Humanitarian persuasion against xenophobia: Venezuelan migrants in Colombia

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The President:

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ehrenzeller

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"In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind,

To nothing sublimer can thought be applied."

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Omid Alizadeh Afrouzi

"We're from the heavens; and heavenwards we journey;

We're from the Sea; and seawards we journey;

We're not from that or this place;

We're from the Placeless; and to the Placeless we journey."

Persian poet, Rumi

Abstract

Colombia is to date the second country in the world with highest number of refugees mainly due to reception of Venezuelan immigrants who have marked a massive intra-regional migration. The surge in Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has been accompanied by xenophobia whose extent and severity are rapidly increasing. In the view of this situation, humanitarian agencies feel strongly committed to confront xenophobic attitudes and one of their powerful tools for reducing anti-immigrant prejudice is communication. Since humanitarian response is now more than ever based on communication, strategies adopted, and campaigns designed by humanitarian agencies for their external communication must be persuasive and convincing. The present dissertation attempts to understand how humanitarian agencies can reduce efficiently prejudice and xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants through communication. To do so, a sequential series of qualitative and quantitative empirical studies are designed following a mixed methods approach. The main theoretical frameworks that guide this investigation are contact theory (i.e., mediated contact theory) and persuasive communication. The results of qualitative studies highlight different characteristics, reasons, and classifications of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants and how communication strategies are designed by NGOs in Colombia to combat the issue at hand. In addition, these results show different perceptions of highly affected groups in Colombian society concerning Venezuelan immigration and the humanitarian work conducted by NGOs in this regard. The findings of quantitative studies shed light on the efficiency of a pro-migrant argument in the context of humanitarian communication to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The theoretical implications and practical applications of these findings are discussed throughout this dissertation.

Zusammenfassung

Kolumbien ist bis heute das Land mit der zweithöchsten Zahl an Flüchtlingen weltweit, was vor allem auf die Aufnahme venezolanischer Einwanderer zurückzuführen ist, die eine massive intraregionale Migration ausgelöst haben. Der Anstieg der venezolanischen Einwanderung nach Kolumbien wurde von einer Fremdenfeindlichkeit begleitet, deren Ausmass und Schweregrad rapide zunehmen. Angesichts dieser Situation fühlen sich die humanitären Organisationen stark verpflichtet, fremdenfeindlichen Einstellungen entgegenzutreten, und eines der wirkungsvollsten Instrumente zum Abbau einwandererfeindlicher Vorurteile ist die Kommunikation. Da die humanitäre Hilfe heute mehr denn je auf Kommunikation beruht, müssen die von den humanitären Organisationen für ihre externe Kommunikation gewählten Strategien und konzipierten Kampagnen überzeugen. In der vorliegenden Dissertation wird versucht zu verstehen, wie humanitäre Organisationen Vorurteile und Fremdenfeindlichkeit gegenüber venezolanischen Einwanderern durch Kommunikation effizient abbauen können. Zu diesem Zweck wird eine Reihe qualitativer und quantitativer empirischer Studien durchgeführt, die einem Mixed-Methods-Ansatz folgen. Die wichtigsten theoretischen Rahmenwerke, die diese Untersuchung leiten, sind die Kontakttheorie (d.h. die Theorie des vermittelten Kontakts) und die persuasive Kommunikation. Die Ergebnisse der qualitativen Studien zeigen verschiedene Merkmale, Gründe und Klassifizierungen von Fremdenfeindlichkeit gegenüber venezolanischen Einwanderern und wie Kommunikationsstrategien von NRO in Kolumbien zur Bekämpfung des Problems entwickelt werden. Darüber hinaus zeigen diese Ergebnisse unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen stark betroffener Gruppen in der kolumbianischen Gesellschaft in Bezug auf die venezolanische Einwanderung und die diesbezügliche humanitäre Arbeit der NRO. Die Ergebnisse der quantitativen Studien geben Aufschluss über die Wirksamkeit einer migrantenfreundlichen Argumentation im Rahmen der humanitären Kommunikation zum Abbau von Vorurteilen gegenüber venezolanischen Einwanderern in Kolumbien. Die theoretischen Implikationen und praktischen Anwendungen dieser Ergebnisse werden in dieser Dissertation diskutiert.

Sinopsis

Colombia es hasta la fecha el segundo país del mundo con mayor número de refugiados debido principalmente a la recepción de inmigrantes venezolanos que han marcado una masiva migración intrarregional. El aumento de la inmigración venezolana a Colombia ha ido acompañado de xenofobia cuya extensión y gravedad está aumentando rápidamente. Ante esta situación, las agencias humanitarias se sienten firmemente comprometidas a enfrentar las actitudes xenófobas y una de sus herramientas poderosas para reducir los prejuicios antiinmigrantes es la comunicación. Dado que la respuesta humanitaria se basa ahora más que nunca en la comunicación, las estrategias adoptadas y las campañas diseñadas por las agencias humanitarias para su comunicación externa deben ser persuasivas y convincentes. La presente disertación intenta comprender cómo las agencias humanitarias pueden reducir eficazmente los prejuicios y la xenofobia contra los inmigrantes venezolanos a través de la comunicación. Para ello, se diseña una serie secuencial de estudios empíricos cualitativos y cuantitativos siguiendo un enfoque de métodos mixtos. Los principales marcos teóricos que guían esta investigación son la teoría del contacto (la teoría del contacto mediático) y la comunicación persuasiva. Los resultados de los estudios cualitativos ponen de manifiesto las diferentes características, razones y clasificaciones de la xenofobia contra los inmigrantes venezolanos y cómo se diseñan las estrategias de comunicación por parte de las ONGs en Colombia para combatir el tema en cuestión. Además, estos resultados muestran las diferentes percepciones de los grupos más afectados de la sociedad colombiana sobre la inmigración venezolana y la labor humanitaria que realizan las ONG al respecto. Los resultados de los estudios cuantitativos arrojan luz sobre la eficacia de un argumento pro-migrante en el contexto de la comunicación humanitaria para reducir los prejuicios contra los inmigrantes venezolanos en Colombia. Las implicaciones teóricas y las aplicaciones prácticas de estos hallazgos se discuten a lo largo de esta disertación.

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Acronyms

CBRI	Color-blind racial ideology
CM	Collective Memory
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas
DCT	Dual-Coding Theory
ELM	Elaboration Likelihood Model
E-ELM	Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model
EORM	Entertainment Overcoming Resistance Model
FtF	Face-to-Face
GMDAC	Global Migration Data Analysis Centre
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IOS	Inclusion of Other in the Self
IOM	International Organization of Migration
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SNS	Social Networking Site
TIM	Transportation-Imagery Model
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UN DESA	The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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Chapter 1. Introduction

International migration is a complex phenomenon related to multiple economic, social, cultural and security aspects that have nowadays, more than ever, an enormous impact on all societies and countries in an increasingly interconnected and globalized world. Human migration is an age-old activity which encompasses a wide range of movements and situations that affect people from all walks of life and social backgrounds (IOM, 2021).

Currently, there are 281 million international migrants in the world, representing 3.6% of the global population (UN DESA, 2021). Overall, the estimated number of international migrants has increased over the past five decades. The total estimated 281 million people living in a country other than their countries of birth in 2020 was 128 million more than in 1990 and over three times the estimated number in 1970. In recent years, there has been an increase in migration and displacement as a result of conflicts, violence, persecution, human rights violations, environmental degradation and climate change, and a severe lack of opportunity and human security (UNHCR, 2020). The World Migration Report (2021) shows that global displacement also rose in 2021 despite mobility restrictions due to COVID-19 pandemic.

Latin America and the Caribbean have also experienced in recent years unprecedented large migratory movements, predominantly of an intra-regional nature (World Bank, 2018). The intra-regional migrant population in South America is currently higher than the extra-regional migrant population (IOM, 2017). These migrations are mainly the results of failing states, limited or loss of economic opportunity, crime, and violence (Sabatini & Wallace, 2021). Over the past 15 years, the average number of international migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean has more than doubled from around 7 million to 15 million, making it the region with the highest growth rate of international migrants and the destination for 5.3 per cent of all international migrants (IOM, 2021).

One of the most contemporary emblematic cases of intra-regional migratory movement in Latin America refers to Venezuelan forced migration (Gandini et al., 2019, p. 43; Ribas, 2018, p. 95). Venezuelan migration crisis is the largest human mobilization in Latin America's recent history (Arcarazo et al., 2019), and one of the biggest displacement crises in the world[1]. Migrants are fleeing a political and economic crisis that has exacerbated a decline in public

[1] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/venezuela-emergency.html

safety and living standards. As reported by World Bank[2], more than 5 million people have fled Venezuela.

In view of this severe crisis that Venezuela has been going through, an important part of the population has opted for migration as the main mechanism to palliate and overcome the accelerated deterioration of living conditions and quality of life (Lebow et al., 2020). The destination par excellence for Venezuelan migrants has been Colombia (Ayala et al., 2020; Gandini et al., 2019, p. 48), "due to its physical proximity to Venezuela, lower transportation costs, cultural similarities and the history of migration shared by both countries" (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019, p. 70).

Colombia which shares more than 2000 kilometers of border with Venezuela is currently the main recipient of Venezuelan migrants, as informed by International Organization for Migration (IOM)[3]. Colombia is the second country in the world with highest number of refugees. The South American country hosts around 1.8 million Venezuelans, according to the reports of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)[4]. Colombia has been characterized throughout history as "a country of emigrants" (Calderón-Canola, 2012, p. 120; María & Mantilla, 2006, p. 2) with high outflows mainly in search of safety and a better quality of life. Nevertheless, after Venezuela's mass migration in Latin America, Colombia has turned into the principal and favorite destination for Venezuelan immigrants (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019, p. 70).

The increase in Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has been accompanied by disapproval, prejudice, and distrust (DANE, 2019; Haerpfer et al., 2021; Lebow et al., 2020), while the perceived threat to economic prosperity, job growth, public services, and cultural belonging is manifested in attitudes of contempt, generally directed towards the Venezuelan population identified by its lower purchasing and economic level (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020). The extent and severity of these phenomena are becoming increasingly evident in the reports of mistreatment and discrimination against the migrants, and the fact that a growing proportion of Venezuelan migration is irregular and unauthorized facilitates abuse and exploitation (World Bank, 2018).

[2] Report available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/world-bank-support-to-the-venezuelan-migration
[3] Report available at: https://www.iom.int/external/migration-trends-americas-bolivarian-republic-venezuela
[4] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/

According to the results of a study conducted by Proyecto Migración Venezuela (2019), Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia are subjected to discrimination and exclusion, particularly on the street, at work or during their job search. The lack of opportunities for a decent employment for Venezuelan migrants is also considered as an act of discrimination and xenophobia (Moreno Calderón & Silva Quintero, 2019). The situation in Colombia is worrying since the rejection, discrimination, and attacks against Venezuelan refugees, both adults and children, have become recurrent (Perilla, 2020). As stated by Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021), these xenophobic treatments are understood as the result of situations of intolerance and acts of discrimination and violence motivated by hate.

On the other hand, in a globalized world with continuous communication impacts, one can observe that the overflowing supply of information, from social networks to the mass media, exerts enormous power in the construction of fears, concerns, and negative social perceptions against migration (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020; Sáez et al., 2020). "While media connect and unite, they have also played a key role in the growth of anti-immigrant resentment and populist nationalism" (Hegde, 2019, p. 7). It is thus easy to trigger discriminatory expressions and xenophobic behaviors (see e.g., Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020; Rocha & Sinisterra, 2019).

The effects of xenophobia on migrant population are various, from low self-esteem, low subjective well-being, depression, psychological distress, and anxiety to violence, exclusion, integration limitations, and economic hardship (Miller, 2018; Steinhardt, 2018; Yakushko, 2009). "An atmosphere of hostility can shape the cultural discourse on immigration and can have detrimental effects on those who are the targets of prejudice toward immigrants" (Yakushko, 2009, p. 50). In the view of this situation, humanitarian agencies, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), feel strongly committed, on account of humanitarian values (see Brühwiler et al., 2019), to confront the issue by helping Venezuelan immigrants to integrate and meet their immediate basic needs as well as combating prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia through awareness-raising campaigns (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021).

One of the methods that NGOs employ to increase knowledge about migration is communication (Alizadeh Afrouzi, 2022; Richey, 2018). There is a necessity to establish an anti-xenophobia communications plan at local and regional level that involves all stakeholders, that is long-term and covers a wide range of communication channels (World Bank, 2018). As

recommended by Sáez et al. (2020), the number of campaigns aimed at understanding the migration process and the transformations in the host society should be increased. Since humanitarian response is now based on communication, participation, and feedback[5], the strategies adopted by humanitarian agencies and NGOs for their external communication and campaigns must be persuasive and convincing.

In the face of this situation, many questions arise: How is the situation of xenophobia and prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? What are the communication strategies of humanitarian agencies in order to promote a pro-migrant attitude in Colombia? How do affected groups in Colombian society perceive pro-migrant campaigns of humanitarian agencies? How can humanitarian agencies reduce efficiently prejudice and xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants through communication?

The present dissertation attempts to answer these questions through different qualitative and quantitative empirical studies. The main theoretical frameworks that guide the present investigation are contact theory (i.e., mediated contact theory) and persuasive communication. Contact theory (Allport, 1954) posits that facilitating direct contact between ingroup and outgroup members is one of the most powerful strategies for reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, it has also been observed that the favorable effects of intergroup contact can occur even if it is purely symbolic, such as through the media (Park, 2012; Schiappa et al., 2005). This strategy is called mediated intergroup contact and is defined as the parasocial interaction between a viewer who belongs to the ingroup and a media character who is member of an outgroup (Schiappa et al., 2005). Previous research (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Wojcieszak et al., 2020) has found that this modality of contact constitutes an effective tool to reduce prejudice and improve attitudes towards discriminated collectives (e.g., immigrants). Therefore, exposure to messages featuring members of immigrant outgroup would facilitate the reduction of prejudice towards that group.

Producers of media content should be aware of how to design mediated contact and how mediated contact can shape intergroup attitudes (Banas et al., 2020; Park, 2012). One of the fields in which message design plays an important role in intriguing, informing, convincing, or calling to action is persuasive communication (O'Keefe, 2008). Mediated intergroup contact and persuasive communication overlap from an empirical perspective since both fields have applicability in reduction of prejudiced attitudes (see e.g., Briñol & Petty, 2020; Chung &

[5] Article number 4 of the Core Humanitarian Standard: https://www.chsalliance.org/

Slater, 2013; Park, 2012; Petty & Briñol, 2014). In fact, persuasive communication can promote the efficiency of exposure to indirect contact as well as diversity in production of mediated content. In this sense, this dissertation takes advantage of narrative (Green & Brock, 2000; Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002) and non-narrative persuasion models (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) to better explore mediated contact design and the underlying mechanisms of its effect on prejudice and xenophobia reduction.

The present dissertation is based on two different types of primary information sources: qualitative semi-structured personal interviews as well as short semi-structured and informal interviews, and quantitative data gathered through online experiments. Overall, four distinct qualitative and quantitative empirical studies are conducted and the methodology that guides these studies is mixed methods approach.

This doctoral project is organized in eight chapters and followed by two sections (references and annex). The first chapter (the present chapter) is the introduction which provides a brief outline of the dissertation, including the research problem, significance of the study, theoretical frameworks, and basic research design.

The second chapter (Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia) reflects on migration, factors that trigger it, and the unavoidable challenge that integration of immigrant population represents for advanced societies. It also addresses the status of migratory phenomenon in Latin America, in particular Venezuelan immigration to Colombia. Furthermore, this chapter explores attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia and the role mass media play in constructing discourse and narratives about Venezuelan immigration. Finally, it discusses the necessity of humanitarian measures regarding Venezuelan immigration to Colombia and the role communication plays in humanitarian interventions. In short, this chapter highlights the legitimacy of migration, the increase in negative attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, and the need to develop strategies to reduce anti-immigrant prejudice.

Chapter three (xenophobia and prejudice) deals with the literature review by exploring the phenomenon of xenophobia and its core concept, prejudice. Primarily, this chapter presents several definitions of xenophobia and how it is distinguished from similar concepts, such as racism and nativism. Then, the main approach of xenophobia, civic ostracism, is explained in detail. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to prejudice, different types of it and their relation to xenophobia as well as an analysis of the scientific literature on the phenomenon of prejudice. Given that one of the main purposes of this doctoral thesis is the design of a media

intervention to reduce prejudice towards Venezuelan immigrants, it is essential to approach its analysis from a theoretical point of view, considering its conceptualization, the lines of study that have been developed to explain it and the evolution of the phenomenon throughout history. The third part of this chapter reviews scientific approaches to the concepts of xenophobia and prejudice. In this sense, the author tries to explore two major scientific fields that deal in particular with xenophobia, namely social psychology and social sciences (Wicker, 2001).

In chapter four, the theoretical frameworks are explained in detail. First of all, the author presents a review of the strategies that have been developed in the field of social psychology with the aim of reducing prejudice towards stigmatized groups. Then, contact theory, forms of intergroup contact, mediated intergroup contact approach, and mechanisms of prejudice reduction in mediated intergroup contact are fully described. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to persuasive communication, narrative and non-narrative models of persuasion, and underlying mechanisms that would explain the persuasive impact of mediated contact. Finally, this chapter conceptualizes humanitarian persuasion as the setting in which contact theory and persuasive communication are applied for xenophobic prejudice reduction. Its origin and applicability are outlined.

The fifth chapter presents the methodology. The role of mixed-methods approach is justified in chapter five, and all methods which are used for data collection in different qualitative and quantitative studies are clearly portrayed.

Chapter six presents the results of two qualitative empirical studies about xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The first study involves interviews with national and international NGOs and academic institutions in Colombia, and has as its main objective to delve more into Venezuelan immigration to Colombia and the characteristics of xenophobia in this context as well as to explore specifically the communicational strategies adopted by NGOs for prejudice reduction in Colombia. The second study includes interviews with highly affected sectors of Colombian society by Venezuelan immigration, namely informal workers. This second study seeks to figure out how Venezuelan immigration and communicational strategies adopted by NGOs are perceived by informal workers. Results and implications of these two studies are discussed in detail in this chapter.

Chapter seven discusses the efficiency of a new message argument, extracted from the results of qualitative interviews with NGOs and informal workers, for the reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia. In particular, the author takes advantage of the memory of

Colombian migration to Venezuela to build pro-migrant mediated contact. To do so, the author conducts two quantitative studies of an experimental nature, one with narrative messages and one with non-narrative messages, taking as a reference the models of persuasive communication, in order to figure out whether reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela would lead to reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia.

Finally, in chapter eight, the author presents an overview of the research and the general conclusions inferred according to the results obtained from empirical studies. The theoretical implications and practical applications are also discussed, and lastly, the main limitations of this doctoral thesis are identified.

Chapter 2. Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia

The second chapter reflects on migration phenomenon, factors that trigger it, and the unavoidable challenge that integration of immigrant population represents for all societies. After addressing the status of migratory movements in Latin America, this chapter provides an overview of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia; from humanitarian crisis until massive migration, consequences of Venezuelan immigration, attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia and the role mass media play in constructing discourse and narratives about Venezuelan immigration. Finally, this chapter explores the necessity of humanitarian measures regarding Venezuelan immigration to Colombia and the role communication plays in humanitarian interventions. In short, this chapter highlights the legitimacy of migration, the increase in negative attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, and the need to develop strategies to reduce anti-immigrant prejudice.

2.1.Venezuelan migration to Colombia

Migration can be defined as "the process of going from one country, region or place of residence to settle in another" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005, p. 18). The IOM describes a migrant as "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons" (IOM, 2019, p. 132).

Migration is a basic human right, as acknowledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[6] (article 13): "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." Migration has marked history and will continue to mark the future of human beings, to such an extent that it could be said that geographic mobility is one of the defining characteristics of humanity (Levitt et al., 2003). Therefore, the integration of immigrant population is an unavoidable challenge for all societies and host communities.

International migration in Latin America experienced over the last two decades a change in direction, intensity, and composition of migratory flows. In this sense, the role that some Latin countries played within the international migratory system has also changed. Generally, three major patterns have defined migratory flows in the history of Latin America: extra-regional migration, extra-regional emigration, and intra-regional migration (IOM's GMDAC,

[6] Available at: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

2021). The first pattern refers to immigration of foreigners from overseas; the second pattern corresponds to the emigration of South Americans to more developed countries; and the third pattern is related to intra-regional migration of South Americans (IOM's GMDAC, 2021; Pizarro & Villa, 2005).

According to the IOM (2017), three main traits stand out currently for migratory patterns in Latin America: intensification of intra-regional cross border migration, growth, and diversification of countries of origin and the destination of extra-regional immigration, and persistency of extra-regional emigration. The recent migration crisis in Latin America consists of several dramatic migratory flows currently underway from nations in South and Central America in particular. There are two primary trajectories: from the central American 'northern triangle' countries of Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala across Mexico to the US (extra-regional emigration), and from Venezuela mainly to neighboring South American nations (intra-regional migration) (Sabatini & Wallace, 2021).

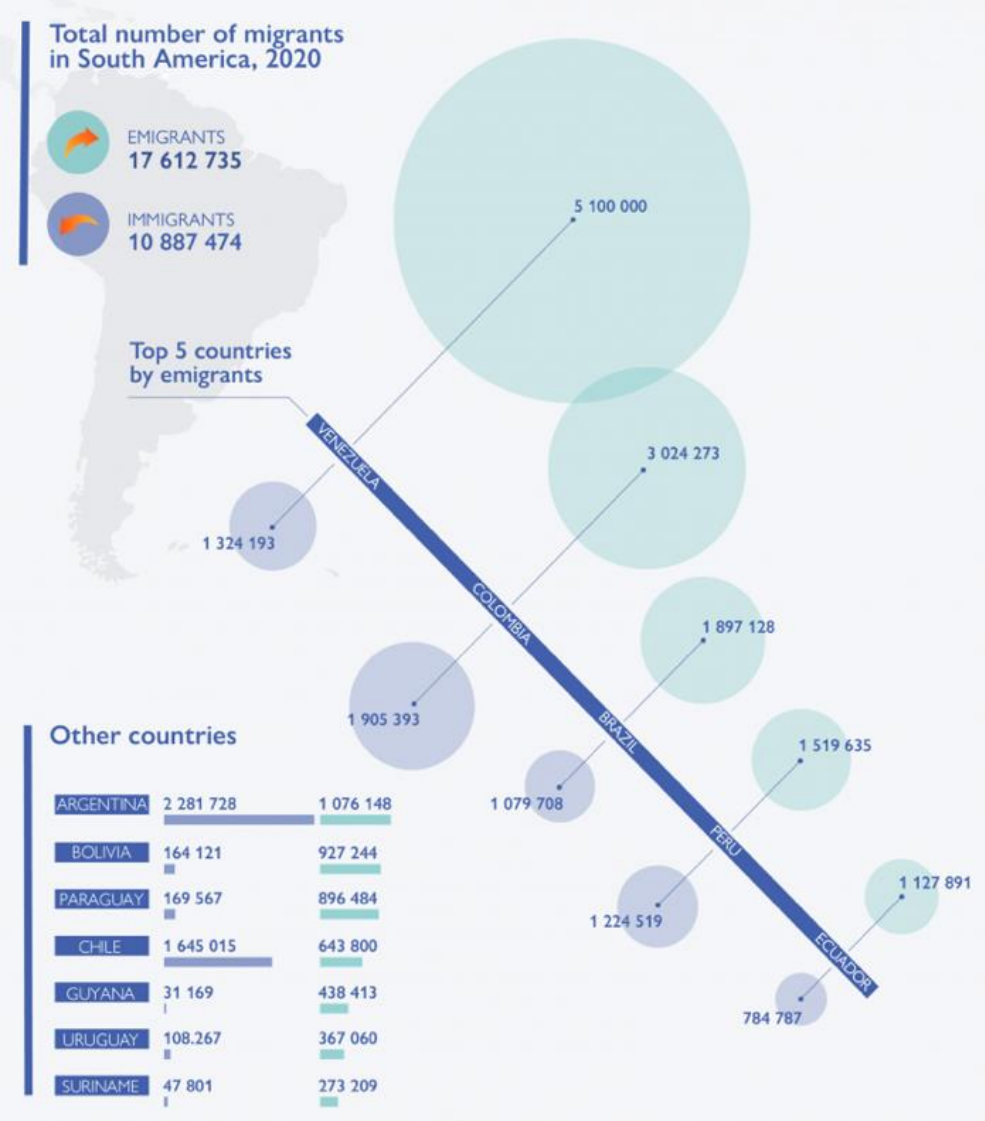
Despite the emigration from central American 'northern triangle', as well other Latin countries such as Haiti or Nicaragua (Namen et al., 2021), the largest mass migration phenomenon in the region corresponds to the displacement of more than 5 million Venezuelans (more than 10 percent of the population) (Bahar et al., 2021). In recent years, Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced unprecedented large intra-regional migratory movements (World Bank, 2018). Over the past 15 years, the average number of international migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean has more than doubled from around 7 million to 15 million, making it the region with the highest growth rate of international migrants and the destination for 5.3 per cent of all international migrants (IOM, 2021). Figure 1 shows total number of migrants and top 5 countries by number of emigrants and immigrants in South America.

Venezuelan migration crisis is the largest human mobilization in Latin America's recent history (Arcarazo et al., 2019), and one of the biggest displacement crises in the world[7]. Migrants are fleeing a humanitarian and economic crisis that has exacerbated a decline in public safety and living standards. As reported by World Bank[8], more than 5 million people have fled Venezuela and 80% of them are in other Latin American countries like Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. One can also add to this amount a significant number of unreported immigrants. Venezuela faces the greatest humanitarian crisis ever recorded in its history,

[7] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/venezuela-emergency.html
[8] Report available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/world-bank-support-to-the-venezuelan-migration

bringing about a mass “exodus” that put the situation of Venezuelans in international alarm (De León Vargas, 2018; Gandini et al., 2019; León Rojas, 2020).

Figure 1. Total number of migrants in South America (2020).



Source: IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (2021, p. 2)

According to the International Monetary Fund (2019, p. 3), Venezuela has been suffering a growing economic and humanitarian crisis since 2014 due to hyperinflation. In view of this severe crisis that Venezuela has been going through, an important part of the population has opted for migration as the main mechanism to palliate and overcome the accelerated deterioration of living conditions and quality of life, precarious work, as well as the difficulties in accessing food, health, education, and public services (Lebow et al., 2020). Bermúdez et al. (2018, p. 25) assert that insecurity, hunger, lack of medicines for medical treatment, and better

job opportunities are among psychosocial and economic reasons which have driven Venezuelans to make migration decision.

The current Venezuelan migration crisis is considered as "forced migration" (Gandini et al., 2019, p. 43; Ribas, 2018, p. 95). Based on the definition proposed by the IOM, forced migration is "a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g., movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects)"[9].

The bulk of Venezuelan migration flow has been directed towards countries within the region, reconfiguring Latin American migration trends and patterns with specific characteristics which make it unique (Selee et al., 2019) and challenging for its empirical understanding and its implications for theoretical explanations of mobilities. The massiveness of Venezuelan migration in such a short period of time has led to the emergence of a new turning point in human mobility in Latin America. "To the traditional migration pattern originating in peripheral countries to central countries, known in the migration literature as South-North migration, a movement is added with origin and destination in the same peripheral countries, that is South-South migratory movements" (Gandini et al., 2020, p. 117).

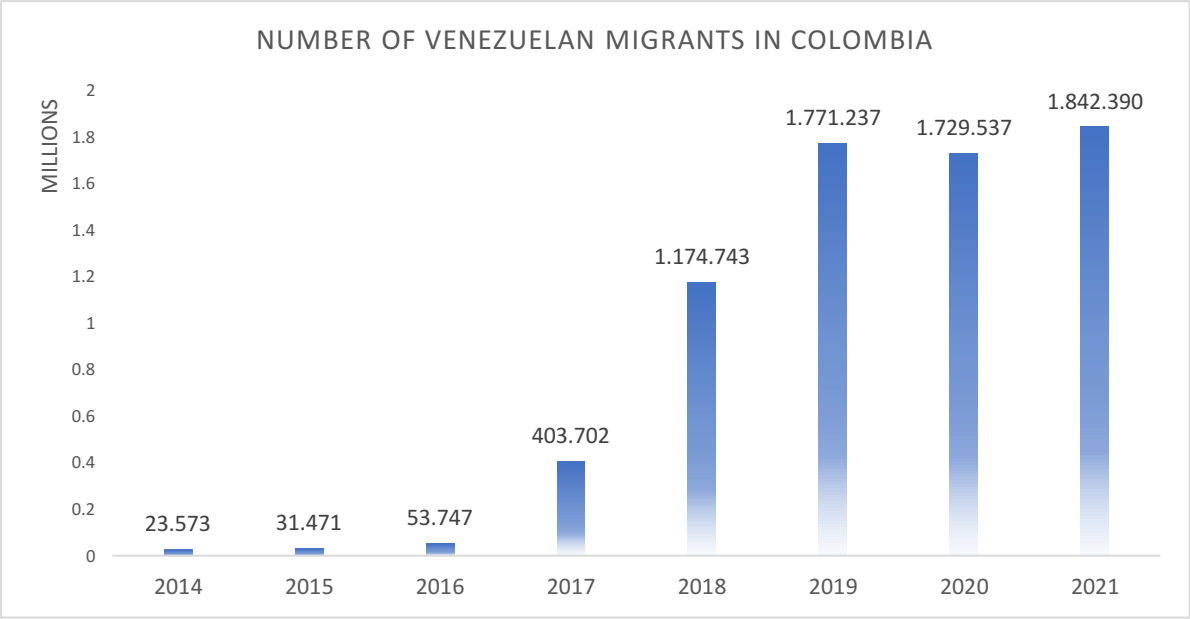
In recent years, the destination par excellence for Venezuelan migrants has been Colombia (Ayala et al., 2020; Gandini et al., 2019), "due to its physical proximity to Venezuela, lower transportation costs, cultural similarities and the history of migration shared by both countries" (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019, p. 70). Colombia which shares more than 2000 kilometers of border with Venezuela is currently the main recipient of Venezuelan migrants, as informed by the IOM[10]. Colombia is the second country in the world with highest number of refugees. The South American nation hosts 1.8 million Venezuelans, according to the reports of UNHCR[11]. Graph 1 shows the evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia in recent years.

Venezuelan immigration to Colombia is among top 20 international migration country-to-country corridors (IOM, 2021). Venezuelan migration has been massive insofar as Colombia is facing the largest wave of immigrants ever registered in its history. Venezuelan immigrants are a vulnerable population and at risk during the entire mobility process; risks related to

[9] See: https://albania.iom.int/key-migration-terms
[10] Report available at: https://www.iom.int/external/migration-trends-americas-bolivarian-republic-venezuela
[11] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2019/

robbery, extortion by armed groups and security forces, human smuggling and/or human trafficking, danger of losing their lives during the journey by undergoing long and strenuous walks and having to endure inclement weather (Mazuera-Arias et al., 2021).

Graph 1. Evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia (2014-2021).



Source: Elaboration of the author based on the data from Colombian Foreign Ministry

Colombia has been characterized throughout history as "a country of emigrants" (Calderón-Canola, 2012, p. 120; María & Mantilla, 2006, p. 2) with high outflows mainly in search of safety and a better quality of life. In this context, the main concern is how the Colombian society would respond to such phenomenon, namely reception of Venezuelan immigrants, and how the transition from a society of emigrants to a society of immigrants would mark. Despite the existence of an open-door policy in several Latin American countries, including Colombia, as a response to Venezuelan migration, various factors have hindered the processes of rapid integration in receiving societies.

2.2.Attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia

Migration may be followed by viable human rights violation and risks of persistent inequalities, precariousness, and vulnerabilities (Oxfam, 2019, p. 8). The Venezuelan migrants in Colombia, just as all migrants and refugees who are living outside their countries of origin are vulnerable to racism, xenophobia, and discrimination. Even though Colombian nation voiced solidarity with Venezuelan immigrants, in some specific areas, e.g., areas controlled by

illegal groups, outbreaks of rejection, stigma and xenophobia are becoming overt (Tapia Bravo, 2020; World Bank, 2018).

In recent years, the increase in Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has been accompanied by disapproval, prejudice, and distrust (DANE, 2019; Haerpfer et al., 2021; Lebow et al., 2020), while the perceived threat to economic prosperity, job growth, public services, and cultural belonging is manifested in attitudes of contempt generally directed towards the Venezuelan population identified by its lower purchasing and economic level (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020). The extent and severity of these phenomena are becoming increasingly evident in the reports of mistreatment and discrimination against the migrants, and the fact that a growing proportion of Venezuelan migration is irregular and unauthorized facilitates abuse and exploitation (World Bank, 2018).

According to the results of a study conducted by Proyecto Migración Venezuela (2019), Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia are subjected to discrimination and exclusion, particularly on the street, at work or during their job search. The lack of opportunities for a decent employment for Venezuelan migrants is also considered as an act of discrimination and xenophobia (Moreno Calderón & Silva Quintero, 2019). The situation in Colombia is worrying since the rejection, discrimination, and attacks against Venezuelan refugees, both adults and children, have become recurrent (Perilla, 2020). As stated by Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021), these xenophobic treatments are understood as the result of situations of intolerance and acts of discrimination and violence motivated by hate.

The results of a study conducted by Oxfam in countries with most Venezuelan immigrants, namely Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, show that there is a large number of people with ambivalent views on Venezuelan migration. “Many people (over 80%) say that they understand the circumstances that force millions to migrate and empathize with the situation of those from Venezuela, while about 70% clearly state that they expect stricter border policies to be implemented” (Oxfam, 2019, p. 14). In addition, despite the fact that six out of ten in Colombia recognize that most immigrants strive to integrate into the society, only 30% consider that “the impact of migration is positive at the cultural level for the country” (Oxfam, 2019, p. 15).

In Colombia, public conversations about Venezuelan migration on social media (Twitter) and other web media have generally five main axes including education, security, health,

employment, and xenophobia, with security being the biggest driver of overall conversations and with a positive correlation with xenophobia (Barómetro de Xenofobia, 2021).

Episodes of xenophobia, although localized, have been characterized by high levels of violence against Venezuelan migrants, as well as Colombian returnees[12] (World Bank, 2018). Ignoring these dynamics could lead to the exacerbation of violence, and limit migrants' possibilities for integration and thus their capacity for self-sufficiency. The growth of xenophobic and discriminatory sentiments feeds the social fracture in recipient countries, and it increases notably the risks and vulnerabilities faced by migrants, especially women and girls (Oxfam, 2019).

As stated by Ribas (2018, p. 120), the situation of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia requires great vigilance of government and institutions in terms of human rights, in order to determine the fundamental and inalienable rights and freedoms that are universally recognized and facilitate the integration of immigrants into productive life. Consistent with Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination."[13]

The great challenge for host countries of Venezuelan migrants in Latin American is to convert this migratory situation into an opportunity to develop, innovate and implement long-term migration policies that would prevent this population from falling into situations of irregularity. "Circumstantial or only assistance responses, without offering long-term legal security, could lead to actions aimed at rejection, non-acceptance, refoulement and deportation of the Venezuelan population, which could indirectly fuel xenophobia and other anti-immigrant behaviors that have unfortunately appeared in many arrival contexts during the present situation" (Gandini et al., 2019, p. 28).

2.3.Venezuelan immigration and Colombian media

In a globalized world with continuous communication impacts, we can observe that the overflowing supply of information, from social networks to the mass media, exerts enormous

[12] Colombian returnees refer to Colombian migrants who used to live in Venezuela and who have returned to their homeland.
[13] Available at: https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

power in the construction of fears, concerns, and negative social perceptions against migration (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020; Sáez et al., 2020). Research has shown a strong correlation between false beliefs and negative attitudes towards immigrants (Peterie & Neil, 2020). Social scientists have demonstrated that government and media discourses spread flawed information with regard to the threat posed by asylum seekers and the legitimacy of their claims (Klocker & Dunn, 2003). The communicative function of government policies also influences people's xenophobic attitudes (Mainwaring & Silverman, 2016).

Representations and portrayals in mainstream and mass media have been studied considerably over the past decades but remain of continuing relevance. Studies carried out in areas, such as *Agenda Setting* or *Framing* theory, have shown that news stories influence the audience by adopting a specific point of view and the importance given to the topics covered (Igartua & Humanes, 2004). Framing theory postulates that the media influence audience perceptions of what is important by covering some issues to the detriment of others (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). In this context, the concept of framing is fundamental since the production of news implies the selection of key words and certain aspects of reality and their salience.

As van Dijk (1991) points out, the discourse of the press and television plays a special role in shaping our knowledge and ideologies and much of what we know about the world, that is not based on our everyday experiences, is learnt from the media. The way different immigrant outgroups are reflected and described in mass media and public discourse, especially on the moral dimension, affects significantly xenophobic attitudes in society (Peterie & Neil, 2020). News framing which links immigration with crime may influence the audience and encourage a false correlation between immigration and crime (Dijk, 1997).

"Media narrate stories of migration before, during and after people's moves, feeding into social imaginaries of what cross-border mobility means and who these people are" (Macias, 2019). For instance, "the expression 'illegal immigrants' or 'undocumented' immigrants have different connotations. 'Illegal' contains an accusation of criminality and, through internal attributions, portrays the immigrant as active and guilty. In contrast, 'undocumented' refers to bureaucratic procedures. Suggesting external attributions, it presents the immigrant as a passive victim of the system" (Sánchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015, p. 805).

Various studies (see e.g., Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020; Rocha & Sinisterra, 2019) have scrutinized the Colombian media discourse regarding Venezuelan immigration. The studies are conducted about different means of mass communication, such as newspaper

(e.g., Castellanos Díaz & Prada-Penagos, 2020; Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020), television (e.g., Rocha & Sinisterra, 2019), social media (e.g., Ordóñez & Ramírez Arcos, 2019), among others. The journalistic topics which are usually reflected with regard to Venezuelan immigration in Colombia include: acts of xenophobia or discrimination, cases of conflict, crime or death, irregular flow of migrants, public policies for social equality, and migration regulation processes (Ynciarte González, 2021).

The analysis on journalistic discourses of two leading Colombian newspapers (*El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*) showed that a negative evaluation of Venezuelan immigration abounds in 71.7% of the news textual content and 58.7% of the visual content or photographs give a negative representation of the phenomenon (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020). Similarly, Castellanos Díaz and Prada-Penagos (2020) found out that the media representations constructed about Venezuelan immigrants in two newspapers in border regions of Colombia (*La Opinión* and *La Guajira*) revictimize this population by forging, based on different journalistic accounts, a generalized negative image; that of a problematic group that exacerbates the conflicts in the regions where they arrive.

As Perilla (2020) explains hatred and fear against Venezuelan immigrants are fed by Colombian media which demonstrate Venezuelans in their discourses as people who bring chaos and violence. As a consequence, a narrative of immigration considered as a problem is reinforced (Cortés-Martínez, 2018). The damage that different media have caused in the image of Venezuelans in Colombia is enormous, "not only because of how journalists have distorted the reality of migration, but also because they promote xenophobia and aporophobia[14] in the Colombian population" (Perilla, 2020, p. 124).

As Lotero-Echeverri et al. (2020, p. 14) explain, in Colombian media discourses there is to a larger extent "a discussion of Venezuelans than of migrants and even the word 'Venezuelan' is presented as a substitute for immigrant, as if it were not possible to find Venezuelans in another situation". This is a manifestation of a phenomenon that Cortina (2017) recognizes as aporophobia, whereby the poor are rejected and not so much the foreigner. Ynciarte González (2021, p. 41) believes that the editors or journalists who disseminate the news, neglect the impact that news content can have on social imaginary, "by giving nationality greater weight than the fact".

[14] "Aporophobia" is a neologism created by Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina (2017) to describe "rejection of the poor".

According to a poll conducted by Barómetro de Xenofobia, 63.1% of Colombians consider that their perception of Venezuelan migrant population is influenced by the media, social networks, or opinion leaders, while 36.9% reported not being affected (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021). The narratives of various sectors of Colombian population and the media that associate Venezuelans with the problems of unemployment and insecurity create institutional barriers which hinder the integration of host community and migrant population at times of proximity such as public spaces, schools, and work (Instituto de Opinión Pública, 2020).

Cortina (1994) explains that "in order for fear to turn into rejection, a mental process is needed that nullifies compassion and empathy in the human being; this process is provided in this case by ideology and is activated when it points to migrants as the culprits of poverty and deprivation." In Colombia, the fear generated by negative news about Venezuelan immigrants is consciously or unconsciously transmitted from parents to children, creating a propagation of stereotypes between generations (Namen et al., 2021).

2.4.Venezuelan migration and communicational intervention of NGOs

The effects of xenophobia on migrant population are various, from low self-esteem, low subjective well-being, depression, psychological distress, and anxiety to violence, exclusion, integration limitations, and economic hardship (Miller, 2018; Steinhardt, 2018; Yakushko, 2009). "An atmosphere of hostility can shape the cultural discourse on immigration and can have detrimental effects on those who are the targets of prejudice toward immigrants" (Yakushko, 2009, p. 50).

According to Crush and Ramachandran (2010), xenophobia has a detrimental effect on social cohesion, contributing to shrinking tolerance and respect for other cultures and fostering the distrust of diversity. "Xenophobia exacerbates the vulnerability of migrant groups, exposing them to regular harassment, intimidation, and abuse by citizens, employers, and enforcement agencies" (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010, p. 222). If states ignore xenophobia, a general atmosphere may be created in which discrimination against non-citizens become acceptable. In this sense, the humanitarian agencies, such as the UNHCR or the ICRC, feel responsible to intervene by helping Venezuelan immigrants to integrate and meet their immediate basic needs as well as combating discrimination and xenophobia through awareness-raising campaigns.

Lack of knowledge about migration issues and social integration processes causes xenophobic and/or aporophobic responses (Rodríguez & Ramos, 2019). As stated by Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021), information about migration can improve perception about Venezuelan migrants in Colombia, which is marked sometimes by fear and insecurity. One of the methods that NGOs employ in order to raise awareness about migration is communication (Alizadeh Afrouzi, 2022; Richey, 2018). Colombia needs to establish an anti-xenophobia communications plan at local and regional level that includes all stakeholders, that is long-term and targets a wide range of communication channels (World Bank, 2018). As suggested by Sáez et al. (2020), the number of campaigns aimed at understanding the migration process and the transformations in the host society should be increased.

Responsible and strategic communication based on evidence and rights is necessary and would prevent that migration be seen as a crime. Humanitarianists should offer tools such as "information, training, media and social network literacy to citizens in order to increase their ability to identify and neutralize misinformation and xenophobic and sexist hate speech" (Oxfam, 2019, p. 18). Since humanitarian response is now based on communication, participation, and feedback[15], the strategies adopted by humanitarian agencies and NGOs for their external communication and campaigning must be persuasive and convincing.

Strategic communication and campaigning entails purposeful use of communication to reach organizational objectives (Hallahan et al., 2007). It refers to "how an organization communicates across organizational endeavors. The emphasis is on the strategic application of communication and how an organization functions as a social actor to advance its mission" (Hallahan et al., 2007, p. 7). Strategic communication and campaigning help the NGOs' stakeholders relate to the humanitarian mission, comprehend better the underlying humanitarian values, and feel obliged to take action (Patterson & Radtke, 2009). Since humanitarian agencies are firmly committed to humanitarian values, they need to situate values-led strategic communication within their broader social change strategy and campaigning network (Mullen, 2018).

"Mediatization" is one of the principal components of everyday humanitarianism and refers to "the role that digital media play in the communication of the imperative to do good for vulnerable others" (Richey, 2018, p. 634). Everyday humanitarianism has been facilitated by novel communication technologies, such as social media, that enable "laptop

[15] Article number 4 of the Core Humanitarian Standard: https://www.chsalliance.org/

humanitarians" to care about distant suffering from the comfort of their homes (Budabin & Pruce, 2018). Nowadays, humanitarian communication mostly attempts to mobilize public action through emotion-oriented appeals (e.g., through feelings of empathy, guilt, shame, and gratitude) (Richey, 2018). The dominant styles of humanitarian communication have been "shock effect" and "positive imagery" (Chouliaraki, 2010). Shock effect campaigns cast the "other" as a passive victim in order to provoke humanistic emotions. Positive imagery also depicts smiling children or hopeful scenes with the intention of projecting victims' dignity and self-determination and hence eliciting more positive emotions. A new "post-humanitarian" approach has also been proposed by Chouliaraki (2010), which is basically a move from emotion-oriented to post-emotional styles of appealing. This form of humanitarian communication attempts to induce humanitarian solidarity by focusing on logics of consumption and utilitarianism and thus deals less with "others" and more with "us".

Conventionally speaking, humanitarian communication consists of "intimacy at distance" (Orgad & Seu, 2014). Orgad and Seu (2014, p. 929) postulate that the effort of managing and reducing distance is at the core of humanitarian communications, that is, "how to bridge the geo-graphical, cultural and moral gaps" between spectators in host community and distant others (migrants), whose suffering they seek to mitigate. In other words, viewers are asked to develop intimacy at a distance (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Thompson & Thompson, 1995), a mediated intimate, mostly non-reciprocal bonding with far-away others.

Studies show how constructions focusing on sufferers' personal intimate lives (e.g., Chouliaraki, 2006; Cohen, 2001) are employed, in Horton and Wohl's words (1956, p. 6), to "coach audience attitudes", to encourage spectators' identification with and care for distant sufferers. As stated by Orgad and Seu (2014, p. 929), "the cultural model of intimacy, embedded in the communicative logic of emotional capitalism, provides humanitarian communication professionals with a framework, a language and a set of tools to re-imagine how they can bridge geographical, cultural and moral gaps".

According to Orgad and Seu (2014, p. 930), one of the main reasons why NGOs have come to favor intimacy model of communications, acquired from the consumer market, is that in marketing their product which is humanitarian attitude, this model does not "challenge or discomfit audiences". In addition, the temporality of intimacy is ongoing and long term. In its mediated form (through media), intimacy at a distance offers a continuing relationship, based on mutual emotional commitment and consistent with the flow logic (Orgad & Seu, 2014).

The results of a recent study (Namen et al., 2021) about integration of Venezuelan immigrant in Colombia show that daily spaces (e.g., churches, stores, schools, parks) are scenarios that can promote integration and foster closeness, empathy and cordiality between Venezuelans and Colombians. In addition, Lebow et al. (2020) found that although trust towards Venezuelan immigrants decreased in Colombia with the surge in Venezuelan immigration, given appropriate conditions (e.g., contact in urbanized regions with higher quality public goods), proximity to Venezuelan immigrants does not drive anti-immigrant sentiment and can in fact improve cooperative attitudes.

These results, together with "intimacy at distance" model, highlight the necessity of interaction between Venezuelan migrant population and Colombian host community, and point to the fact that communicational intervention of NGOs to counteract xenophobia would produce the optimum result once the mediated interaction between Venezuelan immigrants and Colombians is developed under appropriate conditions.

2.5.Summary

This chapter started with a reflection on migration phenomenon. First of all, some descriptions for migration were presented and it was emphasized that migration is a basic human right and migratory flows will continue to occur in the future, making the integration of immigrant populations an unavoidable challenge for host communities. Then, the author elaborated on Venezuelan immigration to Colombia. Latin America has experienced in recent years unprecedented large migratory flows, out of which Venezuelan forced migration is the most representative one at a global level.

Venezuelan migration crisis is the largest human mobilization in Latin America's recent history (Arcarazo et al., 2019), and one of the biggest displacement crises in the world. The destination par excellence for Venezuelan migrants has been Colombia due to its physical proximity to Venezuela and cultural similarities and the history of migration shared by both countries. The increase in Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has generated feelings of distrust and rejection among Colombian population, and negative stereotypes and feelings of rejection towards the immigrant community are manifested more explicitly.

Afterwards, this chapter focused on the role of mass media in constructing discourse and narratives about migration, in particular Venezuelan immigration to Colombia. In a globalized world with continuous communication impacts, the overflowing supply of information exerts

enormous power in the construction of negative social perceptions against migration. In Colombia, the media representations constructed about Venezuelan immigrants are mostly negative since they are portrayed as people who bring chaos and violence.

Finally, this chapter explored the necessity of humanitarian measures regarding Venezuelan immigration to Colombia and the role communication plays in humanitarian interventions. Communication can help humanitarian agencies to increase knowledge about migration and hence improve perception about Venezuelan migrants in Colombia. In a nutshell, this chapter highlights the legitimacy of migration, the increase in negative attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, and the need to develop strategies to reduce xenophobic prejudice. Next chapter delves more into the concepts of xenophobia and prejudice.

Chapter 3. Xenophobia and prejudice

This chapter is dedicated to a literature review on two fundamental concepts for developing the research problem, namely xenophobia and prejudice. Primarily, I provide several definitions of xenophobia, and how it is distinguished from similar concepts, such as racism and nativism. Later, the main approach of xenophobia, civic ostracism, is explained in detail.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to prejudice, different types of it and their relation to xenophobia as well as an analysis of the scientific literature on the phenomenon of prejudice. Given that the purpose of this doctoral thesis is the design of a humanitarian media intervention to reduce prejudice towards Venezuelan immigrants, it is essential to approach its analysis through conceptualization, the lines of study that have been developed to try to explain it and the evolution of the phenomenon throughout history.

The third part of this chapter reviews scientific approaches to the concepts of xenophobia and prejudice. In this sense, the author tries to explore two major scientific fields that deal in particular with xenophobia, namely social psychology and social sciences (Wicker, 2001).

3.1.Xenophobia

3.1.1. Definition

According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (n.d.), xenophobia means the "fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign"[16]. The word "xenophobia" derives from two Greek terms, "xenos", meaning stranger, and "phobos", meaning fear (Hervik, 2015; Reynolds et al., 1987). The term has been historically used to accentuate a feeling of "fright of outsiders".

Scholars have conceptualized xenophobia in a number of ways. Berezin (2006, p. 273) defines xenophobia as "the fear of difference embodied in persons or groups". Xenophobia is an intense dislike or fear towards anything or anybody "foreign" or from outside one's own social group, nation, or country (Hjerm, 2009; McEvoy, 2002). Yakushko (2009, p. 43) believes that xenophobia is "a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioral prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign". Some scholars also consider xenophobia as a "psychological state of hostility or fear towards outsiders" (Reynolds et al., 1987, p. 28). Another definition views xenophobia as "attitudes, prejudices, and behavior that reject,

[16] Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/xenophobia

exclude, and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national 'identity'" (ILO et al., 2001, p. 2).

Xenophobia is used in some languages instead of racism to convey less morally negative connotation, while the more adequate meaning of this concept can be found in the German term *Fremdenfeindlichkeit*[17], or hostility toward strangers (Hervik, 2015, p. 796), where the meaning of xenophobia holds the double sense of "fear of the stranger" and "hatred of strangers". In this sense, the stranger whom one fears can be accepted as a guest, while the stranger whom one hates cannot. Hervic (2015, p. 796) asserts that this distinction between the feared guest and hated stranger may help us to realize that the presence of "phobia" in xenophobia is almost exclusively metaphoric. As argued by Sánchez-Mazas and Licata (2015), the notion of "stranger" in xenophobia is ambiguous, ranging from total otherness to the foreigner next door.

Xenophobia, like other forms of social prejudice, overlaps with other concepts used to define and describe social attitudes (Yakushko, 2018). A variety of terms have been developed to describe xenophobia including "new racism", "nativism", "ethnocentrism", "xeno-racism", "anti-immigrant prejudice", "immigrant threat", and "immigration-phobia" (see Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Esses et al., 2005; McEvoy, 2002; Yakushko, 2018).

Defined in such terms, xenophobia becomes a ubiquitous phenomenon which is difficult to challenge or confront. Although the borders between different categories of prejudice, such as xenophobia, racism, nativism, or ethnocentrism, are ambiguous due to their historical and sociological links and interactions, there are still significant differences between types of prejudice and structural exclusion that need to be taken into account for both academic and practical reasons (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014).

While the concept of xenophobia is often used simply as a synonym of terms such as racism or nativism, these concepts have different meanings (Castles & Miller, 2003). While xenophobia signifies a hostility toward the stranger perceived as a threat, "racism is a form of prejudice toward individuals or groups based on the socially constructed notion of 'race', which defines social categories on the basis of differentiating phenotypical markers such as skin color" (Sánchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015, p. 802). Sánchez-Mazas and Licata (2015) explain that unlike racism and other pertinent concepts, xenophobia has an antonym: *xenophilia*, which

[17] Also *Fremdenhass*.

means sympathy for the stranger. Therefore, xenophobia can also be described as the opposite of hospitality.

Sundstrom and Kim (2014) postulate that combining two concepts of xenophobia and racism in order to create a monistic approach of racism would ignore their particularity. As described by the historian George Fredrickson (2015), racism is a scavenger concept; it is an omnivorous thing that sucks into its maw many motivations, affects, attitudes, and beliefs. "To believe that all racism discriminates against some person or persons on account of their race, and to believe that race is at core a scientific concept, is to construct racism very narrowly and thus to leave a large space to be filled by the concepts of xenophobia and ethnocentrism" (Bernasconi, 2014, p. 13). Therefore, considering racism and xenophobia as one single concept would be challenging since it would lead to the idea that the same tools can be used to combat either of them.

On the other hand, xenophobia is complicatedly linked to concepts of nationalism and ethnocentrism, which are both characterized by belief in the superiority of one's nation-state over others (Licata & Klein, 2002). Esses et al. (2005) believe that ethnocentrism, nationalism, nativism, and belief in a hierarchical world order are deeply associated with xenophobia. As explained by Sundstrom and Kim (2014, p. 31), nativism is in fact a type of "xenophobia more explicitly engaged in the defense of the nation-state". Nativism takes place when xenophobia acts as a national political project that seeks to exclude foreigners, and conceivably promote egoistically the perceived interests of a purified nation.

As articulated by Hervik (2015, p. 797), the meanings of xenophobia and nativism overlap in their link to bigot and exclusionary ideologies, which function in favor of ingroups and against outgroups. Fry (2001) assumes that scholars often prefer to use the term nativism because of its neutrality in contrast to xenophobia which implies the presence of prejudice or fear. The idea that immigrants destabilize national values also proposes that xenophobia correlates with nationalism. However, nationalism has proved to be a main factor for anti-immigration attitudes only to the degree that national identification is framed in ethnic terms (i.e., with an emphasis on ancestral values, shared culture, and blood ties), rather than civic or political terms (Pehrson et al., 2009).

3.1.2. Xenophobia as civic ostracism[18]

Due to the existence of similar notions, a conceptualization of xenophobia is needed to specifically focus on beliefs, attitudes, and related effects of this phenomenon. Ignoring xenophobia as an individual concept may lead to the characterization of its effects and minimization of immigrants' exclusion and the prejudice they suffer. The conceptual approach which guides mainly the notion of xenophobia throughout this dissertation is civic ostracism approach, proposed by Sundstrom and Kim (2014).

