



NARRATIVES OF LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT MEDIA IN SPAIN

BELÉN RODRÍGUEZ-CÁNOVAS¹

brcanovas@ucm.es

BRENDA CAROLINA TUFÍÑO MURILLO¹

brendatu@ucm.es

ALFREDO GUZMÁN RINCÓN²

Alfredo.Guzman@asturias.edu.com

¹ Universidad Complutense, España

² Corporación Asturias, Colombia

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ABSTRACT

Spain is one of the main migration destinations within the European Union, particularly for the Latin American community, due to language and cultural proximity. Based on a content analysis applied to a sample of Latin press and magazines active between January and October 2024, this study examines their characteristics and narratives. The results show that, although many of these outlets disappeared after the 2008 economic crisis, some remain active and continue to play a significant role in the daily lives of immigrants. In conclusion, Latin ethnic media in Spain are essential tools for preserving cultural identity, fostering integration into the host society, and maintaining connections with countries of origin, thus confirming their relevance in contemporary transnational processes.

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1. Introduction

In recent decades, Spain has become one of the main destination countries for migration in the European Union (EU), especially since the end of the 20th century. Spain has gone from being a country of origin for migrants to a receiving country due to various factors such as economic growth, the need for labour in sectors such as construction, catering and agriculture, the socio-political situation in the countries of origin, and its strategic geographical location, which makes the Iberian Peninsula the gateway to Europe for many African and Asian migrants, as it is an important transit and destination point.

In 2022, Spain received more than 20% of asylum applications in the EU (Eurostat, 2022). This is partly explained by the pandemic restrictions that slowed the entry of migrants during the previous two years and by the conflict in Ukraine, which led to the arrival of a large number of refugees in the EU. In that year, Spain recorded the second highest rate of foreign arrivals in the EU, with Ireland in first place and Germany in third, according to data published by Eurostat, confirming the growth in migration flows to the country. The latest data from April 2024 confirm this growth, also indicating that the national population is declining and that the total population is growing thanks to this migratory flow (National Institute of Statistics, 2024).

The nationalities of immigrants differ between European countries. In the case of Spain, more than half come from South America, Central America and the Caribbean due to the language link and socio-cultural synergies. The main nationalities of immigrants in Spain up to April 2024 were Colombian, Moroccan and Venezuelan (INE, 2024). These new migrant communities become part of the host nation and have an impact on various areas, such as socio-demographics, economics and politics. One of the most significant aspects of the impact of immigration in Spain is its influence on the labour market. Migrants play a crucial role in sectors with high employment demand such as construction, domestic service, agriculture and hospitality (Arango, 2020). The labour integration of migrants is complex, and these communities face precarious jobs, low wages and inadequate working conditions, which is a challenge for the economic and social integration of these communities. In turn, immigration has a significant impact on the culture and identity of the receiving country. On the positive side, Spain is richer in terms of diversity because different cultures coexist, giving rise to new cultural spaces such as restaurants, music, gastronomy, markets, festivals and art, among others. In this context, the media can play a role in representing immigrants. While some highlight their positive contributions to the economy and culture, others perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices that foster xenophobia (Retis, 2019), posing a major challenge to the full integration and inclusion of migrant communities in host countries.

Although migration flows can cause tensions around inclusion and integration, they also represent a huge opportunity to enrich cultural identity by creating a more diverse and inclusive society as an asset for globalisation. Cultural identity, understood as a set of values, practices, symbols and languages that unite individuals with their community of origin, is a meeting point where cultural meanings interrelate and transform (Hall, 1990). In the context of migration, preserving cultural identity is essential in the lives of immigrants, but through interrelation with the culture of the host country and other migrant communities, cultural identity becomes a dynamic and complex process in which immigrants must adopt and adapt practices from the host country while preserving essential features of their culture of origin, a phenomenon conceptualised as cultural hybridisation (García Canclini, 1997) and performing a transnational function connecting two worlds (King and Wood, 2011). This can generate tensions in cultural identity motivated by problems of inclusion and exclusion in the host nation and, at the same time, by a sense of cultural loss as they distance themselves from their country of origin. Immigrants follow different acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), which can range from assimilation—the immigrant fully adopts the culture of the host country, setting aside their culture of origin—separation—the immigrant avoids any element of the host country's culture—to the ideal state, integration—the immigrant coexists with elements of both cultures—as opposed to marginalisation—the connection with both cultures is lost. Migrants have followed different strategies that make up the "public spheres of diaspora" (Appadurai, 1996), such as the creation of diasporic communities and participation in social events. In this context, ethnic media play a key role in representing the migrant community, maintaining its cultural identity, connecting it with its country of origin, friends and family, while also addressing the challenge of integration in the host country by becoming the voice that

reinforces cultural identity, increases transnational solidarity and collective empowerment. The objectives of this study are presented below.

