Discursive strategy on UFM on YouTube. Construction of a hate speech

Estrategia discursiva sobre los MENA en YouTube. Construcción de un discurso de odio

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RESUMEN
Introducción: En el último año el fenómeno migratorio relacionado con los menores extranjeros no acompañados (en adelante MENA) ha obtenido un especial eco mediático en el contexto español, motivado, entre otras cuestiones, por la publicidad negativa hacia este colectivo que el partido ultraderechista Vox ha utilizado durante la campaña de las elecciones madrileñas de 2021. En ausencia de literatura previa, esta investigación se propone determinar la representación que, en YouTube, se construye y transmite sobre los MENA. **Metodología**: Se propone un estudio de corte exploratorio-descriptivo, en el que se emplean el análisis de contenido (cuantitativo-cualitativo) y el análisis crítico del discurso para examinar los vídeos más populares, en la red social propuesta, bajo la etiqueta MENA-España. **Resultados**: Prevalece una caracterización de los MENA configurada en base a la subjetividad, al uso de un lenguaje peyorativo, denigrante e incriminatorio que gira en torno a la asociación de estos menores con el concepto de amenaza. **Discusión**: Los hallazgos resultan coincidentes con investigaciones precedentes que analizan el fenómeno migratorio en su conjunto, pero supone una novedad en cuanto al análisis de la tipología especifica de migrantes que constituyen los MENA, cuya representación a través de las redes sociales no ha sido aún explorada a nivel académico. **Conclusiones**: Los contenidos vertidos en esta red social contribuyen a difundir un discurso de odio hacia los MENA, principalmente en base a sobredimensionar el conflicto y a la homogeneización del colectivo entorno a atributos negativos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: MENA; YouTube; inmigración; redes sociales; amenaza; discurso de odio; Vox.

ABSTRACT
Introduction: In the last year the migratory phenomenon related to Unaccompanied Foreign Minors (hereinafter UFM) has obtained a special media coverage in the Spanish context, motivated, among other issues, by the negative publicity towards this group that the far-right party Vox has used during the campaign for the Madrid elections of 2021. In the absence of previous literature, this research aims to determine the representation that, on YouTube, is constructed and transmitted about the UFM.

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Methodology: An exploratory-descriptive study is proposed, in which content analysis and critical discourse analysis are used to examine the most popular videos, in the proposed social network, under the UFM-Spain label. **Results**: A characterization of the UFM prevails based on subjectivity, the use of a pejorative, denigrating and incriminating language that revolves around the association of these minors with the concept of threat. **Discussion**: The findings are consistent with previous research that analyzes the migratory phenomenon as a whole, but it represents a novelty in terms of the analysis of the specific typology of migrants that constitute the UFM, whose representation through social networks has not yet been explored at the academic level. **Conclusions**: The content posted on this social network contributes to spreading hate speech towards the UFM, mainly on the basis of oversizing the conflict and homogenizing the collective around negative attributes.

KEYWORDS: UFM; YouTube; immigration; social networks; threat; hate speech; Vox.

CONTENIDO

CONTENT

Translation by **Paula González** (Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Venezuela)

1. Introducción

Since the end of the 20th century, migratory flows have been increasing (Barrios, 2021; Méndez and Gómez, 2022) and have been affecting social dynamics. At the international level, and regarding migration policies, irregular immigration and its constant intensification are one of the most controversial aspects. In Europe, the population of unauthorized immigrants has gone from an estimated 3 to 3.7 million in 2014 to between 3.9 and 4.8 million in 2017 (Pew Research Center, 2019). The migratory phenomenon is not, therefore, a conjunctural fact, nor does it imply a novelty typical of contemporary societies (Economic and Social Council, 2019), although sometimes the media noise it generates makes us think otherwise. In the Spanish context, since November 2020, the migration issue has been occupying a particularly relevant position on the public agenda due to various crises such as the one that occurred in the Canary Islands (Euronews, 2020) or the border incident with Morocco triggered in May 2021 (Martin, 2021). Among the thousands of migrants who have recently arrived illegally in Spanish territory, unaccompanied foreign minors (hereinafter UFM) have acquired significant media attention motivated, among other aspects, by the development of the campaign for the Madrid elections of May 4th, 2021, and the position that the far-right party Vox has exposed during it concerning this group.

In general terms, the news published by the media featuring migrant children who arrive and remain in Spain without the reference of an adult are numerous (Andrés-Laso, 2020). The figure of the UFM has become a new media actor with increasing attention from the audience (Rosen and Crafter, 2018). Gómez-Quintero et al. (2021) note a progressive increase in the volume of information disseminated by the Spanish press about minors who migrate alone to Spain between 2017 and 2019.

In this sense, the controversial poster introduced by Vox in the electoral agenda of the Madrid elections in which the formation proposed a comparison between the expense that a UFM supposes for the public coffers and the remuneration that a pensioner receives, together with the hectic general migration situation, has currently triggered the media echo around these minor migrants, both in conventional and digital media and in social networks. A media noise that responds more to a political debate than to a real social problem of an increase in the number of UFM under the tutelage of Spanish protection systems, including educational systems, which can serve as generators of a better future (Jiménez and Cota, 2019). On the contrary, the number of minors under the care of the public administration decreased by 34.27% in 2020 compared to 2019 (Attorney General of the State, 2021). However, far-right ideologies have turned the management of prejudice, fear, and resentment towards immigration into

an ingredient of political confrontation (Tortajada et al., 2014) that is used for electoral purposes (Cea D`Ancona, 2005; Ott, 2016; Sniderman et al., 2004), championing the defense of the nativist social state against the threat that the migrant poses to prosperity and national security (Cheddadi, 2020). In the Spanish case, "the vertiginous rise of Vox has decisively contributed to integrating the issue of immigration as a problem of national order into the political agenda and public debate" (Cheddadi, 2020, p. 70).

UFM have been defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2019) as those persons under the age of 18 who are separated from both parents and are not under the care of an adult. Andrés-Laso (2020) adds a differentiating nuance to this definition, pointing to the situation of vulnerability and the needs of this group by pointing to UFM as "people of training age who move to a foreign country with a different culture, language, habits, or religion and who lack any control or family reference" (p. 11). In terms of semantics, the acronym refers to two defining aspects of this type of migrant: they are not of legal age and they are unaccompanied.

In any case, the double status of migrant and minor of these children and adolescents generates tensions in the legal and social interpretation of Human Rights by imposing the need to marry the protection of UFM with the rules on access control of illegal immigration of each territory (Knezevic, 2017); which, on many occasions, places this group in a particularly vulnerable situation of uncertainty.

This research focuses on this specific typology of immigrants, UFM, one of the most delicate and sensitive aspects of the many that the migratory phenomenon has (Andrés-Laso, 2020), from a communicative perspective and given the political, social, and media importance that this group acquires at present. We propose an analysis of the representations and discursive approaches that, around the acronym UFM, are built on the online video platform YouTube, a social network that can be considered of the first order and that serves to popularize current issues of various kinds, such as music (Baños-González et al., 2020; Juárez, 2020), politics (Gil-Ramírez, 2019), sports, and, lately with special incidence, the socio-sanitary issue (Gil-Ramírez et al., 2020; Piqueiras et al., 2020; Arrufat, 2021).
The examination of the concrete representation of the UFM has not yet been addressed in the context of social networks. The present proposal tries, therefore, to make up for this lack by initiating a specific line of study on the projection of the image of this group, which is carried out through the online video platform.

1.1. Representation of the migratory phenomenon in conventional media

Despite numerous attempts by multiple organizations – Forum for the Integration of Immigrants in the Basque Country, Association of Journalists of Catalonia, Audiovisual Council of Andalusia, among others – to articulate ethical and deontological standards concerning the media treatment of the phenomenon (Ardévol, 2009), the representation on illegal immigration that is transmitted in the conventional media –press, radio, and television– has been, and continues to be, mostly reductionist, exclusionary, and focused on the negative aspects that migratory flows entail (Ardévol, 2009; Igartua and Muñiz, 2004; Martínez and Olmo, 2015; Tortajada et al., 2014), in the face of a minority discourse that emphasizes the victim condition of the migrant from empathic, humanitarian, and/or welfare positions (Tortajada et al ., 2014).

