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JOURNALISTS AND THEIR ROLE IN SELECTING AND BUILDING NEWS ON CONTEMPORARY TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

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ABSTRACT - Over the last decade, Brazil has once more become a gateway for immigrants from different nations. This article presents a form for understanding the journalist's role in selecting and building news on contemporary transnational migrations. In order to do this, a content analysis was made of excerpts from national and regional morning newscasts between 2014 and 2016 from Globo Network, Bom Dia Brasil and Bom Dia Paraná. The second stage of the investigation was a study of journalists from Paraná radio stations. This study consisted of a questionnaire and a focus group to help understand what kind of barriers journalists face when selecting news. The results show the limits for using personal experiences in news production and the social differences between journalists and sources; considered as an obstacle towards bringing minority issues and the dependence on bureaucratic sources to the forefront.
Keywords: Immigration in Brazil. News television. Production routines in journalism. Gatekeeping Theory.

O PAPEL DO JORNALISTA NA REPRESENTAÇÃO DO OUTRO MIGRANTE: as interferências pessoais na seleção das notícias

RESUMO - O Brasil tornou-se, na última década, novamente a porta de entrada de imigrantes. É no sentido de compreender o papel do jornalista na seleção e construção da notícia sobre as migrações transnacionais contemporâneas que esse artigo se apresenta. Para tanto, foi realizada uma análise de conteúdo de peças encontradas nos telejornais matutinos de âmbito nacional e regional da TV Globo, Bom Dia Brasil e Bom Dia Paraná, entre 2014 e 2016. A segunda etapa da investigação consistiu em uma pesquisa com jornalistas de emissoras paranaenses por meio de questionários e da composição de um grupo focal na intenção de perceber, à luz da teoria do *gatekeeping*, quais as interferências sofridas pelos jornalistas na seleção das notícias. Os resultados apontam os limites da utilização das experiências pessoais na produção da notícia, as diferenças sociais entre jornalistas e fontes como empecilho para a visibilidade de assuntos referentes às minorias e a dependência das fontes burocráticas.

EL PAPEL DEL PERIODISTA EN LA SELECCIÓN Y CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA NOTICIA SOBRE LAS MIGRACIONES TRANSNACIONALES CONTEMPORÁNEAS

RESUMEN - El Brasil se ha convertido, en la última década, en una puerta de entrada de inmigrantes. Este artículo tiene como objetivo comprender el papel del periodista en la selección y construcción de la noticia sobre las migraciones transnacionales contemporáneas. Así, se llevó a cabo un análisis de contenido de piezas encontradas en los noticieros de la mañana en red nacional y regional de TV Globo, Bom Dia Brasil y Bom Dia Paraná, entre 2014 y 2016. La segunda etapa de la investigación consistió en una encuesta de periodistas de dos estaciones de Paraná a través de cuestionarios y la composición de un grupo de enfoque con el fin de entender, a partir de la teoría del gatekeeper, la interferencia sufrida por los periodistas en la selección de las noticias. Los resultados muestran los límites de la utilización de experiencias personales en la producción de noticias, las diferencias sociales entre periodistas y fuentes como impedimento para problemas de visibilidad relacionadas con las minorías y la dependencia de fuentes burocráticos.
Palabras clave: Inmigración en Brasil. Periodismo televisivo. Rutinas de producción en el periodismo. Teoría del Gatekeeping.

Introduction

The mix of numerous ethnicities over the course of its history has formed Brazil. We need look no further than the importance of migrations to discuss the meaning of Brazil as a nation (Lesser, 2015). The migration is a constant flow of arrivals and departures. The first immigrants arrived during the colonization period, however it was restricted. In addition to the forced migration of around three million Africans during the period of slave trafficking between 1550 and 1850, Brazil also received an estimated five million immigrants between 1819 and the end of the 1940s, most of which were Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, German and Japanese, and a smaller number coming from other countries (Seyferth, 2007).

After the time of the coffee plantation where foreigners were hired to work the fields, the provincial governments developed programs that encouraged labourers from other countries to move to Brazil in an attempt to substitute the slave work and increase the caucasian population (Schwarcz, 2012). Most of these initial immigrants were Portuguese, Italian, German, Spanish, Polish, Syrian, Lebanese,

Ukranian and Japanese. Later, during the 1980s and 1990s, the flow of immigrants changed and the number of Brazilians in the country increased. There were 1.5 million less migrations during this period. Recently, this number has become more stable, having a smaller difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants.

