and 2010. In 2011, diplomatic relations were resumed and *El Telégrafo*'s coverage of immigration was comparable in quantity to the other dailies. This may reveal that *El Telégrafo* may demonstrate a certain favouritism to Ecuadorian state politics when depicting news or when describing state policies, in this case immigration. The other dailies maintained a similar amount of coverage each year, which highlights the difference with *El Telégrafo*.

In contrast, the Colombian dailies included less news about immigration than the Ecuadorian newspapers. Their main interest was the political and diplomatic relations between the two countries rather than the immigration problem. The newspapers' coverage is almost similar for *El Espectador* and *El Tiempo*. However, *El País* covered the topic the most, as it is a newspaper with a greater descriptive trend when it comes to politics. This newspaper described the immigration situation more than the other dailies, although with strong political and diplomatic perspectives as well. In that respect, the Colombian newspapers' coverage may prioritize the coverage of political relations over immigration, as the country seems to have more serious problems like the guerrilla fighting and the strained diplomatic relations with Ecuador.

In 2012, the Ecuadorian press coverage of Colombian immigration to Ecuador increased in comparison to the coverage of 2010 and 2011. *El Telégrafo* published 11 articles, *El Comercio* published eight articles, and *El Universo* published three articles. Conversely, the Colombian newspapers showed a dramatic decrease in the coverage. In total, eight articles were retrieved: five belonged to *El Espectador*, three to *El País*, and none from *El Tiempo*.

In 2013 and 2014, the coverage decreased the most. These years had the lowest coverage in the six-year period. However, the years with low coverage are also important to analyze because, with fewer political, economic, and social pressures, the coverage may provide new perspectives of representing immigrants in the press.



From the above, it is important to address the question of how the coverage correlates with the number of immigrants in the six years. To answer this question, it is important to understand migratory statistics of Colombians to Ecuador. According to UNHCR, as of 2015 there were 134,716 Colombian refugees and asylum seekers living in Ecuador. 2009 was considered a year of high importance because the aim of the Colombia registration was to create a database in order to understand how many Colombians were already leaving as refugees, asylum seekers, or other categories of immigration in Ecuador. Therefore, the correlation of the press coverage with the Colombian registration project is also evident in the statistics produced by the UNHCR, as the project began to keep better statistical information in 2009. The following chart explains how many Colombian immigrants were recognized as refugees, remained as asylum seekers, or were categorized as people in a refugee-like situation. In that sense the chart gives us an idea of how many Colombians were living in Ecuador per year.

Chart 4
Colombians living in Ecuador

Years	Refugees	People in a refugee-like situation	Asylum Seekers	Total of Colombians living in the country as refugees, asylum seekers and in an alike refugee situation
Jan-2009-Dec-2009	44,400	71,400	42,500	158,300
Jan-10	62,680	47,300	31,420	141,400
Dec-2010-Jan-2011	120,280	(-)	28,720	149,000
Dec-2011-Jan-2012	59,100	60,000	43,120	162,220
Dec-2012-Jan-2013	67,970	60,000	41,360	169,330
Dec-13	76,830	60,000	39,600	176,430
Dec-14	57,800	88,840	2,000	148,640

(*) Statistics unified from different UNHCR Reports since 2009

From the above chart, it is noted that 2009 was a serious year for the recognition of Colombian people in Ecuador. In 2009, the statistics showed that 158,300 Colombians were living in Ecuador. This number is high for a population of 16 million in which the capital has 2 million people, and one of the border provinces, Carchi, has 160,000 (INEC, 2010). Thus, the correlation between the increase in news coverage and the Ecuadorian government's program for recognizing Colombian refugees is evident. However, there is no correlation between immigrants entering Ecuador and news coverage.

Sections

The placement of articles in different newspaper sections is another important aspect to discuss. It provides some understanding of the perspective adopted by the newspapers' editors. Article placement indicates the journal's manifest view of understanding the article. For instance, an article published on the front page implies that the article is among the most important of the day. It is more relevant than an article published in inside pages. Therefore, a sense of newsworthiness is automatically given to the news located in the front page of a newspaper.

The name of the section provides an initial framing of the topic. Politics, current events, security, judicial, world, and nation are significant sections because their names provide the first manifest journalistic frame. For instance, news located in the politics section is related to the treatment of political issues. The current events section explains the most important ongoing news events. For this research, the sections of politics, security, and judicial are the most descriptive. These sections imply a sense of legality, illegality, control, and national political decisions.

The two countries' newspapers provided different names for sections. In that respect, four out of 25 sections are the most repetitive and predominant. These four categories were translated from Spanish to English as: Current Events, Front Page, Politics and Security.

From the total sample, 101 articles (57%) belonged to these four sections. The remaining 43 per cent belonged to other sections with varying titles. Although there was a variety of section titles, most of those sections are related to the four major topics. The following chart explains the different sections of the remaining 43 per cent.

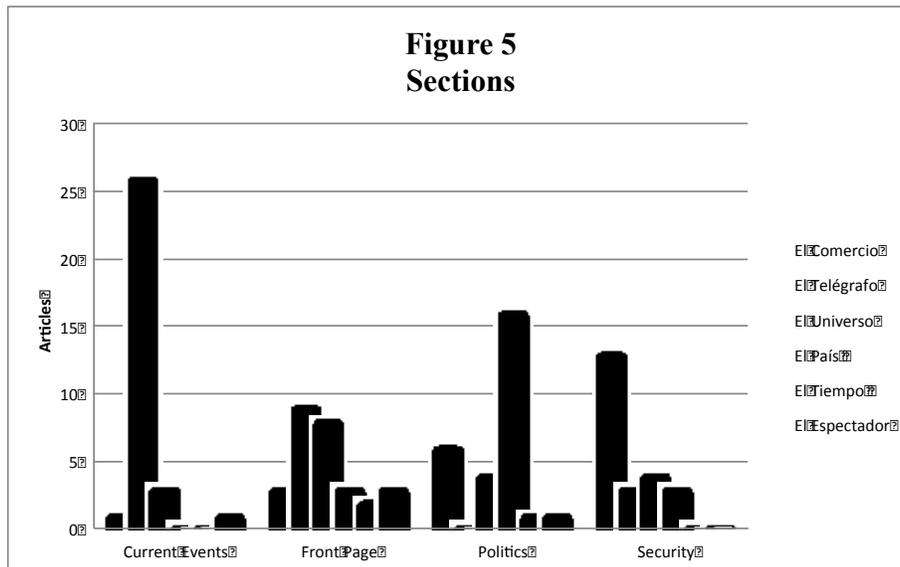
Chart 5: News placement

Sections	Ecuadorian Newspapers			Colombian Newspapers			Total	
	El Comercio	El Telégrafo	El Universo	El País	El Tiempo	El Espectador		
Current Events	1	29	3	0	0	3	36	57%
Front Page	3	9	8	3	2	3	28	
Politics	6	0	4	16	1	1	28	
Security	13	3	4	3	0	0	23	
National (Colombia and Ecuador)	0	0	1	6	2	0	9	43%
World	0	4	0	0	1	2	7	
Society	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	
International	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	
Opinion/Editorial	0	1	0	1	2	1	5	
Other or N/A	0	1	4	0	0	0	5	
Bogota	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	
Diversity	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	
General Information	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	
The Last	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	
Reportage	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	
Entertainment	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	
Central Report	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	
Citizen Zone	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	
Must Know	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
Economy	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	
Interview	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	
Must Read	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Emphasis	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
Guayaquil	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Justice	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Total							187	100%

The above chart shows that the Ecuadorian newspapers effectively paid more attention to the issue of immigration and Colombian refugees coming to Ecuador. However, the analysis of the sections provides us a tool to recognize a primary idea of how the immigration news was perceived by each newspaper, and thus basic manifest frames. For instance, *El Telégrafo* placed the articles most often in the category of current events, thus signifying newsworthy ongoing situations. Also this newspaper gave a high importance to this news as it published a good number of articles on the front page of the newspaper, thus perceiving the immigration news as more important than other news. The sections of security and politics carried fewer immigration articles in this newspaper. This is important to note as other newspapers used the category of security predominantly.

El Comercio's placement of articles is also important to note as it mainly concentrated its coverage in the security section. The name of this section suggests a direct relation to illegality, control and crime. The question why this newspaper placed immigrants news in the security section may be explained by the qualitative analysis, particularly if stereotypes embedded in crime and illegality appeared in the articles of this newspaper.

For the Colombian newspapers, the situation is different as they placed immigration news primarily in the politics section, again suggesting how the topic was framed. The Colombian newspapers made minimal use of the current events section. It is the same with other sections, such as front page and security, which are almost unused. Therefore, the main section for the Colombian newspapers is politics, as a potential frame to be analyzed in the further qualitative research.



Front page news

For this research, it is important to analyze the articles on the front page as such placement reveals newsworthiness. Newspaper convention asserts that front-page news is the most important because these stories are displayed most prominently. Front-page news is important because such stories are the first articles that audiences are encouraged to read. This research found 28 articles on the front page; 20 out of 28 articles belonged to the Ecuadorian newspapers, while eight came from the Colombian newspapers. Thus, the Ecuadorian newspapers gave more prominence to Colombian immigration coverage than the Colombians.

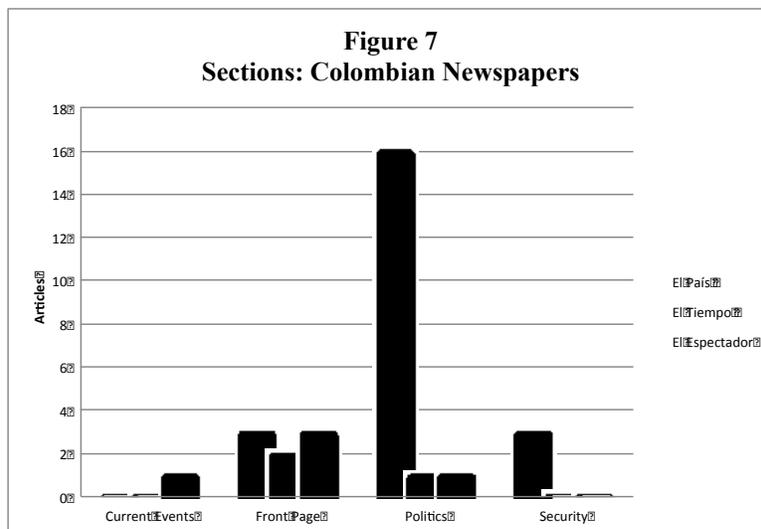
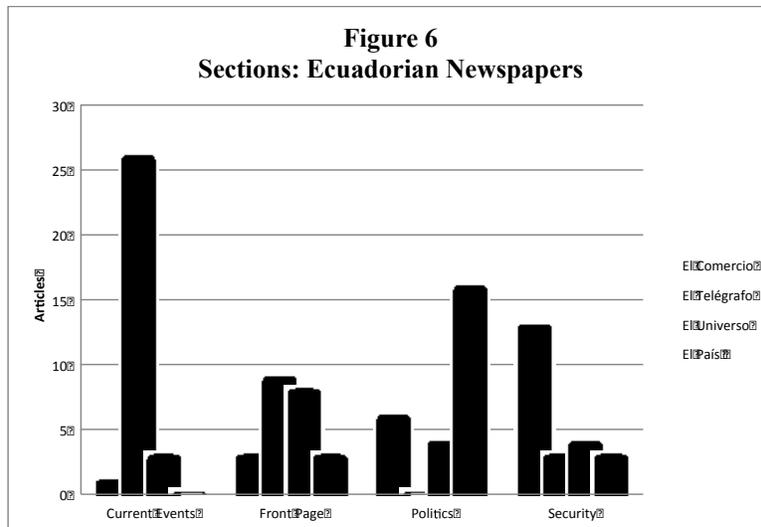
The Ecuadorian newspapers *El Telégrafo* (nine) and *El Universo* (eight) published 17 articles on the front page. From *El Comercio*, three articles were found on the front page. The articles' size on the front-page varies with each newspaper. Some of the articles were published with a relatively short length of 200 or 300 words. Other articles, the most prominent, had a length of 5,000 or even 7,000 words. The larger articles were usually published on the front page, as a 200- or 300- word introduction that is expanded in the inside pages. The size of the headlines tended to correspond to the length of the article. These values of size help this research determine whether a news article was of high interest for the newspaper based on its size.

In contrast, the Colombian newspapers published fewer articles than the Ecuadorian newspapers on the front page. *El País* and *El Espectador* placed three articles on the front page while *El Tiempo* newspaper published only two front-page stories. The average size used to publish a front-page article in the Colombian newspapers was less than 600 words. Thus, the Colombian portrayals of immigrants in its manifest content indicate that the coverage was not as predominant as in the Ecuadorian newspapers, because the space given to immigration news was relatively small and explained in few words.

Politics

Another critical section to analyze is politics. From the sample, 28 articles were identified as being in the politics section. From those, 16 articles belong to *El País*, six to *El Comercio*, and four to *El Universo*. The research found one article under politics in *El Tiempo* and one article in *El Espectador*. In sum, this analysis reveals that the Colombian newspapers treated the topic of Colombian immigration to Ecuador mostly from a political perspective evidenced in the news placement.

From the above, we can infer that the section of politics is a constant variable in the six newspapers. This section appears in other newspapers with different names such as nation, world, current events and others. Consequently it is notable to say that the politics and front-page sections are the most relevant for both quantitative and further qualitative research, as they summarize the perspectives or frames of the other sections.



Current events

The current events section published more articles about Colombian immigration to Ecuador than other sections. Thirty-one (16.5%) articles were retrieved from the total sample of 187 articles. However, it is important to mention that this section belongs mostly to the Ecuadorian daily *El Telégrafo*; it does not appear as widely in other newspapers because a smaller number of articles were published in the other five newspapers.

The current events section in the Ecuadorian newspapers *El Comercio* and *El Universo* only carried one and three articles respectively. *El Telegrafo* published 26 immigration articles in this section, so the number of articles placed here is more than half if compared with the other newspapers. Similarly, current events articles in the Colombian newspapers appeared less often

than in the Ecuadorian newspapers. Only *El Espectador* places one article about Colombian immigration to Ecuador under current events, while the others omit the section altogether.

In sum, although current events seems to be an important section to analyze, it only appears in one newspaper, so it is not as strong when compared to the other dailies. The current events section in *El Telegrafo* explains ongoing situations, however does not frame clearly what the news is about, thus it is a space for a variety of news, from immigration to politics, social, and several other topics considered to be recent.

Security

Security is the third section that stands out. For a numerical analysis, 23 articles were found in total. The newspaper that published the most in this section was *El Comercio* from Ecuador. It published 13 articles related to security and judicial subjects. At the same time, *El Universo* from Ecuador published four articles in the security section while *El Telégrafo* published three articles under this topic.

In contrast, the Colombian newspaper *El País* published three articles related to security while *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* did not publish any articles in this section. In sum, the newspaper that reported the topic from a security and judicial perspective the most was *El Comercio* from Ecuador.

This section is important to analyze because the name of it highlights how the newspaper categorizes the topic of immigration. Thus, to frame stories in sections such as security or with the label of judicial implies a sense of insecurity and distrust in the immigration process. It is a strong section that identifies primary stereotypes of illegality, control, and problematizing the migratory movement. Therefore, this first view opens a door to the next qualitative chapter where frames such as control, security or criminality may appear as a direct relation to the name of this section.

Conclusion of the chapter

To conclude, this chapter investigated manifest content such as headlines, dates and sections to provide objective and valuable information from the six Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers. The information retrieved helped in understanding the press's representation of immigrants — in this case, Colombian immigrants arriving in Ecuador — from objective information, which is useful as a basis to begin the next framing analysis.

The quantitative analysis indicated that Ecuadorian and Colombian newspapers presented a variety of perspectives by placing news in different sections. The Ecuadorian newspapers *El Comercio*, *El Universo*, and *El Telégrafo* provided clear manifest content to understand the description of Colombian immigration in the way in which sections were named. For instance, *El Comercio* uses the word security as a descriptive section for immigration articles. This may mean that *El Comercio* frames the topic through themes of control, illegality, and danger. At the same time, *El Universo* describes the situation from the wider use of big headlines on the front page, as well as using the section of security for the inside articles. *El Telégrafo* describes the situation more from a perspective that may normalize the situation in the section of current events as recent or ongoing situations. This daily also widely placed the news on the front page to instil a sense of newsworthiness and to support the idea of current events.

Similarly, Colombian newspapers placed the articles in different sections. However, the most prominent section was politics. Thus, it may be implied that Colombian newspapers describe the topic from a perspective of politics and government relations. Additionally, a good diversity of sections such as front page, society, international, topic of the day, editorial, politics, and city, among others, were found in the dailies.

This chapter also helped us to understand that the front page is certainly important to gauge newsworthiness. It gave valuable manifest content that helped to analyze the importance of the news for each newspaper. In this part of the study, the Ecuadorian newspapers showed a greater interest than the Colombian dailies. The Ecuadorian newspapers published more articles on the front page than the Colombians. Thus, the immigration topic seemed to be of greater interest for Ecuador than Colombia. This could be because Colombia may find in immigration a solution for the conflict on the border, or the Colombian press has other issues that could be more newsworthy, such as the violence on the border or other similar problems. However, this analysis posits the question of what is important for the Colombian press, as immigration seems not to be a prominent topic. Therefore, this idea is an important idea to analyze in the next chapter. From a first standpoint, front-page analysis provided the idea that Colombian newspapers are more opinionated regarding politics and diplomatic views, rather than reporting the social and economic aspect of immigration, as may be the trend of some Ecuadorian newspapers.

Based on the above, the variety of sections in the newspapers indicates a high differentiation in the way each newspaper framed the main topic. This revealed that immigration could be understood as newsworthy in a variety of ways. However, from the placement as manifest content, it can be seen that the journalistic perspectives classified immigration from a first framing approach of security and politics schemas. This first idea imprints meaning to the representation of immigration from a manifest view that may suggest that the coverage is framed through descriptions of crime, security, control, and diplomatic relations.

Additionally, the study showed that the Ecuadorian newspapers covered the topic of Colombian immigration to Ecuador the most in 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2014. Only in 2010 did the Colombian newspapers provide greater exposure to the topic. The years 2009 and 2010 are the most crucial in terms of coverage for both countries, as political and diplomatic events may have influenced the coverage. From this, it is worth noting that both countries understand immigration not as a phenomenon of massive movements, but as a phenomenon clearly associated with political and diplomatic relations. Thus, the topic of immigration seems to be relegated to governmental decisions, and the journalistic discourse may provide evidence of those positions, too. Therefore, the next chapter will pay attention to who speaks in the news to further describe the correlation of the political discourse, press perspectives, and immigration.

CHAPTER 3

Qualitative analysis

This thesis evaluated 58 articles through the guidance of framing analysis as a discourse and qualitative analysis method. The method focused its attention on finding latent content and unifying the findings of the last chapter, which covered manifest content.

According to Rodney Benson (2013), framing is about finding different ways of analyzing situations to accomplish a deeper understanding of events' depictions without looking for bias (pp. 4-5). From that perspective, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions: How are stories of Colombian immigration to Ecuador depicted in the press? Who speaks in the Colombian immigration news? How are these stories considered newsworthy? Moreover, what frames are predominant in the reporting of Colombian migration to Ecuador?

Who speaks? Primary sources of information

The research established 26 institutions and individual actors as the most frequent sources in the sample. Among them, this research identified the presence of the Ecuadorian and Colombian government perspectives, the UN Refugee Agency data, other non-governmental organizations (NGOs), police, military forces, and Colombian immigrants' views. However, the voices of some actors were more prominent than others.

This research noted that the participation of main authorities as principal sources of information was organized hierarchically. This kind of organization is evidenced in the journalistic portrayals of the studied articles, where some actors' views appear more often than others. In the sample, news writing convention placed the most important information and most important sources in the introductory section of the story. This is a journalistic hierarchy comprising only three sources: the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency, and members of the police.

