

News Frames in the Context of a Substantial Increase in Migration: Differences Between Media Platforms and Immigrants' Nationality

ANDRÉS SCHERMAN¹

Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Chile
Universidad Diego Portales, Chile

NICOLLE ETCHEGARAY¹

Universidad Diego Portales, Chile

This research analyzes the main news frames used in coverage of migration in Chile. Over the past two decades, this South American nation has become an important destination for local migration, nearly quadrupling its migrant population. The analysis of a representative sample of news disseminated in 2019 on four different platforms—print media, television, radio, and the Internet ($N = 411$)—shows that although a negative portrayal of foreign nationals dominates, the most used frames are not related to crime (as reported in recent literature), but to conflict and political discussion. Beyond these general trends, the findings show significant differences between media platforms and various migrant communities. Regarding the diverse migrant communities, essential differences are observed in the favorable treatment of Venezuelans (whose immigration is being driven by political and economic factors) and the negative way in which the media treat other Latin American immigrants.

Keywords: news framing, frame analysis, immigrants, immigration, media, Chile, content analysis

In the context of globalization, international migration has become a topic of growing public interest, particularly in receiving countries where the increase in entry flows tends to be associated with a rise in negative attitudes toward migration and immigrants (e.g., Igartua, Muñiz, & Cheng, 2005). The discrimination and social segregation that these attitudes generate are a problem not only for migrants but for all society, since they negatively affect polarization, social cohesion, and the quality of democracy (Wright, 2011).

Andrés Scherman: andres.scherman@uai.cl

Nicolle Etchegaray: netchegaray@gmail.com

Date submitted: 2020-12-07

¹ This work was supported by Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico (Fondecyt; Grants No. 1190540 and 1210923).

Copyright © 2021 (Andrés Scherman and Nicolle Etchegaray). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

Although there are multiple determinants of xenophobia, several studies show the central role of the mass media in disseminating and reinforcing prejudicial attitudes and beliefs toward immigrants. Studies report that media tend to portray them negatively and stereotypically (Blinder & Allen, 2016; Subervi, Torres, & Montalvo, 2005; Valentino, Brader, & Jardina, 2013; Van Dijk, 2005) and that the dissemination of these contents influences audiences' opinions and attitudes (Etchegaray & Correa, 2015; Igartua, 2013; Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012).

The literature describes media content in developed countries, which historically received the largest waves of international migration (United Nations, 2019). But the recent tendency of these countries toward more restrictive regulations and the strengthening of their border security, such as the United States and many European countries, have reconfigured the historical map of migratory flows, increasing migration between developing nations (Gandini, Prieto, & Lozano-Ascencio, 2020).

In South America, migration directed to the United States and Spain has decreased over the past two decades, while intraregional migration has grown strongly (Gandini et al., 2020). Nonetheless, few studies have analyzed media content on migration in this new scenario, where immigration is a growing and novel phenomenon, and the new population comes from nations with a similar level of development. This situation makes Chile an interesting case study.

An example of this is the case of the massive Venezuelan migration, triggered by the unusual political, economic, and security collapse of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, which is currently reaching its highest point (González & Hernández, 2020). Ninety percent of the approximate 2.5 million Venezuelans (almost 10% of the total Venezuelan population) who have left their country since 2015 have gone to South American countries (Datosmacro.com, n.d.; Gandini et al., 2020).

Chile is one of the three countries that have received more Venezuelan migrants in the past years (González & Hernández, 2020). This is an interesting situation, as Venezuela was just five decades ago one of the main host countries for the 200,000 Chilean political exiles, about 2% of the population of the time (Riquelme, 2013), generated by the coup d'état of 1973 and the persecution of the opposition by the 17-year-long military dictatorship (Rojas, Silva, Amode, Vásquez, & Orrego, 2016).

With the return of democracy in 1990, most of the Chilean exiles returned. The country experienced a long cycle of political stability and economic growth (in contrast to its neighbors) originating an unprecedented migratory phenomenon—first with the arrival of bordering countries citizens seeking better economic opportunities, mainly Peruvians and Bolivians, but also Argentinians (Canales, 2019; Rojas et al., 2016). Those waves increased the foreign population in Chile from 0.8% to 2% between 1992 and 2002. In the past decade immigration grew faster and more diverse, reaching 7.8% of the population by 2020 and extending migrants' origin to nonbordering countries, like Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti—especially during a series of natural catastrophes—and Venezuela (Canales, 2019; National Institute of Statistics, 2020).

Venezuelan migration to the country has been particularly intense in the past five years. It increased a 57.6% between 2018 and 2019 and now represents the national group with the most significant

presence in Chile, outnumbering Peruvians, the largest community in Chile until then. Currently, the main immigrant communities in Chile are Venezuelans (30.5%), Peruvians (15.8%), Haitians (12%), Colombians (11%), and Bolivians (8%; National Institute of Statistics, 2020).

As in other countries that have experienced an accelerated immigration growth, this process has generated a gradual increase in negative perceptions and opinions toward immigrants, such as that they pose unfair labor competition (Centro de Estudios Migratorios, 2017; Instituto de Derechos Humanos [INDH], 2017) or as the explanation for increased crime rates (Centro de Estudios Públicos [CEP], 2017; INDH, 2017), although immigrants in Chile have a lower crime rate than Chilean nationals (Rojas et al., 2016). More than 70% of Chileans believe the immigrant population should be reduced, and nearly half think undocumented immigrants should be expelled (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile & GfK Adimark, 2018).

The limited research conducted in Chile shows that migrants are mainly negatively portrayed (Doña, 2002; Poo, 2009; Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018). But those analyses use exclusively qualitative methods, and results are not generalizable or comparable with international literature. This study seeks to contribute to the discussion of the journalistic treatment of migration and migrants in a developing country based on a quantitative content analysis of the news published by the Chilean media in 2019 on print, online, television, and radio news platforms, using a news frames analytical perspective (Igartua, Muñiz, Otero, Cheng, & Gómez-Isla, 2008; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Literature Review

Journalistic Treatment of Migration Based on the News Frames Analysis

The concept of framing emerged from studies that seek to explain how individuals manage to process the large number of stimuli they confront based on efficient strategies. For Goffman (1974), it refers to the structures of interpretation of the reality, shared through social interaction, reducing the complexity of information processing. Entman (1993) describes news frames as the main ideas around which journalists structure a news piece and the informative elements that they underscore or emphasize, all of which configures a narration about a specific point of view.