According to Sundstrom and Kim (2014), adhering to the etymology of xenophobia, which indicates straightforwardly the basic idea of fear of foreigners, is inappropriate and potentially misleading for the purposes of social critique. As argued by Sundstrom and Kim (2014), the second composite of the Latin term, that is 'phobia', limits the attention to the feeling of fear, and actually obscures the plural beliefs and other affects related to the phenomenon at hand. "Fear is not the only, or necessarily the primary, affect involved in what is picked out by 'xenophobia', nor is it necessarily a part of a speaker's meaning and it seems that the focus on fear is mostly an etymological artifact" (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 23). They believe that other feelings such as envy, resentment, or feelings of incongruity may be experienced first, and these may or may not precipitate fear. Therefore, it is necessary to propose a definition where fear is not at the operational center.

As Sundstrom and Kim (2014) indicate, the normative context for xenophobia is the ethical relations of the polity. Living within groups and institutions is profoundly formative of the self. In other words, our collective life shapes us deeply. Since group life matters, the phenomenon of xenophobia is also important, and civic exclusion and subordination can establish an impoverishing form of group life.

Sundstrom and Kim (2014) postulate that the main meaning of xenophobia is civic exclusion, or as they technically call it "civic ostracism". This approach is centered on the notion that "inclusion in the civic mainstream is a precondition for certain social goods, including officially recognized and sanctioned social relations, and is itself a good, and thus its denial through ostracism, whether intentional or neglectful, is morally condemnable" (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 24).

[18] This section was meant to be part of chapter four (dedicated to theoretical frameworks); however it is embedded in this chapter, following different definitions of xenophobia, in order to clarify from the outset the theoretical positioning of this dissertation regarding the concept of xenophobia and facilitate its direct comparison with similar concepts such as racism and nativism.

The possession of civic inclusion, state Sundstrom and Kim (2014), gives a person the kind of agency that befits life in a modern polity and facilitates fulfillment within it. On the other hand, full civic ostracism may take the form of exile or intra-territorial sequestering, amounting to a kind of refugee rightlessness. Civic ostracism may take place to different extents. “One of the central ways in which xenophobia as civic ostracism is expressed is the attribution of the cultural alienness of a subject or the felt sense that the subject does not rightly belong to the nation” (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 25).

Regarding inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in the new society, Sánchez-Mazas and Licata (2015, p. 804) affirm that host community members “may adopt different attitudes toward entry criteria set for immigrants, which define who can enter and live in the ingroup territory. Entry criteria can either be based on category membership (ascribed criteria), such as nationality or religion, or on individual merit (acquired criteria), such as education or professional skills”. Civic ostracism is separable from similar concepts, such as racism, since “the particularity of civic ostracism and judgments of foreignness, and how those processes differently affect specific groups is lost in discussions of racism” (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 35).

There are two forms of civic ostracism: agentive or individual, and institutional. In individual civic ostracism, “a belief, affect, or more generally, an attitude or even agentive orientation takes some person or group as not a proper part of one’s nation”. In institutional civic ostracism, “the institution has a collective intention or neglectful orientation that ostracizes or excludes a group from the civic mainstream” (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 26).

Civic ostracism is generally a pluralistic approach which confirms that fear is not the only core of xenophobia and under specific conditions or circumstances and at specific times and places, there may be other superior cores. In other words, based on this pluralistic account, none of these cores are necessarily primary and as Sundstrom and Kim (2014, p. 26) claim, civic ostracism seems to capture the fundamental operation of xenophobia in most contemporary societies.

Based on civic ostracism approach, xenophobia is “an idea associated with a distinct set of attitudes and affects, along with beliefs, that are about national inclusion and exclusion” (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 30). Xenophobia as civic ostracism is more fundamentally about the creation of a group-modulated vulnerability.

3.2.Prejudice

As expressed in several definitions (e.g., ILO et al., 2001; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Yakushko, 2009; Yakushko, 2018), prejudice against immigrant outgroup is a core concept within the phenomenon of xenophobia. In other words, in order to confront xenophobic behaviors, one would need to reduce primarily prejudice (see e.g., Achiume, 2014). As a social psychological phenomenon, xenophobia is perceived as a feeling of prejudice against immigrant outgroup (see e.g., Stephan et al., 1999, 2005). Xenophobia is "a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioral prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign" (Yakushko, 2009, p. 43). As explained by Fritzsche (1992, p. 75), xenophobia, or fear of others as foreigners, prevents immigrants from being accepted and their rights respected, and this "unwillingness to recognize the rights of others may, in fact, derive from prejudice."

3.2.1. Prejudice as an attitude

Throughout history, prejudice has been described from different theoretical lenses in social sciences, making it a difficult task to reach a unified description of the phenomenon (Devine, 1995). In the field of social psychology, the conceptualization of prejudice as the rejection of an individual on the basis of his or her group membership is the most widely used approach for its analysis and is one of the topics that has generated most interest in this discipline (Duckitt, 1992).

The prominent psychologist Gordon Allport described prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (Allport, 1954, p. 10). Similarly, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) describe prejudice as a tendency to adopt negative behaviors towards an outgroup or one of its members only because of their belonging to that group. A large number of definitions of prejudice have been proposed (see e.g., Duckitt, 1992). However, an important suggestion which enables some degree of clarification was made by Ashmore (1970) who identified four basic points of agreement common to most definitions: prejudice is understood as (a) an attitude, (b) bad, (c) an intergroup phenomenon, and (d) a negative orientation towards members of particular groups.

There is a great deal of agreement that prejudice is an attitude (Ashmore, 1970; Duckitt, 1992). According to many definitions, prejudice can be regarded as an antipathetic attitude towards outgroups and their members (Allport, 1954; Brown, 1995). Taking into account characteristics of prejudice (Navas, 1997), the prejudiced attitude could be understood as a

judgment of unfavorable nature (affectively and negatively charged) towards an outgroup; which presents a strong resistance to change; and which will influence the behavior of that individual towards the attitudinal object (the outgroup or its members).

Regarding the study of attitudes, one of the most widespread theoretical perspectives is based on a tricomponent model. From this perspective, attitudes are conceived as a composition of beliefs, feelings, and behaviors with respect to the attitudinal object (Breckler, 1984). In simpler terms, attitudes would be composed of a combination of cognitive, affective, and behavioral component (Eagly & Diekman, 2005). The idea that prejudiced attitudes consist of these three components is widely adopted (e.g., Allport, 1954; Rajecki, 1982).

This tricomponent conceptualization of attitudes represents an important trend in the analysis of prejudice as a phenomenon. As a result, prejudice integrates several important social psychological concepts in a single broad conceptualization (Duckitt, 1992). Prejudice is an attitude composed of a cognitive component, embodied in "stereotypes"[19] or beliefs about a specific social group or its members; an affective component, which relates to the emotions felt towards individuals who are part of that group (e.g., intergroup dislike, hatred, and negative evaluation); and a behavioral component, or the predisposition to behave negatively towards members of that group, characterized by "discrimination" (Duckitt, 1992; Ungaretti et al., 2012).

On the basis of the tricomponent perspective of attitudes, it seems that the cognitive, affective and behavioral components of prejudice are strongly related (Navas et al., 2013). Thus, it could be thought that negative stereotypes would provide the basis for negative emotions, while discrimination or negative behavior would be the materialization of those negative thoughts and feelings (Devine, 1995). "Prejudiced attitudes tend to form ideological clusters of beliefs that justify discrimination" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, p. 58). However, although the correlation between these components of prejudiced attitude seems obvious, they are reasonably independent (Brigham, 1971), and prejudice does not always lead to overt discrimination.

[19] Stereotypes can be categorized into hetero-stereotypes (representations about the outgroup), auto-stereotypes (representations about oneself or one's group), and meta-stereotypes (beliefs about how one's group is stereotyped by particular outgroups) (Manz, 1968).

3.2.2. Historical evolution of research on prejudice

In order to better figure out the role of prejudice in intergroup relations and its link with xenophobia against immigrants, it is worth reviewing the evolution of scientific research on prejudice. The study of prejudice has undergone different stages throughout history. For the purpose of exploring prejudice from a historical perspective, it is necessary to take into account how social circumstances and historical events, interacting with the evolution of knowledge, focused attention on various issues and questions regarding prejudice in each period. Each question was associated with a distinctive image of prejudice, and formed a particular theoretical orientation and research emphasis.

In this sense, different studies and reviews can be found in the scientific literature that account for the evolution of this phenomenon (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Rodríguez, 1996). One of the most widely accepted historical analyses of the evolution of knowledge on prejudice is carried out by Duckitt (1992)[20], which identified seven distinct periods.

First stage: Race psychology. This stage developed from the end of 19th century until 1920, when interest among scientists in delineating and explaining racial differences emerged. This historical period, marked by European colonialism and American slavery, was characterized by the influence of Eugenics and Social Darwinism (i.e., human differences explained in terms of survival of the fittest and their procreation) (see e.g., Yakushko, 2018). At this stage, the theories of race and acceptance of the existence of a race superior to others in terms of intellectual development (the white race in this case) justified the subjugation of those who belonged to supposedly inferior races, "backward peoples", or "people of color" (Fairchild & Gurin, 1978, p. 758). Thus, during this stage, attitudes of rejection towards ethnic minorities were socially accepted as something completely inevitable and natural (Haller, 1971).

Second stage: Race prejudice. In this phase, which took place between the 1920s and the second half of the 1930s, marked by the emergence of American Black Civil Rights Movement and movements against European colonial rule, the conceptualization of prejudice changed radically and the notion of equality of people was revitalized. Prejudice began to be considered as an irrational, erroneous and unjustified phenomenon as well as a social problem susceptible to be analyzed from a scientific perspective (Samelson, 1978). As a result of this paradigm shift, the first instruments to measure negative attitudes emerged, such as Bogardus'

[20] The framework proposed by Duckitt has a North American perspective.

(1925) social distance scale, designed to measure willingness to have a social encounter with members of the outgroup.

Third stage: Psychodynamic processes. This phase developed from the 1930s to the 1940s. At this stage, the first explanatory theories of prejudice emerged, which indicated that prejudice is an unconscious defense mechanism against internal psychological conflicts of people. A variety of universal psychodynamic processes, such as projection, frustration, scapegoating, and the displacement of hostility, were implicated in prejudice (Duckitt, 1992). This new explanatory paradigm of prejudice helped to provide a reasonable interpretation of the spread of phenomenon in different parts of the world.

Fourth stage: The prejudiced personality. In the 1950s, research on prejudice experienced a shift in the psychodynamic paradigm, from an approach centered on psychological processes to one based on personality structure. This shift was marked by the profound shock of the Jewish Holocaust. Basically, such phenomenon did not seem comfortably explicable in terms of universal and essentially normal psychological processes characteristic of all persons (Duckitt, 1992). For this reason, the new paradigm no longer emphasized universal psychological processes, but rather prejudice was seen as the expression of an inner need generated by a particular personality structure, namely a pathological and authoritarian personality, which would form the basis for the acceptance of radical political ideologies, and which would ultimately make such behaviors possible (Adorno et al., 1950).

Fifth and sixth stages: culture and society. This phase of prejudice study, developed during the 1960s and the 1970s, was characterized by a shift from an approach focused on individual psychological aspects to the analysis of social norms and cultural influences. Two phases can be distinguished within this overall period of socio-cultural emphasis. Due to general lack of psychological interest during this period as a whole, and the fact that these two phases share similar socio-cultural assumptions, Duckitt accentuates the differences between them, rather than the similarities, and treats them as two distinct stages.

a) The first one was developed in the 1960s and focused on prejudice as a socially implanted and culturally transmitted norm aimed at maintaining the status quo and exploiting minority groups (e.g., Pettigrew, 1979).
b) The second one, established in the 1970s, emphasized the idea of "social conflict" and focused on the dynamics between different social groups and the conflicts of interest that arise between them (e.g., Sherif, 1967).

Seventh stage: Psychological fundamentals. This stage, developed from the 1980s onwards, has been characterized by an emphasis on the universality and inevitability of prejudice, which is considered as the result of common social categorization processes. In other words, intergroup bias and discrimination are seen as inevitable outcomes of a normal, natural, and universal cognitive process which function to simplify and render more manageable the complexity of the social world (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

At this stage, two main socio-cognitive approaches to the study of prejudice were developed: social cognition and intergroup relations (also called cognitive motivational approach). On the one hand, the social cognitive perspective focused on the mechanisms involved in the formation and change of stereotypes. On the other hand, the intergroup relations perspective, in addition to studying the universal cognitive processes (categorization) linked to the motivational element (positive social identity), took into account relationships (interpersonal and intergroup) to explain prejudice as a phenomenon subject to changes in the context. The research emerging from these approaches have been predominantly experimental, aimed at detecting the mechanisms of human thought and the universal psychological processes underlying intergroup conflict and prejudice.

In order to complement these phases proposed by Duckitt, one could add another phase, developed by Navas (1997), which is called Contemporary Models of Prejudice. The most important social psychological contributions to prejudice in this stage, which extends to the present day, are aimed at "understanding and explaining the contradictory, complex and paradoxical nature of contemporary racial and gender attitudes" (Navas, 1997, p. 213). In this phase, the focus is on intrasubject cognitive processes and inconsistencies between the cognitive, affective and behavioral processes of prejudice, with little connection between them (Devine, 1989). In addition, since prejudicial behavior is socially condemned due to social changes and to a greater appreciation of democratic and egalitarian ideals, old-fashioned prejudice has transformed to more subtle forms of prejudice (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

As seen in the review of different phases of prejudice, its causes can be highly varied, ranging from social norms, cognitive categorizations, individual defense mechanisms, etc., which makes it a complex phenomenon to analyze. The following table shows historical evolution of scientific research on prejudice at different stages, as well as characteristics of each stage.

Table 1. Historical evolution of the understanding of prejudice.

Period	Social & historical problem	Social scientific question	Image of prejudice	Theoretical orientation	Research orientation
Up to the 1920s	White domination and colonial rule of "backward peoples"	Identifying the deficiencies of "backward peoples"	A natural response to "inferior peoples"	"Race theories"	Comparative studies of the abilities of different races
The 1920s and 1930s	The legitimacy of White domination challenged	Explaining the stigmatization of minorities	Prejudice as irrational and unjustified	Conceptualizing prejudice as a social problem	Measurement and descriptive studies
The 1930s and 1940s	The ubiquity of White racism in the United States	Identifying universal processes underlying prejudice	Prejudice as unconscious defense	Psychodynamic theory: Defensive processes	Experimental
The 1950s	Nazi racial ideology and the holocaust	Identifying the prejudice-prone personality	Prejudice as an expression of a pathological need	Individual differences	Correlational
The 1960s	The problem of prejudice in the American South	How social norms and influences determine prejudice	Prejudice as a social norm	Sociocultural: Social transmission of prejudice	Observational and correlational
The 1970s	The persistence of U.S. racism and discrimination	How prejudice is rooted in social structure and intergroup relations	Prejudice as an expression of group interests	Sociocultural: Intergroup dynamics of prejudice	Sociological and historical research
The 1980s	The inevitability and universality of prejudice and intergroup conflict	What universal psychological processes underlie intergroup conflict and prejudice	Prejudice as an inevitable outcome of social categorization	Cognitive perspective	Experimental

Source: Duckitt (1992)

3.2.3. Types of prejudice

A) Prejudice based on intensity

Wieviorka (1992) states that prejudice is nothing other than the rejection of the other, and it can be manifested in different ways, but above all with different intensity. Several theorists (e.g., Fiske, 1998; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) associate the differences in intensity to interethnic hostility, distinguishing a more "hot, close and direct" type of prejudice from a "cold, distant and indirect" variant, thus coining the concepts of "blatant prejudice" and "subtle prejudice".

Blatant prejudice is a traditional form of prejudice which tends to be vehement, highly ethnocentric, and aggressive. This type of prejudice involves two principal components. The first component involves perceived threat from and rejection of the outgroup. According to Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) blatant prejudice includes a perceived threat posed by the outgroup, such as assumed overconsumption of national resources or theft of job opportunities, and possibly an assumed genetic inferiority. As argued by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995, p. 58), "in its full racist form, blatant prejudice includes belief in the genetic inferiority of the outgroup. Such a belief explains away any outgroup disadvantage in the society, and thus denies that discrimination exists". When this type of prejudice occurs, individuals, due to the belief in genetic superiority of the ingroup, highlight positive characteristics of the ingroup, while for the outgroup, they only refer to negative characteristics.

The second component of blatant prejudice includes opposition to intimate contact with the outgroup. This component denotes a refusal or resistance to establish any type of link, whether work-related or personal, with members of the outgroup. "This anti-intimacy component focuses upon an emotional resistance against any intergroup sexual contact or intermarriage (endogamy). It also contains a power element. Hence, working under the supervision of an outgroup member is rejected" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, p. 58).

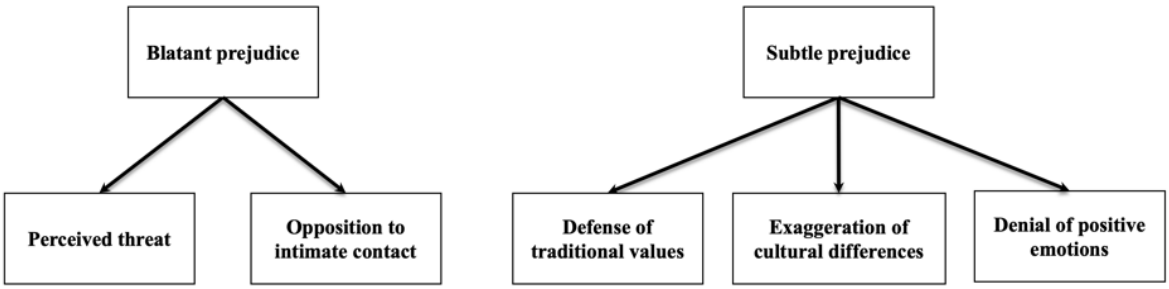
Subtle prejudice is cold, indirect, and oriented toward social norms. This type of prejudice involves three principal components (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The first component refers to the defense of traditional values. This component basically consists of victim blaming. That is, outgroup members are considered to behave in an unacceptable manner, and this interpretation is made on the basis of the traditional values of the ingroup. According to Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), conservative people defend these values more than the leftists. In this way, conservatives are more likely to scapegoat and

blame outgroups and consider minorities as a threat because of their supposed lack of adaptation to the values of society, a fact that would justify, from their point of view, their social discrimination. In short, arguments such as "minorities need to work harder," "they have to work if they want to get ahead," and "they have to teach their children traditional values" emerge as indicators of subtle prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

The second component of subtle prejudice involves exaggeration of cultural differences. The subtle prejudice attributes the disadvantage of the outgroup on the basis of cultural differences, which may be genuine, but are exaggerated through stereotypes. According to Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), subtle prejudice exaggerates actual group differences and thereby enhances assumptions of belief dissimilarity. This process sets the outgroup aside as "a people apart", completely unlike the ingroup. Rokeach (1960) proposed that perceived dissimilarity of beliefs is the foundation of all forms of prejudice. Members of the ingroup would tend to accept members of the outgroup as long as they renounce their own culture, adopting that of the host society (Solé et al., 2000). For van Dijk (1991), this type of prejudice, based on cultural differences, is less morally objectionable today.

The third component of subtle prejudice includes the denial of positive emotions. As Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) argue, subtly prejudiced individuals would not admit the expression of negative feelings towards outgroup members, but only the denial of positive emotions towards them.

Figure 2. Blatant and subtle prejudice.



Source: Elaboration by the author based on Pettigrew and Meertens (1995, p. 71)

B) Prejudice based on level of awareness

Prejudice can take place in different forms depending on individual's type of attitude, whether the attitude is deliberate or not, and whether the attitude leads to discriminatory behavior (Awad & Rackley, 2017). In a recent classification, Awad and Rackley (2017)

differentiated between “implicit” and “explicit” forms of prejudice based on an individual’s level of awareness regarding a prejudiced attitude.

Explicit prejudice deals with “attitudes that are consciously and deliberately held by an individual” (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 2). An individual expresses openly these attitudes which may consequently lead to intentional and purposeful discriminatory behavior. Implicit prejudice signifies “subconsciously held prejudiced attitudes that individuals acquire through constant exposure to and early socialization of cultural prejudiced attitudes” (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 2). As compared to implicit prejudice, which operates automatically without individual’s consciousness, explicit prejudice may be controllable since the individual is aware of his or her attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2019). Awad and Rackley (2017, p. 2) argue that implicit prejudice affects “automatic reactions and behaviors that are not normally observed and controlled by the individual”, including cognitive reactions, physiological reactions, or less regulated behavioral reactions. Different forms of prejudice based on their explicitness or implicitness are as follows.

Old-fashioned prejudice is a type of explicit prejudice that refers to traditional and generalized attitudes regarding the inferiority of specific outgroups. These prejudiced attitudes are “based on the premise of one’s ingroup possessing innate biological and intellectual superiority compared to other outgroups” (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 3). As Awad and Rackley (2017, p. 3) specify, these prejudicial attitudes are easily identified since they target a person openly, deliberately, and explicitly (e.g., using derogatory statements or resorting to direct violence) based on his or her group membership. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) characterize this type of prejudice as blatant prejudice.

Modern-symbolic prejudice or symbolic prejudice is a type of explicit prejudice that refers to abstract and sociocultural attitudes rather than stereotypical beliefs of biological inferiority. The symbolic prejudiced attitudes result from perceived violation of cultural values. “Citing these presumed cultural deficiencies allows this form of prejudice to be expressed and rationalized as nonprejudiced” (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 3). Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) posited this type of prejudice as “subtle prejudice”, which is basically an integrative construct involving various forms of more covert racism.

Benevolent or paternalistic prejudice is a type of explicit prejudice that alludes to “attitudes that appear to be positive on the surface, but when examined, are actually condescending, patronizing, and paternalistic” (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 4). The justification

behind this type of prejudiced attitude is that the outgroup members need to be controlled and protected by individuals from ingroup since they lack specific abilities, such as decision-making. As described by Awad and Rackley (2017, p. 4), "the positive surface of benevolent prejudice allows prejudiced individuals to deny that their attitudes are based on assumptions of inferiority and to argue that resulting behaviors and discrimination are for the benefit of the outgroup".

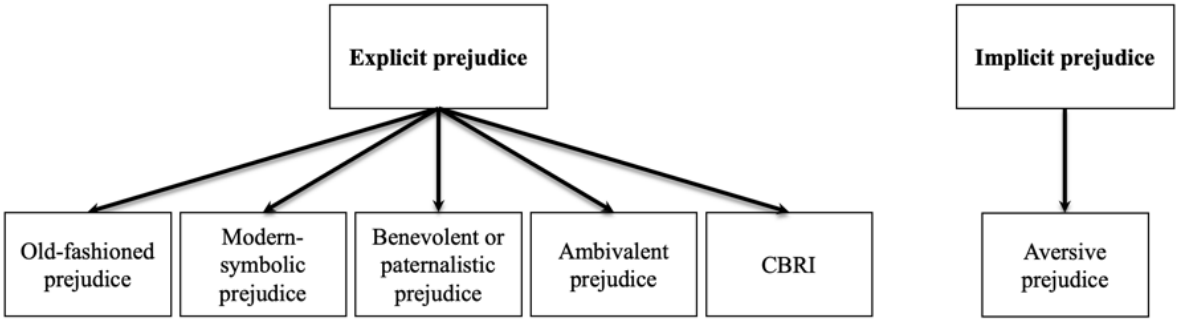
Ambivalent prejudice is a type of explicit prejudice that concentrates on the contradictory positive and negative attitudes that a person harbors towards an outgroup. As Awad and Rackley (2017) assert, this form of prejudice happens when an individual from ingroup deeply contemplates on evaluations of the valuable and negative perceived traits of an outgroup member. "These conflicting attitudes can result in polarized reactions toward outgroup members" (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 5). This type of prejudice is in line with ambivalent racism that takes place when an ingroup member supports correspondingly positive and negative attitudes towards members of racial outgroups (Katz & Hass, 1988).

Color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) is a contemporary type of explicit prejudice which results from attitudes that attempt to deny existence of racism inside a society (Neville et al., 2013). The CBRI has two domains, namely color-evasion and power-evasion. The color-evasion domain refers to deliberate denial of racial differences inside a society by accentuating similarity and sameness. The power-evasion domain refers to intentional denial of racism by highlighting equal opportunities. "The denial of power is meant to overlook the individual, organizational, institutional, and cultural instances of prejudice and discrimination" (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 5).

Aversive prejudice is a type of implicit prejudice that deals with "internal conflict of valuing equality and nonprejudiced beliefs while concurrently holding negative feelings and attitudes toward certain outgroups" (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 5). Aversive prejudice is in tandem with aversive racism proposed by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986). This form of prejudice is unintentional and does not necessarily lead to hostile or vicious behaviors (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Individuals with aversive prejudice support consciously and explicitly egalitarian values, but also experience unrecognized negative feelings that probably "stem from the continual socialization of cultural prejudices all individuals experience as part of living within a society" (Awad & Rackley, 2017, p. 5). As argued by Awad and Rackley (2017, p. 5),

"aversive prejudice is a more insidious form of prejudice that is not easily identified, and it consists of more complex attitudes and patterns of discriminatory behaviors."

Figure 3. Explicit and implicit prejudice.



Source: Elaboration by the author based on Awad and Rackley (2017, p. 5)

3.3.Approaches to xenophobia and prejudice

In order to have a clear overview of scientific approaches to the concept of xenophobia and prejudiced attitudes, this dissertation adheres to the classification proposed by Wicker (2001) and theories which explain the causes of prejudice. Two interrelated scientific fields deal in particular with xenophobia and have worked out much of the theoretical foundations discussed in relation to this concept: social psychologists address forms of ingroup/outgroup behaviour, in which xenophobia can appear in its latent form, while researchers in the social sciences in general explore and interpret the social construction of xenophobia as well as its effect in modern societies (Hervik, 2015; Kirik et al., 2015; Wicker, 2001). The idea is not to seperate these two fields, which are basically intertwined, but rather to explore xenophobia based on the approaches taken by researchers in both fields.

From a social psychological perspective, I elaborate on xenophobia and prejudiced attitudes from an individual and social perspective. The origins of prejudice include "individual differences in personality and ideological preferences, socialization experiences relating to exposure to different social norms, and the functional ways that groups relate to one another" (Dovidio et al., 2019). The first perspective would attribute the causes of prejudice to the individual's own characteristics, while the second one would resort to intergroup processes. From a social sciences perspective, I review three trends of studies which have been developed with respect to research on xenophobia: new racism, false beliefs, and capitalist globalization (Peterie & Neil, 2020). I attempt to approach xenophobia phenomenon from both perspectives. However, it should be noted that this thesis takes in general a multidisciplinary perspective (not

only social psychology and social sciences, but also at some point media psychology and communication) to the study of prejudice and xenophobia.

3.3.1. The concept of xenophobia in social psychology

The research on xenophobia in social psychology focuses in the first place on groups (ingroup/outgroup) rather than societies and attempts to understand how group membership is established and how the ingroup distinguishes itself from the outgroup (Wicker, 2001). According to Wicker (2001, p. 16650), both in social psychology (LeVine & Campbell, 1971) and in other scientific disciplines, such as in sociobiology (Reynolds et al., 1987), "xenophobia is either directly equated with ethnocentrism or at least interpreted as the logical extension of an ethnocentric frame of mind". The notion of ethnocentrism offers a conceptual explanatory framework in regard to attitudes toward foreign-born individuals and groups.

Ethnocentrism typically focuses on evaluation of other cultural groups based on the standards of one's own group, marked by devaluation of behaviors, social customs, religious practices, and language that are perceived as belonging to outside group (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; LeVine & Campbell, 1971). According to Kam and Kinder (2007, p. 323), "ethnocentrism is a general outlook on groups and group relations, one that partitions the social world into us and them, into friend and foe," which typically relies on stereotypes and categorizations to privilege the ingroup and depreciate the outgroup.

According to social psychologists (e.g., Tajfel, 1982), a mere act of categorization is sufficient to generate intergroup discrimination which is tightly related to education and the use of stereotypes (Macrae et al., 1996) and prejudices (Lippmann, 1922). "Xenophobia is a specific ingroup response that uses categorization in the form of stereotypes and prejudices, articulates real or imagined group interests, and pursues the goal of enhancing ingroup cohesion through discrimination against the outgroup" (Wicker, 2001).

In other words, a categorization process leads to prejudice through emphasis on the relevance of social categories. Much of the research on prejudice reduction in social psychology operates under the assumption that "the formation of social categories is sufficient to create prejudice, and, therefore, that the reduction of such bias can be achieved through techniques that alter the ingroup/outgroup categorization" (Wolsko et al., 2000).

As a social psychological phenomenon, xenophobia and hostility against immigrants is often perceived either as a decontextualized fear of otherness, or as a feeling of prejudice against an outgroup (see e.g., Stephan et al., 1999, 2005). Xenophobia is characterized as a

person's uncontrollable fear of the difference of people, who are often linked with racial, cultural, or religious difference (Furmark, 2000).

Kirik and his colleagues (2015, p. 185) posit that "on the socio-psychological level, xenophobia is primarily of protective-compensatory nature and is a natural response to the ongoing social processes and changing situations. In this case, the basis of xenophobia, as a means of constructing social relations, is the protection of the vital needs of an individual, group, or society". On this level, xenophobia is bolstered with stereotypes, prejudices, and attitudes formed in the everyday communication. In general, xenophobia is first associated with social identity that defines a set of key markers, on which basis the identification of "insiders" and "outsiders" is carried out, and then it acts as a protective-compensatory mechanism for consolidating and preserving the identity (Kirik et al., 2015).

At socio-psychological level, prejudice can be studied from individual and social perspectives. This classification does not imply that these perspectives are opposed or develop seperately, but rather are complementary.

A) Individual perspective

Primary research on prejudice, conducted mainly between 1930 and 1950, explained the phenomenon by referring to internal processes that are developed from childhood and are the product of psychological defense mechanisms, the repression of "bad impulses", or the configuration of certain personalities (Fiske, 2004, p. 118). The two most important theories of this stage that tried to explain prejudice based on internal motivations are: authoritarian personality theory and scapegoat theory.

Authoritarian personality theory (Adorno et al., 1950) is one of the first social-psychological explanations of prejudice. According to this approach, authoritarian personalities develop in childhood in response to parents who practice harsh discipline. Individuals with authoritarian personalities emphasize such things as obedience to authority, a rigid adherence to rules, and low acceptance of people (e.g., outgroups), not like oneself. Adorno and his colleagues argued that people with this personality type are characterized by a blind submission to authority, an ironclad adherence to middle-class conventions, an excessive tendency toward hierarchical categorization, and a hostile attitude toward people of lower status or those who do not live in a conventional manner (Adorno et al., 1950). Many studies (e.g., Sibley & Duckitt, 2008) find strong racial and ethnic prejudice among such individuals.

Scapegoat theory (Dollard et al., 1939) is another early and still popular social-psychological explanation of prejudice. Dollard and his colleagues (1939) established a causal chain between aggressive behavior and frustration. Based on this approach, individuals who experience different kinds of problems become frustrated and tend to blame their troubles on groups that are often disliked in the real world (e.g., racial, ethnic, and religious minorities). These minorities are thus scapegoats for the real sources of people's misfortunes. Several psychology experiments (e.g., Cowen et al., 1959) concluded that when people are frustrated, they indeed become more prejudiced.

B) Social perspective

From 1950 onwards, many scholars, who were motivated by the contributions made in the discipline on the study of social groups (e.g., Sherif et al., 1961), began to question the markedly individual approach of the theories on prejudice. As a result, new theories emerged to explain the phenomenon in which social, group and cultural elements acquired great relevance (Morales Domínguez, 2000). Two most important group theories through which prejudice is explained are: Realistic conflict theory and Social Identity Theory (SIT).

Realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1967) posits that whenever there are two or more groups that are seeking the same limited resources, this will lead to conflict, negative stereotypes and beliefs, and discrimination between the groups. Intergroup behavior is usually valued as a response to real or imagined group interests. That is, group members' intergroup attitudes and behavior will tend to reflect the objective interests of their group vis-à-vis other groups (Sherif et al., 1961). Where these interests conflict, group members are likely to develop a competitive orientation towards the rivals, which often is extended simply to include prejudiced attitudes and even overtly hostile behaviours. In other words, intergroup conflict occurs when two groups are in competition for limited resources, while when the groups' interests coincide it is more functional for the group members to adopt a cooperative and friendly attitude towards the outgroup (Sherif, 1967; Sherif et al., 1961). This theoretical perspective allows to explain the changes that occur in the prejudice towards a certain social group, and how these could be attributable to economic and political competitions (Quillian, 2006).

Social Identity Theory (SIT)[21] defines a group as a collection of people who categorize themselves as belonging to the same social category and adopt the category's social identity-

[21] This theory will be mentioned at some points throughout this dissertation to explain different settings concerning xenophobia.

defining attributes to assess themselves, attributes that highlight intragroup similarities and intergroup differences (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity is the portion of an individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership in a relevant social group. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), the self has to align with the group in order to establish group membership. To allow such alliances to be shaped, group-related categories and identities must be available and used. On the other hand, intergroup comparisons allow the emergence of psychological distinctiveness which can lead to ingroup favoritism (i.e., giving praise and/or resources to one's own group), rather than outgroup derogation or hostility (see also Brewer, 1979). In short, this theory explains ingroup bias by integrating cognitive elements, such as social categorization, motivational elements, such as search for positive distinction, and social elements, such as intergroup comparison.

From an essentialist perspective, social identity includes an inner core that appears at birth or childhood and develops gradually over the course of a lifetime. Another concept relevant to the essentialist term of identity is "belonging", which is commonly used in migration studies (Davis et al., 2018). Belonging is an "individuals' (social and moral) embeddedness in a collective" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2020, p. 116). To belong to a community means to share values, history, practices, and relations with other members of that community. Mattes and his colleagues (2019, p. 301) believe that the concept of belonging "better address(es) and represent(s) the relationality involved in affective processes of collectivization than the categorical notion of identity".

3.3.2. The concept of xenophobia in social sciences

The research on xenophobia in the social sciences, as postulated by Wicker (2001), concentrates mostly on social norms, social values, historical evolution, and structural features, rather than on psychological or biological factors that explain xenophobia. In other words, the social scientists explore "how these factors support the existence of latent xenophobia, as well as allow xenophobic outbursts within specific social and political contexts" (Wicker, 2001, p. 16650).

According to Wicker (2001), social scientists, unlike sociobiologists, do not regard xenophobia as a universal phenomenon; but rather as a possible reaction generated by anomic situations in modern societies. Furthermore, social scientists concur that xenophobia propagates due to "existence of essentialist symbolic and normative systems that legitimate processes of integration or exclusion" (Wicker, 2001, p. 16650). As a result, xenophobic

attitudes are based on "already existing racist, ethnic, religious, cultural, or national prejudice" (Wicker, 2001, p. 16650).

Hervik (2015) believes that xenophobia in the social sciences has imported semantic changes to the phenomenon that reflect mega-events (e.g., September 11 attacks). From social psychological perspective, xenophobia is approached as an excessive fear of being observed or scrutinized by unfamiliar persons, however from the pespective of social sciences, as describes Hervik (2015), xenophobia is seen as yet "more sociocultural constructions, where dislike (if not hatred) of others is learned through socialization process, especially by way of news media coverage and popular culture" (2015, p. 797). In this development, xenophobia embraces the idea of cultural incompatibility and the naturalization of xenophobic attitudes following from it.

Several theories have been employed to explain as well as critique xenophobia in social sciences (see e.g., Yakushko, 2018). Under the field of social sciences, research into social aspects of contemporary xenophobia can be classified into new racism, false beliefs, and capitalist globalization (Peterie & Neil, 2020).

Xenophobia as new racism refers to a trend of studies that explore public discourse and narratives about immigrants (Peterie & Neil, 2020). From a racism approach, scholars have concluded that immigrants, discursively constructed as cultural others, are considered subtly, indirectly, and covertly as a threat to the national self (Peterie & Neil, 2020).

Anti-immigration discourses entail both blatant and subtle expressions of prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Peterie and Neil (2020, p. 26) have concluded that much of the racism that underpins hostile public discourses are nowadays covert. In this regard, Augoustinos and Every (2007, p. 124) also state that "there is cross-disciplinary agreement that blatant forms of prejudice, commonly referred to as 'old-fashioned racism,' have been recently supplanted with a more subtle and covert variety".

False belief accounts refer to a second group of research that has focused on how community fears and hostilities against immigrants are evoked by political and media discourses. In this approach, numerous sociology and communication scholars have focused on the "effects of misinformation" (Peterie & Neil, 2020, p. 24). Research has shown a strong correlation between false beliefs and negative attitudes towards immigrants. Social scientists have demonstrated that government and media discourses spread flawed information with regard to the threat posed by asylum seekers and the legitimacy of their claims (Klocker &

Dunn, 2003). The communicative function of government policies also influences people's xenophobic attitudes (Mainwaring & Silverman, 2016).

The way different immigrant outgroups are reflected and described in mass media and public discourse, especially on the moral dimension, affects significantly xenophobic attitudes in society. For example, "the expression 'illegal immigrants' or 'undocumented' immigrants have different connotations. 'Illegal' contains an accusation of criminality and, through internal attributions, portrays the immigrant as active and guilty. In contrast, 'undocumented' refers to bureaucratic procedures. Suggesting external attributions, it presents the immigrant as a passive victim of the system." (Sánchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015, p. 805).

Capitalist globalization is the third trend of research which considers xenophobia as a consequence of capitalist globalization, suggesting that capitalism has paved the path toward economic migration and further xenophobic discourses against immigrants. As Peterie and Neil (2020, p. 30) explain, on this view "xenophobic fear and hostility is a function of structural inequalities and, more specifically, a result of deliberate political strategies to maintain public support for capitalism despite the harms that it inflicts". Theorists of this perspective (e.g., Badiou, 2017; McGrew, 2019) have usually critical view on the global economic structures and the way they produce inequality and poverty.

From this political-economic vantage point, the global economic order is responsible for the conflicts from which people flee and seek asylum. At the same time, the neoliberal world order is blamable for the production of a population of workers and consumers who feel vulnerable, fearful and angry about their conditions (Peterie & Neil, 2020, p. 31). Wicker (2001) describes that growing internationalization and more flexible markets have led to intensification of competition between host community and immigrants. "In the countries of immigration, social groups with little access to resources regard newcomers as competitors who contend with them for jobs and public services (housing, education, social welfare, etc.)" (Wicker, 2001). According to Wicker (2001), this situation fosters simply a social and political climate that generates xenophobia, i.e., defensive reactions against migrants, and demands that the state provide better protection against foreigners for its own population.

3.4. Strategies for xenophobic prejudice reduction

Different strategies have been adopted for reducing prejudice (see e.g., Duckitt, 2001; Molero Alonso, 2007). Overall, these strategies are grounded in social psychological theories

that have been mobilized to identify the roots of prejudice and can be applied to xenophobic instances of prejudice. The study of prejudice continues to be an important and actively researched topic in social psychology, "with contemporary approaches increasingly considering a broader range of micro- (e.g., genetics) and macro-level (e.g., culture) forces that shape the nature of prejudice and its influence on discriminatory behavior" (Dovidio et al., 2019). It should be noticed that most research on prejudice reduction has been carried out in laboratories with artificial groups (Paluck & Green, 2009), or concentrated on racist prejudice against Black people, and cannot be carelessly extrapolated to xenophobia (Sánchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015).

Duckitt (2001) indicates that prejudice is associated with some basic causal processes at four distinct levels and actions to reduce prejudice should, therefore, operate at each of these four levels: perceptual-cognitive level, individual level, interpersonal level, and societal-intergroup level. At perceptual-cognitive level, interventions should try to change the salience of particular social categorizations that maintain prejudice. At individual level, interventions should be aimed at changing individual susceptibility to prejudice. At interpersonal level, interventions should be carried out through the media, advertising campaigns and at school to increase social influence. Finally, interventions at the societal-intergroup level are aimed at changing the social conditions that foster prejudice through legislation and policy measures.

Due to the wide range of forces that shape prejudice and the functional nature of bias, prejudice can be complicated to change. Among the more robust methods to reduce prejudice are "strategies that promote frequent, positive contact with members of another group; encourage people to categorize others in ways that emphasize shared group identities; or alter automatic associations underlying implicit bias" (Dovidio et al., 2019).

As confirmed by many scholars (e.g., Harwood, 2017; Joyce, 2017; Lytle, 2018), one of the most widely studied and successful prejudice reduction theory is contact hypothesis or intergroup contact theory, proposed by Allport (1954). Research assessing contact hypothesis has consistently verified that intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The fundamental idea of the contact hypothesis is that if individuals from different social groups come into contact with one another under certain conditions (e.g., cooperation), this contact would pave the path for more positive intergroup evaluations and development of close relationships (Allport, 1954).

Drawing on Social Identity Theory (SIT), researchers have also discovered the positive effects of social categorization strategies, namely decategorization strategy, recategorization strategy, crossed categorization strategy, and dual identification strategy (Paluck & Green, 2009). The decategorization strategy aims to highlight the importance of personal identity and to reduce the salience of group identity. The recategorization strategy focuses on prejudice reduction by establishing a common category that includes both ingroup and outgroup members. This shared category is intended to encourage cooperation within a team and to reduce the salience of social identities. The crossed categorization strategy has as its main objective to improve relations between ingroup and outgroup members by making them aware of the fact that they share membership in a third group. The dual identification strategy attempts to make a common group identity salient, while concurrently preserving recognition of group differences as well as identification with the subgroup. As Sánchez-Mazas and Licata (2015, p. 805) affirm, "each strategy was found to yield significant reduction in prejudice, although mainly in laboratory settings using artificial groups and with prejudice being measured as ingroup bias".

Furthermore, researchers have explored models addressing social conformity and social norms in order to find solutions to prejudice against immigrants. "Conformity to group norms proves to depend on perceived ingroup threat and on the extent to which the norm provides an appropriate answer to such a threat" (Sánchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015, p. 805). Except for the cases in which foreigners are considered as a threat to symbolic or economic interests, following antidiscrimination norms validated by the ingroup can reduce prejudice.

Fritzsche (1992) believed that anti-prejudice education which would lead to prejudice reduction is indeed a contribution to human rights education. In the context of children education, Byrnes (1988) concluded that education can prevent prejudice through four main underlying mechanisms: a) contact b) empathy c) self-esteem, and d) cognitive sophistication. First, children should experience multi-cultural and multi-ethnic contacts since developing these contacts from an early age will help to no longer perceive the others as a threat. Second, learning to empathize, the willingness to identify and understand the feelings of others are only possible as long as prejudices have not distorted one's perception of 'the others'. Therefore, it is essential to develop the affective and cognitive aspects of empathy at an early age in order to diminish the risks of perceiving foriegners as a threat in the future.

Third, one's self-image and one's self-esteem have a strong impact on how modifiable prejudices are. The more balanced and stable one's own self-esteem is, the less probability there is that foreigners will induce a sense of being threatened. The kind of education that contributes to establishing and reinforcing a stable sense of self-esteem also contributes to preventing prejudices. And finally prejudices build up an immunity to new information making it, therefore, difficult to overcome prevalent negative attitudes. If information on the cultural and ethnic social differences in the world is offered at an early enough stage, it would perhaps help pave the way for better multi-cultural relations.

Having explained these perspectives on xenophobia and prejudice reduction, in this dissertation the author takes advantage of contact theory. In particular, an indirect variant of contact, namely mediated contact (contact through media), is deemed appropriate for the purpose of this dissertation.

The review of literature on mediated contact and anti-immigrant prejudice reduction, including refugees, asylum seekers, and foreigners (Paluck et al., 2021), suggests that most studies have been conducted in the context of some specific countries, such as the United States (e.g., Kim & Wojcieszak, 2018; Walter et al., 2017), Spain (e.g., Igartua & Cheng, 2009; Igartua et al., 2019; Wojcieszak et al., 2020), Italy (e.g., Vezzali et al., 2012, 2014, 2018) or Germany (Geschke et al., 2010; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020). This implies that results of the studies are bound to some specific outgroups of immigrants. As highlighted by Harwood (2017), contact effects vary by group.

Owing to the surge in international migration, further research is required to provide evidence of the effectiveness of mediated contact in different contexts and for different in/outgroups. According to the UNHCR[22], Turkey, Colombia, Pakistan, Uganda, and Germany are countries hosting the largest number of refugees in the world. However, except for Germany (Geschke et al., 2010; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020), none of mentioned countries are attended by mediated contact scholars. As a result, emerging migratory contexts cry out for more scholarly attention and this improves also the mediated contact studies both empirically and theoretically.

Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of studies (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Igartua et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2020; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Wojcieszak et al., 2020; Wojcieszak &

[22] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/

Garrett, 2018) have applied narrative experimental interventions to reduce prejudiced attitudes against immigrants. These narrative interventions have been mostly textual (e.g., Igartua et al., 2017; Vezzali et al., 2014; Walter et al., 2017) or audiovisual (e.g., Atwell Seate & Mastro, 2015; Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Joyce & Harwood, 2012). This dissertaion attempts not only to contribute to geographical expansion of academic research by focusing on prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, but also to enrich the literature in mediated contact research and to increase the external validity of the project by testing narrative interventions alongside non-narrative ones.

3.5.Summary

This chapter had as its main objective to review the literature by exploring concepts of xenophobia and prejudice. First of all, general definitions for xenophobia were provided. Due to the existence of similar notions, such as racism and nativism, a clear distinction between these concepts was made, and a conceptualization of xenophobia, based on civic ostracism, with special focus on beliefs, attitudes, and related effects of this phenomenon was defined. Ignoring xenophobia as an individual concept may lead to the characterization of its effects and minimization of immigrants' exclusion and the prejudice they suffer.

The second section of this chapter dealt with prejudice. As expressed in several definitions of xenophobia, prejudice against immigrant outgroup is a core concept in the phenomenon of xenophobia, hence its scrutiny was essential. To this aim, its characteristics were described, and different types of prejudice and their relation to xenophobia were explored. Prejudice has been studied and described from different theoretical perspectives throughout history. The most accepted approach is the conceptualization of this phenomenon as an attitude of rejection towards an individual based on his or her group membership. From a tricomponent model of attitude, prejudice would be composed of a cognitive component, embodied in the stereotypes towards a given social group; an affective component that would be related to the emotions felt towards that group; and a behavioral component represented by discrimination towards the outgroup or its members.

Given that one of the main purposes of this doctoral thesis is the design of a media intervention to reduce prejudice towards Venezuelan immigrants, it was deemed essential to approach an analysis of prejudice from a theoretical point of view, considering its conceptualization, the lines of study that have been developed to try to explain it and the

evolution of the phenomenon throughout history. Taking as a reference the historical classification made by Duckitt (1992), it was observed that the scientific research on prejudice has been deeply marked by the historical context, social demands and scientific interests of the time.

The third part of this chapter reviewed scientific approaches to the concepts of xenophobia and prejudice. In this sense, the author tried to explore two major scientific fields that deal in particular with xenophobia, namely social psychology and social sciences. Research on xenophobia from social psychological approach explores groups (ingroup/outgroup) rather than societies and attempts to understand how group membership is established and how the ingroup distinguishes itself from the outgroup through categorization.

At the socio-psychological level, prejudice is studied from individual and social perspectives. The first perspective, which includes scapegoat theory and authoritarian personality theory, attributes the causes of prejudice to the individual's own characteristics and internal motivations. The second perspective, which includes realist conflict theory and social identity theory, resorts to intergroup processes, real or symbolic, to explain the phenomenon.

The focus of research on xenophobia from a social sciences approach is on social norms, social values, historical evolution, and structural features that support the existence of this phenomenon. Research into social aspects of contemporary xenophobia evolved in three main lines of study: new racism, false beliefs, and capitalist globalization.

Finally, this chapter presents a review of the strategies that have been developed in the field of social psychology with the aim of reducing prejudice towards stigmatized groups. An indirect variant of contact theory, namely mediated contact, is deemed appropriate for the purpose of this dissertation. In short, this chapter attempted to provide a clear explanation regarding the concepts of xenophobia and prejudice as well as a detailed review of the literature in terms of evolution of scientific and historical research on these phenomena.

In an era such as the present, marked by the acceptance of democratic and egalitarian ideals, openly racist manifestations are socially penalized, so that throughout the 20th century a decrease in blatant prejudice has been observed. Parallel to this process, however, new, more subtle types of prejudice have emerged, which are held consciously or unconsciously. These new forms of prejudice, although socially accepted, conceal a profound intolerance of ethnic and cultural diversity, and the design of strategies to reduce it remains a priority for social scientists. In addition, owing to the surge in international migration, emerging migratory

contexts which lead to new spaces of intergroup relations should not be overlooked. The next chapter presents the theories that provide the foundation for this dissertation.

Chapter 4. Contact theory, persuasive communication, and humanitarian persuasion

Chapter four presents the core theories that provide the foundation for our doctoral dissertation. The theoretical frameworks that guide us are contact theory (i.e., mediated contact) and persuasive communication. First of all, we elaborate on contact theory, forms of intergroup contact, mediated intergroup contact approach, and mechanisms of prejudice reduction in mediated intergroup contact.

The second part of chapter four is dedicated to persuasive communication, narrative and non-narrative models of persuasion, and underlying mechanisms that would explain the persuasive impact of mediated contact. We provide a cogent discussion/synthesis of these theories and justifies the theoretical foundation as relevant to the study. In addition, we attempt to build a logical argument and to reflect a deep understanding of how the research questions directly align to the theoretical foundation.

Finally, a conceptualization of humanitarian persuasion is presented as the setting in which contact theory and persuasive communication are applied for xenophobic prejudice reduction. Its origin and applicability will be outlined clearly.

4.1.Contact theory

Contact theory is one of the theoretical frameworks which guides the present dissertation. More than half a century after its publication, the book *The Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon Allport (1954) is one of the most prominent works on prejudice and remains an inspiration to contemporary prejudice researchers. Allport's work was considered "the starting point for modern research into the nature of prejudice and methods for its elimination" (Brown, 1995, p. 21), and has had a great influence on research in the field of social psychology.

In his book, Allport proposed contact theory and the effect of contact on intergroup relations. The basic tenet of contact theory (Allport, 1954), also known as contact hypothesis, is that contact between members of different social groups is an effective way to reduce prejudice. Allport (1954) argued that under certain conditions (e.g., cooperation), interpersonal contact between people from different social groups could offer a pathway to reduce intergroup tension, lessen prejudice, and increase positive intergroup relations.

"Intergroup contact occurs when members of one social group enter into communication with members of another group" or in particular when members of different social groups enter one another's social space (Harwood, 2015). Social groups are large-scale groups with which people identify: groups based on physical characteristics such as skin color, national identities, gender or sexuality, religion, age, or health or disability status might all qualify. As Harwood (2017, p. 1) defines, "*ingroups* are groups with which a given person identifies, and *outgroups* are the parallel groups (within the same sphere e.g., religion) with which one does not identify".

From a cultural studies perspective, the spaces where different social groups come into contact can be considered as contact zones. Mary Louise Pratt (1992) used the term "contact zones" to refer to those spaces where "cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today". Pratt portrayed a site for linguistic and cultural encounters, wherein power is negotiated and struggle takes place. As stated by Pratt, a contact perspective accentuates "how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other" (Pratt, 1992, p. 7).

Several studies (e.g., Harwood, 2017; Joyce, 2017; Lytle, 2018) have shown that interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice. In fact, the meta-analysis review by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), which analyzed 515 studies, provides a robust support for the contact hypothesis and confirms the positive effect of intergroup contact. The majority of research in this area has emerged from social psychology, but the theory is innately communicative, as it centers on a moment of contact between people (Atwell Seate, 2017). "Intergroup communication research examines how people's memberships in various social groups (i.e., people's social identities) influence perceptions and behaviors toward both their own group (i.e., ingroup) and other social groups (i.e., outgroups)" (Atwell Seate, 2017).

Harwood (2010) proposed Contact Space framework as a conceptual approach for understanding intergroup contact research on the intersection between language, communication, and intergroup contact. This conceptual framework accounts for different forms of contact by arranging them in two-dimensional space structured based on (a) involvement of self in contact and (b) richness of self-outgroup experience. As Harwood (2010) explains, the first dimension (a) describes "whether an individual is directly involved in interaction with an outgroup member (vs. merely observing such contact)" and the second

dimension (b) shows "the multiplicity of channels and senses through which one experiences the outgroup member".

Through this two-dimensional model the various types of contact can be clearly distinguished and their interrelationships, similarities, and differences can be examined more closely. In addition, "the two-dimensional space is used to organize mediators and moderators in the field, to specify in detail the intersection between contact and issues of language and communication, as well as to outline areas of particular promise for specific contact interventions" (Harwood, 2010).

4.1.1. Forms of intergroup contact

A) Direct and Face-to-Face contact

Face-to-Face (FtF) communication is the direct form of contact theory which was extensively used until recently by researchers in this field. Many reviews (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wagner et al., 2008) have proven the effecitveness of this form of contact. Allport (1954) argued that members of different social groups by coming together and having direct contact would figure out that most of their thoughts about one another were inaccurate, and would develop mutual understanding; hence FtF contact would result in more positive intergroup attitudes. However, certain conditions should be met during contact to avoid stereotypes and negative attitudes reinforcement.

In order to achieve positive intergroup outcomes, Allport (1954) postulated that the groups in contact should (a) be of equal status, (b) share common goals, and (c) cooperate rather than compete with each other. In addition, (d) contact should be carried out under the support of authorities, laws, or custom. The main hypothesis underlying most contact research is that contact increases exposure to other groups, increases knowledge of the respective groups, and eventually reduces prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis also demonstrates that a contact under these conditions (usually treated as package rather than tested individually) is more effective in inducing possitive attitudes than contact without mentioned conditions.

Even though direct contact is effective in reducing prejudice, this strategy is sometimes difficult to implement. According to Harwood (2017, p. 2), there are at least five issues that can make direct FtF contact a difficult-to-implement strategy: 1) ingroup and outgroup may be physically separated from one another, by legislation, or due to other reasons, such as distance, 2) ingroup and outgroup may be a situation of extreme conflict, such that their FtF contact

would result in violence, 3) ingroup and outgroup may be in a situation of distrust, such that their FtF contact would result in unpleasant communication, 4) ingroup and outgroup differences may be associated with anxiety (e.g., due to uncertainty about the ways to communicate), and 5) within groups, ingroup members who try to make contact with outgroup members are sometimes regarded as 'traitors' or as people who are trying to pass and join the outgroup. As a consequence, alternate forms of contact have been explored in the literature.