The us/them confrontation and the emphasized visualization of negative social, economic, and cultural connotations associated with illegal immigration such as delinquency, unemployment, maladjustment, etc., are, since the beginning of the migratory phenomenon, discursive strategies consolidated in the media (Van Dijk, 1997).

From the postulates of Berger and Luckmann (1995) on *The Social Construction of Reality*, we know the articulating role of the media in the configuration of social imaginaries and discourses. They generate a shared interpretive framework and modulate the assignment of meaning that society gives to the issues they address. The migratory processes do not escape from this media interpretation that decisively influences and conditions the social perception of the migratory phenomenon (Tortajada et al., 2014) and, in this sense, significant breaches by the conventional media of ethical and deontological standards regarding the collection and treatment of information concerning the immigrant group are

evidenced (Mukhortikova, 2020).

The academic literature that points towards biased, negative, incriminating, homogenizing treatment, etc., of the traditional media towards the figure of the migrant is very lengthy. Suffice it to point out as references the works of Cheng et al. (2009, 2010), Granados (2007), Gómez-Quintero et al. (2021), Igartua (2013), Igartua and Muñiz (2004, 2007), Igartua et al. (2007, 2013, 2104), Martínez-Lirola (2008), Muñiz et al. (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b), Mukhortikova (2020), Santamaría (2002), Tortajada et al. (2014), or Van Dijk (2005, 2006, 2007, 2012). Academic research both nationally and internationally confirms, time and time again, how media coverage is professionally flawed and contributes to the problem of racism more than to its solution (Van Dijk, 2008).

The immigration of minors and their media representation (Tur-Viñes et al., 2019) is, however, a more complex demographic and social phenomenon, if possible. Regarding the treatment of the specific typology of UFM in conventional media, the reference works are scarce, although more current (Ardévol, 2009; Doná and Veale, 2011; Gómez-Quintero et al., 2021; Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcazar, 2015; Retis and García, 2010; Rodríguez-Wangüemert et al., 2010; Rosen and Crafter, 2018). The reached conclusions show the assimilation of the UFM with the rest of the illegal immigrants over 18 years of age, ignoring, neglecting, or making invisible their condition as children deprived of the protection of an adult, and with an informative treatment towards this group, in general terms, equally pejorative, excluding, and reductionist.

1.2. Representation of the migratory phenomenon in social networks

Currently, traditional media coexist and compete with the expansion that, fundamentally in the last decade, social networks have acquired. Since the beginning of the 21st century, a new media ecosystem has been taking shape in which not only the hybridization between offline and online media is verified but also a growing and progressive use of the latter (Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2021). In the current media paradigm, social networks increasingly play a relevant role, complementing –if not replacing– the interpretive and modulating role of conventional media on social reality; especially in the perception and symbolic configuration of the youngest. The age group between 18 and 34 years is the most prominent in terms of the use of these communication and interaction channels (Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2021). The use and consumption that the so-called millennial and post-millennial generations (Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas and Gil-Ramírez, 2020) make of social networks are forcing an inexorable change in communication model.

The dimension that these digital spaces acquire today, both because of their role of mediation and influence in the social construction of reality and because of the amplification that they entail regarding the audiences, makes it necessary to deepen the analysis of the representation that is transmitted in them about the migratory phenomenon; as well as to verify if the negativist treatment of the conventional media is extrapolated to the Internet.

In this sense, the academic literature is still incipient in terms of the analysis of how this type of digital platform presents the figure of the immigrant.

Twitter is the social network that has gained the most notoriety in academic research from the most diverse approaches (Pano, 2020; Donstrup, 2020) and in which aspects related to immigration have been examined to a greater extent. Arcila et al. (2020) address the presence of expressions of verbal rejection towards immigrants in the Spanish-speaking context; concluding the construction and dissemination of a hate speech in this social network based on a manifest hostility towards the migrant group, which is presented as a threat and an economic burden. These two categorizations –immigrant as a threat and immigrant as an economic burden– are also detected by Nikolai (2021), as part of the discourses that circulate in the microblogging network, who adds the use of openly racist expressions and the favorable treatment of the native against the migrant as defining elements of the tweets published about Venezuelan immigrants residing in Peru. Other research works that take Twitter as a context, approach the migratory phenomenon from more particular perspectives, such as the use made of this social network by the Colombian migrant media with the greatest online influence (Hernández-Rodríguez, 2016), the dialectic that Spanish politics uses to tweet on immigration (Poch-Butler et al., 2020), or how various organizations use this platform to fight against immigration and hate speech (Merino-Arribas and López-Meri, 2018; Soto et al., 2019).

Regarding Facebook, the study by Olmos-Alcázar (2018) stands out, who observes the repercussion –in the form of comments– of a news story, published in the accounts of the Spanish newspapers El País and El Mundo, about the passage of immigrants in the Melilla border. The analysis showed a highly problematized representation of migrations through radicalized racist discourses and a tremendously aggressive and crude discriminatory lexicon. Busso (2016) and Melella (2016), for their part, address another facet of this social network regarding immigration: the usefulness of Facebook as a space for the construction of identity by migrant groups.

The negative frame towards the migratory phenomenon is also verified on YouTube, the platform that is examined in this research, through the works of Acosta (2015, 2016), Acosta and Martínez-Velasco (2017), and Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020). Acosta (2015) offers a transnational comparison of the contents (videos and comments) published on the platform about immigration in two countries with different experiences (the United States and Spain), observing a negative, stereotyped, and prejudiced perspective in the representation of the migratory phenomenon, to a greater or lesser extent, in both cases. Acosta (2016) and Acosta and Martínez-Velasco (2017) focus on the valuation of American netizens who use YouTube towards the migratory issue, noting how the representations that North American citizens share and disseminate on this social network about immigration, reproduce typified frames in which the group is associated with aspects such as illegality, delinquency, and victimization. Finally, Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020) address the role that YouTube plays in the construction of the collective imaginary about the figure of the migrant around the "Aquarius" case. The authors point out that the contents violate human rights on multiple occasions and have a significant offensive charge in the terms used to refer to migrants.

The specific study of the specific typology of UFM is non-existent in the context of social networks. This supposes an important lack, given the central role, discussed above, that these spaces of connectivity and interaction play today in the construction of the collective social imaginary and the enormous projection towards the public opinion that their contents acquire (Cheddadi, 2020). Much of the public discourse currently takes place in the context of social networks, so the data extracted from their analysis can contribute to drawing patterns of social conduct and behavior (Jaramillo et al., 2015) or to make dominant opinions visible (Arcila et al., 2020). This type of analysis is currently considered an important tool, both to take the social pulse around certain issues, and to act as predictive instruments of future behavior (Kalyanam et al., 2016). In this sense, the relevance of this analysis, which stands out from the major trend of the examination of the migratory phenomenon from the representation of the figure of the adult migrant, is justified by the academic concern to initiate a line of study that sheds light on one of the most sensitive and controversial aspects of immigration, lacking at the moment a scientific approach: the representation that, through social networks, is made of children who emigrate alone.

2. Objectives

The main objective of this research is to address the migratory phenomenon from the area of communication, observing the role played by the YouTube social network in the construction of the collective imaginary about the figure of UFM who arrive in Spain. Our interest lies in examining what type of information (discourse-message), in what way (approach), by whom (sender), and with what level of reception (receiver), is transmitted about this group on the online video platform.

From this main objective, the following secondary objectives are derived:
- SO1: Compare and classify the type of issuers that broadcast content about the "UFM-Spain" phenomenon on YouTube.
- SO2: Determine the main discursive decisions and the approach used in the video production-editing process.
- SO3: Analyze the presence and bias that is given to UFM in audiovisual work through both the image shot and the lexicon.
- SO4: Categorize the theme of the videos that arouse the greatest number of reproductions and compare them with the levels of interaction that they generate on the part of the receivers.

