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"They Are Our Brothers": The Migrant Caravan in the Diasporic Press

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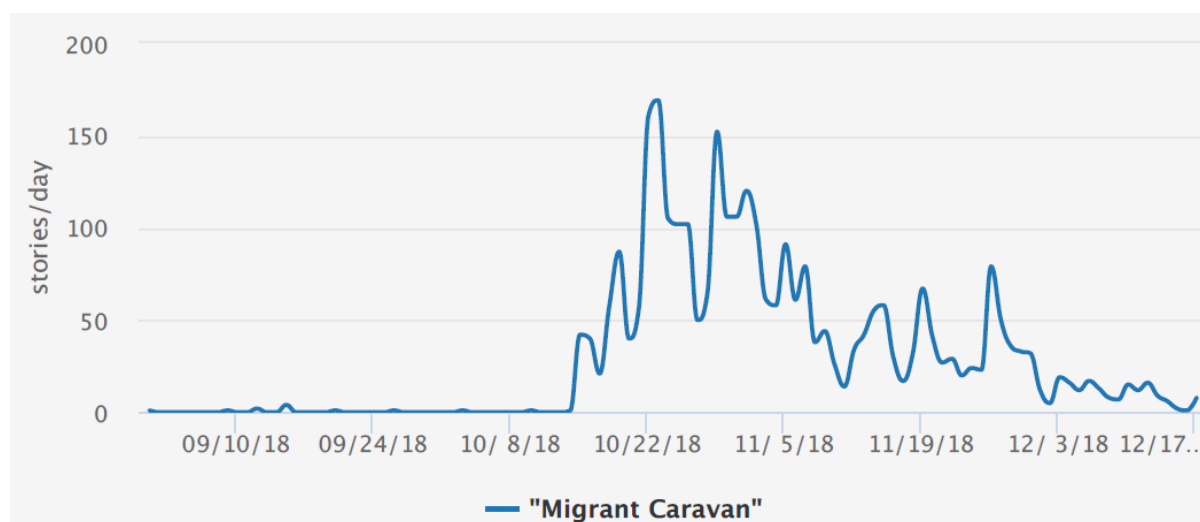
ABSTRACT

President Donald Trump framed the migrant caravan during the 2018 U.S. midterm elections as an invasion, using it to attack the Democratic party. Trump's attitude towards the caravan can be placed in the wider context of relationships between the U.S. and Latin American countries, reinforced by the mainstream media's representation of Latino/Hispanic migrants as the other. However, the diasporic media frame topics in ways that represent and support the migrant's own interests and create identities that bypass transnational borders. This research examined 55 articles about the migrant caravan published by La Hora Voz del Migrante, a Guatemalan diasporic newspaper, between Oct. 15 and Dec. 2, 2018. We found wide and sympathetic coverage of the reasons for migrating and the situations the migrants face on their way to the U.S. This coverage actively challenged Trump's rhetoric, creating a sense of pan-ethnic solidarity between the countries of the Northern Triangle and Mexico. However, due to the level of involvement and the power of the U.S. in the region, Trump remained one of the main actors driving the conversation about the migrant caravan.

Introduction

One of the main topics during the 2018 U.S. midterm elections was the so-called migrant caravan. President Donald Trump and the Republican Party used this caravan to reinforce the president's anti-immigrant rhetoric and gather support for his immigration policies, in opposition to the Democratic Party. The caravan, formed on Oct. 12 in the Honduran city of San Pedro Sula, set out to walk from Honduras to the U.S.-Mexico border with the purpose of asking for asylum. Although the numbers are in dispute, the caravan gathered between 4,000 and 7,000 people, mostly from the Northern Triangle of Central America – El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala – escaping situations of poverty and violence in their home countries (Agren & Holpuch, 2018). The migrants reached the U.S. on Nov. 18, about a month after the journey started (Malkin, 2018). The caravan received important coverage during the midterm elections by the U.S. mainstream media. According to mediacloud¹ – a Harvard-MIT open-source tool for the study of the media – and shown in Figure 1, the coverage began on Oct. 15, shortly after the formation of the caravan in Honduras, peaked on Oct. 23 with 169 stories, dwindled after election day, the 6th of November, had a brief recovery after the arrival of the caravan at the border, and became negligible by Dec. 2.