B) Extended contact

In this form of contact, formulated by Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe and Ropp (1997), people observe or hear about direct contact between members of the ingroup and the outgroup, but do not directly participate in it. Based on extended contact theory (Wright et al., 1997), also known as indirect contact, knowledge or observation of positive intergroup relations involving other people can ameliorate one's own attitudes about the outgroup as a whole. This theory is not based on the direct contact of an ingroup member with an outgroup member, but on the contact that a third person of the ingroup, such as a relative, a friend, an acquaintance, etc., has with a person of the outgroup. In other words, ingroup members would identify with other ingroup members who are in contact with outgroup members. Principally, having ingroup friends who have outgroup friends induces positive attitudes about the outgroup.

Research has extensively showed the positive effects of extended contact in improving intergroup relations (e.g., Turner et al., 2007; Vezzali et al., 2014). In comparison with direct contact, extended contact has some advantages. As Visintin et al. (2017, p. 176) explain, "observing an intergroup interaction should be less likely to induce anxiety elicited in real encounters, and a single cross-group friendship may be observed by many persons, so it is not necessary for each individual to engage in direct contact with members of the other group".

Unfortunately, this literature has not always explicitly described what is meant by extended contact. For instance, drawing on the original Wright et al. study, extended contact is occasionally described as "observation of a cross-group friendship" (1997, p. 87) and occasionally as "knowledge of cross-group friendships" (1997, p. 77), while, as Harwood (2010, p. 150) argues, knowledge and observation are not clearly isomorphic. "Observation opens up potential mechanisms involving modeling of positive intergroup communication, which knowledge alone would not" (Harwood, 2010, p. 150).

C) Imagined contact

Some researchers have also resorted to imagined contact interventions, in which a person imagines having positive contact with an outgroup member. The imagined intergroup contact, proposed by Crisp and Turner (2009), suggests that both explicit and implicit prejudice can reduce when an ingroup member imagines a positive encounter with an outgroup member by activating a "behavioral script". Imagined contact provides a road map to more positive intergroup perceptions and evaluations, a route which takes an individual from prejudice, intolerance, and segregation through to positive, comfortable, and successful intergroup contact. "The act of imagining contact with an outgroup member appears to operate similarly to the act of actually communicating, particularly when the imagination task involves elaborating and encouraging vivid visualization" (Harwood, 2015, p. 3). These mental visualizations or simulations of contact can operate in similar ways to real contact.

A meta-analysis conducted by Miles and Crisp (2014) confirmed convincingly that imagined contact can indeed be effective. As Miles and Crisp (2014) explain, imagined contact is efficient when it is positive, when participants are motivated to elaborate on their mental imagery, and also when it is fairly easy for them to engage in the task.

Crisp and Turner (2009) highlight that imagined contact is part of a continuum of contact, where it can be followed by extended contact, and ultimately by FtF contact. Simlar to extended contact, imagined contact does not involve FtF encounters, hence is less likely to provoke intergroup anxiety (Plant & Devine, 2003). Furthermore, imagined contact is practically easy to apply as prejudice-reduction interventions (Igartua et al., 2018; Wojcieszak et al., 2020), especially in contexts where interactions between the relevant groups are difficult, infrequent, or nonexistent.

D) Mediated contact

Besides extended and imagined contact, there are even more indirect forms of contact that do not involve real encounters but impact intergroup relations. Mediated intergroup contact happens "when audiences from one group are exposed to another through media" (Joyce, 2017, p. 1). The contact is mediated when its procedure occurs via a technologically mediated channel (Harwood, 2017, p. 3). Davis (2000) conceptualizes mediated communication as resorting to any technical medium for transmission across time and space (e.g., writing a letter using a pen and a piece of paper is also considered as mediated communication).

Schiappa et al. (2005) proposed a theory called "Parasocial Contact Hypothesis", based on which exposure to outgroup members via media would increase ingroup members'

perception of the outgroup and further promotes their positive attitudes toward the outgroup. Two years later, a similar notion was presented by Ortiz and Harwood under the name "mediated intergroup contact" (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). According to Harwood's (2017) classification, traditional direct contact and extended contact can be mediated, resulting in possibilities such as computer-mediated contact, parasocial contact, and mediated vicarious contact. Drawing on direct and indirect quality, computer-mediated contact is a form of direct contact, while parasocial contact and mediated vicarious contact are considered as indirect contact.

***Computer mediated contact*,** also known as Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), is the interaction between ingroup and outgroup members via computer or computer-like device, such as email, texting, or computer conferencing. (Walther, 2009). Harwood (2017, p. 3) asserts that "contact over the Internet is far less costly in terms of time, travel and accommodation than direct contact, and also avoids real dangers that might be inherent in contact in situations of overt conflict".

Parasocial contact refers to observing outgroup member(s) via a mediated channel, such as watching a television program featuring individuals from outgroup (Schiappa et al., 2006). Allport (1954, pp. 200–202) also emphasized on the impact of the mass media on prejudice. According to Schiappa et al. (2005), viewers react in real life in a similar way as television characters would. Individual's parasocial contact with outgroup members may be much greater than their contact in real life, or even extended contact with outgroup members (Schiappa et al., 2006). Mutz and Goldman's (2010) review demostrates that mass media is an important source of information about outgroups, in particular for individuals who have limited direct knowledge of outgroup members. The exposure to mass media content results in both negative and positive shifts in prejudice, depending on the valence of the portrayal of outgroups (Mutz & Goldman, 2010).

Vicarious mediated contact occurs when viewers observe an interaction between an ingroup and outgroup member via a mediated channel. Observing intergroup relationships, instead of just outgroup characters, can lead to so-called 'vicarious learning' and viewers can model and learn appropriate intergroup behaviors from the perspective of the ingroup member (Joyce & Harwood, 2012). In this sense, "exposure to a quality intergroup relationship in the media should typically be more powerful in influencing attitudes than simply exposure to a positive portrayal of an outgroup member (i.e., parasocial contact)" (Harwood, 2017, p. 3).

Hence, mediated vicarious contact seems to be a potentially more powerful subset of parasocial contact.

4.1.2. Mediated intergroup contact approach

When opportunities for face-to-face intergroup encounters are scarce or anxiety provokers, indirect forms of contact may play a crucial role in affecting intergroup attitudes and reduce prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2011). Indeed, mediated contact is a modern extension of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis which does not require face-to-face, physically co-present, and real-time interaction. Mass media content can generate in an audience the illusion of face-to-face interaction with their characters (Horton & Wohl, 1956). Individuals form their ideas and attitudes about different social groups based on what they read, hear, and/or see from both fictional and factual media sources (e.g., Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Schiappa et al., 2005). There are direct and indirect forms of mediated contact. For the purpose of this dissertaion, I focus on implications of indirect mediated contact, in particular parasocial and vicarious contact.

A meta-analysis conducted by Wong et al. (2022) demonstrated that mediated intergroup contact can indeed be an effective tool for reducing prejudice toward various outgroups. Existing literature (Dale & Moyer-Gusé, 2021; Murrar & Brauer, 2018, 2019) also indicates that entertainment-education media can reduce prejudice and improve attitudes towards stigmatized groups such as immigrants.

In classical contact theory, some psychologists distinguished conceptually the quantity and quality of intergroup contact (e.g., Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Similarly, as conjectured by Park (2012), mediated intergroup contact can be explored in terms of quantity and quality. The quantity dimension suggests that the more outgroup characters are reflected in media content, the more mediated intergroup contact can be made. In terms of quality, there are two types of mediated intergroup contact identified by researchers. One is simple parasocial interaction between ingroup audiences and outgroup characters which was employed consistently by Schiappa and his colleagues (2005). The other type is parasocial interaction between ingroup audiences and outgroup characters via the ingroup audiences' identification with ingroup characters who engage in friendly interaction with the outgroup characters (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007).

As described briefly earlier, Harwood (2017) classified these two dimensions as vicarious mediated contact and parasocial contact. Vicarious mediated contact occurs when a viewer observes an ingroup member interacting with an outgroup member (e.g., Harwood et

al., 2016; Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Parasocial contact shifts the focus of the intergroup encounter away from the ingroup member and instead focuses on viewers' connections with outgroup members via mediated contact (e.g., Schiappa et al., 2005). Simply put, in vicarious contact the media depicts intergroup contact to the viewer, as compared to parasocial contact, wherein the media facilitates intergroup contact with the viewer. According to Ortiz and Harwood (2007), these two types of parasocial contact are not very different from each other. Rather, they hypothesized that the second type of parasocial contact was the mechanism of the first.

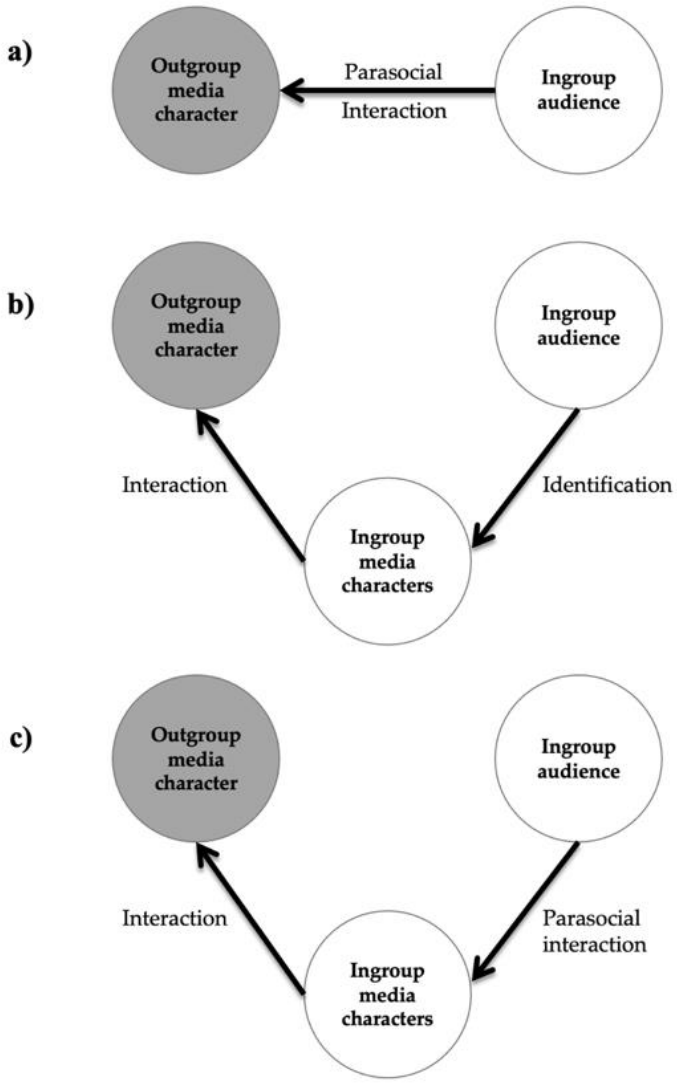
Park (2012) believes that identification and parasocial interaction are two mechanisms that facilitate positive mediated intergroup contact. In fact, "the conceptualization of mediated contact using both parasocial interaction and identification is more instructive than the one using parasocial interaction alone" (Park, 2012, p. 142). Identification is considered in media effects research as a mediator between media exposure and cognitive/behavioral consequences (e.g., Igartua & Frutos, 2017; Müller, 2009). Identification is "an imaginative experience in which a person surrenders consciousness of his or her own identity and experiences of the world through someone else's point of view" (Cohen, 2001, p. 248). According to Cohen (2001), four major dimensions of identification are: (a) empathic (shared feelings with the character); (b) cognitive (sharing the character's perspective); (c) motivational (internalizing the character's goals); and (d) absorption (the loss of self-awareness during exposure).

Parasocial interaction also captures how audience members position themselves in relation to media characters. Parasocial interaction is "the seeming face-to-face relationship between spectator and performer" (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 215). In the context of media consumption, parasocial interaction has been operationalized as activities such as seeking guidance from TV characters, both real and fictional, and seeing the characters as part of the audience members' social world (Hoffner, 1996). On the basis of parasocial contact theory (Schiappa et al., 2005), once individuals are exposed to mediated contact featuring outgroup characters, they form impressions (cognitive and affective reactions), make judgments about their personality, and develop beliefs about them. Pettigrew (1998) describes these processes as learning about the minority outgroup (or intergroup learning process), changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal.

According to Schiappa and his colleagues (2005, p. 97), "one can develop affective ties with persons known only through mediated communication, and, whether one reappraises

one's beliefs about one's ingroup or not, the resulting parasocial relationships could encourage a change in prejudicial attitudes about the outgroups to which minority characters belong". From Cohen's (2001) perspective, the main difference between identification and parasocial interaction is that identification requires self-loss, whereas parasocial interaction requires retention of self-identity.

Figure 4. Three types of parasocial mediated intergroup contact.



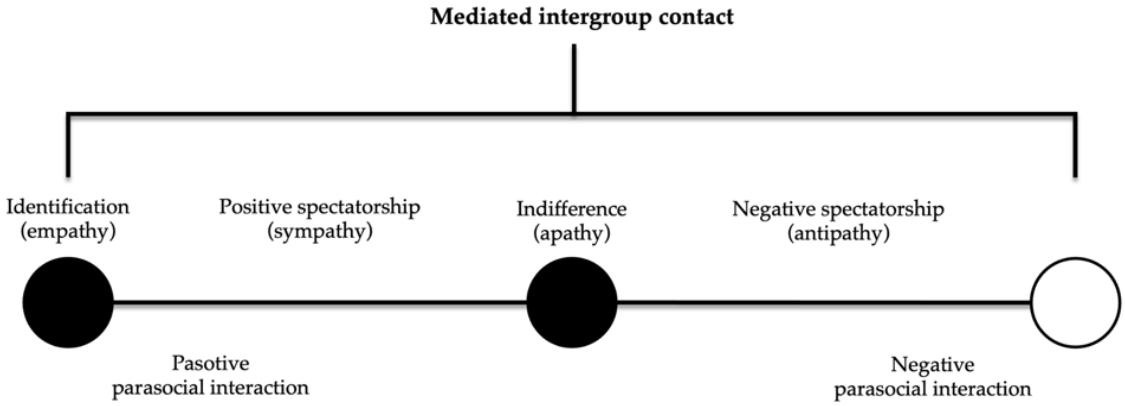
Source: Park (2012, p. 145)

Park (2012) outlines three models for parasocial positive and negative effect in mediated intergroup contact; a direct parasocial contact with the outgroup character; a contact mediated by identification with the ingroup character who interacts positively with outgroup characters;

and a parasocial contact with the ingroup character who has a positive relationship with the outgroup character (see Figure 4).

In addition to the model proposed by Park, some empirical experiments (e.g., Igartua, 2010; McLaughlin et al., 2018) have also proven that identification with fictional characters does influence perception and changes attitudes towards outgroups. In fact, mediated contact can increase Inclusion of Other in the Self (IOS) (Cameron et al., 2006). The IOS has been adapted and used by a number of scholars as a measure of identification. This measure allows participants to describe how subsumed as an individual they are by another category or person. Identification with individuals from outgroup might be difficult since it requires categorizing self and an outgroup member into a shared group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Cohen (2001) describes identification also as a feeling of emotional connection with another person. Identification provides us with several important keys to fictional involvement and subsequent attitude change. Identifying with a character provides a point of view on the plot; it leads to an understanding of character motivations, an investment in the outcome of events, and a sense of intimacy with a character (Cohen, 2006).

Figure 5. A taxonomy of mediated intergroup contact and corresponding emotional states.



Source: Park (2012, p. 144)

Conceptually, the valence of intergroup contact can also range from positive to negative, with corresponding effects on outgroup evaluations ranging from more favorable to less favorable. The quality of the parasocial interactions is determined by the quality of the representations (positive or negative) of outgroup characters. These representations lead the audience to establish an affective connection with the character, thus producing a positive or

negative expectation in ingroup members. As Park (2012, p. 144) describes, “the quality of mediated intergroup contact can be understood as a continuum, with the midpoint anchored at indifference”. Figure 5 shows the emotional states elicited by the representations of outgroup characters.

Park (2012) points out that the representations of outgroup characters and their interaction with ingroup characters may also include certain conditions, defined by Allport (1954), for positive direct contact. This, coupled with the degree to which the member of a group is seen as its representative, could act as moderators of the favorable view. There are several mediators and moderators that can explain underlying mechanisms of prejudice reduction through traditional contact theory, most of which also applicable to mediated contact theory (Harwood, 2017). Empirical findings (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) related to the explanatory mechanisms of prejudice reduction as a result of contact confirmed intergroup anxiety (e.g., Voci & Hewstone, 2003), empathy (e.g., Batson et al., 2005; Batson, Polycarpou, et al., 1997; Batson, Sager, et al., 1997; Igartua & Cachón-Ramón, 2021), and trust (e.g., Kenworthy et al., 2016; Pagotto & Voci, 2013) as significant mediators of the relationship between contact and prejudice.

4.2.Persuasive communication

Persuasive communication is the second theoretical framework which guides the present dissertation. One of the benefits of mediated contact over other forms of contact is that media is pervasive and is already the primary source of information about outgroups for many people (Mutz & Goldman, 2010). However, producers of media content should be aware of how mediated contact can shape intergroup attitudes (Banas et al., 2020). As conjectured by Park (2012), the quality of mediated contact is of high importance, and many elements of media content other than the simple portrayal of intergroup relationships can influence the outcome of mediated intergroup contact. Mediated contact scholars tend to operationalize different forms of contact (extended, vicarious, parasocial, etc.) in terms of media message. As a result, it is important to understand how mediated content should be designed in order to maximize its efficiency.

Researchers have numerous media theories to draw on and integrate, which helps mediated contact research translate more easily into related areas of media scholarship (Joyce, 2017). One of the fields in which message design plays an important role in intriguing,

informing, convincing, or calling to action is persuasive communication (see e.g., O'Keefe, 2008). Mediated intergroup contact and persuasive communication overlap from an empirical perspective since both fields have applicability in reduction of prejudiced attitudes (see e.g., Briñol & Petty, 2020; Chung & Slater, 2013; Park, 2012; Petty & Briñol, 2014). In particular, persuasive communication can promote diversity in production of mediated content and can contribute to optimization of exposure to indirect contact.

Persuasion refers to human communication that is devised to influence the autonomous actions and judgments of others by "modifying their beliefs, values, or attitudes" (Barden & Petty, 2012; Simon, 1997; Simons et al., 2001). O'Keefe (2008) defines persuasion as "a communicative function that can be pursued in many different settings, ranging from face-to-face interaction to mass communication". A persuasive message is the central message that intrigues, informs, convinces, or calls to action (Ashman, 2018). Similarly, a persuasion attempt refers to any effort to produce attitude change (Barden & Petty, 2012, p. 96). According to Barden and Petty (2012), persuasion processes can change three aspects of an attitude: valence (whether the attitude is positive or negative), extremity (where the attitude falls within a given valence), and strength (whether the attitude is consequential or not).

The study of persuasion has always concentrated on how to change, reinforce or maintain the behaviors of individuals in a society (Miller, 2012) and over the past years, ample scholars have delved into the field through different contextual lenses. On the basis of traditional concepts articulated by Aristotle, Dillard (2019) divides the contemporary theories of attitudes and persuasion into logos (persuasion based on logic and reason), pathos (persuasion based on emotion, empathy, and compassion), ethos (persuasion based on ethics), and kairos (persuasion at right place and time). Persuasive communication can be affected by different processes. The section below distinguishes two broad categories of persuasion, namely narrative and non-narrative, on which this dissertation focuses.

4.2.1. Narrative vs. non-narrative persuasion

Broadly speaking, narrative can be considered as symbolic representation of events. Hoeken et al. (2016) consider narratives as a set of connected events, in which characters participate and from which a lesson can be obtained. Narratives are assumed to be stories that offer information, either explicitly or implicitly, that can modify people's beliefs, attitudes or behaviors (Igartua, 2017). Green and Brock (2000, p. 701) postulate that "a narrative account requires a story that raises unanswered questions, presents unresolved conflicts, or depicts not

yet completed activity; characters may encounter and then resolve a crisis or crises. A story line, with a beginning, middle, and end, is identifiable".

Based on these definitions of narrative, narrative persuasion can be defined as "any influence on beliefs, attitudes, or actions brought about by a narrative message through processes associated with narrative comprehension or engagement" (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013, p. 201). These definitions of narrative highlight two elements that are not inevitably connected to other persuasive forms: the suggestion of a character or characters and the representation of an event or events.

Green and Brock (2002) distinguish narrative persuasion from rhetorical persuasion. "Rhetorical persuasion refers to the vast variety of messages such as editorials, many advertisements, public education campaigns, and political speeches, in which arguments are adduced on behalf of an advocated opinion or position" (Green & Brock, 2002, p. 320). From a persuasive communication perspective, narrative is most commonly contrasted with more non-narrative, expository, didactic, and/or rhetorical arguments. This distinction is probably rooted in Aristotle's differentiation between logos (the domain of logic and reason) and pathos (the domain of emotion, poetry and stories) (Herrick, 1997). As stated by Oliver et al. (2012, p. 207), narrative evidence brings the perspective of the central character to the fore, while non-narrative evidence views the issue objectively.

Bilandzic and Busselle (2013) believe that exclusionary definitions limit our understanding of narrative and rhetorical messages, since they do not acknowledge the presence of narrative elements in arguments and rhetorical elements in narratives. A rhetorical message may contain information, such as an example (e.g., Gibson & Zillmann, 1994), which recipients may analyze them the same way they do narrative content. Similarly, a narrative message may contain persuasive content that takes the form of an argument (e.g., Hoeken & Hustinx, 2009) or claims and evidence (e.g., Dahlstrom, 2010).

In this sense, narrative persuasion may not be exclusively alternative to other forms of persuasion (e.g., rhetorical persuasion). Rather, "one can approach narrative persuasion from the perspective that much of human communication and interaction, including many forms of persuasive messages, contain narrative elements or may activate in audiences processes associated with narrative comprehension" (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013, p. 200).

Research evidence has shown that both narrative and non-narrative (informational, numerical, statistical, rhetorical, etc.) persuasion serve to reduce prejudice (e.g., Briñol & Petty,

2020; Cárdaba et al., 2013; Chung & Slater, 2013; Igartua et al., 2018; Moyer-Gusé et al., 2019; Paluck & Green, 2009; Park, 2012; Petty & Briñol, 2014; Zhuang & Guidry, 2022). However, prior research has also demonstrated that the use of narratives, as compared to non-narrative formats, is more effective in changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviors (see e.g., Braddock & Dillard, 2016; Murphy et al., 2013; Wojcieszak & Kim, 2016).

The literature on narrative persuasion bases its postulates on affirming that traditional persuasive messages and narratives are processed differently (Igartua & Vega Casanova, 2016; Slater & Rouner, 2002). This is because it is accepted that traditional persuasive messages include lists of arguments that are explicitly stated based on external sources, and warn about some threat, which makes them clearly recognized for their educational-attitudinal objective and reduces their effectiveness. On the contrary, it is believed that in narratives the persuasive intent is not presented explicitly but is camouflaged through the narration of some events and focusing the action on some characters, thus avoiding the resistance that traditional persuasive messages create (Igartua, 2010; Slater et al., 2006).

4.2.2. Narrative persuasion models

Narrative messages foster a different processing mode that concentrates on linking pieces of information together to build a sequential story world, a necessary activity in order to grasp the story. Persuasive narrative messages can potentially vary in many ways (e.g., plot-focused or as a portrayal of the inner world of a character), as well as with respect to the mere quality of the story (Green & Brock, 2002). Audience members do not receive stories passively, but rather actively by forming story's meaning in their own mind, a process which is called the "realization" of the story (Oatley, 2002). Story realization consists of cognitive and emotional comprehension of events based on the story and pre-existing knowledge of the audience regarding the topic (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2008).

Exposure to narratives featuring members of an outgroup facilitates the prejudice reduction toward this group (Wojcieszak et al., 2020; Zhuang & Guidry, 2022). Furthermore, narratives can offer a non-threatening context through mediated contact, hence avoiding the discomfort or unease that might arise from direct contact with people who are part of stigmatized groups (Chung & Slater, 2013). A large body of research has established the effectiveness of exposure to written narratives, feature films or television series in reducing the stigma toward discriminated groups (e.g., Igartua et al., 2017; Igartua et al., 2018; Igartua & Frutos, 2017). The literature on narrative persuasion, in accordance with research into mediated

intergroup contact, suggests that parasocial contact with fictional characters, specifically identification with characters, is a mediating process that justifies attitudinal impact (e.g, Chung & Slater, 2013; Igartua & Frutos, 2017; Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Park, 2012; Schiappa et al., 2005).

Research in the field of persuasion explores the effects of exposure to narratives on beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions and behaviors of recipients of such narratives (Braddock & Dillard, 2016; de Graaf et al., 2016; Igartua, 2007; Tukachinsky & Tokunaga, 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that most research in this field use as dependent variables various measures linked to beliefs (cognitive judgments through which events or objects are associated with a certain attribute), attitudes (evaluations, judgments or opinions), behavioral intention (willingness to engage in certain behaviors in the future), and behaviors (self-reported behaviors) (Igartua, 2020).

Narrative persuasion has shown to be efficient (e.g., Braddock & Dillard, 2016; Shen et al., 2015), however, not all narratives are equally effective and there are elements that are extremely important in the persuasive process (e.g., Zebregs et al., 2015). In order to provide an explanation for the persuasive effect of narratives and to understand the mechanisms involved in narrative persuasion processes, scholars have designed various theoretical models. In this dissertation, I approach processing of persuasive content in narratives from three interrelated theoretical perspectives, namely Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model (E-ELM), Transportation-Imagery Model (TIM), and Entertainment Overcoming Resistance Model (EORM).

4.2.2.1.Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model (E-ELM)

The E-ELM, proposed by Slater and Rouner (2002), is a theory that facilitates predicting and explaining the effectiveness of narrative or story persuasion. This model addresses the unique ability of entertainment-education to affect beliefs, attitudes, and behavior by overcoming message counterarguing. The E-ELM suggests that transportation into the narrative and identification with its characters are mechanisms that facilitate story-consistent attitudes and behaviours. According to the E-ELM, transportation can reduce counterarguing since story recipients are swept up in the narrative world and thus not motivated to counterargue story points (Green & Brock, 2000; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Similar to transportation, identification with characters can increase absorption, reduce counterarguing, and hence

increase recipients' acceptance of the persuasive content embedded in the narrative (Slater & Rouner, 2002).

The E-ELM posits that message recipients would produce more positive than negative thoughts associated with the embedded persuasive argument within the narrative when they are highly engaged with the story and its characters. In other words, increased engagement and identification should lead to more story-consistent thoughts. When message recipients are engaged in dramatic elements of an entertainment narrative content, they would be less critical, and this immersive engagement would hinder the generation of counterarguments (thoughts inconsistent with persuasive argument) (Slater & Rouner, 2002). In this sense, narrative persuasion leads to attitude change through a distinct influence process, one that differs from the evaluation of arguments in non-narrative context.

An individual's engagement in a narrative is associated with their interest in the story line which per se depends on two conditions: the individual's intrinsic interest in the type of story (romantic, heroic, etc.), and in the quality of the narrative (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 176). With regard to the persuasive content within a narrative message, Slater and Rouner (2002) affirm that the persuasive intent should be neither too overt, nor too covert. "If the persuasive content and intent is so obvious as to become more salient during processing than the narrative itself, the narrative may fail and so should the persuasive effort. This does not mean that recipients must be unaware of persuasive intent, but simply that the drama must be compelling enough to cause such awareness to fade into the background while reading or viewing the story" (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 176).

Narrative and persuasive content may integrate in various ways, from subtly to overtly persuasive (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013). The first form are stories that are created with the intention of persuading subtly the audience. This form of integration is applied in entertainment-education narratives. The second form are stories which, even though made for entertainment purposes, are recognized as having persuasive power (e.g., Slater et al., 2006). Third, instead of the narrative itself being the persuasive message, persuasive content intended to influence the audience are embedded in a narrative (e.g., Dahlstrom, 2010). This form of integration sometimes consists of a complex storyline focusing on a topic imbedded in an entertainment program.

4.2.2.2.Transportation-Imagery Model (TIM)

The TIM, proposed by Green and Brock (2000, 2002), focuses on transportation as one of the key mechanisms through which narratives influence persuasion. The TIM postulates that, in the event that all other variables are equal, the extent to which a story recipient experiences transportation into the narrative affects his/her belief change. That is, high transporting narratives should be more influential than low transporting narratives.

Based on this theory, story recipients, who are transported into the narrative world temporarily, leave the real world behind and experience greater story-consistent attitude change than those who are not swept up into the story world (Green & Brock, 2002, p. 317). As Green and Brock (2002) state, during transportation all of the individual's mental systems and capacities become focused on the events happening in the story. At a minimum, individuals are changed by having a memory of what they read; however, the changes are often more profound, including belief change.

The TIM proposes that the likelihood of story recipients experiencing transportation is influenced by aspects of both the text (e.g., artistry) and the individual (e.g., imagery skill). Regarding artistry, Green and Brock (2002, p. 328) highlight that "there is no doubt that the artistic craftsmanship of the book or film has some responsibility for enormous differences in reader (viewer) appreciation. Accordingly, we expect that craftsmanship should directly affect amount of transportation and, hence, persuasive impact". A minimum requirement of high craftsmanship includes structuring the narrative appropriately (e.g., how the story attracts readers attention and/or how the events lead to a specific story ending). Additionally, the TIM emphasizes on the role of imagery in belief change. This model is limited to texts in which measurable images are elicited; images that can be recalled, recognized, and responded to. Narratives that never or hardly evoke imagery are excluded from the domain of this model. As expressed by Green and Brock (2002, p. 329), "investment in imagery is the extent to which a recipient deploys cognitive and perceptual resources in order to contribute to imagery." Although artistry and imagery skill affect transportation, whether a narrative is labeled as fact or fiction does not typically influence this mental process.

Transportation into a story can cause a reader to experience intense emotions, which is accompanied also by a reduction in counterarguing. Green and Brock (2000) posit that transportation leads to a loss of awareness of the real world, and thus hinders an individual's ability and/or motivation to remember real-world information that opposes the arguments

presented in a narrative. This reduction in counterarguing can result in narrative-consistent beliefs and is an important mechanism through which attitude change may happen.

Highly relevant to the aim of this dissertation is the role of self-referencing in narrative processing. Self-referencing refers to "the process of relating message components to the self and connecting elements of the narrative with one's own memories and experiences" (Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017, p. 4). Although this notion seems to contradict transportation (which leads to a loss of self-awareness), Moyer-Gusé and Dale (2017) believe that audience members "oscillate between periods of higher and lower transportation" while viewing or reading a narrative. "At certain points in the narrative a viewer may be highly absorbed and caught up in the story. This may be followed by moments of reflection during which time the content can be compared against prior experiences" (Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017, p. 5).

4.2.2.3.Entertainment Overcoming Resistance Model (EORM)

The third theory which supports our theoretical framework in narrative persuasion is the EORM (Moyer-Gusé, 2008), which focusses specifically on the ways in which narrative structure and involvement with characters reduce various forms of resistance to persuasive messages. Basically, this model proposes that entertainment-education, in comparison to traditional persuasive messages, offers a more effective way to influence attitudes and behavior by arousing less resistance to persuasive content within a story. Fictional messages based on entertainment-education approach are an effective tool to reduce prejudice and improve attitudes towards stigmatized groups such as immigrants (Dale & Moyer-Gusé, 2021; Murrar & Brauer, 2018, 2019).

Entertainment-education is described as "prosocial messages that are embedded into popular entertainment media content" (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 408). Moyer-Gusé (2008) believes that entertainment-education messages, thanks to their narrative structure, foster engagement and involvement in the storyline. The EORM is consistent with the E-ELM and the TIM by suggesting that narrative transportation and identification with characters reduce counterarguing against persuasive content.

Expanding on the E-ELM, the EORM suggests that "identification with characters should also facilitate exposure to messages that individuals may otherwise selectively avoid and may also increase perceived vulnerability to a threat and thus motivate positive attitude and behavior change" (Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017, p. 7). In addition, the EORM addresses a particular form of resistance to persuasion: psychological reactance, which is "the motivational state that is

hypothesized to occur when a freedom is eliminated or threatened with elimination" (Brehm & Brehm, 1981, p. 37). "Persuasive communication, especially that which is explicit in its persuasive intent and/or uses controlling language, can trigger reactance" (Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017, p. 7).

The EORM postulates that entertainment messages with their narrative structure can overcome psychological reactance by diminishing the viewer's perception that the message is intended to persuade. In Moyer-Gusé's words, "to the extent that an entertainment-education program is not perceived as having persuasive intent, it should not induce the kind of reactance that is often evoked by overtly persuasive messages" (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 415). Similarly, Slater and Rouner (2002) state that "if the persuasive content and intent is so obvious as to become more salient during processing than the narrative itself, the narrative may fail and so should the persuasive effort". Like transportation and identification that enhance the persuasive effects of entertainment-education content, Moyer-Gusé (2008) believes that parasocial interaction with a central character in a narrative can also increase persuasiveness of entertainment messages by reducing reactance. "Using peers to deliver persuasive risk messages can be an effective persuasive strategy because peers are seen as less authoritative and controlling, thus arousing less reactance" (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 415).

4.2.2.4. Underlying mechanisms of narrative persuasion

The review of theoretical models in narrative persuasion shows that identification with the protagonist, narrative transportation, counter-argumentation and reactance are the main mediating processes studied in the field (Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Tukachinsky, 2014; Tukachinsky & Tokunaga, 2013).

Scholars have established a two-level classification of mediating processes in narrative persuasion (Igartua et al., 2020; Shen et al., 2018), namely primary and secondery mediators. At the beginning of the causal sequence, identification with characters and narrative transportation (primary mediators) are placed, two processes that are directly linked to the impact of message properties. On a second level, counter-argumentation and reactance (secondary mediators) are located, two psychological processes of resistance that would explain why people who experience narrative transportation and identification with the characters are persuaded. In this sense, identification and transportation would initiate the process and facilitate the persuasive impact of narratives by reducing counterarguments and reactance (Igartua et al., 2020).

In this dissertaion, the author focuses on the primary mediators, namely identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation. These two constructs are processes that are strongly correlated since both refer to involvement with the narrative, however they are different immersive experiences (Cohen & Tal-Or, 2017).

A) Identification with the protagonist

Identification with the protagonist is one of the most important mechanisms in narrative persuasion processes (de Graaf et al., 2012; Igartua, 2017; Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Research evidence (e.g., Cohen, 2001; Cohen et al., 2015; de Graaf et al., 2012; Igartua, 2010; Igartua & Barrios, 2012; Igartua & Vega Casanova, 2016; Müller, 2009; Tukachinsky & Tokunaga, 2013) has shown that identification with narrative characters plays an important mediating role in the effect of narratives on audience's beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intents and behaviors, suggesting that the greater the identification with characters, the greater the persuasive impact of the narrative.

Originated in literary studies, identification is an imaginative process that allows the individual to put him/herself in the place of the character and implies the temporary loss of self-consciousness to temporarily assume the character's identity (Cohen, 2001; de Graaf et al., 2012; Igartua & Barrios, 2012; Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Identification is considered as a construct composed of different cognitive and emotional dimensions that allude to different psychological processes (Cohen, 2001; Igartua & Páez, 1998; Igartua & Barrios, 2012).

According to Cohen (2001), four major dimensions of identification are: (a) empathic (shared feelings with the character); (b) cognitive (sharing the character's perspective); (c) motivational (internalizing the character's goals); and (d) absorption (the loss of self-awareness during exposure). However, the latest conceptualization of identification (Igartua & Barrios, 2012) reveals that this mediator includes only three main dimensions.

The first dimension is cognitive empathy which is defined as the ability to understand characters from an intellectual point of view, adopting their view of things and their interpretation of events (Hogan, 1969; Tsao, 1996). This aspect would allow the audience to follow the progression of the plot from the character's perspective (Igartua & Páez, 1998). The second dimension is emotional empathy which refers to the adoption of a character's feelings, so that the audience experiences happiness when the character succeeds, or sadness when the character fails (Wai & Tiliopoulos, 2012). This dimension would allow the audience to be able to care about the destiny of the characters, as well as to experience emotions such as tension or

suspense (Igartua & Páez, 1998). The third dimension is the feeling of becoming the character, also known as merging. This dimension refers to the feeling of merging with the character, so that the audience gets to live the story as if he/she were the protagonist himself/herself, temporarily assuming his/her identity and goals (Oatley, 1999).

In a novel study, van Krieken et al. (2017) delve deeper into the linguistic elements that guide identification and propose an interdisciplinary framework that allows for more accurate manipulation and measurement of identification with characters. They distinguish six dimensions of identification (spatiotemporal, perceptual, cognitive, moral, emotional and embodied), and indicate which linguistic cues can affect these dimensions. For an accurate measurement of identification with characters Van Krieken and her team propose neuropsychological methods. In other words, this approach examines the connections between the linguistic elements of narratives and the physical, psychological and neurocognitive responses of the audience.

Researchers concur that the process of identification concentrates on the characters in the story, and not on the narrative world as in the case of transportation (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Thereby, identification provides the opportunity to adopt the thoughts and feelings of "the other", which allows overcoming the natural limiting tendency to see things from a single point of view (Cohen, 2006; Igartua & Frutos, 2017). As stated by Cohen (2001, p. 251), during identification "an audience member imagines him- or herself being that character and replaces his or her personal identity and role as audience member with the identity and role of the character within the text". Thus, by means of the connections that are established through identification, that is interpretations about the events and character's statements, the possibility of accepting the implicit argument in the narrative by the audience and further changes in attitudes increases (Green, 2006; Moyer-Gusé, 2008).

On the basis of mediated contact approach, parasocial interaction is a concept similar to identification since both occur during exposure to the narrative and refer to connections between the audience and the characters (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Park (2012) posits that identification and parasocial interaction are two processes that facilitate positive mediated intergroup contact. Parasocial interaction refers to how audience members position themselves in relation to media characters (Horton & Wohl, 1956), but it is understood as a form of social pseudorelationship of the audience, thus implying the maintenance of one's own identity. From Cohen's (2001) perspective, the main difference between identification and parasocial

interaction is that identification requires self-loss, whereas parasocial interaction requires retention of self-identity. Furthermore, unlike parasocial relationships, identification develops much faster (e.g., Tal-Or, 2016), such that even exposure to a brief narrative can produce identification with protagonists and generate persuasive impact.

B) Narrative transportation

Narrative transportation is the second important mechanism in narrative persuasion processes through which narratives would produce their impact (de Graaf & van Leeuwen, 2017; Green & Brock, 2000, 2002). Transportation is a type of narrative-based mental processing which is defined as "a state in which a reader becomes absorbed in the narrative world, leaving the real world, at least momentarily, behind" (Green & Brock, 2002, p. 317). During transportation all of the individual's mental systems and capacities become focused on the events happening in the story, which implies a temporary loss of contact with the real world (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009; Green & Brock, 2002; Moyer-Gusé, 2014).

Research evidence (e.g., Appel & Richter, 2010; Cohen et al., 2015; Green et al., 2004; Green & Brock, 2000; Green & Clark, 2013; Murphy et al., 2011; Tukachinsky & Tokunaga, 2013) has demonstrated that narrative transportation plays an important mediating role in the effect of narratives on audience's beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intents and behaviors, suggesting that the greater the transportation into the story, the greater the persuasive impact of the narrative.

According to Green and Brock (2000), three major psychological dimensions of narrative transportations are: the reduction of cognitive response, the activation of mental images, and emotional involvement. First of all, the individual experiencing narrative transportation focuses attention on the story and the narrative world, resulting in a loss of access to real-world information. This attentional transfer has implications both at a physical level, causing the viewer to be unaware of the variations that may occur in his or her immediate environment, and at a psychological level, even leading to a kind of distancing from personal reality (Green et al., 2004; Green & Brock, 2000). Secondly, narrative transportation produces the activation of the sensory system which facilitates the generation of very vivid mental images coherent with the story (Green & Brock, 2002). Third, narrative transportation would facilitate the generation of affective bonds with the characters in the narrative, as well as emotional reactions since the audience would indirectly experience the events of the story by responding emotionally to them. In this way, the narrative is experienced in a way analogous to a real

experience, which would explain its influence on the audience's attitudes and beliefs (Green & Brock, 2000).

Researchers argue that because of the absorption caused by transportation, and because the audience devotes their cognitive resources to the events unfolding in the narrative, they are less likely to generate thoughts contrary to the persuasive argument, therefore the audience's beliefs become more susceptible to the information presented in the narratives (Slater & Rouner, 2002). In addition, individuals who are exposed to narratives do not expect to be influenced and thus spend less time evaluating the message argument critically (Appel & Richter, 2010). As a result, the attitudes and behaviors described in the narrative may be more easily accepted by the audience.

4.2.3. Non-narrative persuasion models

Narrative messages have been proven to be more effective than traditional persuasive messages in eliciting changes in audience beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intent, and behaviours (e.g., Braddock & Dillard, 2016), however some research suggest that numerical data are also seen as objective, credible, and verifiable (Greene & Brinn, 2003; Kopfman et al., 1998). Some studies in persuasion setting (e.g., Allen & Preiss, 1997; Zebregs et al., 2015) have shown that statistical evidence can be more pervasive than narrative evidence. Hornikx (2005) believes that the inconsistent findings regarding narrative and non-narrative evidences may be a result of the differences in evidence types and their conceptualizations and operationalizations.

Park (2012, p. 155) urges mediated contact scholars to "understand audiences better with regard to their tendency to pursue or avoid mediated intergroup contact". Since messages targeted at diverse audiences across the globe would have dissimilar impacts and are perceived differently, scholars always attempt to personalize and tailor messages to their audiences and communication objectives (see e.g., Hornikx & O'Keefe, 2009; Zebregs et al., 2015). In order to find the optimal condition for a target audience, mediated contact scholars need to assess the efficiency of different message evidence (Harwood, 2017).

Research evidence (e.g., Cárdaba et al., 2013) has shown that non-narrative messages can lead to reduction in the extremity of prejudiced attitudes toward minority outgroups. The literature into non-narrative persuasion has proven that cognitive (primary thoughts), meta-cognitive (secondary thoughts) and affective processes (e.g., affective validation), are mechanisms that can explain prejudiced attitude reduction once exposed to a contact-based initiative (see Briñol & Petty, 2020; Petty & Briñol, 2014, 2015).

In order to provide an explanation for the persuasive effect of non-narrative messages (informational, numerical, statistical, rhetorical, etc.) and to understand the mechanisms involved in non-narrative persuasion processes, various theoretical models can be proposed; theoretical models that address persuasion indirectly (theories of attitude and psychological processes and theories of voluntary action), and theoretical models that deal with persuasion directly (theories of persuasion processes) (O'Keefe, 2016). For the purpose of this dissertation, I approach processing of persuasive content in non-narrative messages from a direct model of persuasion, namely Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM). The inclusion of non-narrative persuasion has as its main objective to increase the external validity of the dissertation and to enrich the literature in mediated contact research.

4.2.3.1.Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM)

The theoretical perspective that guides non-narrative persuasion in this dissertation is Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) developed by Petty and Cacioppo (1986). The ELM is one of the most important theories in persuasion studies that focuses on the underlying mechanisms of attitude change. The ELM suggests the existence of two different routes to persuasion, a central route and a peripheral route. Both of them depend highly on the individual's degree of elaboration.

The term "elaboration" is used to indicate the extent to which an individual thinks about issue-relevant arguments in the message (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986, p. 7), and also to suggest that people add their own information to that contained in the message (Petty & Wegener, 1999, p. 42). When the elaboration is high, central-route persuasion processes are activated, and persuasion outcomes arise from thoughtful consideration of the issue and arguments embedded in the message, while when the elaboration is low, peripheral-route persuasion processes are engaged and persuasion outcomes arise from less thoughtful processes. When peripheral processing is activated, instead of a considerable mental effort, an automatic, superficial, and quick processing takes place that focuses in particular on contextually peripheral cues (e.g., source credibility, source likeability, individual's mood, a large number of arguments) rather than the quality of message arguments. Research evidence has shown that attitude changes based on peripheral route tend to be less long-lasting, less resistant to counter-argumentation, and unpredictable of that individual's behavior (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

Researchers should note whether these issue-relevant thoughts are favorable or unfavorable to the position advocated in the message. Elaboration valence is affected by the

quality of message argument, which is potentially an important variable under conditions of high elaboration (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). By emphasizing that a given variable might play different roles in a persuasion process in different circumstances, the ELM has very valuable implications for mediated contact research. Many message, recipient, and communicator variables are involved in ELM explication of persuasion process, most of which to be considered once applied in mediated contact context.

The central and peripheral routes to persuasion represent two extremes of a continuum: the "elaboration" continuum. The likelihood of elaboration is determined by an individual's motivation and ability to assess the argument being presented. Individual's motivation is influenced by many factors, such as issue involvement (e.g., greater personal relevance to immigration leads to greater elaboration) or need for cognition (some people enjoy thinking more than others do). Individual's ability is also influenced by several factors, such as the receiver's prior knowledge about the topic (e.g., greater knowledge about immigrants enables greater elaboration) or the degree to which the setting permits the receiver to pay close attention to the message (when distractions are present, elaboration ability is reduced) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

The greatest elaboration is to be expected when both elaboration motivation and elaboration ability are high. In this situation, individuals' evaluative process over message arguments will generate the polarity of their cognitive responses, which, in turn, will predict the change of their attitude. On the other hand, under conditions of low elaboration (due to low motivation level and less processing capacity), less attention is dedicated to the message argument and hence other factors, such as perceived communicator expertise and communicator likability, play greater roles in influencing persuasive outcomes. One of the fundamental dual-process model predictions is that individuals will be more persuaded by strong persuasive arguments than weak and that this difference in persuasiveness will be larger when they are processing centrally rather than peripherally (see Carpenter, 2015).

4.2.3.2.Underlying mechanisms of non-narrative persuasion

A) Cognitive elaboration

Based on the ELM, cognitive elaboration is the main underlying mechanism in persuasion process. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) have defined cognitive elaboration as a process of reflection on the contents of a persuasive message. This process of cognitive responses to a message is considered "the likelihood that an individual will elaborate on a particular message"

(Morris et al., 2005, p. 84). Suckfüll and Scharkow (2009, p. 373) described cognitive elaboration as "the intensity of information processing". So far, cognitive elaboration has been regarded as "a relevant process in explaining persuasion processes through openly persuasive communication, as these types of messages contain explicitly presented arguments that individuals can easily recognize" (Igartua & Vega Casanova, 2016).

Morris and his colleagues (2005) call those individuals that process persuasive messages cognitively as "cognitive elaborators". Cognitive elaborators take central route to persuasion which involves cognitive/effortful thinking and minimal emotional involvement in processing messages. This path to persuasion involves "paying careful attention to the relevant information in the message and relating that information to previous knowledge stored in memory and generating new implications for the information" (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996).

Generally, the ELM explains prejudice reduction mainly through two concepts of elaboration and validation (Petty & Briñol, 2014). Attitudes toward minority outgroups can be affected by a variety of low-deliberation processes, such as mere exposure (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and classical conditioning (Dovidio et al., 2003). However, Petty and Briñol (2014) believe that low-effort processes are not the only means of attitude change and attitude formation can also be generated by highly deliberative processes.

"The ELM predicts that the process by which prejudice is created or transformed is consequential for the strength of the resulting attitudes" (Petty & Briñol, 2014, p. 178). Research evidence (e.g., Cárdaba et al., 2013) demonstrated the importance of the amount of thinking in the context of prejudice. In the study of Cárdaba et al. (2013), participants were exposed to either a persuasive message that contained compelling arguments in favor of a minority group or a control message on an irrelevant topic, and the elaboration was varied by manipulating the targets' ability or motivation to think about the message. The findings demonstrated that under high and low thinking conditions, the prejudiced-attitude change was equivalent. However, there were important benefits of high-elaboration prejudice reduction. Although both high and low thinking processes reduced prejudice, the reductions in prejudice generated by high thinking processes were more persistent and resistant to subsequent attacks than equivalent changes generated by less thoughtful mechanisms (Cárdaba et al., 2013).

In addition, this message cognitive processing leads to a change in not only explicit, but also implicit attitudes (Briñol et al., 2009). As is the case for explicit measures, "the greater the

elaboration, the more consequential the subsequent changes that are observed for implicit measures" (Petty & Briñol, 2014, p. 178).

Similar to the extent of elaboration, which influences both explicit and implicit attitude change, is the concept of validation. Validation is critical to the ELM and involves the process of reconsidering cognitively or affectively generated thoughts during elaboration (Petty & Briñol, 2015). Drawing on self-validation approach, Petty and Briñol postulate that generating thoughts is not sufficient to make an impact on attitudes, but individuals must also believe that their thoughts are correct (cognitive validation) or feel good about them (affective validation) (Briñol & Petty, 2015; Petty et al., 2007). The ELM posits that "variables such as stereotypes can influence judgments by affecting not only the amount and direction of processing (primary cognition) but also the use of thoughts (secondary cognition) via changes in the perceived validity of those thoughts" (Petty & Briñol, 2014, p. 179). Stereotypes can also play a significant role in the validation of accessible thoughts and the subsequent impact of those thoughts on deliberative judgments (Clark et al., 2009).

As stated by Petty and Briñol (2014), the concept of validation affects potentially the automatic associations on explicit and implicit measures of attitudes. That is, "although people might not use automatically activated evaluations when deliberatively responding to explicit measures if those evaluations are associated with explicit doubt, those automatic associations can still influence more automatic measures of prejudice" (Petty & Briñol, 2014, p. 179).

B) Affective response

As Morris et al. (2005) argue, "the cognitive (central) aspect of the ELM overshadows its affective (peripheral) aspect, and the underlying suggestion of this model is that an attitude change is mostly reached through cognitions as opposed to emotion". However, this does not imply that scholars should completely ignore the affective side of the persuasive intent. As argued by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), what differentiates attitude from other concepts is its affective nature and that "affect is the most essential part of the attitude concept".

In addition, research evidence (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995) has shown that affect-based attitudes, as compared to cognition-based ones, are held with greater confidence. This could be because of the fact that: a) affective responses often in terms of time precede cognitive responses in attitude formation, and b) affective responses are more closely associated with the self in comparison to cognitive responses (Edwards & von Hippel, 1995). Lavine et al. (1998) also found that affect is generally more predictive of behavior than cognition among

respondents with ambivalent affective-cognitive structures. In their study, Morris et al. (2005) demonstrated as well that the emotional aspect in the ELM is as important as the cognitive aspect by arguing that, although individuals process messages cognitively, that cognition has an emotional core. In addition, they believe that content processing (elaboration) may give rise to emotions which can lead, in turn, to a longer-lasting change in attitudes.

Individuals who take the peripheral route to persuasion are referred to as "cognitive misers" (Fiske & Taylor, 1984) and process messages based on simple affective cues. Cognitive misers take peripheral route in a low relevance/low motivation situation and process the persuasive message at a very heuristic level by observing the audio-visual cues present in the message and without elaborating too much on the arguments present therein (Morris et al., 2005). As a result, the peripheral route is characterised by "an absence of effortful message elaboration" and the attitude formations and changes caused by this route are "less accessible, persistent, resistant and predictive of behaviour" as compared with attitudes developed by the central route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). Morris et al. (2005) believe that central and peripheral routes to persuasion can interact with each other and occurr concurrently when the presented persuasive information does not contradict the attitude structure of an individual.

The ELM posits that judgements can be modified by processes that involve relatively high or low amounts of issue-relevant thinking, and that emotions can influence judgements in different ways depending on the overall degree of elaboration (Briñol et al., 2007; Petty et al., 1988, 1993, 1994; Petty & Briñol, 2015; Wegener et al., 1994). Put simply, "the amount of thinking at the time of influence moderates the process by which emotions have their effect on judgement (i.e., moderated mediation)" (Petty & Briñol, 2015, p. 2). Petty and Briñol (2015) propose that emotions can influence attitudes and persuasion via primary and secondary (meta-) cognition. Overall, there are five fundamental processes that occur at different points along the elaboration continuum.

1) First of all, emotions can serve as simple cues when elaboration is low. When the extent of thinking is constrained to be low, emotions influence attitudes by relatively simple processes that lead them to change in a manner consistent with the valence of the emotion. The impact of emotion in this situation does not require much in the way of cognitive motivation or capacity, and the emotion would have a direct impact on attitudes.

2) Second, emotions can serve as persuasive arguments when elaboration is high. That is, when thinking is constrained to be high, emotions can act as arguments in favor of a proposal if they are relevant to the merits of the advocacy. In this situation, the impact of emotion on judgement can equal or even exceed the impact under low thinking situations.
3) Third, emotions can bias thinking if it precedes the message and the elaboration is high. According to Petty and Briñol (2015), this process is much more subtle than using emotion as an argument which requires that the emotion be salient and analyzed. For emotion to bias thinking, it is likely better that the emotion and its source not be very salient.
4) Fourth, emotions can influence the amount of thinking about the persuasive communication when elaboration is unconstrained. In unconstrained contexts (when individuals do not have a clear idea of how much they are willing or able to think), emotional states impact persuasion by influencing the extent of cognitive processing that occurs. That is, the emotions a person is experiencing can be helpful in this situation, deciding whether to think carefully or not about the persuasive proposal.
5) Fifth, emotions can validate thinking and affect reliance on thoughts when the elaboration is high. If issue-relevant thinking is high and emotions become salient after elaboration, they can lead people to rely or not rely on the thoughts generated either because the emotion leads people to like or dislike their thoughts (affective validation) or feel more confident or doubtful in their thoughts (cognitive validation).

Table 2. Role of emotion in persuasion process based on the ELM.

		ELABORATION	
		High	Low
COGNITION	Primary	Emotion: • serves as persuasive argument • biases thoughts • influences extent of thoughts	Emotion: • serves as simple affective cue
	Secondary	Emotion: • validates thoughts cognitively and/or affectively	

Source: Elaboration by the author based on Petty and Briñol (2015)

Emotions can not only influence cognitive processes but also how individuals think and feel about their own thoughts (Briñol et al., 2007). It is noteworthy to indicate that emotions, as any other relevant variable present in the persuasion setting framed by the ELM, can play multiple roles in influencing attitudes (Petty & Wegener, 1998). For instance, in one early demonstration of multiple roles for emotion under high and low elaboration conditions (Petty et al., 1993), emotion had an indirect impact on attitudes by biasing thoughts when elaboration was high, but had a direct effect on attitudes when elaboration was low. In brief, when the likelihood of elaboration is low, "emotions can affect attitudes by serving as simple affective cues producing judgements in accord with their valence", but when elaboration is high, "emotions work by more thoughtful means such as serving as arguments, biasing thoughts or validating them" (Petty & Briñol, 2015, p. 17).

The ELM specifies a finite number of processes by which variables can affect persuasion. However, any one variable in the ELM can have an impact on persuasion by affecting each of these processes in different situations (Petty et al., 2002). That is, depending on the context, the same feature of a persuasive message can serve "as an issue-relevant argument, or a peripheral cue, or affect the motivation or ability to think about the message, or bias the nature of the thoughts that come to mind, or affect structural properties of the thoughts such as how accessible they are, or how much confidence people have in them" (Petty et al., 2002, p. 171).