3. Methodology

This research, from an exploratory-descriptive perspective, adopts a mixed approach (quantitative-qualitative) that combines the use of two methodological tools: content analysis (Igartua, 2006; López-Aranguren, 2016) and critical discourse analysis – hereinafter CDA– (Van-Dijk, 1999; 2016; Wodak, 2003); The latter is linked to the perspective of conversation analysis (Tusón, 2002) under the consideration of language, not only as a means to express and reflect particular ideas but as an element that participates and intervenes in the construction of social reality. We understand, therefore, discourse as a practice of a social nature that is affected by the status, ideology, and power of those who intervene in it (Fernández-Martínez, 2007). CDA allows establishing a meeting point between the uses of language and social issues that makes it possible to analyze the lexicon, both as a tool to express differences that have to do with hierarchical social structures and as an instrument that allows observing the power relations that give place to them (Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcazar, 2015). Content analysis, for its part, "has turned out to be an effective tool in different research works dealing with the issue of immigration and the media" (Acosta and Martínez-Velasco, 2017, p. 44) and allows us to examine the DNA of the content published on the platform, its structure, its basic components, its operation, as well as inferring and predicting its mechanism of influence (Igartua, 2006).

With an analytical purpose that is more intensive than extensive, the study avoids the analysis of large samples of information codified and examined through computational methods, and proposes the exploration, mainly qualitative, of the 61 videos that YouTube shows as a result in response to the label search "UFM-Spain" and using as filters "upload date: this year" and "ordered by: number of views". With these parameters, we try to extract the most popular content that the proposed label has generated in the last year. The sample is collected on September 13th, 2021. The temporary selection is random but responds to the interest of covering a broad and current period in the analysis of the situation of the phenomenon of unaccompanied minors in Spain. The use of the acronym UFM is determined by the popularity gained against its breakdown (unaccompanied foreign minors). These acronyms have been imposed as an emerging designation to name foreign children who arrive or remain alone in the national territory (Gómez-Quintero et al., 2021; UNICEF, n.d.).

On the other hand, the specific choice of YouTube and not another type of social network is determined by the geographical delimitation of this study, as this platform is the most used in the Spanish context (83.3% of 37 million users), despite being surpassed by Facebook globally (2.7 billion users compared to 2.291 million YouTube) (Hootsuite and We Are Social, 2021).

During the research and review by the different encoders, 4 videos were discarded for the following reasons: the term MENA (Spanish for UFM) that appears in the video refers to the last name of the singer Ana Mena and not to the acronym for unaccompanied foreign minors[2] ; the video does not deal with the specific issue of UFM but rather refers to illegal immigration as a whole, containing the acronym only in the description[3] ; the video is unavailable because the YouTube account associated with it has been canceled[4] ; the content is duplicated: two videos have the same title and development, despite being published by different broadcasters[5] . In the latter case, the content with the highest number of views is kept in the sample.

Thus, finally, the sample is made up of 57 contents, which have involved the viewing and analysis of 11 hours (10:56:45) of audiovisual content. The volume of videos included in the sample coincides with that examined by previous works (Gil-Ramírez, 2019) that address the study of some aspects of YouTube intensively rather than extensively. Based on descriptive statistics (Berger, 2015; Daymon and Holloway, 2010), the proposed sample is representative, making it possible to use the results as a pattern in future predictive models with inferential-type analyzes and larger samples (Berrocal et al., 2017).

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[2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=puUDVm2Txvk

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVjCWRjCa7Y

[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpgpBiPFxsQ

[5] Video that is discarded from the sample: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Sk_sBlDmt8; the video that is kept in the sample: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3InyV01Wzs

The hyperlinks of each of the videos (Annex) were compiled in a spreadsheet for later collation and consultation.

The design of the applied analysis sheet includes different categories and variables (independent and dependent, with the possibility of multiple or dichotomous responses) whose validity is based on the relevance to the object of study found in previous research (Arévalo, 2017; Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas, 2020). The different sections that it contemplates try to answer the following research questions:

- Regarding the issuer: From which YouTube channels is information about the "UFM-Spain" phenomenon disseminated? What are the type and digital identity of the issuers?
- Regarding the discourse-message: What are the discursive decisions used in the production-editing process of the video? From what approach is it presented? How are unaccompanied foreign minors represented through the images and language used in audiovisual work?
- Regarding the receiver: What is the theme of the videos that arouse the greatest number of reproductions? What is the level of user-recipient interaction?

Table 1. Analysis sheet.

1. DIGITAL IDENTITY OF ISSUER		
1.1. Channel name		
1.2. Type of entity or user that owns the channel	NGO	
	Private company	
	Social movement	
	Political party	
	Media	
	Common user	
1.3. Description (information) that the account holder offers about his identity		
2. DISCOURSE-MESSAGE		
2.1. Characterization data	Video name	
	Publication date	
	Duration	
2.2. Discursive strategy	Narrative character	Emotional
		Informative
		Humorous
		Other
	Content focus	Humanitarian
		Political
		Other
	Sources of the statements	NGO members
		Politicians
		Experts
		Other
		No statements
	Content bias towards UFM	Positive
		Negative
		Neutral

2.3. Representation of UFM	At the level of image	UFM presence	Yes
			No
		Situation and attitude in which migrants are shown	
	At the level of language	Terms used concerning UFM in the title of the video	
		Verbal allusions about UFM in the content of the video	
3. RECEPTION			
3.1. Video Theme			
3.1. Number of views			
3.2. Number of likes/dislikes			
3.3. Number of comments			

Source: Own elaboration based on Arévalo (2017) and Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020).

From the proposal of Arévalo (2017), we take the basic structure of analysis, distinguishing between the examination of the sender, discourse-message, and receiver. Although the work of Arévalo (2017) proposes a methodology referring to the study of social movements on YouTube, it is equally applicable to explore the object of study proposed by this research (unaccompanied foreign minors). On the other hand, the categories and variables that are included take as a reference those that Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020) propose in the analysis of the migratory phenomenon through the study of the "Aquarius" case and the role that YouTube played in the construction of the collective imaginary about the figure of the migrant in this specific humanitarian crisis, adapting them to the specificities of the proposed analysis.

The different dimensions of the fieldwork try to address the set of elements that make up the nature of the content of the videos that are published and consumed on YouTube, presupposing that their combined examination will allow the extraction of data of interest for the advancement of the line of study that focuses its attention on the weight that social networks have today in the construction of the collective imaginary about the migratory phenomenon, in general, and about the figure of UFM, in particular.

The final disposition of the proposed categories and variables is elaborated after a preliminary random test of 50% of the sample (n=29), which made it possible to resolve the intercoder discrepancies, correcting and readjusting those aspects susceptible to a biased interpretation. Once validated, the encoders (MG and RG) analyzed the entire sample applying the resulting template (Table 1). Cohen's kappa coefficient was used to evaluate the intercoder reliability level, resulting in k = 0.81.

4. Results

4.1. Digital identity of the issuer

The comparative study of the broadcasters allows establishing a typology of them, as well as characterizing them based on their digital identity and finally determining who holds the hegemony of the discourse on YouTube about the UFM phenomenon in Spain.