Figure 1. U.S. mainstream media coverage of the migrant caravan.



Immigration has been one of Trump's main topics since announcing his candidacy, when he claimed Mexico sends criminals and "people that have lots of problems" to the U.S. (Time, 2015). The wall Trump promised to build along the U.S.-Mexico border, and his depiction of Latin American people, reinforced the image of migrants from Latin America as undesirable (Hall, Goldstein, & Ingram, 2016). His border policies are consistent with a historical approach that reflects the power dynamics between the U.S. and its southern neighbors (see Erickson, 2018).

Indeed, the U.S., as the dominating power of the region, has established political structures that still affect the lives of Latin American people, and explain the current migrations (Khan, 1996/2018, Lehoucq, 2012; Pach, 2006; Pearce, 1998). The U.S. also has established, through its media, negative narratives about Latin American people and their experiences as migrants. However, Latin American migrants experience their own reality, different from the perspectives created by the power dynamics and the narratives in the U.S. media. Thus, it is important to understand these experiences from the point of view of Latin American people.

This research attempts to understand, through content analysis, the ways the diasporic media – a type of media published by and for migrants (Bozdog, Hepp, & Suna, 2012) – cover migration. We focus on those along the U.S.-Mexico border because of the historical, and recent, relationship between the U.S. and Latin American countries. More specifically, we focus on the coverage of the migrant caravan by a

Guatemalan diasporic newspaper, *La Hora Voz del Migrante*, to explore how journalists who are culturally close to those in the caravan might provide a countervailing perspective from that of the mainstream U.S. news media.

Framing immigration in the U.S. and the migrant caravan

Framing involves selecting and constructing elements of a story to create a specific interpretation (Entman, 1993), thus reinforcing and validating certain ideas. When Trump presents the migrant caravan as an issue of national security, he is creating a particular frame. In his tweets, Trump² called the migrant caravan a disgrace to the Democratic Party, stated that there are criminals, gang members and Middle-Easterners in the caravan³, and used the word invasion to describe it. Fox News also presented the migrant caravan as an invading horde⁴, a threat to American sovereignty, a justification for the wall⁵, and implied it was funded by leftist groups, billionaire George Soros⁶ and Venezuela⁷. The process of framing thus gains importance as it can alter the way immigrants are seen by society. As Brader, Valentino, and Suhay (2008) show, there is a clear relationship between anti-immigrant sentiments and ethnic cues, with opinions about immigrants dependent upon the ethnic group the migrants belong to. High levels of anti-immigrant sentiment among white Americans positively correlate with the representation of people with Latino facial features and an implied low skill level on the news. Research shows that much of U.S. national newspapers' coverage emphasizes the negative consequences of immigration and the idea of Latinos as a threat (Abrajano, Hajnal, & Hassel, 2017). Similarly, the images that accompany the news articles depict immigrants as a threat as well, focusing on the negative, and emphasizing illegality (Farris & Silber Mohamed, 2018). The U.S. media also tend to excessively present depictions of Latino men as the image for immigration, further stereotyping these men, creating the idea of the Latino men as a threat (Silber Mohamed & Farris, 2019). The way immigrants are depicted by the media not only affects the ways they are perceived, with misrepresentations or situations where immigrants are blamed for the ills of society, but it fosters anti-immigrant hostility (Boomgaarden & Vliegthart, 2009).

Ethnic and diasporic media

Finding a general definition of ethnic media presents difficulties. The broadness of the definition itself causes problems. Differences in ownership—from big U.S. corporations, transnational corporations or small companies, to diasporic publishing or U.S.-based operations, as well as differences between publishing in native languages or English, and so forth—indicate the problems in finding a common definition for multiple publishing situations, suggesting that maybe the word “ethnic” cannot encapsulate the nuances of this type of media (see Johnson, 2000; Shi, 2009).