There are many ways to describe news issues and the individuals or groups on them. Media professionals must choose a perspective and sources, cropping out a space of reality and making all outside this frame invisible to the audience. Consequently, the audience will use a selection of the material to understand, interpret, and evaluate news issues, influencing opinions, attitudes, and positions (Entman, 1993, 1994; Iyengar, 1991). This influence may be more substantial when news portrays minority social groups unfamiliar to the general audience (Calhoun, 1988), such as immigrants. Mass media's tendency to use stereotypes could be partially linked to weak social identification with minority groups (Heider, 2003) and the restrictions on time and space journalists confront when reporting (Lippmann, 1922).

Consequently, stereotypes are helpful psychological mechanisms for processing and categorizing new information, but they may generate an unfounded distortion in the audience's perception of different social groups (Hamilton, 1975). Van Dijk (2001, 2005) points to mass media as an essential source of the biased

portrayal of immigrants as socioeconomic and cultural threats, limiting their appearance to a narrow range of issues related to their reception, the often conflictive response of the population, crime, drugs, and violence.

Through a quantitative content analysis, Igartua and his colleagues (2003) found that the main frames given to immigration in Spanish newspapers were government action and political discussion immigration laws (Igartua et al., 2005). But half a decade after, a new study (which added television news to print media) observed that negative frames had grown, like those linking migration with crime, terrorist acts, and conflictive issues. Positive frames, such as immigrant communities' economic contribution, had little presence (Igartua, Muñiz, Otero, & De la Fuente, 2007).

Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017), in the context of a humanitarian crisis in Austria, found that the common frames addressed administrative aspects, security threats, and the economic costs of immigration. The academic literature available in the rest of Europe shows a general tendency of connecting migration with conflictive issues such as illegality, drugs, violence, and related social costs (Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002; Igartua et al., 2007; Subervi et al., 2004; Valentino et al., 2013).

In the United States, studies show a similar trend. Cisneros (2008) observed that U.S. media coverage of migration is linked to problems and repeat negative discursive that refers to immigrants as "contaminated communities" for the host societies (p. 577). Chavez (2001) observed that migration had been presented as a threat and invasion, especially when news included Latinos, and a growing focus on border narratives that use militarization rhetoric and reinforce the link between migration and security problems.

Sowards and Pineda (2013) report that immigrant's representations are "simplistic to a fault and reify stereotypes about immigrants as well as of Latinas/os" (p. 87), reporting a tendency to focus on narratives about the illegal, undocumented, or unauthorized entry to the country. This narrative reinforces the common association of border crossers to "being Other undocumented, and poor" (Sowards & Pineda, 2013, p. 79). As shown by DeChaine (2012), the prevalence of the "border" as a central topic on immigration is consequential since it not only describes a geographical limit but also represents an ideological concept that traces a line between ingroup and outgroup members of society, and therefore between the empowered and the subjected population. As Ahmed (2004) points, these "othering" narratives "work by generating a subject that is endangered by imagined others whose proximity threatens not only to take something away from the subject (jobs, security, wealth) but to take the place of the subject" (p. 43).

In Chile, studies on print media found that immigrant's news are linked to crime, contraband, violence, illegality, and social conflict (Browne & Romero, 2010; Doña, 2002; Fernández, 2013; Poo, 2009; Romero-Lizama, 2011; Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018), and in the few news about immigrants that present them as victims of mistreatment or discrimination, focus on conflict and portrays them as "different" from national individuals (Poo, 2009; Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018).

An analysis of the main Chilean newspapers over 10 years (Doña, 2002) concludes that a perspective of distance and "fear of the other" has been cultivated and shown in the idea that immigrants are "stealing" jobs from local workers or that immigration increases crime and poverty. Recent content analysis reveals a dual discourse on immigration in Chilean newspapers. While most frame immigration as

a threat based on data related to drug trafficking, illegal border crossing, human trafficking, and violence, some publications humanize immigrants, focusing on their need for integration into society and the difficulties they face in their countries of origin (Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018).

Based on this empirical evidence, which mainly points to the existence of negative biases in journalistic coverage of migration and migrants in numerous countries and contexts, the following hypotheses are formulated:

H1: In news related to migration and immigrants, most issues will be negative, to the detriment of news associated with positive or neutral topics.

H2: In news related to migration and immigrants, we expect the majority of frames will be negative (crime and conflict) rather than positive frames (communities' cultural or economic contribution).

But many aspects of media differ across the diverse media platforms or technologies. For example, Kavanagh et al. (2019) report that different media types provide political news in different ways and linguistic characteristics. All media have increased the use of opinion and subjectivity over time; this is especially true for radio and television. There is also evidence that radio and online media tend to produce their news with more immediacy. In contrast, television and print media use longer times to report and generate their products and use, on average, a more significant amount of news sources (Reich, 2016).

Few studies explore differences across media platforms of the frame they give to immigration, but some studies in the area have included print media and television, finding the latter to be markedly more sensationalist (Blinder & Allen, 2016; Igartua & Muñiz, 2004; Igartua et al., 2007), with greater use of the "human interest" frame, which indicates that events are addressed from an emotional angle, dramatizing and personalizing the information presented (Igartua et al., 2007).

Given that previous studies only address print and television media, it is not possible to hypothesize what happens with radio and digital news in comparative terms, and we incorporate the following research question:

RQ1: Are there differences among the various media platforms (print media, television, radio, and Internet news sites) in journalistic coverage of migration and immigrants?

Another important aspect of news frames is the presence of specific minority groups on the information. Numerous news alludes, if only incidentally, to the ethnic or geographic origin of the subjects involved, especially the more stigmatized communities. Van Dijk (2001, 2005) has deeply analyzed this idea through discourse analysis, pointing to the mass media as key actors in the dissemination and validation of a "new racism" that does not characterize minorities as biologically inferior, but as "different," people lacking the will to succeed and dependent on social assistance.