The set of videos analyzed comes from 40 YouTube channels since some of them publish more than one content. More than half of the videos (n = 32) come from common user accounts, mainly private citizens who choose to remain anonymous by not offering personal data either through the name of the channel or through the information provided about it (n = 24). After this category, media outlets' accounts on YouTube are also significant (n = 18) as uploaders of content related to UFM in Spain. The activity as a broadcaster of alternative digital channels (n = 14) compared to the dissemination on

the subject at hand that, in this social network, is carried out by traditional media (n = 4) stands out. In the case of digital media, two accounts associated with EDAtv.com stand out: Estado de Alarma Oficial and Estado de Alarma Uncensored. As for the traditional media, Cadena Ser and El Mundo at the national level, and Radiotelevisión de Ceuta (RTVCE) at the regional level, are the only ones that have a presence in the sample.
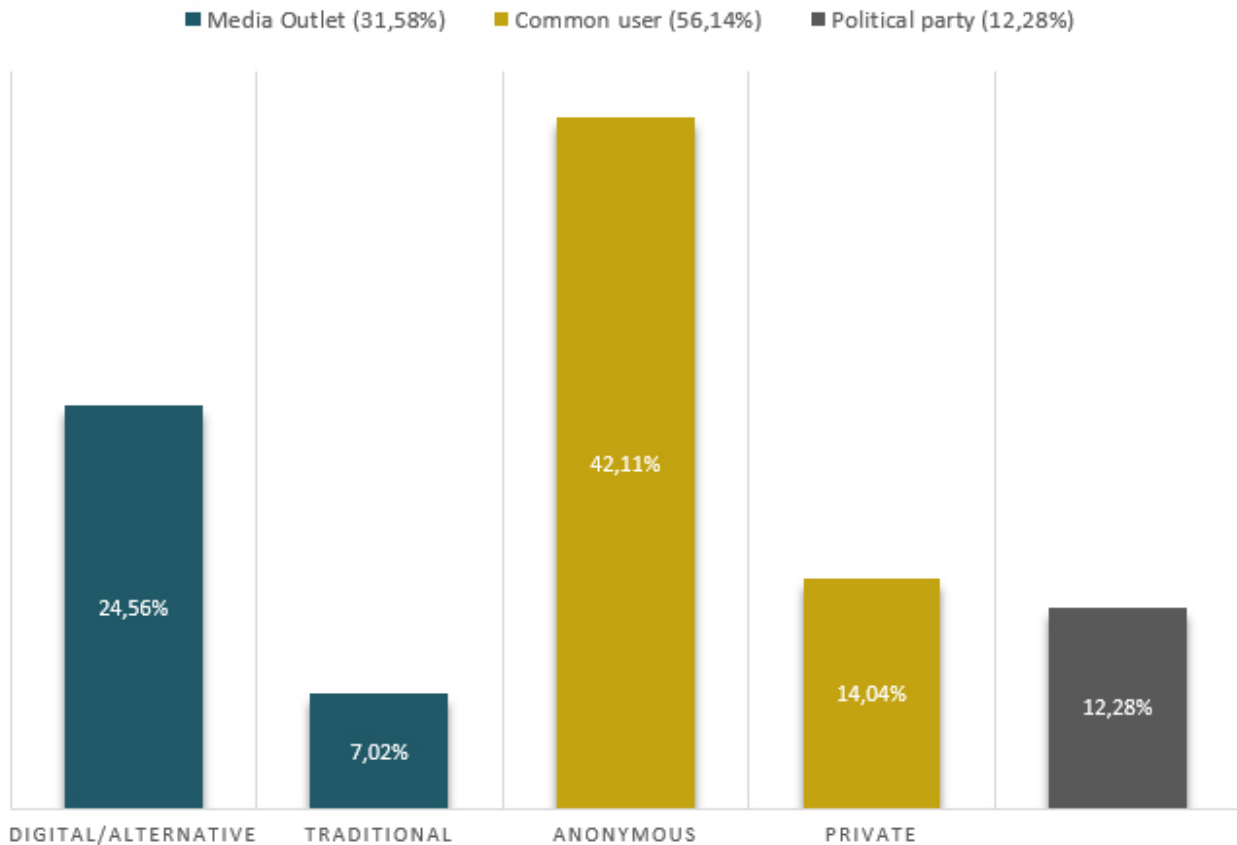

Figure 1: Broadcaster of contents on UFM-Spain.
Source: own elaboration.

The participation of political parties as uploaders is largely relegated (n = 7) and focused on far-right formations (Vox, España 2000, and the political movement Hacemos Nación). The absence, among the most viewed content, of videos broadcast from NGO channels or social movements (associations and groups of a humanitarian nature) is surprising, taking into account the high level of involvement that these organizations have in assisting UFM once they arrive at Spanish territory.

4.2. The discourse-message

Based on the characterization data, the date of publication of the video allows us to clarify which were the events that, regarding UFM, aroused the greatest interest from the point of view of diffusion (broadcasting).
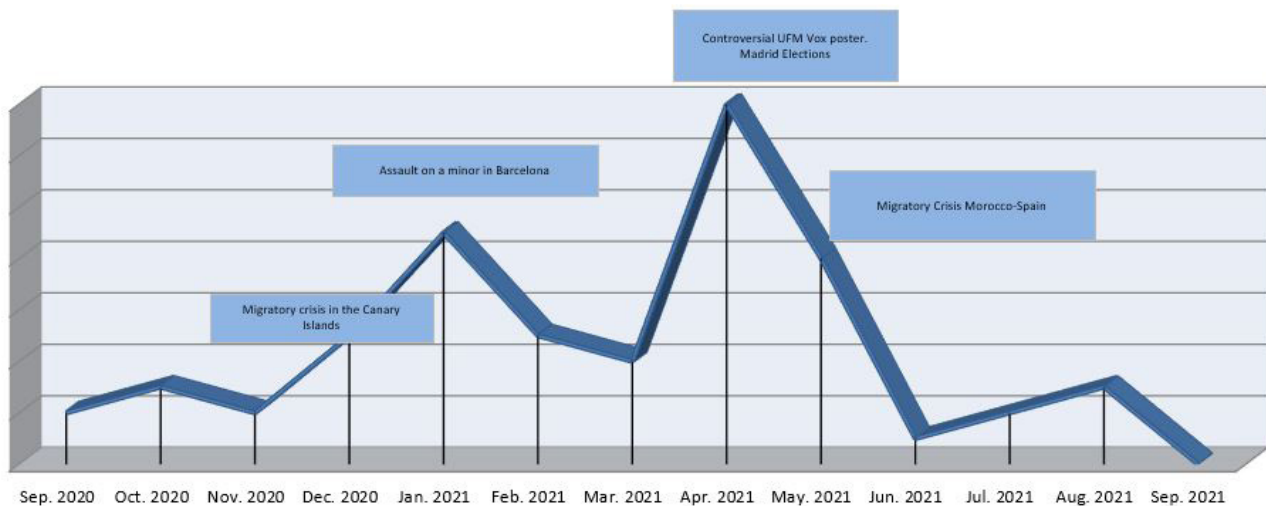
Figure 2: Content publication peaks about UFM-Spain (September 13th, 2020-September 13th, 2021).
Source: own elaboration.

Four key episodes seem to motivate greater activity on YouTube regarding the UFM phenomenon in Spain from September 13th, 2020 to September 13th, 2021. The volume of videos published begins to increase in November 2020, coinciding with the migration crisis that occurred in the Canary Islands, with massive arrivals of illegal immigrants through its coasts, in the last months of 2020. In January 2021, the attack on a minor in Barcelona by, allegedly, a group of UFM attracted the media interest and had its corresponding echo in social networks. The highest peak in terms of the broadcast of content seems to be linked to the prominence that, during the Madrid election campaign of May 4th, 2021, the discourse of the far-right political party Vox had on UFM, with a special incidence of the controversy generated by the poster with which the formation tried to exemplify the expense that an unaccompanied minor supposes to the public coffers, opposing this cost to the pension that a retiree receives in Spain. Also significant is the number of contents that are disseminated on the platform during May 2021, the month in which the border political incident with Morocco occurred, which led to the massive arrival of illegal immigrants in Spanish territory, mainly through the Ceuta beaches.

4.2.1. Discursive strategy

The narrative nature of the content is mostly emotional (n = 30), which points to the subjectivity that common users as prevalent issuers imprint on the content they disseminate about the UFM phenomenon in Spain. Even so, the percentage difference with those videos that deal with the subject from an informative point of view is not very significant, as regards the treatment that the media give to the content they broadcast. Humor has no place in the narrative that is spread on YouTube about the addressed topic.

Regarding the approach from which audiovisual work is produced, the political (n = 25) prevails over the humanitarian one, which is almost residual (n = 3). However, most of the videos (n = 29) respond to approaches other than these, focusing on socio-cultural aspects or resorting to analytical and/or descriptive positions in content development.