Ethnic media, however, can challenge the mainstream media's immigrant frames and the misrepresentation of nonwhite people in the mainstream media (van Dijk, 1991; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002), and more accurately reflect the relationship between different peoples in the Americas. Because the racial composition of a community shapes the way news stories are presented, ethnic media is relevant in the context of a majority white country like the U.S. (see Benson, 2013; Grimm & Andsager, 2011; Dragojevic, Sink, & Mastro, 2017) where ethnic minorities thus tend to be underrepresented, misrepresented and underserved by mainstream media (Yu, 2016).

Ethnic media reached a quarter of the U.S. adult population in 2005 (Shi, 2009), and for many is the media they consume (see Husband, 2005). It can be defined as media that “serve a particular cultural or racial group” (Johnson, 2010: 108), a definition wide enough to include different geographic locations, languages or ownerships. In addition, as Ramasubramanian, Doshi, and Saleem (2017) found, ethnic media consumption has positive effects on minorities by boosting self-confidence and decreasing the negative effects of the mainstream media. It is also likely to: perform social control functions by reporting on conflict at a higher rate; function as a cultural transmission tool; provide information about its community and its involvement in their foster country; and identify external threats (Ramasubramanian

et al., 2017). Ethnic media also act as a community booster (Viswanath & Arora, 2000); establish a minority news agenda (Johnson, 2000); and contribute to ethnic cohesion (Riggins, 1992). Johnson (2000) noted how Latina magazines in the U.S. promote ethnic and cultural pride, creating ethnicity and a “pan-Hispanic identity” (pg. 245). In a similar way, the Chinese ethnic media are providers of context and topics that create a common imagination among the Chinese community in the U.S., creating a sense of coherence in their diasporic lives (Shi, 2005). Ethnic media also connect the local community in the foster country with the country of origin (Yu, 2016) and frame topics in ways that represented their own ethnic interests even when they tended to have a similar news agenda as the mainstream media (Subervi-Velez, 1986, 1999).

Diasporic media on the other hand, as a subset of ethnic media, can be more nation-state oriented (Johnson, 2010): it takes into account the multiplicity of spaces where social interaction among audiences might happen, it understands mobility and settlement as a flow and a network instead of antagonistic points (Georgiou, 2013), it sees audiences as active participants in identity creation processes (Oh, 2016) and it creates communities through media consumption (de Leeuw & Rydin, 2007). In this regard, given the relationship of Latin American people living in the U.S. with the U.S. government, diasporic media might also reflect pan-ethnic unity with multiple nation-state coverage. Put differently, the making of Latino news contributes to the creation of Latino ethnic identity (Johnson, 2000; Rodriguez, 1999). Diasporic media then, is a type of ethnic media produced by and for migrants (Bozdag, et al., 2012) where contestation of negative portrayals of migrants and self-expression is asserted in the public sphere (Ogunyemi, 2015).

Importantly, diasporic media link local and the transnational spheres, creating new identities at the intersection of diasporic experiences and geographies within the dimensions of local/transnational, ethnicity/race and U.S./homeland (Oh, 2016). These new identities might challenge coloniality relations and identities (Quijano, 2000, 2007). This can be seen in the creation of the Latino/Hispanic identity, a specific U.S. phenomenon that might have little to do with Latin America (Jones-Correa & Leal, 1996; Padilla, 1985) but is found at the intersection of local/transnational, ethnicity/race and U.S./homeland as social constructs.

Method

Research questions

This research seeks to understanding the ways diasporic media depict migrants and whether their representation challenges that found within previous studies concerning the U.S. mainstream media. More specifically, we focused on the coverage of the migrant caravan given its significant role within the discourse surrounding the 2018 U.S. election. Two specific goals are: 1) explore the depiction and coverage of the migrant caravan by the diasporic media outlet *La Hora Voz del Migrante*; and 2) examine the role of this diasporic newspaper in identity creation through its coverage of the migrant caravan. From these two specific goals we form research questions. More specifically, our research questions are:

RQ1: Does *La Hora Voz del Migrante* describe the needs and reasons to migrate?

RQ2: How are the experiences of the migrants in their quest to reach the U.S. Southern border covered?

RQ3: To what extent will *La Hora Voz del Migrante* cover Trump's rhetoric?