Negative portrayal reaches a higher level when immigrants are represented as a threat or invasion (Chavez, 2001; Santa Ana, 2002, 2013) and disproportionally associated with problematic issues, such as delinquency, violence, and organized crime, such as drug trafficking (Chavez, Whiteford, & Hoewe, 2010).

In Chile, Valenzuela-Vergara (2018) showed that almost all news associated with violence, illegal activity, and crime refer to a small group of Latin American nationalities, primarily Colombians, Peruvians, and Dominicans, while news that included European immigrants linked them with notions of progress, development, and success.

Based on this earlier evidence, we expect that there will be a correlation between informing the nationality of immigrants in the news and the existence of a negative frame and the presence of the most stigmatized Latin American groups on them, such as Colombians, Peruvians, and Dominicans, presented in the following hypothesis:

H3: We expect to find a positive correlation between the presence of Latin American immigrants in the news and the prevalence of negative frames, particularly those associated with conflict and crime.

Finally, various scholars highlight the importance of language, particularly the negative linguistic concepts and associations in migration coverage. Entman (1993) stated that the media frame events and social groups by including or omitting certain words, images, and metaphors that offer points of view.

Cisneros (2008) highlights a common presence of rhetorical association of immigrant waves with "invasions" (p. 574) while other studies report that "undocumented" and "illegal" are the most frequently used words (Blinder & Allen, 2016; Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018). Another tendency reported is the use of sensationalist metaphors that exaggerates the magnitude of the migratory phenomenon, such as "avalanche," "floods," and "massive affluence of" (Cisneros, 2008, p. 572). Based on this information, we pose the following research question:

RQ2: Are there "key" concepts and words relevant to the qualitative literature in framing migrants/migration?

Method

Sampling

Based on the constructed week criterion, we conducted a quantitative content analysis on the news associated with migration and migrants in a random selection of 28 days of 2019.² This method ensures units will be comparable and not focused on a moment marked by a specific situation.

² We randomly chose four Mondays, Tuesdays, and so forth, until we completed two full weeks in each semester of 2019.

The four Chilean media outlets with the largest audiences in each platform were analyzed,³ 16 in total (newspapers: *La Tercera*, *El Mercurio*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Cuarta*; television broadcasting: TVN, Mega, Chilevisión, Canal 13; radio stations: Cooperativa, ADN, Agricultura, Bío Bío; online news sites: Emol.com, La Tercera.com, Biobiochile.cl, Cooperativa.cl).⁴ To round out the sample, mainly with high consumption media outside of the capital, we used a database service (NexNews).

The unit of analysis was individual news pieces. Each one had to include mentions of one of the following: (1) foreign nationals residing in Chile, (2) references to migration in Chile, (3) foreign nationals outside of Chile who express their intention of moving there, (4) Chilean migrants abroad, or (5) non-Chilean migrants in other countries. Approximately 4,000 news pieces were reviewed, and 411 were selected for the sample: 136 (33.1%) from print media, 34 (8.3%) from television, 24 (5.8%) from radio, and 217 (52.8%) from online portals.

Instrument and Codebook

An analysis sheet and codebook were designed, with specific definitions and indicators for each variable, which guided the work of three coders under the supervision of the article's authors. The intercoder reliability considered a random selection of 7.3% of the sample (Krippendorff's alpha, $K\alpha$) based on all of the indicators of .83. The variation of the partial tests conducted ranged from .77 to .88.

The analysis sheet contained (a) general description: medium, platform, size, news type, source type, presence of sound and images, the relevance of migrant sources, identification of migrant groups or individuals and expressions used; (b) migration frames: these included the items developed by Igartua et al. (2008), and categories were added based on the empirical literature reviewed; (c) and general frames: items developed by Semetko and Vankelburg (2000).

Dependent Variables

The first group of frames used was developed in Spanish by Juan José Igartua. To report the results in English, we consulted with native English speaker translators. The second group of frames analyzed was developed in English (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In preparing our codebook and subsequent content analysis, we use the translation that has been dealt with in multiple published studies in Spanish (Aruguete, 2010, 2011; Idoyaga, Valencia, Gil de Montes, & Ortiz, 2012; Igartua & Muñiz, 2004; Muñiz, 2011).

³ The Opinion section was included. Only publicity content was excluded. In the case of news portals, all of the news pieces on the site's homepage were reviewed on the selected days.

⁴ The main sources to study media size audience of media were (a) the Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019 (<https://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/>); (b) the reports of the Chilean enterprise Valida, specialized in the reading measurement of written publications (<http://200.91.40.166/valida/site/edic/base/port/inicio.html>); and (c) the survey Archi-IPSOS that measures the radio audience (<https://www.archi.cl/estudio-de-audiencia-radial-ipsos-chile-primer-semestre-2020/>).

Only frames whose components achieved an adequate Cronbach's alpha (over .6) related to the research questions are described. They all correspond to scales that incorporated dichotomous indicators (0 = absence, 1 = presence) validated by Igartua et al. (2008) and Semetko and Vankelburg (2000) and are expressed on a scale of 0–1.

General Frames (Semetko & Vankelburg, 2000)

a) Conflict: The news refers to two or more sides of an issue or problem; one political party, individual, group, institution, or country reproaches another political party, individual, group, institution, or country in the news piece. The news piece alludes to disagreements between political parties, individuals, groups, institutions, or countries ($M = 0.370$, $SD = 0.380$, Cronbach's alpha = 0.690). In the case of immigrants in Chile, this frame refers mainly to conflicts with the police, Chilean citizens, and, sometimes, between immigrants.

b) Human interest: The news shows the human side of an issue or problem. The news includes testimonies from other involved people. The news uses adjectives that can produce anger, empathy, sympathy, or compassion. The news addresses the private lives of the main actors. The news contains visual information that can generate anger, empathy, sympathy, or compassion. The news emphasizes how individuals or groups are affected by the issue in question ($M = 0.163$, $SD = 0.237$, Cronbach's alpha = 0.736). This research includes news that focus on personal stories of economic struggle, broken or separated families, social status loss because of migration, and so forth.