1.1. Research objectives and questions

1.1.1. General objective

To analyse the ethnic media produced and consumed by the Latin American community in Spain, focusing on their recent evolution, the content they disseminate and the role they play in the daily lives of immigrants.

1.1.2. Specific objectives

1. To identify the Latin ethnic media active in Spain in 2024 and describe their main characteristics.
2. To analyse the predominant narratives and themes in the journalistic pieces published in these media.
3. To examine the representation of the countries of origin and the host country in the content.
4. To evaluate the tone and most recurrent visual elements in media production.
5. Explore the role of these media in preserving cultural identity, social integration and building transnational links.

1.1.3. Research questions

1. Which Latino ethnic media outlets remain active in Spain today?
2. What narratives, themes, and journalistic genres predominate in these media?
3. How is content distributed in relation to countries of origin, the host country and transnational narratives?
4. What communicative tone characterises the publications and what visual elements are most frequently used?
5. How do these media contribute to the preservation of cultural identity and the integration of the Latin community into Spanish society?

The following sections describe the theoretical framework that justifies the contribution. This is followed by the methodology, analysis of the results, discussion and conclusion.

2. Immigration in Spain: the importance of the Latin American community

According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2022), in 2021 there were more than two million Latin American immigrants in Spain, representing 10% of the country's total population. The main countries of origin of this community are Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Latin American immigration to Spain began to increase in the 1990s when Spain joined the European Union and has been driven by various factors. Firstly, economic factors such as the crisis in Venezuela, employment difficulties in countries such as Peru and Ecuador, and hyperinflation in Argentina have made Spain a destination for those seeking employment and stability (Urdiales Viedma y Ferrer Rodríguez, 2006). Secondly, political factors: many citizens of Venezuela, Cuba and Nicaragua have fled due to the political situation and repression, with Spain providing refuge for them. Thirdly, there are cultural and social factors. Our countries have historical ties, share the same language and many cultural traits, which make Latin American migrants feel that integration is easier than in other countries (González-Enríquez, 2016). The arrival of the Latin American immigrant community has made positive contributions to Spain. Thanks to this community, it is possible to sustain sectors that are key to the economy, such as agriculture and hospitality, and they also contribute to social security through their taxes (Cebolla-Boado, 2019). Culturally, Spain is richer because it draws on Latin American traditions such as gastronomy, art and music. This promotes multiculturalism and a more inclusive and welcoming society.

However, there are many challenges facing both politicians and Spanish society in achieving the full inclusion of the Latin American community. This community faces job insecurity due to the nature of the sectors in which it works, compounded by a lack of resources or training for more skilled development. Despite their shared cultural roots and language, Latin American immigrants are not immune to discrimination and xenophobia (García and Brunner, 2017). Consequently, the nation's

migration policies, as well as continued efforts towards social and cultural integration, are the basis for their full integration and key to Spain's agenda.

2.1. Media for migrant communities

The production of media for migrant minorities is a phenomenon of great importance, and in the United States and other European countries, the literature is more abundant than in Spain (Fernández-Ferrer, 2014; Rigoni, 2010a). According to Retis (2006), there are three ways to refer to media aimed at minority citizens: ethnic media, diasporic media, and minority media, depending on the research focus. All these terms are used in the literature to refer to media produced by, aimed at, and/or of special interest to minorities of immigrant origin in their countries of residence (Georgiou, 2003). It is difficult to agree on a single name for this type of media because, if anything, they are characterised by their total diversity in terms of language, content and distribution (Camauér, 2003). Georgiou (2003) points out that, despite this distinctive feature of diversity, these media share one element, which is that they are aimed at an audience that imagines itself as a community sharing a specific identity or ethnicity.

In this paper, the Anglo-Saxon term "ethnic media" is used, leaving aside the connotations of the word "ethnic" depending on the culture. This term is used in the United States and Anglo-Saxon countries and defines ethnic media as those produced by ethnic groups to organise themselves, communicate and facilitate integration into American society (Park, 1922, Subervi-Vélez, 1986). At the beginning of the 20th century, immigrants from Europe arriving in the United States demanded to read the press in their own language, and ethnic media had an informative function because they told readers how to adapt to their new environment, change old habits and form new opinions (Park, 1922). These media evolved to take on a broader role: providing stability to the community; acting as a cultural medium by providing information about meetings, celebrations, or festivals; serving as the community's watchdog or radar, identifying potential external threats, including information about legal rights or changes in immigration laws; promoting a positive image of the community by providing information on the success of community members in the host society with stories about political participation in the destination country (Viswanath and Arora, 2000). This is why ethnic media can serve as a platform for self-representation and protest by the immigrant community against negative stereotypes generated in the public sphere (Ogunyemi, 2015). Currently, ethnic media provide all kinds of information, from cultural celebrations to job searches, training and social services (Matsaganis et al., 2016). Among the functions indicated, the cultural function stands out. Ethnic media also act as platforms to promote and preserve the cultural identity of the migrant community through the use of their own language, customs, events, religious festivals, music, gastronomy, links with family and friends, and participation in the community (Jeffres, 2000).