Sample and procedure

The authors conducted a content analysis of the coverage of the migrant caravan by the Spanish-speaking diasporic newspaper *La Hora Voz del Migrante* from Oct. 15 until Dec. 2, 2018. The timeframe was chosen based on the salience of the migrant caravan in the mainstream media, as noted in the introduction. This newspaper, an example of diasporic media that provides a bridge across two different countries, publishes

a 32-page weekly edition every Saturday as an independent edition of *La Hora*, its parent company and a Guatemalan daily national newspaper with a circulation of 10.000 copies and a readership of 40.000. *La Hora Voz del Migrante* was founded in May 2017 with the purpose covering the Guatemalan community in the U.S.⁸ The physical edition is distributed in Maryland, Virginia and Washington D.C., while the online edition is accessible through their web- site.⁹ *La Hora Voz del Migrante's* Facebook page has, as of July 2019, 17.181 likes, and their Twitter profile has 1.143 followers. The website allows the Guatemalan population in both Guatemala and the U.S. to be informed about the situation in their homeland as well as what is going on in the lives of Guatemalan residents in the U.S. Guatemalans were in the caravan, and Guatemala was one of the countries that the caravan went through, which made *La Hora Voz del Migrante* a newspaper with a particular interest in the migrants. The importance of this outlet also resides in the fact that Guatemalans outnumber those from Honduras who are in the U.S. According to the U.S. census data, 1.4 million Guatemalans reside in the U.S., compared to roughly 900,000 Hondurans.¹⁰ Also, in 2018, 116,808 Guatemalans were detained at the border, more than the 77,128 Hondurans and 31,636 Salvadorians combined (Shear, Kanno-Youngs, & Malkin, 2019). No equivalent newspaper for the Honduran population in the U.S. exists.

A total of 71 articles published between Oct. 15 and Dec. 2, 2018 contained the key words *caravana* and *caravana inmigrante*, as identified through the newspaper's website search option. Sixteen articles were excluded because they did not cover the migrant caravan. A quantitative content analysis that includes descriptions of the findings in line with the research questions was carried out using Nvivo12. The unit of analysis ranged from a minimum of a sentence to a maximum of a paragraph, with the purpose of preserving the general idea expressed in the specific unit of analysis. The coding scheme had two different sections. The first section, context, analyzed the themes presented by the articles. Six themes were established: situations, location, past events, politics, reasons and other. Reasons and past events address the first research question, whereas situations, location and politics address the second one. This section was exclusive; only one option for each unit of analysis could be chosen. The second section focused on the different sources mentioned in the text, with the possibility of finding more than one source in a single unit of analysis. The sources were: U.S. politician, country of origin politician, Trump, migrant, expert, and other. Two of the authors jointly analyzed 10 articles (18% of the sample) to establish intercoder reliability, which provided a Cohen's Kappa of .97.

Results

A word frequency count in Table 1 shows the ten words with the highest frequency. Unsurprisingly, the word *migrant* is found in the first position, appearing 1,367 times and representing 3.58% of all the words. Since *La Hora Voz del Migrante* used migrant to refer to the people in the migrant caravan, any reference to them used this word. However, the second word in terms of frequency is *Trump*, used 382 times, 1% of the words. The third word is *states*, 333 times, 0.87%, although a bigram analysis showed that this frequency is misleading. In this sense *state* can have two clear and separate meanings. In the first one it is half of United States, with *united* as the 8th word in terms of frequency, used 268 times, 0.7%. What the bigram analysis showed is that, in our sample, *united* always follows *states*, which means that *United States* was used 268 times, leaving 65 occasions where *state* was used to refer to specific states ("State of Guatemala") or the State Department of the U.S. The word *caravan*, as the 9th word of the table, was used 257 times or 0.67%. A situation that should be highlighted, however, is the use of the word *hondureños*. The bigram analysis revealed that the word *Honduran* followed words that established location (*city*, *town*), origin (*person*) and also followed the word *caravan* (*Honduran caravan*), de facto establishing the origin and composition of the caravan as Honduran, even though Hondurans were joined by Guatemalan and Salvadoran citizens, as well. In fact, *Guatemala* is used in a similar fashion as *México*, as a place that the caravan went through in order to reach the U.S. border, or in conjunction with Honduras and El Salvador in order to explain poverty and lack of opportunities, instead of one of the countries that provided people to the caravan.