News Frames of Migration (Igartua et al., 2008)

a) Processing of documents and regularization of immigrants: The piece alludes to actions connected to the regularization of immigrants and processing their documentation (visa, residency permit, work permit, etc.) and timelines or/and conditions for processing migration documents mentioned. The piece reports about the existence of special programs for immigrants to enter the country ($M = .226$, $SD = .324$, Cronbach's alpha = .710). This frame refers to the actions that immigrants must follow to regularize their legal situation in the country.

b) Immigrants as criminals and individuals linked to criminal organizations: The piece reports on or mentions one or more immigrants who have committed crimes or form part of a criminal organization. The piece reports on arrests or trials of immigrants linked to the commission of a crime, and police officers, detectives, or the members of the armed forces are shown ($M = .111$, $SD = .278$, Cronbach's alpha = .718).

c) Political discussion of migration: The piece reports on legislative debates around migration policy. There are references to official authorities (minister, undersecretary, director of foreign nationals and migration) or other national, regional, or municipal

officials. There is a report on the actions of members of political parties in relation to immigration. There is a report on the law that regulates migration. The piece alludes to international agreements or government decisions that regulate migration and refers to conditions or regulations that prevent immigrants from entering the country ($M = .258$, $SD = 2.53$, Cronbach's alpha = .636).

Independent Variables

Negativity Index of the News Piece

A total of 39 items with positive, negative, and neutral content in the news frames on migration proposed by Igartua et al. (2008) were listed. Each news piece with at least one negative attribute (15 possible items) was considered a unit that negatively addressed immigrants.

Platform

The platforms considered in this study were newspapers (33.1%), television (8.3%), radio (5.8%), and the Internet (52.8%).

News Type

The 17 items initially measured were grouped into eight categories: Politics, Police, Courts, Public Affairs, Economy, Human Rights, Culture, and Entertainment. Based on a factorial analysis, the categories corresponding to the news sources were recoded into six categories: Civil Society, Politics, Business, Academics, Police and Courts, and Culture and Entertainment.

Nationality of Migrants in the News

These items consider nationalities mentioned in the news. It was recoded in the following categories: Venezuelans, Latin Americans from other main countries of origin of migrants in Chile (Haiti, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia), other Latin Americans, and other nationalities.

Size of News (Relevance)

The size of news variable was recoded in a ranking according to the extent of news analyzed. The categories of this variable are Size 1 (44%), Size 2 (32.4%), Size 3 (17%), and Size 4 (6.6%).

Gender of the Individualized Immigrant

The gender of the immigrant who appeared in the news was specified in 78 instances, with the following distribution: Men (58%), Women (42%).

Use of Expressions Toward Immigrants

The results of how often different expressions were used in the media to refer to immigrants were the following: Foreigner (29.4%), Immigrant (49.1%), Citizen (24.1%), Wave/Avalanche/Explosion (6.6%), Crisis/Catastrophe (18.7%), Illegal/Undocumented (21.7%), Diaspora/ Exile (3.2%), and Refugees (9.2%).

Results

The first hypothesis (H1) argues that immigrants receive negative treatment in the media. This is confirmed, as 66.9% of the news pieces analyzed contained at least one negative indicator associated with the phenomenon under study. However, the level of negativity is not homogeneous across the platforms. Regarding the first research question (RQ1), Table 1 reports a chi-squared test that confirms significant differences in the distribution of news that includes negative indicators ($p < .05$). Television produces the most significant proportion of negative news (88.2%), followed closely by radio (83.3%). The only media platform in which less than half of the news associated with immigration is negative is the print media.

Table 1. Distribution Main News Indicators of Migration Portrayal by Media Platform.

Negativity of the news	Print	Television	Radio	Internet	Total
No negative elements	55.1%	14.7%	12.5%	24.4%	33.1%
With negative elements	44.9%	85.3%	87.5%	75.6%	66.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Pearson's chi-squared = 47,031 (p value = .000).

Main topic of the news	Print	Television	Radio	Internet	Total
Politics	43.10%	44.10%	70.80%	57.60%	52.60%
Police	7.70%	17.60%	12.50%	10.70%	10.40%
Courts	2.30%	0%	0%	2.80%	2.30%
Public affairs	5.40%	2.90%	0%	0.50%	2.20%
Economy	16.90%	5.90%	4.20%	5.60%	9.20%
Protests	1.50%	3.00%	0%	3.70%	2.70%
Human rights	12.30%	26.50%	12.50%	14.00%	14.40%
Culture and entertainment	10.80%	0%	0%	5.10%	6.20%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. Pearson's chi-squared = 46.019 (p value = .000).

Regarding the main topics of the news, in order of relevance, they are Politics (52.60%), Humanitarian Problems or Human Rights (14.40%), and Police (10.40%). The substantial concentration of news about immigrants in political news is noteworthy (see Table 1), including over half of the news. At the same time, police are the focus of just 10%, differing from international literature reported. In any case, the unequal distribution of the topics among the platforms is once again evident. While the political focus prevails across the board (including government handling of migration), police news is significantly greater on television, practically twice the amount of any other platform. When the news focuses on public affairs (health care, education, and housing) or the economy, the print media far exceed any other platform.

Furthermore, the print media and Internet news sites address all topics, though to different degrees, while television and radio concentrate on fewer topics.

Differences persist when we analyze the presence of the frames. As shown in Table 2, the Human Interest frame, which is predominantly sensationalist, is much more intensely present on television. On a scale of 0–1, it presents an average of 0.41, much higher than any other media (print media = 0.16, Internet = 0.13, and radio = 0.13).

Following the descriptive analysis of frames, data collected do not support H2, which predicted that crime would be the majority frame. It is the least represented frame, as shown in Table 2. However, the majority frame, Conflict, cannot be considered a positive finding. While this frame does not necessarily relate immigrants with social deviation, it does connect them to disagreements and gives migration a disruptive connotation.

Table 2. News Frames of Migration by Platform: Comparing Media.