For instance, the article "Colombians look for 1600 visas" ("Colombianos, tras unos 1600 cupos para visa de refugiados", 2009) expresses in its first two paragraphs that the main information about the registration of Colombian refugees is produced by two main actors: the UNHCR and the Ecuadorian government in the form of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This article posits these two actors as principal sources of information. Similarly, the article "10,000 Ecuadorian soldiers watch out the border" ("10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera",

2010) cites the comments from the Ecuadorian army first, followed by the UNHCR perspectives on the conflict along the border. However, this situation is not an isolated event, but is repeated across the 58 articles.

From the above, this research identified a first, second, and third actor as the most significant in the articles. This kind of hierarchical order speaks to the preference given to these actors, because their perspectives, together with the journalistic way of organizing the sources, adds meaning to the portrayal of the topic. This meaning is related to what views matter, and what views are highlighted in the news portrayal. Thus, the unification of sources and perspectives gives a sense of framing from the most important actors of each newspaper article. Furthermore, the hierarchical organization of sources and its views provide a level of importance in specific descriptions of the main actors. From that, this study identified that the first three speakers are the main authorities considered as the most predominant for this analysis.

How is Colombian immigration considered newsworthy?

On one level, this would seem an easy question to answer: such news is about immigrants and immigration. However, that is not necessarily true. Instead, most immigration news highlights other issues such as human rights, politics, diplomatic relations, economics, military relations, portrayals of women, etc. Therefore, the topic of immigration is enclosed in other themes considered newsworthy for the press.

The sample provides one example of these portrayals in the article, “Insulza highlighted work on the Ecuadorian border” (“Insulza resalta labor en la frontera norte”, 2009). In this example, the news is not about Colombian refugees or displaced people exclusively, but about the diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Colombia. This article highlights foreign organizations as mediators of the border conflict from two perspectives: diplomatic relations and humanitarian cooperation. However, the most important topic is the political relationship between the two countries. This situation is not isolated and is repeated in other articles. Another example is the article, “Ecuador asks for Colombia presence on the border” (“Ecuador pide presencia de Colombia en la frontera”, 2010). This article states:

“... the Ecuadorian Minister of Security, Homero Arellano declared that the Colombian government must improve its presence in the Ecuadorian border to restore trust between both countries. (...) Arellano highlighted the migratory policies that Ecuador has when

referring to Colombian refugees. However, he warned that he would not permit that “illegal people or criminals use the international refugee visa status to come to Ecuador”. For that reason, control and security in the border must be increased.”

From the above, what is newsworthy for the article is not necessarily the immigration situation, but the conflict on the border and the “trust between both countries,” in other words the political environment, diplomatic relationship, and security.

What frames represent the journalistic views of Colombian migration to Ecuador?

This research identified some principal frames. A pre-test of 25 articles randomly selected determined the major frames of representing immigration. Later, these main frames, together with the first findings of the content analysis were useful to identify other subcategories among the 58 most relevant articles in the sample. This action complemented the previous frames, obtaining an improved and contextualized framing approach to understanding the representation of Colombian immigration to Ecuador.

Fifty-eight articles comprised the complete study. This final sample was obtained from the quantitative analysis in which final relevance as the final result of relevance 1 and relevance 2 (R1+R2) was measured. From that, the final relevance test ranked the most important articles by one, two and three stars. The selected 58 articles were those rated with two and three stars in the final relevance test.

The 58 articles were analyzed through an in-depth reading technique. The reading identified main actors or speakers and composed a template to measure the most repetitive frames from the first basic frames already established in the pre-test. These frames are the descriptions that will answer how Colombian immigrants are represented in the news portrayals of both countries' newspapers.

From the 58 articles, the most predominant frames are the victim frame, the threat frame, the political frame, the diplomatic relations frame, and the statistics frame. These themes generated subcategories that provided a more precise depiction of the immigrant characteristics within the larger frames. For instance, the victim frame may also present a subcategory of humanitarian, economic issues, violent conflicts, or other descriptions. This also happens for other major or basic frames that are not fixed to one meaning but restructured or recomposed with the context of the news. Thus, one frame is not an independent or fixed frame but rather

guided by other descriptions that compose the meaning of each article. Also, two minor frames were identified from secondary sources. They are important to highlight as other actors, outside the major sources of information, who speak about immigration through these two frames: the information frame and the empowerment frame. These minor frames also present subcategories that complement the depiction of the immigrant.

In that respect, the following charts provide a further description of the major frames of representing immigrant and their subcategories.

Chart 6. Major Frames

Major Frames	Description
Victim (VF)	The main speakers portray Colombian immigrants as victims.
Threat (TF)	The main speakers portray Colombian immigrants as a threat for the society.
Political Tension Frame (-) (PTF)	The main speakers portray Colombian immigrants as a political tool to negotiate diplomatic relations and political disagreements between Ecuador and Colombia.
Statistics (S&N)	The main speakers portray Colombian immigrants with numbers.
Good Worker or People (GWP)	The main speakers portray Colombian immigrants as good workers or good people.

Chart 7. Minor Frames

Minor Frames	Description
Information Frame (IF)	Secondary speakers portray immigrants from ideas of failures in the system and lack of access to education, health, the financial system, legal system or other similar.
Empowerment Frame (EF)	Secondary speakers portray the immigrants from the points of view of: denouncing xenophobia, the explanation of their life project, and claiming for human rights.

Based on the above charts, various subcategories appeared as complements to the major and minor frames, thus revealing that migration news is dynamic and highly dependent on contextual variables such as politics, economics, media ownership, etc. These subcategories are described broadly in the following charts:

Chart 8. Major Frames: Descriptions

VICTIM FRAME (VF)		Description
VF: H	Humanitarian	Immigrants described as people that need help or assistance from others (NGOs, governments, church or other institutions).
VF: \$	Economic	Immigrants described as needing financial support.
VF: AC	Armed Conflict	Immigrants described as victims of the Colombian Army Conflict or violence.
VF: X	Xenophobia	Immigrants facing harassment or xenophobic treatment.
VF: LOW	Lack of Work	Immigrants described as poor people due to lack of work opportunities, however, no work exploitation is implied.
VF: LOWE	Lack of Work and Exploitation	Immigrants described as poor but due to a lack of work, furthermore this category implies a direct exploitation of the immigrant in a sexual or economic way.
VF: Poor	Poor People	Immigrants described with minimum or less than a minimum income.

THREAT FRAME (TF)		Description
TF: C	Crime	Immigrants related to criminal behaviour.
TF: X	Xenophobia	Immigrants are described as rejected as a matter of their nationality.

POLITICAL TENSION FRAME (PTF)		Description
PTF: DR	Diplomatic Relations	This frame doesn't talk about immigrants directly but the political actors who participate in the situation. It implies the creation of policies or other kinds of political negotiation between Ecuador and Colombia.

STATISTICS FRAME	S&N	The main speakers portray immigrants with statistics
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Chart 9. Minor Frames: Descriptions

EMPOWERMENT FRAME (EP)		Description
EP: DX	Denounces Xenophobia	The immigrants denounce in the news attitudes of rejection.
EP: LP	Life project peace	The secondary speakers explain their project of life in the new country.
EP: HR	Human Rights	The main speakers or secondary speakers portray immigrants from the point of view of human rights.
INFORMATION FRAME (IF)		Description
IF: FS	Failure in the System	The main speakers, as well as, the second speakers inform about problem in the banking system, education, health, financial, visas procedures, appears and reveals often times a failure in the system.

Ecuadorian Newspapers: Qualitative analysis

The three Ecuadorian newspapers, *El Universo*, *El Comercio*, and *El Telégrafo*, demonstrate a hierarchical approach to depicting Colombian immigration to Ecuador. The

majority of coverage gives a considerable amount of privilege to the opinions of principal sources of information that represent immigrants' voices while marginalizing the views of other relevant actors such as refugees, Colombian citizens, Ecuadorian citizens or other actors not so frequently reproduced in the news.

According to McEnery (2005), when portraying refugees, the media tend to produce a "hierarchy of credibility," in the form of the reproduction of the same sources in the journalists' portrayals (p. 199). This situation places those sources in a privileged position in which they are capable of framing the topic of immigration and the immigrants themselves from their viewpoint, and thus influencing public opinion.

From the above, the repetitive use of the same sources of information provides those sources considerable power in framing Colombian immigration. These sources are powerful and credible because they act as active law creators that determine policies and governmental decisions. According to Van Dijk (1993), the people capable of exerting power and influence over others are known as symbolic elites who control the means of communication and who are engaged in the manufacture of public opinion (p. ix-x).

From another view, when journalists prioritize particular sources over others, the media give those sources the possibility of exerting power in the imagination of journalists and citizens. Thus, the majority of voices that speak in the media exert a measure of power, in this case, with respect to the representation of immigrants in the news. To a certain extent, this exercise of power limits, and in some cases silences, the voices of minorities. Therefore, it prevents minorities from attaining higher levels of participation and representation within a society (Donsbach, Salmon & Tsfati, 2014, p. 7). Neumann argues that the more media — as the dominant voices — disseminate information provided by majoritarian voices, the more minorities are disempowered (Donsbach, Salmon & Tsfati, 2014, p. 55).

The above reflection reveals a contradiction in which the majority of voices speak on behalf of minorities. Therefore, news about immigration is not simply about refugees or other migratory categories, but about the perspectives and views that the majority portrayals reflect about them, in this case, about Colombian immigrants.

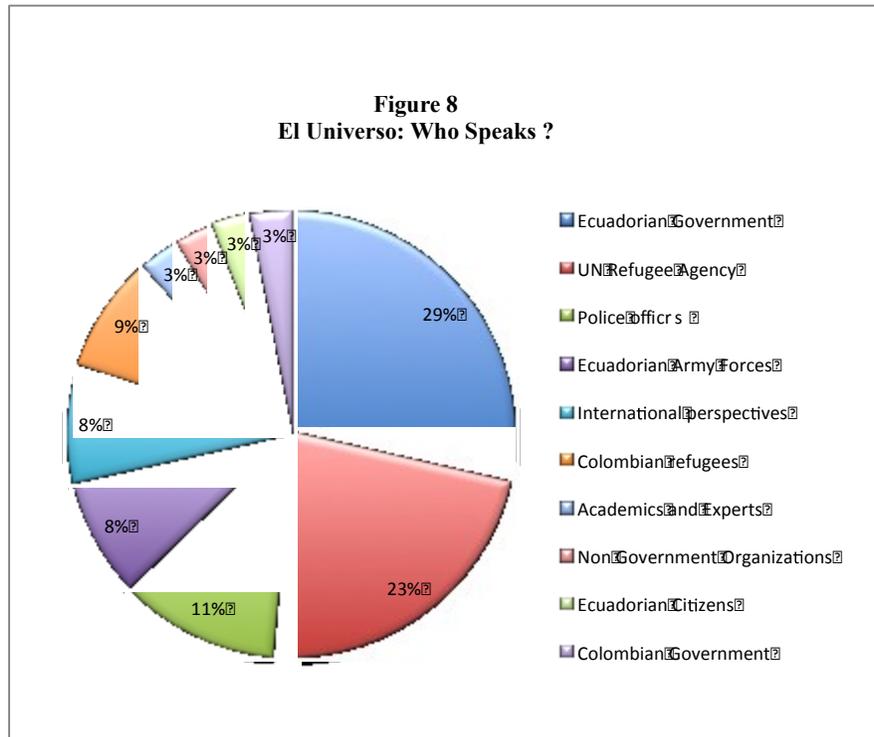
To develop an analysis of which sources or main actors are most often cited by the journalists of each newspaper, I created an excel template designed to identify the order in which

the actors appeared in each of the 58 articles. Thus, a hierarchical organization is analyzed. From that analysis, the study revealed that the Ecuadorian Government and the UN Refugee Agency were the preferred sources, thus the main actors that speak on behalf of Colombian refugees. However, this situation will be analyzed in each newspaper to cover other important secondary actors as well.

***El Universo* Analysis**

Who speaks? Main authorities

In the case of *El Universo*, journalists prioritized two sources: the Ecuadorian government and the UN refugee agency. Police officers also appear as important actors, as well as members of the Ecuadorian military forces, providing important insight to understand how Colombian immigrants are represented by the media.



From the above chart, *El Universo* sources indicate a hierarchical relation and preference when prioritizing the information provided by some sources over others. The first actor that commonly appears as a main information source is the Ecuadorian government (29%). The second is the UN Refugee Agency (23%) and the third actor is the police (11%). Other actors such as refugees (9%), the Ecuadorian army (8%), international opinions (8%), academic or

experts (3%), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (3%), Ecuadorian citizens (3%), and the Colombian government perspectives (3%) are also represented to a lesser extent.

El Universo depicts a discourse that heavily prioritizes the voices of powerful authorities on the topic of immigration. The Ecuadorian government and the UN Refugee Agency appear as relevant sources of information. Therefore, this newspaper shows a highly hierarchical point of view, especially when a topic is related to the Ecuadorian government administration. Therefore, the extensive reproduction of the Ecuadorian government perspectives frames the Colombian immigrant with respect to the political interests at play.

For instance, the article “Crime motivates debugging refugees’ visa plan” (“Delincuencia motiva depuración del plan de visa de refugiados Colombianos”, 2011) is a clear example of a hierarchical report. In it, the Ecuadorian government appears as the first actor who presents information about the refugee process in 2009. In second place, the UN Refugee Agency appears as the organization that declares the recognition of refugees as a major success for the Ecuadorian government. And a third actor, members of security and police, state how Colombians are seen in the Ecuadorian society from the description of criminal situations.

From the above, the article uses information from members of the police to contrast the information provided by the UN Refugee Agency and the Ecuadorian government. Police statements highlight Colombians as criminals who obtained the refugee documentation thanks to a failure in the system. The article states: “According to the investigating agent Javier Bosquez in an interview with *El Comercio* newspaper, 39 Colombians in prison carry refugee documentation.”² Thus, the article uses a hierarchical way of depicting Colombian immigrants in which only the voices of some authorities are highlighted. Therefore, the predominant use of data from the police shapes the perception of refugees in the news, as may be highlighted during the qualitative analysis in the next chapter.

Another example of the same situation is the article, “UN Refugee Agency seeks to prevent abuse of shelter with asylum system” (“Con sistema de asilo, el Acnur busca evitar un abuso del refugio”, 2010). In this article the voice of the UN Refugee Agency calls for helping refugees while the police state: “The police and prosecutors recognize that there exists a bad use

² Spanish statement: “Según el agente fiscal Javier Bosquez, en declaraciones a diario *El Comercio*, de 39 colombianos detenidos, 20 tenían documentos de refugiados.” *El Universo*, 27 June, 2001, Current Events.

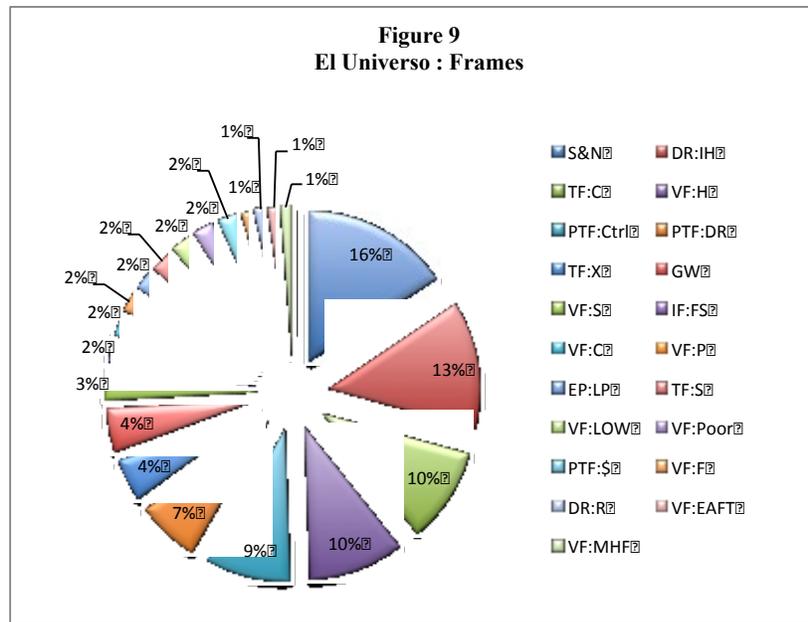
of refugee visas due to the fact that a high percentage of beneficiaries register criminal records” (“Con sistema de asilo, el Acnur busca evitar un abuso del refugio”, 2010). However, the front-page statement is not supported with statistical data to support this opinion. In an inside article in the same edition, other sources, contrary to the police statement above, note: “as a matter of a little group of people with criminal records, we are not going to stop giving support to the refugees” (“Acuerdo para mejorar la situación de refugiados”, 2010). Thus, differing views are presented in the news, but some views are highlighted over others. In this case, criminal views are prioritized over humanitarian and the Ecuadorian government perspectives because this information comes from the police who deal primarily with criminals.

***El Universo*: The ‘what’ question**

El Universo depicts Colombian immigrants as refugees. However, not all of them are refugees. In general, *El Universo* provides no clear explanation or differentiation in the portrayals between the immigration categories of refugee, asylum seeker, economic immigrant, tourist, etc.

To illustrate this, the article “Police research reveals a refugee as a thief” (“Investigación delata a un 'refugiado' como ladrón”, 2011) states in its headline that a refugee is a thief. This statement contradicts a quote found within the article that mentions a Colombian criminal who is not a refugee, but an asylum seeker. The article says that a provisional refugee certificate verified the Colombian citizen identity. This means that the Colombian criminal is not a refugee, but an asylum seeker, and thus does not have a legally recognized status as a refugee. The provisional certificate is usually given to a person when criminal conviction prevents the foreign citizen from applying for refugee status. However, that is not explained in the article. This indicates that recognized refugees (R1) and Colombian citizens (CC) are the principal subjects depicted in the news sample, albeit with a broad confusion with criminals and asylum seekers (R2).

***El Universo*: Frames**



To elaborate this framing analysis a pre-test of 25 articles defined the basic major frames of immigration news. After that, other categories were identified in the 58 articles selected for the complete framing analysis. The 58 articles were selected through the relevance measure (R1 and R2) explained in the last chapter.

In total, 21 frames and sub-frames were identified in *El Universo*. From them, the most predominant frames are Statistics (S&N) (16%), and Diplomatic Relations: International Help (DR: IH) (13%). The Threat frame related to crime (TF: C) (10%), and the Victim Frame related to humanitarian aspects (VF: H) (10%) are equally prevalent, but they are not as frequent as the first two frames.

The Political Tension Frame related to the control of borders and migratory policies (PTF: Ctrl) (9%) also appeared as an important frame, together with the Political Tension Frame related to diplomatic relations (PTF: DR) (7%). Finally, the frames of Xenophobia (TF: X) (4%) and the Good Worker-People frame (GWP) (4%) appeared to a lesser extent.

To illustrate the three most important frames in this newspaper, certain articles were selected. For instance, the Statistics frame is indicated by headlines such as in the front-page article, “Ecuador will give visas to 1600 Colombians,” (“País dará visado a 1600 colombianos, 2009) and its inside follow-up, “Colombians looking for 1600 refugee visas” (“Colombianos, tras unos 1.600 cupos para visa de refugiados, 2009). This frame employs numbers to inform readers

about the migratory situation. “1600 refugee visas” implies a significant number, especially for a city with 189,000 people such as Esmeraldas (Inec, 2010). Furthermore, the article states, “the Colombians packed Nubia Villacis stadium,”³ which from the use of the Spanish word “abarrotar” — translated into packed — connotes a massive crowd of people. Thus, the article uses “numbers and exaggerations” (Philo et al., 2013, pp. 56–57) in its depiction of immigrants. Another example is, “28 thousand refugee visas to be reviewed,” (“A revisión irán 28000 visas de refugiados, 2011) a headline that promotes a sense of moral panic and anxiety due to the perception that a massive number of criminals is getting into Ecuador as fake refugees.

Other examples that illustrate the most prevailing frames are the articles, “Agreement to improve refugee’s situation” (“Acuerdo para mejorar la situación de refugiados”, 2010) and, “Angelina Jolie visits President Rafael Correa.” (“Angelina Jolie se reunió con Rafael Correa”, 2010). These two articles are manipulated into political and international relations statements that frame the immigration topic by prioritizing diplomatic relations and international efforts. In that respect, this kind of news depicts how the Ecuadorian government and other international institutions support the actions of the UN Refugee Agency. These kinds of depictions manipulate the description of immigrants into political positions in which a sense of diplomacy promotes the UN Refugee Agency and the Ecuadorian government’s efforts in the Colombian migratory situation.