Table 1. Word frequency.

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Original Word in Spanish
migrant	1367	3,58	migrante
trump	382	1	trump
states	333	0,87	estados
guatemala	333	0,87	guatemala
mexico	289	0,76	méxico
border	279	0,73	frontera
honduran	270	0,71	hondureño
united	268	0,7	unidos
caravan	257	0,67	caravana
country	221	0,58	país

Situations

The coverage of the migrant caravan by *La Hora Voz del Migrante* paid close attention to the situations of the caravan in its quest to reach the U.S. southern border. A total of 41 of the 55 articles referenced three specific experiences of the migrants in the caravan. *Positive*, *Negative* or *Neutral* situations. Positive situations were those where the caravan, or migrants from the caravan, received help from people or organizations or achieved a goal like crossing a border that was blocked. Negative situations were those where the caravan, or migrants from the caravan, suffered because of circumstances, such as someone's death, lack of food or inclement weather. Finally, neutral situations stemmed from the nature of walking from Central America to the U.S. border (i.e., walking through a town, continuing the journey, the caravan at a certain number of kilometers from the border). An article could present more than one situation, but only one could be found in each unit of analysis. In total, 74.5% of the articles, or 41 out of 55, presented a situation of the caravan, and 28 articles, or 55.1%, showed negative situations. Examples of negative situations are:

"At least half a dozen migrants fainted"

"[...] authorities try to clarify the death of a migrant at the border with Guatemala."

"Others lay exhausted in the open air, with only thin layers of plastic protecting them from the damp earth because of a strong afternoon rainfall. Others did not even have that protection."

La Hora Voz del Migrante presented *Neutral* situations in 37 articles, or 67.2% of the total. Examples of neutral situations are:

"Honduran migrants do not give up and continue to advance through Mexico"

"This weekend around 1,600 Hondurans mobilized in a caravan to the United States."

"A caravan of about 2 thousand Hondurans waiting to reach the United States continued its march through Guatemala"

As for *Positive* situations, they are found in 20 articles, or 36.3%. It is not surprising that positive situations have the lowest frequency of the three situations given the hardships the migrant caravan had to go through, and the media's tendency to focus on the negative. However, the fact that 20 articles presented positive situations does show a certain degree of unity between the countries from the Northern Triangle and Mexico, as the examples show:

"The solidarity of the people was notorious. The inhabitants of neighboring houses threw water to the migrants, mostly Hondurans, in an attempt to refresh them."

"According to the Casa del Migrante, a thousand already arrived in the Guatemalan capital thanks to strangers who approached them by car or took a bus."

"María Teresa Orellana, resident of the neighborhood of Lorenzo, gave free sandals to the migrants as they passed by. "It's solidarity," she said. "They are our brothers".

“At each step they received help from supportive Mexicans in the form of food, water and clothing. Hundreds of people in pickups, trucks and cargo trucks stopped to allow them to climb.”

Location and past events

The theme *Location* addressed articles that briefly and solely mentioned the physical location of the migrant caravan. It was found in 29 articles, 52.7%. Examples are:

“Nearly 3,000 Honduran migrants arrived at the Agua Caliente border in Esquipulas, Chiquimula, yesterday afternoon, as part of their journey to the United States.”

“Hundreds of Central American migrants gathered again today on a border bridge between Mexico and Guatemala.”

“[...]it is estimated that some 4 thousand people continue to advance through southern Mexico.”

The theme *Past Events*, found in 27 articles, 49%, refers to situations that happened in the past, such as past caravans, migration processes of migrants already in the U.S. or migration data from other years.

“In 2017, almost 90 percent of Mexicans’ applications were denied, compared to 20 percent of Chinese cases.”

“It is not the first caravan of migrants that leaves the violent Central American North Triangle in the direction of the United States.”

“Lester is a survivor of a terrorist attack on a bus from the Quetzal Routes in 2011, where nine passengers died, including his mother, Gladys Ordóñez.”