Over the last decade, Brazil has once again become a gateway for immigrants. Yet this growth has not been steady, twice reaching numbers higher than statistics had predicted in 2010 and 2013-2014 (Uebel, 2016). Between 2007 and 2014 there were 1.9 million immigrants who arrived in the country, exceeding government estimates of about 600 thousand. According to Federal Police data, 117,745 foreigners moved to the country in 2015. Overall, Brazil took in 1,847,274 regular immigrants that year, most coming from countries such as Portugal, Japan, Bolivia, Italy, Spain, Argentina, China and the United States.

The average profile of these immigrants has changed compared to previous ones. Brazil has received a movement of citizens from Mercosul bloc countries such as Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina and Peru. The political and economic instability of these countries has led to increased immigration. These groups have different levels of mobility which vary depending on social class, products and information (Bárbara, 2005). For example, even though Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia are close to one another, the motives for their citizens to immigrate are different.

Another profile of the immigrants coming to Brazil is "skilled labourers". There has been a sizable economic growth and expansion in the country which means it has played a more important role on the world scene. Nonetheless, some sectors still lack qualified professionals for areas where domestic supply is inadequate. Because of this, some Brazilian companies opted to hire on foreigners to manage tasks, justifying the significant increase in the number of Portuguese, Italians, Americans, Japanese, British, and other nationalities. The economic crisis that hit Europe in 2011 was another motive behind the influx of foreigners in Brazil. According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment, more than half of the temporary visas authorized in 2011 were for professionals with higher education. The number of foreign doctorates and postgraduates rose from 584 to 1,734. Countries such as Portugal and Spain, where unemployment reached 40% in certain age groups, had qualified labourers who were ready to immigrate. As a consequence, part of the labour shortage in Brazil was resolved due to the need to employ foreigners.

Another important event in immigration to Brazil was that of Haiti. According to data from IBGE (the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), there were no Haitian immigrants accounted for in the year 2000, but in 2010 there were 175. Numbers from the Ministry of Labour and the Federal Police show that there were 20,108 Haitians in the country by 2014. Unofficial data from immigrant pastorals and consulates estimate this number to be double that, at around 50 thousand immigrants. The situation for these citizens is different from other immigrant groups that arrive in the country for economic or labour reasons. The earthquake of 2010, which killed around 200 thousand people, and the political situation in Haiti were some of the reasons for immigration. According to Uebel (2016), Haitian immigration had an important impact on Brazil, not in terms of numbers (there were already larger numbers of Portuguese, Americans and Japanese in the country) but for other factors such as media, ethnicity, colour, social visibility, xenophobia, etc.

The recent diversification in migratory flows includes the more significant arrival of migrants from African countries, such as Senegal and Ghana, as well as colonial countries like Mozambique and Angola. According to a 2015 report on admissions and deportations of immigrants in the Brazilian labour force in 2014 from the Observatory of International Migrations (OBMigra), the country with the second-most labourers admitted in that year after the Haitians was Senegal. "The arrival of legally employed labourers from Senegal had a positive result; 2,830 admissions to 1,400 deportations (Cavalcanti, 2015, p. 92). Ghana was another African country with a high number of admissions in Brazil. The same report stated there was "a positive balance in 2014 with 1,198 admissions to 480 deportations" (Cavalcanti, 2015, p. 95).

These new migratory flows to contemporary Brazil is the result of a broader panoramic of changes to transnational migrations. Information on migratory flows has also changed through the wider use of information and communication technology. The twenty-first century has undergone significant changes in communication, making it easier and more efficient to send and receive messages to and from any part of the world and, as a result, to obtain information about one's destination. Local media has also been paying close attention to these cultural changes and reporting on their impacts. This paper looks to understand how news on these immigrants is built in the media and what the role of journalists is in building it. In order

to do this, an exploratory survey of the media was carried out on migration coverage on Brazilian telejournalism betweeen 2014 and 2016, taken from the morning news shows Bom Dia Brasil, broadcast on TV Globo, and Bom dia Paraná, broadcast on RPCTV, an affiliate of Globo in the state of Paraná. The second part of the investigation involved a study of journalists using questionnaires and focus groups in order to understand, through *gatekeeping*, what barriers journalists encountered in selecting the news.

Media and transnational migrations

The media plays a fundamental role in how the increases and changes in migration to Brazil are being reported on and, consequently, how they are being discussed across the country. Moreover, we consider the central role that media has nowadays in shaping meanings and sharing them in society as an essential part of mediating our daily experiences (Silverstone, 2005).