On the basis of parasocial contact theory (Schiappa et al., 2005), once individuals are exposed to mediated contact featuring outgroup characters, they form impressions (cognitive and affective reactions), make judgments about their personality, and develop beliefs about them. Pettigrew (1998) describes these processes as learning about the minority outgroup (or intergroup learning process), changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. To create sufficient motivation for attitude change, the contact must be successful in generating some sort of intimacy or affective tie toward outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1997, 1998). In short, one can learn about an outgroup from mediated messages and representations, and if one has a positive experience, one's behavior is altered. "One can develop affective ties with persons known only through mediated communication, and, whether one reappraises one's beliefs about one's ingroup or not, the resulting parasocial relationships could encourage a change in prejudicial attitudes about the outgroups to which minority characters belong" (Schiappa et al., 2005, p. 97).

In this regard, Navas (1997) believes that prejudice would not be an exclusively behavioral phenomenon, but the emotional component would also be of great importance, and would ultimately lead to the manifestation of behaviors. Different studies on prejudice reduction have shown that the best predictor of discrimination is not the cognitive, but the affective component (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1996).

Drawing on this explication, in order to understand how the persuasion process is produced in terms of non-narrative persuasion, the author considers both affective and cognitive processes which explain the impact of mediated contact as persuasive communication on reducing prejudiced attitudes.

4.3.Humanitarian persuasion

4.3.1. Origin

In the present dissertation, humanitarian persuasion is regarded as the setting in which contact theory and persuasive communication are applied for xenophobic prejudice reduction. The humanitarian persuasion approach was conceptualized primarily by Hugo Slim (2003) at the beginning of the 21st century. Drawing on marketing theories, Slim proposed that humanitarians are indeed selling their humanitarian norms and "the art of persuasion must remain the focus of their ability to negotiate the successful recognition of humanitarian norms" (Slim, 2003, p. 3).

Inspired by Scottish writer and traveler Robert Louis Stevenson's observations[23], Slim postulated that humanitarians live by selling humanitarian ideas. In fact, humanitarians sell their values and norms not only to make their own living, but also to guarantee that many others can live as well. Generally, Slim (2004, p. 12) considers persuasion as a humanitarian tactic. From Slim's perspective, humanitarian persuasion is a key instrument in "the practice of humanitarian negotiation that is required in any attempt to agree, expand and maintain the humanitarian space required to protect civilians in war" (Slim, 2003, p. 3).

Humanitarian persuasion emerges generally in two forms, namely soft and hard advocacy. In its softer and more private form, "humanitarian persuasion is part of an ongoing and constructive relationship in common pursuit of humanitarian norms". In its hardest and most public form, "humanitarian persuasion moves into outright denunciation that is more like the confrontational guerilla marketing techniques" (Slim, 2003, p. 4). Be it at soft or hard level,

[23] "Everyone lives by selling something" (Stevenson, 1892)

the power of humanitarian brand is crucial in developing the value of humanitarian norms and in conveying constant humanitarian messages at every point of contact with potential buyers of the idea (Hudson, 2018).

According to Slim (2003), humanitarian norms are the main products of humanitarian agencies, and they are essentially selling three things; a moral idea or value to be acknowledged, a form of behavior that requires to be adopted, and a range of practical services in humanitarian assistance. Slim describes the buyers of these humanitarian products as "interlocutors", or "customers", from a marketing perspective. The interlocutors, who are the legitimate targets of any humanitarian marketing, may be "government officials and military officers, warlords and their henchmen, factionalized citizens from opposing warring groups, the diplomatic officials of third-party states, journalists and leading members of civil society" (Slim, 2003, p. 7). There is also a larger civilian population who need the humanitarian protection and is called "consumers". In fact, interlocutors can function as intermediary organizations; they control much of the capital, permission, and outlets you need to finally reach your consumer.

Based on the humanitarian persuasion approach, humanitarian marketing should be: a) responsive b) relationship builder c) adaptive, and d) integrated. "Responsive marketing dictates that you do not simply start marketing after you've made your product. You start marketing as a key way to shape your product" (Slim, 2003, p. 9). As Slim points out, the key to this principle is putting the needs and interests of the customer at the center of any persuasive strategy. It is even possible that the interlocutors have no need, desire, or interest in the product that humanitarian agencies offer. In such case, the humanitarian persuasion is quite simply doomed to failure. In the second place, humanitarian marketing should be able to build strong value-laden relationships with customers. Building a good relationship with customers means discovering on the one hand what they want and working with them on how best to provide it, and making sure, on the other hand, that they understand what you stand for and what you can offer them (Hart, 2018; Slim, 2003).

Adaptive marketing refers to the notion that humanitarians need to adapt their products to some extent for different customers in different settings. As Slim (2003, p. 11) emphasizes, "humanitarian negotiators can shape the way they design and promote the humanitarian product, so tailoring it to the particular interests of their customers and interlocutors". And finally, integrated marketing suggests that every point of contact between a humanitarian

agency and a customer, consumer or stakeholder should consciously communicate the values and quality of that agency. One can find examples of integrated humanitarian marketing in certain humanitarian brands, such as the Red Cross or the United Nations whose emblem or logo denotes many values.

Since humanitarian agencies are firmly committed to their humanitarian values, a systematic application of humanitarian marketing for selling these values is vital. The term "value" can be defined differently in various disciplines, but in general, "values are preferences, stemming from a sense of right and wrong, which have an impact on behavior considered as appropriate in the ethical, ideological, social, or esthetic spheres" (Brühwiler et al., 2019, p. 4). Values are "powerful tools for leveraging social change" (Mullen, 2018). Values "vary among individuals and across cultures and time," but "are universally recognized as a driving force in ethical decision-making" (McCombs School of Business, 2017).

Slim (2003, p. 14) maintains that the argument used to persuade interlocutors about humanitarian values is also important. In order to find the best argument, one should assess the interlocutors' ideology, interests and language. Research and evaluation are intrinsic parts of campaigning (Snyder, 2007). As described by Slim (2003), there are generally four main types of humanitarian arguments, namely a) moral and religious arguments, b) legal arguments, c) prudential arguments, and d) arguments of reciprocity. In other words, humanitarian arguments usually suggest: be humanitarian because it is right (moral and religious), be humanitarian because the law demands it (legal), be humanitarian because it is politically wise (prudential), or be humanitarian to protect yourself (reciprocity). Beside these rational arguments, there are also irrational factors that may affect the outcome of humanitarian persuasion. "Humanitarian negotiators need to be very open to the non-rational (e.g., coincidence, loyalties, friendship, shared experience, admiration, envy, ambition, etc.) in their relationships with interlocutors and their organizations because these may be the real determinants of non-humanitarian and pro-humanitarian behavior" (Slim, 2003, p. 19).

4.3.2. Conceptualization

Humanitarianism is a very broad field which entails various benevolent treatments with the intention of protecting life and health and ensuring respect for the human being (Götz et al., 2020). The humanitarian action has as its main purpose the protection and assistance of the civilian population (Slim, 2004). Different humanitarian actions are all shaped by the mandates of humanitarian agencies, the way they give meaning to their work and the assumptions they

have about the local context and the population they serve (Hilhorst, 2018). “To build constructively on the complexity underlying humanitarian action, it is necessary to go beyond labels and understand the motivations of organizations” (Montemurro & Wendt, 2020).

From Richey’s (2018) perspective, humanitarianism denotes to the good-doing response to geographical or geopolitical distant suffering. This good-doing refers to giving money, things, or time, and encompasses a wide range of activities, from political interventions, armed interventions, policy lobbying, raising awareness, or fundraising, to even following social media accounts, liking celebrity campaigns, or tweeting relevant information, all of which can contribute one way or another to increasing the reach and impact of traditional good-doing. Richey proposes also the term “everyday humanitarianism” which refers to “an expanded series of practices in the everyday lives of citizens that purport to make a difference outside the traditional boundaries of humanitarian activity” (Richey, 2018, p. 627). Everyday humanitarianism can help to constitute humanitarian space which is “an arena where a multitude of actors, including humanitarians and the disaster-affected recipients of aid, shape the everyday realities of humanitarian action” (Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010). Hilhorst and Jansen (2010) maintain that the humanitarian arena is not out there; it is discursively created by agencies, media and other stakeholders.

“Mediatization”, as stated earlier, is one of the principal components of everyday humanitarianism and refers to “the role that digital media play in the communication of the imperative to do good for vulnerable others” (Richey, 2018, p. 634). Everyday humanitarianism has been facilitated by new technologies that enable “laptop humanitarians” to care about distant suffering from the comfort of their homes (Budabin & Pruce, 2018). Nowadays, humanitarian communication mostly attempts to mobilize public action through emotion-oriented appeals (e.g., through feelings of empathy, guilt, shame, and gratitude). In addition, humanitarian communication consists of “intimacy at distance” model (Orgad & Seu, 2014), which refers to efforts to develop a mediated intimacy with far-away others.

Based on this explication, humanitarian persuasion can be in short described as using communicative features in order to induce humanitarian values, attitudes, and behaviors (Slim, 2003). Humanitarian persuasion is a significant component of contemporary humanitarianism which seeks to inspire, raise awareness, and educate. Since humanitarian response is now based on communication, participation and feedback, the strategies adopted by NGOs for their external communication and campaigns must be persuasive and convincing.

Humanitarian persuasion is considered as an integrative approach which is associated to other concepts such as communication campaigning or social marketing. One technique to boost humanitarian values inside societies is to conduct communication campaigns. In general, communication campaigns are a systematized communication activity, aimed at a specific population for a fixed period of time, to obtain a particular objective (Rogers & Storey, 1987; Snyder, 2001). The term "campaign" refers to "organized and communication-based interventions directed at large groups of people and social marketing efforts that include communication activities" (Snyder, 2007, p. 32). Campaigns that contain at least one form of media among their communication channels are called "mediated campaigns." (Snyder, 2007, p. 32).

Humanitarian agencies use communication campaigns for social support and resource mobilization (Duong, 2017). Campaigns usually employ numerous communication strategies to change the attitudes of a target audience. As Patterson and Radtke (2009) posit, the strategic communication of the NGOs helps people have a better understanding of the humanitarian values and feel obliged to take action. According to Snyder (2007), the success of campaigning depends on selected communication activities, communication channels, message content, and message presentation.

Another area of great interest to the humanitarian sector is social marketing, as a sub-area of marketing concerned with developing activities aimed at changing or maintaining individual's behavior for the wellbeing of society as a whole (Donovan & Henley, 2012). It entails the application of marketing concepts to influence positive social changes (Sargeant & Wymer, 2018). Social marketing has its roots in public education campaigns. Ample research has been conducted in the context of persuasive communication and social marketing with the aim of influencing behaviors for good (Stewart, 2015).

4.3.3. Humanitarian persuasion against xenophobic prejudice

Anti-immigration prejudice should be nowadays taken into account seriously due to the growing number of international migrants (IOM, 2021). In this sense, humanitarian agencies feel strongly committed to confront xenophobic prejudice through awareness-raising campaigns and one of the methods for NGOs to increase knowledge about migration is evidently communication (Richey, 2018). Humanitarianists should offer tools such as "information, training, media and social network literacy to citizens in order to increase their

ability to identify and neutralize misinformation and xenophobic and sexist hate speech" (Oxfam, 2019, p. 18).

As Slim states, "humanitarian action is not commerce and marketing is obviously not the only way to think about humanitarian persuasion" (2003, p. 3). Humanitarians are generally open-minded and creative, and, in their approach, they are intuitively interdisciplinary and pragmatic, hence they are inclined to value what really works rather than following a dogma. Slim believes that humanitarians need to be continuously aware of how best to sell humanitarian ideas in a specific situation. "Every aspect of a humanitarian agency's work should speak eloquently of humanitarian values, not just the negotiations of the humanitarian deal-maker" (Slim, 2003, p. 4).

Humanitarian persuasion can explain adequately humanitarian agencies' efforts to reduce xenophobic prejudice (e.g., in the context of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia) which are operationalized through mediated intergroup contact and persuasive communication. Interestingly, Slim (2003, p. 27) regarded IT-based forms of two-way direct marketing, or the so-called e-persuasion, as a form of soft humanitarian persuasion. Through e-persuasion, also called e-campaign (Hart, 2018), a two-way e-relationship is established between humanitarian agency and interlocutors. This conventional concept also is consistent with notions of "mediatization" (Richey, 2018) and "intimacy at distance" (Orgad & Seu, 2014) in humanitarian communication.

Considering this preliminary interpretation of e-persuasion together with the humanitarian persuasion approach, humanitarian efforts to reduce prejudiced attitudes against Venezuelan migrants in Colombia would form such a scenario: the Colombian society is the target interlocutor to whom humanitarian agencies should sell online (through mediated intergroup contact) their humanitarian ideas (pro-migrant attitudes and behaviors). Persuasion theories can also help to explain the underlying mechanisms of humanitarian marketing once the humanitarian products are tailored to the particular interests of interlocutors and sold to them. Therefore, from this perspective, one can move away from the general original approach of humanitarian persuasion towards a more specific context-based application of the concept.

Similarly, this humanitarian marketing or campaigning for pro-immigrant attitudes in Colombia should be responsive, relationship builder, adaptive, and integrated (Slim, 2003). That is, in order to be successful in anti-immigrant prejudice reduction, humanitarian agencies should build a good relationship with the Colombian host society and put their needs and

interests at the center of any persuasive mediated contact strategy. Furthermore, NGOs should implement adaptive and integrated communicational strategies in order to tailor their persuasive mediated contents to particular audiences in Colombian society while conveying consciously their values. In addition, NGOs should pay attention to select the best argument for promoting pro-migrant attitudes based on the ideology, interests, and characteristics of their target groups in Colombian society.

Although Slim (2003) considered primitive "texting, messaging or mobile marketing" as emerging means of e-persuasion, in a globalized world with continuous communication impacts, humanitarian persuasion can be applied nowadays through even more developed forms of digital media sources, such as video games, interactive websites, social media, etc. Chouliaraki and Vestergaard (2022, p. 10) consider this transition from traditional media outlets to social media platforms as "reorganization of humanitarian communication". Social media have become practically omnipresent communicative channels, and individuals, groups, and organizations adopt these diverse tools to promote their communication strategies (Carr, 2017). While there are always some logistical and financial obstacles for direct or FtF contact, social media has successfully eased contact among users and groups (e.g., host societies and immigrant outgroups), particularly those who have no opportunities to meet in person due to differences in geography, time, culture, and social or organizational status (Carr, 2017).

The humanitarian persuasion studies have increased over the last two decades and more researchers are discovering the unknown aspects of the issue in line with one ethic objective: Persuasion for Good. Most of the studies are related to humanitarianism and methods to design more persuasive humanitarian messages. The use of persuasive communication by humanitarian agencies has been addressed in different contexts, inter alia, persuasive risk communication (e.g., Hong & Cameron, 2018), pro-social/pro-environmental behavior (e.g., Chen, 2016), promoting volunteerism (e.g., Lindenmeier, 2008), and donation advertising (e.g., Liu et al., 2018), however less scholarly attention has been dedicated to anti-immigration prejudice from a humanitarian perspective.

Although ample research has been conducted into anti-immigration prejudice from social science, social psychology, and communication perspective (see e.g., Atwell Seate, 2017; Harwood et al., 2013; Imperato et al., 2021), this dissertation attempts to open up the discussion about humanitarian persuasion in order to elaborate more on a humanitarian setting dedicated

to research at the intersection of mediated contact and persuasive communication, at least in terms of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction.

4.4.Summary

This chapter was dedicated to the presentation of theoretical frameworks, namely contact theory and persuasive communication. In the field of social psychology, different strategies have been developed throughout history to reduce prejudice towards discriminated groups with the intention of overcoming the limitations found at each period of history. Contact theory (Allport, 1954) is one of the most widely studied and successful prejudice reduction theories. Different forms of contact exist, however when opportunities for face-to-face intergroup encounters are scarce or anxiety provokers, indirect forms of contact may play a crucial role in affecting intergroup attitudes and reduce prejudice.

Mediated intergroup contact (Park, 2012) is a modern extension of contact hypothesis which does not require face-to-face, physically co-present, and real-time interaction. This dissertation focuses on two dimensions of indirect mediated contact: vicarious and parasocial mediated contact. Vicarious mediated contact occurs when a viewer observes an ingroup member interacting with an outgroup member. Parasocial contact shifts the focus of the intergroup encounter away from the ingroup member and instead focuses on viewers' connections with outgroup members via mediated contact. Mechanisms of prejudice reduction in mediated intergroup contact are fully described.

The second part of this chapter dealt with persuasive communication. Mediated intergroup contact and persuasive communication overlap from an empirical perspective since both fields have applicability in reduction of prejudiced attitudes. In order to improve the efficiency of mediated contact, researchers may resort to narrative and non-narrative models of persuasion. Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model (E-ELM), Transportation-Imagery Model (TIM), and Entertainment Overcoming Resistance Model (EORM) are models that explain the underlying mechanisms of narrative persuasion and persuasive impact of mediated contact. And Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) is the model which supports non-narrative interventions to reduce anti-immigrant prejudice. The author provides a cogent discussion and synthesis of these theories and justifies the theoretical foundation as relevant to the study. In addition, the author attempts to build a logical argument and reflect a deep understanding of how the research questions directly align to the theoretical foundation.

Finally, this chapter conceptualized humanitarian persuasion as the setting in which mediated contact theory and persuasive communication are applied for xenophobic prejudice reduction. Humanitarian persuasion is described as using communicative features in order to induce humanitarian moral ideas, attitudes, behaviors, and assistance. Humanitarian persuasion is a significant component of contemporary humanitarianism. Its origin and applicability in this dissertation are outlined in detail. Next chapter discusses research design and provides information regarding the methods applied in this dissertation.

Chapter 5. Methodology

Before I turn to the empirical and non-empirical studies that allow for better description of xenophobia phenomenon in Colombia, NGOs' communication strategies, the way they are perceived at social level, and the efficiency of pro-migrant messages, among others, this chapter discusses research design and methods. The present dissertation is based on two different types of primary information sources: qualitative data collected through interviews as well as quantitative data gathered with online experiments. The present dissertation hence follows a mixed methods research design with four distinct qualitative and quantitative studies.

5.1. Research questions and research design

5.1.1. Research questions

The main research question that this dissertation aims to answer is: how does mediated contact help to reduce xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? The author attempts to answer this general question throughout the dissertation and different empirical studies.

The other research questions are as follows:

i. What are the characteristics of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? (Study I)
ii. What are the communication strategies of humanitarian agencies in order to promote pro-migrant attitude in Colombia? (Study I)
iii. How do affected groups in Colombia perceive Venezuelan immigration and pro-migrant campaigns? (Study II)
iv. How do messages based on collective memory argument[24] help to reduce xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? (Study III & IV)

5.1.2. Research design

The methodology that guides the present thesis is mixed methods approach. The term "mixed methods" refers to a research methodology that advances the systematic integration, or "mixing," of quantitative and qualitative data within a single investigation or sustained program of inquiry (Creswell, 2015). The basic premise of this methodology is that such integration permits a more complete and synergistic utilization of data than do separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. In particular, the author uses an exploratory sequential

[24] This argument will be described in detail in chapter seven.

design (Creswell, 2015, p. 37; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017, p. 117), in which "a first phase of qualitative data collection and analysis is followed by the collection of quantitative data to test or generalize the initial qualitative results".

The present dissertation is based on two different types of primary information sources: qualitative semi-structured personal interviews and short semi-structured and informal interviews as well as quantitative data gathered through online experiments.

The qualitative part of the empirical studies contains one round of semi-structured interviews with Colombian NGOs and a second round of short semi-structured and informal interviews with Colombian informal workers. These interviews served to characterize xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, the communication strategies of the NGOs regarding Venezuelan immigration and prejudice reduction, and the way affected sectors in Colombian society, namely informal workers, perceive these strategies. This qualitative analysis also provided the author with different factors and arguments that might influence prejudice reduction mechanisms and promotion of pro-migrant attitudes in Colombia.

The quantitative data was collected via two online experiments. The experiments served to evaluate findings from qualitative data. The idea of quantitative analysis was to generalize the findings from the interviews by testing in a larger population the efficiency of one message argument, extracted from qualitative interviews, for the reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia. Table 3 presents an overview of methods and empirical studies in this dissertation.

Table 3. Overview of methods and dissertation studies.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES		
QUALITATIVE		QUANTITATIVE
Study I	Study II	Study III & IV
Interviews Round 1 (Semi-structured)	Interviews Round 2 (Informal interviews)	Online Surveys
Colombian NGOs: 20 interviewees	Street venders: 25 interviewees Sexual workers: 20 interviewees Uber taxi drivers: 20 interviewees	Survey 1: 300 participants Survey 2: 500 participants

5.2.Description and general objectives of four empirical studies

In the present dissertation, the author attempts to approach the xenophobia phenomenon from a social sciences as well as a social psychology perspective. Generally, the empirical part of this dissertation is divided into four different qualitative and quantitative studies. The first two studies explore xenophobia from a social sciences perspective, while studies three and four approach xenophobia from a social psychological perspective. It should be noted that this thesis also adopts a media psychological standpoint, especially in terms of quantitative empirical studies.

In study one, through semi-structured interviews the author attempts to delve more into xenophobia phenomenon and discover its characteristics in the context of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. In addition, the author explores communication strategies that adopt Colombian NGOs in order to precede their prejudice reduction campaigns. This study helps to better understand the current status quo of pro-migrant campaigns and the strategies different humanitarian agencies undertake to create a positive mediated contact between immigrants and members of the host society. The population of this study consists of Colombian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and academic centers dedicated currently to the promotion of living conditions and integration of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. Overall, 20 semi-structured interviews with the participation of 26 NGO authorities and academics were conducted both online and on location in Colombia. The interviews lasted on average about one and a half hours and were all originally conducted in Spanish. Each interview took place in varying time lengths from 90 to 120 minutes. The author took advantage of a phenomenological approach for data analysis.

Through short semi-structured and informal interviews, study two explores opinions about Venezuelan migration of three affected sectors in the host community, namely street vendors, sexual workers, and Uber taxi drivers. Based on the previous set of interviews with NGOs, these three groups were selected among informal employments which increased drastically following the Venezuelan immigration to Colombia (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019). In addition, this study seeks to find out, how Colombians in these sectors opine about prejudice reduction campaigns and the way they perceive pro-/anti-migrant messages. Overall, 65 short semi-structured and informal interviews were conducted on location in Colombia (Bogotá, Medellín, Cartagena). The interviews lasted on average about half an hour and were all

originally conducted in Spanish. Each interview took place in varying time lengths from 15 to 35 minutes. The author took advantage of the phenomenological approach for data analysis.

And finally in study three and four, the author tests the efficiency of a new message argument for anti-immigrant prejudice reduction through two experiments based on persuasion theories. This new message argument, which is based on the collective memory of Colombians (explained in detail in chapter seven), is extracted from qualitative interviews both with NGO authorities and affected Colombian target groups. The experiments are designed in two formats: narrative and non-narrative. Overall, 800 Colombian individuals (aged 18-65) participated in online surveys. The narrative experimental research was carried out with a 2-group between-subjects design, considering CM cue (presence vs. absence) as the manipulated independent variable. That is, half of the survey participants read a narrative message containing a CM cue (information with reference to the past) and half read a narrative message without a CM cue (information with reference to the present). Participants were assigned randomly to one experimental condition. The non-narrative experimental research was carried out with a 2 (CM cue: presence vs. absence) x 2 (visual imagery: text vs. text-image) between-subjects factorial design, considering CM cue and visual imagery as the manipulated independent variables. That is, survey participants were exposed to four conditions: 1) textual post without CM cue, 2) textual + visual post without CM cue, 3) textual post with CM cue, 4) textual + visual post with CM cue. Participants were assigned by random to one experimental condition.

Along with the main theoretical frameworks of this dissertation, namely contact theory and persuasive communication, the author explains in detail the theoretical-methodological decisions of selected strategies for each study and further characteristics of data collection instruments.

5.3.Summary

This chapter dealt with research design and methods. First, the research questions and their relation to empirical studies were listed. Then the research design was explained. Finally, the author described the methodology that guides the present dissertation, mixed methods approach, and how it is implemented throughout the project.

The present dissertation is based on two different types of primary information sources: qualitative semi-structured personal interviews and short semi-structured and informal

interviews as well as quantitative data gathered through online experiments. In the present dissertation, the author attempts to approach the xenophobia phenomenon from a social sciences, as well as a social psychology perspective. Overall, four distinct qualitative and quantitative empirical studies are conducted. The first two scrutinize xenophobia from a social sciences perspective and study three and four explore xenophobia from a social psychology perspective. The next chapter presents two qualitative empirical research about prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

Chapter 6. Qualitative studies

This chapter aims to approach xenophobia phenomenon from social sciences perspective and presents two qualitative empirical research about xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The theoretical frameworks which guide the empirical studies in this chapter are the civic ostracism approach of xenophobia and mediated intergroup contact.

By considering the civic ostracism approach, the author attempts in the first study to delve primarily more into xenophobia phenomenon and to discover its specific characteristics in the context of Venezuelan migration to Colombia. In addition, drawing on the mediated contact approach, the author tries to discover how humanitarian agencies in Colombia design mediated contact, in the framework of their communicational strategies, in order to affect intergroup attitudes and reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants. In other words, this study seeks to figure out how humanitarian persuasion is constructed through mediated contact.

As conjectured by Park (2012), mediated intergroup contact can be explored in terms of quantity and quality. As a result, the first study attempts also to realize how Venezuelan outgroup characters are portrayed in media content produced by NGOs in Colombia and how they disseminate these contents in order to increase mediated intergroup contact. Furthermore, the author tries to explore factors that can affect the efficiency of NGOs' communication strategies regarding the issue at hand. In other words, the aim is to identify potential mediators and moderators (e.g., cognitive and affective) that might influence the persuasive impact of mediated contact in this context.

On the other hand, it is also essential to understand how audience members position themselves in relation to media characters (Park, 2012). Thus, a second study is designed to capture the opinion of highly affected sectors in Colombian society by Venezuelan immigration, namely informal workers, and explore their perceptions of Venezuelan immigration as well as humanitarian communication campaigns launched by NGOs.

As explained by Park (2012), the valence of intergroup contact can range from positive to negative, with corresponding effects on outgroup evaluations ranging from more favorable to less favorable. The quality of the parasocial interactions with outgroup members is determined by the quality of the representations (positive or negative) of outgroup characters. These representations make the audience to establish an affective connection with the character, thus producing a positive or negative expectation in ingroup members (Park, 2012). The second study also seeks to explore the experiences of Colombian informal workers

regarding consumption of news about Venezuelan immigrants (exposure to mediated contact). Results and implications of these two qualitative studies are discussed in detail throughout this chapter.

When it comes to empirical studies, engaging people who experience and know the problem is necessary to find an answer to research questions and avoid unfounded generalizations (Van de Ven, 2007). The issues that motivate a study are sometimes stated as "imaginary pseudo-problems" that lack grounding in reality. "Too many social studies suffer from elaborating theories that are often based on an insufficient diagnosis of the problem and its context. As a consequence, theory and research tend to be grounded in myths and superstitions" (Van de Ven, 2007, p. 74). These two qualitative studies help to familiarize with the context of prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

With regard to digital humanitarianism, Macias (2019) affirms that studying digitalization of humanitarian operations needs to be done through anthropological methods of data collection, such as in-depth interviews and participatory observation. Park (2012) stresses the need to understand audiences better with regard to their tendency to pursue or avoid mediated intergroup contact. For instance, one caveat of intergroup contact theory is that people with the highest prejudice are often the least likely to expose themselves to outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1998). "Close examination of audiences who are less restricted by the ethno-centric media usage pattern may reveal unique attributes of the audiences themselves or the media of their choice" (Park, 2012). In this sense, interviews with informal workers would help to get to know better the Colombian audience. "It is a priority to conduct a public opinion survey on attitudes towards migration from Venezuela, taking into account age, socioeconomic background, ethnicity, geographic location and level of education in order to establish consistent and relevant messages for each audience" (World Bank, 2018, p. 164).

6.1. Study I: Xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants and humanitarian communication strategies in Colombia

6.1.1. Method

A) Participants: NGOs and academics

Population of the study consists of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and academic institutions in Colombia. A total of 16 NGOs is chosen for this study, out of which ten organizations are international and six organizations are national. The missions of these NGOs include promotion of living conditions, human rights, security, health, education, and

integration of Venezuelan immigrants, among others. These NGOs are randomly selected among most-influential organizations based on the anti-xenophobia campaigns that they have already launched (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021; R4V, 2020). NGOs with a lower number of beneficiaries which have a local focus, rather than national or international, are excluded from the final screened population. In order to enrich the quality of the findings, four academic institutions, which are in close cooperation with these NGOs, are also added to the study population. Overall, 20 semi-structured interviews with the participation of 26 NGO authorities and scholars were conducted both online and on location in Colombia during June-July 2021. Participants were invited to interviews from different departments of the NGOs or academic institutions upon their availabilities. The organizational roles of the interviewees include director, co-director, head of communication department, spokesman/woman, program manager, national advocacy coordinator, principal investigator, research coordinator, university professor, etc.

B) Data collection and analysis

This study takes advantage of a phenomenological approach, whose main goal is to enlighten the specific and to explore phenomena through how they are observed by the actors in a situation (Lester, 1999). In epistemological terms, a phenomenological approach is subjective and highlights the importance of personal interpretation. In phenomenology, the world is not the focal point, but rather the subjects who experience the world. As a result, it is crucial to explore what individuals experience in a specific context. This implies scrupulous collection of insights and information through qualitative inductive techniques, such as in-depth interviews. Through phenomenology the author attempts to understand NGOs' subjective experiences about xenophobia in Colombia and their communicational actions accordingly.

A semi-structured interview with each individual was the tool to capture the held ideas. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews consisting of 15 open-ended questions (see Annex 1). A thorough review of the literature on mediated contact and its applicability in communicational strategy of NGOs was carried out before designing the interview questionnaire. The questions were prepared by considering the scope and validity of the research. The questionnaire was finalized after being reviewed by two experts who had participated for many years in field studies.

The semi-structured interviews lasted on average about one and a half hour and were all originally conducted in Spanish. Each interview took place in varying time lengths from 90 to 120 minutes. All the participants received both written and verbal explanations about the aims of the study, were informed that participation is voluntary, and that interview data would be anonymized and handled with the utmost confidentiality. Information received during the interview was noted on a sociodemographic information form and an interview form. During interviews, participants were asked to give their opinions about xenophobia phenomenon in Colombia and reflect on communicational strategies of Colombian NGOs. The focus was not only on what their specific NGO had experienced, but also on the activities of all Colombian NGOs in general. In this way, the authorities were both participants and informants. Records taken with a voice recorder during the interviews were later deciphered.

All interviews were transcribed and put into an inductive thematic analysis, which allowed discovering salient themes. Content analysis, considered as a qualitative research method, was deemed appropriate for the analysis of the collected data. The tenets of the content analysis method are in line with the objectives of this study. The gathered data were, while being coded, also scrutinized for better understanding of its conceptual meaning. Themes that could fall into certain categories to represent the data in a general framework, were specified during the coding procedure. The obtained results were structured according to the topic, and then were evaluated. During the analyses, similarities and differences between the participants were also taken into consideration. The author coded the data[25] and, after several readings, two main themes composed also of some subordinate themes stood out (see Table 4).

Table 4. Main themes and their subordinate themes (Study I).

Main themes	Subordinate themes
Theme 1: Xenophobia	A) Characteristics B) Causes C) Classifications
Theme 2: Communicational strategies	A) Target audience and strategies B) Social media

[25] The codebook is available at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

In the section of results and discussion, the author includes representative extracts from the conducted interviews as evidence of identified themes and to communicate better their potential meaning.

6.1.2. Results and discussion

Overall, two main themes were identified during the interviews with Colombian NGOs. Table 4 shows the main themes and their subordinate codes.

6.1.2.1. Theme 1: Xenophobia

Within the first theme the author identified many subordinate codes with each emphasizing a different aspect of xenophobia against Venezuelan migrants in Colombia.

A) Characteristics

First of all, the findings show that Venezuelan migration to Colombia is not a crisis anymore, and yet it should be considered as *a complex and multifactorial phenomenon*, hence the necessity for multifactorial solutions that would overcome its challenges, including xenophobia. The interviewees believed that Venezuelan immigration to Colombia is a long-lasting phenomenon, and medium- and long-term measures are needed in order to confront different risks posed by xenophobia. In this regard, Cabrera Nossa and her colleagues (2021) stress that xenophobia should be perceived as a complex phenomenon since it manifests itself differently in each city and affects each audience in a particular way. In the context of immigrants' protection, Gandini and her colleagues highlight that "circumstantial or only assistance responses, without offering long-term legal security, may lead to actions aimed at rejection, non-acceptance, refoulement and deportation of the Venezuelan population, which could indirectly fuel situations of xenophobia and other anti-immigrant behaviors" (Gandini et al., 2019, p. 28).

Furthermore, *xenophobia in Colombia is not as intense and profound as it is perceived at first sight* since a significant proportion of Colombian society feels sympathy toward Venezuelans because of, among other reasons, having experienced themselves massive displacement due to internal conflicts and violence in their own country and being on some occasions, targets of discrimination in host countries. Results of a study conducted by Oxfam show that more than 80% of Colombians say that "they understand the circumstances that force millions to migrate and empathize with the situation of those coming from Venezuela." (Oxfam, 2019, p. 4). As Rodríguez and Ramos (2019, p. 575) explain, civil society in Colombia

has developed over years an apprenticeship in handling of internal displacement, and an important part of this capacity has transformed into attention to migrant population.

In addition, *xenophobia in Colombia increased progressively* since the Venezuelan exodus towards Colombia was gradual (Castro Franco, 2019, p. 19). As highlighted during interviews, the first wave of Venezuelan population who came to Colombia was highly qualified with no economic burden, and then came the second and third wave of middle-class and needy population who caused an increase in the financial stress. According to Ribas (2018, p. 113), the evolution of Venezuelan migration to Colombia can be classified into three stages: (1) immigration of highly qualified Venezuelan entrepreneurs and professionals, such as scientists, technologists and academics, (2) immigration of professionals, technicians and qualified young people, such as technicians specialized on petroleum, and (3) return of Colombians, their children and mixed migration of Venezuelans (intellectual capital and labor force). "The first arrivals of Venezuelans in Colombia were unnoticed and (...) were even reported positively in the press. These migrants were absorbed by Colombian society without major disruptions" (Castro Franco, 2019, p. 20).

It is not all about xenophobia, but rather aporophobia[26]. Anti-Venezuelan sentiment in Colombia does not stem from fear towards foreigners, but rather rejection of the poor (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Rueda Gómez, 2020). "When foreign people with financial resources arrive here for tourism, especially from countries of the global North, Americans, Europeans, there is in general very good attention, good reception; they would not suffer discrimination, but if you are already thinking about a permanent migration and you are poor, the feeling changes"[27], expressed an interviewee as the researcher of a center for legal and social studies in Bogotá. Migrants in different stages of social processes face limitations and detractions, and these limitations worsen when it comes to vulnerable, impoverished, and stigmatized migrants (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019, p. 76). Perilla (2020) explains that behaviors that dehumanize and attack people's dignity are not common with respect to all foreign citizens. It is observed, for instance, that "Colombians do not structurally reject or attack foreigners who come to the country with the intention of investing in it, while they do reject Venezuelan citizens without

[26] "Aporophobia" is a concept proposed by Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina (2017), which means rejection of the poor.

[27] My translation. The original reads: "Cuando llegan aquí personas extranjeras con recursos financieros para el turismo, sobre todo de países del Norte global, americanos, europeos, hay en general muy buena atención, buen recibimiento; no sufrirían discriminación, pero si ya estás pensando en una migración permanente y eres pobre, el sentimiento cambia."

purchasing power who come to the country in search of protection and refuge" (Perilla, 2020, p. 119).

The anti-Venezuelan sentiment in Colombia is highly associated with *social exclusion of immigrants* by fostering the idea of 'others' versus 'us'. This social exclusion would basically lead to "processes of stigmatization, criminalization, and identification of this group (Venezuelans) as a risk"[28], emphasized a university professor. Social exclusion hinders reception, integration, legalization, protection, and promotion of Venezuelan immigrants and leads gradually to the legitimization of violence towards them. This is in line with the 'civic ostracism' approach, which proposes that xenophobia is "an idea associated with a distinct set of attitudes and affects, along with beliefs, that are about national inclusion and exclusion" (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 30). Inclusion in the civic mainstream is a precondition for certain social goods. Namen et al. state that there are great challenges in Colombia, for instance, "in terms of economic inclusion due in part to certain prejudices against the migrant population that affect their adaptation in the areas of housing, work and education" (Namen et al., 2021, p. 7).

Xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia is politicized. Xenophobia sometimes serves political discourses in Colombia to target some communities and specific populations with greatest need and vulnerability. "Xenophobia is not really a psychological, anthropological or sociological component, but a political component that has been used for public policy issues to criminalize even in the non-legalization of migrant populations in need of international protection or refuge"[29], said the national advocacy coordinator of a religious international NGO. As expressed by Pineda G. and Ávila, the social exclusion of immigrants is often "fuelled by unfavorable, negative and stereotypical partisan political narratives about migrants, where they are presented not only as people incapable of integrating properly, dangerous and threatening to the physical integrity of nationals, but also as a threat to their property, jobs, culture, ethnic heritage, language and identity; that is, they are turned into scapegoats" (2019, p. 76). In Fritzsche's (1992, p. 76) words, prejudices allow for "political

[28] My translation. The original reads: "procesos de estigmatización, criminalización e identificación de este grupo (venezolanos) como un riesgo."

[29] My translation. The original reads: "La xenofobia es realmente un componente no psicológico ni antropológico ni sociológico, sino es un componente político que ha sido utilizado para temas de política pública para criminalizar incluso en la no regularización de población migrante con carácter de necesidad de protección internacional o en refugio."

instrumentalization by certain people and groups, who do not necessarily share these prejudices themselves, but are prepared to use them for political gain".

Venezuelan massive migration to Colombia and its challenges, like xenophobia, *have their own particularities and can be distinguished from other migration flows in the world.* First of all, Venezuelan exodus follows a distinct migratory pattern, namely South-South (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020). That is, it does not follow the traditional pattern of South-North in Latin America, and yet it is a migration between two countries with limited economic resources, fostering the intra-regional migration (Durán & Cuevas, 2020; IOM, 2018, p. 84). According to Oxfam (2019), the contemporary phenomenon of human mobility in Latin America is accompanied by important changes in migration trends, which imply new migration routes, destinations and profiles. The most significant change is the increase in migration to less economically developed countries in the region, which would lead consequently to distinct forms of xenophobia (Oxfam, 2019).

Secondly, the reception of such a massive immigration is totally novel for Colombia, which has been characterized throughout history as "a country of emigrants" (Calderón-Canola, 2012, p. 120; María & Mantilla, 2006, p. 2). "This is the first time that Colombia is facing a migration crisis of this magnitude as a destination country, since it has always been an expeller of refugees and international migrants" (Louidor, 2018, p. 41). "Colombia was not used to living social integration processes with migrants beyond internal migrants and displaced persons, so it did not know how to respond to long-term integration processes, and fight against xenophobia or any other type of discrimination in general."[30], affirmed the director of a national NGO in Bogotá. In other words, Colombia was not expecting and prepared for such a massive immigration in its territories in many terms, such as economic conditions (Lebow et al., 2020) or institutional framework (Castro Franco, 2019).

Finally, Venezuelans (as migrant population) and Colombians (as host community) belong to the same cultural cluster (Hofstede, 2001) and share also a lot of common values, such as language (Spanish), religion[31] (Catholic), race[32] (similar phenotype and genetic

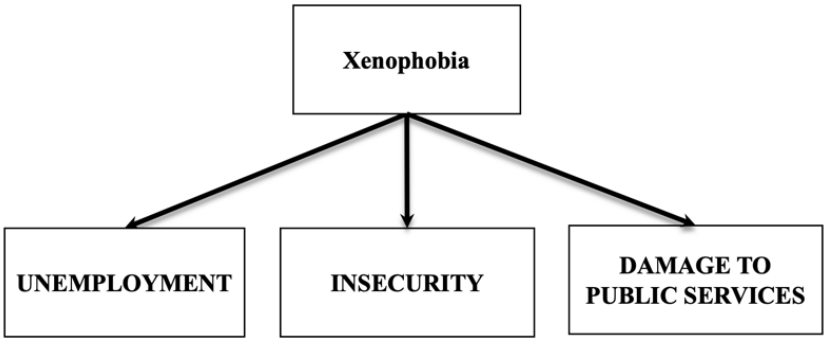
[30] My translation. The original reads: "Colombia no estaba acostumbrado a vivir procesos de integración social con personas migrantes más allá de migrantes internos y desplazados, por ende, no sabía cómo responder a procesos de integración a largo plazo, y lucha contra la xenofobia o algún otro tipo de discriminación en general."
[31] Colombia is 79% Catholic and 13% Protestant; Venezuela is 71% Catholic and 17% Protestant (Pew).
[32] Autosomal DNA in Colombia is 62.50% European, 27.4% Native American and 9.2% African; in Venezuela it is 60.6% European, 23% Native American and 16.3% African (Pew).

composition), gastronomy (i.e., arepa), history[33] (Gran Colombia), migration background[34], customs and rituals, etc. "In the case of Colombia and Venezuela, both countries share a common political history during the Gran Colombia, and even today there are shared beliefs, culture, language and religion" (Rueda Gómez, 2020, p. 181). Colombia and Venezuela are "brothers" in terms of culture (Sáez et al., 2020, p. 54). Rodríguez and Ramos (2019, p. 567) believe that "this common past and the historical parallels make the process of migration easier; the feelings of brotherhood between the nations, the common historical characters, the shared national narratives and imaginaries, make the migration process comparatively easy". However, it should be also noted that the common cultural ground among Colombians and Venezuelans may not be that easy to grasp since relationships between direct neighbors can sometimes be troubled. According to the notion "narcissism of small differences" proposed in 1917 by Freud (2005), the closer two communities are, sharing commonalities, the more likely the interpersonal clashes and mutual ridicule between its individuals. These feuds between groups occur due to hypersensitivity to small differences perceived in each other.

B) Causes

According to the NGOs in Colombia, there are three main factors driving xenophobia against Venezuelan migrants in Colombia: unemployment, insecurity, and damage to public services (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Causes of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.



Source: Elaboration of the author

[33] From the discovery of America (1498) until the beginning of the wars of independence (1810), the two States were part of the same political unit for 312 years and have only 189 years of independent life since the separation of Venezuela (1830) until today.

[34] Venezuela and Colombia have exchanged a considerable number of migrants over history and there are a lot of family ties, therefore many Venezuelans and Colombians are mixed racially (De León Vargas, 2018; Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019).

a. Unemployment

One of the main reasons behind xenophobia in Colombia is the perception[35] of an increase in unemployment due to the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants. Access to employment is a potential issue that activates discrimination and rejection since immigrants are perceived as competitors in achieving work resources. The idea that migration takes away jobs and reduces wages is strongly entrenched in Colombia (Oxfam, 2019, p. 9). The director of an international NGO in Bogotá explained that many Colombians are "threatened" obviously by Venezuelans who work under certain conditions that are not necessarily within the Colombian employment law; that is, they work in very precarious employment conditions and below the minimum wage until they replace many unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

In terms of competitions over jobs, some Colombians consider Venezuelans as their rivals, as "occupiers" of their space, or as potentially dangerous (Sáez et al., 2020). According to Namen et al. (2021), the arrival of Venezuelan workforce represents an important pressure on the Colombian labor market. Tapia Bravo (2020) explains that the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants and Colombian returnees makes employability a complex issue, as many Venezuelans who have been legally hired by companies or even those engaged in informal work have pushed out the local labor force, resulting in increased levels of poverty in Colombian households. The perception of losing jobs due to Venezuelan immigration has gained strength in Colombia. The results of a recent study (Oxfam, 2019) based on three recurrent fears about Venezuelan immigration, which are associated with anti-migration discourse, namely fear of competition for economic resources, fear of physical insecurity, and fear of loss of national or cultural belonging, show that the first two fears are predominant, while the third, the identity fear (as mentioned earlier), is less present among Colombian citizens.

Furthermore, with the increase in Venezuelan immigration, the informal jobs, such as street sales, prostitution, etc. has also augmented. One of the interviewees who is the consultant of an international NGO explained that "it is understandable that it is exhausting for a person who is a street vendor, who has to pay illegal actors for selling on the streets, right? I mean, not to the police, not to the state, but to illegal actors for setting up a street vendor's stall, and

[35] The term "perception" refers to how beliefs and values shape the way an individual views the world. Perception is a three-step process (selection, organization, and interpretation) which is strongly influenced by culture (Jandt, 2004).

now a Venezuelan comes along and stands next to him and takes away his sales."[36] There is evidence that labor market competition from Venezuelan migrant population negatively impacted low-income workers in the informal sector in Colombia, where Venezuelans are heavily concentrated, in particular, sales, services, construction, and manufacturing (Bonilla-Mejía et al., 2020; Delgado-Prieto, 2020; Lebow, 2020; Santamaria, 2020).

b. Insecurity

The influx of vulnerable Venezuelans into Colombia has also opened the way for a greater perception of insecurity, which is why they are continually blamed for insecurity and crime rates. Some Colombians believe that insecurity has increased in places with high concentration of Venezuelan migrants (Namen et al., 2021). Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021) affirm that although several sectors of Colombian population express empathy for what is happening to the population coming from Venezuela, their perception of refugees and migrants is still marked by fear and insecurity. As highlighted during the interviews, lack of respect for Colombian democracy and laws by Venezuelan immigrants affects this perception. The findings of a recent study conducted by Barómetro de Xenofobia[37] have shown that in Colombia public conversations about migration on Twitter and other web media have five main axes including security, employment, education, health, and xenophobia, with security being the biggest driver of overall conversations and with a positive correlation with xenophobia.

According to a report[38] published by Fundación Ideas para la Paz (FIP), Venezuelan migrants are at risk of being recruited by illegal armed groups and of being incorporated in different illegal labors. Due to the fact that a large percentage of Venezuelan migrants are economically active young people who cannot easily find employment, many of them are easy targets and become breeding grounds for criminal organizations operating in the country (Tapia Bravo, 2020). NGO authorities associate this fact with informal migration status of Venezuelans. "Informality is increasing, people do not have documents, then all trafficking begins; trafficking of persons, trafficking of children, trafficking of women, trafficking of

[36] My translation. The original reads: "Es entendible que sea agotador para una persona que es vendedor ambulante, que mira, que le toca pagar a actores ilegales por vender en las calles ¿sí? O sea, no a la policía, no al estado sino a actores ilegales por poner un puesto de ventas ambulantes le toca pagar y aparte viene ahora un venezolano que se le ubica al lado y le quita las ventas."
[37] http://barometrodexenofobia.org/publicaciones/
[38] https://www.ideaspaz.org/especiales/mapa-fronteras/

weapons, trafficking of drugs, and everything that is going to generate an economic resource."[39], said the director of a national NGO located at the Colombo-Venezuelan border.

Many of the concerns expressed by host communities are situations that already existed previously, and Venezuelan migration has merely come to reveal pre-existing shortages and precariousness (Oxfam, 2019). Despite the security-related prejudices against Venezuelan immigrants, there is little evidence that this population actually increased crime in Colombia (Knight & Tribin, 2020; Mora, 2020). Some studies[40] show that crime rates in Colombia have not been affected by their arrival and public perceptions of a rise in crime caused by immigrants are erroneous. "I don't know, there is always the narrative that if there is a robbery, they talk about Venezuelans, but our reality is that in Colombia there were also robberies before, that is, we are a super unequal country with very high rates of inequality and poverty."[41], stated the program manager of an international NGO.

In this respect, Yakushko (2018, p. 67) asserts that the common perceived threats of immigrants and migration regarding violence and crime is based on myths. Perceptions of criminal behavior by Venezuelans may directly affect beliefs about their trustworthiness (Lebow et al., 2020). "The xenophobic phenomenon is fed by ignorance, by fears, fears about the newcomers"[42], said the director of Communication Department of a national NGO. According to Sáez et al. (2020, p. 51), "there will be no integration of Venezuelans in Colombia if there is no transformation of social imaginaries leading to a new structure of adjustment".

c. Damage to public services

The NGO authorities consider negative perceptions about the use of public services by Venezuelan migrants as a potential reason for xenophobia in Colombia. According to Oxfam (2019), the precariousness of public services in Colombia (especially health care and access to public schools) is explicitly associated with the arrival of immigrants from Venezuela. For

[39] My translation. The original reads: "Se incrementa más la informalidad, la gente no tiene documentos, entonces comienza toda la trata, trata de personas, trata de niños, trata de mujeres, trata de armas, trata de drogas, y todo lo que vaya a generar un recurso económico."
[40] A quantitative analysis conducted by Fundación Ideas para la Paz (FIP) confirms that, at a general level, crime rates in Colombia have not been affected by the massive arrival of Venezuelans. https://www.ideaspaz.org/publications/posts/1783
[41] My translation. The original reads: "No sé siempre está como la narrativa de que, si hay un robo, es que hablan de venezolanos, pero nuestra realidad es que en Colombia pues también había robado antes o sea somos un país super desigual con los índices altísimos de desigualdad y pobreza."
[42] My translation. The original reads: "El fenómeno xenofóbico se alimenta del desconocimiento, de miedos, de temores sobre los nuevos."

instance, eight out of ten people in Colombian society openly express that social services collapse due to the presence of migrants (Oxfam, 2019, p. 10).

With regard to health sector, as Tapia Bravo (2020, p. 145) emphasizes, "the problem is great because Colombia has low health service delivery indicators, the country does not provide timely and quality health services even to its own citizens, and now with the presence of migrants the demand for services increases with the aggravating factor that they arrive with serious and viral diseases, such as measles." Some scholars (Card et al., 2012) believe that anti-immigrant sentiment is driven more by concerns over public goods availability than over wages. Lebow et al. (2020) claim that under the strains of public good scarcity Venezuelan immigration may decrease trust in Colombian society. "In Colombia there is this idea that the Venezuelan population affects not only security, but also public health, because they can be transmitters of Corona virus"[43], declared an academic interviewee. From 2018 to 2019, the use of health services by Venezuelan migrant and refugee population in Colombia increased significantly (46%) (USAID, 2020, p. 47).

In education sector, there is not enough coverage for Venezuelan children to have access to educational centers, and the problem is that the national economy would be affected in case the Colombian state decides to cover the costs of educational services to this population (Tapia Bravo, 2020).

C) Classifications

Generally, xenophobia escalation against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia can be classified into four groups: a) based on type, b) based on immigrants, c) based on region, and d) based on time (see Figure 7).

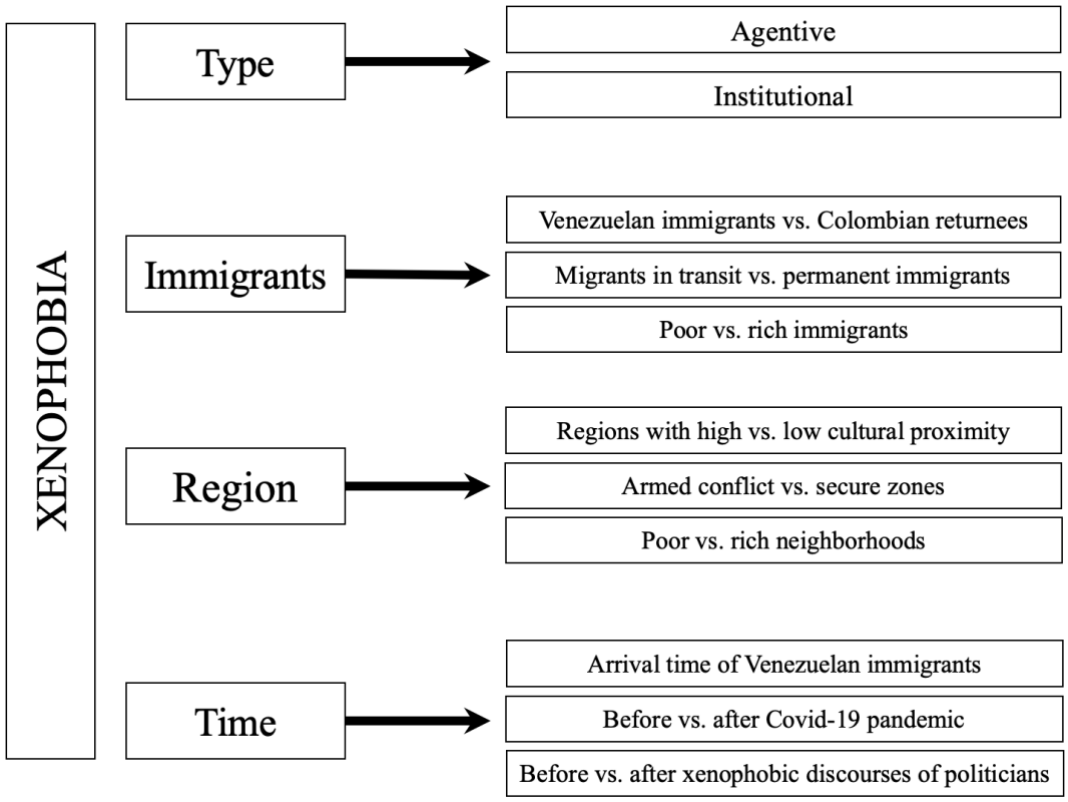
a. Classification based on xenophobia type

First of all, xenophobia in Colombia is both agentive and institutional. According to civic ostracism approach, in agentive or individual civic ostracism, "a belief, affect, or more generally, an attitude or even agentive orientation takes some person or group as not a proper part of one's nation". In institutional xenophobia, "the institution has a collective intention or neglectful orientation that ostracizes or excludes a group from the civic mainstream" (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014, p. 26). In Colombia, "xenophobia is present in various social,

[43] My translation. The original reads: "En Colombia existe esta idea de que la población venezolana pues afecta no solamente la seguridad, sino también la salud pública, pues porque pueden ser transmisores de Coronavirus."

political, and economic sectors, encouraging hate, segregation, and expulsion speech, which places the migrant populations at risk, who not only have to suffer the challenges of migration itself, but also the rejection of many sectors of the host community" (Durán & Cuevas, 2020, p. 267).

Figure 7. Classification of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.



Source: Elaboration of the author

The agentive xenophobia in Colombia can have different forms; from stigmatization, negative stereotypes, and use of derogatory words to criminalization, manifestation of desire for violence or revenge, and hostile treatment. Venezuelan women, children, and LGBT are vulnerable groups that may be subject to discrimination. Hate language is being used to reference migrants, portraying them as the enemy. Expressions like "venecos"[44], "thieves", "illegals", "socialists"[45], "invaders", "hambrientos"[46], "lazy", "accustomed to social help",

[44] A derogatory way of referring to Venezuelans in Colombia.