Politics and reasons

Two important themes are *Politics* and *Reasons*. *Politics* refers to relations between countries, governments or acts of politicians. Given the importance of the migrant caravan and the number of countries it crossed, it is no surprise that it was mentioned in 49 articles, 89%, of which 33 involved Trump, 15 involved other U.S. politicians like Vice President Mike Pence, and 12 involved politicians from the country of origin, generally the presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. Examples are:

“President Morales said he has maintained communication with Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández to facilitate the return of Honduran migrants who are in Guatemala”

“Trump accused Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador of ‘assaulting’ the United States and its leaders, not doing anything, nor to prevent the entry of “many criminals” into Mexico in the direction of the northern country.”

The theme *Reasons*, found in 43 articles, 78.1%, explains the reasons the migrants left their country to join the caravan on their way to the U.S. It focuses on the migrants as people in need, and the political and social situations of the countries of the Northern Triangle. In 19 articles, these reasons are provided in quotes from the migrants themselves, which allows them to have an active voice and make a more compelling argument:

“You cannot live there anymore. We are poor and we cannot support the family.”

“‘Because I talked about a lot of the *mara*¹¹ and a lot of crime,’ Sánchez said. ‘My mom told me that they came to the house and that ‘they saw you on the news’, he continued. ‘If you come back here, they’re going to kill you.’”

“Honduras faces one of the worst migration crises in recent years, with worrying rates such as the population living in poverty that represents 65.7 percent and 42.5 percent in extreme poverty.”

Sources

The second section of the analysis focused on the news sources. Eight different sources were identified. These are: *Country of Origin Politician*, *Country of Origin*, *Experts*, *Migrants*, *Trump*, *United States*, *U.S. Politician* and *Other*. The sources with the lowest frequency are: *Other*, 11 articles, 20%, *Country of Origin Politician*, 16 articles, 29%, and *U.S. Politician*, 17 articles, 30.9%. Examples of *Others* are Mexican people aiding the migrants, such as “María Teresa Orellana, resident of the Lorenzo neighborhood,” the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights or the Italian Ambassador in Guatemala. Examples of *U.S. Politicians* are U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo or

U.S. Vice President Mike Pence. As for *Country of Origin Politician*, it is surprising to find such a low frequency compared to the other sources since not only did the migrants cross Guatemala but the caravan also became an international event involving Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico and the U.S. Some sources mentioned are Jimmy Morales, president of Guatemala, Juan Orlando Hernandez, president of Honduras, or Jafeth Cabrera, vice president of Guatemala.

Trump as a source is found in 35 articles, or in 63.6% of the total, most of which, 33, were categorized under the theme of *Politics*. Some of the references to Trump have to do with the threat to stop funding the countries from the Northern Triangle (i.e., “Trump also renewed his threat to the countries of the Central American Northern Triangle to cut all aid if they do not prevent the arrival of migratory flows to his country”), threats to deploy the army at the border (i.e., “Trump threatens Mexico with deploying the army and closing the border”), links between the caravan and criminals (i.e., “Trump reiterated that many of the migrants are members of gangs and some ‘very bad’ people mingled in the caravan that heads to the southern border of the United States.”) or attacks at the Democrats (i.e., “It’s the fault of the Democrats,” he wrote. ‘Remember the mid-term elections.’”)

Migrants as sources are present in 39 articles, 70.9%, of which 27 were presented along with the theme *Reasons*, and 32 were presented with the theme *Situations*. The migrants were able to express in their own words their situations and reasons to migrate, especially seen in the 22 articles where direct quotes from migrants are found. Some examples are:

“I want to get to the [United States] to cooperate with that country, to work in whatever, being a garbage collector”

“A note came to my house saying that I could not stay, that I had to leave, but they would kill me,” she explains. “I was hidden for a while, it’s because I have this tattoo on my hand, it’s not gang, look, it’s the name of my dad and my mom.”