We also share Mata's (1999) view of the importance of mass media in daily life, and the way she sees the culture of mediums and technology as a new matrix for symbolic production, equipped with its own complex statute. She defends the need to reset the central role of mediums in cultural analysis as more than just message carriers, but as spaces for producers and receivers to interact as a brand, a model, a matrix, producing reason and organizing meaning.

We use these understandings to look at the forms in which journalism selects and builds news on immigration in the Brazilian media, particularly on the coverage of new transnational migrations. Elhajji reminds us: "the presence, affirmation or negotiation of existential countries and their identities is in large part due to a new locus of fighting for power occurring in the media" (2011, p. 6-7). He goes on to say that "the media representation of the Other in intercommunity relations and even more so in relationships between special communities (ethnic ones in this case) and society in general" (p. 8).

As stated by Cogo and Brignol (2014), many studies on the relationships between the media, especially journalism, and migrations (Van Djik (1997), Retis (2004), Cunha (2003) and Cogo (2006) identify there is a tendency to criminalize migrations as a form of defending national borders. Here, the focus seems to be on economic factors related to security or migration policies which blame or vic-

timize the migrant, a narrow-minded way of looking at the issue.

Martínez (2006) similarly points out different investigations that show how communication mediums play a key role in reproducing discourse on immigrants that stresses the problems they cause to or difficulties faced by the countries that take them in. He argues that the way readers interpret and assess the news on migrations published by the press is directly related to the content of this material and how it is presented. Simplifying complex issues such as these leads to negative and stereotyped opinions of foreigners.

When analyzing racism in Europe, Van Djik (2006) draws attention to how news on ethnic issues is conditioned by contexts of discrimination and exclusion. He believes the selection of issues and other news elements is stereotyped and limited to covering a small number of topics, mainly the arrival of immigrants (labelled "illegal" by the media), difficulties with the integration of migrants in communities and migrants involved in illegal activities. He warns that these limitations for selecting and reporting on migration might be related to the structure of journalistic organizations and to how journalists relate to the issue: "la contratación de periodistas que pertenecen a minorías es obviamente discriminatoria, la recopilación de información está dominada por hombres blancos e ignora o problematiza las fuentes y los líderes étnicos, mientras que favorece las definiciones de la élite blanca de la situación étnica, y finalmente, la cobertura de la misma sociedad multicultural se ve normalmente limitada a la cobertura de un pequeño número de temas 'problemáticos'" (Van Djik, 2006, p.29).

Transnation migrations in telejournalism

We performed an exploratory mapping of the media and its coverage of migrations on Brazilian television. This study was carried out at the "Research Centre on Media and Immigration" (UniBrasil) in collaboration with the research group "Communication in networks, identities and citizenship" (UFSM). The news programs selected for study were Bom Dia Brasil and Bom Dia Paraná from Rede Globo and its affiliate in Paraná, RPCTV. These programs were viewed on a daily basis between March and October of 2014, 2015 and 2016. We chose to follow these news programs because they have an opinionated audience and also because morning news programs are usually

more community-based and their news anchors are less formal, offering opinions and analyses. This study looks at the characteristics these programs endow immigrants with by observing variables of form (type of report, broadcast date, time, format), content (main and secondary themes, actors, origin, geographic location) and discourse (theme attributed to the report, actor comments, types and modalities of narratives) (Cunha, 2007).

Following these programs over the three years showed that there is little attention given to immigration, especially on national televised news. Bom Dia Brasil had nine reports on immigration in 2014. There was some increased interest in the following years due to international coverage of the large numbers of refugees that fled to European countries. There were 63 reports in 2015, but only five of them were actually about immigration in Brazil. There were 51 reports in 2016, two of which were about Brazil. There were a total of 16 reports over the three years of research which were subsequently separated into the following categories: *Labour/study market* (four of these were about Haitians and their professional activities); *Police/crimes* (two of these associated Italians to drug trafficking); *Arrivals/figures* (two reports on Syrian refugee arrivals); *Sports* (four reports on foreign sports athletes, three of which were presented on the program "Brazil, the mirror of the world", about foreigners who live in Brazil and watched their teams compete in the World Cup); *Police/violence against migrants* (one report about violence against a German man).