	Print	Television	Radio	Internet	Total	ANOVA
Conflict	0.25	0.43	0.50	0.42	0.370	$F = 12.70;$ $p < .001$
Political focus	0.17	0.34	0.36	0.29	0.258	$F = 10.84;$ $p < .001$
Migration procedures	0.17	0.39	0.53	0.20	0.226	$F = 12.70;$ $p < .001$
Human interest	0.16	0.41	0.13	0.13	0.164	$F = 14.60;$ $p < .001$
Crime	0.09	0.10	0.13	0.13	0.111	$F = 0.559;$ $p < .001$

An interesting finding is the distribution of nationalities mentioned among news topics, as shown in Table 3. For example, 73.6% of the news that mention Venezuelans involves political issues, while only 2.1% refer to police information. By contrast, when the news discusses other Latin American immigrants, politics is mentioned no more than 45%, but to police issues (22%–30%). The average in the Crime frame of the news in which Venezuelans appear is 0.08, while the presence of Colombians is 0.75.

Table 3. Main Topic of News by Country of Origin of Immigrants Identified.

	Venezuela	Bolivia, Colombia, Haiti, and Peru	Other Latin American countries	Non-Latin American countries	Total
Politics	73.6%	44.4%	20.8%	25.0%	59.9%
Police	2.1%	22.2%	29.2%	37.4%	10.6%
Courts	0.8%	0%	4.2%	12.5%	1.9%
Public affairs	1.4%	0%	4.2%	0%	1.4%
Economy	2.9%	3.8%	12.5%	0%	3.9%
Protests	1.4%	0%	0%	0%	1.1%
Human rights	16.4%	18.5%	8.3%	18.8%	15.9%
Sports and culture	1.4%	11.1%	20.8%	6.3%	5.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. Pearson's chi-squared = 83,902 (p value = .000).

The remaining hypotheses and research questions posed are answered through a series of regression analyses that have two general frames as dependent variables—Conflict and Human Interest (Semetko & Vankelburg, 2000)—and three thematic frames on migration: document processing, immigrants as criminals or linked to mafias, and political discussion of migration (Igartua et al., 2008).

Our third hypothesis (H3) is that Latin American immigrants are associated with negative frames such as Conflict and Crime. The results do not allow us to fully confirm this because no homogeneously negative treatment is observed among the various nationalities of the region. Venezuelan immigrants, in particular, appear to be linked to positive or neutral frames (Human Interest, Migration Procedures, and Political Discussions of Migration). At the same time, the other four most significant Latin American nationalities with presence in Chile (Peruvians, Haitians, Colombians, and Bolivians) are associated with the Crime frame.

The relationship between the use of specific “keywords” and how migration is framed is our second research question (RQ2), and the regression analysis (see Tables 4 and 5; especially the last) shows that words like *foreigner* are related to neutral frames such as document processing. Others like *illegal*, *undocumented*, *immigrant*, or *refugee* are associated with negative frames such as Conflict and Crime.

One interesting finding is the relationship between the size of the news units and the various frames: the longer the piece, the more likely it is to have Conflict and Human-Interest frames. The news platform does not show a connection with the Human Interest frame, aligning with previous findings (e.g., Igartua & Muñiz, 2004).

In all the regression analyses, the block with the greatest explanatory capacity is the news type (except for migration procedures), showing the importance of the internal distribution of the media in the

way in which different topics are addressed and reported. The various news areas or sections seem to generate different coverage, probably associated with organizational and journalistic culture.

Finally, the positive connection between being a woman and several of the frames—Human Interest, Regularization, and Crime—is relevant. While this last finding may seem surprising, it is explained by women appearing in many news stories about illegal border crossing.

Table 4. Determinants of General Frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

	Conflict		Human interest	
	Beta not standardized	Standard error	Beta not standardized	Standard error
Bloc 1: Platform				
Radio (reference)				
Television	-0.082	(0.093)	0.227***	(0.051)
Print media	-0.170*	(0.081)	0.079#	(0.044)
Internet	-0.071	(0.077)	0.044	(0.043)
<i>R</i> ² incremental	0.054		0.097	
Bloc 2: News size (relevance)				
Small size (reference)				
Small-medium size	0.079	(0.040)	0.016	(0.022)
Medium size	0.125*	(0.051)	0.064*	(0.028)
Large size	0.159*	(0.076)	0.169***	(0.042)
<i>R</i> ² incremental	0.016		0.051	
Bloc 3: Main topic of news				
Culture and entertainment (reference)				
Politics	0.071***	(0.396)	-0.044	(0.039)
Police	0.087	(0.037)	-0.090#	(0.048)
Courts	0.132**	(0.159)	-0.092	(0.073)
Economy	0.089	(0.068)	-0.122*	(0.049)
Protests	0.108**	(0.147)	0.018	(0.059)
Human rights	0.079**	(0.216)	0.229***	(0.044)
Public affairs	0.105	(0.023)	-0.023	(0.058)
<i>R</i> ² incremental	0.150		0.217	
Bloc 4: Migrants' nationality and gender				
Other Non-Latin American (reference)				
Venezuelan	0.075#	(0.043)	0.041#	(0.024)
Peruvian. Haitian. Colombian or Bolivian	-0.008	(0.051)	-0.019	(0.028)
Other Latin American nationalities	0.070	(0.068)	0.053	(0.037)
Woman (Man)	-0.051	(0.063)	0.179***	(0.035)
<i>R</i> ² incremental	0.08		0.051	
Bloc 5: Use of expressions toward immigrants				

Foreigner	0.001	(0.040)	-0.031	(0.022)
Immigrant	0.069#	(0.037)	0.014	(0.020)
Citizen	-0.054	(0.045)	0.000	(0.025)
Wave/Avalanche/Explosion	-0.018	(0.071)	-0.006	(0.039)
Illegal/Undocumented	0.096	(0.046)	0.040	(0.025)
Crisis/Catastrophe	0.030*	(0.052)	0.015	(0.028)
Diaspora/Exile	-0.138	(0.102)	0.046	(0.056)
Refugees	0.039	(0.061)	0.010	(0.034)
Intercept	0.107	(0.103)	0.037	(0.057)
R^2 incremental	0.028		0.012	
Total R^2	.256		0.429	

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; # $p < .10$.

Table 5. Determinant Variables of Immigration Frames (Igartua et al., 2008).