[45] Given the guerrilla war history in Colombia, "Socialist" or "Communist" are words often used as insults.

[46] There is no appropriate word in English for this. Hambriento literally means "starving" or "hungry", but in Colombia, this word has an insulting nuance. "It is used to refer, more or less, to someone that will take all the food for him or herself regardless other's people needs or rights."(Durán & Cuevas, 2020)

"sick" and "husband stealers"[47] are becoming commonplace (Castro Franco, 2019; Durán & Cuevas, 2020). As Durán and Cuevas (2020, p. 268) explain, these expressions are used as a way to reject migrant population activities and how they generate an income for necessities. Venezuelan migrants occasionally compete for limited economic opportunities with Colombians who are also in vulnerable situations (R4V, 2021a). The authority of a religious NGO emphasized that "of course, there is xenophobia at all socioeconomic levels, but it is precisely in the most vulnerable scenarios where xenophobia is most prevalent."[48]

The institutional xenophobia in Colombia is subtle and manifested in different forms, such as xenophobic institutional discourses or impeding/hindering access to employment, housing, education, health, or legalization. According to Observatorio de Venezuela (2020, p. 12), xenophobia in Colombia is present at different levels: 'individual level', where negative social imaginaries operate and are largely susceptible to the influence of the media; 'community level', where migrants may be excluded from the vindication of social causes by community leaders and representatives; and finally at 'institutional level', which includes a series of barriers to access to care for migrants, mostly due to additional protocols or iniquitous decisions.

The Colombian government plays a decisive role in providing migrants with the necessary information for their rapid integration into the host society (Sáez et al., 2020). For example, despite the efforts made by Colombian government, it is estimated that more than 17% of Venezuelan immigrants were still in an irregular situation in 2021[49], which is in any case a better situation in comparison to 2020 (56.4%[50]). "Such illegality increases exposure to protection risks during border crossing and transit, including sexual exploitation, human trafficking and smuggling, recruitment and use of children and adolescents by armed groups, gender-based violence (GBV), family separation and incidents with irregular armed groups operating on the border, and also affects their health and well-being" (R4V, 2021a, p. 113). León Rojas (2020, p. 221) highlights that at the global level, "it is necessary to continue to question the restrictive migration policies of the most securitized States in their treatment of irregular migration, which are a clear expression of xenophobia and violation of human rights".

[47] My translation. The original reads: "RobaMaridos": A word referred to Venezuelan women who are accused of destroying conjugal relationships (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019).
[48] My translation. The original reads: "claro, hay xenofobia en todos los niveles socioeconómicos, pero es justamente los escenarios de mayor vulnerabilidad donde se incrementa más la xenofobia."
[49] Source: Migration Colombia, until August 31, 2021: https://bit.ly/31PgPY8
[50] Source: Migration Colombia, until June 30, 2020: https://bit.ly/3bFYhKP

Durán and Cuevas (2020, p. 268) state that "it would be convenient to train officers from different public and private institutions (financial, health, education, and media sectors) to ensure the protection of fundamental rights and to promote the integration of immigrants".

b. Classification based on immigrants

This classification refers to a form of xenophobia which changes according to the type of immigrant and is per se divided into three categories. The first category is related to xenophobia towards Venezuelan immigrants versus xenophobia against Colombian returnees and their Colombo-Venezuelan children. In addition to Venezuelan immigrants, Colombian returnees are also subject to xenophobia. As López Villamil (2019, p. 82) posits, the return of these migrants, which is considered as a "re-emigration", may not be sustainable for Colombian society since it is all about a long-standing migration. The process of (re)integration into Colombian society may be difficult despite the cultural proximity between the two countries.

The second category refers to xenophobia against migrants in transit versus permanent migrants. The Venezuelan migratory flow trends in Colombia include migration seeking to stay (Venezuelan migrants and Colombo-Venezuelan mixed families), transit migration (migrants crossing Colombia on their way towards other countries), and circular migration (frequent migration between Colombia and Venezuela for work, access to consumer goods, education, health care or other reasons) (Bahar et al., 2021; Durán & Cuevas, 2020).

The third category is associated with the socio-economic status of immigrants. Xenophobia varies when it comes to rich, middle class, or poor Venezuelans. As stated earlier, anti-Venezuelan sentiment in Colombia does not stem from fear towards foreigners, but rather rejection of the poor (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Rueda Gómez, 2020). Perilla (2020, p. 119) explains that "Colombians do not structurally reject or attack foreigners who come to the country with the intention of investing in it, while they do reject Venezuelan citizens without purchasing power who come to the country in search of protection and refuge."

c. Classification based on region

Classification based on region implies that xenophobia should be considered according to the region where immigrants arrive, especially in Colombia, where this phenomenon may change from region to region, from city to city, and even from neighborhood to neighborhood. Classification based on region is per se divided into three main categories.

The first category is related to xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in regions with high (e.g., border zones) versus low cultural proximity (e.g., internal zones of Colombia). Excluding the threat of armed groups, anti-Venezuelan sentiment in border zones with Venezuela is felt less than in central cities of Colombia, such as Bogotá, Medellín, etc. thanks to circular migration background of the people on these regions as well as their cultural proximity. "There are many Colombians from that region (border zone) that do not feel like from neither there nor here, they are like, this is our people too, because they used to be there as people. So, the difference, the gap is not as big as here (central zone)"[51], said the director of a Colombian NGO in Bogotá. This finding does not contradict the notion of contact zone (Pratt, 1992) as Colombian and Venezuelan communities in border zones have had in the past decades historical and geographical connection (Sáez et al., 2020). According to Pratt, the "coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" happen when "peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations" (Pratt, 1992, p. 6). Colombia and Venezuela are "brothers" in terms of culture (Sáez et al., 2020, p. 54). Rodríguez and Ramos (2019, p. 565) believe that the historical-cultural links between Colombia and Venezuela facilitate the integration process of Venezuelan immigrants. However, despite the common cultural ground, it is important to note the potential conflicts and disputes among neighboring communities due to "narcissism of minor differences" (Freud, 2005).

The second category is related to xenophobia in armed conflict zones which is more likely to occur in comparison to secure zones due to murders, displacements, disappearances, etc. In armed conflict regions, migrants are exposed to "protection risks, sexual exploitation, human trafficking and smuggling, recruitment and use of children and adolescents by armed groups" (R4V, 2021a, p. 113).

The third category is related to xenophobia in rich versus poor neighborhoods or regions. The results show that pro-migrant behavior is stronger in less favored areas. "So, what is surprising is how in these areas that feel the migratory pressure so strongly, despite the precariousness, there is always someone who gives them a hand for lunch or for

[51] My translation. The original reads: "Hay muchos colombianos de esa región que no se sienten ni de allá ni de acá, son como que este es nuestro pueblo también, porque ellos estuvieron allá como pueblo. Entonces la diferencia, la brecha no es tan grande como aquí."

accommodation to spend the night"[52], stated the director of a Migration Studies Center. However, one cannot take for granted the humanitarian work carried out in privileged regions (Mazuera-Arias et al., 2021).

d. Classification based on time

Finally, the fourth classification of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia is based on time. The first category under this classification is related to the arrival time of Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia. Xenophobia against Venezuelans increased progressively in Colombia. Totally, three waves of Venezuelan immigrants came to Colombia throughout history (Ribas, 2018; Vivas & Paez, 2017): first Venezuelan businessmen and investors who were welcomed, second the arrival of Venezuelan professionals, technicians and doctors, which generated some resistance in different affected sectors, and third the arrival of unskilled Venezuelans, which caused resistance within a broad mass of the population. According to the spokeswoman of a national NGO, xenophobia level was even low at the beginning of the recent massive migration to Colombia, when Venezuelans used to migrate individually. At this point, the host community thought that the issue was going to be a temporary and transitory phenomenon. However, xenophobia level went increasing gradually when Venezuelan families started arriving en masse, and no longer as individuals, and when long-lasting effects of Venezuelan immigration were observed.

The second turning point in xenophobia level escalation in Colombia happened with the beginning of Covid-19 pandemic. The living conditions of permanent refugees and migrants in Colombia deteriorated significantly after the application of COVID-19 preventive isolation measures. According to a report by Response For Venezuelans (2021a, p. 113), the loss of income from formal and informal employment has diminished the ability of Venezuelan immigrants to access basic goods and services, such as food, health, and education: 60% of households reported having a source of income from an employment, compared to 86% prior to COVID-19. "Sixty-nine percent of respondents indicated that they had been deprived of at least one meal a day of the three necessary meals, with 60% of households eating twice a day, and 9% eating only once; 42% of surveyed households reported having to beg for money on the street" (R4V, 2021a, p. 113). Reduced ability to pay rents and other housing expenses has

[52] My translation. The original reads: "Entonces lo que sorprende es cómo en estos espacios que sienten la presión migratoria tan fuerte a pesar de precarias, siempre aparece alguien que les da la mano para el almuerzo o los alojamientos para que pasen la noche."

led to evictions, which have mostly affected Venezuelan women, and it is estimated that one in four households was left homeless following these incidents (R4V, 2021a).

Limited access to water, sanitation and hygiene, and overcrowded situations have negatively affected physical and mental health. In addition, many families reported that they were unable to access the basics needed to protect themselves from COVID-19, such as personal protective equipment (R4V, 2021a). This situation increased cases of discrimination and xenophobia against refugees and migrants from Venezuela, who were stigmatized as vectors of the pandemic.

The third category refers to the times when some Colombian authorities or political leaders give xenophobic speeches targeting Venezuelan immigrants. A paragon of the case was an anti-Venezuelan speech by the mayor of Bogotá delivered in March 2021 following the murder of a Colombian policeman[53]. According to an analysis conducted by Barómetro de Xenofobia[54], following this speech, the xenophobic and discriminatory publications on social media were boosted by 576% at national level compared to the daily average for the month. The political leaders' discourses on international migrations contribute to build imaginaries about a population in a situation of vulnerability, who are perceived as a threat to security of host society; they are socially labeled as a risk with epidemiological connotations that dehumanize them and, therefore, justify their marginalization (Castillo et al., 2018; Gómez-Calderón et al., 2018).

6.1.2.2.Theme 2: Communicational strategies

The second theme identified during the interviews is related to communicational strategies adopted by NGOs to confront xenophobia against Venezuelan migrants in Colombia. Within the second theme, the author extracted many subordinate codes with each emphasizing a different aspect of communicational strategies.

The results show that NGOs started to intervene in the case of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia, since Colombian governmental institutions were overwhelmed in terms of humanitarian response, which did not suffice in the face of this massive wave of migrants. The intervention of NGOs has as its main objective to facilitate integration processes and promoting anti-xenophobia initiatives. In this sense, communication plays a significant role. As described

[53] Available at: https://elpais.com/internacional/2021-03-18/la-alcaldesa-de-bogota-agita-la-bandera-de-la-xenofobia-contra-los-venezolanos-en-colombia.html
[54] Analysis available at: http://barometrodexenofobia.org/2021/03/11/comunicado-barometro-de-xenofobia-declaraciones-alcaldes/

by the director of communication department of an international NGO based in Bogotá, "humanitarian organizations have understood that there is a need for information, not only for water or job delineation, but also for information, and we are going to create communication tools that will allow them to provide this information"[55]. According to the World Bank (2018), Colombia needs to establish an anti-xenophobia communication plan at local and regional level that involves all stakeholders, that is long-term and covers a wide range of communication channels.

A) Target audience and strategies

a. Target audience

With their communicational strategies, NGOs are targeting different audiences in Colombia in order to reduce prejudice and xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants. As emphasized by the director of a national NGO based in Bogotá, "the target audience changes depending on the content"[56]. Referring to the target audience of Colombian NGOs, Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021, p. 20) emphasize that "there is no single target population, and the audience varies not only according to the subject but also according to the vision to be projected". Depending on their goals and missions, Colombian NGOs are generally targeting all social strata of Colombian society. Table 5 shows the Colombian audience NGOs target for anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction and the objectives they follow for each group.

The Colombian target audience can be divided into institutions and society. At institutional level the special focus is on 1) governmental decision makers, authorities, and political parties, 2) press and media (e.g., journalists, reporters, radio broadcasters), 3) educational institutions (e.g., schools, universities), 4) religious institutions (e.g., churches), 5) peer NGOs, 6) private sectors, and 7) potential institutional donors.

The Colombian government and the media are two main target groups for NGOs in Colombia. By targeting Colombian government, NGOs try mostly to prevent xenophobic comments and attitudes of some politicians and political parties and claim measures for social inclusion and integration of Venezuelan immigrants. Political statements have direct influence on public opinion. "Public opinion is influenced not only by its own characteristics and the national context, but also by other interest groups, including NGOs, the government, political

[55] My translation. The original reads: "Las organizaciones humanitarias han entendido que hay una necesidad de información no solo necesidades de agua o delimitación de empleo sino también de información y vamos a crear material herramientas de comunicación que les permitan dar esta información."
[56] My translation. The original reads: "La audiencia de meta cambia dependiendo del contenido."

parties, businessmen, unions, opinion leaders, churches and the media, which should be included in the communication strategy." (World Bank, 2018)

With respect to media and the press, NGOs try not only to counteract misinformation and visibilize positive contribution of migrants by encouraging unbiased journalism, but also to align their strategies and enter into alliance with media to increase reach and impression. Given the complexity of the social phenomenon of migration and the novelty of the roles for Colombia and Venezuela, there is a need for a committed journalism with human rights approach that helps to understand and contrasts the risks of misinformation and hate speech (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020). "It would be essential to have the mass media as allies in the process of information and reporting of xenophobic events and even violence. In this way, it would not only be possible to respond to situations of discrimination, but also to improve the integration processes of this (Venezuelan) population" (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021, p. 17).

The interviewees believe that media has the potential to exert both positive (e.g., by acting as allies) and negative effect (e.g., by reinforcing prejudice when highlighting Venezuelans' delinquency) on Colombian NGO's strategies. According to Ordóñez and Ramírez Arcos (2019), Colombian media coverage presents Venezuelan migrants through a generalization that portrays them as a threat to health and security. Similarly, the NGOs build up alliance with peer organizations to strengthen the impact of their communication with the community of interest.

Educational and religious institutions are also part of the target audience of Colombian NGOs. By defining some guidelines for educational institutions NGOs attempt to raise awareness at educational level and promote integration and equal access to education. Religious institutions also help humanitarian agencies to promote solidarity, social inclusion and integration of immigrants. Namen and her colleagues (2021) consider daily settings, e.g., churches, stores, schools or parks, as scenarios that favor closeness between Colombians and Venezuelan immigrants. "These places foster integration to the extent that small actions of empathy and cordiality are generated, such as greeting or having small conversations in which the Venezuelan immigrant is recognized as equal" (Namen et al., 2021, p. 2). Similarly, Sáez et al., (2020, p. 56) believe that special attention should be paid to places where "socialization is generated between the local population and immigrants, such as churches, as well as orientation and dialogue on cultural guidelines in the host context to avoid hostile attitudes that could lead to violent reactions".

Furthermore, the NGOs target private sector in order to prevent labor exploitation of Venezuelan immigrants and promote labor standards and equal access to employment. The final target group of NGOs at institutional level are potential institutional donors.

Table 5. Target audience of NGOs in Colombia.

Target audience		Objectives
Institutions	Governmental decision makers, authorities, and politicians	o Preventing xenophobic comments, exclusion, prejudices, and discrimination. o Promoting social inclusion and integration spaces considering immigrants' rights and dignity. o Facilitating access to tips, guidelines, and activities to identify and reduce xenophobia. o Legalizing undocumented immigrants, and facilitating equal access to education, health, formal employment, etc.
	Press and media	o Preventing xenophobic comments, exclusion, prejudices and discrimination. o Training and education of journalists and reporters. o Counteracting misinformation by visibilizing migrant positive contributions. o Building up alliance to increase reach and impression.
	Educational institutions (e.g., schools, universities)	o Preventing prejudices, discrimination, emotions of fear or rejection, and lack of empathy through awareness-raising. o Promoting equal access to education. o Facilitating access to tips, guidelines, and activities to identify and reduce xenophobia in school/university settings.
	Religious institutions (e.g., churches)	o Promoting solidarity, intergroup relationships, social inclusion, and integration spaces, regardless of gender, race or nationality.
	Private sectors	o Preventing barriers of access to work, prejudices, and discrimination. o Promoting labor standards and equality. o Visibilizing migrant entrepreneurship and positive contributions.

Table 5. Target audience of NGOs in Colombia (continued).

Target audience		Objectives
	Peer NGOs	○ Building up alliance to increase reach and impression.
	Potential institutional donors	○ Promoting pro-migrant donations.
Social groups	Children, youth and adolescents	○ Preventing prejudices, discrimination, emotions of fear or rejection, and lack of empathy through awareness-raising.
	Students at schools and universities	○ Preventing bullying, prejudices, discrimination, emotions of fear or rejection, and lack of empathy. ○ Promoting inclusion, encounter, and integration spaces.
	Community leaders	○ Promoting solidarity, intergroup relationships, social inclusion, and integration spaces, regardless of gender, race or nationality.
	Highly affected sectors of society (e.g., informal workers)	○ Preventing prejudices, discrimination, emotions of fear or rejection, and lack of empathy. ○ Visibilizing migrant entrepreneurship and positive contributions.
	Middle-class families	○ Fostering understanding and empathy and preventing prejudices, discrimination, and emotions of fear or rejection in middle-class families.
	Opinion leaders (e.g., artists, sportsmen, commentators, youtubers)	○ Building up alliance to increase reach and impression.
	Social media users	○ Preventing xenophobic comments, prejudices, discrimination, and emotions of fear or rejection.
	Audience without Internet	○ Preventing prejudices, discrimination, emotions of fear or rejection, and lack of empathy with special focus on Internet non-users and illiterate population.
	Internally displaced population	○ Fostering understanding and empathy based on common migration experiences.
	Potential individual donors	○ Promoting pro-migrant donations.

At social groups level, the target audience are quite diverse. They include 1) children, youth and adolescents, 2) students at schools and universities, 3) community leaders, 4) highly affected sectors of society, 5) Colombian middle-class families, 6) opinion leaders, 7) social media users, 8) audience without Internet, 9) internally displaced population, and 10) potential individual donors.

The Colombian NGOs have special focus on children, youth and adolescents, as well as school and university students in order to raise awareness about migration phenomenon at early stages of life and prevent bullying, prejudices and discrimination. Furthermore, humanitarian agencies take advantage of the influence of community leaders to promote solidarity in society and open spaces for social inclusion and integration of immigrants. In order to reduce prejudice, highly affected sectors of society (e.g., informal workers) are also included in the audience network of NGOs. According to the National Planning Department (DNP, 2018), about 32% of Venezuelans in Colombia work informally. There is evidence that labor market competition from Venezuelan migrant population negatively impacted low-income workers in the informal sector in Colombia, where Venezuelans are heavily concentrated. (Bonilla-Mejía et al., 2020; Delgado-Prieto, 2020)

The NGOs also target specifically Colombian middle-class families since they are considered as the predominant group in Colombian society[57]. Alliance with opinion leaders, e.g., artists, sportsmen, commentators, youtubers, serve as an instrument to disseminate information and increase reach and impression. "We try to seek alliances with digital influencers, artists, singers or simply differentiate that people who have many followers in social networks to create content with them, to make different initiatives with them, and through them reach their audiences."[58], said the spokeswoman of an international NGO in Colombia.

Since hate speech and rejection of Venezuelan migrants are increasing also on virtual platforms (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021), NGOs also consider social media users as one of the main target groups under their communicational strategies. On the other hand, they pay special attention to audience without Internet and illiterate population. Thanks to common migration experiences, Colombian NGOs believe that internally displaced population comprehend better

[57] Report available at: https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/pobreza-y-condiciones-de-vida/pobreza-monetaria

[58] My translation. The original reads: "Intentamos buscar alianzas con influencias digitales, artistas, cantantes o sencillamente diferenciamos que personas que tienen muchos seguidores en redes sociales para crear contenido con ellos hacer diferentes iniciativas con ellos y a través de ellos llegar a sus audiencias."

the situation of Venezuelan immigrants, hence feeling more empathy towards them. Finally, NGOs always keep an eye on potential individual donors as well as institutional ones.

NGOs target also migrant population in order to facilitate their integration or empowering them to know how to respond to an act of discrimination. "It is essential that humanitarian aid be directed to all populations affected by the process (migrants, returnees and the local population), in order to mitigate discrimination and possible xenophobia in host communities" (iMMAP, 2019). Their focus is attending all migrants, especially undocumented immigrants, Colombian returnees, Venezuelan children at schools, LGBT migrant groups, among others.

As it is all about a complex and multifactorial phenomenon, the communicational strategies are often localized, specific, and directed to a particular group. The findings show that NGOs target their audience depending on their needs, likes, and interests. The communication is also personalized and tailored to audience. "If you are talking to Colombians, you need to talk to them in their words. If you are talking to Venezuelans, you need to talk to them in their words."[59], said the head of communication department at a national NGO.

b. Strategies

There are many communicational strategies that NGOs usually implement depending on their target group, objective, and mission. It is important to know that before adopting any strategy, most NGOs conduct different types of analysis (e.g., content analysis on social media) to comprehend thoroughly what message elements could trigger solidarity and empathy towards migrant population. These analyses help also to understand how to create a pro-migrant discourse or narrative, and to tailor messages to audience and time.

The analysis of interviews shows that there are three main communicational strategies that Colombian NGOs adopt in order to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The first strategy is launching campaigns[60], for instance #SomosPanasColombia by UNHCR, #SomosHermanos by Universidad de los Andes, #JuntosMásGrandes by the International Organization for Migration, #AquíCabemosTodos by the UN Office of the Attorney General, Acortemos Distancias by Norwegian Council, etc. These campaigns usually have different approaches, such as dissemination, integration, or awareness-raising. As

[59] My translation. The original reads: "Si hablas con colombianos, tienes que hablarles con sus palabras. Si hablas con venezolanos, tienes que hablarles con sus palabras."
[60] A complete list of anti-xenophobia campaigns in Colombia is available at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kolumbien/17329.pdf

recommended by Sáez et al., (2020), the number of campaigns aimed at understanding the migration process and the transformations in the host society should be increased. The review of anti-xenophobia initiatives shows that there are fifteen campaigns operating with respect to Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021). These anti-xenophobia initiatives show dissimilar characteristics in terms of four key aspects: 1) their target population; 2) the causes and manifestations of xenophobia they seek to counteract; 3) their approach to action: preventive or attention in the face of xenophobic acts; and 4) the tools prioritized within the framework of their strategy.

The second strategy is organizing events, for instance cultural events, musical events, art fair, art show, cooking events, etc. Some NGOs also organize special events to celebrate international days, such as International Migrants Day or World Refugee Day. Some of the events are also held in the context of conferences, workshops, webinars, university forums, or film forum (watching a documentary about migration followed by a forum). These events could be physical (through traditional channels) or virtual (through e.g., social media) (R4V, 2021b). Some NGOs use social media platforms in order to go live and run Q&A sessions related to immigration issues.

The third fundamental strategy is producing textual (e.g., decalogue, manuals, testimonials, statements, opinion columns), textual-visual (e.g., infographics, brochures, flowchart, pedagogical booklets, photographs, murals, stickers and memes), and audiovisual (videos, songs, podcasts, reportage, radio program) pro-migrant content. Colombian NGOs believe that exposure to pro-Venezuelan content in media can produce positive attitudes in Colombian society. In this regard, Park (2012) states that the more outgroup characters are reflected in media content, the more mediated intergroup contact can be made. Some NGOs have also designed applications and chatbots which guide immigrants by giving them practical information, showing refugee centers, etc.

B) Social media

Under communicational strategies that NGOs adopt in order to reduce xenophobia and facilitate integration of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, social media or Social Networking Sites (SNSs)[61] play a very important role. NGOs mostly use SNSs for three main reasons: community, diffusion, and analysis (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Sala Rigler, 2020).

[61] Throughout this dissertation, the phrases "social media" and "social networking sites" are used interchangeably.

Through SNSs, Colombian NGOs try to establish direct contact with their target audience, including migrants, host community, donors, beneficiaries, and other organizations. They also use SNSs for dissemination of information beyond their main platforms such as website. As described by the migration research coordinator at a national NGO, "social networks really have a fundamental role in perpetuating discourses"[62]. And finally, social media is a tool for analysis. Through SNSs, NGOs analyze posts in order to receive feedback (e.g., interactions, engagement, and impressions), the level and forms of xenophobia, characteristics of the target population, hashtags of different campaigns in order to evaluate volume of conversations for anti-xenophobia initiatives.

Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Instagram are the main platforms used by Colombian NGOs. "Twitter in Colombia is very political, that is, all mayors, decision makers, senators, etc. participate, so what they move on Twitter, they have a much more political participation, social, economic issues, etc., while Facebook is a much more general platform, that is, all kinds of actors can participate"[63], stated an academic interviewee.

Colombian NGOs include and exclude many factors when it comes to social media content production. The included content can be divided in terms of message appeal, evidence and contact. NGOs use both cognitive and emotional appeal to promote pro-migrant attitudes, with special focus on the latter one. "It is necessary to build a communication strategy that really makes an emotional impact on the receiving population"[64], affirmed the director of a national NGO. According to an analysis conducted by Cabrera Nossa and her colleagues (2021), the content of pro-Venezuelan campaigns in Colombia is mostly of an emotional nature and seeks to convey its messages through stories with appeals to real events and uses highly informal language to communicate with its audience.

Colombian NGOs visibilize positive contributions of Venezuelan immigrants, such as their successful entrepreneurship, self-employment, and investments, low average age of immigrants[65], socio-productive incorporation of migrants, their contribution to culture,

[62] My translation. The original reads: "Las redes sociales tienen realmente un rol fundamental en perpetuar los discursos."
[63] My translation. The original reads: "Twitter en Colombia es muy político, es decir participan sobre todo los alcaldes, tomadores de decisión, senadores, etc., entonces lo que se mueven en Twitter, pues tienen una participación como mucho más política, asuntos sociales, económicos, etc., mientras que Facebook es una plataforma como mucho más general, o sea que caben todo tipo de actores."
[64] My translation. The original reads: "Hay que construir una estrategia comunicacional que realmente haga clic emocional en la población receptora."
[65] With regard to age, most Venezuelan migrants are young adults of working age (18-40 years old) (Durán & Cuevas, 2020).

gastronomy, music, sport, knowledge (e.g., in oil industry). As expressed, the former director of Migration Colombia, Christian Kruger[66], if we want to have an impact on people's ideas, it is necessary to make visible in concrete terms the results and positive aspects that a phenomenon of this nature can bring to the Colombian context, it is necessary to show what the receiving community gains from the arrival of these immigrants.

Furthermore, NGOs resort to factual information about Venezuelan immigrants by showing that they are hard-working, intelligent and their well-being contributes to general well-being of Colombian society. Some contents also focus on individuating information that differentiates a Venezuelan immigrant from the rest of the group and thus eventually leading to a less homogeneous negative view of the outgroup (Miller, 2002). The aim is sometimes to emphasize that Venezuelan immigrants are forced to leave their country and are very grateful to be in Colombia. As emphasized by Rodríguez and Ramos (2019), lack of knowledge about migration issues and social integration processes causes xenophobic and/or aporophobic responses.

Perspective taking or cognitive empathy is another method Colombian NGOs adopt with regard to content production. As explained by the director of a national NGO located at Colombia–Venezuela border, through some posts, NGOs try to convey the message that "what is happening to me (Venezuelan immigrants) today can happen to you (Colombians) tomorrow."[67] Colombians' recognition of the fact that in one way or another they are migrants or come from migrant families is a key issue for empathy (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021).

Moreover, NGOs highlight common values (e.g., gastronomy, music, art, culture, rituals, festivities, sports, etc.) and common histories between both nations in order to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants. In their study, Cabrera Nossa and her colleagues (2021) found out that in order to reduce xenophobia, it is important "to promote the idea that Colombians and Venezuelans share similar tastes and they have culturally more common ground than differences". Cultural identification can help lessen the negative effects of discrimination threat on objective and subjective resettlement success of Venezuelan refugees in Colombia (Ayala et al., 2020). Considering the above features, NGOs always use an integrative language, that is choosing words which facilitate integration, such as "Venezuelan brothers"[68] or "the same

[66] In an interview conducted in November 2020 by the Observatorio de Migraciones of University of Externado de Colombia (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021).
[67] My translation. The original reads: "Lo que me está pasando a mí hoy, a ti te puede pasar mañana."
[68] My translation. The original reads: "Hermanos venezolanos"

people"[69]. However, they also take into account that building on common cultural ground is not that easy since relationships between direct neighbors can sometimes be more problematic due to minor differences (Freud, 2005).

In terms of message evidence, although NGOs use sometimes statistical information, they mainly generate pro-migrant discourses resorting to different formats of narrative testimonials taking advantage of immigrants' own life stories. As described very well by the director of a national NGO based in Bogotá, "nothing is like using numbers, but numbers don't make the difference, the difference is made by history and the numbers just back it up."[70]

And finally with regard to contact, NGOs demonstrate both vicarious contact (e.g., successful cooperation or close relationship between Colombians and Venezuelans) and parasocial contact (e.g., successful integration or entrepreneurship of Venezuelan immigrants), with a special focus on the former one. "Messages that only focus on Venezuelan people and do not include Colombians in the story can be counterproductive; I believe that today the focus in the narrative has to be on the encounter between Colombians and Venezuelans"[71], emphasized the head of communication department at an international NGO. The results of interviews also show that there are some factors that affect the efficiency of NGOs' external communication. Colombians' level of xenophobia, level of humanitarianism, and level of previous contact with a Venezuelan immigrant can be decisive in the acceptance of pro-migrant content.

On the other hand, Colombian NGOs refrain from addressing certain issues. Under their communicational strategies, they refrain from politicizing Venezuelan immigration or addressing political issues or news. They always avoid displaying merely Venezuelan immigrants as poor, vulnerable or recipients of donation and humanitarian aid, but rather show that they have their own potentials contributing to Colombian society. Some scholars, by rethinking earlier NGO communication paradigms and practice, believe that overfocusing on the vulnerability of immigrants and the developing world as a theatre of tragedy and disaster reinforces the unequal relations between the West and the developing world, patronizes and dehumanizes distant others (Cohen, 2001; Orgad & Seu, 2014). Alluding to "intimacy at

[69] My translation. The original reads: "El mismo pueblo"

[70] My translation. The original reads: "Nada es como usar números, pero los números no hacen la diferencia, la diferencia la hace la historia y los números sólo la respaldan".

[71] My translation. The original reads: "Mensajes que solo están centrados en las personas venezolanas y no incluyan también en el relato a los colombianos puede ser contraproducente creo que hoy en la narrativa el foco tiene que ser el encuentro entre el colombiano y el venezolano."

distance" approach which encompasses portraying the suffering of immigrants, Orgad and Seu (2014) argue that NGOs' appropriation of intimacy in their communications has become so standardized, familiar and predictable, that it may weaken rather than strengthen the capacity of audiences (host community) to imagine themselves as close to far-away others (migrants).

Although NGO authorities believe that increased exposure to pro-Venezuelan messages may reduce prejudice, they do not express explicitly their attempt to counteract against xenophobia since it would have a counterproductive effect. Furthermore, they always address cautiously the security issues taking into account not to revictimize migrant population. Eluding any kind of contemptuous language, Colombian NGOs always attempt not to bold the difference between host community and migrant population. And finally, as humanitarian agencies, they pay close attention not to incite migration, but rather promote respect for the dignity of migrants. "It is very important for us never to denigrate, undervalue or demean people's dignity"[72], said the director of an international NGO.

6.2. Study II: Perceptions of affected groups by Venezuelan immigration in Colombia

6.2.1. Method

A) Participants: informal workers

Based on the results of semi-structured interviews with Colombian NGOs and taking into account the importance of including highly affected groups by Venezuelan immigration in NGOs' communication networks, three Colombian target groups are selected for the second qualitative study. Population of the study consists of Colombian informal workers, namely street vendors, sexual workers, and Uber taxi drivers. Overall, 65 short semi-structured and informal interviews with the participation of 66 informal workers were conducted on location in Colombia during June-July 2021: 26 interviews with street venders in Bogotá, 20 interviews with sexual workers in Medellín, and 20 interviews with Uber taxi drivers in Bogotá, Medellín, and Cartagena. Participants aged between 18 and 55 whose gender varied depending on the target group: street venders (half male/half female), sexual workers (female), and Uber taxi drivers (male). The participants were recruited by snowball sampling. This is an appropriate

[72] My translation. The original reads: "Para nosotros es muy importante jamás denigrar, subvalorar o rebajar la dignidad de las personas."

method for participants who are not insiders, and for gaining access to a population when the subject matter of research is of sensitive nature (Aktas et al., 2020, p. 370).

B) Data collection and analysis

A phenomenological approach was also employed in this study in order to gain insights into experiences, beliefs, and perceptions of Colombian informal workers about Venezuelan migration and NGOs' communicational strategies. Due to sensitive nature of target groups in the present study and their time limitations while conducting interviews, in-depth information was derived using short semi-structured and informal interview techniques. Informal interview, also referred to as "informal conversation" or "unstructured interview" (Bernard, 2011, p. 156), resembles a conversation more than an interview and is always thought to be a controlled conversation, which is skewed towards the interests of the interviewer (Gray, 2009). Informal interviews can be applied to many forms of more general qualitative inquiry and analysis, which take place in natural, everyday settings and involve some form of talk, although, perhaps, on a less participatory basis. According to Swain and Spire (2020), informal interviews might be used as an additional source of data to supplement or enhance data produced by more structured or formal methods. In this study, during the informal interviews, with the aim of gathering in-depth information, the author was well aware of the respondent and in times of deviating away from the main issue, the author refocused the respondent towards key subject.

Except for interviews with Uber Taxi drivers which were conducted with less complication, interviews with sexual workers and street vendors were carried out with the help of assistants. The interviews with street vendors were made in the field with predefined questions open for longer or shorter answers. The author cooperated with a local street vendor, giving her the chance to hang out among her peers and select potential interviewees. Interviewees also helped us to find further samples. With respect to sexual workers, considered also as a sensitive target group, the interviews were conducted with the assistance of a medical doctor. In order to reduce security risk while accessing Colombian sexual workers, the assistant dressed in medical uniform facilitated the walk through downtown and red-light districts of Medellín.

The benefits of using a peer street vendor and a medical doctor as (female) assistants were that it enabled a relationship of trust between the interviewer and interviewee to be quickly established; the assistants had a sensitive appreciation of the complexities of the subject matter under investigation; they spoke the local accent of Colombian Spanish and interpreted

local slangs widely used by street vendors and sexual workers, and perhaps most importantly, they provided invaluable help in the design of the interview schedule, and reflected critically on the potential biases which could have been involved in the fieldwork conducted by a male researcher, e.g., during the interviews with sexual workers.

Data were collected through short semi-structured and informal interviews consisting of 13 open-ended questions (see Annex 2). Most of the interview questions were designed based on the results driven from qualitative interviews with NGOs. The questions were prepared by considering the scope and validity of the research. The questionnaire was finalized after being reviewed by two experts who have participated for many years in field studies.

The informal interviews lasted on average about 30 minutes and were all originally conducted in Spanish. Each interview took place in varying time lengths from 15 to 40 minutes. All the participants received, with the help of the assistant, both written and verbal explanations about the aims of the study, that participation is voluntary, and that interview data would be anonymized and handled with the utmost confidentiality. Information received during the interview was noted on a sociodemographic information form and an interview form. During interviews, participants were asked to give their opinions about Venezuelan immigration in Colombia and reflect on Colombian NGOs' communicational strategies. Records taken with a voice recorder during the interviews were later deciphered.

All interviews were transcribed and put into an inductive thematic analysis, which allowed discovering dominant themes. For the analysis of the collected data, content analysis was deemed appropriate. The gathered data were, while being coded, also scrutinized for better understanding of its conceptual meaning. Themes that could fall into specific categories to represent the data in a general framework, were determined during the data-coding procedure. The obtained findings were organized according to the topic, and then were evaluated.

Table 6. Main themes and their subordinate themes (Study II).

Main themes	Subordinate themes
Theme 1: Venezuelan immigration	A) Negative attitudes B) Positive attitudes
Theme 2: Negative mediated contact	
Theme 3: Opinion of informal workers about NGOs	

The author coded the data[73], and after several readings, two main themes consisting also of several subordinate themes stood out (see Table 6). In the following section, the author includes representative extracts from the interviews as evidence of identified themes and to communicate better their potential meaning.

6.2.2. Results and discussion

Overall, three main themes were identified during the interviews with informal workers (see Table 6).

6.2.2.1. Theme 1: Venezuelan immigration

Generally, attitudes of informal workers towards Venezuelan immigration are changing, ambivalent and even contradictory and can be divided into two main groups: positive and negative. According to informal workers, Venezuelan immigration has both advantages and disadvantages for Colombia, with an emphasis on the latter. Consistent with a study conducted by Oxfam (2019), Colombian society is characterized by its ambivalence towards the influx of people from Venezuela: they oscillate between understanding, empathy and solidarity; and the association of immigrants with insecurity, the collapse of social services and the widespread desire that immigrants leave the country as soon as possible. "Positive and negative perceptions of the effects of immigration coexist naturally in the imaginaries of Colombians" (Oxfam, 2019, p. 8). In other words, there are people in whom empathy and a desire to welcome coexist with certain fears and concerns, which makes them cautious or more suspicious of Venezuelan immigration (Rueda Gómez, 2020, p. 182).

A) Negative attitudes

The results of the interviews show that informal workers have firstly negative opinions about Venezuelan immigrants. There is a perception that the quality of Venezuelan migrant population in Colombia is not high. This perception stems partially from the third wave of Venezuelan migration towards Colombia and the arrival of unskilled and poor Venezuelans which caused resistance within a broad mass of the population (Ribas, 2018). "The great majority of Venezuelans who come are those who had nothing there, they do not contribute anything"[74], said a taxi driver in Bogotá. Although there is evidence that migration tends to have positive effects, e.g., economic benefit (Ortega & Peri, 2014), the positive contribution of

[73] The codebook is available at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

[74] My translation. The original reads: "La gran mayoría de venezolanos que vienen son los que no tenían nada allá, no aportan nada"

Venezuelan migrant population is not evidenced in the imaginary of the receiving populations, such as Colombia (Oxfam, 2019).

During interviews, Venezuelan immigrants were characterized as "lazy", "aggressive" and "arrogant". "I don't like to share with them, from far away it is much better, they are very thieves or very lazy, they are aggressive; from no angle do I see it as beneficial for our country, that's the truth."[75], said a street vendor in Bogotá. It is important to know that some negative opinions originate from the distrust that has been created between Colombians and Venezuelans. This distrust leads also to fear from immigrants. As Lebow et al. (2020) explain, perceptions of criminal behavior by Venezuelans may directly affect beliefs about their trustworthiness. Furthermore, under the strains of public good scarcity, Venezuelan immigration may decrease trust in Colombian society (Lebow et al., 2020).

Informal workers have also expressed during interviews their lack of desire to maintain contact, socialize or work with Venezuelan immigrants, and they call for deportation of Venezuelan immigrants. According to a poll conducted in 2021 by Invamer[76], 61.2% of the people surveyed disagree with the government allowing Venezuelans entering Colombia. This percentage indicates an increase compared to 2020, when 60.9% expressed disagreement with the same approach. The study of Oxfam (2019) shows that in Colombia there is a very high level of concern about racism and xenophobia (around 80%). Although the people consider themselves to be very little racist, around 1 or 2 out of 10 (maximum racism), they consider the rest of society to be racist (around 5 or 6).

In general, informal workers have been affected negatively by Venezuelan immigration in at least five main areas: labor market, security, public services, housing, and conjugal relationships. These factors, therefore, increase intergroup anxiety between Colombians and Venezuelan immigrants.

a. Labor market

First of all, daily sales or services of informal workers have reduced drastically after the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants. With the increase in Venezuelan immigration, the informal jobs, such as street sales, prostitution, etc. has also augmented. There is evidence that labor market competition from Venezuelan migrant population negatively impacted low-income

[75] My translation. The original reads: "No me gusta compartir con ellos, así de lejos es mucho mejor, son muy ladrones o muy perezoso, son agresivos; desde ningún ángulo lo veo que es beneficiario para nuestro país, esa la verdad."
[76] Poll available at: https://www.valoraanalitik.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/encuesta-invamer-1.pdf

workers in the informal sector in Colombia, where Venezuelans are heavily concentrated, in particular, in sales, services, construction, and manufacturing (Bonilla-Mejía et al., 2020; Delgado-Prieto, 2020; Lebow, 2020; Santamaria, 2020). "The arrival of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia was like a bucket of cold water for us, because the people who have their jobs, have lost jobs because of them, we as street vendors have been harmed."[77], said a street vendor in Bogotá.

Furthermore, job opportunities have reduced, and labor competition has increased. The results of a recent study (Oxfam, 2019) show that fear of competition for economic resources is one of the main fears associated with Venezuelan immigration. The idea that migration takes away jobs and reduces wages is strongly entrenched in Colombia (Oxfam, 2019, p. 9). In terms of competitions over jobs, some Colombians consider Venezuelans as their rivals, as "occupiers" of their space, or as potentially dangerous (Sáez et al., 2020). According to Namen et al. (2021), the arrival of Venezuelan workforce represents an important pressure on the Colombian labor market. Tapia Bravo (2020) explains that the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants and Colombian returnees makes employability a complex issue, as many Venezuelans who have been legally hired by companies or even those engaged in informal work have pushed out the local labor force, resulting in increased levels of poverty in Colombian households. A sexual worker in Medellín stated that "the truth is that work has been very complicated for all of us, because there are some Venezuelans who are giving away their work as gift, for example, we can charge a price and then they will charge them much less, so we have to work harder"[78].

b. Security

The second area in which informal workers have been affected is security. There is a perception among informal workers that with the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants not only the level of insecurity, crime rates, delinquency, vandalism, robbery, and violence has increased, but also the existing delinquency and crimes have become more violent. Some Colombians believe that insecurity has increased in places with high concentration of Venezuelan migrants (Namen et al., 2021). Cabrera Nossa et al. (2021) affirm that although

[77] My translation. The original reads: "La llegada de los migrantes venezolanos en Colombia fue como un baldado de agua fría para nosotros porque las personas que tienen su empleo han perdido empleo por ellos, nosotros como vendedores ambulantes nos hemos visto perjudicados."

[78] My translation. The original reads: "La verdad, para todos ha sido muy complicada el trabajo porque hay unos venezolanos que se puede decir están regalando su trabajo como por ejemplo nosotros podemos cobrar un precio luego ya les van a cobrar mucho menos entonces para nosotros a poner más duro el trabajo en eso."

several sectors of Colombian population express empathy for what is happening to the population coming from Venezuela, their perception of refugees and migrants is still marked by fear and insecurity. "They have taken over some areas, you can't get in, they create gangs."[79], said a street vendor in Bogotá. In reaction to the increase in thefts, a sexual worker asserted that "who is going to like it when someone from a foreign country comes to do things that damage one's own country, nobody would like it."[80]

c. Public services

Damage to public services such as education, health system, etc. is the third prevailing view associated with Venezuelan immigration. According to Oxfam (2019), the precariousness of public services in Colombia (especially health care and access to public schools) is explicitly associated with the arrival of immigrants from Venezuela. For instance, eight out of ten people in Colombian society openly express that social services collapse due to the presence of migrants (Oxfam, 2019, p. 10). Lebow et al. (2020) claim that under the strains of public good scarcity Venezuelan immigration may decrease trust in Colombian society.

In regard to public services, there is also a perception among Colombian informal workers that Colombian government gives priority to Venezuelan immigrants, and does not fully attend Colombian citizens. "Here there are also hungry children, here there are also people who have to go out to work every day and kill themselves in the sun and water and they only help the Venezuelans."[81], said a street vendor in Bogotá. The interviewed informal workers opined that Colombian government should either give propriety to Colombians or attend both Colombians and Venezuelans equally. In a country like Colombia, the second most inequitable in the region and with a Gini index of 0.52[82], some voices have been raised to advocate that solidarity should be given first to nationals and not to foreigners (Castro Franco, 2019).

d. Housing

The fourth area in which informal workers have been affected by Venezuelan immigration to Colombia is housing costs and rents. A report presented by the Colombian

[79] My translation. The original reads: "Se han apoderado de algunas zonas, no se puede entrar, crean bandas."
[80] My translation. The original reads: "a quién le va a gustar que venga alguien de un país ajeno a hacer cosas que dañen el país de uno, a nadie le gustaría."
[81] My translation. The original reads: "Aquí también hay niños con hambre, aquí también hay personas que les toca salir a trabajar todos los días y matarse al sol y al agua y sólo ayudan a los venezolanos."
[82] See report at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=CO

Federation of Real Estate Market[83] (Fedelonjas, by its acronym in Spanish) reveals that due to the constant Venezuelan migration and the demand for low rents, the cost of monthly rents has increased, generating a tendency for Colombian families to move to other homes. "You go to look for a lease and if they see you with one or two children, they do not rent, because the Venezuelans arrive with one or two people and when they realize there are ten or fifteen people, then, the rent has gone up because the Venezuelans say that since they earn daily a hundred or two hundred (pesos)"[84], emphasized a street vendor in Bogotá.

e. Conjugal relationships

Finally, informal workers described conjugal relationships as one of the areas which have been affected by Venezuelan immigration. By describing Venezuelan women immigrants as "husband stealers"[85], there is a perception that they destabilize conjugal relationships (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019). According to Oxfam (2019), Venezuelan migration has served in societies, such as Colombia, "as an excuse to exacerbate pre-existing machismo, fed by the stereotypes constructed around Venezuelan women".

B) Positive attitudes

Informal workers have also positive opinions about Venezuelan immigrants, although to a lesser extent as compared with negative attitudes. There is a perception among informal workers that Venezuelan immigration can also be beneficial for Colombia. Some informal workers expressed having personally no problem socializing, working with, or living near Venezuelan immigrants. During interviews, Venezuelan immigrants were characterized also as "honest", "hardworking", "wise", "educated", "respectful", "kind", "caring", and "trustworthy". There are some factors, such as perspective taking or common migration background, that induce positive comments and promote sympathy and solidarity towards Venezuelan immigrants. "They are going through a crisis and that is why they are seeking asylum elsewhere, right? because they do not feel comfortable in their country, because they do not have the guarantees to live with dignity in their country, so they seek refuge in another

[83] Report available at: https://www.fedelonjas.org.co/images/COMUNICADOS/14_Arriendos_estrato_12_y_3_los_que_mas_suben.pdf

[84] My translation. The original reads: "Va uno a buscar un arriendo y si lo ven a uno con uno o dos niños no le arriendan, por qué los venezolanos llegan una o dos personas y cuando se dan cuenta hay diez o quince personas, entonces, ósea el arriendo se subió porque como los venezolanos dicen que como ellos consiguen cien y doscientos (pesos) diarios."

[85] My translation. The original reads: "RobaMaridos"

country, I think they are discriminated a lot. One has to put oneself in their shoes"[86], affirmed a street vendor in Bogotá. An Uber taxi driver in Bogotá also expressed that "I feel a bit of solidarity. We also went to Venezuela, and they received us well."[87]

According to informal workers, some positive aspects of Venezuelan immigration for Colombian society include low average age of immigrants, arrival of immigrants with higher academic level, economy dynamization, and transculturation. According to Migración Colombia[88], the majority of Venezuelan immigrants entering Colombia are 18-40 years old, being positive for the country's demographics (Lebow et al., 2020), taking into account that it is lower than the average age of the young Colombian population considered for labor supply.

Another important aspect that can make migration positive in the medium and long term is the academic level of immigrants. Although Venezuela had already suffered emigrations of scholars who had seen their funding conditions for science and technology diminished (Mateo & Ledezma, 2006), professionals in different areas continue to emigrate and this is an advantage for the receiving countries, such as Colombia, since they have not invested in the education of those who now also form or will form part of the labor force. Alluding to the fact that Venezuelan migrants are on average younger and more educated than their Colombian counterparts, Bahar and his colleagues (2021) believe that this represents a key opportunity for Colombia: "if their integration is successful, Venezuelans can be an engine of growth, increasing productivity by bringing new skills and work experience to the country."

Economy dynamization through increased circulation of money is considered as another contribution of Venezuelan immigration. As Higuera Sánchez et al. (2018) postulate, the money circulation fostered by Venezuelan immigration can dynamize Colombian economy in both urban and rural areas; the destination of the circulating money is used as a starting point for projects of small and medium-sized enterprises, facilitating or reactivating the economic emergence of regions or territories where that capital arrives. Furthermore, 93.9% of Venezuelans who emigrated through Colombia stated that they would send remittances to their families in Venezuela, and these families withdraw and consume them mostly in Colombian

[86] My translation. The original reads: "Están pasando por una crisis y por eso mismo están buscando asilo en otro lugar ¿no? porque no se sienten cómodos en su país porque no tienen las garantías pues para vivir dignamente en su país, entonces buscan refugio en otro país, pienso que se les discrimina mucho. Hay que ponerse en los zapatos de ellos."
[87] My translation. The original reads: "Siento un poco solidaridad. Nosotros también fuimos a Venezuela y nos recibieron bien."
[88] Report available at:
https://migracioncolombia.gov.co/documentos/comunicaciones/infografias/Todo%20sobre%20Venezuela.pdf

territory, mainly in the border zone (Bermúdez et al., 2018). Venezuelan immigrants participate in Colombian economy as consumers, savers, workers, taxpayers and entrepreneurs. It is important to note that the positive impact of Venezuelan immigration on economy depends to a large extent on migration policies of receiving countries and how states take advantage of this potential (Proyecto Migración Venezuela, 2018).

The final potential contribution of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia is transculturation as a form of social innovation. Transculturation[89] refers to the phenomenon of merging and converging cultures (Arroyo, 2016). Pratt (1991, p. 36) states that "transculturation, like autoethnography, is a phenomenon of the contact zone". According to informal workers, Venezuelan migrant population can contribute to Colombian culture, gastronomy[90], music and dance, traditions and customs, etc. "But it has also a positive impact, because it is an opportunity as societies to be nourished, for that mix that is positive, looking for the issue that they have in their customs, in their education, in their rootedness that is going to feed us as a society, that we have to look for the positive side"[91], said a taxi driver in Medellín. For instance, Venezuelan immigrants have diversified popular flavors in terms of gastronomy in Colombia or contributed in some musical areas, such as in "salsa bands" (Oxfam, 2019).

6.2.2.2.Theme 2: Negative mediated contact

During interviews, informal workers expressed that they hear or see daily different types of news or events about Venezuelan immigrants through TV, radio, newspaper, social media, or on the street. Drawing on mediated contact approach, the findings show that informal workers are exposed to an extreme degree to negative mediated contact, as compared to positive one. "Most of the time, we receive negative news"[92], said all informal workers. These negative mediated contacts include news of robberies, theft, crime, vandalism, etc. "Almost every time something bad happens here in Colombia, one says it is not due to a Colombian but

[89] Transculturation is a term proposed in 1940 by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz to describe complex processes of cultural transformation marked by the influx of new cultural elements and the alteration of existing ones (Arroyo, 2016).
[90] https://www.eltiempo.com/cultura/gastronomia/comida-venezolana-modifica-la-dieta-de-los-colombianos-191758
[91] My translation. The original reads: "Pero también tiene un impacto positivo porque es una oportunidad como sociedades para nutrirnos, para esa mezcla que es positivo buscar ese tema que tienen ellos en sus costumbres, en su educación, en su arraigo que nos va a alimentar como sociedad, eso tenemos que buscarle el lado positivo."
[92] My translation. The original reads: "En la mayoría de las ocasiones recibimos noticias negativas."

a Venezuelan, so we are predisposed to believe that the bad things that happen come from a Venezuelan."[93], said a taxi driver in Cartagena.

In a globalized world with continuous communication impacts, we can observe that the overflowing supply of information, from social networks to the mass media, exerts enormous power in the construction of fears, concerns, and negative social perceptions against migration (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020; Sáez et al., 2020). It is thus easy to trigger discriminatory expressions and xenophobic behaviors. As Perilla (2020) postulates, media discourses promote hatred and mistrust by publishing daily news about crimes committed by citizens of a specific nationality, hence feeding the idea that migrants came to the country to merely commit crimes.

The results of a recent analysis (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020) on Colombian media discourses about Venezuelan migratory phenomenon show that a negative evaluation of immigration abounds in 71.7% of the news textual content and 58.7% of the photographs give a negative representation of the phenomenon. Therefore, a narrative of immigration considered as a problem is reinforced (Cortés-Martínez, 2018). As Lotero-Echeverri et al. (2020, p. 14) explain in Colombian media discourses, there is to a larger extent "a discussion of Venezuelans than of migrants and even the word 'Venezuelan' is presented as a substitute for immigrant, as if it were not possible to find Venezuelans in another situation". This is a manifestation of a phenomenon that Cortina (2017) recognizes as aporophobia, whereby the poor are rejected and not so much the foreigner.

Perilla (2020, p. 124) emphasizes that "the damage caused by the media in the image of Venezuelans in Colombia is enormous, not only because of how journalists have distorted the migratory reality, but also because they promote xenophobia and aporophobia in the Colombian population, this is an example of how the role of the media transgresses and uses an anti-migratory discourse". Consistent with mediated contact approach, when media portrayals of minority outgroups are negative, consequences of exposure to such portrayals are also negative (Dixon, 2008).

The results of the analysis show that informal workers would have diverse considerations once exposed to negative mediated contact about Venezuelan immigrants. On the one hand,

[93] My translation. The original reads: "Casi cada vez que pasa algo malo acá en Colombia, uno dice que no es por un colombiano sino un venezolano, entonces ya como que estamos predispuestos a que lo malo que pasa viene de un venezolano."

negative news framing can change simply their mind about Venezuelan immigrants, while on the other hand informal workers, by showing cognitive empathy, consider crimes as a consequence of lack of opportunities for Venezuelan immigrants. As I listen to negative news, I think that "they should be sent back and punished in their own country."[94], said a street vendor in Bogotá. Another interviewee asserted that he thinks that these acts are consequences of not treating them well; "they are human beings just like you and they don't deserve the treatment they are being given, because from one moment to the next, we will be worse or the same as them, and we will need them, too"[95].

According to a poll conducted by Barómetro de Xenofobia, 63.1% of Colombians consider that their perception of Venezuelan migrant population is influenced by the media, social networks or opinion leaders, while 36.9% reported not being affected (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021). The narratives of various sectors of Colombian population and the media that associate Venezuelans with the problems of unemployment and insecurity create institutional barriers which hinder the integration of the host community and migrant population at times of proximity, such as public spaces, schools and work (Instituto de Opinión Pública, 2020). Similarly, the results of a recent study (Mesa Reina, 2020) showed that the news framing in Colombian media regarding Venezuelan immigration affects the social cognition of Colombians, hence changes thoughts, feelings, and behaviors towards Venezuelan immigrants.