“I want to ask for political asylum (in the United States) and help my family”

Experts were considered sources with specific knowledge or skills who directly interacted with migrants or whose actions had a direct impact on the migrant caravan. These were found in 41 articles, 74.5%, and referred to people like Victor Clark Alfaro, professor of Latin American Studies at San Diego State University, Carol Giron, a representative of Casa del Migrante, a network of shelters for migrants along the way between the U.S. and the Northern Triangle, or Father Mauro Verzeletti, a Brazilian priest and migrant’s rights activist living in Guatemala. Experts had different opinions about the caravan, some of them advocating for migrants’ rights while others warned them of the risks of migrating. Some examples are:

- Clark Alfaro stressed that the caravans are becoming more numerous and have a different shade because “migrants no longer cross mountains and deserts but through ports of entry to request asylum; that is a novelty that saturates the asylum system” of the receiving countries.
- Cesar Rios, who heads the Salvadoran Migrant Institute (INSAMI), a non-governmental organization, has warned that “this is the worst time to migrate” and called on Salvadorans to “not take risks, do not put the family at risk.”
- Father Mauro Verzeletti says that in this situation they demand from the State the non-criminalization of migrants, or the actions of the entities that support them.

Discussion and conclusions

The diasporic media involve a blurring of the local/transnational lines (de Leeuw & Rydin, 2007; Johnson, 2010; Oh, 2016). This is easily seen in *La Hora Voz del Migrante* and its double reach to both Guatemalans in Guatemala and Guatemalans in the U.S. In this case, the newspaper is shortening the distance between migrants abroad and their home country by establishing a direct relationship between an established Guatemalan newspaper and a U.S.-based edition of the same, and, at the same time, by reporting on Guatemalans in the

U.S. to Guatemalans in Guatemala, creating a bridge and instituting a space where a dialogue between both communities can be had. On the other hand, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* recognizes the shared experiences with other communities their readers might have and publishes an online section called Triangulo Norte (Northern Triangle), in reference to the three Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. In this case, the Northern Triangle countries share a specific relationship with the U.S. in the form of civil wars supported by American administrations and a presence of American troops (Khan, 1996/2018), as well as more recent trade agreements. It is also important to remember that the migrant caravan was formed in the Honduran city of San Pedro Sula and gathered Honduran, Guatemalan and Salvadorian people. Interestingly, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* often repeats the idea that the migrant caravan was mostly a Honduran phenomenon by calling it *Caravana Hondureña*. Its coverage of the caravan seems to suggest a regional sense of unity and solidarity, but this sense of unity only goes so far, as the adjective *Honduran* makes clear.

La Hora Voz del Migrante nonetheless provides thorough coverage of the migrants' reasons for leaving their homes and the current political and social situations of the countries in the Northern Triangle. As the results show, 78.1% of the articles presented content that explained the reasons for migration. These reasons are always tied to poverty, violence, crime and lack of opportunities, and they are sometimes provided directly by migrants through quotes (35.5%), which creates a sense of coherence among the diaspora, connecting the migrant community with their community in their home country (Shi, 2005; Yu, 2016) and allowing migrants to see their experiences reflected and validated. The migrant caravan coverage shows how ethnic and diasporic media cover events and news from a point of view closer to the interests of the readers (Subervi-Velez, 1986; 1999), and create an agenda reflecting the reader's interests, which is a minority news agenda (Johnson, 2000). At the same time, the media bridge the distance between the migrants and their co-citizens in their country (Oh, 2016). *La Hora Voz del Migrante* provides a point of view that explains the situations that force migrants to migrate, a process that Guatemalans, and other migrants from the Northern Triangle, can understand and empathize with - emphasizing this sense of cohesion and community - and establishes the needs of the Northern Triangle region as a part of its news agenda by highlighting them. In this way the answer to research question 1 is: The newspaper's coverage highlights the needs and reasons to migrate and provides sympathetic coverage towards their own people in a difficult situation.

Simultaneously, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* also offers extensive coverage of the migrant caravan on its way to the U.S. Southern border. As previously noted, the diasporic news-paper explicitly calls the caravan *Caravana Hondureña*, creating a distinction between Guatemalans on the one hand, and Honduran migrants on the other hand. However, the coverage of the different situations of these migrants in the caravan is still sympathetic, establishing a degree of, if not pan-ethnic unity, at the very least, pan-ethnic solidarity. Diasporic media, because of their transnational characteristics, provides a wider than nation-state coverage, as well as a degree of pan-ethnic unity (Johnson, 2000; Rodriguez, 1999). A total of 74.5% of the articles referenced the experiences of the people in the migrant caravan while walking their way to the U.S. The newspaper included positive situations, at 36.3%, negative situations, at 55.1%, and neutral ones, at 67.2%. This data shows the Northern Triangle solidarity between Guatemalan people and those of the other two countries, sympathetically covering, in virtually three quarters of its articles about the migrant caravan, the situation of the migrants. *La Hora Voz del Migrante* gives extensive coverage of the negative situations that migrants have to go through in order to reach the