	Regularization		Crime		Political approach	
	Beta not standardized	Standard error	Beta not standardized	Standard error	Beta not standardized	Standard error
Bloc 1: Platform						
Radio (reference)						
Television	-0.079	(0.071)	-0.058	(0.055)	0.029	(0.053)
Print media	-0.161**	(0.062)	-0.024	(0.048)	-0.065	(0.046)
Internet	-0.217***	(0.059)	-0.036	(0.046)	-0.021	(0.044)
R^2 incremental	0.086		0.004		0.074	
Bloc 2: News size (relevance)						
Small size (reference)						
Small-medium size	-0.011	(0.031)	-0.021	(0.024)	0.032	(0.023)
Medium size	-0.059	(0.039)	-0.038	(0.030)	-0.015	(0.029)
Large size	-0.032	(0.058)	-0.119**	(0.045)	0.003	(0.043)
R^2 incremental	0.003		0.020		0.009	
Bloc 3: Main topic of news						
Culture and entertainment (reference)						
Politics	0.094#	(0.054)	0.059	(0.042)	0.201***	(0.040)
Police	-0.078	(0.066)	0.525***	(0.051)	0.038	(0.049)
Courts	-0.015	(0.100)	0.353***	(0.078)	0.091	(0.075)
Economy	-0.029	(0.068)	0.045	(0.053)	-0.033	(0.050)
Protests	0.052	(0.082)	-0.013	(0.064)	-0.145*	(0.061)
Human rights	0.099	(0.060)	0.062	(0.047)	0.098*	(0.045)
Public affairs	-0.052	(0.080)	0.025	(0.063)	-0.019	(0.060)
R^2 incremental	0.125		0.402		0.228	

Bloc 4: Migrants' nationality and gender						
Other Non-Latin American (reference)						
Venezuelan	0.222***	(0.033)	-0.034	(0.025)	0.113***	(0.024)
Peruvian. Haitian.						
Colombian or Bolivian	-0.046	(0.039)	0.130***	(0.031)	-0.047	(0.029)
Other Latin American	-0.039	(0.052)	0.012	(0.040)	0.007	(0.039)
Woman (Man)	0.116*	(0.048)	0.088*	(0.037)	-0.004	(0.036)
<i>R</i> ² Incremental	0.146		0.049		0.048	
Bloc 5: Use of expressions toward immigrants						
Foreigner	0.052#	(0.030)	0.024	(0.024)	0.043#	(0.023)
Immigrant	0.017	(0.028)	-0.056*	(0.022)	0.086***	(0.021)
Citizen	0.064#	(0.035)	0.018	(0.027)	0.010	(0.026)
Wave. Avalanche.	0.042	(0.054)	0.025	(0.042)	0.021	(0.040)
Explosion						
Illegal. Undocumented	0.125**	(0.035)	0.139***	(0.027)	0.054*	(0.026)
Crisis/Catastrophe	0.107***	(0.039)	-0.030	(0.031)	0.039	(0.029)
Diaspora/Exile	-0.048	(0.078)	-0.039	(0.060)	-0.047	(0.058)
Refugees	0.060	(0.047)	0.074*	(0.036)	0.036	(0.059)
Intercept	0.175*	(0.078)	0.030	(0.061)	0.043	(0.023)
<i>R</i> ² Incremental	0.054		0.043		0.056	
Total <i>R</i> ²	0.414		0.518		0.416	

****p* < .001; ***p* < .01; **p* < .05; #*p* < .10.

Discussion

This study contributes to research on news frames of immigrants by analyzing various news platforms—print media, radio, television, and online media—simultaneously over an entire year in a developing country that has recently experienced an intense immigration process from other countries in the region. We used content analysis from the perspective of news frames to address our hypotheses and questions.

Some results confirm trends reported in the empirical literature, such as the prevalence of negative connotations in the news, including immigrant subjects. However, the significant differences between media platforms demonstrate the importance of approaching the contents generated by all channels audiences use to follow the news because previous literature almost exclusively studied print media and only a few included television (e.g., Igartua & Muñiz, 2004; Igartua et al., 2007). In line with those studies, we saw that television is the platform with the highest level of negativity. News frames related to human interest are generated with the greatest intensity. The print media included these connotations in less than half of its news (44%), all of which positions television as the platform with the highest level of sensationalism in journalistic coverage of migration.

Understanding how these groups are portrayed in various channels is critical given the profound changes in the media industry over the past few decades. The print media, which the prior empirical evidence focused on, presents a systematic loss of audience that situates them as the least used platform as a source of information. At the global level (and in Chile), the primary news source is currently television, followed by radio, with digital media quickly gaining ground (Reuters Institute, 2019).

Analyzing news topics showed that politics is the most important overall, but the distribution of various themes again presents significant differences among the platforms. This area represents more than half of the radio and digital news (70.8% and 57%, respectively), but is under 45% for print media and television. Regarding the remaining topics, print and digital media produce news associated with migration and migrants in all areas is interesting. At the same time, radio and television do not include news (or only present a minimum amount) related to topics such as Public Affairs and Culture.

While the frame with the most significant presence is Conflict on all media platforms, one interesting finding is the strong presence of the Political Debate frame concerning migration. This is not the trend in the academic literature. Still, it is not a complete surprise, because the content analysis was conducted a few years ago in Austria (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017) and Spain in the early 21st century (Igartua et al., 2005), showing that the various administrative, bureaucratic, and political aspects of migration were prevalent when immigration flow acceleration was still a recent phenomenon. In the coming years, it would be interesting to conduct more measurements to observe whether journalistic treatment evolves toward more negative and stigmatizing frames.

The multivariate analyses, which test which characteristics or elements of the news systematically configure the various forms of framing information, also offer contributions to the study of journalistic frames of migration. Among the factors associated with frames, the news lead (or main topic of the news) is very clearly the most important indicator. The decision of a media outlet to identify immigrants as important stakeholders in the context of certain news events—and not others—goes a long way toward determining the framing that the news receives.