Regional television covered the theme a little more with increased coverage over the years analyzed for this paper. There were three reports in 2014, ten in 2015 and 15 in 2016. The coverage here was much different from national television. In 2014 there were categories such as *Festivals/Special Holidays* (Ramadan, Haitian Flag Day) and *Labour/Study market* (Cuban doctors working in Ponta Grossa). 2015 had the topics *Festivals/Special Holidays* (Ramadan, Oktoberfest in Rolândia, Japan Exposition in Londrina, Oriental Festival in Maringá, oriental immigrants and the anniversary of Maringá), *Labour/Study market* (three reports on Haitians), *Arrivals/figures* (reports on Syrian refugee shelters) and *Police/crimes* (a report on a Peruvian man arrested for drug trafficking). 2016 had the topics *Festivals/Special Holidays* (two reports on Ramadan, the Haitian Culture Festival, a German artist in Maringá, a Chinese artist in Foz do Iguaçu, the Japan Exposition in Londrina, and 65 years of German immigra-

tion in Guarapuava), *Labour/Study market* (a housekeeping course for Haitians and openings for refugees in post secondary education)*, Arrivals/departures/figures* (Haitians leaving the state), *Police/Violence against migrants* (aggression towards a Haitian student), *Police/crime* (An Argentinian man arrested for drug trafficking), Sports (the debut of a Turkish football player), *Support services/associations* (increased service at Cáritas in Londrina) and *Bureaucratic procedures* (immigrant registration in Toledo).

It is important to point out the sources used in these reports. In the nine national reports the sources were immigrants (13), government and public organs (3), people who live with immigrants (3), and associations or institutions of support (4). In the 28 local reports the sources were immigrants (19), government organs and police (11), people who live with immigrants (5), and associations or institutions of support (5).

Based on the categories listed by Tuchman (1978), there was not much coverage of breaking events (*hard news*) involving immigrants, and the few that existed were mostly crime-related. Most of the stories were *soft news*, information considered to be of less importance.

Even though the issue is still sparsely covered, the gradual emergence of material being produced on it is a sign of increased interest on the part of the media. Even with more emphasis being placed on the range of stories around migration, like the labour market or the immigrants' cultural activities (Javorski, 2017), there still is not much material in the media that prioritizes the role of migrants and provides them with a place to voice their opinions on their experiences. In some instances, the journalistic material is supposed to focus on humanizing the migrants' conditions in Brazil, but it ends up focusing on the differences between them and Brazilians.

Journalists' routines and the gatekeeper approach

In order to understand how connected television journalists are to international migrations and what parts of the production routine contribute to or complicate discussions on the topic we conducted a survey of 15 journalists (reporters and editors) from the RPCTV broadcasting company of TV Globo in Paraná. The survey had 24 questions asking the journalists general information about themselves and how connected they are to the current state of immigra-

tion. There were specific questions about their knowledge of and experience with foreigners. These questions were important to be able to determine how close they were to issue itself. Other questions were asked about the production routine, such as how information was gathered, how important it was, and the frequency and adequacy of coverage. This survey was followed up by two focus groups consisting of four journalists and producers and reporters from the broadcaster who cover local news. The decision to use small groups was taken from Munday (2006) as they are more effective for getting an in-depth look at certain issues. In order to get further opinions about national coverage, two network producers from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were also included. The focus group explored issues such as personal influence on news production, contact with immigrant sources and the bureaucracy behind broadcasting. This approach also considered classic theories on journalistic routines, particularly in television, which lead professionals towards their decision of which news reports will be broadcast. White (1950), who uses the metaphor of *gatekeeping* for analyzing the role these professionals have in the daily screening process involved in making these decisions, concluded that they were made subjectively and were based more on individual values than organizational ones. Alongside advances in studies in this field, there were other factors which had an influence on building news which were widely discussed, such as political organizations, social and cultural mediums, *deadlines*, etc. Schudson (1988) explained it as a relationship between personal action (journalists acting as individuals and what their personal intentions were), social action (influence from organizations) and cultural action (news as a product which is part of society and a specific moment). The focus group discussions were conducted with this perspective in mind.

Keeping in mind that cognitive dynamics of human beings can process only a limited amount of information, the work of journalists requires that they adapt to working under pressure. The information has to be organized, taking into account that they have a personal and a professional conscience, and even though this process is automatic, they work towards producing news that confirms their convictions (Stocking & Gross, 1989). Here, they develop a perception of reality and how they must portray it while working under pressure, taking into account organizational and personally-defined expectations. This defining of thoughts standardizes the information, forcing

journalists to fall back on stereotypes and simplifying situations and issues. Keeping with Stocking and Gross (1989), this makes journalists use more anecdotal evidence than data when producing news. Perceptions of reality are also altered thereby leading to erroneous views of what is or is not news. This judgment is dependant on many factors but it is highly influenced by time pressure and, as a consequence, affects the global process of news production, especially the selection process (*gatekeeping*). The more current facts have more chance to go through the gates (Sousa, 1999).