It is a criterion of interest in the narrative construction around the phenomenon of UFM in Spain to go to authorized sources whose statements contribute to enriching the discursive strategy proposed in the video (54.23%, n = 32). Although, and following the predominant political approach, it is the voice of characters in Spanish politics that is most used in this sense (n = 17). In the field of political statements included in the content, the presence of members of Vox (Iván Espinosa, Rocío Monasterio, Ángela Mulas, Iván Vélez) stands out, with special relevance to the figure of the formation's president, Santiago Abascal. The contribution of what experts on the subject may say, among whom we have considered all those people who work directly with UFM (managers, educators, social workers, volunteers, etc.) is not considered relevant in the discursive strategy (n = 2) that predominates in YouTube videos. In the rest of the cases in which the content includes statements (n = 13), the source of the statements is

journalists, neighbors, Judge Emilio Calatayud on one occasion, or Daniel Esteve –founder of Desoku-pa– on another. It is not characteristic of the videos that deal with UFM in Spain on the online platform to offer statements by the protagonists themselves in the first person. Only on 4 occasions, the video includes statements of a UFM.
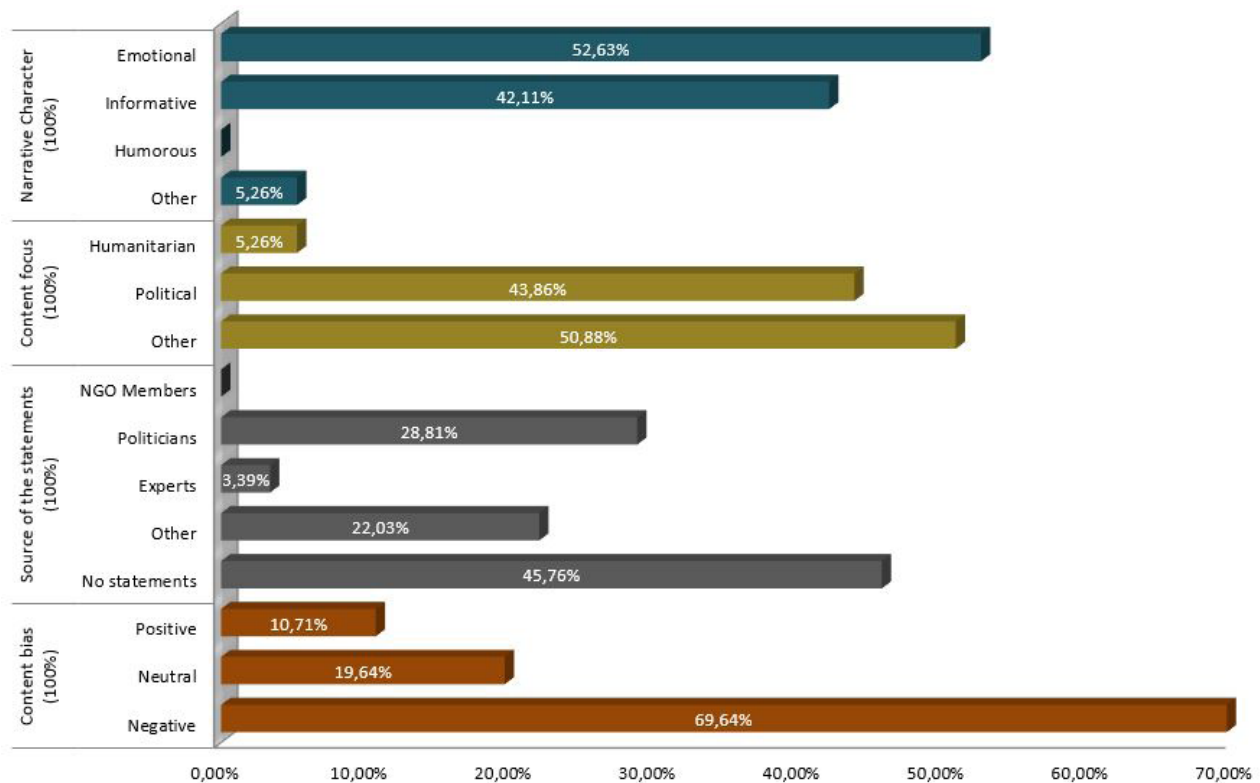

Figure 3: Characterization of the discursive strategy.
Source: own elaboration.

In the discourse that, regarding the phenomenon of UFM in Spain, is broadcast on YouTube, the negative bias towards minors is predominant (n = 39). Most of the videos criminalize and generalize them, extending the negative aspects linked to particular cases to the group as a whole. There are few contents (n = 11) that approach the subject from neutrality, objectivity, and analysis; and a minority are those that are elaborated from a positive vision (n = 6), showing the friendly face of the coexistence of a group of immigrants in a UFM center, inviting reflection on the reasons that lead these minors to flee alone from their countries or emphasizing the special attention that the condition of minors (children) of this type of illegal immigration deserves.

4.2.2. Representation of UFM through image and language

At the image level, the most common is that the videos do not show any UFM (61.40%, n = 35). In the cases in which these unaccompanied minors appear visually represented (38.60%, n = 22), they are mostly shown in neutral attitudes (31.58%, n = 18) in public places (parks, squares, streets), waiting patiently to be treated or in the custody of state security forces and bodies or members of NGOs. Although less frequent (5, 26%, n = 3), other times the minor is shown in uncivil actions such as jumping through a gate to private property or in cocky and defiant attitudes towards police authority. Only one video conveys a favorable view of UFM in the image, reflecting the reality of a group that lives in a center in Barcelona called Mas Pins: studying, playing football, harvesting in the garden, cooking, walking, playing music, etc., and most of the time with a smile on their face.

Two aspects are noteworthy in the field of image: on the one hand, the total absence of girls in the representation that is made of UFM in the analyzed videos, which shows the reality of the masculinization of the phenomenon of UFM in Spain; on the other, the violation of the right of people to their own image, especially in the case of minors; given that of 38.60% (n = 22) of the occasions in which the

minor is shown in an image, 31.58% (n = 18) do not pixelate or blur their face to preserve their identity.

In the field of language, most of the titles (52.63%, n = 30) express, through direct adjectives or by association with the verbs or terms used, a position of condemnation, protest, contempt, or disapproval of the presence of UFM in Spain. They are directly described as "chulitos, okupas, or delinquents". Indirectly, they are associated with the fact of generating insecurity (31.58%, n = 18) through words that allude to concepts such as danger, occupation, aggressiveness, delinquency, invasion, theft, or rape; with the expenses –unfair from these positions– that they suppose for the public coffers (8.77%, n = 5), or with constituting a problem for Spain (5.26%, n = 3). We briefly expose this typology through examples of titles[6] such as "ABASCAL DENOUNCES that UFM do not come to SPAIN to quote but for CRIME", " 🎤 "UFM" invade us.💰⚔️", "IMMIGRANT UFM ATTACK AN ELDERLY MAN", "🚨 MEN Sneak into PROPERTY in the South of Gran Canaria", "UFM DEGRADE OUR NEIGHBORHOODS TURNING THEM INTO UNSAFE PLACES FOR SPANIARDS!!" "🚨LAST MINUTE🚨: UFM CHALLENGES the NATIONAL POLICE in SPAIN" or "❌Spain cannot spend 98 MILLION on UFM while it has grandmothers with a €400 pension".