Cortina (1994) explains that "in order for fear to turn into rejection, a mental process is needed that nullifies compassion and empathy in the human being; this process is provided in this case by ideology and is activated when it points to migrants as the culprits of poverty and deprivation." In Colombia, the fear generated by negative news about Venezuelan immigrants is consciously or unconsciously transmitted from parents to children, creating a propagation of stereotypes between generations (Namen et al., 2021). Sociobiologists believe that antisocial tendencies, such as xenophobic fear and hostility, are behavioral qualities that have survival value and can be selected and passed on to future generations (Daly, 2015).

6.2.2.3.Theme 3: Opinion of informal workers about NGOs

A noteworthy finding under this theme is that informal workers did not know at all, or merely had little knowledge about Colombian NGOs whose principal mission is assisting and

[94] My translation. The original reads: Al escuchar las noticias negativas, pienso que "deberían ser devueltos y castigados en su propio país".

[95] My translation. The original reads: Pienso que estos actos son consecuencias de que no los tratan bien; "ellos son seres humanos igual que uno y ellos no merecen el trato que les están dando porque de momento a otro nosotros vamos a estar peor o igual que ellos y nosotros vamos a necesitar también de ellos."

promoting the integration of Venezuelan immigrants. In spite of the recent increase in the number of initiatives and campaigns against xenophobia in Colombia, in reality their scope or reference among public opinion is still low (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021). A survey conducted by Barómetro de Xenofobia[96], which captured the opinion of 1,067 Colombians, shows that recognition of existing initiatives is incipient, while the role of the media, politicians and social networks in the perception of Venezuelan refugees and migrants is evident. The survey asked whether people knew or had heard of any campaign, strategy, program, project, etc., to prevent rejection of Venezuelan migrants in their city or in Colombia. In this regard, 87.3% of the people who responded to this question stated that they did not know of any initiative. On the other hand, 3.93% said they were aware of some popular campaigns, strategies, programs or projects.

Despite this lack of knowledge, the informal workers agreed mostly with humanitarian activities of Colombian NGOs in the framework of aid to Venezuelan immigrants. “I agree. Regardless of their nationality, they are human beings. All human beings deserve respect, we have the right to live and to live in acceptable conditions”[97], said a taxi driver in Medellín. In addition, once informed about the pro-Venezuelan communicational work of NGOs, informal workers opined that this effort can be indeed effective since it can increase the information about Venezuelan immigrants and promote empathy towards them. “I think it's great, because many times the bad decisions that can be made are due to ignorance, it's a lack of being documented and seeing exactly the situation that these people are going through”[98], said a taxi driver in Cartagena. A street vendor in Bogotá expressed that these videos may not be able to change attitudes all at once, but “they can generate seeds for one to change that attitude later on, they can generate a seed so that, yes, it kind of makes one think about something.”[99]

On the contrary, some interviewees disagreed with NGOs’ activities, since they consider that assistance to Venezuelan immigrants would not be a definite solution and would worsen the socio-economic situation in Colombia. Informal workers with this attitude also described the communicational strategies of pro-migrant NGOs as useless, because Colombians would

[96] http://barometrodexenofobia.org
[97] My translation. The original reads: “Estoy de acuerdo. Independientemente de su nacionalidad, son seres humanos. Todos los seres humanos merecen respeto, tenemos derecho a vivir y a vivir en condiciones aceptables.”
[98] My translation. The original reads: “Me parece magnífico, porque muchas veces las malas decisiones que se puedan tomar son por la ignorancia, es falta de estar uno documentado y ver exactamente la situación que esta gente está pasando.”
[99] My translation. The original reads: Estos videos a lo mejor no puedan cambiar actitud de una vez, pero “sí le puede generar semillas para que cambie esa actitud más adelante, le puede generar una semilla para que, sí, como que lo pone a pensar algo.”

feel being manipulated. “It has no effect as the content is not from the heart, it is not true. Many people have been in fact maltreated by them (Venezuelans)”[100], said a street vendor in Bogotá. They also emphasized that the Colombian government should instead give priority to citizens inside the country. “They talk about Venezuela, poor Venezuela, but they don't look at the internal problems in the country”[101], stated a street vendor in Bogotá. As stated by Castro Franco (2019), in Colombia some voices have been raised to advocate that solidarity should be given first to nationals and not to foreigners.

Perilla (2020) comments that once Colombian citizens, who are per se subject to social inequality, lack of labor equality, and precariousness of education, see media reports about government’s assistance to Venezuelan immigrants, they start to panic and ideate that Venezuelans are coming to occupy the few existing jobs or school places of their children. In this sense, mass media can also act as a catalyst worsening the negative perception by highlighting government’s assistance to Venezuelan immigrants. As Lotero-Echeverri and his colleagues (2020) found out, the most frequent framing in terms of media discourse on Venezuelans in Colombia is the one that presents governmental and non-governmental interventions in assistance to migrant population, as well as information related to legalization of Venezuelan immigrants.

Under their communicational strategies, Colombian NGOs use SNSs as a tool to disseminate information and increase their reach and impression. Informal workers believe that SNSs are tools that, depending on their use, can both improve and worsen the relationship between Venezuelans and Colombians. The results of analysis demonstrate that there is a perception among informal workers that SNSs can potentially serve as a space to promote pro-migrant attitudes. Social media are effective “because you find out there a lot of things that are not shown on the news”[102], asserted a street vendor in Bogotá.

Quite the reverse, SNSs can also be untrustworthy since anyone could construct there his/her narratives and discourses. “Social media are a very influential medium, so negative or positive messages will influence people a lot.”[103], stated a street vendor in Bogotá. “This is a

[100] My translation. The original reads: “No tiene efecto como el contenido no es de corazón, no es verdad. Mucha gente ha sido de hecho maltratada por ellos.”
[101] My translation. The original reads: “Salen a hablar de Venezuela, que pobre Venezuela, pero no miran la problemática interna que hay en el país.”
[102] My translation. The original reads: “porque uno se entera allí de muchas cosas que no muestran por los noticieros.”
[103] My translation. The original reads: “Redes sociales son un medio influenciador muy grande, entonces mensaje negativo o positivo va a influenciar mucho en las personas.”

double-edged sword, it can generate a news item in a social network, it can generate panic, it can generate fame, it can generate terror of everything"[104], said a sexual worker in Medellín.

The digitalization of information and virtual platforms in social networks have become a means for mass dissemination of discourses that promote xenophobic behaviors. Discursive violence against Venezuelan immigrants has generated a culture of hate that is especially dangerous and overt in social networks, and can have direct (emotional and psychological damage) and indirect consequences (re-victimization of those affected) (Cabrera Nossa et al., 2021). In a review and critique of research on race and racism in the digital realm, Daniels (2013, p. 702) identified social media platforms, esp. SNSs, as spaces "where race and racism play out in interesting, sometimes disturbing, ways". Social media contribute to reshaping "racist dynamics through their affordances, policies, algorithms and corporate decisions" (Matamoros-Fernández, 2018, p. 933).

The recurrent use of hateful language and rejection of Venezuelan immigrants have helped to build a negative narrative for the identification of this population. As Cabrera Nossa and her colleagues (2021) suggest, the main challenges regarding the use of social networks by NGOs are twofold: "to change the narrative that is trying to impose itself and to lower the volume of negative conversation". This is because the more these ideas, messages and words are repeated in confusing but negative texts, the more they become normalized and accepted by the host society.

6.3.Summary

This chapter approached xenophobia from social sciences perspective and presented two qualitative empirical research about xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The first study was an attempt to primarily delve more into characteristics of xenophobia in the context of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The findings revealed that xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia is not as intense and profound as it is perceived at first sight. In fact, it is not all about xenophobia, but rather aporophobia. Xenophobia in Colombia is politicized, and the anti-Venezuelan sentiment is highly associated with social exclusion of immigrants. Venezuelan massive migration to Colombia and its challenges, like xenophobia, have their own particularities (e.g., distinct migratory pattern, migration towards a country of

[104] My translation. The original reads: "Eso es un arma de doble filo puede generar una noticia en una red social, te puede generar pánico puede generar fama puede generar terror de todo."

emigrants, cultural proximity between Colombians and Venezuelans, shared migration background) and can hence be distinguished from other migration flows in the world.

In addition, it was observed that xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants is caused by several factors, such as the perception of an increase in unemployment, of a rise in insecurity, and of damage to public services.

Furthermore, xenophobia escalation against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia can be classified into four groups: 1) based on type (agentive or institutional), 2) on immigrants (Venezuelans vs. Colombian returnees, migrants in transit vs. permanent migrants, and rich vs. poor migrants), 3) on the region (regions with high vs. low cultural proximity, armed conflict vs. secure zones, and rich versus poor neighborhoods) and 4) on time (arrival time of Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia, before vs. after Covid-19 pandemic, before vs. after xenophobic speeches of governmental authorities).

The other main objective of the first study was to explore how humanitarian agencies in Colombia design their mediated contact in order to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants under their communicational strategies. It was revealed first of all that Colombian NGOs target both host community and immigrants as the main audience of their communicational strategies. The target audience of NGOs in Colombian society is divided into institutions and society. At institutional level, the special focus is on governmental decision makers, authorities, and political parties, press and media (e.g., journalists, reporters, radio broadcasters), educational institutions (e.g., schools, universities), religious institutions (e.g., churches), peer NGOs, private sectors, and potential institutional donors. And at social groups level, the target audiences are quite diverse. They include children, youth and adolescents, students at schools and universities, community leaders, highly affected sectors of society, Colombian middle-class families, opinion leaders, social media users, audience without Internet, internally displaced population, and potential individual donors.

Moreover, the results show that there are three main communicational strategies that Colombian NGOs adopt, in accordance with their target group, objective, and mission, to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia: launching campaigns, organizing events, and producing textual, textual-visual, and audiovisual pro-migrant content.

In addition, under communicational strategies that NGOs adopt in order to reduce xenophobia and facilitate integration of immigrants in Colombia, social media play a very important role. Colombian NGOs include and exclude many factors when it comes to social

media content production. The included content can be divided in terms of message appeal (cognitive and emotional, with special focus on the latter), evidence (statistical and narrative, with special focus on the latter) and contact format (parasocial and vicarious, with special focus on the latter). On the other hand, Colombian NGOs refrain from addressing certain issues, such as politicizing Venezuelan immigration or displaying Venezuelan immigrants as poor and vulnerable.

The second study in this chapter was an attempt to explore the opinion of Colombian informal workers, as highly affected groups, regarding Venezuelan immigration as well as their perception about communicational strategies of Colombian NGOs with respect to the issue at hand. The results show that Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has its own advantages and disadvantages, with an emphasis on the latter. The results of the interviews show that informal workers have been affected negatively by Venezuelan immigration in at least five main areas: labor market, security, public services, housing, and conjugal relationships. However, there is also a perception among informal workers that Venezuelan migration can be beneficial for Colombia. Some positive aspects include low average age of immigrants, arrival of immigrants with higher academic level, economy dynamization, and transculturation. Furthermore, the opinions of informal workers about Venezuelan immigrants are changing, ambivalent and even contradictory and can be divided into two groups: positive and negative.

The findings of the second study also revealed that informal workers are exposed considerably to negative mediated contact about Venezuelan immigration (e.g., news of robberies, theft, crime, vandalism). However, they have diverse considerations, once exposed to these negative mediated contacts. On the one hand, negative news framing can change simply their mind about Venezuelan immigrants, while on the other hand informal workers, by showing cognitive empathy, consider crimes as a consequence of lack of opportunities for Venezuelan immigrants.

Moreover, the results demonstrated that despite the lack of knowledge about the existence of many Colombian NGOs, informal workers agreed mostly with humanitarian activities of these organizations in the framework of aid to Venezuelan immigrants. On the contrary, some informal workers disagreed with NGOs' activities since they consider that assistance to Venezuelan immigrants would not be a definite solution and would worsen the socio-economic situation in Colombia.

Based on the results of interviews with Colombian NGOs and informal workers, many elements are to be considered by humanitarians when designing mediated contact under their communicational strategies to improve attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants. The results of these two studies can serve as a source of information regarding applied communicational strategies and their effect in the host society as well as existing opportunities for further message design. One of the highlighted results in both studies was the effect of similar migration background in improving attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants. The author takes advantage of this finding in order to design further studies. In particular, the author conducts in the next chapter two quantitative studies using the migration background shared by Colombians and Venezuelans as the main argument of the designed mediated contacts.

Chapter 7. Quantitative studies

This chapter aims to approach xenophobia from a social psychological perspective and to discuss the efficiency of a new message argument, extracted from the results of qualitative interviews with NGOs and informal workers, for the reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia. In particular, the author takes advantage of the memory of Colombian migration to Venezuela to build pro-migrant mediated contact in a humanitarian context. The proposed argument is conceptualized in light of the Collective Memory (CM) approach.

Drawing on the mediated contact and persuasive communication approach and based on the results from qualitative studies, two experiments, one with narrative messages and one with non-narrative messages, are designed in order to figure out whether reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela would lead to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction. In addition, the experiments will be conducted in a social media context, recognized as an important intergroup contact space for anti-immigrant prejudice reduction in Colombia. Therefore, the author explores the relevance of these platforms for mediated contact research. The results of the experiments are discussed along with implications for anti-immigrant prejudice reduction throughout this chapter.

7.1. Argument building: collective memory regarding migratory role reversal

Although different variables can influence the effectiveness of mediated contact, the quality of the argument is decisive in message processing. For instance, based on the ELM, the elaboration valence is affected by the quality of message argument in conditions of high elaboration (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In the context of entertainment persuasion, the quality of entertainment content also plays an important role. “Particularly challenging may be achieving the appropriate balance of entertainment and education in a program so that the education (…) is not so subtle that it is undetected by the audience but is also not overly preachy” (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 420).

As Park (2012) states, scholars should take into account that many characteristics of media content other than the simple portrayal of intergroup relationships can influence the outcome of mediated intergroup contact. For instance, “high-quality production may facilitate sympathetic or empathetic responses from the audiences. In the same vein, low-quality production may hinder audience engagement in the story and even discredit the intergroup relationship, no matter how positive its portrayal might be” (Park, 2012, p. 156).

In this sense, the author proposes a new argument or claim for mediated contact design in the context of anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction in Colombia. Findings of qualitative studies suggest that Colombia and Venezuela share multiple common values, inter alia, language, culture, religion, and migration background. Cabrera Nossa and her colleagues (2021) believe that in order to reduce xenophobia, it is important "to promote the idea that Colombians and Venezuelans share similar tastes and they have culturally more common ground than differences". As highlighted by NGO authorities, the shared migration background between Colombia and Venezuela (Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019) is an important factor in terms of intergroup relationship between Venezuelan immigrants and Colombians. In addition, the same factor induced more positive comments among informal workers and promoted sympathy and solidarity towards Venezuelan immigrants. Considering the migration background between Venezuela and Colombia, De Leon Vargas (2018, p. 113) emphasizes that Colombians "must remember their past" and not allow xenophobia and social stigmas to be reflected in their behaviors and the treatment given by institutions towards thousands of Venezuelan migrants who today take refuge in their country.

Based on this explanation, the author believes that using mediated content as a reminder stimulus and cue for Colombians would help them to recall their migration background and, thus, leads to reduction of prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants. As a result, the author takes advantage of this shared similarity as an argument to design mediated content for two experiments, one with narrative messages and one with non-narrative messages. The author approaches this novel argument in mediated contact research from Collective Memory (CM) perspective, conceptualized in a migratory role reversal context. It is believed that rather than searching for a single and neat theory which would back this argument, it is more productive to outline a set of theories that delineate the conceptual field within which the argument is discussed. Although the quantitative studies of this thesis address specifically the efficiency of shared migration background in mediated contact research, it is recognized that other common values, such as cultural proximity, are also highly relevant to the context of Venezuelan migration to Colombia (Rueda Gómez, 2020; Sáez et al., 2020) as well as persuasive communication (e.g., Igartua, 2007).

Venezuelan migration to Colombia is paragon of role reversal in migration dynamics. The exchange of a huge number of migrants between Venezuela and Colombia has been notable over the last half century. Venezuelan migration towards Colombia has been increasing for a decade now, while the direction was the other way round in the mid and late 20th and early

21st century due to internal conflicts and violence (Lebow et al., 2020, p. 10). The political, economic, and social situation of Colombia caused for decades the forced displacement of its citizens. Historically, Colombia was a country with high levels of emigration, with Venezuela being one of the main migratory destinations for Colombian emigrants (López Villamil, 2019; World Bank, 2018).

Venezuela served since the 1950s as a recipient of Colombian skilled, unskilled and peasant labor, mainly in border areas (of a circular migration nature) thanks to neighborly relations, border permeability and communication facilities (Álvarez de Flores, 2004). Based on Venezuelan population census, the number of Colombians residing in Venezuela between 1951 and 1971 varied significantly, from 45,969 to 102,314 (Álvarez de Flores, 2004). Gómez and Rengifo (1999) state that the Colombian population residing in Venezuela experienced a substantial increase of 194% between 1970 and 1990. This migratory flow, in regular and irregular conditions, was mainly motivated by seeking asylum and job opportunities.

A massive return process of Colombian migrants was marked in the second decade of 21st century due to economic crisis in Venezuela, which has been the greatest one ever witnessed in South America (De León Vargas, 2018, p. 114). In view of this severe crisis in Venezuela, an important part of the Venezuelan population has also opted for migration to Colombia. This role reversal in migration dynamics between Venezuela and Colombia in less than half a century has been distinctive in the region. Venezuela and Colombia are the first two Latin American countries by number of emigrants in the region (IOM's GMDAC, 2021).

Colombian migration to Venezuela is one of the long-lasting intra-regional migrations in Latin America insofar as there are many family ties and numerous Venezuelans and Colombians are of mixed origin (De León Vargas, 2018; Pineda G. & Ávila, 2019). "On average each Colombian has a relative who lives or lived in Venezuela, that is, this makes them share blood ties by having cousins, uncles and aunts of Venezuelan origin" (De León Vargas, 2018, p. 113). In this regard, Rodríguez and Ramos (2019, p. 565) believe that there are two determinant elements characterizing Venezuelan migration to Colombia which facilitate both migration and integration process: "the existing networks due to the migratory processes of Colombians to Venezuela and the historical-cultural links".

Collective Memory (CM) is a concept which appeared initially in the works of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1950). CM refers to a pool of memories and recollection of events shared by a group and of central importance to the social belonging of the group's

members (Halbwachs, 1950; Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). Halbwachs (1950) conceptualizes CM as the "living memory" of one's social group. The term memory generally indicates "the process of saving, storing and recalling information received in the past" (Šubrt et al., 2020, p. 59). Halbwachs (1950) maintains that individual memories are constructed within social structures and understood through a group context, be it family, nation-state, or any other social group. To be more precise, every CM depends upon specific social groups that are demarcated by space and time; the social group constructs the memory, and the individuals do the work of remembering (Halbwachs, 1950). The French historian Pierre Nora (1989, p. 7) postulates that modern society is losing the sense of memory and needs to actively set up institutions that will allow it to maintain its memories. He designates these institutions as "site of memory" ("lieu de mémoire" in French).

The concept of CM has been scrutinized by scholars of various fields, such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, communication and rhetoric (e.g., Halbwachs & Coser, 1992; Middleton & Brown, 2005; Schudson, 1993). CM is "an umbrella term that reflects how people remember their past as members of the group" (Roediger & Abel, 2015). The term 'collective memory' can refer to three entities: a body of knowledge, an attribute, and a process (Dudai, 2002, p. 51). The body of knowledge refers to the common knowledge that individuals in a group often share. The attribute is the distinctive holistic image of the past in the group. The process refers to the constant evolution of understanding between the individual and the group. "Cultural tools" such as texts and narrative frames mediate people's relation to the past and provide the means to produce discourses about the group's history (Wertsch, 2002). Official texts, museums, school teachings, etc., are tools to remember, to shape particular understandings of the past of the group, and to give it meaning and direction (Wertsch, 2002, p. 68).

De Saint-Laurent (2018) proposes a more precise conceptualization of CM by theorizing "memory act". A memory act is defined as "the act of presenting one's discourses as narrating, describing or interpreting something that happened in the past or as referring to something that is commonly believed to have happened" (de Saint-Laurent, 2018, p. 5). Memory act follows a pragmatic approach to CM. From de Saint-Laurent's perspective, "the notion of 'act' implies defining CM as the fleeting moment where the collective past is 'en-acted' in discourses and practices in the present" (de Saint-Laurent, 2018, p. 7). Furthermore, the notion of memory act emphasizes on its inscription in irreversible time, "drawing attention not only to the specific

context within which the act takes place or to the processes that led to it, but also to its consequences for the future" (de Saint-Laurent, 2018, p. 7).

As Bartlett (1995) states, memory is not about reproducing the past but using it to adapt to the present. CM has the potential of continuous reconstruction, so that social frameworks of memory are constantly reactivated to accord with the present (Halbwachs, 1994, p. 279). In other words, "collective memory does not retain the past as events really happened, but as remembered in the present" (Šubrt et al., 2020, p. 63). As American sociologist Peter L. Berger (1963) describes, we reconstruct the past in our memories as consistent with the present and with our current views. If CM is functioning properly, it must match the current needs of society. This process of making sense of the past is also in line with historical consciousness approach which posits that "past is interpreted for the sake of understanding the present and anticipating the future". In other words, historical knowledge creates a consciousness which serves as a teacher in terms of its pedagogical, moral and practical use for the present and future (Glencross, 2015).

By applying this notion to mediated contact context, the author postulates that a message argument based on the CM of Colombians regarding their migration to Venezuela has persuasive effect, such that it can reduce prejudice against Venezuelan migrants who are currently a noticeable part of Colombian society. Be it considered as site of memory, cultural tool, or memory act; this message argument serves in quantitative empirical studies as a reminder stimulus to match the current needs of Colombian society. It is noteworthy that this shared migration background can also be discussed in terms of persuasive communication, specifically in the context of the effect of similarity with the protagonist (e.g., Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Hoeken et al., 2016; Igartua et al., 2019).

Similarity refers to the state in which a message viewer shares specific characteristics with the protagonist of the message, and this bond increases persuasive impact of the message. Research evidence (Cohen et al., 2018) shows that message viewers can establish strong affective and cognitive ties with protagonists who are similar in demographic, social, or psychological terms. The literature review on the effect of similarity demonstrates that ample research has been conducted on objective demographic attributes, such as age or sex (e.g., Cohen et al., 2018; de Graaf, 2014; Hoeken et al., 2016). Nonetheless, research on psychological or subjective characteristics (e.g., Cohen & Hershman-Shitrit, 2017; Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021), such as beliefs, values, attitudes, belonging, or life experiences (e.g.,

being migrant in our studies) calls for more scholarly attention. In addition, evidence is required to discuss the inconsistent results about the effect of similarity (Tukachinsky, 2014).

Based on the above, in order to have a thorough understanding of the applicability of a message argument based on CM in mediated contact research, the author attempts to experimentally test it through two types of message evidence, namely narrative and non-narrative. Furthermore, the pro-migrant messages will be designed in the context of social media, which has been less explored in terms of mediated contact research on anti-immigrant prejudice.

7.2.Social media as a mode for mediated intergroup contact

Social media is an important intergroup contact space for anti-immigrant prejudice reduction. Findings of qualitative studies suggest that under communicational strategies that NGOs adopt in order to reduce xenophobia and facilitate integration of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, social media or SNSs play a very significant role. In addition, informal workers believe that SNSs are potential tools that, depending on their use, can both improve or worsen the relationship between Venezuelans and Colombians. As a result, the author conducts the empirical experiments of this dissertation in a social media context.

Social media are "Internet-based, disentrained, and persistent channels of masspersonal communication facilitating perceptions of interactions among users, deriving value primarily from user-generated content" (Carr & Hayes, 2015, p. 49). Social media have three outstanding features (Carr, 2017). Firstly, they are disentrained channels since they provide senders and receivers of messages enough time to interpret and decode/encode messages, and allows them to construct and consider more carefully both their own selves and their interactions. Secondly, social media are channels in which individuals interact with each other and they drive value from content within social media generated by other users. Thirdly, social media are channels of masspersonal communication, meaning a combination of mass and interpersonal communication that recognizes properties of both.

One effective way to understand better intergroup communication in the context of social media is approaching Social Identity Theory (SIT). According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individual's sense of self is derived from perceived membership in a relevant social group. Applying SIT within social media suggests that individuals are guided by social, rather than personal identity, and intergroup communication is more likely to occur when social belonging

are activated or made more salient. Carr (2017, p. 6) believes that "the application of SIT to guide intergroup processes in social media is predicated on the activation of group (rather than interpersonal) behaviors via relevant and available social identity cues."

Depending on its use, social media has the ability to strengthen or weaken prejudice against outgroups. Research has demonstrated that negative stereotypes exist in social media space, and they often reinforce prejudice and social distance (e.g., Bissell & Parrott, 2013; Davidson & Farquhar, 2020). Another significant consideration regarding the role of social media as prejudice promoter is its use as news source. Social media's influence on prejudice as news source is associated directly to the selective exposure to media and type of media content, and the subsequent polarization, meaning the deepened tendency toward the chosen source of media exposure (Davidson & Farquhar, 2020).

Carr (2017) postulates that social media can silo and span groups. Siloing groups means limiting the potential for interaction with dissimilar other groups which in turn increases intergroup differences. In other words, if groups are clustered homogeneously, like most offline interactions, members will not have the opportunity to be exposed to the perspectives of other groups. On the other hand, spanning groups refers to facilitating communication beyond ingroup and increasing the potential for interaction with disparate others. This effect of social media helps to bridge and connect groups in order to reduce intergroup differences.

Scholars have figured out that mediated contact on social media can also reduce intergroup bias and prejudice (Hasler & Amichai-Hamburger, 2013; Kim & Wojcieszak, 2018). Hampton et al. (2011) express that social media users, as compared to nonusers, show greater propensities to engage in perspective taking and to consider multiple sides of an issue. Schwab and Greitemeyer (2015) maintain that exposure to other cultures from outgroup members on Facebook leads to positive attitudes toward outgroups. The findings of a recent study (Chib & Shi, 2018) have demonstrated that a structured and supervised social media campaign can be a powerful tool for reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relationships. Some scholars also believe that the Internet, particularly chat rooms and SNSs, can be "a vital ally in multicultural education efforts" (Tynes et al., 2008). Furthermore, social media have helped people affected by stigma to use different channels to express their ideas and experiences. As Neubaum et al. (2020) explain, "the presence of those personal accounts on social media, thus, increase the chance for unexperienced or unaware users to incidentally get

exposed to the individual stories from members of stigmatized (out)groups and get to know them better".

Drawing on Contact Space approach (2010, p. 156), social media can fairly increase richness dimension of the contact experience. "The variability of richness is potentially less obvious if we think about television or movies as having relatively static channel traits (e.g., a noninteractive, visual medium). However, media now transcend these traditional limitations, allowing fans to join online forums, interact with the showrunners via social media, and so forth" (Joyce, 2017). Furthermore, social media is an organized space for observing by an ingroup member mediated contact between an ingroup friend and an outgroup member. Harwood (2010, p. 156) indicates that SNSs "permit knowledge of friends' friendships with others whose (out)group memberships may be apparent from photos, language use, or other cues". SNSs also permit often observation of interactions.

By designing two empirical experiments in the context of social media, this dissertation attempts to explore deeply the implications of mediated contact, in particular parasocial contact, in social media, at least in the context of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

7.3.Study III: Narrative experiment

Research in the field of narrative persuasion has advanced in recent years, moving from a perspective focused exclusively on the examination of main effects (of an independent variable on a dependent variable), to a trend, increasingly convergent in the study of media effects, focused on conditional and indirect effects (Igartua, 2012; Igartua Perosanz, 2006; Valkenburg & Peter, 2013; Walter et al., 2018). The analysis of this type of effects focuses on providing answers to how and why an effect is produced (Igartua, 2020), therefore concepts such as moderating variable and mediating variable become particularly relevant.

In this context, the concept of moderating variable would refer to the study of conditional effects and would allow explaining in which situations or when the independent variable produces the effect on the dependent variable (Hayes, 2018). On the other hand, the concept of mediating variable refers to the analysis of indirect effects and would allow explaining why the effect is produced, or in other words, it would explain the relationship that exists between the independent variable and the dependent variable (Hayes, 2018; Igartua, 2006).

Based on the narrative persuasion conceptualization, I design a narrative experiment. In this narrative experimental study, I approach processing of persuasive content in narratives

from three interrelated theoretical perspectives, namely Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model (E-ELM), Transportation-Imagery Model (TIM), and Entertainment Overcoming Resistance Model (EORM). This study aims to explore the applicability of an argument based on CM and discuss its implications in a narrative context. Highly relevant to CM is the role of self-referencing in narrative processing. Self-referencing refers to "the process of relating message components to the self and connecting elements of the narrative with one's own memories and experiences" (Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017, p. 4).

According to narrative persuasion models, identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation are the main underlying mechanisms (mediators) in narrative persuasion. That is, identification and transportation (mediating variables) would explain the effect of narratives (independent variable) on audience beliefs, attitudes and behaviors (dependent variables) (Igartua, 2007). This study integrates also another construct, namely level of xenophobia (moderator), which may affect the persuasion process in anti-immigrant prejudice reduction. Most research in the field of narrative persuasion use as dependent variables various measures linked to beliefs (cognitive judgments), attitudes (evaluations, judgments or opinions), behavioral intention (willingness to engage in certain behaviors), and behaviors (self-reported behaviors) (Igartua, 2020). Based on this explication, specific dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions) are selected to measure the effect of CM cue in this causal research study.

7.3.1. Previous level of xenophobia

In regard to mediated intergroup contact with protagonism of immigrants, xenophobia (as a measure of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice toward immigrants) could be a relevant variable that influences the degree of identification with protagonists and transportation in narrative messages. Outgroup members that are perceived as unfriendly, and able to harm ingroup members produce distrust, insecurity, suspicion or fear among members of the ingroup (van der Veer et al., 2011). Furthermore, contact effects may depend on the nature of the immigrant group, preexisting attitudes and sentiments toward the outgroups in a given society, or other idiosyncrasies in social contexts (Wojcieszak et al., 2020).

Research evidence (Eno & Ewoldsen, 2010; Igartua & Frutos, 2017) has shown that people's previous level of prejudice influences their interpretation of narrative messages. Eno and Ewoldsen (2010) found out that individual's modern racism affected their interpretation of

film and their reactions to it. Similarly, Igartua and Frutos (2017) discovered that there is a negative relation between individuals' previous degree of modern racism toward immigrants and their level of identification with the immigrant characters in the films viewed, and this relation affects the persuasiveness of the narrative.

These studies highlight the importance of considering the role of individual differences (such as the previous level of prejudice toward immigrants) in attempting to understand the impact of fictional feature films with immigrants as the main characters. Ample research (e.g., Cacioppo et al., 1983; Hirsh et al., 2012) has shown that different recipient characteristics can exert influence on persuasion processes. Previous level of xenophobia toward immigrants can be characterized as stable individual differences. As posited by O'Keefe (2016), stable individual differences are able to influence the persuasive communication outcome either by being relevant to the specific topic of advocacy in the message, such as CM argument, or by wielding a more general influence on persuasion mechanism, such as identification or transportation.

This explanation is also consistent with the Social Judgment Theory (SJT) (Sherif & Hovland, 1980), which suggests that any attempt to explain persuasive effects has to start by considering the previous position or attitude of the individual, and attitude change is generally mediated by how the recipient judges the position being advocated in the message. SJT can contribute to mediated contact research by explaining the assessment of message advocacy by ingroup members. Once exposed to mediated contact stimuli, individuals take different possible positions or points of view. Positions found to be acceptable lay on latitude of acceptance, positions found to be objectionable lay on latitude of rejection, and positions judged to be neither acceptable nor objectionable would be placed on latitude of noncommitment. As seen through the lens of SJT, once an ingroup member is exposed to a mediated contact stimulus, he/she decides first what position the message is advocating (assimilation and contrast effects), and then, based on that judgment, reacts positively or negatively to the message.

Based on the above, the author assumes that in the narrative experiment Colombians with a high level of xenophobia, that is, those who show more extreme previous negative attitudes towards Venezuelan immigration, will experience a low degree of identification with Venezuelan immigrant characters and narrative transportation, hence a low attitudinal impact of narrative messages. In addition, a high level of xenophobia would influence the acceptance

of pro-migrant attitude as the position advocated in the narrative message through CM argument.

7.3.2. Perceived effectiveness of persuasive message

This construct labeled as "perceived effectiveness" (PE) (Dillard, Shen, et al., 2007) or "perceived message effectiveness" (PME) (Yzer et al., 2015) has as its main objective to obtain "people's perceptions of whether the message influenced them" (O'Keefe, 2018, p. 122). In its broader sense, perceived effectiveness of persuasive message bears not only on assessing whether or not individuals believe that the message is effective in influencing them, but also on likely (future) persuasiveness of the message (O'Keefe, 2018).

This measure is also associated with formative research designed to shape subsequent campaign or intervention messages. According to O'Keefe (2018), formative research collects information concerning the likely effects of persuasive messages by asking individuals about expected or perceived persuasiveness. "The purpose of these assessments is to provide guidance about future actual message effectiveness (AME), understood as a message's producing the intended persuasive effects on attitudes, intentions, or behaviors" (O'Keefe, 2018, p. 121).

Similarly, Bigsby and her colleagues (2013) point out that efficient procedures for assessing the effectiveness of messages with persuasion aims would be a useful instrument for those designing public health, political or social issue campaigns, and undoubtedly for scholars seeking to evaluate various types of message effects. The most direct way to evaluate the effectiveness of a message, aimed at behavior change (assuming the proper design and controls), is to conduct a test in the field with the appropriate target population (Bigsby et al., 2013).

PE has piqued a good deal of scholarly interest in the past decade and very significant progress has been made on this issue (e.g., Dillard, Shen, et al., 2007; Dillard, Weber, et al., 2007; Dillard & Ye, 2008; Fishbein et al., 2002). Prior research has considerably advanced the development of efficient measures of PE and the validation of these measures with respect to important outcomes, such as attitude and behavioral intention.

In experimental work, PE has been positively correlated with cognitive responses (thought-listing difference scores), intention to engage in advocated behavior, attitude toward the advocacy of the ad, negative emotion in response to the ad, judged realism and amount learned from the ad, and negatively correlated with positive emotional responses, and

negatively correlated with positive emotional responses (Barrett et al., 2011; Dillard, Weber, et al., 2007; Fishbein et al., 2002). In addition, a meta-analysis of 40 studies (around 3,000 respondents) found a significant effect size (r =.41 with 95% of the effects positive) for the relationship between perceived and actual effectiveness of persuasive messages (measured in this case by attitude toward and intention to perform the target behaviors in persuasive messages) (Dillard, Weber, et al., 2007).

There is no full agreement between scholars upon set of items used for evaluating PE of messages (Yzer et al., 2011). As a matter of fact, different operational measures of PE have been significantly correlated with different outcome measures (e.g., Barrett et al., 2011; Dillard, Weber, et al., 2007). The results of a study on conceptualization and operationalization of PE show that PE measures consist of two main factors: convincingness and pleasantness, with the former involving most of the items used in different measures.

Previous studies (e.g., Igartua & Rodríguez-Contreras, 2020; Kim et al., 2016) have used PE measure to assess the persuasive impact of messages. This dissertation, which seeks to explore the persuasive impact of an argument based on CM cue, considers perceived effectiveness of persuasive message as a relevant dependent variable since the theme of the message, that is linked to message argument, can affect PE of messages (Bigsby et al., 2013), which is per se correlated with actual effectiveness of messages.

7.3.3. Attitude toward intergroup contact

On the basis of parasocial contact theory (Schiappa et al., 2005), exposure to outgroup members via media would increase ingroup members' perception of the outgroup and further promotes their positive attitudes toward the outgroup. According to Schiappa and his colleagues (2005, p. 97), "one can develop affective ties with persons known only through mediated communication, and, whether one reappraises one's beliefs about one's ingroup or not, the resulting parasocial relationships could encourage a change in prejudicial attitudes about the outgroups to which minority characters belong".

Most contact theory research scrutinize attitudes toward the outgroup as the main dependent variable (Harwood, 2017). Research evidence in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Igartua et al., 2019; Vezzali et al., 2018; Wojcieszak et al., 2020) shows that attitudes toward immigrants are considered as the main outcome variable in most mediated contact studies. Some scholars (Graf et al., 2020; Wojcieszak et al., 2020) have also tested the effects of contact on different components of outgroup attitudes, namely

cognitive component (i.e., stereotypes), affective component (i.e., outgroup feelings), and behavioral component (i.e., intentions to engage in the future outgroup contact).

In line with the literature that suggests that attitudes can predict intention and behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), positive attitudes towards outgroup contact can also act as the underlying mechanism for intended behaviors (e.g., intentions to engage in future contact) (Crisp & Husnu, 2011; Harwood et al., 2015; Stathi et al., 2014).

Drawing on an attributional processing account of imagined contact effects, Crisp and Husnu (2011) confirmed that imagining intergroup contact increases intentions to engage in future contact by enhancing the attribution, to oneself, of positive attitudes towards outgroup contact. In addition, their results showed that positive attitudes towards outgroup contact is highly correlated with intentions to engage in future contact. Stathi and her colleagues (2014) replicated these findings in the context of children relationship with outgroup peers. Previous research has also demonstrated the positive relationship between outgroup attitudes and willingness for intergroup contact among children (Cameron et al., 2006).

Harwood and his colleagues (2015) explain that to the extent that these effects can be demonstrated across a variety of forms of contact, it can be suggested that "contact has a self-perpetuating positive effect, such that once set in motion it yields both positive attitudes and a desire for more contact, which of course should help sustain whatever attitude change has been achieved".

Mediated contact scholars (e.g., Vezzali et al., 2012) also scrutinize desire for future communication with immigrant outgroup (as intended behavior), a particularly important outcome for indirect contact as it suggests an intention to move from indirect to direct contact (Crisp & Husnu, 2011; Harwood et al., 2015; Stathi et al., 2014). However, this dissertation uses only positive attitude toward intergroup contact as a theoretically and practically relevant dependent variable to measure the prejudiced attitude change caused by exposure to mediated intergroup contact.

7.3.4. Intention to share messages through social media

Information sharing is a voluntary behavior where individuals discuss new ideas with others whom they believe have information needs (Jarvenpaa & Staples, 2001). When an information sharer receives new information that matches the information needs of others, the sharer can pass along the new information to the target (Rioux, 2005). This concept is highly relevant in social media context, where information about stigmatized outgroups (e.g.,

immigrants) can be easily and purposefully shared. Social media has the ability to span groups, that is it facilitates communication beyond ingroup and increases the potential for interaction with disparate others (e.g., immigrant outgroups), hence increasing the possibility to reduce intergroup prejudice (Carr, 2017).

The study of persuasion has always concentrated on how to change, reinforce or maintain attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of individuals in a society (Dillard & Shen, 2013). One of the main objectives of narrative persuasion is also changing attitudes (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013; Cohen et al., 2018). However, the attitudinal effect does not have to be limited exclusively to the recipient of the message, and could also impact other individuals if shared, for instance through social media (Igartua et al., 2017).

Igartua et al. (2017, p. 1092) argue that just as rumors and negative news against immigration spread quickly through social networks, it is to be expected that "if messages with favorable content toward immigration come from personal contacts, they can have a greater persuasive impact, because that would increase trust in such messages, as they come from people's own contacts on social networks". As stated by Carr (2017), social media is a channel in which individuals interact with each other and they drive value from content within social media generated by other users. Social media provides senders and receivers of messages enough time to interpret and decode/encode messages and allows them to construct and consider more carefully both their own selves and their interactions (Carr, 2017).

In this sense, a narrative intervention that seeks attitudinal change could be considered successful if the recipients of such messages choose to share the narrative through social media (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter), becoming in turn disseminators of the message and expanders of its impression and reach (Igartua et al., 2017). Narrative may be more immersive and evocative than non-narrative messages (Murphy et al., 2013) and, hence, more likely to encourage sharing (Berger & Milkman, 2012). Research evidence has also shown that narrative messages (as compared to non-narrative ones) generate higher intention to be shared, and the narrative transportation acts as a mediator variable of such effect (Barbour et al., 2016).

Similarly, research evidence on diffusion of online content highlights that the more an entertainment message induces emotional activation, fun, and favorable attitudes toward the content, the more it is shared via social networks (Berger & Milkman, 2012; Crook et al., 2016). Taking into account that both narrative transportation and identification with the protagonist are mechanisms that predict emotional engagement with narrative content and enjoyment

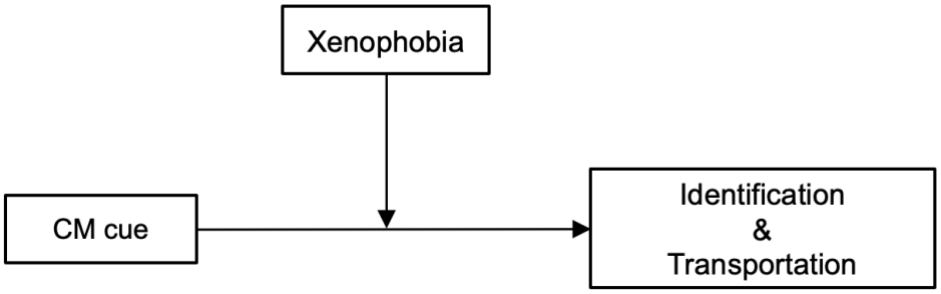
(Cohen, 2001; Green et al., 2004), it is postulated that the activation of these underlying mechanisms could increase the intention to share the message via social media.

By designing the empirical experiments in the context of social media, this dissertation attempts to explore the implications of mediated contact in social media. As a result, the author includes as a relevant dependent variable the intention to share the message through social media.

7.3.5. Objectives and hypotheses

This narrative experiment has two main objectives. Firstly, it aims to contrast the combined effect of CM cue and xenophobia level on underlying mechanisms of narrative persuasion. Thus, it is hypothesized (H1) that narrative social media post featuring an immigrant protagonist would lead to a greater identification with the protagonist (H1a) and a greater narrative transportation (H1b) in people with a low level of xenophobia when the CM argument is present (vs. absent).

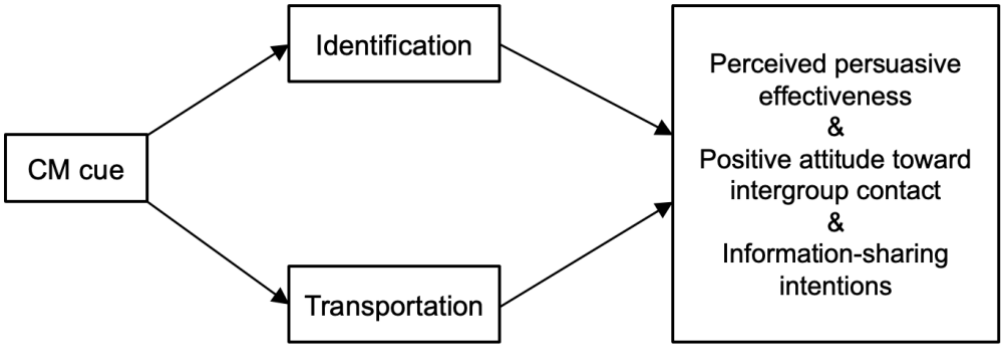
Figure 8. Hypothesized simple moderation model (Model 1 PROCESS).



However, it can also be argued that the CM cue can have independent effects not only on the reception processes under consideration, but also on attitudinal and intentional features towards immigrants. Thus, a second objective is to contrast the indirect effects of a CM cue on dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitudes towards contact with Venezuelan immigrants, and intention to share the message), through identification with the characters and narrative transportation.

Secondly, it is postulated (H2) that when the CM argument is present (vs. absent), the narrative social media post featuring an immigrant protagonist would have an indirect effect on perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitudes toward intergroup contact, and intention to share the message, through mediation of identification with the characters (H2a) and narrative transportation (H2b).

Figure 9. Hypothesized parallel mediation model (Model 4 PROCESS).



7.3.6. Method

A) Design and participants

To test these predictions, an online experiment was designed and carried out using the Qualtrics online platform. In order to estimate the required sample size for the experimental study, a power analysis was performed with the statistical software G*Power (Faul et al., 2007, 2009). Based on the meta-analysis review carried out by Braddock & Dillard (2016), and assuming an effect size of .19, an α value of .05, and a power of .80, G*Power program indicated that a sample size of 220 participants would be necessary in a study with two groups. As a result, the study was designed to access a sample of this size or slightly larger.

For the narrative experiment, a total of 260 individuals of Colombian origin were recruited through Qualtrics. Sex and age quotas were established in order for the sample to represent the Colombian population on these characteristics. Participants averaged 37.99 years of age (SD = 11.94) and ranged in age from 18 to 65. Fifty percent of the participants were women.

The experimental research was carried out with a 2-group between-subjects design, considering the CM cue (presence vs. absence) as the manipulated independent variable. That is, half of the survey participants read a narrative message containing CM cue (information with reference to the past) and half read a narrative message without CM cue (information with reference to the present). Participants were assigned randomly to one experimental condition.

All participants were provided with an informed consent form with all general information about the experiment at the beginning of the survey. The design consisted of a pre-test questionnaire, experimental manipulation, and post-test questionnaire (see Annex 3). The pretest measured sociodemographic variables (sex, age, education) and level of xenophobia (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; M = 4.43, SD = 1.27). The pre-test questionnaire

included also three screening questions: “In which country were you born?”, “In which country was your father born?”, and “In which country was your mother born?”. Only individuals of Colombian origin, whose parents were also Colombian, were allowed to participate in the study.

Having completed pre-test questionnaire, participants were randomized to two experimental conditions based on the design (presence vs. absence of CM cue in the narrative message). Participants were exposed to a first-person narrative message whose protagonist was a Venezuelan immigrant. After reading the narrative post, posttest measures were presented, which included questions regarding mediating variables (identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation), one attention check question (participants who did not select the correct answer were excluded from the final sample), and dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions).

B) Stimulus materials (independent variable manipulations)

The experimental stimulus[105] in this study (Figure 10 and 11) was a textual testimonial featuring a Venezuelan immigrant in Colombia (parasocial contact). In order to evaluate mediated contact in a humanitarian context, the brief first-person testimonial was designed as a fictitious Facebook post of a national NGO (Colombian Red Cross) in the framework of a humanitarian ad. Messages that use the first-person (vs. third-person) narrative voice are more effective (Igartua & Rodríguez-Contreras, 2020).

As stated by (Macias, 2019), migrants have become increasingly active in mediating their needs and desires through their own verbal, auditory and visual practices on and through digital communications, creating and challenging narratives about emplacement. Social media is a novel context which has not been addressed previously by mediated contact scholars in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice. In contrast to previous studies which have used slightly long narratives, such as stories (Igartua et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2020), movies and videos (Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Igartua & Frutos, 2017), or TV and newspapers reports (Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018), the experiment employs brief narrative social media posts to open up also an opportunity to understand whether this type of

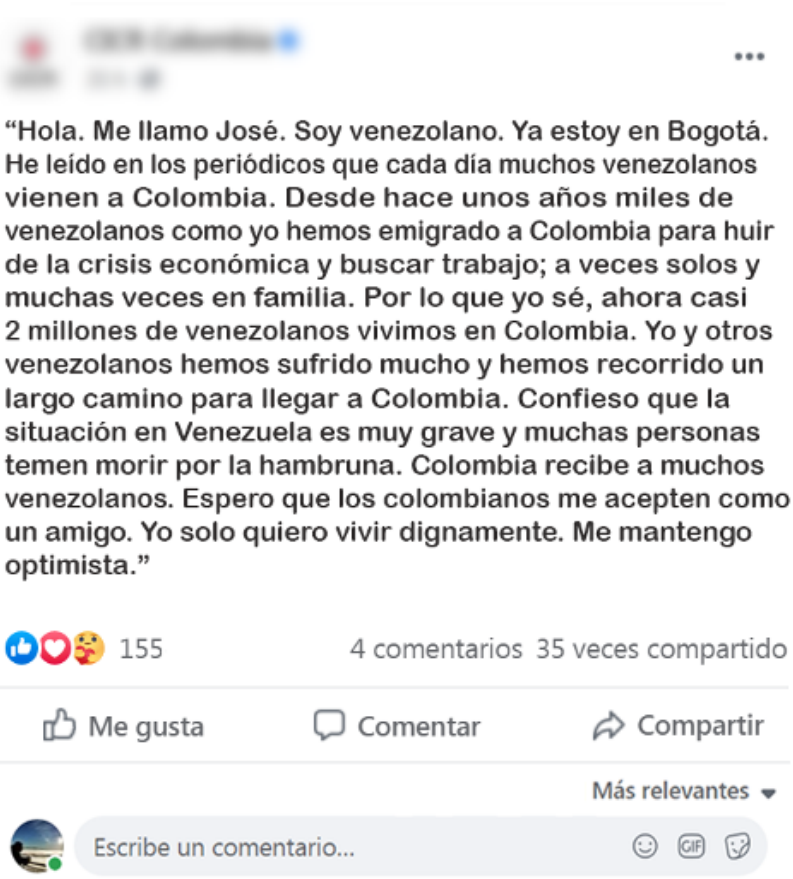
[105] Available also at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

mediated content would activate the underlying mechanisms in narrative persuasion (identification with protagonist and narrative transportation).

The narrative post focused on the experiences of a fictional Venezuelan immigrant in Bogotá. In the testimonial, the fictional character, called José, provides information about Venezuelan migration to Colombia (vs. Colombian migration to Venezuela) and expresses his hope of being accepted by Colombian society. The post had the underlying persuasive goal of reducing prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

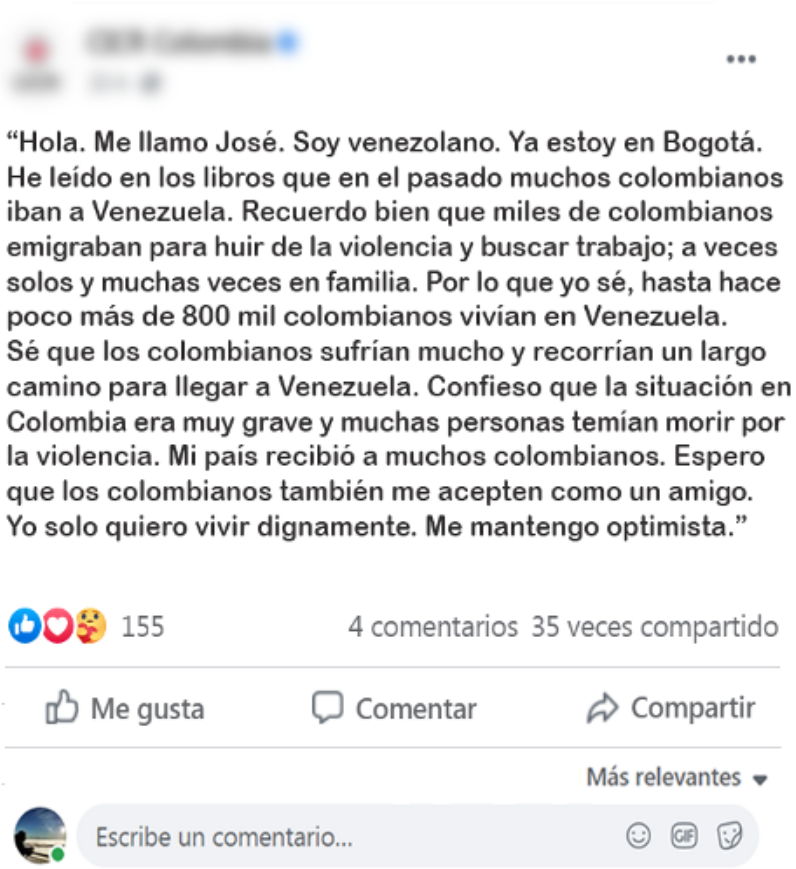
Two versions of the testimonial posts (Figure 10 and 11) with a CM cue (119 words) and without CM cue (123 words) were created. The author manipulated the stimulus by including or removing textual information about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela presented by the Venezuelan immigrant. Every single aspect of the posts was double-checked in order to avoid any type of unintended manipulation.

Figure 10. Experimental stimulus for the condition "narrative post without CM cue".



To contrast the effectiveness of manipulation check, four perceived past-remembering questions were included in the post-test questionnaire. Two of the items were: "The post was about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela" and "The post made me remember how and why Colombians migrated to Venezuela" (from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*).

Figure 11. Experimental stimulus for the condition "narrative post with CM cue".



A pilot study (N = 50) was carried out to check the validity of the experimental manipulation in terms of presence (vs. absence) of a CM cue. The efficiency of experimental manipulation was checked through two manipulation check (perceived past-remembering) items: "To what extent do you consider that the testimonial deals with the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela?" (MC1) and "To what extent do you consider that the testimonial deals with the history of Venezuelan migration to Colombia?" (MC2) (0 = *nothing*, 10 = *a lot*). In addition, the two versions of the testimonial were piloted for clarity and understanding, credibility, interest, and realism (from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). As expected, participants who were exposed to post with CM cue scored significantly higher on

MC1 and lower on MC2. Furthermore, both versions of the post were rated as equally understandable, believable, interesting, and realistic.

C) Measures

Moderating variables

Xenophobia level. Xenophobia is measured at individual level using a 5-item scale developed by Van der Veer et al. (2011) (e.g., "Interacting with Venezuelan immigrants makes me uneasy"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). An index was created by averaging the 5 items (α = .77, M = 4.43, SD = 1.27). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 5.5$, $p < .001$).

Mediating variables

Identification with the protagonist. This mediating variable was assessed using an 11-item scale, previously established as reliable and valid by Igartua and Barrios (2012), which measures the degree of identification with a specific character (e.g., "I felt emotionally involved with José's feelings"; from 1 = *nothing*, to 5 = *a lot*). An index was constructed by averaging the 11 items (α = .94, M = 3.32, SD = 0.83). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 6.2$, $p < .001$).

Narrative transportation. This mediating variable was measured using the 5-item Transportation Scale-Short Form, developed by Appel et al., (2015), and adapted to Spanish in a recent study by Igartua, Wojcieszak and Kim (2019). This scale tapped into the degree to which the participants were absorbed or immersed in the narrative post (e.g., "I could imagine myself in the situations described in the video"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). The 5 items were combined to create a narrative transportation index (α = .85, M = 4.61, SD = 1.23). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 8.1$, $p < .001$).

Manipulation check variables

Perceived past-remembering. To test the experimental manipulation, a scale consisting of four independent perceived past-remembering items were used (e.g., "the post was about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*).

Table 7. Measures of moderating, mediating, and manipulation check variables (Study III).