2.2. Media for the Latin community in Spain

The first publications aimed at immigrants appeared in the 1990s, coinciding with the arrival of the first waves of immigration, mainly from Peru and the Dominican Republic (Retis, 2006, 2008). In 1992, the first magazine aimed at Latinos was published, *Revista Pueblo Nuevo*, which was a neighbourhood magazine for residents and businesses in the area (Retis, 2006). In 1994, the first weekly or monthly newspapers, *El Latinoamericano* and *Euromundo Latino*, began to be published, and in 1995, the magazine *Ocio Latino* was published (Retis, 2006). The magazine *Mujeres del Mundo-munduko emakumeak* and the newspaper *Resumen Latinoamericano y del Tercer Mundo* also appeared in the Basque Country (Mendieta-Bartolomé, 2018, 2023). In 1998, the entertainment magazine *Imagen Latina* appeared. At the end of the 1990s, the first radio stations also appeared, such as *Radio Pueblo Nuevo* (Fernández-Ferrer, 2014). It is estimated that between 1992 and 2000, around 20 print media outlets for Latinos appeared. In 2000 and 2001, the number of Latino immigrants increased considerably, and with it, Latino publications, reaching a total of 30 (Mendieta-Bartolomé, 2018). In 2004 and 2005, the weekly *Sí, Se Puede* was launched, and in April 2005, the publishing company Novapress launched the weekly newspaper *Latino en Madrid* (Retis, 2006). In 2007, the Latin press market peaked at 105 publications in Spain and up to 300 specialised media outlets (Fernández-Ferrer, 2014). The first and only *Estudio de Medios Inmigrantes* (EMI) [Immigrant Media Study] was also published with the technical endorsement of the *Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación* (AIMC) [Association for Media Research] and the support of the *Asociación de Agencias*

de Medios [Association of Media Agencies] (Retis, 2006). The 2008 crisis plunged Spain into an economic depression. The development of digital press led to a press crisis and advertising investment plummeted, resulting in the demise of many of these ethnic media outlets, newspapers, magazines and radio stations (Retis, 2014). Some journalists returned to their countries, others migrated to Europe, and others retrained and went to work in other sectors (Ferrández-Ferrer, 2014). By 2023, eight of the fourteen newspapers and magazines printed in 2014 had ceased publication (Mendieta-Bartolomé and Argiñano, 2023). All of this has complicated the creation of a census of Latino ethnic media in Spain, and only the work of several authors who research them is available (Ferrández-Ferrer, 2014; Gaya, 2003; Gómez-Escalona, 2008a; Mendieta-Bartolomé and Argiñano, 2023; Mendieta-Bartolomé, 2018 and 2023; Retis, 2006, 2008, 2014). Mendieta-Bartolomé and Argiñano (2023) show the evolution of both print and digital Latino press in Spain and indicate that, of the 107 media outlets that existed in 2007, only 12 survived in 2018, 8 in 2023, and in 2024, this study found only 6 in digital format and only 2 that maintain free print magazines.

3. Methodology

In order to respond to the specific objectives and research questions raised in section 1.1, this study uses a descriptive and analytical approach based on content analysis techniques. The overall objective has been to examine the ethnic media produced and consumed by the Latin American community in Spain, considering their characteristics, narratives and contributions to the daily lives of immigrants.

The sample was determined using the approach taken in the study by Mendieta-Bartolomé (2023). Given that it is not possible to have a clear sampling frame—there is no single census that brings together all Latin media in Spain, many have disappeared, and others have migrated to digital format—a non-probabilistic convenience sampling was chosen, supported by academic literature and the accessibility of the selected media. In this regard, previous research (Fernández-Ferrer, 2014; Retis, 2006) was reviewed and compared with the most recent analysis (Mendieta-Bartolomé, 2023), verifying which publications were still active ten years later. Based on this, the live sample shown in Table 1 was formed.