Another important frame to highlight and explain further is the threat frame from a crime perspective (TF: C). This is important in *El Universo* because it is embedded in several news portrayals. A sense of criminalizing the Colombia immigrant is seen in some articles, including, “28 thousand refugee visas to be reviewed,” (“A revisión irán 28000 visas de refugiados, 2011) “Crime motivates debugging refugees’ visa plan,” (Delincuencia motiva depuración del plan de visa de refugiados Colombianos, 2011), “Two Colombian suspects arrested yesterday in Quito,” (Dos colombianos sospechosos de sicariato detenidos ayer en Quito, 2010) and “Police research reveals a refugee as a thief” (“Investigación delata a un 'refugiado' como ladrón”, 2011). These articles emphasize a sense of moral panic in which Colombian immigrants are rejected because

³ Spanish original text: “Los colombianos abarrotaron las dependencias del coliseo Nubia Villacis...”

they are seen as ‘the other’ or ‘the deviant’, people threatening Ecuadorian social norms (Cohen, 1923, Hall, 1993).

Another example of the threat frame that also includes a sense of rejection is the article, “Chaos and disorder in Colombians’ registration” (Caos y desorden en el registro de colombianos, 2009). This article mentions that in 2009, at least 2,000 Colombians in one day received a bracelet that identified them as Colombians within Ecuadorian society. The bracelet was a way of counting and organizing the number of Colombian refugees applying to obtain a refugee visa in a government project called Registro Ampliado 2009.

The following quotes exemplify how this specific action differentiates a Colombian from an Ecuadorian in that specific project. “I do not think it is correct to carry a bracelet on our arm. It is not correct that we have to carry it every moment; it is like a mark that says ‘you are Colombian.’”⁴ “When we take the bus, everybody watches us because of the bracelet, they know that we are Colombians.”⁵

The above quotes differentiate Colombians from Ecuadorians, as the refugee claimants were required to wear a bracelet as part of the regulation processes.⁶ This rendered the Colombians as easily identifiable and distinguished them from Colombians already resident in Ecuador. The coverage of this special registration process made visible the presence of Colombians to Ecuadorians’ eyes, as before the only physical difference between Colombians and Ecuadorians was a different Spanish accent.

The last frame that is important to mention in *El Universo* is the Political Tension frame related to border control (PTF: Ctrl). This frame produces an implication that Ecuador’s borders require control against Colombian guerrillas disguised as refugees. For instance, the article “Doubts about the refugee program” (“Dudas sobre el programa para refugiados”, 2011) states

⁴ Original quote: “No me parece correcto que nos pongan un brazalete en la mano y que tengamos que cargarlo en todo momento; es como un sello que dice ‘tú eres colombiano,’ dijo.” (2009, May 20). *El Universo*.

⁵ Original quote: “Cuando nos subimos a un bus todos nos quedan mirando, saben que somos colombianos por el brazalete.” (2009, May 20). *El Universo*.

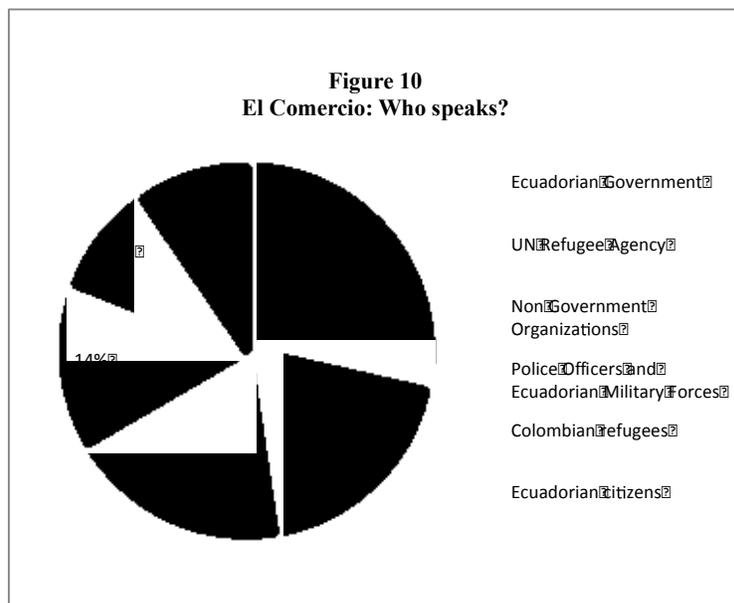
⁶ In 2009, during the Colombian registration procedure in Ecuador, the Ecuadorian government authorities and some officers of the UN Refugee Agency in Ecuador agreed to use bracelets as a way of identifying the Colombian people who were looking for an appointment to ask for refugee status. This method was a way to organize the attention to refugees because at first the primary numerical tickets for the appointments were easily to falsify. The use of bracelets were a security measure for the registration process.

contradictory views from two sources. The UN Refugee Agency and the Ecuadorian government state that there is no possibility of guerrilla members coming to Ecuador as refugees, while the Ecuadorian military forces denounce three paramilitary (FARC) members or terrorists that were seen asking for a refugee visa. Thus, the article highlights a need to improve border controls and security measures to avoid terrorists to come to Ecuador.

In sum, three sources of information prevail in *El Universo*: the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency, and to a lesser extent, police members and Ecuadorian military personnel. The analysis revealed that the articles’ depictions were created through the major frames of Statistics (S&N); Diplomatic Relations (DR); Threat frame from a crime-related perspective (TF: C), and the Political Tension frame from a perspective of enhancing control in the border (PTF: Ctrl) . This denotes that ‘the other’ — in this case the Colombian immigrant — is depicted through stereotypes of otherness as the deviant that may be involved with crime, exaggerated numbers, and oftentimes described as a problem for the national and political security of Ecuador.

El Comercio Analysis

Who speaks? Main authorities



In *El Comercio*’s articles, the predominant sources of information are the Ecuadorian government (29%) and the UN Refugee Agency (19%). Other players such as non-governmental offices (14%) are tied for fourth place with police officers and the Ecuadorian Army (14%). The

views of Colombian citizens and Colombian refugees (9%) appear to a lesser extent. Finally, the perspectives of Ecuadorian citizens (10%) also appear in this newspaper.

***El Comercio* The ‘what’ question?**

Colombian citizens and refugees are the main subjects of interest in this newspaper, however Colombian immigrants are mostly described as R1, that is, refugees unrelated to crime. As in *El Universo* above, the news portrayals show an unclear description of whether the Colombians are refugees, asylum seekers, or belong to another migratory category. Colombian citizens are all labeled as refugees in the news depictions, even if some of them are not.

These kinds of generalizations are dangerous because they change the way a Colombian is perceived. For instance, according to the 1951 Geneva Convention, the main international instrument of refugee law, a refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group (UNHCR, n.d.). In contrast, an asylum seeker is a person who has not been recognized as a refugee because some of the requirements to qualify as a refugee have not been fulfilled, or the application process is ongoing. Furthermore, the Colombians could also be economic immigrants or even tourists. A clear migratory distinction in the news depictions is required to avoid imprecise use of the terms refugee and asylum seeker, labels that are often associated by news stories with stereotypes of violence or economic problems.

To illustrate this, the article, “Refugee's visa is not a free pass to crime” (“La visa de refugiado no exime a los foráneos que delinquen, 2009) confuses a Colombian asylum seeker who had committed a crime with the migratory category of refugee. The following quote in the first paragraph of the article says: “people in charge of security in Esmeraldas are worried about the supposed participation of Colombian refugees in criminal acts.” This paragraph indicates confusion in the refugee and asylum seeker categories; in the subsequent explanation, only one proven refugee was related to this act while other criminals were not refugees, but asylum seekers. However, the paragraph maintains that refugees are involved in crime. Furthermore, the paragraph states that there might be a correlation between crime and Colombian refugees as a whole. This criminalizes the refugee category while confusing the migratory status.

The depiction or correlation of refugees and asylum seekers with criminal activity is further explained in the following paragraph: “Obando also reminded that a citizen with a bracelet — given by the UN Refugee Agency and the Ecuadorian Government to asylum seekers — was assassinated... It seems that the citizen was a Colombian who used to live 10 years in Esmeraldas. He was closer to receiving the refugee visa, according to one of his neighbours.”⁷ This paragraph states that a Colombian citizen was more likely to receive a refugee visa just because he was using a bracelet. The function of the bracelet, according to the UN Refugee Agency and officers from the 2009 Registro Ampliado project, was to give the Colombians an appointment to initiate the refugee visa process. However, the bracelet does not grant, nor even make it closer to refugee category acceptance. In that respect, this article shows a lack of journalistic fact checking when differentiating refugees and asylum seekers from other kinds of immigrants and even from some criminals with an unfixed migratory category. The reasons behind why the Colombian migrant was killed in the news remains unclear — it is not stated. The article implies that this person was killed because of the bracelet.

El Comercio's articles used different names to depict Colombian immigrants. For instance, journalists used the terms: Colombians citizens (CC), recognized refugees (R1), and refugees (Rs) indiscriminately. However, the terms refugees and asylum seeker are not used accurately as stated in the example above. Oftentimes, the UN Refugee Agency refers to the immigrants as refugees non-crime related or recognized refugees (R1). The Ecuadorian government refers to Colombian immigrants as refugees (Rs), recognized refugees (R1), and Colombian citizens as if the categories were the same. Police members generalize the immigrants as refugees (Rs), illegal immigrants related to illicit issues (R2), and Colombian citizens (CC) negatively, thus crime-related. Therefore, *El Comercio's* descriptions do not provide clear perspectives of differentiating immigrants' categories.

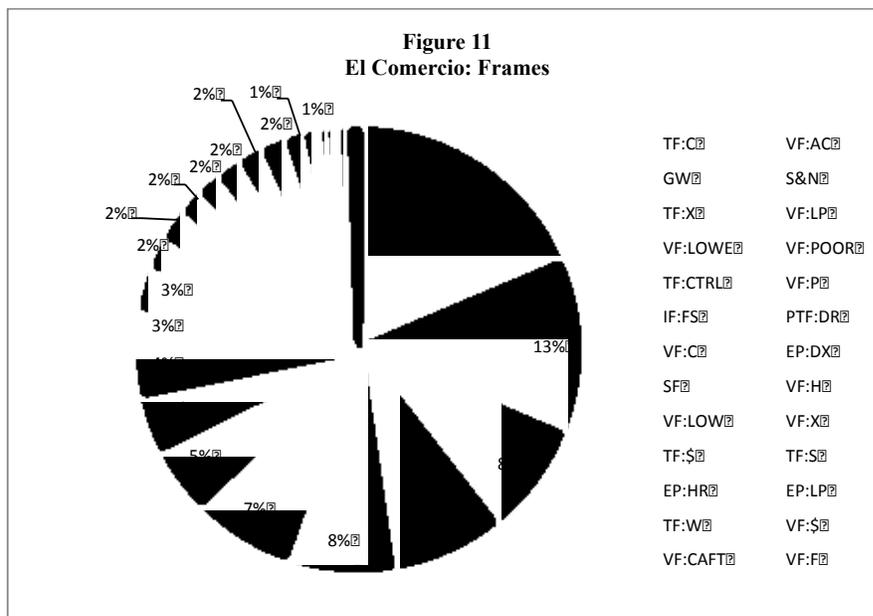
From the above, journalistic work must make a conscious effort to understand migratory categories when referring to the depicted subject. In this case, Colombian immigrants who are

⁷ Original text: “Obando también recordó que un ciudadano que tenía puesto un brazalete —de los que colocan la Cancillería y el Acnur a los solicitantes de refugio, mientras se regularizan- fue asesinado ... Al parecer, era un colombiano que vivía en el Ecuador desde hace 10 años y estaba por recibir el carné de refugiado. La información la dio uno de sus vecinos.” (2009, June 14th), *El Comercio*.

refugees can't be depicted as asylum seekers or illegal people without any migratory status. Nor can they be described as economic immigrants, tourists or any other migratory category. Inaccurate journalistic depictions can too easily connect Colombian immigrants to dangerous situations, such as the stigma of being a terrorist, a person with a provisional card, or an asylum seeker that applied for a refugee visa but who has been denied for reasons not always related to illegal situations.

It is worthy to clarify that the provisional migratory condition usually posits that a Colombian immigrant is in a temporary migratory status. On it, the person is allowed to stay only three months without the right to work in Ecuador. Generally, this situation stigmatizes the Colombian, as it may indicate that the denial is related to criminal acts, however, the denial may be because the person is required to apply to another migratory category such as worker, business or other. Having a clear journalistic idea of the migratory categories may clarify whether a Colombian is a refugee or not. It will avoid misleading depictions such as those in most of *El Comercio* articles.

***El Comercio*: Frames**



In total, 26 sub-frames were identified in *El Comercio*'s articles. The most predominant was the frame related to Threat and Crime (TF: C, 19%). In second place, Colombian immigrants were described as refugees who are Victims of the Armed Conflict (VF: AC, 13%), in other

words victims of Colombian guerrilla violence. The Good Worker frame (GW) was also relevant (8%), depicting Colombian immigrants as good people and hard workers. Finally, the Statistics frame (S&N) (8%) describes immigrants from a numerical perspective.

A frame that is highly emphasized in the depictions by *El Comercio* is the threat frame from a crime viewpoint (TF: C). The article, “Refugees are used to drug trafficking” (“Refugiados son usados para el tráfico de drogas”, 2009, January 7th). *El Comercio* correlates refugees with illegal practices. Though, clearly, not all immigrants are criminals, this article generalizes the situation and depicts Colombians as criminals. For instance, the article describes a Colombian refugee named Heidi Suarez, condemned to 25 years in prison for killing a man. The article discusses the way she killed a man with a highly descriptive use of words. It states: “After a few hours she cut the body to hide it in garbage bags.”⁸ This article describes three cases like the above, with a description of Colombian refugees as thieves, drug dealers and killers.

According to the article, these people were Colombian refugees. However, at the end of the article it says: “Patricio Freire, National Coordinator of Human Mobility, indicates that it is not possible to stereotype all the Colombians. If they commit any crime they will be punished. He states that we can’t say that all Colombians are criminals.”⁹ In that respect, the article makes it clear at the end that not all Colombians are criminals. However, it is not enough because, as a matter of order and hierarchy of sources, the first paragraph and the headline connect Colombians to illegal situations. Thus, the article prioritizes depictions of threat and crime when referring to these immigrants.

Another article titled “Refugee status does not apply to felons” (“El refugio no se aplica al delito grave”, 2010) also connects immigrants with crime and depicts them as a threat. This article explains how the process to obtain a refugee visa is undertaken. The explanation is given to assure that it is difficult for criminals to obtain one. The journalist asks questions with a clear bias, such as: “Was it on good faith that you gave refugee status to drug dealers in Caso

⁸ Original text: Después de unas horas le cercenó sus extremidades para ocultar el cuerpo en fundas de basura. (2009, January 7th), *El Comercio*.

⁹ Original text: Patricio Freire, coordinador nacional de asuntos de movilidad humana indicó que no se puede estigmatizar a todos los colombianos. Si comenten algún delito deben ser sancionados independiente de quien lo haga. Empero, destacó que no se debe decir que todos los colombianos son criminales. (2009, January 7th), *El Comercio*.

Aniversario¹⁰”¹¹ To this question, the interviewee describes the difference between being a refugee and an asylum seeker. It is clear that the interviewer is not aware of this difference, thus the journalist’s question is misleading and equates refugees to criminals, such as Colombians who participated in Caso Aniversario and were not Colombian refugees, but rather asylum seekers or some other migratory category. Similarly, all of the questions in this interview were designed to indicate that the visa process is complex and many failures in the process may allow criminals to enter Ecuador. This article transmits moral panic and xenophobic attitudes based on fear.

Also, three frames depict immigrants as victims from three angles: 1) victims of the armed conflict (VF: AC) 2) poverty (VF: poor), and 3) lack of work or exploitation (VF: Lowe). These frames and sub-frames represent a valid example of stereotypical reinforcement that classifies immigration into a victimization of the newcomer. For instance, the article “To open a bank account is difficult for refugees” (La apertura de una cuenta es compleja para los desplazados, 2011) contains the above three kinds of depictions. First, it states that Colombians cannot access the banking system because of discrimination and a failure in the system’s organization. For instance, the article mentions, “It is not about discrimination, but that banks are used to receive legitimate money.” This quote implies that the money provided by a refugee may be illegitimate, and discriminates against them.

However, the news describes a Colombia refugee named Jose G. as a poor person who is running away from the violence of his country. The article also describes him as a good worker, victim of the Colombian armed conflict, who has saved money in his mattress over the course of a year, accumulating \$500. Thus, the newspaper uses frames of victimizing the immigrant with subcategories such as being poor, being a victim of the violence in Colombia and being a good worker and person.

As an example of the Statistics frame (S&N), the article “20,000 Colombians in Esmeraldas” (“20.000 Colombianos en Esmeraldas”, 2009) states a massive number of Colombians living in the city of Esmeraldas. This article uses a big number to convey a sense of

¹⁰ Caso Aniversario is a drug trafficking network dismantled by the Ecuadorian police on October 11, 2009.

¹¹ Original text: “¿Con base en esa buena fe se concedieron las certificaciones de refugio a los narcos del caso Aniversario?”

massive mobilization. This article also mentioned that 6,000 visas were provided to the newcomers and that the government was in process of regularizing them.

El Comercio evidences the idea of the “numbers game” (Frances & Tator, 2002, p. 182). Most of its headlines promote awareness and caution about the migratory situation. The article's headline pattern mostly shows numeric descriptions of immigrants. The above article “20,000 Colombians in Esmeraldas” (“20.000 Colombianos en Esmeraldas”, 2009) describes Frances and Tator’s concept of the numbers game, as a sensationalist alarmist headline that points out the presence of an enormous number of visitors in a poor province of Ecuador. Furthermore, the article uses numbers such as how many appointment tickets were distributed to the refugees. For instance, it mentions: “... last Monday, 1400 tickets were distributed”¹²... “Daily attention is provided to 130 people.”¹³

Additionally, the front-page headline, “Refugee status is based on good faith” (“El refugio se basa en la buena fe”, 2010) and its inside article placed in the judicial section, clearly express a sense of fear and rejection against the newcomers. The headline dismisses the migratory decisions taken by the Ecuadorian government. Therefore, it promotes fear among citizens who may believe that some criminals may come to live in Ecuador because of failures in the admission process. Moreover, this idea is supported by the inside article in the judicial section, “Refugee status does not apply to felons” (“El refugio no se aplica al delito grave”, 2010) that implies an indirect danger in the visa process (Costera, 2013, p. 13–28). This article involves a sentiment of doubt and mistrust in the visa procedures.

The article “20,000 Colombians in Esmeraldas” (“20.000 Colombianos en Esmeraldas”, 2009) is not only a sample of Statistics frame. This also emphasized the frame of refugees depicted as Good Workers (GW). In this case, a Colombian refugee was described as a person who works hard. The article states:

“Since 5:00 am, from Tuesday to Sunday, Juancho, a Colombian native from Cali, sells juices to athletes who run in Las Palmas beach, in Esmeraldas. It is the first place where athletes can quench their thirst for USD 1. For two hours he dominates the market, until other vendors of coconut water, sodas and juices appear. Juancho mentions with a smile,

¹² Original text: “... el lunes último se entregaron 1400 turnos.” (2009, May 20th), *El Comercio*, p 16.

¹³ Original text: “Diariamente se atiende a 130 personas.” (2009, May 20th), *El Comercio*, p 16.

something must be devised to avoid starving the family.”¹⁴ (“20.000 Colombianos en Esmeraldas”, 2009)

From the above article, it is also notable that in order to depict a Colombian refugee, the journalist used a frame in which poverty, lack of work, and exploitation was embedded. To illustrate this, the article says: “The benefit of the Colombians’ registration process is that these people will be part of a legal productive activity. They are already working here, but in conditions of exploitation”¹⁵ (“20.000 Colombianos en Esmeraldas”, 2009). This quote explains that the Good Worker frame is not depicted as a threat for the people in Esmeraldas. On the contrary, most of the population in Esmeraldas are used to the presence of people from Colombia, as this province is located on the border of both countries.