The differences in media outlets' treatment of immigrants from different nationalities have been studied before. Authors like Chavez (2001), Igartua et al. (2008), and Van Dijk (2005) have analyzed this phenomenon. Van Dijk (2000) even coined the term "new racism" to refer to this phenomenon (pp. 33–34). At the same time, Chavez showed that the U.S. media's treatment of Latin American immigrants has more negative connotations than other immigrant communities. In Chile, Valenzuela-Vergara (2018) had observed that negative framings (violence, crime, etc.) are frequently related to Latin American immigrants, while European residents are associated with stories of progress and success. But this study observes that not all Latinos are portrayed equally.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of our analysis is that the difference in the representation of immigrants does not only refer to the distinction between Latinos and foreign nationals from other regions and that there are even differences among nationalities from the same region. There are significant differences between how the Venezuelan community and immigrants from other Latin American countries are portrayed in the Chilean news. While the former is associated with regulations and political discussions

about migration, the rest of the Latin American communities are much more closely linked to framings on crime and negative actions (especially the four most numerous communities after Venezuelans: Peruvians, Haitians, Colombians, and Bolivians). Why is there such a clear difference in media treatment of people from societies so close to one another?

One possible explanation is that the massive Venezuelan immigration over the past year is not due to economic motivations—which is the case for practically all other Latin American immigrants—but to political ones. Most Venezuelans who have left their country over the past few years did so because of political restrictions imposed by the Hugo Chávez government and continued by Nicolás Maduro. Chile's current (center-right) government is openly critical of both administrations and even created a "Democratic Responsibility" visa in 2019 to be issued to Venezuelan nationals who wish to enter the country. Furthermore, the main Chilean media outlets have conservative editorial lines that form part of the right wing (Mönckeberg, 2013) and openly oppose the Venezuelan government. This may explain why they frame news about this group, mainly from a political discussion frame and not a more negative one. A second element that would explain this differential treatment is that the Venezuelan population that has come to Chile has a significantly higher average educational level than the rest of the Latino communities (15.6 years on average for those over the age of 25). This number is even higher than the average for the Chilean population (11 years for those over 25 years). As such, this migrant group has sociodemographic characteristics that set it apart from the others.

The consequences of Venezuelan migration in Chilean life and culture are impossible to predict. The last comparable migration flow took place in 1939, with the arrival of the Spanish republicans who escaped from the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (many even arrived in the "Winnipeg," a ship that the poet and future Nobel Prize winner in Literature Pablo Neruda leased). The difference is that the Spanish escaped from a right-wing dictatorship and the Venezuelans from a left-wing one. The similarity is that both had an academic preparation much higher than the average of the Chilean population. The Spanish republicans marked the 20th century in painting, history, science, theater, and sculpture, among other disciplines. The contribution of the Venezuelan community is still beginning, and we do not know what scope it will have.

Another important element from among our results is that the language used by journalists when they refer to foreign nationals is important. We found that it is not neutral but is closely linked to the construction of the frames that journalists use to report on these groups. For example, using *undocumented*, *illegal*, or *clandestine* concepts is closely related to frames with negative connotations (e.g., Conflict, Crime, Migratory Procedures). This finding aligns with those of Entman (1994), who noted the importance of including or omitting certain words, images, and metaphors as devices for framing minority social groups. As Blinder and Allen (2016) stated, referring to them as "illegals" creates a specific concept of immigration that highlights the issue of legal status and describes immigrants as criminals (p. 18).

On the contrary, referring to these groups as *foreign nationals* has a weaker relationship with negative frames. Language contributes to the development of frames later transmitted to the public and can have broader consequences for public opinion and social coexistence. As such, the importance of

language must be observed by media professionals to develop criteria to refer to immigrants and all groups in a disadvantageous position in society.

The study's main limitation is that it is a content analysis that allows us to identify the main frames of immigrants, but does not allow us to evaluate the impact that this content has on audience perceptions. Future research should address the effects of frames generated by the media in how the Chilean population perceives immigrants (ideally through experimental methods). The frame analysis should also include other Latin American countries to ascertain whether the treatment given by the media to Venezuelan communities—which are numerous in various countries in the region—is similar to that observed in Chile and whether other distinctive elements of immigrant communities are associated with a differentiated treatment in the media.

Future research should study whether new frames have emerged in the coverage of immigrants, following mixed methodology: inductive qualitative research to capture unique or particular news frames and their characteristics and, later, a quantitative approach to allow the measure of their relative scope in mass media, as well as the consistency of their main determinants, exploring the statistical relationships between them.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Aruguete, N. (2010). Los encuadres noticiosos en los medios argentinos. Un análisis de la privatización de Entel [The news frames in the Argentine media: An analysis of the privatization of Entel]. *América Latina Hoy*, 54, 113–137. doi:10.14201/alh.6958
- Aruguete, N. (2011). Framing. La perspectiva de las noticias [Framing: The news perspective]. *La Trama de la Comunicación*, 15, 67–80. doi:10.35305/lt.v15i0.52
- Blinder, S., & Allen, W. L. (2016). Constructing immigrants: Portrayals of migrant groups in British national newspapers, 2010–2012. *International Migration Review*, 50(1), 3–40. doi:10.1111/imre.12206
- Browne, R., & Romero, P. (2010). Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD) de la representación boliviana en las noticias de la prensa diaria de cobertura nacional: El caso de El Mercurio y La Tercera [Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the Bolivian representation in the news of the daily press with national coverage: The case of El Mercurio and La Tercera]. *Polis*, 9(26), 233–249. doi:10.4067/S0718-65682010000200012
- Calhoun, C. (1988). Populist politics, communications media, and large-scale societal integration. *Sociological Theory*, 6(2), 219–241. doi:10.2307/202117