As far as telejournalism, it depends much more on time as long-distance reports (i.e., over the telephone) are not possible. So, once a story has been decided, the team has to hit the streets, get that story, and make it back in time to include it on the news. There are many different *deadlines* that must be met during the day. Time can have a wide effect on stories, leading to either the exclusion of some or substituting one for another; not necessarily because they are more important, but because they are what is available at the time. As a consequence, it is not always the most important story that gets aired, but the one that is capable of being produced within the time frame available so it can be broadcast. Another factor in telejournalism is image. Even if the story is interesting, without images, it becomes less important and less of what the journalists interviewed for this study called a "good story"; a set of values revolving around strong characters and unexpected events. This adaptation fits the criteria for routines, technical abilities and organizational restraints laid out by Golding (1981) which have a direct influence on producing news.

Journalists and their connection to the issue of immigration and relationship with immigrants

The criteria used for selecting stories is quite subjective and personal. This personal criteria is one of the first gates through which potential news stories must pass. White (1950) concluded in his studies that the experiences and attitudes of gatekeepers have an effect on their decisions. These experiences might have to do with ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion and class (Shoemaker & Vos, 2011). Those participating in the focus groups confirmed that many stories are suggested based on personal experiences and above-

mentioned categories. It is much more likely that a journalist would suggest to do a story on child adoption, for example, if he or she had had this experience, whether being an adopted child, adopting one themselves or even just knowing someone close who has adopted. Or maybe a journalist who is a feminist might suggest a story on feminism. The same thing occurs with immigrants, the only difference being there are socioeconomic and cultural elements involved. Even though the cultural shaping of Brazil is made up of immigrants, and most journalists are descendents of immigrants who moved here years ago, they generally do not propose covering these issues because their roots are so much more distant than these current migrations. This distance between journalists and immigrants occurs on many levels, one of them being a social one. Most of the Haitians, for example, have not completed high school, are between the ages of 25 and 34 and work in unskilled labour (Fernandes, 2014). What's more, once they arrive they remain together and only share in group activities with their fellow countrymen. Brazilian journalists are predominantly white, middle class and young. Black people represent only 5.3% of these journalists, orientals 1.1% and indigenous 0.4% (Mick & Lima, 2013). This shows that the social profile of journalists is far removed from that of the minorities in the country. These professionals confirm this inequality when questioned about it. As far as they are concerned, this problem has been resolved due to the large numbers of communities on the outskirts of the cities.

Clearly news stories are not just about "affinities", but one cannot deny that having a close connection to particular themes does lead the media towards covering them. 12 out of the 15 journalists in the survey said they knew of foreigners living in the country, but only five actually had any contact with them. Five of these foreigners came from Argentina and ten came from Europe (Portugal, France and Italy). Two journalists said they knew Haitians and African nationals from Angola and Senegal. So, knowing immigrants and seeing the difficulties they go through, whether learning the language, searching for their rights as foreigners, access to basic services like education and health, among others, could raise issues to be included in new stories and consequently discussed on a public level.

Even if journalists know or have connections to some immigrants, they are not the main sources of information. Any attempt at getting an interview with an immigrant which would force the journalist to use other unofficial mediums is practically non-existent.

Accessibility is another important criteria listed by Golding (1981); the easier a story is to cover, the more likely it is to make the news. Immigrants are difficult sources to access due to many factors: they are not included in the journalist's social circle, they generally do not speak the language well (which makes first contact by telephone difficult), and they are not organized well enough to demand their rights are being met, etc.

Here, journalists are aware of the fact that they are dependant on the routines of press offices, security organs, non-governmental organizations, immigrant associations, and other support networks. These institutions use and select immigrants as sources of information according to certain conditions such as availability and language ability, and not necessarily according to the stories that are more suitable or sensitive to the topic. Perhaps this is the reason for so few stories involving racism or xenophobia; the sources themselves avoid talking about the more polemic issues. There is a kind of understanding journalists have of an organization's editorial policy: they understand that press offices want to avoid portraying immigrants as victims (even though the news content studied here did not reveal this kind of bias). They focus more on stories of resilience and value. The institutions outside of newsrooms act as *gatekeepers* when journalists are not in contact with the possible sources.