Another frame that stands out in the depictions of *El Comercio* is the threat frame from perspectives of xenophobia (TF: X). This frame enhances the idea that some Colombian guerrillas may try for refugee status and live in Ecuador. For instance, the article, “The Minister that believes in perceptions” (“El Ministro que ya cree en las percepciones”, 2009) is an opinionated article that criticizes the declarations of the Minister of Government in Ecuador when explaining the migratory situation of the Colombians in relation to the problems of insecurity in the country. In the article, the Ecuadorian government minister states: “There is a perception in the Ecuadorian citizens, the judges, and our government prosecutors that free entry of Colombians has contributed to increased insecurity in the country.”¹⁶ Then, the article questions the minister’s comment from the point of view that policies and security plans cannot be based on “perceptions.” The above refers to past declarations of the Ecuadorian government minister in which he stated that insecurity in the city is just a perception. Thus, the article criticizes the

¹⁴ Original text: “Desde las 5:00, de martes a domingo, un puesto de venta de jugos atiende a los deportistas que salen a trotar en la playa de Las Palmas, en Esmeraldas. Es el primer sitio en donde los atletas pueden saciar la sed. A cambio de USD 1, Juancho, un colombiano oriundo de Cali, ofrece un vaso gigante de zumo de naranja o de toronja. Por dos horas domina el Mercado, hasta que aparecen otros vendedores de agua de coco, gaseosas y jugos. Hay que idearse algo para no matar de hambre a la familia, dice con una sonrisa...” (2009, May 20th), *El Comercio*.

¹⁵ Original text: “El beneficio es que este conglomerado se sumará a la actividad productiva de manera legal. Ellos ya trabajan, pero en condiciones de explotación”. (2009, May 20th), *El Comercio*.

¹⁶ Original text: Existe una percepción en muchos sectores de la ciudadanía, judicatura y fiscalías, de que el libre ingreso de colombianos ha contribuido a la inseguridad en el país...” (2009, January 24th). *El Comercio*.

misleading way of implementing national security by contradictions, and xenophobic attitudes guided by perceptions.

Another article entitled “Ecuador can be fertile ground for xenophobia” (“Ecuador puede ser tierra fértil para la xenofobia”, 2010) notes that it is common for citizens to react with xenophobic attitudes to the newcomers because there exists an idea that they are criminals or that they will take jobs and opportunities from Ecuadorians. However, this article contests that information with experts in migratory movements and national security who state that: “Only 3% of the people who live in prison are foreigners.” Thus the article implies that insecurity can’t be attributed to migratory movements.

In contrast, the article “Insecurity in the city” (“Inseguridad Ciudadana”, 2009) states, “though formal statistics do not show an increase of violence, criminal acts had increased.”¹⁷ This quote is contradictory, opinionated, and increases xenophobia because it relates in the next paragraphs insecurity with the Colombians’ entry into Ecuador. Additionally, the article portrays insecurity from a personal anecdote and perspective that is not supported by statistics or other sources of information.

The personal anecdote states that the family of the journalist was assaulted some days ago in the city of Guayaquil. Their niece was the victim of express kidnapping, a crime technique in which a person is momentarily captured until the captor is given money. The article does not mention whether the criminals were Colombians or not, but states: “In the news we have seen that left human rights organizations make the entry of refugees easy. How many of these people are criminals and unemployed?”¹⁸ Therefore, the use of the word refugees is automatically related to the Colombian nationality, as Colombians constitute the majority of refugees in Ecuador.

From the above, it is clear that *El Comercio* describes immigrants from polarized depictions of crime and threat. Also the most predominant descriptions entail the victimization of immigrants and the polarized description of them as good workers-good people. This situation is

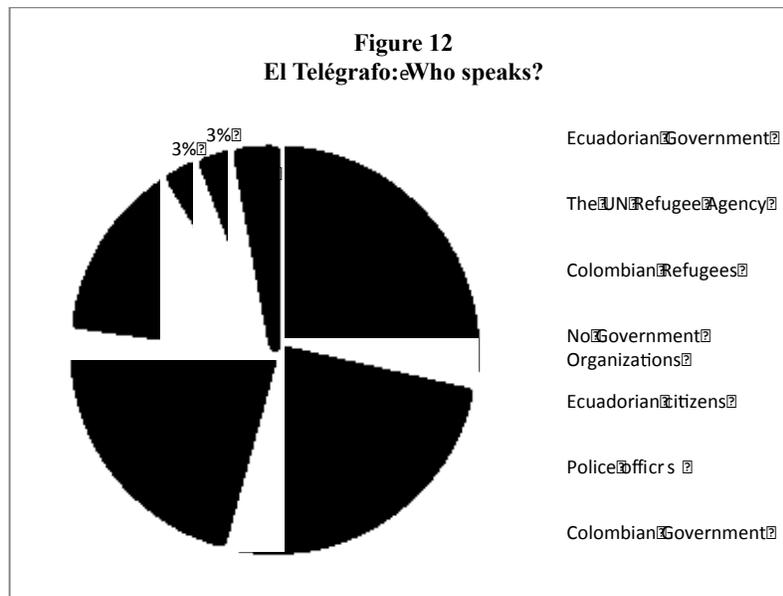
¹⁷ Original text: “... aunque los registros oficiales no lo demuestran significativamente, la delincuencia ha aumentado.” (2009, September 14th). *El Comercio*.

¹⁸ Original text: “En las noticias hemos visto que organizaciones de derechos humanos de izquierda facilitan identificaciones a los refugiados. ¿Cuántos de esos individuos engrosan las filas de desempleados y delincuentes?...” (2009, September 14th). *El Comercio*.

evident in the high number of articles that show the threat frame from a crime aspect and the victim frame. These two frames create a journalistic environment in which Colombian immigrants are understood either from crime perspectives or, in contrast, as victims of the armed conflict.

El Telégrafo Analysis

Who speaks? Main authorities



The last Ecuadorian newspaper analyzed is *El Telégrafo*. The main sources of information utilized by this newspaper are the Ecuadorian government (28%), the UN Refugee Agency (26%), and the views of refugees (23%). Similar to the other newspapers, the most predominant view in this daily consists of the opinions portrayed by the Ecuadorian government. The participation of non-governmental organizations (14%) also appears, along with minor actors such as Ecuadorian citizens (3%), police members (3%) and the Colombian government (3%).

From the above, the Ecuadorian government is the primary source of information that the newspaper took into account to describe the immigrants. However, other members such as the UN Refugee Agency and non-governmental organizations are also useful to support the information provided by the Ecuadorian government. This may mean that *El Telégrafo* as a newspaper managed and funded by the Ecuadorian government may portray a pro-government discourse. As the current government of Ecuador promoted the Colombian refugee recognition project, it is possible that the frames will show further positive depictions when referring to the

recognition of Colombian immigrants in Ecuador. So far, the main authority speaking in the newspaper — the Ecuadorian government — shows positive connotations when referring to the recognition project and the Colombian immigrants. However, it is worth noting that *El Telégrafo*'s coverage is more sophisticated than the other Ecuadorian newspapers.

To illustrate the above, the article “Map of refugees takes shape in Ecuador” (“Mapa de refugiados toma forma en Ecuador”, 2009) provides information mostly from the Ecuadorian government and the UN Refugee Agency. The tone of this article is oriented to inform the reader about the Colombians’ 2009 registration project in which Ecuadorian entities such as the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Government, together with the UN Refugee Agency were the main actors to shape the roadmap of receiving the Colombians to Ecuador. The article shows a positive environment during the process of registration. Some quotes from the authorities and refugees show this positive connotation. For instance, one quote indicates: “Luz Marina Caicedo from the Colombian Association of Entrepreneurs Residents Abroad assures that the new registration project will provide the Colombians access to health and education services just as the Ecuadorians do.”¹⁹

Another quote from a refugee in the same article also supports the positive description of the project and the immigrants. The Colombian citizen said: “I have no complaints, not even about any authority; everyone here has treated me so well.”²⁰

***El Telégrafo* The ‘what’ question**

From the analysis, the most frequently cited actors are Colombian refugees. However, distinct from the other Ecuadorian newspapers, *El Telégrafo* differentiates clear migratory categories such as asylum seekers, refugees, tourists, etc. Only after portraying refugees in this diverse manner does the newspaper talk about the Ecuadorian government, non-governmental organizations, and finally the Colombian government is brought into play to a lesser extent.

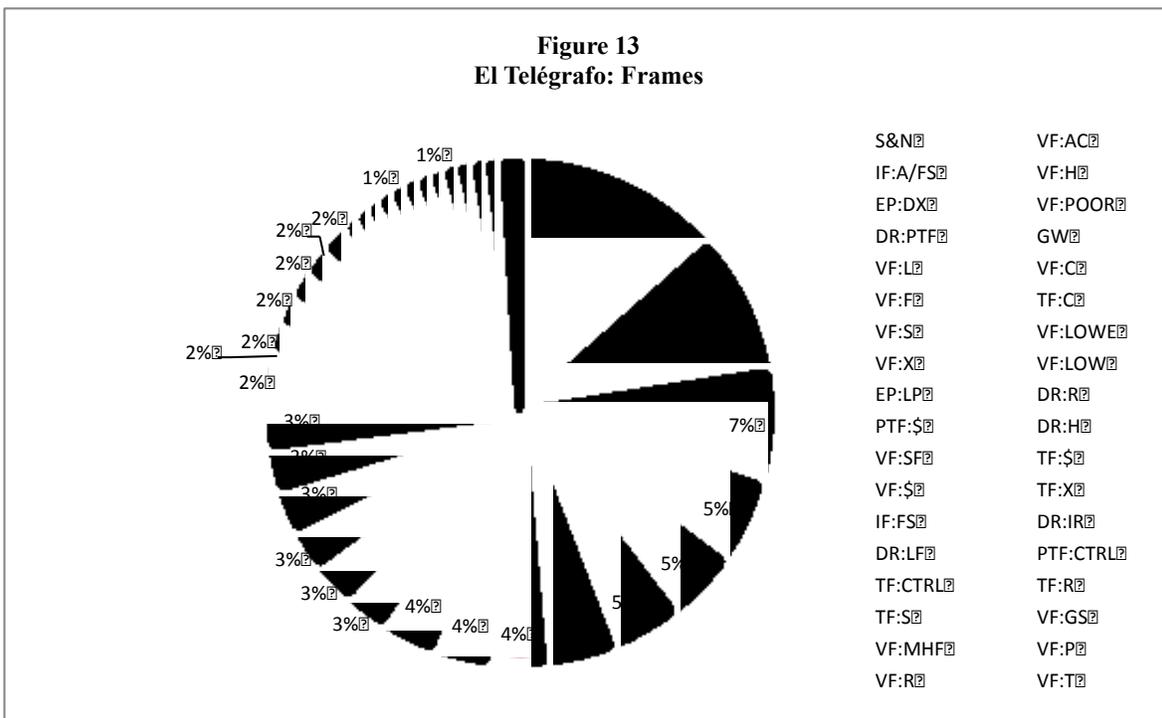
¹⁹ Original text: “Luz Marina Caicedo de la Asociación de Colombianos Emprendedores residentes en el Exterior (Acerex), asegura que el registro ampliado permitirá que los colombianos accedan a los mismos derechos que tienen los ecuatorianos como salud y educación.” (2009, March 29th), *El Telégrafo*.

²⁰ “No tengo nada de que quejarme, de ninguna autoridad, aquí me han tratado muy bien.” (2009, March 29th), *El Telégrafo*.

Furthermore, police or security authorities' views appear minimized when compared with the coverage of the other Ecuadorian newspapers.

For instance, the article “Ecuador welcomes about 54,000 refugees” (“Ecuador acoge a cerca de 54 mil refugiados”, 2011) mentions statistics provided by the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency and a non-governmental organization. This article exemplifies the use of official data to portray immigrants, data provided by the three most predominant actors in immigration news stories. They speak mostly about two topics: the Colombian citizens that come to Ecuador as refugees, thus clearly differentiating migratory categories, and also the successful government project in which the coordination efforts of some public and non-public institutions are highlighted to show how Ecuador is helping the newcomers from a humanitarian point of view.

El Telégrafo: Frames



from a humanitarian view (VF:H) (5%) and the Empowerment frame that denounces xenophobic attitudes (EP:DX) are important frames in this newspaper.

From the above, the most predominant frame is the Statistics Frame (S&N). This frame is different from the S&N frame presented in the other newspapers. It employs numbers more positively. To illustrate this, the article, “Refugees are integrated through food” (“Refugiados se integran a través de la alimentación”, 2009) provides statistics about how 10,000 Colombians received training to prepare food and 1,000 of them were trained to initiate a business. Therefore, the article shows with numbers, statistics, and words some positive connotations distinct from the coverage provided by the other newspapers in Ecuador.

The article manages statistical information with easy-to-read info graphics to illustrate the situation of refugees in Ecuador. Furthermore, the coverage shows positive connotations like the word ‘integration’ in the headline. This article provides unique coverage in which food and nutrition are the main topics integrating refugees to Ecuadorian society. This kind of description was not provided in the other Ecuadorian newspapers.

With respect to the Statistics Frame (S&N), Frances and Tator (2002) argue that one common practice in the depiction of immigrants is the use of a “rhetorical strategy” (p. 181). This strategy is most often supported by “the numbers game” (Frances & Tator, 2002, p. 182). One example of this, through the frame of statistics (S&N), is the article “Shelter for 60,000 Colombians” (“Refugio para 60.000 Colombianos, 2009).

This article uses the number 60,000 to project an idea of the massive number of Colombians that enter Ecuador. Additionally, the massive mobilization is explained through other numbers evident in the following quotes: “According to the UN Refugee Agency, it is estimated that 135,000 Colombians are already settled in Ecuador as refugees. The program thinks about the possibility of granting this status to 10,000 people, which would add 70,000 to the statistics.”²¹ Thus, numbers are used to highlight the importance of the migratory movement into the border of Ecuador.

²¹ Original text: “según datos de la propia ACNUR se estima que 135.000 colombianos que se encuentran en Ecuador estarían en condiciones de refugiados, por lo que se piensa en la posibilidad de otorgar este estatus a 10.000 personas más, con lo que sumarían 70.000.” (2009, May 20th), El Telégrafo.

In that respect, the concept of ‘numbers game’ is focused on creating a sense of alarm among the population by portraying dramatic — although selective — statistics as evidence of criminality or illegality (Frances & Tator, 2002, p. 182). This situation particularly emerges from various articles in *El Universo* and *El Comercio*, in which statistics about immigrants are portrayed to Ecuadorian citizens as massive movements. However, as shown above, *El Telégrafo*’s approach is more oriented to engage the immigration idea as a good practice of a receiver country rather than to promote alarm.

As mentioned before, *El Telégrafo* newspaper utilizes statistics with positive connotations. For instance, the articles “From every 10 Colombians, 6 stay in Ecuador,” (“De cada 10 refugiados, 6 se quedan en Ecuador”, 2012), “Shelter for 60 thousand Colombians,” (“Refugio para 60.000 Colombianos, 2009) and “There are 55 thousand refugees” (“Hay 55 mil refugiados”, 2010) contain numbers that indicate the number of immigrants. In these headlines, words such as welcome, shelter or refugees have positive connotations that change the moral panic perspective of the numbers game. Therefore, contrary to the other depictions, these headlines use numbers and statistics with specific words to show support for the Ecuadorian government’s refugee recognition project.

One important sub-frame that *El Telégrafo* brings into play belongs to the major victim frame. It is the Victim frame with an Armed Conflict sub-frame (VF: AC), with nine per cent of depictions retrieved from the *El Telégrafo* sample. For example, the article, “For every 10 Colombians, 6 stay in Ecuador” (“De cada 10 refugiados, 6 se quedan en Ecuador”, 2012) contains descriptions of how Colombians decide to cross the border as a direct consequence of guerrilla harassment and violence. This article mentions: “In San Lorenzo (the northern border with Colombia), the Colombian refugees have formed neighbourhoods where more than 100 families live. Those who have suffered extortion and violence in their country see Ecuador as a peaceful place to live.”²² This depicts the Colombians as victims of the Colombian armed conflict, and Ecuador as a sanctuary.

²² Original text: “En San Lorenzo (frontera norte con Colombia), los refugiados de la nación vecina han formado barrios en donde viven más de 100 familias. Aquellos que en su país sufrieron formas de extorsión y violencia ven a esta tierra como un lugar tranquilo para vivir.”

The research also found a different frame from the predominant frames. The information frame from a failure in the system view (IF:FS), and the information frame from a view of access (IF:A). This frame and subframes are related to claiming access for Colombian refugees to services provided by the Ecuadorian government such as education, health or other public services. At the same time in some news this frame also claim failures in the government system when accessing services provided by the Ecuadorian government.

The information frame from an access perspective (IF:A) appears in the article, “Telephone service helps migrants.” (“Servicio telefónico ayuda a migrantes”, 2009). This article implies that specific services have opened to help refugees with information about their migratory status and other benefits. It portrays a different perspective from other frames because governmental and non-governmental institutions set up an environment to protect the Colombian immigrants as well as other nationalities from the point of view of system improvement. Also, this frame indicates a failure in the system when bureaucratic processes do not adequately ensure the safety of immigrants.

The victim frame from a humanitarian perspective (VF: H) is the fourth frame in the *El Telégrafo* sample. This frame describes Colombian refugees as people who require assistance from other institutions such as NGOs, international groups, church groups or other organizations. This frame is also common and significant in *El Universo* depictions. However, it is not the case for *El Comercio*, where the victim frame from a humanitarian perspective appears less frequently.

In *El Telégrafo*, the humanitarian frame can be seen in the article, “Refugees’ feeding habits change” (“Alimentación de los refugiados cambia”, 2009). This article mentions that some food donations were received to help Colombian refugees. The article makes reference to how the UN World Food Program changed the food rations from rice to oats, thus making a nutritional improvement for peoples’ diet. Helmut Rauch, the 2009 UN World Food Program representative in Ecuador, states: “We received this food of high nutritional value useful for Ecuadorians and Colombians.”²³ In that respect, this article is completely different from the other predominant frames, however it is worthy of analysis because it reflects positively on Ecuador and the

²³ Original text: “Hemos recibido esta comida con gran valor nutricional para Ecuatorianos y Colombianos”.

institutions interested in helping Ecuadorians and Colombians in the same way, thus avoiding a differentiation of both nationalities, treating them as equals.

El Telégrafo also provided a new frame: the empowerment frame. It denounces acts of xenophobia (EP: DX). This frame implies that immigrants denounce acts of rejection against them. Thus, a sense of empowerment is embedded in their actions. Also, this frame is related to the institutions that present refugees' claims in the press.

From the above, a sense of immigrant empowerment appears in direct and indirect ways. For instance, the article entitled “Refugee complaint about a municipal employee for asking bribes to work” (“Refugiado denuncia a municipales por pedirle coimas para trabajar”, 2013) portrays a refugee who denounces abuses from members of the municipal police in Guayaquil. The article portrays refugees as capable of denouncing acts of corruption, with the support of the UN Refugee Agency and the press.

The empowerment frame that denounces acts of xenophobia (EP: DX) is evidence of a different relation of hierarchy in the news' portrayal. Although not many articles presented these depictions, it is important to note because this particular journalistic approach demonstrates a different pattern of immigrant depictions when giving a voice to the newcomers. This coverage differs from other articles, as it does not portray immigrants as a threat or victims of paramilitary violence. Instead, it shows an immigrant empowered to speak; distinct from Spivak's views in which minorities are subalterns with no voices (Spivak, 1988, p. 259–266). Furthermore, this frame shows a cooperative way of portraying unethical acts between different actors in the news.

Depictions of immigrants as good workers (GWP) and from the victimization of being poor (VF: P) do not achieve significant coverage in *El Telégrafo*. However, those frames usually present a strong correlation with interviews that posit immigrants as important sources of information. For instance, the article "Force Army Chief asks 430 Colombians to leave the border" (“Jefe militar pide el desalojo de 430 colombianos en la frontera”, 2010) shows these frames from Marina Bosaquillo's comments. She is a 54-year-old refugee who states: “I am a poor woman, a refugee, and with my papers up-to-date. They might put me in jail if they want, but I will go as innocent” (Jefe militar pide el desalojo de 430 Colombianos en la frontera, 2010). This article describes Bosaquillo as poor, as well as good and innocent.