Measure	Response options	Reliability (Cronbach's alpha)
Xenophobia level	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.77
• Immigration from Venezuela into Colombia is out of control. • I doubt that Venezuelan immigrants put the interests of this country first. • I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in Venezuelan immigration. • With increased Venezuelan immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse. • Interacting with Venezuelan immigrants makes me feel uneasy.		
Identification with the protagonist	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.94
• I felt emotionally involved with José's feelings. • I understood how José acts, thinks and feels. • I understood José's feelings or emotions. • I imagined how I would act if I were José. • I was concerned about what was happening to José. • I tried to imagine José's feelings, thoughts, and reactions. • I tried to see things from José's point of view. • I felt as if I were José. • I experienced José's emotional reactions myself. • I had the impression of living José's story myself. • I identified with José.		
Narrative transportation	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.85
• I could imagine myself in the situations described in the narrative. • I felt mentally very involved during the reading of the story. • I wanted to know how the story was going to end. • The text affected me emotionally. • While reading the narrative I got a very vivid and clear picture of José.		
Perceived past-remembering	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	*Independent items*
• The post was about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela. • The post was about the history of Venezuelan migration to Colombia. • The post made me remember how and why Colombians migrated to Venezuela. • The post made me remember how and why Venezuelans migrate to Colombia.		

Dependent variables

Perceived persuasive effectiveness. This variable was evaluated using a scale constructed from previous works (Igartua & Rodríguez-Contreras, 2020; Kim, 2019; O'Keefe, 2020), and composed of four items (e.g., "the message was convincing"; from 1 = *strongly disagree,* to 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$, $M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.24$). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 14.3$, $p < .001$).

Table 8. Measures of dependent variables (Study III).

Measure	Response options	Reliability (Cronbach's alpha)
Perceived persuasive effectiveness	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.88
• The post was credible. • The post was convincing. • The post was appropriate. • This post was very important to me.		
Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.86
• How friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants? • In general, how much do you think you enjoy being with Venezuelan immigrants? • In general, are you the sort of person who gets on well with Venezuelan immigrants?		
Information-sharing intentions	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.93
• I would be willing to share this information with others. • I would talk to others about this information. • I would direct others to an address where they could read this information. • I would give a "like" to a page or social media post that has this information. • I would be willing to post a link to this information on social media. • I would share a link to this information.		

Positive attitude toward intergroup contact. To measure the extent to which participants attributed to themselves a positive attitude towards intergroup contact, a 3-item scale proposed by Crisp and Husnu (2011) was used (e.g., "Thinking about your own attitudes towards contact with Venezuelan immigrants, how friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants?"; from 1 = *nothing*, to 5 = *a lot*). An index was constructed by averaging the 3 items ($\alpha = .86$, *M*

= 3.35, *SD* = .85). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 6.7$, $p < .001$).

Information-sharing intentions. It was assessed with the scale developed by Barbour, Doshi, & Hernández (2016), composed of 6 items (e.g., "I would be willing to share this information with others"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). The 6 items that measured the intention to share the post on social networks were combined into an index (α = .93, $M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.38$). The mean score was higher than the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(259) = 12.3$, $p < .001$).

D) Data analysis

The data obtained in the present experimental study[106] are analyzed using *SPSS* 25 and the *PROCESS* macro (Version 3.5, Hayes, 2018). The *PROCESS* macro is an extension of *SPSS* widely used in the field of social sciences and is based on regression analysis which allows for mediation analyses (determining how or why a certain effect occurs), moderation analyses (explaining under what circumstances an effect occurs), and moderated mediation analyses (showing whether an indirect effect occurs differently at distinct values of a moderating variable) (Hayes, 2018).

In this experiment, the independent variable (CM cue) is coded with the values 0 = narrative post without CM cue, and 1 = narrative post with CM cue; and the moderator variable (xenophobia level) is considered as a continuous variable.

7.3.7. Results

A) Preliminary analysis

First, the study contrasted whether the random allocation to the two experimental conditions had been successful. There were no statistically significant differences between the conditions in sociodemographic terms (gender ($\chi 2(2, N = 260) = 2.707$, $p = .258$; age ($t(258) = .716$, $p = .475$); education ($t(258) = .877$, $p = .381$), and xenophobia level ($t(258) = -1.29$, $p = .196$).

Secondly, the analysis confirmed the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation of argument framing (presence vs. absence of CM cue). After exposure to stimulus, participants in each condition responded four perceived past-remembering items (manipulation check). The

[106] Available at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

independent sample *t*-test indicated that there were statistically significant differences between experimental groups in all four items; (item 1) "The post was about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela" ($t(258) = -10.933$, $p < .001$), (item 2) "The post was about the history of Venezuelan migration to Colombia" ($t(258) = 5.789$, $p < .001$), (item 3) "The post made me remember how and why Colombians migrated to Venezuela" ($t(258) = -8.580$, $p < .001$), (item 4) "The post made me remember how and why Venezuelans migrate to Colombia" ($t(258) = 5.378$, $p < .001$). That is, participants who were exposed to testimonial with CM cue considered that the post was about the past and ranked higher in item 1 ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 2.03$), and item 3 ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.42$), as compared to participants who were exposed to testimonial without CM cue; item 1 ($M = 2.12$, $SD = 1.95$), and item 3 ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 2.18$). In contrast, participants who were exposed to testimonial without CM cue considered that the post was not about the past and ranked higher in item 2 ($M = 6.24$, $SD = 1.30$), and item 4 ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.09$), in comparison to participants who were exposed to testimonial with CM cue; item 2 ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.95$), and item 4 ($M = 4.96$, $SD = 1.83$).

Finally, the correlations between the mediating constructs were tested to see whether these mechanisms demonstrate convergent correlations with the hypotheses. Furthermore, statistically significant relationships were observed between the mediating variables and dependent variables. These findings back the proposed mediation model (Table 9).

Table 9. Correlations between mediating and dependent variables.

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Identification	-				
2	Narrative transportation	.81***	-			
3	Perceived persuasive effectiveness	.64***	.70***	-		
4	Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	.57***	.51***	.51***	-	
5	Information-sharing intentions	.62***	.57***	.57***	.55***	-
	Mean	3.32	4.61	5.10	3.35	5.05
	Standard deviation	0.83	1.23	1.24	0.85	1.38

Note. *N = 240*. A greater score shows a higher intensity in all variables, from 1 = *low*, to 7 = *high* (except for identification and positive attitude toward intergroup contact scale with a range from 1 = *low*, to 5 = *high*). + p < .10, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

B) Effect of CM cue and xenophobia level on reception processes (H1)

H1 postulated an interaction effect between the CM cue and xenophobia level on identification with protagonist (H1a) and narrative transportation (H1b). To test this interaction effect, the *Process* macro for *SPSS* was used (Model 1; Hayes, 2018). This procedure allows to estimate the conditional effects of CM cue (X) on identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation (Y), at different levels of xenophobia (W).

Table 10. Interaction effect of CM cue and xenophobia level on reception processes (Model 1 PROCESS).

Independent variable: Identification with the protagonist				
Predictor variables	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Constant	4.52	.24	18.83	.000
CM cue	-.14	.34	-.42	.669
Xenophobia level	-.25	.05	-4.86	.000
CM cue × Xenophobia level	.00	.07	.12	.901
Conditional effects of CM cue at different values of xenophobia level	*θ*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Low xenophobia level	-.11	.13	-.88	.376
Medium xenophobia level	-.10	.09	-1.11	.264
High xenophobia level	-.09	.14	-.67	.503
Independent variable: Narrative transportation				
Predictor variables	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Constant	6.27	.37	16.94	.000
CM cue	-.91	.53	-1.71	.088
Xenophobia level	-.37	.08	-4.52	.000
CM cue × Xenophobia level	.19	.11	1.70	.089
Conditional effects of CM cue at different values of xenophobia level	*θ*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Low xenophobia level	-.28	.20	-1.38	.168
Medium xenophobia level	-.04	.14	-.31	.749
High xenophobia level	.22	.21	1.06	.289

The results indicated that there were no statistically significant interaction effects between CM cue and xenophobia level on identification with the protagonist ($B_{interaction}$ = .00, *SE* = .07, *p* = .901), so the conditional effects were neither statistically significant ($\theta_{(CM}$

cue→Identification)|(Low xenophobia level) = -.11, *SE* = .13, *p* = .376; $\theta_{(CM\ cue \rightarrow Identification)}$|(Medium xenophobia level) = -.10, *SE* = .09, *p* = .264); $\theta_{(CM\ cue \rightarrow Identification)}$|(High xenophobia level) = -.09, *SE* = .14, *p* = .503).

In the case of narrative transportation, a certain trend toward significance is observed ($B_{interaction}$ = .19, *SE* = .11, *p* = .089), however the conditional effects were not statistically significant ($\theta_{(CM\ cue \rightarrow Transportation)}$|(Low xenophobia level) = -.28, *SE* = .20, *p* = .168; $\theta_{(CM\ cue \rightarrow Transportation)}$|(Medium xenophobia level) = -.04, *SE* = .14, *p* = .749); $\theta_{(CM\ cue \rightarrow Transportation)}$|(High xenophobia level) = .22, *SE* = .21, *p* = .289). Therefore, H1 was not confirmed (see Table 10).

Nonetheless, independent of the experimental condition, main effects of xenophobia level on identification with protagonist and narrative transportation were observed. Two multiple regression analyses were run to predict, respectively, identification with protagonist and narrative transportation from the xenophobia level, introducing also CM cue, sex, age, and education as predictor variables in the model. The first model was significant (*F* (5, 254) = 14.34, *p* < .001), explaining 22% (R^2 = .21) the variance in identification with the protagonist. The second model was also significant (*F* (5, 254) = 7.63, *p* < .001), explaining 13% (R^2 = .11) the variance in narrative transportation. The results showed that the xenophobia level predicted both identification with protagonist (*B* = -.27, *t* = -7.32, *p* < .001) and narrative transportation (*B* = -.30, *t* = -5.18, *p* < .001).

C) Effects of CM cue (H2)

H2 suggested an indirect effect[107] of CM cue on dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions), all mediated by identification with the protagonist (H2a) and narrative transportation (H2b). To test the hypothesized mediation model and the indirect effects, the *Process* macro for *SPSS* was used (Model 4; 10,000 bootstrapping samples to generate 95% confidence intervals; Hayes, 2018). The *Process* macro allows the estmation of indirect effects, standard errors (*SE*), and confidence intervals (*CI*) using the bootstrapping technique. An indirect effect is regarded as statistically significant when the generated confidence interval (*CI*, at 95%) does not include the value 0.

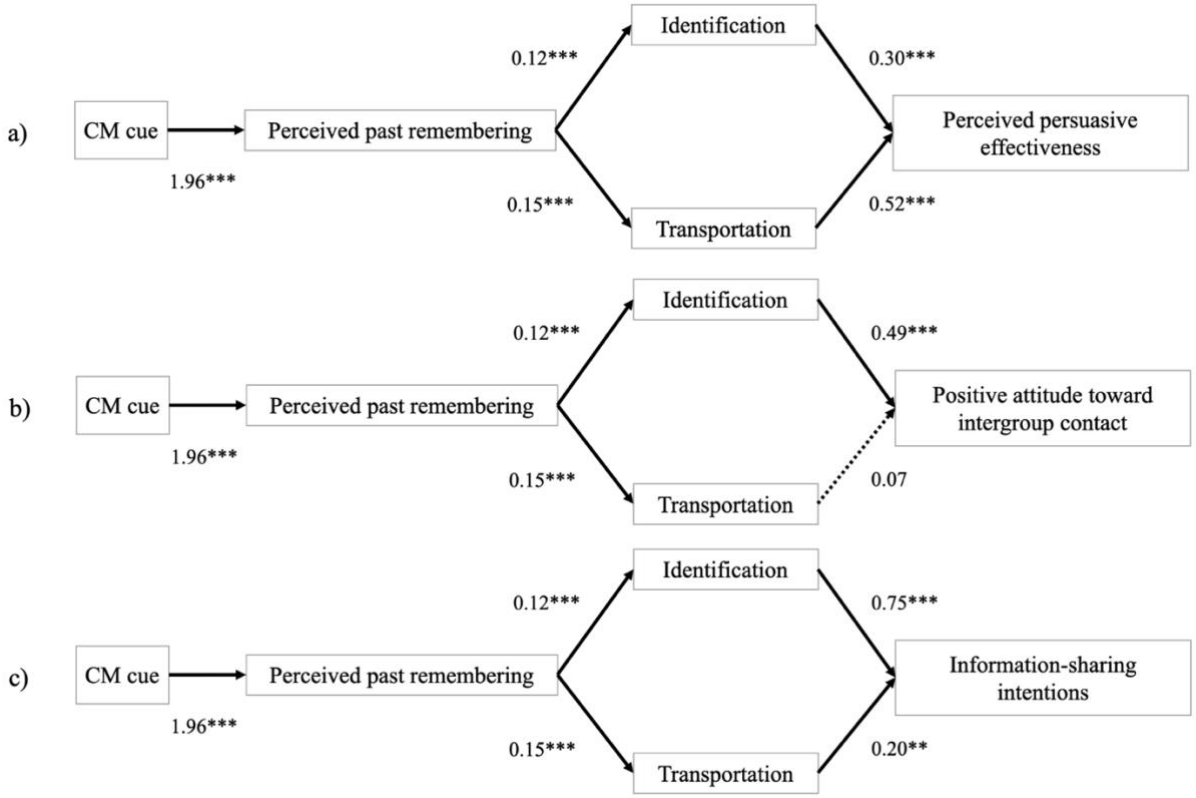
The analysis showed that there was no indirect effect of CM cue on dependent variables since the independent variable had no statistically significant effect on identification (*B* = -.15,

[107] In a multiple mediation model, a specific indirect effect refers to the indirect effect of X on Y through each mediator.

SE = .10, *p* = .125, 95% *CI* = -.36, .04), nor narrative transportation (*B* = -.09, *SE* = .15, *p* = .534, 95% *CI* = -.39, .20). The indirect effects of the CM cue (through mediation of identification) on perceived persuasive effectiveness (95% *CI* = -.3564, .0369), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (95% *CI* = -.2220, .0249), and information-sharing intentions (95% *CI* = -.3809, .0444) were not significant. Similarly, no significant results were observed in terms of indirect effects of the CM cue (through mediation of narrative transportation) on perceived persuasive effectiveness (95% *CI* = -.2830, .1486), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (95% *CI* = -.1402, .0714), and information-sharing intentions (95% *CI* = -.2548, .1349).

O'Keefe (2003) argues that the measures used to test the efficiency of experimental manipulations should be involved in the mediation analyses, because they may act as relevant underlying processes. In this study, the author selects one of the manipulation check items (item 3: "The post made me remember how and why Colombians migrated to Venezuela") as a measure of perceived past-remembering of participants to be included in the mediational model.

Figure 12. Mediational analysis: specific indirect effects of CM cue (Study III).



Note. The figure shows the unstandardized regression coefficients (B). The dashed line represents non-significant coefficients. + p < .10, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Therefore, a second model of serial mediation (Model 81, Hayes, 2018) was proposed to check the indirect effects of the CM cue on dependent variables through perceived past-remembering (primary mediator), and identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation (secondary mediators).

Table 11. Specific indirect effects of CM cue on dependent variables (Study III).

Indirect effects	Effect	Boot *SE*	Boot 95% *CI*
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Identification → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	**.0746**	**.0353**	**[.0166, .1551]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Identification → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	**.1202**	**.0413**	**[.0524, .2134]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Identification → Intention to share the message	**.1811**	**.0611**	**[.0798, .3164]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Transportation → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	**.1581**	**.0538**	**[.0622, .2733]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Transportation → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	.0233	.0229	[-.0197, .0710]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Transportation → Intention to share the message	.0625	.0393	[-.0035, .1501]

Note. An indirect effect is considered to be statistically significant if the established confidence interval (95% *CI*) does not include the value 0 (Hayes, 2018). Statistically significant indirect effects are marked in bold.

These results were convergent with indirect effects of CM cue (see Figure 12 and Table 11). It was observed that CM cue increased perceived past-remembering (B = 1.96, SE = .22, $p < .001$), which in turn increased identification with the character of the post (B = .12, SE = .02, $p < .001$), which was ultimately associated with a greater perceived persuasive effectiveness (B = .30, SE = .11, p = .007), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (B = .49, SE = .09, $p < .001$), and information-sharing intentions (B = .75, SE = .13, $p < .001$).

Regarding the role of narrative transportation, it was observed that the CM cue increased perceived past-remembering (B = 1.96, SE = .22, p < .001), which in turn increased narrative transportation (B = .15, SE = .04, p < .001), which was ultimately associated with a greater perceived persuasive effectiveness (B = .52, SE = .07, p < .001). However, in this latter path, no statistically significant association between narrative transportation and positive attitude toward intergroup contact was observed (B = .07, SE = .06, p = .198). In the case of information-sharing intentions, although statistically significant association was observed (B = .20, SE = .09, p = .025), the confidence intervals regarding the specific indirect effect of CM cue on this dependent variable includes the value 0 (95% CI = -.0035, .1501), hence the null hypothesis is not rejected. The pattern of significance or nonsignificance for individual paths in a mediation model is not fully pertinent to whether the indirect effect is significant. Researchers should absolutely estimate the indirect effect through quantitative instantiation of the mediation process and irrespective of the outcome of hypothesis tests for individual paths (see e.g., Hayes, 2018; Igartua & Hayes, 2021).

7.3.8. Discussion

Narratives about immigration can take multiple forms, appear in different media and focus on different groups. This study focused on the reduction of prejudice towards Venezuelan immigrant in Colombia through narrative testimonial messages as social media posts shared by a humanitarian agency. The narrative experiment was designed to check the efficiency of an argument based on CM and discuss its implications in a narrative persuasion context.

The analysis of explanatory mechanisms is a key element in understanding how the persuasive impact of narrative messages is produced (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013). On the other hand, it was explained that xenophobia (as a measure of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice toward immigrants) is a relevant variable in mediated contact research that influences the degree of identification with protagonists and transportation in narrative messages.

As a result, the present study tested the interaction effect between CM cue and xenophobia level on identification and transportation. The results revealed that there were no statistically significant interaction effects on neither of the mediating variables. Therefore, H1 was not confirmed. Nonetheless, independent of the experimental condition, main effects of xenophobia level on identification and transportation were observed. The results highlighted that xenophobia level reduces protagonist identification and narrative transportation.

In addition, the indirect effect of a CM cue on dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions), through mediation of identification and transportation was tested. The results of mediational analysis showed no significant indirect effect. However, once included perceived past-remembering (manipulation check item) as a relevant underlying mechanism in persuasion, the results became convergent with H2. The results of serial mediation demonstrated that the CM cue increased perceived past-remembering, which in turn increased identification with the protagonist of the post, which was ultimately associated with greater outcome variables. With regard to narrative transportation, significant indirect effects are observed only having perceived persuasive effectiveness as the dependent variable in the model.

These results emphasize the capacity of the CM cue to amplify the effect of persuasive message on dependent variables (in this case perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions). In other words, reminding Colombian citizens of their emigration to Venezuela leads to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction. This is relevant evidence that can help humanitarian agencies to develop more successful media campaigns against xenophobia. In addition, these findings converge with theoretical models of narrative persuasion (Green & Brock, 2002; Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002) and highlight the importance of identification and transportation as mediating mechanisms in narrative persuasion dedicated to anti-immigrant prejudice reduction.

Triggering identification with a stigmatized character is one of the main challenges in persuasion (Chung & Slater, 2013; Igartua & Frutos, 2017). Another interesting finding from this study is that even short messages that are disseminated through social networks have the capacity to stimulate processes of narrative persuasion, such as identification and transportation. This is while the mere quality of the story (Green & Brock, 2002) or mediated contact (Park, 2012) matters as well.

In terms of the effect of similarity with the protagonist on persuasion, this study attempted to expand the research on psychological and subjective characteristics. Since messages featuring stigmatized immigrants, as compared to other protagonists (e.g., an ingroup member), activate less identification (Chung & Slater, 2013; Igartua & Frutos, 2017), more powerful narrative resources than objective demographic attributes (e.g., age or sex) are required to establish affective and cognitive bonds with the protagonist. In this study, it was

observed that the CM cue may serve also as a dimension of similarity which can elicit identification with stigmatized immigrants as well as narrative transportation.

Considering the theoretical context of narrative persuasion, it seems that despite the potential interactivity (Fitzgerald & Green, 2017; Moyer-Gusé & Dale, 2017), identification with the protagonist is more relevant than narrative transportion. This could be due to the number of protagonists in the narrative message. In this study, the social media post was not featuring many Venezuelan immigrants at the same time. The literature shows that based on their psychological underpinnings, identification and transportation are distinct processes that can affect audience involvement differently depending on specific characteristics and manipulations of the message (see Tal-Or & Cohen, 2010). It is also worth noting that transportation is contingent on the ability to relate to the themes evoked by the characters and events of the story and the quality of a narrative (Green & Brock, 2000).[108]

7.4.Study IV: Non-narrative experiment

The overwhelming majority of studies (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Igartua et al., 2019; Wojcieszak et al., 2020; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018) in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction through mediated contact has used stimuli with narrative evidence as experimental interventions, perhaps thanks to the efficiency of these messages in eliciting changes in audience beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intent, and behaviors (e.g., Braddock & Dillard, 2016). However, research evidence (e.g., Cárdaba et al., 2013) has shown that non-narrative messages can lead to reduction in the extremity of prejudiced attitudes toward minority outgroups.

This second quantitative study has as its main objective to increase the external validity of the project, to enrich the literature in mediated contact research, and to discuss the implications of CM cue in a non-narrative context. In addition, the author attempts to understand whether the results of the first quantitative study would be replicated in a non-narrative context.

Based on the non-narrative persuasion conceptualization, I design a non-narrative experiment. In this non-narrative experimental study, I approach processing of persuasive content in non-narrative messages from the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) theoretical

[108] Limitations of the narrative experiment are listed in the section 8.3. of this dissertation.

perspective. This study aims to explore the efficiency of an argument based on CM and discuss its implications in a non-narrative context.

According to the ELM, cognitive elaboration is the main underlying mechanism (mediator) in persuasion. In addition, affective response plays different roles (persuasive argument, biasing thoughts, influencing extent of thoughts, validating thoughts, simple affective cue) in line with cognitive elaboration to affect the persuasive impact. In other words, cognitive elaboration and affective response (mediating variables) would explain the effect of non-narrative messages (independent variable) on audience beliefs, attitudes and behaviors (dependent variables) (Petty & Briñol, 2015).

In this study, in order to measure the effect of a CM cue, in addition to dependent variables used in previous experiment, the author employs message acceptance which is considered as a measure of message effectiveness (Witte, 1992), and a reliable outcome variable (Allen et al., 2000; Wojcieszak & Kim, 2016). Moreover, since the stimuli are designed in the context of social media, the author adds to this non-narrative experiment another independent variable, namely visual imagery, in order to assess other features of these platforms once used as mediated contact tools. Therefore, in comparison to narrative experiment, this experiment has two main independent variables, CM cue (present vs. absent) and visual imagery (text vs. text-image).

7.4.1. Persuasive effects of visual images

Since "newer (than print) technologies have made imagery an almost ubiquitous feature of human communication, research on the topic is growing exponentially" (Dillard, 2019, p. 120). Since the experimental research in this dissertation are conducted in a social media context, the author adds a style-related variable (text vs. text-image) to the non-narrative experiment in order to assess the effect of imagery (an omnipresent feature on SNSs) on mediated content processing.

Imagery may serve various functions. Images can be (a) explanatory, (b) symbolical, (c) complementary of verbal content, and (d) transmitter of emotions (Dillard, 2019). Imagery can lead to social construction of reality (Gamson et al., 1992). According to Seo and his colleagues (2013), one simple function that images can perform is to amplify the verbal portion of a persuasive message. "The presence versus absence of an image may illustrate a point in an argument or reinforce the symbolically expressed message content in a second, non-symbolic information processing system" (Seo et al., 2013, p. 565). Hence, the interest of this experiment

lies on these options; the author asks whether the presence (vs. absence) of an image can amplify the persuasive effects of mediated contact.

The "picture superiority effect" (Nelson et al., 1976) is the phrase used to describe the fact that verbal text paired with imagery is more memorable than verbal text alone. The picture superiority effect posits that images produce more elaborate processing with attendant implications for strengthening the impact of verbal persuasive appeals[109]. One account regarding the extent to which visual imagery has the potential to influence the persuasion process is provided by Zillmann's exemplification theory (1999, 2002). Exemplification theory implies that human beings, rather than processing and memorizing each individual event, extract selectively crucial features of the events and classify them into a broader category which acts as an exemplar. Exemplars are described as informational units that are representative of some phenomena (Zillmann, 1999).

Although exemplification theory does not specifically assume that an exemplification effect is obtained through a certain message type (e.g., verbal message or verbal+visual message), research based on this theory often employs visual images to present concrete exemplars (i.e., the "dominance of exemplification by images"; Zillmann, 2002, p. 29). As a matter of fact, one major tenet of exemplification theory is that concrete events are better than abstract ones for comprehension, storage, and retrieval of information. Through the use of exemplars, communicators can influence message recipients' processing of the information and, ultimately, their attitudes and behaviors (Zillmann, 2006).

Exemplars can be personal testimonials, direct quotes, photos, and a combination of text and images (Bigsby et al., 2019). Visual exemplars, or exemplars presented in pictorial formats, are specifically effective in capturing attention, facilitating processing, and eliciting emotions (Zillmann, 2006). In comparison to solely verbal texts, verbal+visual messages are more effective and concrete in exemplifying events, a feature which enables message recipients to perceive and easily comprehend the issue under consideration (Zillmann, 2006, p. 221). Based on the exemplification theory, images of characters inside a message can serve as a visual exemplar, which can influence people's responses to a message (Zillmann, 2006). As stated by Zillmann et al. (1999, p. 225), even merely descriptive photographs are "more than decor".

[109] As to the picture superiority effect, other concepts, such as "visual metaphors", are also relevant. Metaphor-based visualizations can be used to improve the transfer of knowledge (Eppler, 2003).

The availability heuristic (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973) is well suited to explain the effects of exemplars on individuals' perceptions and judgments. The availability heuristic is a mental shortcut that relies on immediate examples that come to an individual's mind when assessing a specific issue (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). Individuals use this cognitive heuristic to assess the frequency or likelihood of an event based on how easily the information and relevant exemplars are retrieved from memory. From an ELM perspective, recall of exemplars can be associated with peripheral route to persuasion (Harris et al., 2007). The central route to persuasion makes less use of heuristics, such as availability in cognitive processing, while the peripheral route relies strongly on them (Petty et al., 2002).

A complementary framework to exemplification theory is Dual-Coding Theory (DCT), which postulates the existence of two independent but interconnected cognitive mental subsystems while interacting with the environment: the verbal, and the non-verbal (Paivio, 2007). The function of both systems is to encode and store information, however the received information is processed differently and along distinct channels in the human mind. The verbal system processes language and symbols and the nonverbal system is much broader, as it deals with all types of non-symbolic information, including visual, auditory, emotional, gustatory, haptic.

The DCT proposes two means by which the imagery might influence attitudes and beliefs: either by emotional impact on the nonverbal system or by complementing the content of the message processed by the verbal system. In this study, the variation of the message based on CM cue, as it is a linguistic variation, falls within the purview of the verbal system. And the incorporation of a visual stimulus functions as a complementary material in the comprehension, and further persuasiveness, of the message. When stimuli contain both verbal and nonverbal information, the corresponding subsystems interact with each other by reinforcing or amplifying information processing, so that messages with both information types may exert more powerful message effects than messages with a single information type (Seo, 2020).

Another factor that may explain the effect of visual content in a persuasion process is delivery modality. A message can be delivered and presented through a multitude of modalities, written mode (e.g., a story), audio mode (e.g., a recording), written and visual mode (e.g., a post with image), or audiovisual mode (e.g., documentary). Although some researchers find indeed no difference between message modes (McGinnies, 1965; Tannenbaum & Kerrick, 1954), others have reported that message modality can affect persuasion both alone (Haugh,

1952; Knower, 1935), and in interaction with other variables, such as source credibility, argument quality, message topic or issue involvement (Andreoli & Worchel, 1978; Booth-Butterfield & Gutowski, 1993; Braverman, 2008; Chaiken & Eagly, 1983; Ma & Yang, 2022; Seo, 2020; Worchel et al., 1975).

Studies have consistently demonstrated that message modality affects message processing. Print or written modality makes systematic message processing more likely, whereas the effect of peripheral or heuristic cues is more pronounced when the message is delivered through audio/visual mode (Andreoli & Worchel, 1978; Booth-Butterfield & Gutowski, 1993). On the basis of the ELM, those message recipients who use a peripheral route of persuasion should be more affected by heuristic cues than the recipients who use a central route of persuasion.

The majority of research on mediated contact in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice deal with written form of a message (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2020; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018). Some studies have also employed audiovisual content (e.g., Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020). However, to my knowledge, no research has focused on delivery modality in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction through mediated contact, contrasting the persuasive effect of different forms of mediated content.

7.4.2. Message acceptance

Message acceptance refers to the "attitude toward the conclusion of the message" (Allen et al., 2000), and is considered as an outcome measure of message effectiveness (Witte, 1992). In Witte's (1992, 1994) words, message acceptance is assessed in terms of the degree to which individuals report an intention to adopt a message's recommendations.

"Message acceptance is determined by subjective beliefs corresponding to the propositions in a given argument" (Areni, 2002, p. 169). That is, subjective beliefs are represented along a probability continuum in order to make precise predictions about the effects of various argument structures on message acceptance (Goldberg & Wyer, 1970). In the context of advertising, Wright (1973) postulates that cognitive processes (decoding, counterarguing, support arguing, etc.) mediate attitudinal message acceptance, and theses processes are affected by message receiver's involvement (with the advertisement) and message modality.

According to Areni (2002), message acceptance can be influenced by self-generated arguments as well as by the presented arguments. "Message acceptance is based on the formation and/or modification of beliefs corresponding to the propositions making up a given

argument" (Areni, 2002, p. 170). The assumption is that message recipients consider message claims as being probable, likely, possible, very unlikely, hard to believe, and so on, rather than absolutely true or false (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981). This process is consistent with the ELM which posits that persuasion is driven by message recipients' scrutiny of relevant information (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

Contrary and relative to message acceptance is message rejection. Basically, message rejection is regarded as the extent to which an appeal is ineffective or fails to persuade (Witte, 1994). Message rejection tends to be operationalized in terms of maladaptive responses or intentions such as the extent to which individuals report defensively avoiding, denying, minimizing, and/or ignoring a message (Witte, 1992).

Overall, attitudinal message acceptance is considered as a relevant variable to measure the efficiency of persuasive impact of non-narrative messages depending on the presented arguments. Empirical research (Allen et al., 2000; Wojcieszak & Kim, 2016) give support to the use message acceptance as a reliable dependent variable.

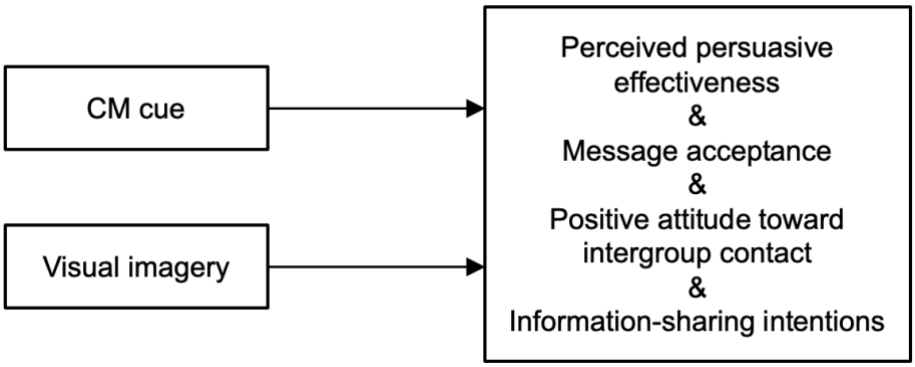
7.4.3. Objectives and hypotheses

Developing reliable manipulations of argument quality is difficult (see Johnson & Eagly, 1989; O'Keefe, 2003) and requires rigorous pre-testing procedures (see Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In ELM research, however, argument quality variations are defined empirically, on the basis of observed effects under conditions of high elaboration (O'Keefe, 2003). It should be acknowledged that ELM theorists have sometimes described the purpose of argument quality manipulations as simply a device "to gauge the extent of message processing by the size of the argument quality effects on attitude and valenced thoughts" (Petty & Wegener, 1999, p. 53), since only "relatively elevated thinking produces differential persuasiveness of messages varying in argument quality" (O'Keefe, 2003).

Since it is not clear whether or not an argument based on the CM cue is of quality (as compared to other pro-migrant arguments), this study has as its main objective to evaluate the efficiency of such an argument as a relevant pro-migrant claim in the context of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia. Hence, it is assumed that the CM cue has the ability to gauge the extent of message processing, and argument quality effects are expected. In other words, due to novelty of the CM argument in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction, this study seeks to understand how the persuasion process is produced and whether or not CM argument leads to attitude change through the central route (high elaboration) or peripheral route (low

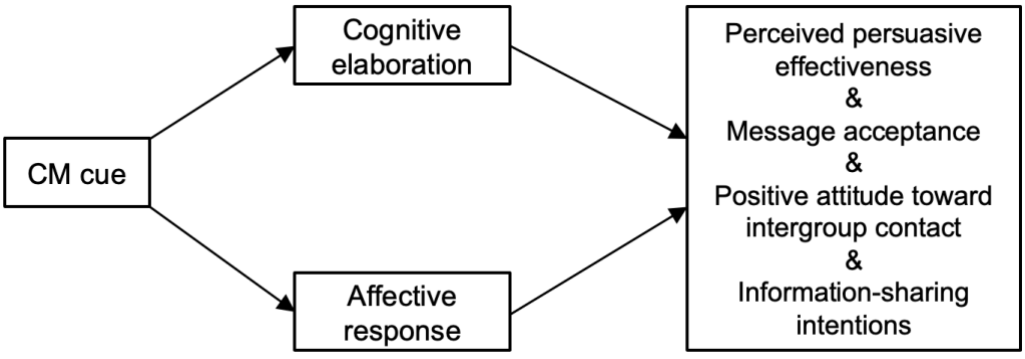
elaboration). In addition, this study seeks to understand whether the presence (vs. absence) of an image can amplify the persuasive effects of mediated contact.

Figure 13. Hypothesized direct effect model.



As a result, the first aim is to test the main effects of the CM cue and visual imagery on perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables. Thus, it is hypothesized (H1) that when the CM cue is present (vs. absent), informational social media post about Venezuelan immigration would lead to greater dependent variables, namely perceived persuasive effectiveness (H1a), message acceptance (H1b), positive attitudes toward intergroup contact (H1c), and intention to share the message (H1d). In addition, it is hypothesized (H2) that a post with modality of text-image (vs. textual post) would lead to perceived persuasive effectiveness (H2a), message acceptance (H2b), positive attitudes toward intergroup contact (H2c), and intention to share the message (H2d).

Figure 14. Hypothesized parallel mediation model (Model 4 PROCESS).



Based on the ELM, cognitive elaboration and affective response are constructs that explain persuasion process. A second objective is to contrast the indirect effects of CM cue on dependent variables through cognitive elaboration and affective response. Thus, it is postulated (H3) that when the CM cue is present (vs. absent), informational social media post about Venezuelan immigration would have an indirect effect on message acceptance, perceived

persuasive effectiveness, positive attitudes toward intergroup contact, and intention to share the message, through mediation of cognitive elaboration (H3a) and affective responses (H3b).

7.4.4. Method

A) Design and participants

To test these predictions, an online experiment was designed and carried out using Qualtrics online platform. In order to estimate the required sample size for the experimental study, a power analysis was performed with the statistical software G*Power (Faul et al., 2007, 2009). Based on the meta-analysis review carried out by Carpenter (2015) and assuming an effect size of .21, an α value of .05, a power of .80, and a four-group between-subjects design, G*Power program indicated that a minimum sample size of 252 participants would be necessary. The author recruited additional participants to achieve adequate power taking into account the effect of visual imagery.

For the non-narrative experiment, a total of 420 individuals of Colombian origin were recruited through Qualtrics. Sex and age quotas were established in order for the sample to represent the Colombian population on these characteristics. Participants averaged 37.55 years of age (SD = 13.19) and ranged in age from 18 to 65. Fifty percent of the participants were women.

This experimental research was carried out with a 2 (CM cue: presence vs. absence) x 2 (visual imagery: text vs. text-image) between-subjects factorial design, considering CM cue and visual imagery as the manipulated independent variables. That is, survey participants were exposed to four conditions: 1) textual post without CM cue, 2) textual + visual post without CM cue, 3) textual post with CM cue, 4) textual + visual post with CM cue. Participants were assigned by random to one experimental condition.

All participants were provided with an informed consent form with all general information about the experiment at the beginning of the survey. The design consisted of a pre-test questionnaire, experimental manipulation, and post-test questionnaire (see Annex 4). The pre-test questionnaire included sociodemographic variables (sex, age, education) and three screening questions: “In which country were you born?”, “In which country was your father born?”, and “In which country was your mother born?”. Only individuals of Colombian origin, whose parents were also Colombian, were allowed to participate in the study. Having completed pre-test questionnaire, participants were randomized to four experimental conditions based on the design. Participants were exposed to messages with statistical

information about Venezuelan/Colombian emigration. After reading the non-narrative post, posttest measures were presented, which included questions regarding mediating variables (cognitive elaboration and affective responses), one attention check question (participants who did not select the correct answer were excluded from the final sample), and dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, message acceptance, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions).

B) Stimulus materials (independent variable manipulations)

The experimental stimulus[110] in this study was a social media post with statistical information about Venezuelan or Colombian emigration. Similar to previous experiment, the statistical information was designed as fictitious Facebook post of a national NGO (Colombian Red Cross) in order to evaluate mediated contact in a humanitarian context. Depending on the experimental condition, the non-narrative post provided information about Venezuelan emigration to Colombia (vs. Colombian emigration to Venezuela) and called on behaving with dignity and respect towards Venezuelan immigrants. The post had the underlying persuasive goal of reducing prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

Four versions of the non-narrative posts (Figure 15, 16, 17 and 18) were designed. The author manipulated stimulus in terms of the CM cue by including statistical information about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela (vs. history of Venezuelan migration to Colombia). With regard to visual imagery, two photos featuring Venezuelan and Colombian migrants were designed. The protagonists of the photos stayed untouched due to similar phenotype of Venezuelans and Colombians, and the photos differed merely by the Colombian or Venezuelan flag shown in the background. Every single textual and visual aspect of the posts was double-checked in order to avoid any type of unintended manipulation.

To contrast the effectiveness of manipulation check, four perceived past-remembering questions were included in the post-test questionnaire. Two of the items were: "This post mentions the historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela" and "This post reminds me of the historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela" (from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*).

[110] Available at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

Figure 15. Experimental stimulus for the condition "textual post without CM cue".

Figure 16. Experimental stimulus for the condition "textual-visual post without CM cue".

Figure 17. Experimental stimulus for the condition "textual post with CM cue".

Figure 18. Experimental stimulus for the condition "textual-visual post with CM cue".

A pilot study (N = 100) was carried out to check the validity of the experimental manipulation in terms of presence (vs. absence) of a CM cue. The efficiency of experimental manipulation was checked through two manipulation check (perceived past-remembering) items: “To what extent do you consider that the message mentions the historical evolution of the Colombian population in Venezuela?” (MC1) and “To what extent do you consider that the message mentions the historical evolution of the Venezuelan population in Colombia?” (MC2) (0 = *nothing*, 10 = *a lot*). In addition, the four versions of the post were piloted for clarity and understanding, credibility, interest, and realism (from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). As expected, participants who were exposed to post with CM cue scored significantly higher on MC1 and lower on MC2. Furthermore, all versions of the post were rated as equally understandable, believable, interesting, and realistic.

C) Measures

Mediating variables

Cognitive elaboration. An adapted version of cognitive elaboration scale (Igartua & Rodríguez-Contreras, 2020; Igartua & Vega Casanova, 2016) was used, consisting of three items (e.g., “While reading the post, I reflected intensely on the topic of Venezuelan migration and its consequences”; from 1 = *strongly disagree,* to 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = 0.85$, $M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.35$). The mean score was above the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(419) = 12.8$, $p < .001$).

Affective responses. Drawing on Differential Emotion Scale (DES) (Izard, 1977), a scale of 9 items (Igartua et al., 2003) was used, and each item described an emotion: happiness, sadness, anger, fear or anxiety, disgust, guilt, shame, pride, and attachment or attraction. Participants were asked to indicate how much the post had made them feel those emotions (from 1 = *nothing*, to 5 = *a lot*). A factor analysis of principal components (with orthogonal rotation) was performed which extracted three factors that together explained 57.40% of the variance. Then three emotion indicators were produced, one for positive emotions, such as happiness, pride, and attachment or attraction ($\alpha = .54$, $M = 2.04$, $SD = 0.78$), two for negative emotions; one index for shame, disgust or repulsion, and guilt ($\alpha = .57$, $M = 1.56$, $SD = 0.67$), and one index for sadness, anger or rage, and fear or anxiety ($\alpha = .57$, $M = 2.93$, $SD = 0.83$).

Manipulation check variables

Perceived past-remembering. To test the experimental manipulation, a scale consisting of four independent perceived past-remembering items were used (e.g., "this post reminds me of historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*).

Table 12. Measures of mediating and manipulation check variables (Study IV).

Measure	Response options	Reliability (Cronbach's alpha)
Cognitive elaboration	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.85
• While reading the post, I reflected intensely on the issue of Venezuelan migration and its consequences. • As I progressed through the post, I tried to draw conclusions to adjust my views on Venezuelan migration. • Seeing this post has made me think deeply about Venezuelan migration.		
Positive emotions	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.54
• Happiness • Pride • Attachment or attraction		
Negative emotions (a)	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.57
• Shame • Disgust or repulsion • Guilt		
Negative emotions (b)	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.57
• Sadness • Anger or rage • Fear or anxiety		
Perceived past-remembering	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	*Independent items*
• This post mentions the historical evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia. • This post mentions the historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela. • This post reminds me of the historical evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia. • This post reminds me of the historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela.		

Dependent variables

Perceived persuasive effectiveness. This variable was evaluated using a scale constructed from previous works (Igartua & Rodríguez-Contreras, 2020; Kim, 2019; O'Keefe, 2020), and

composed of four items (e.g., "the message was convincing"; from 1 = *strongly disagree,* to 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = 0.88$, $M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.24$). The mean score was above the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(419) = 19.3$, $p < .001$).

Table 13. Measures of dependent variables (Study IV).

Measure	Response options	Reliability (Cronbach's alpha)
Perceived persuasive effectiveness	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.88
• The post was credible. • The post was convincing. • The post was appropriate. • This post was very important to me.		
Message acceptance	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	$r = .60^*$
• I accept the conclusion of the post. • My opinion is consistent with the opinion expressed in the post.		
Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)	.86
• How friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants? • In general, how much do you think you enjoy being with Venezuelan immigrants? • In general, are you the sort of person who gets on well with Venezuelan immigrants?		
Information-sharing intentions	1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)	.93
• I would be willing to share this information with others. • I would talk to others about this information. • I would direct others to an address where they could read this information. • I would give a "like" to a page or social media post that has this information. • I would be willing to post a link to this information on social media. • I would share a link to this information.		

*Note. The reliability of message acceptance (two-item scale) was assesed by Pearson coefficient (r (418) = .60, $p < .001$).

Message acceptance. On a 7-point scale (from 1 = *strongly disagree,* to 7 = *strongly agree*), developed by Allen et al. (2000) and used in previous studies (Wojcieszak & Kim, 2016), participants reported their agreement with the following statements: "I accept the conclusion of the post" and "My opinion is consistent with the opinion expressed in the post". These two items were positively correlated and averaged into a valid and reliable scale (r (418)

= .60, $p < .001$, $M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.47$). The mean score was above the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(419) = 11.3$, $p < .001$).

Positive attitude toward intergroup contact. To measure the extent to which subjects attributed to themselves a positive attitude towards intergroup contact, a 3-item scale proposed by Crisp and Husnu (2011) was used (e.g., "Thinking about your own attitudes towards contact with Venezuelan immigrants, how friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants?"; from 1 = *nothing*, to 5 = *a lot*). An index was constructed by averaging the 3 items ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 3.35$, $SD = .85$). The mean score was above the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(419) = 6.2$, $p < .001$).

Information-sharing intentions. It was assessed with the scale developed by Barbour, Doshi, & Hernández (2016), composed of 6 items (e.g., "I would be willing to share this information with others"; from 1 = *strongly disagree*, to 7 = *strongly agree*). The 6 items that measured the intention to share the post on social networks were combined into an index ($\alpha = .93$, $M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.38$). The mean score was above the theoretical midpoint of the scale ($t(419) = 17.9$, $p < .001$).

D) Data analysis

The data obtained in the present study[111] are analyzed using *SPSS* 25 and the *PROCESS* macro (Version 3.4.1, Hayes, 2018). In non-narrative experimental study, the first independent variable (CM cue) is coded with the values 0 = non-narrative post without CM cue, and 1 = non-narrative post with CM cue; and the second independent variable (visual imagery) is coded with the values 0 = post with textual modality, and 1 = post with textual-visual modality.

7.4.5. Results

A) Preliminary analysis

First, the study contrasted whether the random allocation to the four experimental conditions had been successful. There were no statistically significant differences between the conditions in sociodemographic terms (gender ($\chi 2(2, N = 420) = 2.019$, $p = .364$); age ($F(3, 416) = 1.834$, $p = .140$); and education ($\chi 2(2, N = 420) = .086$, $p = .958$).

Secondly, the analysis confirmed the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation of argument framing (presence vs. absence of CM cue). After exposure to stimulus, participants

[111] Available at *Open Science Framework* repository: https://osf.io/hazmf/?view_only=e268b074be4b408c863ae6fabed2dead

in each condition responded four perceived past-remembering items (manipulation check). The independent sample *t*-test indicated that there were statistically significant differences between experimental groups in all four items; (item 1) "This post mentions historical evolution of Venezuelan people in Colombia" ($t(418) = 7.498$, $p < .001$), (item 2) "This post mentions historical evolution of Colombian people in Venezuela" ($t(418) = -12.315$, $p < .001$), (item 3) "This post reminds me of historical evolution of Venezuelan people in Colombia" ($t(418) = 6.255$, $p < .001$), (item 4) "This post reminds me of historical evolution of Colombian people in Venezuela" ($t(418) = -11.673$, $p < .001$). That is, participants who were exposed to statistical evidence with CM cue considered that the post was about the past and ranked higher in item 2 ($M = 4{,}98$, $SD = 1.78$), and item 4 ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.59$), as compared to participants who were exposed to statistical evidence without the CM cue; item 2 ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 2.03$), and item 4 ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 2.02$). In contrast, participants who were exposed to statistical evidence without CM cue considered that the post was not about the past and ranked higher in item 1 ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.65$), and item 3 ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.47$), in comparison to participants who were exposed to statistical evidence with the CM cue; item 1 ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.99$), and item 3 ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.77$).

B) Main effects of CM cue and visual imagery on dependent variables (H1 & H2)

H1 and H2 postulated direct effects of the CM cue and visual imagery on dependent variables. To test these effects, a series of ANOVAs were employed (see Huberty & Morris, 1989).

Table 14. Means and standard deviations of dependent variables by experimental conditions.

Dependent variable	CM cue		Visual imagery	
	Post without CM cue M (SD)	*Post with CM cue* M (SD)	*Textual post* M (SD)	*Textual-visual post* M (SD)
Perceived persuasive effectiveness	5.11 (1.16)	5.09 (1.19)	5.15 (1.12)	5.06 (1.22)
Message acceptance	4.85 (1.49)	4.77 (1.44)	4.86 (1.45)	4.76 (1.49)
Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	3.23 (.98)	3.33 (.88)	3.30 (.90)	3.26 (.96)
Information-sharing intentions	5.04 (1.38)	5.26 (1.25)	5.17 (1.28)	5.13 (1.35)

N = 420.

The results showed unexpectedly that none of the main effects were significant neither for the CM cue nor for visual imagery. The only tendentially significant result was observed in terms of the effect of CM cue on information-sharing intentions ($F(1, 416) = 2.80$, $p = .095$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$). Table 15 presents the *F* ratio, *p*-value, and effect size of target variables in conducted analyses.

Table 15. ANOVA results of the effect of CM cue and visual imagery on dependent variables (Study IV).

Target variables	*F*	*p*	η_p^2
Perceived persuasive effectiveness			
CM cue	.024	.877	.000
Visual imagery	.635	.426	.002
Message acceptance			
CM cue	.318	.573	.001
Visual imagery	.440	.508	.001
Positive attitude toward intergroup contact			
CM cue	1.018	.314	.002
Visual imagery	.205	.651	.000
Information-sharing intentions			
CM cue	2.806	.095	.007
Visual imagery	.095	.758	.000

Note. For all tests, $df_{time} = 1$, and $df_{error} = 416$

C) Indirect effects of CM cue on dependent variables (H3)

H3 suggested an indirect effect of CM cue on dependent variables (perceived persuasive effectiveness, message acceptance, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions), all mediated by cognitive elaboration (H3a) and affective responses (H3b). To test the hypothesized mediation model and the indirect effects, the *Process* macro for *SPSS* was used (Model 4; 10,000 bootstrapping samples to generate 95% confidence intervals; Hayes, 2018).

The analysis showed that there was no indirect effect of the CM cue on dependent variables, since the independent variable had no statistically significant effect on cognitive elaboration (*B* = .02, *SE* = .13, *p* = .857, 95% *CI*= -.23, .28), positive emotions (*B* = .05, *SE* =

.07, p = .507, 95% CI = -.09, .20), negative emotions$_{(a)}$ (B = .07, SE = .06, p = .257, 95% CI = -.05, .20), and negative emotions$_{(b)}$ (B = -.12, SE = .08, p = .117, 95% CI = -.28, .03).

O'Keefe (2003) argues that the measuring items used to test the efficiency of experimental manipulations should be involved in the mediation analyses, because they may serve as relevant underlying processes. In this study, the author selects one of the manipulation check items (item 4: "This post reminds me of the historical evolution of Colombian people in Venezuela") as a measure for perceived past-remembering of participants to be included in the mediational model. Therefore, a second model of serial mediation (Model 81, Hayes, 2018) was proposed to check the indirect effects of the CM cue on dependent variables through perceived past-remembering (primary mediator), and cognitive elaboration and affective responses (secondary mediators), including visual imagery variable as a covariate.

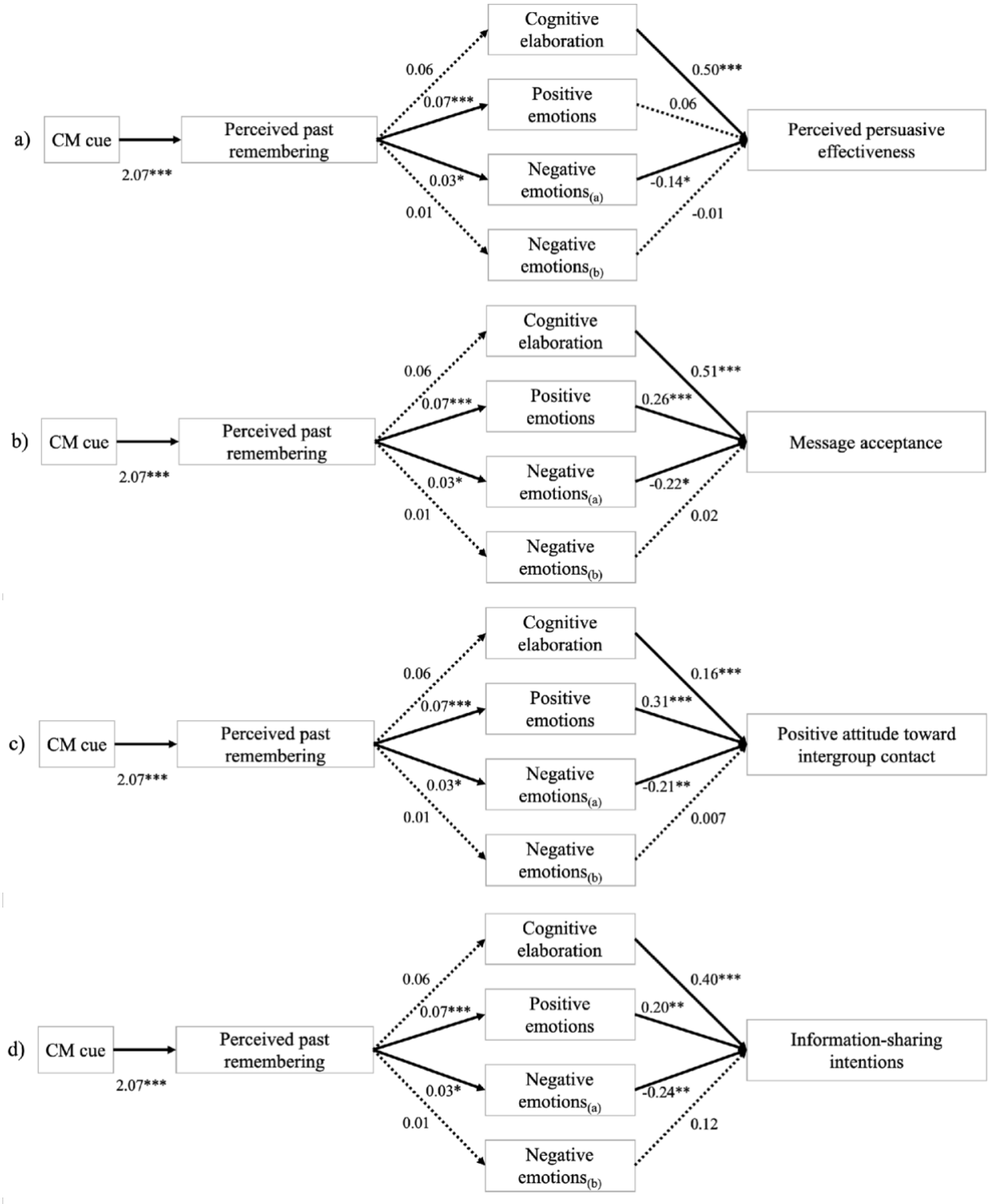
These results were convergent with indirect effects of CM cue in the case of positive emotions (see Table 16). It was observed that CM cue increased perceived past-remembering (B = 2.07, SE = .17, p < .001), that in turn increased positive emotions (B = .07, SE = .02, p < .001), which was ultimately associated with a greater message acceptance (B = .26, SE = .08, p < .001), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (B = .31, SE = .05, p < .001), and information-sharing intentions (B = .20, SE = .07, p = .005). However, it did not generate statistically significant effect on perceived persuasive effectiveness (B = .06, SE = .05, p = .280).