U.S. while crossing several countries and walking thousands of miles, while also making visible the high

levels of solidarity these same migrants encountered on their way north by people from the Northern Triangle and Mexico that sympathize with, assist, and understand, them. This is clearly seen when María Teresa Orellana, a Mexican woman, says “They are our brothers.” Answering research question 2, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* widely covers the situations facing the caravan and is sympathetic to their quest.

Interestingly, as seen in the term frequency analysis, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* disregards the words Latino/Hispanic as a way to create a common identity and focuses on the word migrant as the common denominator between its readers and people of Latin American descent living in the U.S. (Johnson, 2000; Rodriguez, 1999).

As for research question 3, *La Hora Voz del Migrante* offers extensive coverage of Trump’s inflammatory rhetoric about the migrant caravan. The fact that Trump is the second word in terms of frequency, used 382 times, for 1% of the words, shows the degree of presence awarded to him. This is reinforced by the 63.6% of articles where Trump is a source. The level of presence that Trump manages to have, especially compared to the level that politicians from the Northern Triangle have - only 29% - shows how he was able to control much of the narrative. *La Hora Voz del Migrante* offers plenty of coverage that challenges Trump’s rhetoric, but this, at the same time, allows his rhetoric to be presented without ever challenging the underlying coloniality between the U.S. and Latin America (Quijano, 2000, 2007). It is important to note Trump’s position as a primary definer, that is, a source that has more access to the media and is able to frame a particular topic (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). Hence, Trump as the president of the most powerful country in the region, and as a politician who has made immigration a key topic, becomes a primary definer in the news. Trump’s level of presence then, is a testament to the level of involvement of the U.S. in the internal, and external, affairs of the countries of the Northern Triangle (Lehoucq, 2012; Pach, 2006; Pearce, 1998; Khan, 1996/2018). To answer research question 3, Trump and his statements are given wide coverage. However, it is worth noting that, on the other hand, giving Trump wide coverage also allows *La Hora Voz del Migrante* to identify this rhetoric as a threat, which is one of the characteristics of diasporic media (Viswanath & Arora, 2000).

La Hora Voz del Migrante provides a clear example of a diasporic media outlet providing coverage of the migrant caravan that offered news from the point of view of their readers – the Guatemalan and Northern Triangle diasporic community – creating an agenda that meets their needs and reality and connects the diaspora, the migrants in transit, and the citizens in their home country. In this sense, the coverage brings a sympathetic and understanding approach that clearly opposes the tone expressed by U.S. authorities, giving an active voice to the migrants and explaining their situation, humanizing them and establishing a sense of community. Significantly, missing from the news coverage are: 1) the role of various U.S. administrations in creating the political and economic conditions that are the cause of so many migrants fleeing the countries of the Northern Triangle (Khan, 1996/2018; Lehoucq, 2012; Pach, 2006; Pearce, 1998); and, 2) past events like previous caravans or migrations of unaccompanied minors dating back as recent as 2014. At the same time, it grants space to Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric, challenging it on the surface but never addressing the underlying power structures that explain the migration processes between the Northern Triangle and the U.S.

Notes

1. <https://explorer.mediacloud.org>
2. <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1054088531629490178>
3. <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1054351078328885248>
4. <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/laura-ingraham-media-rolls-out-red-carpet-for-invading-horde-i-mean-caravan>
5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OlEyTEwvcr0&t=29s>
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LLJtnxJ1-g>
7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fg-mMIV53go>
8. <https://lahora.gt/grupo-la-hora-lanza-voz-del-migrante/>
9. <https://lahoravozdelmigrante.com/>
10. U.S. Census Bureau/American Fact Finder 2017: B03001.
11. Mara Salvatrucha or MS13, a violent crime gang.

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