Table 1. Latin American media outlets analysed

Media	Year	Migrant community
Colombia	2008	Colombia
Guide me	2011	Colombia
Ocio Latino	1995	Latinos
Latin Image	1998	Latinos
We Are Latinos	2004	Latinos
Argentinos.es	2004	Argentina
Here Latinos	2009	Latinos in Europe

Source(s): Own elaboration, 2025

Boliviacontigo.es was also included to increase national representation, and local media outlets—such as *Hola Latinoamérica* in the Basque Country and *Baleares sin Fronteras*—were excluded because they did not maintain continuity during the study period. The final corpus consisted of 512 journalistic pieces published in print and digital media between January and October 2024, comprising 317 news items (62%), 92 reports (18%), 61 features (12%) and 42 opinion pieces (8%). The information was systematised in Excel spreadsheets, in which the metadata and analysis variables for each piece were recorded.

For the coding, a code book with five dimensions was developed (Table 2): (1) nationality of the audience, (2) topic, (3) country of reference—origin, recipient or transnational—, (4) tone of the content, and (5) visual elements. The percentages were calculated based on the total number of pieces analysed. The coding was carried out by the authors and validated by an external researcher specialising in communication, who reviewed 10% of the sample using the same methodology. The Cohen's kappa coefficient obtained was greater than 0.8, ensuring a satisfactory level of inter-coder reliability and reinforcing the validity of the analysis.

Table 2. Latin American media analysed

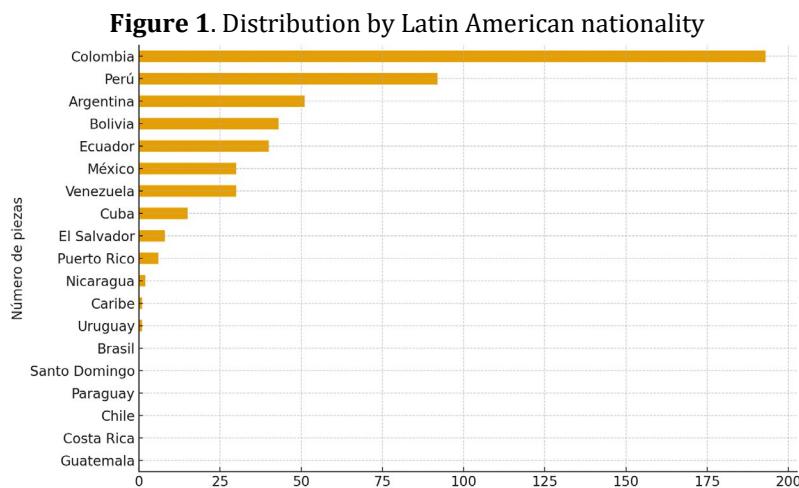
Variable	Coding
Nationality of the audience	1. Argentina; 2. Bolivia; 3. Colombia; 4. Cuba; 5. Ecuador; 6. Mexico; 7. Paraguay; 8. Peru; 9. Santo Domingo; 10. Venezuela; 11. Other Latin American countries (open)
Subject	1. Culture; 2. Sports; 3. Politics; 4. Economy; 5. Social rights; 6. Migration policy; 7. Services; 8. Useful information; 9. Others (open)
Country content	1. Country of origin; 2. Host country (Spain); 3. Transnational
Tone	1. Positive: promotes inclusion, coexistence, common values 2. Neutral: informative news without ideological or cultural implications 3. Negative: promotes exclusion or highlights cultural conflicts
Visual elements	1. Images and videos used 2. Colours 3. People 4. Elements from the country of origin

Source(s): Own work, 2025.

4. Results

The results according to the study variables are presented below:

Representation by Latin American nationality: Of all the elements analysed, a representation of all Latin American countries was obtained, showing the diversity of the Latin American community in Spain. The largest representation is from Colombia (33.1%), followed by Peru (18%), Argentina (10%), Bolivia (8.5%), Ecuador (8%), Mexico (6%), Venezuela (6%), Cuba (3%), El Salvador (1.6%), Puerto Rico (1.3%), Santo Domingo (0.1%), Nicaragua (0.5%), the Caribbean (0.2%), Uruguay (0.2%), Paraguay (0.1%), Chile (0.1%), Costa Rica (0.1%), Brazil (0.1%) and Guatemala (0.1%). These percentages can be explained by the fact that EsColombia.es and Guíame are primarily aimed at the Colombian community. In the case of Bolivia and Argentina, there are two media outlets aimed at these communities (Argentinos.es, Boliviacontigo.es). As for Peru, the high representation is explained by the publication Imagen Latina, whose content is mainly aimed at this country. The rest of the representations come mainly from Ocio Latino and Yo Soy Latino.