In regard to cognitive elaboration and negative emotions$_{(b)}$, significant indirect effects were not observed, given that perceived past-remembering had no statistically significant association with cognitive elaboration (B = .06, SE = .03, p = .100), nor negative emotions$_{(b)}$ (B = .01, SE = .02, p = .452).

In terms of negative emotions$_{(a)}$, it was observed that perceived past-remembering increased negative emotions$_{(a)}$ (B = .03, SE = .01, p = .046), which was later associated negatively with perceived persuasive effectiveness (B = -.14, SE = .07, p = .045), message acceptance (B = -.22, SE = .09, p = .022), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (B = -.21, SE = .06, p < .001), and information-sharing intentions (B = -.24, SE = .08, p = .007). However, the confidence intervals regarding the specific indirect effect of CM cue on these dependent variables, including negative emotions$_{(a)}$ in the mediational model, contained the value 0: perceived persuasive effectiveness (95% CI = -.0324, .0021), message acceptance (95% CI = -.0476, .0013), positive attitude toward intergroup contact (95% CI = -.0415, .0005), and

information-sharing intentions (95% *CI* = -.0493, .0013). Therefore, the null hypothesis is not rejected (see e.g., Hayes, 2018; Igartua & Hayes, 2021).

Figure 19. Mediational analysis: specific indirect effects of CM cue (Study IV).



Note. The figure shows the unstandardized regression coefficients (B). The dashed line represents non-significant coefficients. + p < .10, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Table 16. Specific indirect effects of CM cue on dependent variables (Study IV).

Indirect effects	Effect	Boot *SE*	Boot 95% *CI*
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Cognitive elaboration → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	.0641	.0454	[-.0250 .1552]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Cognitive elaboration → Message acceptance	.0654	.0468	[-.0265, .1590]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Cognitive elaboration → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	.0217	.0157	[-.0087, .0542]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Cognitive elaboration → Intention to share the message	.0535	.0386	[-.0198, .1335]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Positive emotions → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	.0090	.0128	[-.0156, .0363]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Positive emotions → Message acceptance	**.0412**	**.0181**	**[.0110, .0824]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Positive emotions → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	**.0491**	**.0174**	**[.0185, .0869]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Positive emotions → Intention to share the message	**.0306**	**.0144**	**[.0065, .0621]**
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(a)}$ → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	-.0109	.0089	[-.0322, .0018]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(a)}$ → Message acceptance	-.0168	.0129	[-.0481, .0015]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(a)}$ → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	-.0159	.0107	[-.0407, .0011]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(a)}$ → Intention to share the message	-.0180	.0131	[-.0492, .0007]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(b)}$ → Perceived persuasive effectiveness	-.0005	.0034	[-.0086, .0061]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(b)}$ → Message acceptance	.0009	.0048	[-.0078, .0126]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(b)}$ → Positive attitude toward intergroup contact	.0002	.0032	[-.0060, .0078]
CM cue → Perceived past-remembering → Negative emotions$_{(b)}$ → Intention to share the message	.0043	.0071	[-.0079, .0211]

Note. An indirect effect is considered to be statistically significant if the established confidence interval (95% *CI*) does not include the value 0 (Hayes, 2018). Statistically significant indirect effects are marked in bold.

7.4.6. Discussion

Tailored communication efforts use information about the features of the groups or individuals and match messages to the recipients' background and characteristics. This study focused on the reduction of prejudice towards Venezuelan immigrant in Colombia through non-narrative informational messages as social media posts shared by a humanitarian agency. This second experiment had as its main objective to increase the external validity of the project, to check the efficiency of an argument based on CM and to discuss its implications in a non-narrative persuasion context.

In addition, this experiment sought to explore visual imagery and understand whether the presence (vs. absence) of an image could amplify the persuasive effects of mediated contact. To my knowledge, no research has focused on delivery modality in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction through mediated contact, contrasting the persuasive effect of different forms of mediated content.

Drawing on persuasive communication and the ELM, cognitive elaboration and affective responses were considered as underlying mechanisms of persuasion. Moreover, since the stimuli were designed in the context of social media and due to the importance of visual communication on these platforms, this study integrated another independent variable, namely visual imagery, in order to assess the effect of different delivery modes of persuasive messages (textual post vs. textual-visual post).

First of all, the author tested the direct effect of the CM cue and visual imagery on dependent variables. The results regarding the effect of visual imagery were not consistent with the hypothesis. In fact, the aggregation of an image to textual post did not affect the perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables. Although it was expected to observe some effects of visual content (Tukachinsky et al., 2011), this study reiterates previous findings which showed that the simple fact of adding images to messages have no significant effect on overall persuasion outcomes, measured by attitude, perceived effectiveness, behavioral intention, or behavioral change (r=0.055, p=0.161) (Seo, 2020).

Moreover, despite the expectations, reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela through informational data did not exert either a significant direct effect on perceived persuasive effectiveness, message acceptance, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions. Although the results regarding the direct effect of

CM cue were inconsistent and weak, this experiment found some promising effects attending to the underlying mechanisms of persuasion.

The second objective of this experiment was to test the indirect effect of the CM cue on dependent variables, through mediation of cognitive elaboration and affective responses. The results of mediational analysis showed primarily no significant indirect effect. However, once included perceived past-remembering (manipulation check item) as a relevant underlying mechanism in persuasion, the results became convergent with H3. The results of serial mediation demonstrated that CM cue increased perceived past-remembering, that in turn increased positive emotions, which was ultimately associated with greater outcome variables, except for perceived persuasive effectiveness. This exception may refer to the fact that perceived persuasive effectiveness negatively correlates with positive emotional responses (see Barrett et al., 2011; Dillard, Shen, et al., 2007; Fishbein et al., 2002). In regard to cognitive elaboration and negative emotions, significant indirect effects were not observed.

This finding is consistent with the role of emotions in the persuasion process, proposed by Petty and Briñol (2015). According to the results for indirect effects of the CM cue, it can be discussed that CM cue takes the peripheral route (low elaboration) to persuasion and further attitude change. In this sense, CM cue activates positive emotions since, when the extent of thinking is constrained to be low, emotions influence attitudes by relatively simple processes that lead them to change in a manner consistent with the valence of the emotion. In this context, emotions serve as simple affective cues which have a direct impact on attitudes and do not require much in the way of cognitive motivation or capacity.[112]

7.5.Summary

This chapter was an attempt to approach xenophobia from a social psychological perspective. It discussed the efficiency of a new message argument, extracted from the results of qualitative interviews with NGOs and informal workers, for the reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia. In particular, an argument based on the memory of Colombian migration to Venezuela was used to design pro-migrant mediated contact. The author highlighted the CM approach to delineate the context in which the argument was discussed.

[112] Limitations of the non-narrative experiment are listed in the section 8.3. of this dissertation.

Drawing on mediated contact and persuasive communication approach and based on the results from qualitative studies, two experiments, one with narrative messages and one with non-narrative messages, were designed in order to figure out whether reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela would lead to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction. In addition, the experiments were designed in an understudied context in mediated contact research, namely social media context, recognized as an important intergroup contact space for anti-immigrant prejudice reduction in Colombia. It was discussed that social media can strengthen or weaken the prejudice depending on its use.

The results of the narrative experiment were partially consistent with formulated hypothesis with respect to the efficiency of CM cue. Although the moderating role of xenophobia level in persuasion process was not confirmed, the results regarding the indirect effect of CM cue were interesting. It was observed that CM cue in a narrative social media post has the capacity of increasing perceived past-remembering of Colombians regarding the history of their emigration to Venezuela, and this in turn increases identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation, as underlying mechanisms of narrative persuasion. An increase in these narrative mediators was ultimately associated with greater perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables, hence prejudice reduction.

The results of non-narrative experiment were also to some extent consistent with formulated hypothesis. Although the results regarding the direct effect of CM cue and visual imagery on perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables were inconsistent and weak, the study found some promising indirect effects attending to the underlying mechanisms of persuasion. It was observed that CM cue in an informational social media post has the capacity of increasing perceived past-remembering of Colombians, and this induces positive emotions of Colombians, which increases in turn positive attitudinal and intentional consequences.

These results stress the capacity of an argument based on CM to amplify the effect of persuasive message on perceptual, attitudinal and intentional consequences depending on the context and message design. In other words, reminding Colombian citizens of their emigration to Venezuela leads to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction. This is relevant evidence that can help humanitarian agencies to develop more successful media campaigns against xenophobia. Both experiments revealed important implications for the design, analysis, and interpretation of persuasion effects and mediated contact research.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1.General conclusions

Migration is a complex phenomenon, the dynamics of which demand a systems analysis which goes beyond demographic, economic and spatial considerations. International migration has an enormous impact on all societies and countries in an increasingly interconnected world. Growing ethnic and racial diversity of societies is the inevitable consequence of migration, which may in turn lead to different negative reactions, from feelings of distrust or threat to discrimination and xenophobia or even violent clashes and confrontations between host society members and immigrants in daily contact zones.

This doctoral dissertation was an attempt to approach one of these migratory contexts in Latin America, namely the Venezuelan immigration to Colombia, from a humanitarian perspective. Venezuelan immigration to Colombia is among the top 20 international migration country-to-country corridors (IOM, 2021). The Venezuelan migration has been massive in so far as Colombia, characterized throughout history as "a country of emigrants", is facing the largest wave of immigrants ever registered in its history.

In recent years, the increase in Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has been accompanied by disapproval, prejudice, and distrust (DANE, 2019; Haerpfer et al., 2021; Lebow et al., 2020), while the perceived threat to economic prosperity, job growth, public services, and cultural belonging is manifested in attitudes of contempt generally directed towards the Venezuelan population identified by its lower purchasing and economic level (Lotero-Echeverri et al., 2020; Perilla, 2020). The extent and severity of these phenomena are becoming increasingly evident in the reports of mistreatment and discrimination against the migrants, and the fact that a growing proportion of Venezuelan migration is irregular and unauthorized facilitates abuse and exploitation (World Bank, 2018).

In addition, media create and reproduce ethnic and racist stereotypes and, on some occasions, "even demonize 'foreigners' and those constructed as 'other'" (Siapera, 2019, p. 106). The hatreds and fears against Venezuelan immigrants are fed by Colombian media which demonstrate Venezuelans in their discourses as people who bring chaos and violence (Perilla, 2020). As a consequence, a narrative of immigration considered as a problem is reinforced (Cortés-Martínez, 2018).

In this context, humanitarian agencies in Colombia feel strongly committed to intervene and confront xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants. In this sense, addressing the reality of increased diversity due to international migration means finding humanitarian mechanisms to ensure mutual respect and to mediate relations across differences. Humanitarian persuasion, as a communication instrument, is one of these mechanisms through which NGOs attempt to improve intergroup relations and reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia.

The principal core of xenophobia is civic ostracism which can be manifested in two forms of individual or institutional (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014). The possession of civic inclusion gives a person the kind of agency that befits life in a modern polity and facilitates fulfillment within it. On the other hand, full civic ostracism may take the form of exile or intra-territorial sequestering, amounting to a kind of refugee rightlessness. Additionally, prejudice against immigrant outgroup is a fundamental attitude in the phenomenon of xenophobia (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Yakushko, 2018). In other words, in order to confront xenophobic behaviors, one would better reduce primarily prejudiced attitudes (see e.g., Achiume, 2014), which are nowadays expressed more often than not subtly, rather blatantly, hence more efforts required to reduce them.

The main objective of this dissertation was to investigate the phenomenon of xenophobia and anti-immigrant prejudice in Colombia from the perspectives of social sciences (exploring characteristics and causes of xenophobia) and social psychology (exploring ingroup/outgroup processes). The main theoretical frameworks that guided this research were contact theory (i.e., mediated contact) and persuasive communication, which were particularized in the context of humanitarian persuasion.

The present dissertation tried to find answers to the following questions: how does mediated contact help to reduce xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? what are the characteristics of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? what are the communication strategies of humanitarian agencies in order to promote pro-migrant attitude in Colombia? how do affected groups in Colombia perceive Venezuelan immigration and pro-migrant campaigns? and how do messages based on collective memory argument help to reduce xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia?

To do so, a sequential series of qualitative and quantitative empirical studies were designed following a mixed methods approach. An exploratory sequential design was deemed

appropriate for the purpose of this dissertation. The basic premise of this methodology is that such integration permits a more complete and synergistic utilization of data than do separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.

Drawing on a social sciences perspective towards xenophobia, the qualitative part of the empirical studies contained one round of semi-structured interviews with Colombian NGOs and a second round of short semi-structured and informal interviews with Colombian informal workers. These interviews served to characterize xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia, the communication strategies of the NGOs regarding Venezuelan immigration and prejudice reduction, and the way affected sectors in Colombian society, namely informal workers, perceive these strategies. This qualitative analysis also provided the author with different factors and arguments that might influence prejudice reduction mechanisms and promotion of pro-migrant attitudes in Colombia.

Drawing on a social psychological perspective towards xenophobia, the quantitative part of empirical studies was designed within the framework of two experiments, and the data was collected via two online questionnaires. The surveys served to evaluate findings from qualitative data. The idea behind quantitative analysis was to validate a theoretical approach (mediated contact theory) by testing in a larger population the efficiency of one message argument, namely collective memory argument, retrieved from qualitative interviews for the reduction of anti-Venezuelan prejudice in Colombia and promotion of intergroup relation.

The findings of qualitative studies revealed that xenophobia in Colombia is not as intense and profound as perceived, and it is associated with feelings of fear towards arrival of poor Venezuelan immigrants, rather than arrival of all Venezuelan immigrants as foreigners in general. Xenophobia in Colombia is largely politicized, and the anti-Venezuelan sentiment is highly associated with social exclusion of immigrants.

Venezuelan massive migration to Colombia and its challenges, like xenophobia, have their own particularities, such as distinct migratory pattern, migration towards a country of emigrants, cultural proximity between Colombians and Venezuelans, shared migration background. It can, therefore, be distinguished from other migration flows in the world. The driving factors of xenophobia in Colombia are perception of an increase in unemployment, of a rise in insecurity, and of damage to public services.

Additionally, xenophobia escalation against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia can be classified into four groups: 1) based on type (agentive or institutional), 2) based on immigrants

(Venezuelans vs. Colombian returnees, migrants in transit vs. permanent migrants, rich vs. poor migrants), 3) based on region (regions with high vs. low cultural proximity, armed conflict vs. secure zones, rich versus poor neighborhoods) and 4) based on time (arrival time of Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia, before vs. after Covid-19 pandemic, before vs. after xenophobic speeches of governmental authorities).

Regarding communicational strategies of humanitarian agencies in Colombia and how they design their mediated contact in order to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants, the findings showed that Colombian NGOs target both host community (institutions and society) and immigrants as their main audience. In addition, the results show that there are three main communicational strategies that NGOs in Colombia adopt, in accordance with their target group, objective, and mission, to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia: launching campaigns, organizing events, and producing textual, textual-visual, and audiovisual pro-migrant content.

Moreover, under communicational strategies that NGOs adopt in order to reduce xenophobia and facilitate integration of immigrants in Colombia, social media play a significant role. Colombian NGOs include and exclude many factors when it comes to social media content production. The included content can be divided in terms of message appeal (cognitive and emotional, with special focus on the latter), evidence (statistical and narrative, with special focus on the latter) and contact format (parasocial and vicarious, with special focus on the latter). On the other hand, Colombian NGOs refrain from addressing certain issues, such as politicizing Venezuelan immigration or displaying Venezuelan immigrants as poor and vulnerable.

As regards the perception of informal workers in Colombia about Venezuelan immigration and NGOs' pro-migrant campaigns, the results showed that Venezuelan immigration to Colombia has its own advantages and disadvantages, with the latter being more highlighted. Informal workers have been affected negatively by Venezuelan immigration in at least five main areas: labor market, security, public services, housing, and conjugal relationships. This is while there is a perception among informal workers that Venezuelan migration can also be beneficial for Colombia. Some positive aspects of Venezuelan immigration for Colombian society include low average age of immigrants, arrival of immigrants with higher academic level, economy dynamization, and transculturation.

The findings also revealed that informal workers are exposed considerably to negative mediated contact about Venezuelan immigration (e.g., news of robberies, theft, crime, vandalism). However, they have diverse considerations once exposed to these negative mediated contacts. On the one hand, negative news framing can change simply their mind about Venezuelan immigrants, while on the other hand informal workers, by showing cognitive empathy, consider crimes as a consequence of lack of opportunities for Venezuelan immigrants.

Moreover, the results demonstrated that despite a lack of knowledge about existence of many Colombian NGOs, informal workers agreed mostly with humanitarian activities of these organizations in the framework of aid to Venezuelan immigrants. On the contrary, some informal workers disagreed with NGOs' activities since they consider that assistance to Venezuelan immigrants would not be a definite solution and would worsen the socio-economic situation in Colombia.

These qualitative studies shed light on many interesting factors which are to be considered by humanitarians when taking different pro-migrant measures in Colombia, especially when designing mediated contact under their communicational strategies to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants. One of the outstanding results, which based the design of quantitative studies in this dissertation, was the effect of similar migration background in improving attitudes towards Venezuelan immigrants. The exchange of migrants between Venezuela and Colombia has been notable over the last half century. Therefore, the author took advantage of the memory of Colombian migration to Venezuela to design pro-migrant mediated contact and analyze its efficiency through experimental research.

To test the so-called Collective Memory (CM) argument, two experiments, one of narrative nature and one of non-narrative nature, were designed in order to figure out whether reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela would lead to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction. The experiments were set up in an understudied context in mediated contact research, that is social media. In this sense, social media posts with narrative and non-narrative content were designed in a parasocial mediated contact format.

The narrative experiment had two main objectives. Firstly, it aimed to contrast the combined effect of CM cue and xenophobia level, as a relevant recipient-related variable and moderator of prejudice reduction, on underlying mechanisms of narrative persuasion, namely identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation. Secondly, it aimed to contrast

the indirect effects of CM cue on perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome measures, through mediation of identification with the protagonist and narrative transportation.

The results of the narrative experiment were partially consistent with formulated hypotheses in respect of the efficiency of the CM cue. Although the moderating role of xenophobia level in persuasion process was not confirmed in this experiment, the results regarding the indirect effect of CM cue were quite interesting. The findings revealed firstly that CM cue did not exert statistically significant effects on identification and transportation, nor was there an interaction effect of CM cue and xenophobia level on these mechanisms. However, it was observed secondly that perceived past-remembering, as a manipulation check item, acted as a mediating process of the effect of CM cue on identification and transportation. This result indicates that perceived past-remembering can be a relevant element in persuasive terms, and the persuasive effect of CM cue depends on whether or not the audience remembers the past once exposed to persuasive message.

As a result, it was observed that CM cue in a narrative post has the capacity of increasing perceived past-remembering of Colombians regarding the history of their emigration to Venezuela, and this in turn increases identification with the protagonist, as underlying mechanism of narrative persuasion. An increase in this narrative mediator is ultimately associated with greater perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables, namely perceived persuasive effectiveness, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions.

In other words, it was observed that reading a narrative social media post featuring a stigmatized Venezuelan immigrant talking about the history of Colombian emigration to Venezuela increased perceived past-remembering, which subsequently led to greater identification with the protagonist, that ultimately reduced prejudice stimulating greater perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome measures. The same results were observed for narrative transportaion, as the other main mediator of narrative persuasion, only in respect of perceived persuasive effectiveness as the outcome variable in the model.

The non-narrative experiment had also two main objectives. Firstly, it aimed to assess the direct effect of CM cue and visual imagery (an omnipresent feature on SNSs) on prejudice reduction, measured through perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables. Secondly, it aimed to contrast the indirect effect of CM cue on these outcome measures, through mediation of cognitive elaboration and affective responses.

The results of the non-narrative experiment, although weak, were also to some extent consistent with formulated hypotheses. Regarding the effect of visual imagery, it was observed firstly that textual-visual mode of mediated contact (as compared to textual mode) did not improve the persuasive impact. In other words, adding an image to textual social media post did not affect the perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables. Although it was expected to observe some effects of visual content (Tukachinsky et al., 2011), this study reiterates previous findings which showed that the simple fact of adding images to messages have no significant effect on overall persuasion outcomes, measured by attitude, perceived effectiveness, behavioral intention, or behavioral change (r=0.055, p=0.161) (Seo, 2020).

Moreover, despite the expectations, reminding Colombians of their emigration to Venezuela through informational data did not exert either a significant direct effect on dependent variables. However, findings regarding the indirect effect of CM cue on these dependent variables through mediation of cognitive elaboration and affective responses were promising.

The results of mediational analysis showed primarily no significant indirect effect of CM cue. However, once included perceived past-remembering (manipulation check item) as a relevant underlying mechanism in persuasion process, the results became convergent with formulated hypothesis. The results of serial mediation demonstrated that reading an informational social media post featuring statistics regarding the history of Colombian emigration to Venezuela increased perceived past-remembering, that subsequently led to greater positive emotions, which ultimately reduced prejudice stimulating, greater attitudinal and intentional outcome measures, namely message acceptance, positive attitude toward intergroup contact, and information-sharing intentions.

In other words, it was observed that perceived past-remembering acted as a mediating process of the effect of CM cue on positive emotions. However, these results were not observed for cognitive elaboration, implying that CM cue takes the peripheral route (low elaboration) to persuasion, and emotions serve as simple affective cues which have a direct impact on attitudes and do not require much in the way of cognitive motivation or capacity (Petty & Briñol, 2015).

8.2.Implications

This doctoral thesis provides several theoretical and empirical contributions to research on xenophobia and reduction of prejudice towards immigrants. Theoretically, our study tried

from the outset to distinguish the phenomenon of xenophobia from similar concepts such as racism and nativism. As Sundstrom and Kim (2014) express, combining the concept of xenophobia with similar notions (e.g., racism or nativism) in order to create a monistic approach would ignore their particularity. Ignoring xenophobia as an individual concept may lead to the characterization of its effects and minimization of immigrants' exclusion and the prejudice they suffer. This dissertation conceptualized xenophobia in accordance with civic ostracism approach (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014) and attempted to derive relevant results on the basis of this perspective.

In addition, this dissertation delves simultaneously into the study of xenophobia from two different but interrelated perspectives, social sciences and social psychology. The author elaborated not only on the phenomenon of xenophobia, its causes and characteristics, its perception at social level, and humanitarian efforts to control it in a specific context, but also on intergroup processes and mechanisms to reduce it.

The present thesis was an attempt to explore intergroup processes and communication strategies to promote it both qualitatively and quantitatively. As a result, contact theory (i.e., mediated intergroup contact), in contrast to its application in ample quantitative research (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), was applied also in a qualitative context. As stated by Pitts (2017), the qualitative inquiry of intergroup communication and field observations can uncover identity performance and group behavior. "Interviews can solicit information from participants about ingroup or outgroup perceptions and experiences, and the collection and analysis of texts and documents can establish the means through which group identity is preserved and transferred" (Pitts, 2017, p. 2).

Furthermore, this dissertation set out to bridge between meditated contact research and persuasive communication in order to gain insights from the latter for the former. This interdisciplinary intersection helped the author to consider mediated content used for contact as pure communication message, hence allowing the exploration of underlying persuasion mechanisms. In other words, the quantitative empirical studies in this dissertation focused more specifically on the mediated content and how it leads to prejudice reduction, rather than on different forms of applied contact.

The use of persuasive communication by humanitarian agencies has been addressed in different contexts, inter alia, persuasive risk communication (e.g., Hong & Cameron, 2018), pro-social/pro-environmental behavior (e.g., Chen, 2016), promoting volunteerism (e.g.,

Lindenmeier, 2008), and donation advertising (e.g., Liu et al., 2018). However, less scholarly attention had been dedicated to anti-immigration prejudice from a humanitarian perspective. This dissertation was an attempt to present and elaborate explicitly on an unhighlighted setting in persuasive communication, namely humanitarian persuasion.

In terms of quantitative experiments, the present research includes different innovations as compared with previous studies. First of all, the messages were designed in social media, a novel context which has not been addressed previously by mediated contact scholars in the realm of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction. In contrast to previous studies which have used slightly long narratives, such as stories (Igartua et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2020), movies and videos (Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Igartua & Frutos, 2017), or TV and newspapers reports (Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018), this dissertation employed brief social media posts to open up the opportunity to understand whether this type of mediated content would activate the underlying mechanisms of persuasion.

Secondly, the quantitative experiments tested the efficiency of a novel message argument (based on CM cue) in the context of mediated intergroup contact research. Thirdly, the non-narrative experiment enriched the literature in mediated contact research discussing the implications of CM cue in a non-narrative context. The overwhelming majority of studies in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice reduction through mediated contact (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Igartua et al., 2019; Wojcieszak et al., 2020; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018) has used stimuli with narrative evidence as experimental interventions.

This dissertation contributes not only to science, but also to a large extent to society. Regarding empirical contributions, the author attempted to expand geographically the samples involved in mediated contact research and persuasive communication by conducting experiments in a Latin American migratory context. The Venezuelan migration is the largest human mobilization in Latin America's recent history, and one of the biggest displacement crises in the world (Arcarazo et al., 2019). Most of the mediated contact research in the context of anti-immigrant prejudice has been conducted for countries such as the USA (e.g., Kim & Wojcieszak, 2018; Wojcieszak & Garrett, 2018), Spain (e.g., Igartua et al., 2019; Wojcieszak et al., 2020), or Italy (e.g., Graf et al., 2020; Vezzali et al., 2018), and less scholarly attention was dedicated to other migratory contexts (in this case Venezuelan immigration to Colombia).

Generally, the findings of this dissertation show that mediated intergroup contact is an efficient way to reduce xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. The findings

of narrative and non-narrative experiments shed light on the potential capacity of an argument based on CM to amplify the effect of persuasive message on perceptual, attitudinal and intentional outcome variables in mediated contact research. In other words, reminding Colombian citizens of their emigration to Venezuela leads to anti-Venezuelan prejudice reduction through different persuasion processes depending on the context and message design. This is a relevant evidence, along with several other findings from qualitative studies, that can help humanitarian agencies to develop more successful media campaigns against xenophobia.

The findings of this thesis are helpful not only for Colombian NGOs and humanitarian institutions, but also international policy makers and not-for-profit sectors who are dealing with migration issues and allow them to be aware of the efficiency of different features of mediated contact and opt for the best communication strategy that fit their nature and target audience.

8.3.Limitations and recommendations

Notwithstanding the results that go beyond extant research, it is important to acknowledge some limitations of the present dissertation to promote future research on xenophobia against immigrants. First of all, although findings of the quantitative studies may have not complemented fully results from qualitative studies (due to some statistically non-significant results), these different outcomes map the terrain for new directions and highlight challenges to be addressed in future investigation. The potential for divergent results in mixed-method approach would be easy to understand, whenever one is studying a reasonably complex human phenomenon. In particular, the quantitative methods could well emphasize one aspect of what a researcher is studying, while the qualitative methods emphasize a different aspect. Therefore, it is not realistic to state that one is right and the other is wrong; instead, they may each capture different aspects of what a researcher is trying to study.

In terms of qualitative studies, due to multidimensional nature of xenophobia phenomenon, the descriptive results went to some extent beyond the proposed theoretical frameworks. For instance, the first qualitative study identified many different aspects of xenophobia in Colombia, such as othering, deservingness, categorization, politicization, etc. The author attempted to stay committed to obtained results and to report them fully. Theoretically, qualitative studies could have engaged more thoroughly with the huge body of relevant literature on migrants' and refugees' inclusion and exclusion.

Methodologically, the main limitations occurred during the second empirical study. One of the limitations faced by the researcher was access to informal workers. Due to sensitive nature of these target groups and their time limitations, the author was obliged to conduct short semi-structured and informal interviews, rather than long semi-structured interviews. In addition, some interruptions were made while interviewing, especially sexual workers (due to security issues) and street vendors (due to business issues).

Furthermore, it was observed in some cases that the interviewees, in particular street vendors and sexual workers, were feeling inconvenient in expressing their opinions regarding Venezuelan immigration due to presence of Venezuelan peers in close proximity. As a result, the researcher had to carry out interviews with slightly isolated informal workers on the streets.

Another limitation of qualitative studies may refer to a single researcher conducting and analyzing interviews and a probable existence of unintended bias reflected in the results. Additionally, some deep understandings and interpretations of the issue at hand may have been missed.

In terms of quantitative studies, one of the main limitations was the low reliability of some constructs in non-narrative experiment, such as affective responses. The low reliability of affective responses, measured by Differential Emotion Scale (DES), may be due to the fact that the construct validity of the DES subscales is not completely clear (Boyle, 1984). Acceptable to good internal consistency (Cronbach's α) is reported for most of the DES subscales in clinical (.63 to .93) (Merten & Krause, 1993) and nonclinical samples (.56 to .88) (Boyle, 1984). Boyle (1984) examined the reliability and validity of the DES subscales and figured out that while there was some evidence to support their validity (at least two-thirds of the DES items are sensitive indicators of different mood states), the reliability of the subscales was generally less than adequate. This issue has also been observed in previous studies (e.g., Igartua et al., 2003; Sabre, 2011).

As explained by Harmon-Jones and her colleagues (2016), if self-report questionnaires of emotions show low reliability, the chances of observing correlations between specific emotions and other measured constructs are reduced since the correlation between two measures is limited by the reliability of each measure. Furthermore, since unreliable measures contain more measurement error, the determination of effect size between the unreliable measure and other measures will be more difficult than if reliable measures were used (Harmon-Jones et al., 2016).

Moreover, the non-narrative study could have employed shorter measures of emotions. Research evidence show that there is a positive correlation (r = .77) between questionnaire length and reliability (Credé et al., 2012). Short measures of emotion may prove to be more valid, as they assist in reducing participant boredom and fatigue (Burisch, 1984). Research evidence suggest that the optimal trade-off between reliability and validity occurs with two to four items (Burisch, 1997).

In terms of narrative experiment, the author portrayed the outgroup protagonist in the stimuli materials recounting his experiences as a testimonial and measured merely participants' identification with the character and narrative transportation. However, the narrative portrayal of the outgroup character could have also induced other mechanisms, such as counterarguing (Slater & Rouner, 2002) and reactance (Brehm, 1966), which could have had persuasive effects, e.g., through rejection of an argument based on CM and could affect other narrative persuasion mechanisms. It would have been more convenient to include also counterarguing or reactance (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013; Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2010; Slater & Rouner, 2002) in the model with the aim of analyzing reception processes in a more complete and accurate way during exposure to the stimuli.

Another possible limitation of the narrative study can be attributed to the experimental manipulation. In this experiment, one condition alludes to Colombian migration towards Venezuela and activates the similarity with the protagonist in terms of a common migratory history (e.g., Guerrero-Martín & Igartua, 2021; Igartua et al., 2019). Although the second condition should not mention such an argument (as a control condition), it emphasizes instead Venezuelan migration towards Colombia. Perhaps the author could have included a control condition in which any of these arguments was mentioned.

Furthermore, in this project the author used self-report measures to evaluate underlying processes of persuasion (identification, transportation, cognitive elaboration, and affective responses), which are taken retrospectively after exposure to the experimental stimulus. These measures are valid and reliable and widely used in communication research since their brevity (small number of items) facilitates their application in online studies. However, the reception of a persuasive message is a dynamic phenomenon, which implies that mediating processes fluctuate and undergo changes throughout the exposure to persuasive content (e.g., Igartua, 2020). For this reason, future research may use such self-report measures in combination with other physiological and neurophysiological (biometric) measures (see Madera & Hebl, 2012;

Murray & Antonakis, 2019), with the aim of analyzing reception processes during stimulus exposure and more fully assessing the message reception experience.

Another potential limitation to quantitative studies may be the fact that both experiments focused specifically on parasocial mediated contact and ignored vicarious mediated contact which is also used largely by humanitarian agencies in Colombia. Therefore, one cannot infer whether effects of CM cue in parasocial contact can be translated directly to media portrayals of outgroups in vicarious contact. Thus, these findings should be replicated with multiple message conditions to confirm whether the effects of CM cue hold regardless of the contact format. As expressed by Joyce (2017, p. 3), "intergroup media that presents both ingroup and outgroup characters interacting provides for both the cognitive and affective effects of out-group exemplar exposure, as well as social cognitive effects". Research evidence (see Banas et al., 2020; Cernat, 2011) demonstrates that vicarious contact can be more effective than parasocial contact.

Moreover, in both experimental studies only one message per condition was used, which implies that it is possible that the effects found depend on the particularity of the persuasive message used as experimental stimulus (see e.g., Slater et al., 2015). For this reason, future research should consider the use of several messages per experimental condition in order to obtain more detailed conclusions and to increase external validity (e.g., Reeves et al., 2016; Slater et al., 2015).

Even though merely descriptive photographs would exert effects on individuals' perception (Zillmann et al., 1999), the heuristic effects of visual imagery were not observed in the non-narrative experiment, perhaps due to the absence of iconic, visually striking, and emotionally arousing images, which are more easily stored in memory and retrieved for later reference, and may be particularly effective in persuading members of the public (Zillmann, 2006). In addition, perhaps more visual elements should have been matched to the textual information. The message congruence research suggests that the greater the visual elements are matched to the textual information, the higher the persuasiveness (Seo & Dillard, 2019). Furthermore, the visual content may not matter for a non-narrative text, as compared to a narrative text (Ma & Yang, 2022). In fact, I acknowledge that the mere use of visual content in the non-narrative experiment could have complicated the nature of the study given that visuals can also tell a story. The rationale is that the inclusion of a visual exemplar can be perceived

as a sign of narrativity, which can help readers envision and create a vivid picture of the story, leading to higher persuasiveness (Ma, 2021).

More research on the effects of visual imagery is required since it plays an important role for relationship building, especially on social media (e.g., Bünzli & Alizadeh Afrouzi, 2022; Eftekhar et al., 2014). In addition, the use of visual imagery is increasing as individuals in societies are evolving from attentive text readers to image-oriented viewers (Machin, 2014). In this dissertation, the author employed a CM argument in designing textual and textual-visual messages. However, forthcoming studies may also explore the efficiency of such argument for audiovisual pro-migrant content.

Future studies may explore whether the effect of CM argument change for different target groups, such as those aimed by NGOs in Colombia (children, youth and adolescents, students at schools and universities, community leaders, opinion leaders, social media users, internally displaced population, etc.). Testing the theoretical predictions of this project across different target groups would assure that the effects are not due to idiosyncrasies of any particular sample or message. As stated by the director of a Colombian NGO in Bogotá, "the Colombian youth do not remember the history". In this dissertation, the author included young Colombians as participants of experimental research. Perhaps, the results would have been different excluding this age group. Additionally, it is unknown how long-lasting the positive effects of CM cue are and whether and how fast they dissipate.

Since messages targeted at diverse audiences across the globe would have dissimilar impacts and are perceived differently, scholars always attempt to personalize and tailor messages to their audiences and communication objectives (see e.g., Hornikx & O'Keefe, 2009; Zebregs et al., 2015). Persuasive messages do not affect all people or cultures equally and can generate stronger or weaker effects (e.g., Alizadeh Afrouzi, 2021; Valkenburg et al., 2016). As a result, future research can also explore whether inclusion of individual characteristics of message recipients, e.g., stable individual differences, more transient recipient states, and induced states (Hirsh et al., 2012; O'Keefe, 2016), can condition the effect of narrative persuasion.

Tailored communication is also an important goal for NGOs in Colombia. Scholars may test effects of mediated contact aimed at reducing prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants according to different types of xenophobia. For instance, mediated contact effects may differ between persuasive messages featuring poor versus rich Venezuelan immigrants or migrants

in transit versus permanent migrants. In addition, the communicator-related variables, such as perceived expertise and likability, may influence the outcome of humanitarian communication. It would be interesting to know whether the results of the experiments in this thesis would have changed, if the humanitarian messages were shared or promoted by social media influencers.

Venezuelan massive migration to Colombia and its challenges, like xenophobia, have their own particularities, such as distinct migratory pattern, migration towards a country of emigrants, cultural proximity between Colombians and Venezuelans, or shared migration background. It can, therefore, be distinguished from other migration flows in the world. This dissertation was an effort to check the efficiency of one of these particularities, namely shared migration background, in mediated contact research and persuasive communication. Future investigation may test applicability of other particularities, such as cultural proximity, which is highly relevant to the context of Venezuelan migration to Colombia (Rueda Gómez, 2020; Sáez et al., 2020) as well as persuasive communication (e.g., Igartua, 2007).

Forthcoming studies can explore also, which positive aspects of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia have more persuasive effect once applied in mediated contact (e.g., as main argument). Some positive aspects of Venezuelan immigration for Colombian society include low average age of immigrants, arrival of immigrants with higher academic level, economy dynamization, and transculturation. Similarly, scholars can test which negative aspects of Venezuelan immigration to Colombia may aggravate xenophobia and prejudiced attitudes. The driving factors of xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia are perception of an increase in unemployment, of a rise in insecurity, and of damage to public services. Informal workers have been affected negatively by Venezuelan immigration in at least five main areas: labor market, security, public services, housing, and conjugal relationships.

Although the author designed in this dissertation various stimuli for mediated contact in different experimental contexts, it is not clear whether the results can be generalized to other representations of immigrants and refugees or even other social groups. Harwood (2017) believes that contact effects vary by group. A very important learning is that as persuasive messages need to be adapted to their audiences, mediated contact stimuli must also be adapted to their target audience in different contexts.

Owing to the surge in international migration, further research is required to provide evidence of the effectiveness of mediated contact in different contexts and for different

in/outgroups. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)[113], Turkey, Colombia, Pakistan, Uganda, and Germany are countries hosting the largest number of refugees in the world. However, except for Germany (see Geschke et al., 2010; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020), none of mentioned countries are attended by mediated contact scholars. In this sense, more scholarly attention should be dedicated to emerging contexts, in order to improve the mediated contact studies both empirically and theoretically.

Finally, this dissertation was an attempt to elaborate explicitly on a distinct setting in persuasive communication, namely humanitarian persuasion. To do so, the author approached mediated contact research and persuasive communication in the context of xenophobia. Future research can delve more particularly into humanitarian persuasion as one of the principal components of everyday humanitarianism (Slim, 2003) and discuss its implications as compared to other contexts of persuasive communication, such as political persuasion, advertising and marketing, mass media communication, health communication, legal setting, and persuasive technology.

[113] Report available at: https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/

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Annex

A1.Interview questionnaire - Study I

Questionnaire of interviews with NGOs	
Part 1: Reflection on the phenomenon of xenophobia against Venezuelans in Colombia	1. What is your general opinion about xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? 2. In your opinion, what are the reasons behind xenophobia against Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia? 3. In your opinion, is there any factor that distinguishes this phenomenon from similar cases worldwide (e.g., xenophobia against Syrians in Europe or Latinos in the US)?
Part 2: Communication strategies regarding the issue of xenophobia	4. How did the need and motivation to launch a pro-migrant campaign arise? 5. What are your communication strategies to reduce prejudice against Venezuelan immigrants? 6. Who are your target audience? And, why?
Part 3: Role of social media within communication strategies	7. What is the role of social media within your communication strategies? And, how do you use them? 8. Which are the most employed social networking sites within your communication strategy?
Part 4: Anti-prejudice content production	9. What are the contents you produce or publish in your social media to reduce anti-Venezuelan sentiment? 10. Why do you use these types of contents? 11. Do you think that increased exposure to pro-Venezuelan messages can reduce anti-Venezuelan prejudice? If so, how can one increase exposure to pro-Venezuelan messages on social media? 12. In your opinion, what type of content should be included in a message in order to increase empathy and reduce anxiety of Colombians towards Venezuelans? Why? 13. And, what are the contents that should be avoided since they may produce counterproductive effects? 14. Are there any other factors that may affect positively or negatively the promotion of pro-Venezuelan attitudes in Colombia? 15. And, are there any factors that may affect the efficiency of your communication strategies?

A2.Interview questionnaire - Study II

Questionnaire of interviews with informal workers	
Part 1: Reflection on Venezuelan immigration to Colombia	1. What do you think about the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia? 2. Do you think that Venezuelan immigration is more positive or more negative for Colombia? 3. Do you think Venezuelan immigration has affected you? If so, how has it affected? 4. Would you mind working with them, living near them, or socializing with them?
Part 2: Experiences of mediated contact consumption	5. How often do you generally see or hear a message or news item about Venezuelan immigrants? And through which media? (TV, radio, social media, newspaper, etc.) 6. What type of news do you see or hear more, in favor of Venezuelans or against them? 7. What do you think about these pieces of news regarding Venezuelan immigrants? What comes to your mind when you hear them? 8. Have you ever seen a message or news item about Venezuelan immigrants that touched your heart? If so, how was it? Tell me about it.
Part 3: Opinion about NGOs	9. Do you know any organization or center that helps Venezuelan immigrants? If so, do you know what they exactly do? 10. What do you think about the activities of these pro-migrant organizations? Do you agree or disagree? 11. These organizations produce pro-Venezuelan messages and content. Do you think these messages can help Colombians treat Venezuelan immigrants better? 12. Do you use WhatsApp or Facebook? If so, do you think social media is a good place to learn more about Venezuelan immigrants? 13. In your opinion, does social media improve or worsen relations between Colombians and Venezuelans?

A3.Survey questionnaire of narrative experiment - Study III

Venezuelan Immigration to Colombia and the Red Cross

Since the beginning of massive migration of Venezuelans to Colombia, the Red Cross has made efforts to increase its presence by providing assistance to both migrant population and receiving communities, especially in areas affected by armed conflict and violence. One of the main

actions taken by the Colombian Red Cross through social networks was to increase awareness regarding the migration crisis as well as to inform about the situation of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. Accordingly, this study aims firstly to investigate the attitudes of Colombians towards Venezuelan immigrants, and secondly to explore the humanitarian communication of the Colombian Red Cross by evaluating the opinions of Colombians about the posts of this organization on social media.

[Informed consent form]

[PRE-TEST MEASURES]

[Sociodemographic information]

1.- To which gender identity do you most identify?

1. Male
2. Female
3. Other response

2.- What is your age? (Single-response question)

3.- What is your level of education?

1. Basic school education (Elementary or high school)
2. Undergraduate
3. Postgraduate (Master's, PhD or higher)

4.- In which country were you born? (List of countries)

5.- In which country was your father born? (List of countries)

6.- In which country was your mother born? (List of countries)

[Xenophobia level]

7.- Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. Immigration from Venezuela into Colombia is out of control.
2. I doubt that Venezuelan immigrants put the interests of this country first.
3. I am afraid that our own culture will be lost with increase in Venezuelan immigration.

4. With increased Venezuelan immigration I fear that our way of life will change for the worse.
5. Interacting with Venezuelan immigrants makes me feel uneasy.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Introduction before seeing the post]

8.- Please read the following text carefully. When you finish reading it, we will ask you some questions about it.

[PARTICIPANTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO TWO GROUPS OF EQUAL SIZE]: A 2-group between-subjects design.

- Narrative post without Collective Memory cue.
- Narrative post with Collective Memory cue.

[POST-TEST MEASURES]

[Identification with the protagonist]

9.- The text you have just read recounts José's personal experience since he arrived at Colombia. Please indicate to what extent you have experienced the following statements while reading José's testimony.

1. I felt emotionally involved with José's feelings.
2. I understood how José acts, thinks and feels.
3. I understood José's feelings or emotions.
4. I imagined how I would act if I were José.
5. I was concerned about what was happening to José.
6. I tried to imagine José's feelings, thoughts, and reactions.
7. I tried to see things from José's point of view.
8. I felt as if I were José.
9. I experienced José's emotional reactions myself.
10. I had the impression of living José's story myself.
11. I identified with José.

Scale: 1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)

[Narrative transportation]

10.- The text you have just read recounts José's personal experience since he arrived at Colombia. Please indicate to what extent you have experienced the following statements while reading José's testimony.

1. I could imagine myself in the situations described in the narrative.
2. I felt mentally very involved during the reading of the story.
3. I wanted to know how the story was going to end.
4. The text affected me emotionally.
5. While reading the narrative I got a very vivid and clear picture of José.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Attention check]

[To check if you are reading the questions, select the second answer option].

Never

Last year

Last month

Last week

Yesterday

[Perceived persuasive effectiveness]

11.- Think about the post you just read. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. The post was credible.
2. The post was convincing.
3. The post was appropriate.
4. This post was very important to me.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Positive attitude toward intergroup contact]

12.- Thinking about your own attitudes toward contact with Venezuelan immigrants:

1. How friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants?

2. In general, how much do you think you enjoy being with Venezuelan immigrants?
3. In general, are you the sort of person who gets on well with Venezuelan immigrants?

Scale: 1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)

[Information-sharing intentions]

13.- Think about the post you just read. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I would be willing to share this information with others.
2. I would talk to others about this information.
3. I would direct others to an address where they could read this information.
4. I would give a "like" to a page or social media post that has this information.
5. I would be willing to post a link to this information on social media.
6. I would share a link to this information.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Perceived past-remembering (manipulation check)]

14.- Think about the post you just read. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. The post was about the history of Colombian migration to Venezuela.
2. The post was about the history of Venezuelan migration to Colombia.
3. The post made me remember how and why Colombians migrated to Venezuela.
4. The post made me remember how and why Venezuelans migrate to Colombia.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

Thank you very much for your participation in our study!

A4.Survey questionnaire of non-narrative experiment - Study IV

Venezuelan Immigration to Colombia and the Red Cross

Since the beginning of massive migration of Venezuelans to Colombia, the Red Cross has made efforts to increase its presence by providing assistance to both migrant population and receiving communities, especially in areas affected by armed conflict and violence. One of the main

actions taken by the Colombian Red Cross through social networks was to increase awareness regarding the migration crisis as well as to inform about the situation of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. Accordingly, this study aims firstly to investigate the attitudes of Colombians towards Venezuelan immigrants, and secondly to explore the humanitarian communication of the Colombian Red Cross by evaluating the opinions of Colombians about the posts of this organization on social media.

[Informed consent form]

[PRE-TEST MEASURES]

[Sociodemographic information]

1.- To which gender identity do you most identify?

4. Male
5. Female
6. Other response

2.- What is your age? (Single-response question)

3.- What is your level of education?

4. Basic school education (Elementary or high school)
5. Undergraduate
6. Postgraduate (Master's, PhD or higher)

4.- In which country were you born? (List of countries)

5.- In which country was your father born? (List of countries)

6.- In which country was your mother born? (List of countries)

[Introduction before seeing the post]

7.- Please read the following post carefully. When you finish reading it, we will ask you some questions about it.

[PARTICIPANTS ARE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO FOUR GROUPS OF EQUAL SIZE]: Design 2 (CM cue: present vs. absent) x 2 (visual imagery: text vs. text-image).

- Textual post without CM cue.
- Textual-visual post without CM cue.

- Textual post with CM cue.
- Textual-visual post with CM cue.

[POST-TEST MEASURES]

[Affective responses]

8.- To what extent did you feel the following emotions during the reading of the post you have just seen?

1. happiness
2. sadness
3. anger/rage
4. fear/anxiety
5. disgust/repulsion
6. guilt
7. shame
8. pride
9. affection/attraction

Scale: 1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)

[Cognitive elaboration]

9.- Think about the post you have just seen. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. While reading the post, I reflected intensely on the issue of Venezuelan migration and its consequences.
2. As I progressed through the post, I tried to draw conclusions to adjust my views on Venezuelan migration.
3. Seeing this post has made me think deeply about Venezuelan migration.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Attention check]

[To check if you are reading the questions, select the second answer option].

Never

Last year

Last month

Last week

Yesterday

[Perceived persuasive effectiveness]

10.- Think about the post you just read. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. The post was credible.
2. The post was convincing.
3. The post was appropriate.
4. This post was very important to me.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Message acceptance]

11.- Think about the post you have just seen. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I accept the conclusion of the post.
2. My opinion is consistent with the opinion expressed in the post.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Positive attitude toward intergroup contact]

12.- Thinking about your own attitudes toward contact with Venezuelan immigrants:

1. How friendly do you think you are to Venezuelan immigrants?
2. In general, how much do you think you enjoy being with Venezuelan immigrants?
3. In general, are you the sort of person who gets on well with Venezuelan immigrants?

Scale: 1 (nothing) – 5 (a lot)

[Information-sharing intentions]

13.- Think about the post you just read. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I would be willing to share this information with others.
2. I would talk to others about this information.
3. I would direct others to an address where they could read this information.
4. I would give a "like" to a page or social media post that has this information.
5. I would be willing to post a link to this information on social media.
6. I would share a link to this information.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

[Perceived past-remembering (manipulation check)]

14.- Think about the post you have just seen. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. This post mentions the historical evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia.
2. This post mentions the historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela.
3. This post reminds me of historical evolution of Venezuelan population in Colombia.
4. This post reminds me of historical evolution of Colombian population in Venezuela.

7-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

Thank you very much for your participation in our study!

Omid Alizadeh Afrouzi

COMMUNICATION EXPERT

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PROFILE

As a communication expert with 10 years of experience and specialist in persuasive communication, I am interested in carrying out strategic communication campaigns, and digital marketing to promote core organization values. Strong creative and analytical skills with team-work oriented mindset.

LANGUAGES

Persian: Native
English: C2
Spanish: C2
German: C1
French: B1
Arabic: A2

SKILLS

Software	Personal
SPSS	Problem Solving
R	Creativity
Atlas.ti	Adaptability
EDIUS	Dependability
Photoshop	
Excel	
PowerPoint	

WORK EXPERIENCE

RESEARCH ASSISTANT — Sep 2019 - 2022

Swiss-Latin American Center, University of St.Gallen, Switzerland

- Organized events, conferences, seminars.
- Reviewed projects, controlled budgets, and documented committee meetings for research-based funding instruments.
- Updated website (Typo3 & CMS) and provided GER/ENG/SPA content based on SEO.
- Managed social media accounts.

SOCIAL MEDIA MANAGER — Jun 2014 - Sep 2019

HispanTV Channel, Iran

- Managed multiple social media accounts.
- Provided strategic analyses based on audience information.
- Promoted company values, e.g. internationalization.

PROGRAM MANAGER & REPORTER — Jun 2014 - Aug 2016

HispanTV Channel, Iran

- Coordinated activities between multiple projects based on strategic goals of the institution.
- Managed programs "Irán", "Etiquetaje" and "Más allá de la imagen".
- Narrated news packages and program episodes.

NEWS EDITOR & INTERPRETER — Jul 2012 - Jun 2015

HispanTV Channel, Iran

- Provided and edited news content for international desks.
- Translated news from Persian, Arabic, and Portuguese to English and Spanish.
- Interpreted meetings from English and Spanish to Persian and viceversa.

IELTS, TOEFL, CAE, CPE INSTRUCTOR — Jan 2009 - Mar 2014

Freelance, International

- Gave public and private courses.

EDUCATION

PHD IN ORGANIZATION STUDIES AND CULTURAL THEORY

University of St.Gallen, Switzerland — Sep 2019 - 2022

MA IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

University of Tehran, Iran — Sep 2014 - Aug 2016

BA IN SPANISH TRANSLATION AND LITERATURE

University of Allameh Tabataba'i, Iran — Sep 2009 - Aug 2013

ACADEMIC ACTIVITY

ARTICLES

- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2021). Humanitarian behavior across high-/low-context cultures: a comparative analysis between Switzerland and Colombia. Int J Humanitarian Action, 6(2). doi: https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-020-00088-y
- Alizadeh Afrouzi O. (2020). Social media and journalistic discourse analysis: 2019 Venezuelan presidential crisis. Discourse & Communication, 15(1):3-24. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481320961660.
- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2020). A critical discourse analysis of news headlines on Lula's corruption case in leading newspapers in Brazil. Revista de Comunicación de la SEECI, 52. doi: doi.org/10.15198/seeci.2020.52.171-192.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2022). Papel humanitario de Suiza en Colombia: El Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja. In M. P. Ramírez Gröbli (Eds), *ACIS 30 años: Diáspora científica colombiana en Suiza* (pp. 343-367). Editions Orbis Tertius.

CONFERENCES

- Bünzli, F. & Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2022). Visual Relationship-Building on Facebook: The Effects of Vertical Camera Angle and Horizontal Camera Angle on User Engagement. 87th annual international conference of Association for Business Communication (ABC), Tampa, USA.
- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2022). Crisis migratoria venezolana y papel humanitario de Suiza en Colombia. Congreso ACIS 30 años. "Trayectorias hacia el conocimiento: Ciencia, innovación y tecnología", Asociación Colombiana de Investigadores en Suiza, University of Lausanne.

PANELS

- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2021). Humanitarian persuasion against xenophobia: Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia. "Research Slam 2021 - Leading House for the Latin American Region", University of St.Gallen.
- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2021). Recruiting survey participants online. Leading House for the Latin American Region Web Seminar. "Remote Fieldwork in the Pandemics", University of St.Gallen.
- Alizadeh Afrouzi, O. (2020). Social media and journalistic discourse analysis. Swiss School of Latin American Studies (SSLAS) PhD workshop. "Latin America and Social Media", University of St.Gallen.

LECTURES

- "Persuasion for the Good: Colombia and the Red Cross" - Guest Lecturer, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana (UPB), Colombia. October, 2020.
- "Spanish Language Course (intermediate)", Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran, Iran. August, 2020.

FIELD RESEARCH

- Colombia, Project "Venezuela migration crisis in Colombia", Bogotá, Medellín, and Cartagena, Jun.-Jul. 2021.
- México, Project "Academic Exchanges", Ciudad de México, Oct.-Nov. 2016.

PEER REVIEWS

- Peer Reviewer for editorial of Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana (UPB), Colombia, 2022.
- Peer Reviewer for Seed Money Grant Projects, Leading House for the Latin American Region, University of St.Gallen, 2019-2022.

AWARDS AND HONORS

- Audience Award and runner-up for best 3MT-presentation at Three Minute Thesis Competition (3MT®), University of St.Gallen.
- Swiss Government Excellence Scholarships for Foreign Scholars and Artists (ESKAS), Period: 2019-2022.
- Mobility Grants 2020, University of St.Gallen.

ADDITIONAL COURSES

Academic Courses

- 2022 Jun.: HSG Kolleg Workshop - Social Sustainabilty, Saint Gallen, Switzerland
- 2021 Feb.: The legal aspects of Open Science, ETH Zürich, Switzerland
- 2020 Oct.: Negotiation Skills, HSG, Saint Gallen, Switzerland
- 2020 Jul.: Analyzing Survey Research Data, Global School in Empirical Research Methods (GSERM)
- 2020 Mar.: Displaying Data in Figures, HSG, Saint Gallen, Switzerland

Other Courses

- 2015 Jul: Journalism & Media Course, PressTV Channel, Tehran, Iran.
- 2016 Sep: News Narration Course, Tehran, Iran.

INTERESTS

Research interests

Media psychology, persuasive communication, business communication, humanitarian communication, marketing, social media studies, intergroup relations.

Personal

Reading books, camping, watching movies, cycling, swimming.