Other frames worth highlighting are the political tension frame (PTF) and the diplomatic relations frame (DR). The political tension frame has a mostly negative connotation in which diplomatic ties are embedded into processes of disagreements and tense political negotiations. Conversely, the diplomatic relations frame (DR) has a positive connotation of humanitarian aid, and is related to the help provided by international institutions or foreign governments to the Colombian immigrants recognized as refugees. This last frame has two subcategories or sub-frames: international help (DR: IH) and return home (DR: R).

El Telégrafo portrays immigrants from three primary sources of information: the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency, and the Colombian refugees' own voices. Though the frame of statistics (S&N) is predominant, this newspaper also presents other frames and a higher number of sub-frames than the other newspapers. Thus, the sub-frames are more diverse and give more descriptions to represent Colombian refugees from different views.

Finally, *El Telégrafo*'s depictions also appear to be guiding a propaganda pattern when depicting the Ecuadorian project of Colombian refugees' recognition different from the other two Ecuadorian dailies. This may be because the Ecuadorian government is part of the management of the newspaper or, on the other hand, or it may be simply a positive reflection of the work that is done regarding migratory policies in Ecuador. This is difficult to know through content analysis, however further research regarding media ownership and immigrants' depictions would help to clarify the correlation between these two aspects.

Otherness as a way of describing the Colombian immigrants

Another aspect to analyze in this qualitative research is Hall's idea of 'otherness' in which the depiction of 'us' is opposed to the depictions of 'them' as 'insiders' vs. 'outsiders' (Hall, 1997, p. 258). In *El Universo*, this differentiation is seen in subtle expressions. For instance, the article entitled "Colombians looking for 1,600 refugees' visas" ("Colombianos tras uno 1600 cupos para visa de refugiados", 2009) describes immigrants as others from the sense of having a different nationality from the Ecuadorian. In that respect, Ecuadorian citizens are portrayed as 'us' while Colombian citizens and refugees are 'them' or 'the other.'

Moreover, the article portrays refugees as a "them" different from the rest of Ecuadorians, or "us." For instance, the quote "we are not bad people, we just want to live in peace and be productive for a society that opened their arms to us" (Colombians, looking for 1600 refugees',

2009), indicates that differentiation of 'us' vs. 'them' comes from the self-recognition of being an immigrant. This example indicates a polarized depiction that classifies the population of Colombian migrants in a position that distinguishes 'them' as a nationality — the Colombians — different from the 'us' Ecuadorians.

However, the differentiation between the two nationalities is not easy to detect. Both nationalities' physical characteristics are quite similar. For instance, we cannot talk of a race differentiation because the visual composition of the Ecuadorian and Colombian populations is largely the same. Ecuadorians and Colombians are 'mestizos,' 'indigenous people,' black people and white people. Then, the differentiation between both nationalities is more a matter of accent and the pronunciation of Spanish as a common language. Another characteristic that differentiates the nationalities is the word choice when referring to specific actions. For instance, a Colombian may refer the action of having fun as a "berrquera" while an Ecuadorians refers to having fun with the word "pleno, divertido, bacan." A Colombian denotes a friend as my 'parse' or 'parseo,' while an Ecuadorian refer to a friend as a 'pana' or 'yunta.' Multiple other words and accents distinguish these two nationalities. Thus, these subtle features in language are what marks otherness in this cultural context.

In *El Comercio*, the portrayal of 'us' versus 'them' is evident as well. The article, "Refugee's visa does not excuse any foreign who commits criminal acts" ("La visa de refugiado no exime a los foráneos que delinquen, 2009) uses the word 'foreign' to describe 'otherness' from the stereotype of crime. In that respect, this newspaper differentiates the local people as 'us' from the 'foreigners' or 'them'. Also the idea of 'us' is seen as 'normal and good' while 'them' is from Cohen's (1972) idea of deviance (pp.12-13), bad for society. Another example of this polarized portrayal is the article entitled, "Not all foreigners cause insecurity" ("No todo extranjero provoca inseguridad", 2010). This article also exemplifies the separation between 'us' and 'them' and the bad versus good by implying that some Colombian refugees are dangerous foreigners.

In *El Telégrafo*, the portrayal of 'us' vs. 'them' is evident by the use of specific words such as aliens, refugees and asylum seekers. For instance, the articles, "60,000 refugees in the country with legal advice," "Colombian leading group of foreigners in prisons," and "Ecuador demands criminal record of foreigners" indicate that the Colombian nationality is seen as distinct from the Ecuadorian nationality. The Colombian nationality is related to refugees, asylum

seekers, and foreigners connected to a sense of illegality. Therefore, the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is portrayed from polarized depictions of good and bad in *El Telégrafo* newspaper.

Conclusion of the Ecuadorian newspapers

In sum, the three Ecuadorian newspapers describe immigrants’ voices through Baker and McEnery’s (2005) “hierarchy of credibility” that prioritizes some sources over others. The journalistic opinions, as main interpreters of the news, are predominant in the three newspapers. Journalists highlight the voices of the Ecuadorian government and the UN Refugee Agency in Ecuador as the primary sources of information about the Colombian immigrants. Depictions of police who provide data and statistics for the journalistic analysis are also hierarchically highlighted, except for *El Telégrafo*, in which Colombian refugees are able to speak.

The Colombian nationality’s treatment contrasted with the Ecuadorian nationality’s coverage indicates an implied management of Hall’s (1997) ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ distinctions. The Ecuadorian news portrayals indicate a different treatment of the autochthonous population in Ecuador from the immigrants, thus identifying them as different, often negatively (Lorite in Ureta, 2001, p. 191). In the depictions, the Ecuadorian nationality attains a position of authority while Colombian voices are meaningless. Additionally, it is common that the Ecuadorian government authorities, Ecuadorian police members, and the UN Refugee Agency represent the idea of Colombian immigrants by minimizing the direct participation of Colombian immigrants in the press portrayals.

The analysis of *El Comercio* and *El Universo* newspapers shows a discourse more oriented to support moral panic within the society. Cohen’s moral panic is not only the direct result of press descriptions, but is commonly associated with “an expression of public anxiety rather than a conspiracy of elites or interest groups” (Hunt, 1997, p. 646). However, the predominant repetition of portrayals based on the threat frame, with the sub-frame that implies that Colombian immigrants are related with criminal issues (TF: C), shapes a sense of moral panic against the Colombian immigrants.

Conversely, *El Telégrafo* does not rely as heavily on the threat frame, nor does it widely support moral panic. The statistics and number frame in this newspaper includes positive perspectives that promote the Ecuadorian government’s work in migratory policies. Thus, *El Telégrafo* has a different approach to the topic with respect to the other dailies. On one hand, it

follows a respectful path towards the depiction of diversity and minorities. However, on the other hand, its depictions in some cases verge on government propaganda. This newspaper employs a variety of sub-frames that complete from different perspectives the portrayals of what it means to be a Colombia immigrant. Thus, with a diversity of sub-frames, *El Telégrafo* provides various meanings to the immigrant and attains levels in which polarized depictions of “us” vs. “them” are fewer when compared with the portrayals of the other two Ecuadorian newspapers.

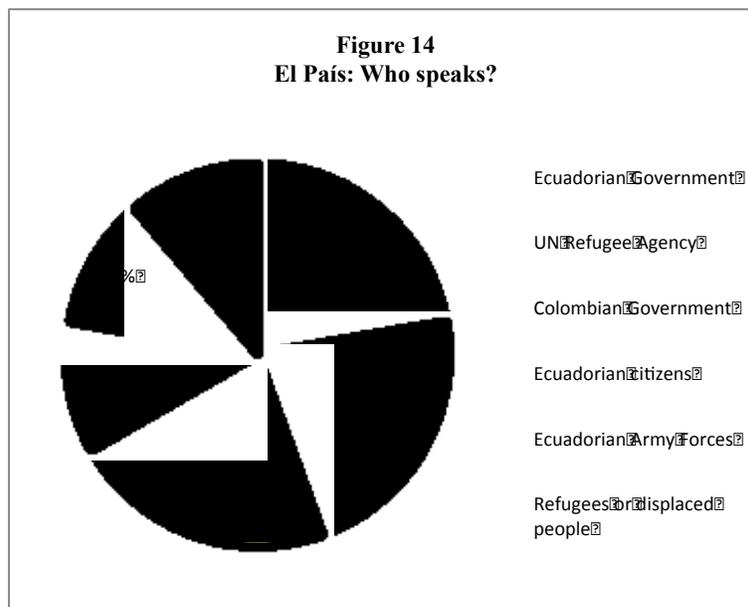
CHAPTER 4

Colombian Newspapers: Qualitative analysis

Similar to the Ecuadorian newspapers, the Colombian dailies also prioritize Baker and McEnery's (2005) "hierarchy of credibility" when using some sources over others (p. 199). The use of specific sources, as main authorities or actors in the news, indicates the hierarchical relation. However, the Colombian newspapers refer to Colombian refugees as displaced people instead of refugees, as was common in the Ecuadorian newspapers.

El País Analysis

Who speaks? Main authorities



This research found several actors in the news portrayals of Colombian immigrants. However, some of them are more frequent than others. The main sources of information for *El País* are the Ecuadorian government (23%), the UN Refugee Agency (22%), and the Colombian government (22%). The use of Colombian migrants and immigrants as primary sources of information are relatively few. The same can be said for the views of Ecuadorian citizens, Colombian citizens, and the armed forces of both countries.

For instance, the article "Solutions for Colombian refugees" ("Buscarán salida para refugiados colombianos", 2010) positions the Ecuadorian government and the Colombian government as the principal sources of information to understand how to deal with the migration. Then, the article uses the views of the UN Refugee Agency and afterwards the Ecuadorian army

forces perspectives. However, other articles such as “UN Refugee Agency asks more help for the Colombian refugees in Ecuador” (“Acnur pide más apoyo para los refugiados colombianos en Ecuador”, 2010) and “Refugees agreement in advance” (“Avanza el acuerdo por los refugiados”, 2010) prioritize the voice of the UN Refugee Agency other over official voices.

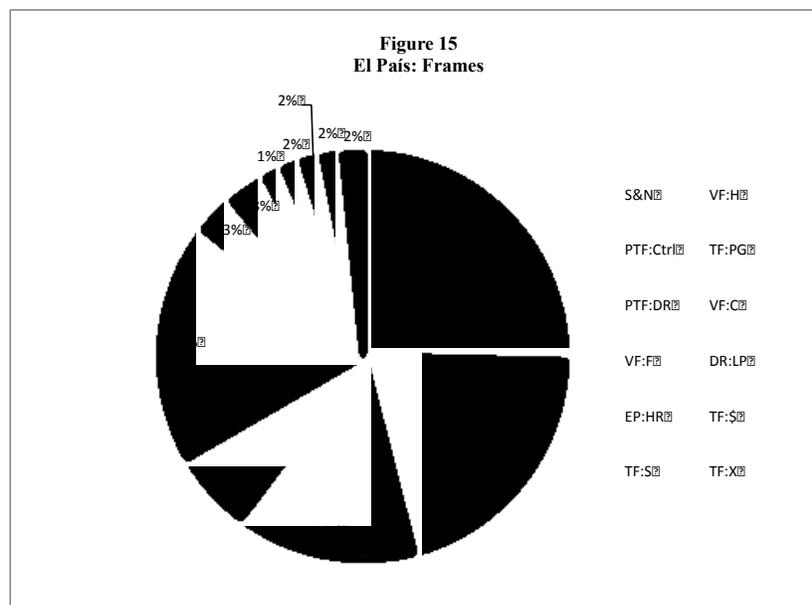
The prioritization of some voices over others is important for this research because the sources’ discourse shapes the way that a Colombian immigrant is represented. Then, if the governments’ perspectives prioritize political or diplomatic relations, the immigrants are going to be seen within a diplomatic or political frame. In contrast, if other actors are the most salient, then those actors are those who will construct the representational frame.

However, it is important not only to understand who represents whom in the news, but also what subject is being represented. Is it about the political situation only? Or does the news really concern and cover immigrants?

***El País* The ‘what’ question**

The analysis indicates that the primary actors of the immigration news in the Colombian portrayals are Colombian migrants and the Ecuadorian army. Other actors such as the Colombian citizens and other paramilitary groups also appear in the depictions. Colombian citizens are portrayed without any power and mostly as displaced people, while the paramilitary groups appear as the main cause of the violent conflict that stimulates the migratory flow.

***El País* Frames**



In total, four frames and 16 sub-frames were identified in *El País*. The most predominant frame is statistics (S&N) (25%), as a “rhetorical strategy” (Frances & Tator, 2002 pp. 181-182) useful to highlight the situation of migration. It maximizes the migratory scope, thus creating a sense of a massive migratory movement. The second frame is the victim frame with a humanitarian perspective (21%) followed by the political tension frame from a border control perspective (PTF: Ctrl) (14%). Finally, the threat frame from a sense of people being threatened by the guerrillas or the Armed Conflict (TF: AC) (6%) , is the fourth-most predominant frame and sub-frame in *El País* news depictions.

To illustrate the above, the article “10,000 thousand Ecuadorian soldiers watch over the border” (“10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera”, 2010) uses statistics to describe the conflict on the border and how it affects the population and Colombia. For instance, the article’s subtitle uses the following quote: “FARC attack killed eight policemen in Putumayo and activated the Binational Border Committees (Combifron) to confront the guerrillas. There are more than 200,000 displaced people”²⁴ (“10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera”, 2010). This quote suggests, with the support of statistics, that the border is a zone of high military tension in which eight people died. Furthermore, the figure of 200,000 displaced people indicates that something serious is happening as a massive mobilization of people takes place.

Another article that uses statistics to describe the migratory situation in Colombia is “38,593 victims of the armed conflict reported in Cali.” (“En Cali se han reportado 38.593 víctimas del conflicto”, 2014). This article shows how Colombians and displaced people suffered from several kinds of harassment. It describes those violent situations through the following numbers: “The principal scourge that the victims have suffered is dismemberment, 79.9% of the cases correspond to this phenomenon, followed by homicides with 13.7%; enforced disappearances 2%, and abandonment or dispossession of land with 1.8%”²⁵ (*El País*, 2014).

The second significant frame for this newspaper is the victim frame. It carries a humanitarian sub-frame (VF: H). The humanitarian sub-frame represents Colombian immigrants

²⁴ Original text: “El ataque de las Farc en Putumayo que dejó ocho policías muertos activó las Comisiones Binacionales Fronterizas (Combifron) para enfrentar a la guerrilla. Hay más de 200.000 desplazados.”

²⁵ Original text: “El principal flagelo que han padecido las víctimas es el desmembramiento, 79.9% de los casos corresponden a este fenómeno, seguido por los homicidios con un 13.7%; las desapariciones forzadas con 2%, y el abandono o despojo de tierras con un 1.8%.”

as victims, mostly of violent conflict. In this case, the articles describe how governments and the UN Refugee Agency undertake humanitarian efforts to help immigrants. For instance, the article “Solutions for Colombian refugees” (“Buscarán salida para refugiados colombianos”, 2010) exemplifies how the Ecuadorian government helped Colombian refugees. The article mentions the amount of money that this government had provided to help these people. It states: “The Ecuadorian government has spent almost USD 40 million dollars giving attention to the Colombian refugees”²⁶ (“Buscarán salida para refugiados colombianos”, 2010).

Additionally, *El País* shows an enormous interest in negotiating political interests drawn through the scope of a political tension frame. This frame encloses mainly the sub-frames of diplomatic relations (PTF: DR), and the sense of controlling borders (PTF: Ctrl). To illustrate this, the article “Ecuador, pleased with Colombian answer” (“Ecuador satisfecho con respuesta de Colombia”, 2010) refers to a situation in which the countries’ diplomatic relations were strained because of a paramilitary attack on Ecuadorian territory. However, the article states that the agreements to fight against guerrillas and to help Colombian refugees are facts that helped to reconstruct both countries’ diplomatic relations.

The political tension frame also appears through the sub-frame of control. It is better understood when main sources or actors express the desire to control borders and strengthen migratory policies. For instance, in the article “Ecuador asks for Colombian presence on the border” (“Ecuador pide presencia de Colombia en la frontera”, 2010) the Ecuadorian government calls for a Colombian government commitment in controlling its border to prevent guerrillas from obtaining refugees status and coming to Ecuador. The following quote illustrates the control frame:

“Arellano said that Ecuadorian government’s policies are created to receive Colombian refugees. However, he warned that Ecuador would not allow criminals to take advantage of this international protection law. So, they will intensify controls to avoid illegitimate use of refugee status.”²⁷ (“Ecuador pide presencia de Colombia en la frontera”, 2010)

²⁶ Original text: ...el gobierno ecuatoriano ha gastado alrededor de 40 millones de dolares en la atención a los colombianos en calidad de refugiados.

²⁷ Original text: “Arellano destacó la política del Gobierno ecuatoriano de recibir a los refugiados colombianos, pero advirtió que Ecuador no va a permitir que “delincuentes, gente que está proscrita por la justicia colombiana, hagan

Finally, *El País* highlights the presence of the threat frame. However, this frame is described in the sub-frame of Armed Conflict or paramilitary groups (TF: AC). In the Colombian newspapers' portrayals, Colombian migrants are not described as a threat in their own country, but instead they are threatened by the guerrilla violence. This situation is exemplified in the article "10,000 Ecuadorian soldiers watch over the border," ("10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera", 2010) in which the threat of the paramilitary groups prompted the enhancement of migratory control in Ecuador. This article mentions the constant threat that Ecuador lives under in attempting to prevent guerrillas from entering its country. The following quote exemplifies how Ecuador and the Colombian immigrants are threatened by the guerrilla conflict, and thus are victims of it:

"Interestingly, the owners of the two restaurants in Ecuador, Mrs. Julia and Mrs. Uva mentioned: I was told that bullets from FARC passed by the border and damaged the roofs of the houses."²⁸ ("10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera", 2010)

This article also represents immigrants as a threat for the Ecuadorian government, as it is difficult to see whether the immigrants are refugees, asylum seekers, or people fleeing from the guerrillas. From the perspective of government authorities, a security threat is implied in this article. The two following quotes highlight the sentiment of threat and insecurity:

"There will always be the possibility of illegal infiltration into the country, but no infiltration of armed groups and much less attacks from Ecuador." (Miguel Carvajal, Minister of Security of Ecuador).²⁹ ("10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera", 2010).

"Military patrols of the border between Colombia and Ecuador intensified last week after the attack of the FARC and allowed the discovery of a large number of illegal shelters."³⁰ ("10.000 soldados ecuatorianos cuidan frontera",2010).

uso de esta figura internacional de la que nosotros nos enorgullecemos; por lo que van a intensificar los controles para que el uso de la condición de ciudadano refugiado "no se desvíe."²⁸

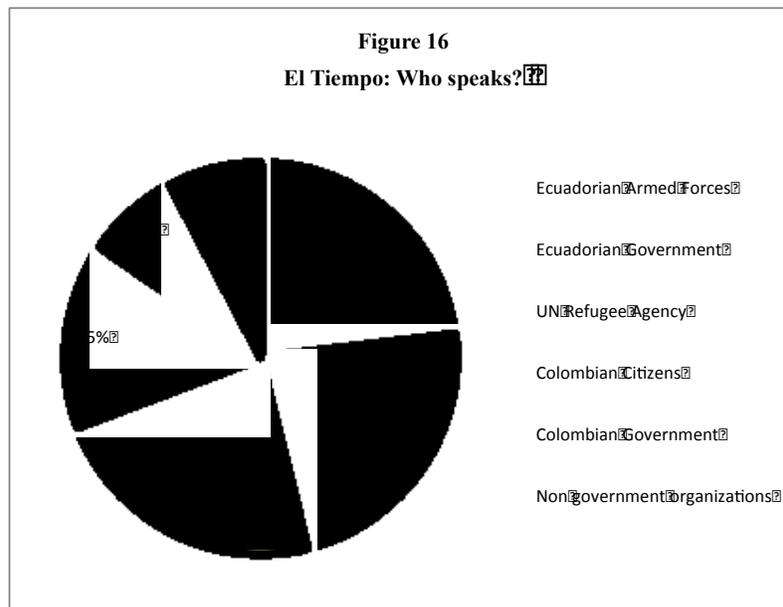
²⁸ Original text: "Curiosamente al hablar con las dueñas de las dos tiendecitas que reciben a quienes pasan al Ecuador, doña Julia y doña Uva, me contaron que las balas de las Farc: transpasaron la frontera, y nos dañaron los techos de las casitas."