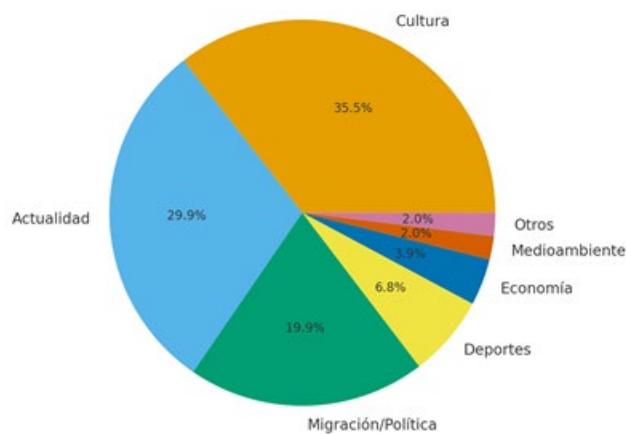


Source: own elaboration based on data from the study, 2025.

Thematic content: In terms of the topics covered by the media, the content can be classified into three main categories: culture, immigration and current affairs in the country of origin. The detailed study by country identified relevant topics by nationality. In the case of Colombia, the main topics are culture (45%), with special reference to national holidays, gastronomy and literature; current affairs in Colombia (20%); migration and migration policy (15%); sports (8%); social and business projects (5%); economy (2%); and environment (2%). With regard to Peru, 40% is dedicated to culture, with a predominance of gastronomic content and references to important Peruvian personalities in the world

of culture; 30% to current affairs in the country and 30% to migration and migration policy. For Ecuador and Bolivia, the following topics stand out: culture (30%); current affairs in Ecuador (50%), with an emphasis on news about violence in the country; migration and migration policy (20%). Argentina devotes 50% to current affairs in Argentina, 30% to culture and 20% to sports. In relation to Bolivia, Venezuela and the rest of the countries, 80% of the topics are current affairs in these countries and 20% are about migration policy.

Figure 2. Overall thematic distribution



Source: own elaboration based on data from the study, 2025.

Country content: Colombia and Peru show a similar distribution. Forty-five per cent of the content is devoted to the country of origin; 35% to Spain, the receiving country; and 20% to transnationalism. Bolivia and Ecuador have 70% of the content on the country of origin, 20% on Spain and 10% on other topics. For the rest of the countries, 80% is content from the country of origin, 15% refers to the receiving country, and 5% shows evidence of transnationalism. It should be noted that almost 100% of the content from Venezuela focuses only on the country of origin. The content about the country of origin is classified into two broad categories. The first is content that demonstrates pride in belonging and cultural ties to the country of origin. This content often refers to national and religious holidays, as shown in these quotes: a. "Colombia celebrates National Day" (Colombia.es, July 2024 issue); b. "Guayaquileños celebrate the founding of their city. A display of identity and pride that not only reaffirms their cultural identity, but also strengthens the ties between Guayaquil migrants, creating a space where they can share and celebrate their heritage" (Guíame Magazine, September 2024); c. The festival of the Virgin of Urkupiña is one of the most important and beloved celebrations for Bolivians, both in Bolivia and in the diaspora. Originating in Quillacollo, in the department of Cochabamba, Bolivia, this festival is known as the "Festival of National Integration" and has earned a special place in the hearts of the Bolivian community around the world. In Madrid, the celebration of the Virgin of Urkupiña is more than a religious tradition; it is a meeting place, a display of identity and a reminder of the unity that defines Bolivians. (Boliviacontigo.es)

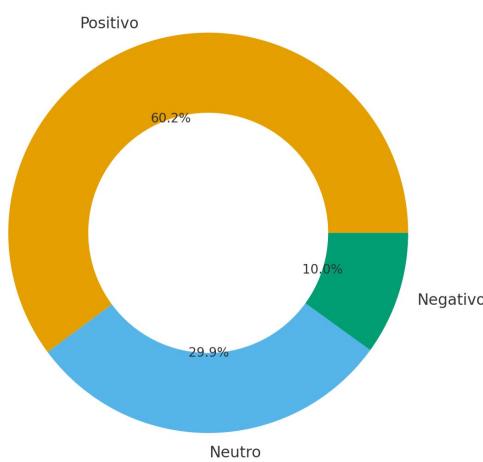
The link with the country of origin is also evident in advertising, especially through gastronomy, indicating places in Spain where you can find local food and music: a. D'Carnilsa: "our goal is to bring the best of our land to every Latin home in Europe". The coverage of Colombian products such as Latin and coastal cheese reflects the effort to connect the diaspora with their cultural heritage and gastronomic traditions (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); b. Restaurant promotion: Mil Manjares Colombia "you will find a little piece of home away from home" (Colombia Magazine, March 2024); c. El Rinconcito Cuzqueño: the best Creole food in Madrid (Imagen Latina Magazine, March 2024)