On the other hand, regarding the language used to refer to UFM in the content of the video, in most (n = 35) we found allusions that suppose a frontal criticism of this group. In this sense, audiovisual works contain derogatory language, insults towards these unaccompanied minor immigrants, or incriminating expressions. Likewise, language is used in a patriotic/nativist sense, emphasizing the differentiation between us/them, in a pejorative way that brands UFM as undesirable people. They are also blamed, through the language used in the videos, for the expense they generate for Spaniards and are sometimes represented as "free riders" alluding to the fact that they are not minors or that they are not in a vulnerable situation. Some examples of these categories are expressions[7] such as:

a) Derogatory language/insults: "Chungos, unpresentable people, monstrosities", "16-year-old drug addict, criminal kids", "Aggressors", "Miserables", "They are savages", "What a piece of garbage", or "I'm sick of you".

b) Incriminating expressions: "There are problems with machetes, stabbings, rapes, robberies", "For me, UFM are a public danger", "Occupying mafias", "They are in the street frightening women or robbing our children", "Armed UFM groups", "The highest rate of drug use is among children between 14 and 17 years of Muslim, Moroccan, or Algerian origin", "The crimes that are most committed are robbery with violence and intimidation, pulls, stabbing with a knife, robbery inside vehicles, they injure each other, and attacks on the so-called educators", "4, 5, or 6 come, they ask you for a cigarette and, as they ask for the cigarette, they take away the pack and at the same time they take away your mobile", "They often show disruptive and criminal behavior that creates insecurity, fear, and discomfort among the neighbors and causes great social alarm", or "Beatings, threats, and panic in Batán".

c) Patriotic/nativist language (UFM as an undesirable person): "It is of vital importance that the country not be overwhelmed by useless people", "We do not have to carry the problems of others, we already have enough", "When a minor is 18 years old in Spain and does not have a family or is uprooted, I can already assure you that he is going to live on the street and does not have a family to protect him, contrary to what happens with these UFM", "These people do not have a place in Spanish society", "We have to throw them out of Spain and have them serve their sentences in the prisons of their countries", "Christian and non-Muslim Spain. Illegal immigrants out of our country", "Death to the Moor, them or us", "Go to your country, that's what you have to do, son of a bitch", "the best thing for my children, not for these people who belong to another country".

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[6] All the examples that are exposed try to account for the obtained results. They are translated transcriptions of the titles of the videos that make up the sample, so they may contain grammatical inconsistencies or spelling errors. The authors of the research disassociate themselves from any grievance or offense that they may cause.

[7] All the examples that are exposed try to account for the obtained results. They are translated transcriptions of the language used in the content of the videos that make up the sample. The authors of the research disassociate themselves from any grievance or offense that they may cause.

d) Incriminating language regarding the expense they generate: "These people are there, in all luxury, maintained with our money, while Spaniards, bankrupt, do not know how to make ends meet", "Once you enter Spain and enter with the cataloging of UFM, don't worry, in Spain you're going to get rich. You and your family are going to get rich because they are going to regroup you, they are going to give you payments and money for the flights, cash for you to travel", "A payment that they give them of 430 euros when they turn 18; they are not giving Spaniards even 5 euros", "4 thousand euros a month for each minor in Madrid. Families would like to have 4 thousand euros a month for each child they have".

e) Language that brands UFM as liars and profiteers: "They cheat with their age", "Have you seen any immigrant with weight problems, skinny?", "They do not flee from the war, they are not poor, they are posh, of the posh from there", "These people do not come to Spain to integrate, to work. They come here to live the crazy life", "All of them with soccer team jerseys", "Many of them, I tell you, are not minors at all", "They are not homeless", "They do not have enough to live, they do not have enough to eat, but they go like brushes", "Minors who have no family and are without roots, right? Well, we are seeing some here, their mother, in front of the apartment where they are", "When they enter our country, most come with fake documents or lying, both about the country of origin and their age".

Two key elements are detected in the use of critical language towards UFM: a strong subjective load in the arguments, based on personal opinions without documentary support or any evidence, and a forceful tendency to generalization, characterizing the entire group based on uncivil or criminal acts committed particularly by some.
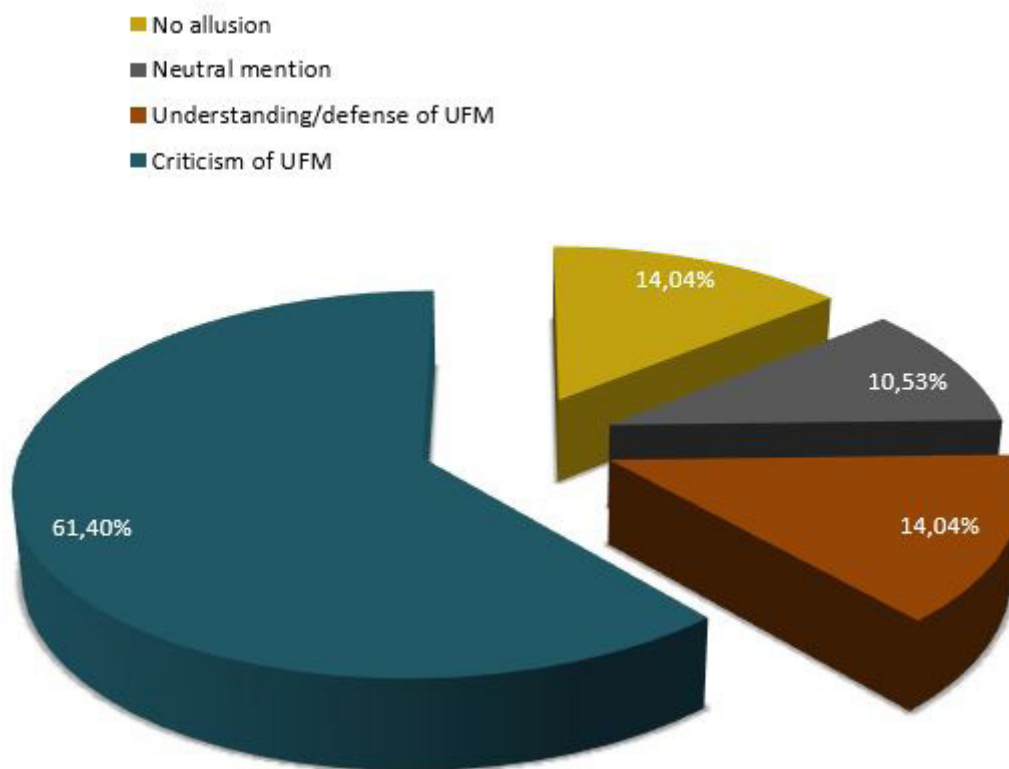

Figure 4: Uses of language in video content.
Source: own elaboration.

The use of language in the content of the video to express an empathic or humanitarian position towards UFM is highly relegated in the total (n = 8). In these cases, verbal expressions are used to emphasize the status of minors (children) of these immigrants, to highlight the danger to which they are exposed during migration, to reflect on the causes of their migration, to emphasize the situation of vulnerability in which they find themselves when they arrive in Spain, or to try to criticize the generalization to which they are subjected in a negative sense.

Examples of this typology are expressions such as: "Morocco constantly plays with that cannon fodder that is nothing more than children", "The rights of these children do not have an accounting and economic discourse, they have the discourse of pain and helplessness", "They are exposed to multiple cases of abuse and violations of their rights: for example, violence, trafficking, exploitation, rape, and even, for some, that trip means the loss of their own life", "They face great deficiencies while they are here, increasing their vulnerability and stigma", "We must remember that they are here alone, without family, without orientation, some learning the language, others trying to understand the new culture of the place where they have arrived", "The most difficult thing for these children is to communicate because they must do it with gestures. If they don't know the language, they gesticulate. If it doesn't come out with their hands, they get nervous. They sweat; they have a lot of tension because their vocabulary fails. That stigmatizes and generates prejudice", "They arrive here at a shocking moment in their lives because they have been with their family and what they find is a totally different world", "They are clear that here they cannot verbalize that they want to return with their mom. That is taboo for them. They can't say it but deep down they miss her all the time. They are always talking about their mothers, always", "There are those who blame them for high levels of crime, however, there is no data to corroborate it", "There can be no more cowardice than facing a child who lives alone", or "Today we tell Rocío Monasterio and we tell Vox to get their hands off our children; mess with people your own size".

On rare occasions, it is UFM in the first person who expresses themselves verbally in audiovisual works and, in those cases, their story reinforces the possible empathy towards their situation. For example, the phrases "If you are lucky, you get here, if not, you die at sea. I thought of my parents and my brother", "Having a friend, a true friendship, helps us feel less alone because our parents and friends from before are no longer here", or "We come here to achieve our dreams, to improve the lives of our families. We don't come here to cause trouble."