²⁹ Original text: "Siempre existirá la posibilidad de infiltraciones de ilegales al país, pero no infiltraciones de grupos armados y mucho menos que hagan ataques desde el Ecuador." (Miguel Carvaja, Ministro de Seguridad de Ecuador).

In summation, *El País* exposes the migratory topic from the views of three main sources of information: the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency, and the Colombian government. This newspaper portrays four main frames to represent the Colombian immigrants: 1) Statistics, 2) Victim frame from a humanitarian sub-frame, 3) Political tension frame from a control perspective sub-frame, and 4) Threat frame from a guerrilla threat perspective. In that respect, these frames represent Colombian immigrants with numbers. These statistics describe immigrants as victims of the Colombian violence, but also as instruments of political and diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Colombia.

El Tiempo Analysis

Who speaks? Main authorities



The main sources of information for the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo* are the Ecuadorian army, the Ecuadorian government, and the UN Refugee Agency. Other actors such as Colombian citizens, the Colombian government, and non-governmental organizations appear to lesser extent.

For instance, the article “Ecuador shields its border with Colombia” (“Ecuador blindo su frontera con Colombia”, 2010) is an article in which the Ecuadorian army’s voice is expressed as

³⁰ Original text: “Patrullajes militares de Ecuador en frontera con Colombia se intensificaron hace una semana tras el ataque de la guerrilla de las Farc y permitieron descubrir un centenar de refugios ilegales.”

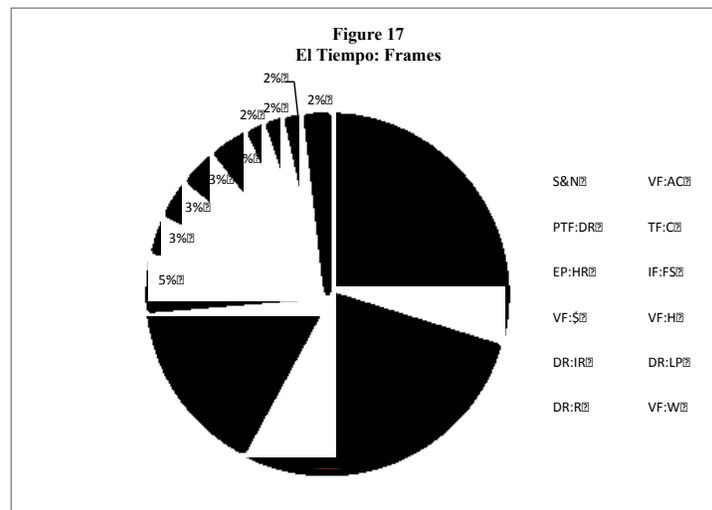
the primary source of information. In fact, there exists no contrasting information from other actors. However, in the article “Colombia and Ecuador, for repatriation” (“Colombia y Ecuador, tras repatriación”, 2010) the main sources of information are the Ecuadorian government and the UN Refugee Agency.

In this analysis, the Ecuadorian sources are more predominant than the Colombian sources. It seems to be that the only institutions that collect data and information about the migratory situation on the border are the Ecuadorian institutions, including the UN Refugee Agency in Ecuador. The Colombian government and the UN Refugee Agency in Colombia do not provide any information in the news depictions.

El Tiempo: The ‘what’ question

The analysis of what is reported indicates that the primary subjects of the news are Colombian refugees (RS) and Colombian citizens (CC). These actors as subjects of news appear within general migratory descriptions, thus all Colombians are depicted as displaced people. In that sense, the coverage does not define clearly whether the news referred to internal or external migrants. This feature is distinct from the Ecuadorian newspapers where Colombians were depicted with the use of the word refugees. Therefore, the word chosen by this newspaper to describe the same subject — Colombian immigrants — is different from the Ecuadorian newspapers.

El Tiempo: Frames



In total, seven frames and 13 sub-frames were identified in *El Tiempo*. However, only four frames are the most representative. The statistics frame (S&N) (30%) is the most predominant. The victim frame with the sub-frame of victim of armed conflict (VF:AC) (28%) is also important. Then, the political tension frame from a diplomatic relation perspective (PTF:DR) (16%) is also highlighted in the news depictions. Finally, the threat frame for perspectives of crime (TF:C) (5%) also appears to a lesser extent.

The analysis indicated that *El Tiempo* utilizes a “rhetorical strategy” supported by descriptions of statistics known as “the numbers game” (Frances & Tator, 2002, pp.181-182) comparable to the Ecuadorian newspapers. To illustrate the statistics frame (S&N), the article “Meeting for Colombians in Ecuador” (“Audiencia por colombianos en Ecuador”, 2009) exemplifies how Colombian immigrants are described as numbers in the news. These kinds of descriptions represent immigrants as a mass movement. It is this depiction of a large number of immigrants that promotes a sense of moral panic when relating it to the newcomers. A similar situation is also indicated in the same article’s subtitle. It mentions: “According to the UN Refugee Agency, 150,000 Colombians live across the Ecuadorian border in precarious conditions”³¹ (“Audiencia por colombianos en Ecuador”, 2009). This article uses the number 150,000 to create a picture of a mass migration and emphasizes that the problem has already arrived in Ecuador.

Another example of this frame is the article, “Ecuador shields its border with Colombia.” (“Ecuador blindo su frontera con Colombia”, 2010) The article mentions that:

“From 657,261 inhabitants registered in the border provinces of Sucumbíos, Esmeraldas and Carchi, about 130,000 would be Colombians with refugee status, residents or undocumented people.” (“Ecuador blindo su frontera con Colombia”, 2010)³²

This quote uses numbers to again exemplify the number of Colombians living in Ecuador. It notes that almost one quarter of the population along the border of Ecuador comprises

³¹ Original text: The article subtitle says: “150 mil. El número de colombianos que, según cálculos de la Acnur, viven pasando la frontera con Ecuador en precarias condiciones.” (2009, March 27th). *El Tiempo*, p. 1-6, International.

³² Original text: “De 657.261 habitantes registrados en las provincias fronterizas de Sucumbíos, Esmeraldas y Carchi, unos 130 mil serían colombianos con estatus de refugiados, residencia legal o indocumentados.”

Colombians. The following quote explains the increasing number of Colombian refugees who had crossed the Colombian border to Ecuador since 2000:

“The statistics also explain the increase of refugees. In 2000, the number of Colombian refugees was 359. In 2008, 21,000 came and 45,000 were counted as of August 2010. Additional data suggest that about 700,000 Colombians live in Ecuador.”³³ (“Ecuador blinda su frontera con Colombia”, 2010)

The above quote uses several numbers to describe a massive mobilization of Colombians to Ecuador. Furthermore, the article points out that from 2000 to 2010 there was an increase in the number of Colombian people who decided to live in Ecuador.

Another example of the statistics frame is the article, “Colombia and Ecuador, for repatriation” (“Colombia y Ecuador, tras repatriación”, 2010). It exemplifies the number of Colombian refugees living outside Colombia through the use of an infographic. The graphic emphasizes that up until 2010, the majority of Colombian refugees (52,000) were living in Ecuador. Thus, the article also utilizes the frame of statistics to represent Colombian immigration.

Another frame that is important in *El Tiempo* is the Victim frame. The specific sub-frame of being a victim of the armed conflict in Colombia (VF: AC) is constantly representing the Colombian immigrants as displaced people. For instance, the article, “Wars stole future from 28 million children” (“Guerras les robaron futuro a 28 millones de niños”, 2011) mentions: “In Colombia, illegal groups recruit children in schools”³⁴ (“Guerras les robaron futuro a 28 millones de niños”, 2011). It includes the phrase “the orphans of the conflict” near the picture of Colombian children. This victimization of the Colombian immigrants states that they are threatened by the Colombian violence, thus victims of the armed conflict. This kind of representation exemplifies how the armed conflict represents a danger for any person living in that territory while also portraying immigrants as victims of the phenomenon.

³³ Original text: “Las cifras se relacionan también con el aumento de refugiados que, de 359 registrados en el año 2000, pasaron a 21 mil en el 2008 y 45 mil hasta agosto de 2010. Cifras extraoficiales señalan que unos 700 mil colombianos residen en Ecuador.”

³⁴ Original text: En Colombia, los grupos ilegales reclutan niños en las escuelas.

Another example of the Victim Frame and Armed conflict sub-frame (VF:AC) is the article, “Colombia and Ecuador, for repatriation.” (“Colombia y Ecuador, tras repatriación”, 2010) This article provides the following quotes:

“The restoration of relations between Colombia and Ecuador could change the lives of 52,000 refugees who crossed the border into the neighbouring country, fleeing from the conflict.”³⁵ (“Colombia y Ecuador, tras repatriación”, 2010)

“Ruth Alvarez is one of the 52,000 Colombians who lives in Ecuador. As a community leader in a Cali neighbourhood, she refused to collaborate with guerrilla members of the FARC. Therefore, she had to leave the country in 2002. She still cries when remembering her parents and the home she was forced to leave. ‘The refugee is not seen as a person, but as an alien’, she mentions. Most people do not understand that we are victims, but looking at us like a problem.”³⁶ (“Colombia y Ecuador, tras repatriación”, 2010)

The above quote describes Colombian refugees as people who flee the Colombian armed conflict and then are rejected by the new society. Three ideas are described: first, a political solution that states that the restoration of diplomatic relations could change the lives of the refugees as well as the conflict itself. Second, the description of a personal experience in which one refugee narrates the most common reason for becoming a refugee in Ecuador, thus describing why she ran away from the guerrillas and what she left behind. And third, the Colombian refugee’s feeling of being rejected and considered ‘bad’ by a society that fears their arrival.

In the article, Colombians are described as victims of the Colombian internal conflict. They are described through their own experiences, but the article is still framed through the scope of political and diplomatic relations (PTF:DR). The article states that the restoration of political relations will help to improve the refugees’ situation. Thus, it describes Colombian refugees as a problem that may be solved by government policies. However, the Colombian and Ecuadorian governments propose a ‘Return Plan’ that seems to contradict the main reasons for the high number of refugees.

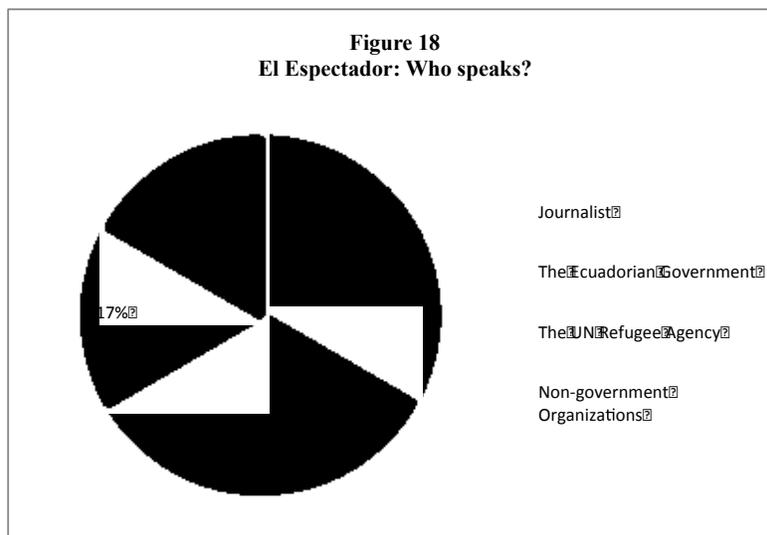
³⁵ Original text: El restablecimiento de las relaciones entre Colombia y Ecuador podría cambiarles la vida a 52.000 refugiados que cruzaron la frontera hacia el vecino país, huyendo del conflicto.

³⁶ Original text: Ruth Álvarez es una de los 52.000 colombianos que hoy están en Ecuador. Como líder comunal de Cali se negó a poner la acción comunal de su barrio a las órdenes de las milicias urbanas de las Farc y por eso se tuvo que ir del país en el 2002. Aún llora al recordar a sus padres y la casa propia que dejó. ‘ Al refugiado no lo miran como persona sino como a un extraterrestre. La mayoría de la gente no entiende que uno es una víctima y nos miran como un problema.

From the above, the question “Why is a return plan proposed?” comes into play. Is there a subtly xenophobic description here that is supported even with the refugee quote in which she may be seen as an alien? I argue, yes. The words ‘Return Plan’ are also evidence of this subtle rejection on the part of the Colombian and Ecuadorian governments, and at the same time support the idea of victimization because the migrants are victims of violence. Thus, the article describes immigrants as rejected victims. Nevertheless, the rejection is also supported by the policies of the Ecuadorian and Colombian governments.

***El Espectador* Analysis**

Who speaks? Main authorities



The sample of *El Espectador* shows that the most predominant sources of information are: the Ecuadorian government (33%), the UN Refugee Agency (17%), and the opinions of some non-governmental organizations (NGO) (17%). However, *El Espectador* presents a slightly different portrayal of immigration in its approach. This newspaper presents a closer look from the journalists themselves (33%), which demonstrates the journalists’ own implication in understanding of what happens along the border of Ecuador and Colombia.

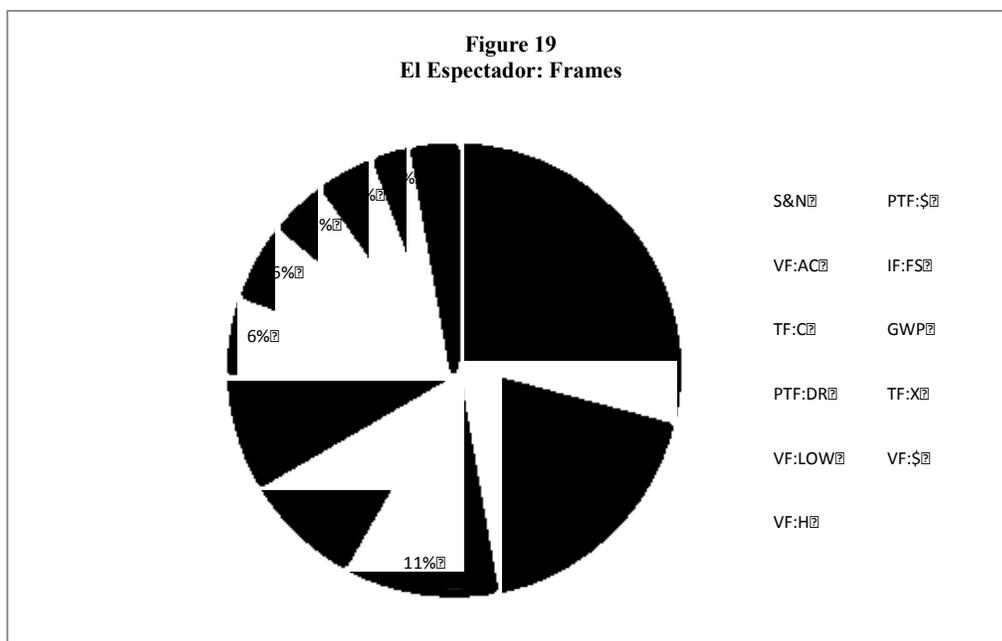
For instance, the articles “The ‘Reyes’ effect” (“El efecto Reyes”, 2009) , “The bad ones and the good ones” (“Los malos y los Buenos”, 2009), and “Nomads and all Makers” (“Nómadas y Toderos”, 2009) constitute a package of coverage that contextualizes the situation of the Colombian immigrants and the guerrilla violence on the border. It is a more intimate approach,

and the journalist is perceived as an actor in the stories because the journalistic work shows an interest in further describing the problem on the border, not just from the main authorities' voices such as the government or NGOs, but also from what the people on the border say. The description of these articles will be further explained in the framing analysis of *El Espectador*.

***El Espectador*: The ‘what’ question**

The analysis indicates that the primary subjects of the news are Colombian refugees, Colombian citizens and immigrants. In that sense, this newspaper covers the immigrants’ perspectives first and the political grievances between both countries secondarily, thus the ‘hierarchy of credibility’ is different than the other newspapers. The newspaper refers to the Colombians as “Colombian displaced people”, however, the articles do not differentiate clearly the various migratory categories; immigrants are labeled with the generic terminology of displaced people, including both internal and external migrants.

***El Espectador*: Frames**



In total, six frames and eight sub-frames were identified in *El Espectador*. The most outstanding frames and sub-frames are the statistics frame (S&N) (29%); the political tension frame from the sub-frame of economic problems (PTF: \$) (18%); the victim frame from the sub-frame of armed conflict (VF: AC) (11%) and a new frame that this study named the information

frame that, although it indicates attempts at including Colombian immigrants in the Ecuadorian system, still demonstrates failures in the system (IF: FS) (8%).

Based on the above, the statistics frame is predominant. Second, the political tension frame from the scope of economic problems is widely presented. The victim frame that involves threatens from the armed conflict (VF: AC) appears in third place. The information frame that denounces a failure in the system (IF: FS) is in fourth place. Finally, the threat frame, in which the immigrant is described as a criminal (TF: C) appears to a lesser extent.

The following articles provide some examples of how *El Espectador* represents Colombian immigrants. The article “S.O.S for refugees” (“S.O.S. por refugiados”, 2009) represents Colombian immigrants from the frame of statistics (S&N). In it, Colombian immigrants are described through numbers that exemplify a significant number of people coming to Ecuador. For instance, the quote “Quito complains about the presence of more than 135,000 Colombians in their territory”³⁷ depicts a massive arrival of foreign people. The use of the word “complains” shows a sense of rejection, negativity, and stigmatizes the entrance of the newcomers.

Next to the above quote, another statement says: “According to the Minister Carvajal, 7,000 Ecuadorian soldiers watch the border. He warns that if the problem increases the number of soldiers will increase to 11,000.”³⁸ This quote uses numbers to exemplify the problem, however, this quote represents the migratory movement as a threat for the Ecuadorians, and thus controlling the border with counter numbers to avoid guerrillas coming to Ecuador.

The political tension frame, from the sub-frame of economic problems, mainly describes how much the Colombian conflict has cost the Ecuadorian government. In that sense, the sub-frame of economic problems is embedded in this kind of news depiction, where the Colombian immigrants are a monetary investment or possibly even waste of money. For instance, the same article above mentions “Ecuador invests between USD 39 and USD 50 million dollars” (“S.O.S.

³⁷Original text: Quito se queja por la presencia de mas de 135.000 colombianos en su territorio . S.O.S. por refugiados. (2009, June 26th), *El Espectador*, p.8, Internacional.

³⁸ Original text: 7000 soldados ecuatorianos vigilan la frontera, según el Ministro Carvajal. Advierte que si el problema aumenta pueden llegar a 11.000. S.O.S. por refugiados. (2009, June 26th), *El Espectador*, p.8, Internacional.

por refugiados, 2009) when referring to border control and security, however, no support from the Colombian government has been provided.

Additionally, the article “Peace and not war with Ecuador” (“La paz y no la Guerra con Ecuador”, 2009) implies that there exists a constant political tension between both countries. The main reason for this is the Ecuadorian and Colombian governments’ political attitudes that, rather than solving the conflict, have increased the poor relations between the countries’ presidents. Or at least, that is the political environment described by this article when explaining the Colombian immigrants’ environment. The article mentions that, “Maybe it is time to leave aside political egos and bad political behaviour prompted by the two presidents. Stubborn and prideful attitudes that affect millions of people,”³⁹ (“La paz y no la Guerra con Ecuador”, *El Espectador*, 2009) referring to the Colombian refugees and immigrants in the border. The editorial article states that the constant political tension between the two countries is a result of both presidents’ and governments’ decisions. However, it calls on them to stop talking about political tensions, to solve the migratory problem, and to help implement policies to reduce violence in the affected provinces such as Esmeraldas in Ecuador.