On the other hand, the content is informative about the country of origin, showcasing achievements and pride: a. "Bolivia approves its accession to Mercosur, comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay" (Guíame Magazine, July 2024); b. "The ICT Ministry's 'Talento Tech' programme promotes technological education in Colombia" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); c. "Cali to host COP16" (Colombia Magazine, July 2024) In relation to content about the host country, opportunities for development and integration in the country of origin are highlighted: a. "Delivery of job skills training

certificates to promote the labour inclusion of Colombians in Spain" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); b. "The Vida Fénix Association is created to support the documentation of Colombian migrant entrepreneurs in Spain" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); c. "II Peruvian Tapas Festival: an opportunity to discover the quality of Peruvian cuisine in Madrid" (Ocio Latino, September 2024); d. "Scarlet Fernández Calderón is the new Miss Ecuador in Spain 2024-2025" (Ocio Latino, August 2024). It highlights the problems faced by the immigrant community in the host country, highlighting the challenges of the diaspora in Spain: a. "Liberation of Colombian women victims of sexual exploitation" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); b. "Allegations that an 11-year-old boy, whose parents are Peruvian, was branded on the leg with two letters by alleged gang members" (Ocio Latino, July 2024); c. "Organisation dedicated to fraudulently regularising Cuban citizens dismantled" (Guíame Magazine, May 2024). With regard to content that highlights the transnational role, the plurality or connections between the two countries refer to cultural, economic and political diplomacy strategies, as illustrated by the following examples: a. "The Biennial, organised by the Colombian Cultural Centre in Spain, with the support of the El Arte Vive, Vive El Arte Cultural Association and Estudio 40 Association, culminated in this celebration, which will be remembered as a milestone in the promotion of Colombian talent in Spain. The closing of the Biennial strengthened ties between the Colombian artistic community and the Spanish public in an atmosphere of camaraderie and culture through contemporary art." (Colombia Magazine, June 2024); b. "Migration and resilience: Victims of the Colombian armed conflict become agents of a culture of peace in their host countries" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024).

Tone of the content: 60% is positive, 30% neutral and 10% negative. Homogeneity is detected in all the media analysed and nationalities. The positive tone emphasises achievements, celebrations and opportunities, for example, "Colombians celebrate National Day with a big party in Madrid" (Colombia Magazine, July 2024), as well as the achievements of the country's personalities. This tone often appears alongside an emotional message such as "nostalgia for our beloved Colombia becomes even more palpable for Colombians living abroad. The distance, although it sometimes seems insurmountable, cannot extinguish the love and pride we feel for our roots" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024). The negative tone highlights barriers and challenges, as well as difficulties, for example, "Networks of sexual exploitation of Colombian women in Spain" (Colombia Magazine, June 2024) or "The perpetrators of the attack are two Peruvian citizens aged 26 and 33" (Guíame Magazine, July 2024). The neutral, formal and technical tone allows for the provision of objective information on political, migratory and economic issues: "Bolivia expects to exceed the historic figure of 1.3 million tourists in 2024, 10% more than the previous year" (Guíame Magazine, June 2024).

Figure 3. Distribution of content tone

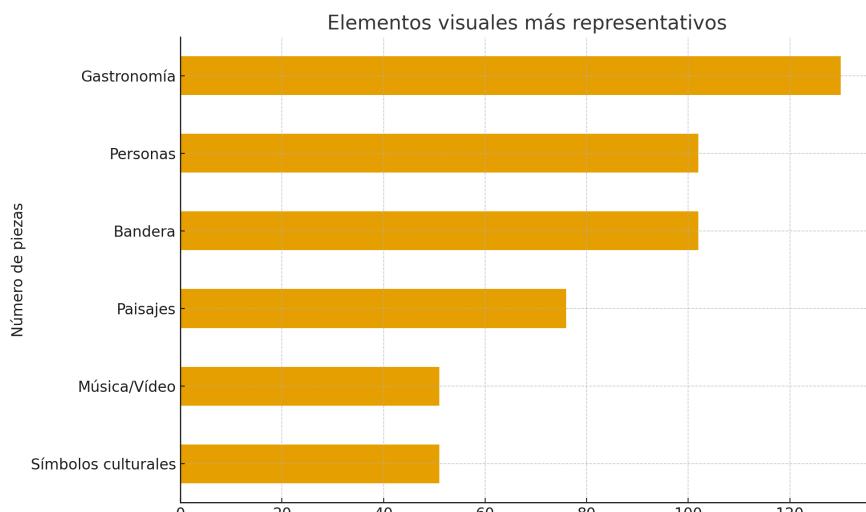


Source: own elaboration based on data from the study, 2025.