4.2.3 Incidence of Vox in the discursive strategy

Although the examination of the incidence of a certain group or organization in the discursive strategy of the most viewed videos on YouTube on the topic "UFM-Spain" was not initially contemplated, the development of the research pushes us to analyze and point out the weight that the far-right formation Vox has in the production/editing processes of the contents and their approach. This party is present in one way or another (as issuer, source of the statements, in titles, or in the content itself) in 58.39% (n = 31), more than half of the analyzed videos.

4.3. Reception

Regarding the action of receiving the videos broadcast on YouTube about the UFM phenomenon in Spain, it should be clarified, first of all, that it is addressed quantitatively due to the difficulty that anonymity, characteristic of the users of this social network, represents to a qualitative analysis.

In general terms, reception is characterized by mostly passive consumption, a fact that can be seen in the overwhelming difference between the viewing figures, which we relate to interaction at the lowest level, and the figures for "I like it", "I don't like it", or "comments", which require a more active response from users.

Table 2. Interactions in the videos about UFM-Spain.

	Nº Views	Nº Likes	Nº Do not like	Nº Comments
Total	1.770.465	100.841	5.505	12.639
Average	31.060, 7	1.769,1	96,5	221,7

Source: own elaboration.

Regarding the themes, six categories can be established: "Negative consequences of the presence of UFM in Spain" (n = 37), "Morocco-Spain migratory crisis" (n = 6), "Political positions on UFM" (n = 2), "Humanitarian position towards UFM" (n = 7), "Legal aspects around the phenomenon" (n = 3),

and "Other" (n = 2).

The analysis of the theme of the videos that obtain the highest and lowest number of views in the context of the sample does not yield significant data since both the two that occupy the first positions and the last two are included in the category of "Negative consequences of the presence of UFM in Spain". We did not detect a pattern that allows us to establish differentiation in this sense.

The two contents that receive the highest number of "likes", positioned in the first and third place in terms of the volume of views, also coincide in reflecting this theme, dealing with the occupation of a flat by a group of UFM and about the danger posed by the group's presence in Spanish territory. The high number of "likes" that these videos receive (16,740 and 15,243 respectively) denotes an active position on the part of those users who sympathize with the negative position towards the group of unaccompanied foreign minors. It is significant that the only video that reflects, in detail and from a positive point of view, the reality of UFM in a center in Barcelona called Mas Pins, is among those that receive the least number of "likes" (33).

On the other hand, the videos that collect the highest number of "dislikes", positioned in second and seventh place in terms of the volume of views, also address aspects related to the theme "Negative consequences of the presence of UFM in Spain"; specifically, the expenses and the insecurity that they generate, and the delinquency that they carry out. In these cases, it is difficult to determine if the user is showing, by clicking "I don't like", a position in disagreement with the facts that are reflected in the content or is denouncing with this action the criticism that is made towards UFM. Even so, we venture to lean towards the first option based on the trend detected throughout the analysis.

In the case of audiovisual works that receive the greatest number of comments, these coincide with those that register the greatest number of "likes" (first and third), which reinforces the fact that it is the contents that show opposition to UFM, which produce a greater reaction on the part of the users.

5. Discussion and conclusions

Despite the novelty proposed by this research, a pioneer in the examination of the treatment of UFM on YouTube, the association that is made of this specific group with the rest of immigrants (over 18 years of age), detected in the development of the study, allows discussing the results obtained with the findings of those works that address how, in the set of conventional media and social networks, the migratory phenomenon is treated.

The discourse that is currently transmitted about UFM in Spain through the online video platform, although it is not politicized, given that the content that common users disseminate in this regard prevails, it is strongly conditioned by the ideological argument that Vox exposes and defends regarding UFM. Not surprisingly, this far-right formation is present, in one way or another, in more than half of the content extracted from YouTube on the analyzed subject. The incidence of this political party is also evident in the fact that the largest volume of published videos occurs coinciding with the appearance, in the 2021 Madrid election campaign, of the controversial poster about the expense that UFM entails for the public coffers. Let us remember that social networks have profusely served political parties to spread their ideology and attack that of others, populating themselves with hoaxes, half-truths, and trial balloons (Cabezuelo and Manfredi, 2019; Galletero et al., 2020; Mendieta, 2020; Gil- Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas, 2021).

In this sense, the YouTube social network would be performing a function of disseminating hate speech (Ben-David and Matamoros-Fernández, 2016) towards the figure of UFM who arrive or are in Spanish territory. Hate speech implies the use of language that considers the migrant as an antithetical subject to national core values and as a threat to the values that underpin social coexistence and promotes messages that feed rejection, contempt, humiliation, discredit, and stigmatization of the individual or group based on attributes ranging from nationality to sexual orientation (Arcila et al., 2020; Torres, 2019; Tortajada et al., 2014). In the case of YouTube, this hate speech is presented constructed mainly through an emotional narrative based on the subjective opinions of private and/or anonymous citizens, who do not resort to authorized sources to validate their arguments. Mukhortikova (2020), Torres (2019), and Tortajada et al. (2014) also detected the use of subjective assessments lacking a plurality

of sources in the discourses of users or collaborators of conventional media towards immigrants.

It is striking, in line with the findings obtained by Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020), the total absence of NGOs or social movements as content creators that attract the attention of the users of this platform, given the high involvement of these types of institutions in the management of arrivals and their active participation in the government protection systems of the UFM. The experience of the people who are most directly related to them (educators, reception center workers, social workers, volunteers, etc.) hardly has a place in the representation of these children that is transmitted on this social network. The humanitarian perspective does not seem to arouse the interest of those who come to YouTube to find out about the situation of the UFM phenomenon in Spain. Although, these facts could be explained by the trend in consumption towards a political approach to this specific typology of migrants; From this perspective, the null presence of content published by channels of progressive political parties stands out. It is the "elite discourse" (Olmos-Alcazar, 2018) of far-right ideological parties and movements, mainly Vox, which has the greatest presence when statements are included in the content production.

Coinciding with the appreciation of numerous previous literature on the representation of the migratory phenomenon, in general (Acosta, 2015, 2016; Acosta and Martínez-Velasco, 2017; Arcila et al., 2020; Checa-Olmos and Arjona-Garrido, 2011; Cheng et al. al., 2009, 2010; Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas, 2020; Gómez-Quintero et al., 2021; Granados, 2007; Horsti, 2003; Igartua, 2013; Igartua et al., 2007, 2013, 2014 ; Martínez-Lirola, 2008; Muñiz et al., 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b; Nikolai, 2021; Olmos-Alcazar, 2018; Santamaría, 2002; Tortajada et al., 2014; Van Dijk, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2012), or on child or young immigrants, in particular, (Ardévol, 2009; Doná and Veale, 2011; Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcazar, 2015; Retis and García, 2010; Rosen and Crafter, 2018), the bias detected in this research towards the figure of the UFM is overwhelmingly negative.

The construction of the discourse based on negative attributes is based, fundamentally, on the lexicon used both in the titles and in the content of the videos. In the field of image, it is unusual for minors to be shown and when they are, they appear predominantly in a neutral attitude. These results disagree with those obtained by Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo-Rojas (2020) who detect the representation of children through images that show them in a positive attitude (singing, dancing, playing, smiling). This difference may respond to the different situations of the minors according to the cases analyzed: children who spent days on a ship at sea, in overcrowded and unhealthy conditions, waiting to be welcomed by some country of the European Union – which aroused the alarm and the perception of a necessary humanitarian intervention–; against UFM that arrive in the national territory or are already under the tutelage of the public administration.

The visual analysis additionally provides some elements that deserve to be reviewed, such as the evident masculinization of this specific type of migration or the worrying violation of the right to personal image and of the minor that occurs in most of the occasions in which some UFM appears represented in image in audiovisual works. The study by Mukhortikova (2020) points, coinciding with the present research, to the damage that revealing the identity of minors can cause to them. However, this violation goes unpunished in social media which, as Merino-Arribas and López-Meri (2018) recall, are not subject to the professional ethics that do bind conventional media.