From the above, we can infer that the same article highlights the real problem in the migratory situation. Colombian immigrants are described as victims of the armed conflict, thus the victim frame with the sub-frame of armed conflict. The real problem for this newspaper is not the massive quantity of Colombians going to Ecuador, but the violent conflict that causes this migration. Furthermore, a new frame appears in the depictions in which Colombian immigrants and displaced people are victims of a failure of the system. Thus, the political tension frame affects the policies taken to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected people. Overall, for this newspaper Colombian immigrants are represented as victims of the guerrillas, the bad political management of the Colombian government, and xenophobic and rejection attitudes in the Ecuadorian policies.

Another example of the different approach that this newspaper displays is the three-story coverage by Colombian sociologist and columnist Alfredo Molano Bravo. The articles “The

³⁹ Original text: Quizas sea hora de poner a un lado las enemistades y los egos de los dos mandatarios, por cuya terquedad y orgullo miles de personas se han visto afectadas.”

'Reyes' effect" ("El efecto Reyes", 2009), "The bad ones and the good ones" ("Los malos y los Buenos", 2009), and "Nomads and all Makers" ("Nómadas y Toderos", 2009) contextualize the situation of Colombian immigrants and the guerrilla violence on the border. This coverage presents migrants as victims of several political, economic, and social problems. The importance of this article lies in the way it represents the Colombian migrants by the description of the environment in which they live. The article describes the Amazon Basin in Lago Agrio, Ecuadorian territory that borders Colombia. According to the columnist, Lago Agrio holds Ecuadorian petroleum resources. The article distinguishes for the first time, in any of the sampled newspapers, the representation of Colombians and Ecuadorians by demarking specific differences between nationalities. It says:

"Both colonization ends touched each other with the Putumayo river in between. The difference between the two (Ecuadorians and Colombians) was great. While Ecuador lacked an agricultural vocation, ours (Colombia) took it up, moreover, it strengthened with coca cultivation.

The settlement of Lago Agrio oil depended on Colombian agriculture. But coca plantations stopped at the edge of the San Miguel and Putumayo rivers, the border. Why does coca not thrive in Ecuador? A Colombian farmer in Puerto Nuevo answered: It is because Ecuadorians are loyal to the authorities. If coca has not passed [to Ecuador], the people yes. Although in honor of the truth, some Ecuadorians harvest coca in Colombia, but very loyal, they sleep in their homeland. Instead, Colombians 'colombianizan' takes over Ecuador. Not only destroying forests, cultivating cacao and coca, but taking possession, organizing, pushing, forcing, imposing and breaking every law. They do not only arrive with their women, kids, and rula [Colombian terminology for Bowie knife], but with a particular language, 'colabóreme' (collaborate me), hágame un favorcito 'do me a little favor', 'regáleme' (give me a gift), while taking advantage, building houses and nearby lands.

It is a sustained exodus, born and raised by violence. They are located in the province of Sucumbios ...

The way they all — and the 20,000 or 30,000 Colombians — live in Ecuador's border with Colombia is drawn with crosses."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Original text: Las puntas de las colonizaciones se toparon, río Putumayo de por medio. La diferencia entre las dos fue grande. Mientras la ecuatoriana carecía de vocación agrícola, la nuestra andaba con ella y la coca la afianzó. El poblamiento petrolero de Lago Agrio dependía de la agricultura colombiana. Pero la coca se detuvo al borde de los ríos San Miguel y Putumayo, que marcan la frontera. ¿Por qué la coca no prospera en Ecuador? Un campesino colombiano de Puerto Nuevo me respondió: Lo que pasa, señor, es que los ecuatorianos son leales a la autoridad. Si

The three-part coverage represents immigrants from a perspective of threat (people who break the law), but claims this as normal because they were raised by violence and illegal acts. Thus, a normalization of crime is embedded in the depiction. At the same time, the article describes Colombians as charming people, further naturalizing them as law-breakers. This is a polarized depiction that portrays Colombians and Colombian immigrants as bad versus Ecuadorians described as good people.

This coverage leads to a second part that asserts this polarized analysis. The article “The bad ones and the good ones” (“Los malos y los Buenos”, 2009) is also a polarized description of the differentiation between the two nationalities. The otherness is apparent in these descriptions. This article describes Colombians who live in San Lorenzo, a border town of Ecuador, as fast-working people, while Ecuadorians are slow — but still working people. “The Colombians are more active than the Ecuadorians, they move, buy, sell, change, negotiate and prosper... The Ecuadorians are more passive people, they take their time, are slow, and seem to be meditating all the time, but they are smart” (“Los malos y los Buenos”, 2009). Furthermore, this article highlights otherness as a result of different attitudes and different approaches to authorities, thus a different culture.

The last article “Nomads and all Makers” (“Nómadas y Toderos”, 2009) describes Colombian immigrants as victims of the Colombian violence, victims of the poverty in the border towns, and victims of the policies of Ecuador and Colombia. One example of this is mentioned in the following quote: “To the forced displacement, the business of war, the permanent and indiscriminate migration drama adds the new migration documents that Rafael Correa’s government demands from Colombians” (“Nómadas y Toderos”, 2009). The article explains that immigrants can’t stay in Colombia because of the violence, and it is difficult to live in Ecuador as well, because they are illegal. Thus, the failure of the system sub-frame as well as the victim of

la coca no ha pasado, los colonos sí. Aunque en honor de la verdad, algunos ecuatorianos cosechan coca en Colombia, pero muy leales, duermen en su patria. En cambio nuestros campesinos no sólo colonizan, sino colombianizan territorio ecuatoriano. No sólo tumban selva, cultivan cacao y coca, sino se posesionan, organizan, empujan, obligan, imponen y se brincan cuanto norma se les atraviese. Llevan no sólo mujer, críos y rula, sino un lenguaje particular –colabóreme, hágame un favorcito, regáleme–, mientras cogen ventaja y levantan casa y cerca.

Es un éxodo sostenido, nacido y criado por la violencia. Se encuentran, en la provincia de Sucumbíos... El camino que todos ellos –y los 20.000 o 30.000 colombianos que viven en la frontera de Ecuador con Colombia– han recorrido está trazado con cruces.

violence sub-frame are those highlighted by this newspaper in its depiction of Colombian immigrants.

To summarize, *El Espectador* provides a different approach when representing Colombian immigrants. It states that although a massive mobilization is happening, this situation has its roots in the violent conflict in Colombia. However, the newspaper focuses on the conflict and addresses the strained diplomatic relations of the two governments in implementing humanitarian policies. This newspaper has a humanitarian approach that includes the frames of victim, statistics and numbers, and political tension, while highlighting that solution must be provided by setting aside political grievances. Furthermore, this is the only newspaper that provides a sequence of coverage, thus providing a description of the conflict, the zone, and the political, economic, and social environment that constructs the conflict. Therefore, this newspaper provides more complete research, with new sources of information in the field, a feature that sets it apart from the other two Colombian newspapers. Overall, the description that this newspaper provided when referring to Colombian immigrants is that they are victims of Colombian violence, and the political grievances of the Colombian government.

Conclusion of the Colombian newspapers

In sum, the three Colombian newspapers encourage the discourse of moral panic through the maximized depiction of immigrants crossing the border as demonstrated in the ‘numbers game’ exposed as the statistics frame. However, efforts are not made to support those immigrants, but rather to highlight the internal Colombian conflict in order to create policies of counter-terrorism. A discourse of war journalism is widely demonstrated in the narratives of these newspapers, where political struggles appear more important than the migratory phenomenon.

However, it is noteworthy that *El Espectador* differs from the others because it emphasizes failures in the political and governmental system. This newspaper provides a different approach as it prioritizes the kind of coverage in which the voices of migrants and citizens of Ecuadorian border towns are heard over the statistical versions of the Ecuadorian government, the Colombian government or the UN Refugee Agency.

Finally, the frame that is highlighted most in the three newspapers is the victim frame. This frame describes Colombian immigrants as victims of the armed conflict, and thus threatened

by the policies of the Colombian government. However, the political tension frame also appears, describing immigrants through the views of major or institutionalized voices like the government that provides to the journalistic depictions information that fills the daily migratory news with numbers that perceives immigrants through the major frame of statistics.

Conclusion of Both Countries' Newspapers

This thesis showed that the two countries' newspapers have similar ways of depicting immigration. First, the newspapers used the same principal sources of information to portray immigrants, with the exception of *El Telégrafo* from Ecuador and *El Espectador* from Colombia. These two newspapers showed a more sophisticated coverage in which migrants' views distinguish in the same manner as the others. Second, the main subjects of the news are Colombian migrants referred to as displaced people, however, the coverage provided is not always about migrants but about the political relations of both countries. Third, five out of six newspapers presented the frame of statistics as the predominant way of depicting Colombian immigrants. This frame supports the victim, threat, and political tension frames. Four out of six newspapers framed immigrants through the scope of victims from the Colombian armed conflict. Finally, the threat-crime frame was detected widely only in two Ecuadorian newspapers while only one Colombian implied this frame to a lesser extent.

Both countries' newspapers utilize the same primary sources of information in their portrayal of Colombian immigrants to Ecuador. The Ecuadorian government and the views of the UN Refugee Agency are the two well-defined institutions that shape the depictions of Colombian immigrants to Ecuador. Thus, it shows the high polarization of media choices when selecting some sources over others. Although some articles go further in representing immigrants' opinions, the journalistic research is superficial and lacks further investigation and continuity in the portrayals.

The analysis also showed that immigrants could be understood under different labels in both countries. For example, Colombian newspapers use the words "Colombian refugees" to a lesser extent than the Ecuadorian newspapers. For the Colombian dailies, the use of the terms displaced people, "Colombians" or "Colombian citizens" are the main words chosen to describe the population that has fled their country. Conversely, the Ecuadorian newspapers widely use the words "Colombians," "Colombian refugee," "refugees," and asylum seekers.

The primary frame used to depict Colombian immigrants in the six newspapers is the statistics frame. However, there is one Ecuadorian newspaper that uses this frame with a positive connotation while the other newspapers comment on the migratory situation with a rhetorical strategy that supports attitudes of rejection and moral panic. The statistics frame is not an independent frame that creates meaning alone, but is typically combined with the victim, threat, and political tension frames.

Another important frame that the study explores is the depiction of Colombian immigrants as victims of the Colombian armed conflict (VF: AC). This frame implies two attitudes that change according to the newspaper's view. For instance, the Ecuadorian newspapers depict immigrants as victims of the military conflict but with a humanitarian approach in which a need for help is evident. Conversely, the Colombian newspapers depict the immigration situation through the scope of the political tension frame with the Ecuadorian government, and the need for border control from the two governments.

The threat-crime frame (TF: C) was detected only in two Ecuadorian newspapers and one Colombian newspaper to a lesser extent. It reveals that the threat frame is less frequently highlighted than frames such as the victim frame of the military conflict (VF: AC). Nevertheless, the only newspaper that prioritizes descriptions of Colombian immigrants as a threat-crime frame (TF: C) over the statistics and victims from the armed conflict frames is *El Comercio*.

Finally, the only two newspapers that showed new trends of depicting immigration are *El Espectador* from Colombia and *El Telégrafo* from Ecuador. Although these newspapers still place their news in the traditional frames exposed above, they present two new frames. First, *El Espectador* seems to denounce a failure in the system when depicting immigrants (FS). Moreover, *El Telégrafo* introduces a frame of denouncing xenophobia and bad treatment (EP: DX) in some articles that portray immigrants through direct interviews.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions, motivations and further research

This study began in 2009 when I was working for the Ecuadorian Government and the UN Refugee Agency's project 'Registro Ampliado 2009.' The project entailed the recognition of the Colombian people who had fled the Colombian conflict, and who were already living in Ecuador. From that experience, my curiosity to understand how these populations are represented in media depictions arose.

In 2010, I conducted market research as an academic endeavour to identify socio-economic characteristics of the Colombian refugees in one Ecuadorian city. The study resulted in the development of a statistical database that provides a first approach to understanding the profile of the average Colombian citizen living in Tulcán, a city located on the northern border of Ecuador.

The socio-economic study showed, among other findings, that the majority of Colombians in that area were women and children (Celi, 2010, p. 63). Furthermore, the study showed that the average Colombian in the Ecuadorian border has low income, only primary levels of scholarly education, and is part of a population that works in agriculture, sales, and domestic labour.

Based on the above information, when comparing the previous knowledge with the current study, I identified some polarized, and in other cases simplistic, perceptions of the immigrants in the journalistic work that undermines the possibility of making these minorities participate actively — without traces of stereotypes — in the democratic space of decision-making within the newcomer society. Thus, this study is necessary to understand how the news media represent Colombian migrants in order to see how journalism shapes the society's views about the migratory phenomenon, thus the image of the Colombian immigrants in an intra-regional environment.

Though some other scholars have provided similar studies of the depictions of immigrants in the media, this study is different because it is the first time that the depictions of Colombian immigration to Ecuador is analyzed from an intra-regional perspective. This study analyzes media depictions of an intra-regional migratory movement that differs from depictions of economic, political, geographical, and cultural immigration normally developed from western-

eastern or northern-southern perspectives. Furthermore, as an intra-regional perspective, this study analyzes the depiction of immigration in news within two developing countries and not the immigration reality of people from a developing country moving to a developed one.

This study is also important because the journalistic depictions of migrants influences to a certain extent the way newcomers are perceived in the receiver society. The way journalists represent a newcomer, as ‘other’ different from ‘us’ shapes the environment where a common citizen or reader welcomes or rejects an immigrant. Furthermore, the representation of migrants is important because it defines the peaceful or the conflictual environment of a society. Those depictions validate and support public opinion while enhancing and reproducing social views. Therefore, the depictions of migrants are a constructive practice that gives meaning to the subject (Fowler, 1997, p. 25), in this case, to the newcomer. This may become a dangerous practice when validating the constant reproduction of stereotypes, one-source views, or similar simplistic depictions in which only a few people can participate in the media space.

Therefore, if those representations are too polarized or too dominated by one repetitive view, or if the representations are not contrasted or do not give voice to a range of actors, then journalism becomes a space to express only the opinions of a few and not a democratic space. Therefore, identifying those frames through which immigrants are represented in the journalistic field is important to understand how otherness is constructed, and which alternatives of depicting the other produce more diversity in their depiction.

I began this research with four main motivations. The first was to identify the various press representations of Colombian immigrants who flee the guerrilla violence in Colombia to Ecuador. The second, to portray a critique of the Ecuadorian and Colombian press shortcomings when depicting immigrants as a minority group, based on the initial premise that the press in both countries uses simplistic depictions to describe a complex phenomenon like immigration. Third, to define what kind of otherness is seen in the depictions of two similar countries.

Also, this study is important because both Colombia and Ecuador are micro examples in which Colombia, with a neoliberal politics, struggles with a recent Ecuadorian “socialism of twenty-first century politics” — a term coined by the sociologist Heinz Dieterich in 1996 — which was strongly evidenced in the press discourses studied. Thus, this gives Colombian

immigrants a political inflection when talking about the migratory phenomenon and the immigrants in both countries.

This study revealed that similar methods of depicting immigration are found in media depictions of immigration in developed and developing countries. The comparison of this study with the immigration frames provided by Benson shows us that the representation of immigrants in different regions is conveyed in similar ways in the same region. However, other forms also appear. Though both countries' newspapers continue to reproduce certain frames guided by major and powerful sources of information, such as victim and threat frames, it is also possible to find other kinds.

Those other frames, though reproduced as minor views, are important because they indicate the difference between a journalism that stereotypes 'the other' while initiating a space for a conversation that produces democratic deliberative frames where 'the other' is able to participate. Therefore, in these minor frames, which I may call informative-inclusive frames, actors outside the predominant sources of information participate with their views and thus construct their own meanings in the larger immigration story.

According to this thesis, what seems to be newsworthy is what appears in the immigration news, framed by the major sources of information. These main actors are the relevant voices capable of influencing, with their actions, beliefs, discourses, and through media, the actions and beliefs of a society. In this study, the views of three main actors, the Ecuadorian government, the UN Refugee Agency, and the police present the picture of the Colombian immigrant in the country. Three main ideas surround the way these actors frame the news. First, political and diplomatic relationship approaches practised by the Ecuadorian government. Second, a humanitarian approach guided by the UN Refugee Agency in Ecuador and Colombia. Third, data provided by police and armed forces that link the immigration environment with the Colombian conflict, criminal acts, and a sense of illegality.

To develop the study, quantitative and a qualitative analysis was necessary. For the quantitative analysis, I assigned values to categorize the most relevant news. I found important ideas when contrasting the values of headline prominence, years of coverage, word count, and the articles' placement in the newspapers' sections. The first finding revealed that most of the

headlines were embedded in three categories: the numbers game, political and diplomatic events, and perspectives that portray immigrants as victims of the Colombian violence. The second finding indicates that the Ecuadorian newspapers published more articles about Colombian immigration to Ecuador than the Colombian newspapers. This situation occurred in all of the years of coverage, except for 2010. It demonstrates that for the Ecuadorian press the coverage was more important than for the Colombian press. The third finding indicates a prominence of repetitive and similar sections. Thus, the value of the articles' placement provided an initial idea of how the news is framed.

Regarding the most covered years, I posit that 2009 and 2010 were the years in which the number of articles about immigration appeared the most. In 2008, a political conflict called the Angostura attack strained the diplomatic relations between both countries. After that, in 2009, although diplomatic relations were still tense, Ecuador launched the refugees' recognition project 'Registro Ampliado' in the border provinces of Ecuador. And in 2010, as a result of several diplomatic exchanges, normal relations were re-established. This correlation of political events indicates that Colombian immigration coverage seemed to be highly shaped by the political relations between both countries. Conversely, the Ecuadorian press analysis showed that the coverage was continuous in both years, thus a way of using immigration to report about the Colombian conflict to manage diplomatic relations. Therefore, immigration in both countries' news is used as a tool of diplomatic negotiations.

This analysis also suggests that the number of articles published in the Ecuadorian newspapers may vary according to the newspaper's political orientation and ownership interests. For instance, *El Telégrafo*, managed and financially supported by the Ecuadorian government, published an extensive number of articles in comparison with the other Ecuadorian dailies. This analysis suggests a correlation between ownership and political interests in *El Telégrafo* because the Colombian refugee recognition project is an initiative promoted by the Ecuadorian state. Conversely, *El Comercio* and *El Universo* provided less than half of the coverage produced by *El Telégrafo*. Therefore, the number of articles provided by *El Telégrafo* newspaper versus the publications produced in the same years by the other Ecuadorian newspapers prompt the question of why *El Telégrafo* published more on this topic than the others. However, to answer that question further interviews or other techniques beyond the scope of this study are required. For

now, the study shows that a correlation of partisanship and ownership relations may exist — however this remains unproven.

Similarly, the Colombian newspaper *El País* offered prominent coverage of the topic, especially in 2010. For the first time, the Colombian reports surpassed the Ecuadorian newspapers' coverage. *El País* also portrays a different approach that relates the coverage to political and diplomatic relations. Therefore, Colombian immigrants are represented through political views. Then, as explained by Fox and Waisboard (2002), “media messages continue to ignore cultural diversity and the needs of the majority... global content does not serve domestic audiences and results in the weakening of national cultures (p. xii).” To prioritize political frames over other kinds of representations reduces immigrants' opportunities to be described from other positions beyond the perspective of polarized or opposing powers in the two democracies of Colombia and Ecuador.

The research also shows that the six newspapers placed articles on Colombian immigration in 26 different sections, thus categorizing the story across a range of topics. The four main sections are front page, politics, security, and current events. These sections became an important manifest indicator to understand how news of immigration is framed in both countries. The sections of politics and security are a key fact to understand the qualitative frames. At the same time, front page and current events are sections that indicates newsworthiness for each newspaper.

For the qualitative framing analysis, I found that all of the newspapers' articles prioritize some sources over others, thus utilizing a hierarchy of credibility (McEnery, 2005) when depicting Colombian immigrants. In that respect, sources such as the Ecuadorian government and the UN Refugee Agency are common and predominant in all the depictions. Police data also proved to be an important source of information for the Ecuadorian newspapers, although not for the Colombian dailies. A hierarchy of credibility reduces immigrants' voices. The major voices or main speakers silence Colombian immigrants' views, and it is especially noticeable when contrasting *El Telégrafo* quotes with the other Ecuadorian and Colombian dailies. *El Telégrafo* is the only newspaper that prioritized the use of comments provided by the Colombian immigrants over the Ecuadorian and Colombian governments and the UN Refugee Agency's views.