Time can have a larger influence in this stage since support organizations are more efficient at sending pre-determined results and standing by them. More credible institutions or institutions of economic and political power have privileged access to the media and can easily have their news pass through the "gates" to be included in programming. As Sousa (1999) points out, journalists value those sources which can provide the credible information they "desperately" seek for news production (Sousa, 1999). What we see here is a privilege for issues determined by dominant sectors of society that produce a social structure which is more favorable to the elitists and not necessarily to the sectors representing minorities (Van Dijk, 1990).

Using organizations as sources has some benefits such as similar working hours to television professionals and being able to contact them at almost any time. Furthermore, as observed in the journalist focus groups, there is a certain credibility in official sources which acts as a shortcut to the verification process as it does not require any investigation of common sources. Here, journalists are passive and their sources (the institutions and press offices) are active

(Gans, 1980), which speeds up the production of informative content that television journalists need.

Nevertheless, even though the sources come from organizations, it is important to note that the stories aired on broadcast news se immigrants as sources. Most of the reports on national broadcast show many more interviews with foreigners than they do with their official sources. Immigrants appear on local news almost as much as political and governmental organs do, which shows the need for the "security" that official institutions offer, something the journalists in the focus group pointed out. Albeit in fewer numbers, there is interest in hearing what local communities have to say, mostly those who live with or among immigrants, in order to make them more aware of housing immigrants.

Media vehicle owners usually expect that journalists interiorize their editorial lines. As Breed (1993) notes, the *publisher* is the main *gatekeeper* who delineates journalist guidelines, whether journalists share the opinions expressed within the stories or not. The interviews showed that this occurs both consciously and unconsciously, and depends on the *status* of the journalists in the newsroom. So, "executives" (*publisher* and editors) act differently than *staffers* (reporters). One newsroom from a national network said the suggestion was made to treat stories on the recent migration flow from a humanitarian perspective due to the anti-immigration stance of President Donald Trump during his election campaign. The local reporters who were interviewed did not follow any specific guidelines but appeared to understand the decisions behind broadcast editorial lines as "personal" ones. The opinions presented in the reports seem to fall in line with the norms of media vehicles, a kind of "conformity" they feel from their status and their superiors. Journalists "learn how to anticipate what they need in order to get rewarded and avoid penalties" (Breed, 1993, p. 155), unconsciously seeing the larger editorial decisions as their own.

Final Considerations

The aim of this paper was to understand how news on immigration is built in broadcast jouralism and compare that to the production routines of journalists and how it can be influenced by personal opinion.

Content analysis of the items in this paper did not reveal any attempts to portray immigrants and foreigners in a negative light, the same cannot be said about other studies in this area. These items showed that people were willing to study (both the language and formal education) and work in order to adapt to the society they lived in. The people who live with and among these immigrants did not report any major problems regarding their integration into the community. Furthermore, when immigrants celebrate their traditional beliefs and customs in their new communities, it helps everyone forget about the complexities and history that comes attached to international relocation. According to journalists, this is one way of showing the importance and belonging of a culture in society. However, this does not stimulate public discussion on the legislation of issues such as immigrants, racism and xenophobia. The lack of information or the dissonance that exists between people and reality is proof of this, one needs only look at how stories are covered, using routine sources like public organs and support institutions instead of going directly to the source itself, in this case the immigrants.

A journalist's personal experience and opinions do play a part in the production process despite the fact that the numerous steps in television journalism production, from the newsroom to editing, prevent the chance that one person's personal point of view be exposed. Therefore, a television reporter who is responsible for putting a story together loses autonomy once that story has been sent through to be reviewed. This process tends to lead to a consensus on the original idea even with the self-censorhip, values and limitations that publishing places on stories from their inception to being aired.

The social differences show us that journalists generally cover topics that are closer to them. As the media monitoring showed, their coverage is highly limited and the contemporary migratory groups that do appear are mostly from Haiti or Syria. Migrants from China, for example, who have a considerable background in entrepreneurialism, are not stories that get covered because journalists see them as being very "closed off" and difficult to approach. This is also true for Haitian communities, but the difference being that they belong to a group which is more similar culturally-speaking and have more local support networks. Syrians have an easier transition as they receive a lot of support from the many Arab communities present in Brazil. Arab, Japanese, Italian, Portuguese, German and other more consolidated migratory groups are considered by journalists to be

"one of us". We can see here that certain migratory groups are more privileged than others due to limitations that the production routine of broadcast newsrooms on them. It is also clear how the media likes to build a story, albeit a positive one, that produces and legitimizes how these groups are viewed by the communities that house them.

*This paper was translated by Lee Sharp

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