Analysis of visual identity elements: It can be observed that, in all media, regardless of the nationality of the Latin American community in their content, elements representing the identity of the country of origin are used, showing a perfect correspondence with those used by official tourism portals. For example, in the case of Colombia, the following visual elements are extracted: landscapes, birds, traditional clothing, Colombian cuisine—meat, beans, eggs, arepas, chorizos, tropical fruits—beverages, coffee, the national flag, dances, and videos about the country's nature. The predominant colours are the same as those of the flag: yellow, red, and blue. In terms of people, the Colombian migrant community is

shown as diverse, with entrepreneurs, politicians, singers, dancers, young people, older people, children, families and indigenous people all living together. Objects, symbols, and brands that link to the country of origin appear: Goya, D'Carnilsa, Patacón Pinsao, La Rochela, La Pereirana, Brosty, Jose Pan, Vallenata, Cumbia, Shakira, Carlos Vives. All these elements facilitate a clear identification of Colombian identity.

Figure 4. Most representative visual elements



Source: own elaboration based on data from the study, 2025.

5. Discussion

Ethnic media have existed since the early 20th century and have been of great importance in informing the migrant community and preserving its cultural identity while maintaining ties with its homeland, customs, religions, celebrations, neighbourhoods and homes left behind. Migration flows enrich both cultures, the one that arrives and the one that receives. Spain is a major recipient of migrants, especially Latin American migrants of all nationalities, and will continue to be so. Of all these flows, the Latin American community is the most important in terms of numbers and cultural proximity because we share similar roots and the same language. Since the 1990s, coinciding with the arrival and growth of Latinos in Spain, the first Latino ethnic media outlets appeared, reaching their peak in 2007. However, after the turning point in 2008 caused by the economic crisis and the press crisis, together with the digital transformation, they began to decline, and today less than a dozen of these media outlets has survived, as previous studies have shown (Mendieta-Bartolomé y Argiñano, 2023; Retis, 2014), and they continue to decline. It can be seen that these ethnic Latino media outlets have transformed themselves into digital models, with only two print magazines remaining that are distributed free of charge, namely *Imagen Latina* and *Revista Colombia*. They have had to adapt to their environment, just like the migrant communities they target. Despite their small number, these media outlets continue to play an important role for Latino immigrants in Spain, as demonstrated in the analysis.

The results show that these media outlets refer to all Latin nationalities in their content, reflecting the diverse profile of Latin immigrants in Spain. Therefore, as a whole, all these media outlets are aimed above all at the entire Latin culture, forging the large Latin migrant community in Spain that shares similar cultural traits such as music, dance, gastronomic elements, religion and a similar reality in their country of origin. Under this Latin umbrella, it is possible to identify and understand not only the complexity and dynamism of these communities, but also to reveal their cultural identity, which adopts and adapts to the cultural identity of Spain. It is not surprising that the most prevalent content refers to Colombia, given that it is the largest community in Spain, as indicated by the National Institute of Statistics.

With regard to the subject matter of the content, differences can be observed by Latin American nationality, with the media aimed at Colombians and Peruvians showing a greater presence of cultural content compared to current affairs in the country. All media outlets and nationalities devote content to migration and social issues. This information confirms the role of these media in reinforcing and maintaining cultural identity (Ferrández-Ferrer, 2014; Gómez-Escalonilla et al., 2008; Mendieta-

Bartolomé and Argiñano, 2023; Retis, 2006, 2008, 2014). In the case of Colombia and Peru, corresponding to the media outlets Revista Colombia and Revista Guáme, there is a balance between content dedicated to the country of origin and to Spain as the receiving country (40%). This data is significant because it shows how Latin communities try to coexist with both cultures, demonstrating the phenomenon of cultural hybridisation (García Canclini, 1995) and the complex reality of being between two cultural identities, having to adapt and adopt both at the same time, which can generate emotional conflicts motivated by nostalgia for the country and fear of not integrating and being included in the host society. It is striking that transnational content remains relatively low despite the fact that the Latin community in Spain is very large and has been in Spain for decades. The examples analysed show an eminently positive and emotional tone (60%) with words linked to achievement, overcoming adversity, resilience and celebration, confirming the previous study by Mendieta-Bartolomé and Argiñano (2023). The concerns, difficulties and challenges of the immigrant community in Spain are highlighted in a negative, reflective and serious tone (10% of the content), such as irregular immigration, Latin gangs, sexual exploitation and lack of protection. These fears are mitigated through a narrative of resilience that reinforces the image of immigrants as agents of change who promote the values of resistance, overcoming adversity and peace. One example is the story of Colombian Claudia Orozco in her work "Madrid en mi piel" (Revista Colombia, June 2024), in which the message is how migrants overcome adversity and manage to rebuild their lives. Thanks to the narrative of cultural pride, another positive and powerful message is conveyed, remaining faithful to one's origins and maintaining an anchor despite the difficulties. Likewise, there is evidence of a narrative of integration that portrays migrants as valuable contributors to the host society. One example is a news story about the recognition of qualifications that promote the integration of the immigrant community, or successful entrepreneurs who are part of Spain's business fabric with businesses inspired by their country of origin.