Therefore, with a more sophisticated coverage, *El Telégrafo* attempts to break the hierarchy of credibility by locating the main subject of the news in a better position of informative power.

The above idea is important to analyze from Spivak's perspective. Within her ideas, 'outsiders' are not citizens, but 'subalterns' (Spivak, 1998, p. 259). Hence, not allowed to speak in a media environment where the domain of certain sources of information influences public opinion about 'the other.' Furthermore, Spivak argues that an apparent and misleading representation of the subaltern is implicit when its voices are represented by the voices of intellectuals or experts who are not familiar with subaltern concerns (Spivak, 1988, pp. 249–266). Then, as Spivak (1998) explains, "the subaltern cannot speak" (p. 266), because the expert is not intimately engaged with the subalterns' social concerns (Spivak, 1988, pp. 249–266).

For this study, Spivak's subaltern concept (Spivak, 1998, p. 259) takes the form of immigrants who are under the power of state and civil society prejudices, and media depictions. Therefore, subalterns or outsiders are silenced. In that respect, as minorities, they cannot achieve a voice of representation in these newspapers because the political and media voices within the countries consider it more important to deal with the ongoing political tension rather than offering minorities a space for participation. Thus, as proposed by Spivak, the media, as "experts," cannot adequately represent immigrants, the subalterns, (Spivak, 1998, pp. 249–266) because the chosen newspapers do not give minorities an equal hierarchical importance.

Regarding 'otherness,' this analysis makes us think that although otherness is still current in the journalistic depictions of both countries' press as a differentiation of nationalities, an 'inclusive otherness,' not paternalistic but empowered, also appears to a lesser extent. In this 'inclusive otherness,' the other is still stereotyped as a victim, a threat, a criminal, or even as a good worker. However, two ideas such as minor frames of information or a minor frame of empowerment describe the immigrant from a different position of power in the media's depictions. These minor frames explain immigrants from perspectives of denouncing xenophobia, encouraging human rights, and exposing failures in the system, and the description of a life project. Thus, those descriptions provide the possibility of understanding the immigrant as an individual and not simply through stereotypical group identification.

The journalistic work on these kinds of minor frames is not as prominent in the sample. The major frames of representation are still the statistics, victim, threat, and political tension frames. However, this analytic approach attempts to recognize the framing of immigrants from different angles of representing them from broadened ideas where the immigrant is not a “subaltern that cannot speak” (Spivak, 1998, p. 266), but an individual and empowered actor.

The above does not mean that the empowerment frame breaks or causes major stereotypes to disappear, but it presents otherness from subtle differences of participation that make the other seen as an actor, not as a passive other, nor as Cohen’s deviant. Overall, every person attains the category of being ‘the other,’ or different from others, at some point in their lives. For instance, a child in school may be perceived as ‘the other,’ thus, rejected by actions of bullying. However, to give children the tools of self-empowerment makes this rejection less threatening. Thus, journalistic treatment in depictions of immigrants, instead of acting as bullying does to immigrants must overcome those old practices and generate a conscious effort to be a tool to empower people to positions of participation in any society.

The ‘other actor’ in the empowerment frame is most different from the ‘current actors’ in the Ecuadorian portrayals because they encourage conversations in the society through processes of multiculturalism, migrant inclusion, and cohesion out of the most repetitive sources of information (Zetter et al. in Ureta, 2011, p. 215). Thus, it is necessary in this study to shift the common or most frequently used sources of information in order to present new, or at least alternative, frames to represent the other. Therefore, to empower the disempowered newcomers in order to provide spaces of participation in the mediascape and the public opinion is worthy of attention.

Furthermore, this study shows some subtle ways of representing otherness constructed from nationality differences. Thus, to be a Colombian differs from the fact of being an Ecuadorian. This happens not as a matter of physical appearance or race, but from subtle characteristics in the way Spanish words are used, as well as accent and certain cultural behaviours. For instance, the Ecuadorian newspapers used the word ‘Colombian’ to define the immigrant. In that sense, the nationality was important to define otherness. This demonstrates that Colombians are seen as others because they are not Ecuadorians, thus not a ‘common’ individual in the ‘normalized’ society.

In that sense, otherness appears as a different nationality. In the press depictions of Colombian immigrants, otherness appears not as a condition of being a deviant that directly causes moral panic in a society, as proposed by Cohen (1972), but as an individual that, although similar culturally to the Ecuadorians, is not an Ecuadorian because of accent, different word choice when expressing similar ideas, and even personality features. Behaviours that identify the differences of both nationalities are implicit in the press frames of victims, threat, statistics, and politics.

Another finding is that the six newspapers do not clearly differentiate migratory categories. Colombian migrants' quotes and participation in news as actors interviewed by a journalist remain in places of low importance. In the press portrayals, it is not clear whether the press refers to a Colombian citizen, a tourist, a refugee, an asylum seeker or what kind of migratory category. The Colombians as 'the other' are depicted simply as refugees, thus only one migratory category. Furthermore they are described from general views of statistics, victims of the armed conflict, threat, and as a political tool to negotiate diplomatic relations. This situation opens a significant gap in precision when trying to differentiate an immigrant escaping violence, thus a refugee, from a person connected to criminal activities, a guerrilla member not allowed to stay in Ecuador, or a tourist. Moreover, these kinds of press imprecisions and stereotypes are dangerous because they promote attitudes of rejection in the receiver society, thus reinforcing and validating attitudes of violence.

During the research, I identified various ways of depicting immigrants in the Ecuadorian and Colombian Press. Four frames -- victim frame (VF), threat frame (TF), political tension frame (PTF), and statistics (S&N) -- are the most common. Two other frames, the information frame (IF) and the empowerment frame (EP) also appear, albeit to a lesser extent.

For both countries, the most reproduced frames in the press are statistics (S&N), and the victim frame as a direct consequence of guerrilla violence (VF: AC). The Ecuadorian newspapers prioritize the use of statistics and the victim frame. However, their depictions also use frames related to threat and crime, especially for *El Comercio* and *El Universo*. For the Colombian newspapers, the frames change somewhat, and although statistics (S&N) are used widely, the

frame of political tension (PTF: DR) appears as one of the most predominant for Colombian press depictions, as well as the victim frame from the Colombian armed conflict (VF:AC).

The use of the above frames indicates that the Ecuadorian newspapers depict immigrants from stereotypes enclosed in Hall's (1997) polarized depictions. These polarized depictions are supported by a dehumanization of the subject as evidenced in the larger use of numbers that depict humans from cold numerical perspectives. Thus, they are referred to as numbers, as a mass, and not as individuals.

Similarly, Colombian newspapers locate immigrants within the view of stereotypes that reproduce immigrants as victims and as a mass of people when using statistics. This mass portrayal promotes a sense of concern among the possible readers of news because huge numbers that may cause social, economic, and political problems in Ecuador represent Colombian immigrants. However, for the Colombian dailies, the Colombian immigration is represented as a tool for political negotiation, as well as a situation caused by the internal Colombian violence.

Furthermore, the Colombian press does not widely describe the situation of immigrants. Sometimes a denial of their migrants leaving Colombia is demonstrated when silencing the topic due to political grievances. This is indicated by political depictions of Colombian immigrants in which they are connected to the Colombian government's political decisions. This is also seen in how Colombian immigrants are referred to in the news. For instance, Colombian immigrants in the Colombian dailies are not named as refugees, but as internally displaced people. This demonstrates a denial of the Colombia migratory situation. This situation makes the emigration invisible in the eyes of the Colombian press and the Colombian society. As a matter of fact, when Colombia uses the word refugees it is often to refer to people in Syria or other countries.

Moreover, the Colombian press prioritizes depictions of political perspectives and diplomatic relations over the migratory influx, thus declaring the idea of diplomatic relations and politics to be more important than taking care of the Colombian people affected by the guerrilla violence. In fact, the immigration problem may be a solution for the Colombian government in its fight against guerrillas to avoid these people being killed or even recruited. However, this is a speculation that could be expanded in another study.

This study also found unusual depictions of immigrants, albeit in lesser measures. Unusual in the sense of not being so repetitive as frames, but still important to shed a light on

another perspective that it is still possible to represent immigrants from a diversity of views and not just common and repetitive frames. These minor press depictions are worth mention as they indicate that a new way of describing immigration is possible. These depictions happened mostly in the Ecuadorian newspapers. For instance, the three Ecuadorian dailies mentioned Colombian immigration to Ecuador from a perspective of empowerment and the aim of Colombian immigrants to begin a new life project (EP: LP).

The empowerment frame (EP) shows a subcategory that denounces xenophobic attitudes (EP: DX). The empowerment frame that denounces xenophobia appears in two Ecuadorian dailies. It empowers the Colombian immigrant from a perspective of human rights, thus humanizing them as legal beings in the eyes of the society, and not just a mass of people on the move. These kinds of depictions are not found in the Colombian dailies.

Another frame employed in the Ecuadorian press is the information frame (IF). This frame endeavours to denounce a failure in the system (IF: FS). It posits that immigration bureaucracy fails when delaying visa and residence status for legal immigrants. A failure in the system is mentioned as a result of a lack of information provided by the state and other organizations such as banks and NGOs, among others.

In contrast, Colombian dailies do not include similar ‘out of the box’ frames. Only *El Tiempo* included brief descriptions of immigrants from the empowerment frame. However, the empowerment frame in this daily is more related to humanitarian and victim perspectives, thus not positioning the immigrant in a power position in the hierarchy of credibility, but rather in one of powerlessness. Similarly, the information frame that demonstrates a failure in the system (IF: FS) is almost invisible in the Colombian newspapers. The Colombian newspapers prefer to publish a political discourse rather than exposing a failure in the system.

Ecuadorian and Colombian press depictions are similar when analyzing the most predominant frames of statistics: victim and threat. However, differences appear when analyzing atypical frames. At this level, some Ecuadorian journalists seem to find an improvement when attempting different perspectives for describing Colombian immigrants. However, those attempts are still dwarfed by the typical frames and stereotypes surrounding immigration depiction.

The journalistic shortcoming of both newspapers’ countries when depicting Colombian immigrants to Ecuador is the amount of effort given to constantly reproduce the same stereotypes

and political interests. To avoid stereotyping may sound utopian. However, this thesis does not propose the avoidance of stereotypes completely, but the conscious effort to avoid reproducing those stereotypes as the only method of depiction. Additionally, this research criticizes both countries' journalism in the sense of framing immigrants from the voice of only three sources of information, instead of diverse views to create a balance in the way immigrants are represented. Thus, journalism may access diverse sources of information and views and not only the most political representative sources. Then, managing similar levels of power in the reproduction of news, an action that can be consciously done by a journalist, may achieve an informational level that could surpass exaggerated and polarized stereotypes, even those unconsciously and subtly created in the representations of immigrants.

Both countries portray great similarity and little difference in the way their media systems work. First, both countries' media are similar as they play selective watchdog roles that answer to particular interests of the media owners, and thus a relationship of clientelism (Guerrero and Márquez, 2012, p. 3–6) may be discussed in further research. Second, both countries' news media are highly dependent upon political and market regulations, but one is differentiated from the other, as the Ecuadorian press responds to media state management more than the Colombian press. In that sense, the Colombian press is more dependent on market forces than on political decisions. Furthermore, it is important to note that, although media ownership does not necessarily mean causality of media depictions, political and economic relations certainly influence the media environment in both countries. This correlation could indicate more journalistic independence of media power, or on the contrary, a big shortcoming in the profession.

From the above, the professionalization of journalism may have to imprint more thought when covering minorities. In that respect, journalism may not be about partisanship or activism, but about exposing different perspectives and sources of information with a great effort of detachment to achieve a certain level of equity. Only so, a minority group, in this case, an immigrant, will attain a better position of power and may aspire to having a place in public opinion to be represented with broadened perspectives.

To the literature of journalism studies, my research establishes that a look into the most reproduced frames is not the only way of analyzing journalism. Instead, the micro examples of

how to develop immigration journalism are also of high interest. Therefore, local details rather than the massive reproduction of the same patterns of depictions are clues to improve immigration journalism. Thus, paying attention to little details among all the stereotypes may shed light on the diversity of sources in journalism.

In sum, the others are only others if we construct or depict them as such. Thus otherness is a constructive practice that creates representation (Fowler, 1991, p. 25). What other people say about minorities is not what defines them. The sum of the diversity of opinions with the same amount of power, placement and reproduction, is what represents a minority in a more balanced perspective, though still does not define it. Journalism is not about describing facts with accuracy and balance only. It is about describing subjects within a diversity of information while struggling to disempower the primary voices and to give positions of power to the other voices so that the subaltern can speak (Spivak, 1998, p. 266).

Finally, in order to complete this study it is necessary to pursue further research. Further studies on Latin American newspapers and how immigration is depicted has to be updated to include more intra-regional migratory movements as well as global trends. Thus, to create frames that aim to lessen the impact of negative stereotypes over one nationality. This may create a stronger, transnational way of reproducing migratory depictions in news. Additionally, I consider that a further research in audiences' views about immigration depictions will be useful to understand whether the reproduction of news reflects directly the journalistic depictions and mainly how those frames are validated or rejected in the audiences views.

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Appendix A – Codebook

Codebook Protocol

Quantitative Categories

QUANTITATIVE CATEGORES	
CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES
ITEM NUMBER	1,2,3,... continuous
DATABASE	Factiva, Physical Archive, Website
HEADLINE	The Title
NEWSPAPER	El Comercio, El Extra, El Universo, El Tiempo, El Espectador, El Pais
COUNTRY	Ecuador, Colombia
DATE	Day/Month
YEAR	Year
SECTIONS	Politics, Judicial, International, Entertainment, Opinion, Economy, N/A, Other
WORD COUNT	Number of words

Qualitative Categories

QUALITATIVE CATEGORIES	
CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES
RELEVANCE	Very High, High, Medium, Low
SPEAKER CATEGORES	Main Authorities and Secondary Authorities
FRAMES	Victim, Threat, Political Tension, Diplomatic Relations, Statistics and Numbers.

RELEVANCE	CODES
VERY HIGH	VH
HIGH	H
MEDIUM	M
LOW	L

SOURCES OF INFORMATION		
Main Authority / Secondary Authority	Category Description	CODES
Police C	members, authorities, security people	PC
Police Ec	members, authorities, security people	PE
NGO's	Refugee's NGO's, FAS, SJR, OIM, Red Cross	NGO
UNHCR	UNHCR members, Famous People (UN Ambassadors)	UNHCR
Gov E	Ministry and Migration authorities or diplomats (Colombia)	Gov E
Gov C	Ministry and Migration authorities or diplomats (Ecuador)	Gov C
Journalist / Media	Journalist as an author	Jour
Bussines men	Business and Financial related	BF
Medical authorities	Doctors, Nurses, members of medical institutions	M
Farc-PG	FARC or other paramilitary groups	Farc-PG
Foreign- International	Other countries or foreign institutions (not Ecuador nor Colombia)	I
U.S.	U.S Government or U.S representants such as diplomats	U.S

Citizen E	Ecuadorian Citizens	CE
Citizen C	Colombian Citizens	CC
Ecuadorian Armed Forces	Ecuadorian Army	EAF
Colombian Armed Forces	Colombian Army (Recognized by the state)	CAF
Refugee 1	Colombian refugee	R1
Refugee 2	Colombian refugee with law problems	R2
Refugees	Refugees in general and plural (generalization)	Rs
Asylum seeker	Colombian asylum seekers	AS
Independent Expert	Academic	E
Other	the others... (1 or 2 times) or rare actors	O
Migrants or Immigrants	Colombian migrants and other nationalities except Ecuadorians	M
Private Enterprises	All private enterprises apart from NGOs, Governments, and non commercial institutions	PE

During the Quantitative analysis the study used the following categories

- 1) **Item Number:** Is the number of the article. This number will be counted continuously.
- 2) **Database:** Is the name of the source where the article was retrieved.
- 3) **Headline:** Is the title of the article or news. This headline is in Spanish.
 - a. **Headline Translation:** Is the translation of the article into English.
- 4) **Newspaper:** Is the name of the newspaper.
- 5) **Country:** Is the name of the country where the newspaper belongs. For this study could be Ecuador or Colombia, not other country, neither both for the same item number.

- 6) **Date:** Is the date of publication of the article. Is the day printed on the article in the physical archive, database or website. For this study the date will be printed in a day month format (DD/MM)
- 7) **Year:** Is the year of the publication of the article. This category had been separated from date to facilitate the organization of the articles by year.
- 8) **City:** It is about the city where the news of the article was retrieved.
- 9) **Section:** This is the main topic of the newspaper. Section refers to the main subcategories used by most newspapers. For this study the following sections will be used:
- a. **Politics:** Articles dealing with the politic life of Ecuador or Colombia. In some of the newspapers analyzed this category is found as Politics, News, National, Colombia, Ecuador.
 - b. **Judicial:** This topic encloses news related to security, chronicle and crime issues.
 - c. **International:** Articles related to international news or news produced by countries abroad that were published in the studied newspapers.
 - d. **Entertainment:** Articles dealing with entertainment, films, actors.
 - e. **Opinion:** Articles dealing with journalistic opinions, experts and academia. Mainly this is the column of the newspaper.
 - f. **Economy:** Articles dealing with economic, business and financial situations and economic numbers of both countries.
 - g. **N/A:** Articles were the section was not found or is not applicable
 - h. **Other:** All other content not covered by the previous categories, which, do not fit in the above categories. This categories are random and do not appear in a repetitive way during the study.

SECTION	DESCRIPTION	CODES
Politics	Politics, News, National, Colombia, Ecuador	P
Judicial	Judicial, Chronicle, Security, Crime	JCS
International	International	I

Entertainment	Entertainment, People	E
Opinion	Opinion	Op
Economy	Economics/ Financial / Business	ECO
N/A	Non applicable or found	N/A
Other	Other	O

10) Word Count: A word count of the content of the article that includes headline and subheadings. Usually on Factiva is the number provided by the database, in website is the number provided through a word counting provided by the computer program Microsoft Word.

During the Qualitative analysis the study used the following categories:

11) Relevance: This category was divided into Relevance 1 (R1) and Relevance 2 (R2).

Relevance 1 (R1) is the first impression of the article when reading the headline during the quantitative analysis. Relevance 2 (R2) is the second impression of the articles when reading the entire text. For both instance, relevance was defined as:

- a. **Very High:** Long articles with consistent and a big amount of information about Colombian immigrants. Or Short articles with consistent and a big descriptive amount of information about Colombian immigrants. From a word counting formula a very high article could have between 1407 and 2699 words.

Being 2699 the article with the most words and 116 the article with less number of words we can divide by quantity the Relevance (R1) of an article. However, this is not the only condition to measure relevance, but the descriptive and representative role of the headline in the first impression reading, as well as, the reading of the entire article that defines the real relevance (R2) of the it. This study will not measure relevance as a matter of the position of the articles in the newspapers because the majority of them were not located in the front page of it.

- b. **High:** Medium or short articles but with a big amount of information about Colombian immigrants, however, these articles are not as descriptive as the 'Very High' articles. The size for the Relevance 1 (R1) could vary between 1406 and 544 words.
- c. **Medium:** Medium or short articles with some information about Colombian immigrants. 'Some information' refers to technical data that do not provide a broad description of the subject of the study, in this case, Colombian immigrants. The size for Relevance 1 (R1) could vary between 543 and 330 words.
- d. **Low:** Short articles with little information about Colombian immigrants and with little or non-descriptions about the subject. The size for Relevance 1 (R1) could vary between 329 words and 116 words.

However, it is important to note that the size of the articles is not the only criteria to measure relevance. The descriptive and representative role of the headline when referring to Colombian immigrants (R1), as well as, the entire and deep reading of the article defines a better measure of relevance (R2). For that reason the study defines two categories of relevance R1 (First Impression) and R2 (Second Impression).

First Impression: Refers to the first reading of headlines and the first word count of the article.

Second Impression: Refers to the entire elements found in the complete reading of the article.

12) Speaker Categories: This category refers to the Main Authorities and the Secondary stories that speak in the article. It answers the question: who speaks?

13) Frames