Most of the videos are framed under the general topic of the "Negative consequences of the presence of UFM in Spain" and, in these, the use of semantic fields associated with pejorative, demeaning, or excluding biases towards the figure of the minor prevails; something that Mukhortikova (2020) Olmos-Alcazar (2018), and Tortajada et al. (2014) already detected regarding the representation of adult immigrants. Through the use of incriminating language linked to terms such as "danger, invasion, aggressiveness, occupation, or crime", among others, UFM are mainly associated with the fact of constituting a threat to public security. The preponderance of this association of the migrant with the concept of threat was initially observed by authors such as Bobo and Hutchings (1996) or Van Dijk (1997) and has subsequently been evidenced in the works of Arcila et al. (2020), Ardévol (2009), Gómez-Quintero et al., 2021; Torres (2019), or Tortajada et al. (2014), among others. The discourse focused on the conflict, the confrontation, the clash that occurs between the primary population (native) and the secondary population (immigrants) (Cheddadi, 2020), is oversized (Nikolai, 2021; Tortajada et al., 2014) configuring a distortedly homogeneous representation of UFM as a source of insecurity, panic,

and social alarm, as represented by the far-right party Vox (Cheddadi, 2020; Lava, 2021).

In the production/editing of content on the UFM phenomenon in Spain through YouTube, probably conditioned by the media publicity received by the controversial electoral poster designed by Vox for the Madrid elections on May 4th, the use of a discourse in which the UFM are blamed for the national expense that their guardianship entails, stands out. Not in vain, this representation of UFM as illegitimate consumers of the Spanish assistance system is another of the arguments put forward in the characterization of this group by the far-right formation (Cheddadi, 2020). Although, in terms of the migratory phenomenon in general, the consideration of the immigrant as an unfair burden for the economy of the host country was already evidenced by the works of Arcila et al. (2020), Cea D`ancona (2005), Olmos-Alcazar (2018), and Torres (2019).

This conception of the economic threat of UFM is linked to the discredit towards them, discursively representing them as "liars and profiteers" who receive, "without deserving it", social and economic protection by the public administration that should be dedicated to nationals; an issue that links to the patriotic/nativist position that emphasizes the us/them differentiation, significantly present in this analysis, and a fundamental axis in Vox's ideology (Cheddadi, 2020). The nationalist ethnocentric approach that promotes the reductionist us/them dichotomy in the representation of the migratory phenomenon was promptly revealed by the Colectivo IOÉ (1995) and later refuted by the studies by Gómez-Quintero et al. (2021) and Tortajada et al. (2014).

In general, how language is used in the content published on the online video platform to refer to UFM leads to a negative, and in our opinion, unjustified generalization towards all of this type of migrant. The facts of particular elements are attributed to the whole. The anecdote is decontextualized and oversized. Minors are not represented individually but as an amalgam, a mass (Martínez-Lirola and Olmos-Alcazar, 2015); a homogenization denounced by both Gimeno (2013) and Perazzo and Zuppi-roli (2018). This massification of the group also contributes to the invisibility and dehumanization to which UFM are subjected through the content about them broadcast on YouTube. Hardly any personal testimonies are collected that relate in the first person the migratory experience or the situation of these minors and only on these few occasions do we know their identity, which is largely ignored, presenting UFM as indeterminate, de-personified subjects (Martínez-Lirola and Olmos -Alcazar, 2015), whose identity is reduced to their status as immigrants. This invisibility of migrants as the protagonists of their own reality through the exclusion of their opinions and subjectivities in the story that is built about them through conventional and digital media is made explicit in the conclusions reached by Gil-Ramírez and Gómez de Travesedo- Rojas (2020) and Olmos-Alcazar (2018), evidencing the delegitimization of the figure of the immigrant that this type of discourse exerts.

The construction of a positive narrative towards UFM on YouTube is residual. The few contents that focus from a humanitarian perspective emphasize the condition of minors of these migrants through the repeated use of the term "children", point to the risk they run during migration, reflect on the causes of this particular migratory phenomenon, or emphasize the situation of vulnerability that they experience once they arrive in Spain. The empathetic postures towards UFM are diluted in the whole, an aspect that is concurrent with the analysis of Tortajada et al. (2014) on the treatment of the migratory phenomenon in Spanish radio, in which they observe how interventions based on inclusion are absorbed by the predominance of an exclusionary context. Within the framework of the discourse that is constructed through positive attributes towards UFM, content that appeals to the humanitarian character is missing, which, in our opinion, should permeate the narrative about these minors, considering the need to work, from a humanized pedagogy (Patricia, 2020), the self-esteem of young people in full development (Odor et al., 2020). On the other hand, the absence of discourses that highlight the responsibility of the type of migration management of the public administration in the lack of integration of UFM is also significant; an issue which Peláez (2010) points out.

YouTube users respond mostly with a passive interaction, viewing, to the content about UFM-Spain, and those contents that collect a higher number of actions that require a greater degree of involvement (clicking like/dislike or commenting) mostly represent UFM from the negative position; which points towards a more active attitude on the part of those users whose perception of these minors coincides with this representation.

In short, the narrative nature, the approach, the bias, and the language used in the most popular videos on YouTube about UFM in Spain, build a stereotyped and negative image of these children; which implies a high risk of socially emphasizing stigmatization, prejudice, the social gap, and, in general, promoting racism and xenophobia towards this group, if we consider the high level of penetration and the strong influence exerted, today, by the content posted on this social network. Instead of the precise normalization of cultural diversity in favor of social cohesion, a discourse is transmitted that mitigates the complexity of the arrival, adaptation, and socialization processes faced by this specific typology of migrants, simplifying the possible perception and social interpretation of the phenomenon.

Despite the limitations of this study in terms of the volume of the sample and the geographical dimension (Spain), we consider that the intense qualitative analysis carried out represents a starting point in the necessary line of research on the representation and treatment of the specific migrant group constituted by UFM, who are especially sensitive and vulnerable, in our opinion, due to their condition as minors. This work can be the basis for future research that examines social networks other than YouTube or other geographical contexts and contributes to clarifying and delimiting the current situation regarding the image that is being transmitted to society as a whole about UFM through the digital environment.

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7. Annex

Links to the videos that make up the sample:

Nº video	Hipervínculo
1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cqucf0ZBjRU
2	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PrrTQ2pmPyk&t=294s
3	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMIKEmzIAs0&t=64s
4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBjknLpQSBI
5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5CEh4CpRhik
6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=33wD-zxqVGM
7	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_aWjHNeAAlQ
8	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_nyOgtqC6vM
9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LHmkM3WhAbQ
10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kMMWIqFhkJE
11	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3QXA1yFmD1w
12	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T9iLpnBFOi4
13	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7o83yP-PHM
14	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rCMLfsIediA
15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EolJDy-k50k
16	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ug5A_EBQ5D8
17	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCSyt6OQiu0
18	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ruy3zu0az68
19	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hzM-A_ZxZGY
20	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oViPXt-BmBg
21	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5cB9LKhZkM
22	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6OH3OV-bk0Y
23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hKeOIhSP6dk
24	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U65itUULa4A
25	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tghfXprPrkg
26	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-M83oUGSIjQ

27	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TOfuBS3hPjQ
28	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtutBtlQtOI
29	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zlcdPfnhfr4
30	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3InyV01Wzs
31	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_aLG97jGfM
32	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8X6RlmI9Mbg
33	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7kw6KTz9DkQ
34	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=582L8iDy3wM
35	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dpAtsJZHWYQ
36	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qk4QTzmbasA&t=12s
37	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=67U1LUh-yDI
38	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=826sMB0eVA0
39	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPaOSe6ia-Y
40	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CgK9YKvmFl4
41	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b5dJG9JWd3Q
42	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1YT4B8bgWsk
43	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0z46k4JwMw
44	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rm2tmG36MAw
45	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yhYl77pUetU
46	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3kRYE__7u-Q
47	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ydcHClzlhUc
48	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4GA4AByR-M
49	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yc98KsWUxYE
50	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uGEwWayrO4&t=1s
51	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0qM5bnNz978&t=3s
52	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6IycQLbTTKo
53	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g2ZfXnMip5I
54	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRE2yWnBOAc
55	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4mqtd20dEV4
56	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ysPiHJIlJU0
57	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zlcdPfnhfr4&t=11s