6. Conclusions

The study has enabled us to respond to the research objectives and questions posed.

a) Media currently active.

In 2024, a small number of Latino ethnic media outlets survive in Spain, with a predominance of digital formats and only two free print magazines. This data confirms the drastic reduction in the media ecosystem since 2008 and the need for these publications to adapt technologically.

b) Narratives, themes and journalistic genres.

An analysis of the 512 journalistic pieces—317 news items, 92 reports, 61 chronicles and 42 opinion articles—shows that cultural topics (35%) and current affairs in the countries of origin (30%) are the most frequent, followed by migration and migration policy (20%). This distribution shows that the media act both as guardians of cultural memory and as informants on the social and political situation in their communities.

c) Country of reference in the content.

Most of the information (60%) focuses on the countries of origin, while 30% addresses the reality in Spain and only 10% reflects transnational narratives. This imbalance indicates that the media reinforce ties with the homeland, although they also play an important role in the integration of immigrants in the host country.

d) Communicative tone and visual elements.

The predominant tone is positive (60%), followed by neutral (30%) and negative (10%), reflecting a narrative of resilience, cultural pride and celebration of achievements, although without ignoring the problems of discrimination, precariousness and irregular migration. The visual elements reinforce this symbolic function: gastronomy (25%), flags (20%), people (20%), landscapes (15%) and other symbols of identity.

e) Contribution to cultural identity and integration.

Latino ethnic media in Spain are a fundamental resource for the preservation of cultural identity and the creation of a cohesive diasporic community. At the same time, they provide useful information for social and labour integration, strengthening immigrants' capacity for agency. Their role as platforms for transnational connection, although limited in terms of content volume, remains essential for maintaining links between communities of origin and destination.

f) Implications and future lines of research.

These results invite further study of the new digital platforms—particularly social networks, WhatsApp, and TikTok—used by younger generations of immigrants, as well as the sustainability strategies of media outlets that have managed to remain active over the last few decades.

In short, Latino ethnic media in Spain are not only a channel of communication and representation, but also a space for cultural resistance and community building in migratory contexts. Their ability to articulate identities, accompany integration processes and maintain transnational ties reinforces their relevance in an increasingly diverse society. Even with their small numbers, these media outlets show significant resilience and pose challenges and opportunities that future research should explore to better understand the role of communication in the contemporary migration experience.

7. Limitations

Like any study, this work is not without limitations that must be considered when interpreting the results.

Firstly, the main difficulty lay in locating active Latino ethnic media in Spain. Although a large number of media outlets with websites were identified, many of them have not published content for years, which reduced the sample analysed. This methodological limitation partially conditions the answer to the first research question, relating to the identification and characterisation of media outlets that are still active.

Secondly, the sample included only print and digital media, leaving out other relevant formats such as radio, *podcasts*, and emerging social networks. Channels such as TikTok—which has grown from 1 million users in Spain in 2017 to more than 14 million in 2024 (Statista, 2024)—are fundamental spaces for younger generations of Latin American immigrants, but they were beyond the scope of the study. This exclusion particularly affects the fourth research question, related to narrative and visual elements, as it does not fully capture the current diversity of the media.

Likewise, the absence of longitudinal studies makes it difficult to systematically monitor the evolution of media consumption among the Latin community in Spain. It is unknown, for example, how their habits and preferences have changed in recent decades or what types of content they follow most closely. This gap limits the possibility of responding in depth to the fifth research question, which focuses on the contribution of ethnic media to the preservation of cultural identity and integration processes.

Finally, the fragmentation of the Latino media ecosystem in Spain makes it difficult to construct a comprehensive media map. Many projects have shifted to alternative channels—such as WhatsApp, Telegram, or community networks—which, although they perform similar functions, were not included in this analysis. All of this reinforces the need to expand future research with mixed methodologies that combine content analysis with surveys and interviews with the migrant community.

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