- Canales, A. (2019). La inmigración contemporánea en Chile. Entre la diferenciación étnico-nacional y la desigualdad de clases [Contemporary immigration in Chile. From ethnic-national differentiation to class inequality]. *Papeles de Población*, 25(100), 53–72.
<https://doi.org/10.22185/24487147.2019.100.13>
- Centro de Estudios Migratorios. (2017). *Percepción de los chilenos sobre la Inmigración* [Chileans' perception of immigration]. Retrieved from
http://www.cenem.utralca.cl/docs/pdf/Estudio_Percepcion_de_los_chilenos_sobre_la_inmigracion_2.pdf
- Centro de Estudios Públicos. (2017). *Estudio Nacional de Opinión Pública N°79* [National Study of Public Opinion No. 79]. Retrieved from
https://www.+cepchile.cl/cep/site/artic/20170601/asocfile/20170601155007/encuestacep_abr_may2017.pdf
- Chavez, L. R. (2001). *Covering immigration: Popular images and the politics of a nation*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Chavez, M., Whiteford, S., & Hoewe, J. (2010). Reporting on immigration: A content analysis of major US newspapers' coverage of Mexican immigration. *Norteamérica*, 5(2), 111–125.
doi:10.22201/CISAN.24487228E.2010.02.4
- Cisneros, J. A. (2008). Contaminated: The metaphor of "immigrant as a pollutant" in media representations of Immigration. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 11(4), 569–601.
doi:10.1353/rap.0.0068
- Datosmacro.com. (n.d.). *Inmigración* [Immigration]. Retrieved from
<https://datosmacro.expansion.com/demografia/migracion/inmigracion>
- DeChaine, R. (2012). *Border rhetorics*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Doña, C. (2002). *Percepción de la inmigración reciente en Chile a través del análisis de medios de prensa* [Perception of recent immigration in Chile through the analysis of the press media] (Bachelor's thesis). Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile. Retrieved from
<https://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/135701>
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
- Entman, R. (1994). Representation and reality in the portrayal of Blacks on network television news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 71(3), 509–520. doi:10.1177/107769909407100303

- Etchegaray, N., & Correa, T. (2015). Media consumption and immigration: Factors related to the perception of stigmatization among immigrants. *International Journal of Communication, 9*, 3601–3620.
- Fernández, M. F. (2013). La diversidad y la discriminación en encuadres de El País, El Mundo y ABC [Diversity and Discrimination as Appears in Some Frames in El País, El Mundo and ABC]. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico, 19*(1), 91–106. doi:10.5209/rev_ESMP.2013.v19.n1.42509
- Gandini, L., Prieto, V., & Lozano-Ascencio, F. (2020). Nuevas movilidades en América Latina: la migración venezolana en contextos de crisis y las respuestas en la región [New mobilities in Latin America: Venezuelan migration in crisis contexts and responses in the region]. *Cuadernos Geográficos, 59*(3), 103–121. doi:10.30827/cuadgeo.v59i3.9294
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: Los marcos de la experiencia* [Frame analysis: The frames of experience]. Madrid, Spain: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Greenberg, B., Mastro, D., & Brand, J. (2002). Minorities and the mass media: Television into the 21st Century. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects. Advances in the theory and research* (pp. 333–351). New Jersey, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Greussing, E., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2017). Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 43*(11), 1749–1774. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1282813
- Hamilton, D. (1975). Cognitive biases in the perception of social groups. In J. S. Carroll & J. W. Payne (Eds.), *Cognition and social behavior* (pp. 81–93). New York, NY: Erlbaum.
- Heider, D. (2003). Black, brown, and poor: Who you don't see on local T.V. news and why. In D. Ríos & A. Mohamed (Eds.), *Brown and Black communication: Latino and African-American conflict and convergence in mass media* (pp. 81–92). Los Angeles, CA: Praeger.
- Idoyaga, N., Valencia, J. F., Gil de Montes, L., & Ortiz, G. (2012). Efectos del framing y representaciones sociales de epidemias sanitarias: El Caso de la gripe A [Effects of framing and social representations of health epidemics: The case of influenza A]. *Escritos de Psicología, 5*(3), 31–42. doi:10.5231/psy.writ.2012.0211
- Igartua, J. J. (2013). Impacto actitudinal y canalización cognitiva de estereotipos sobre la inmigración a través de las noticias [Attitudinal impact and cognitive channeling from the theory of the news frame]. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 68*, 599–621. doi:10.4185/RLCS-2013-992

- Igartua, J. J., Humanes, M. L., Cheng, L., García, M., Gomes, D., Niño, M., . . . Gomes, A. M. (2003). Medios de Comunicación e inmigración. El análisis de los encuadres noticiosos en la prensa española [Media and immigration. The analysis of the news frames in the Spanish press]. *Encuentros en Psicología Social*, 1(4), 158–164.
- Igartua, J. J., & Muñiz, C. (2004). Encuadres noticiosos e inmigración: Un análisis de contenido de la prensa y televisión españolas [News frames and immigration: A content analysis of the Spanish press and television]. *Revista de Estudios de Comunicación*, 9(16), 87–104. doi:10.1387/zer.5311
- Igartua, J. J., Muñiz, C., & Cheng, L. (2005). La inmigración en la prensa española. Aportaciones empíricas y metodológicas desde la teoría del encuadre noticioso [Immigration in the Spanish press: Empirical and methodological contributions from the theory of news framing]. *Estudios Sobre Migraciones*, 17, 143–181. Retrieved from <https://revistas.comillas.edu/index.php/revisromtamigraciones/article/view/4220>
- Igartua, J. J., Muñiz, C., Otero, J. A., Cheng, L., & Gómez-Isla, J. (2008). Recepción e impacto socio-cognitivo de las noticias sobre inmigración [Reception and sociocognitive impact of news about immigration]. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 23(1), 3–16. doi:10.1174/021347408783399552
- Igartua, J., Muñiz, C., Otero, J., & De la Fuente, M. (2007). El tratamiento informativo de la información en los medios de comunicación españoles. Un análisis de contenido desde la teoría del framing [The informative treatment of information in the Spanish media. A content analysis from the theory of framing]. *Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 13, 91–110. Retrieved from <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ESMP/articulo/view/ESMP0707110091A>
- Instituto de Derechos Humanos. (2017). *Informe anual: Situación de los derechos humanos en Chile* [Annual report: Situation of human rights in Chile]. Retrieved from https://www.indh.cl/bb/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/01_Informe-Anual-2017.pdf
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kavanagh, J., Marcellino, W., Blake, J., Smith, S., Davenport, S., & Tebeka, M. (2019). *News in a digital age: Comparing the presentation of news information over time and across media platforms*. Retrieved from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2960.html
- Lahav, G., & Courtemanche, M. (2012). The ideological effects of framing threat on immigration and civil liberties. *Political Behavior*, 34(3), 477–505. doi:10.1007/s11109-011-9171-z
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Mönckeberg, M. O. (2013). *Los magnates de la prensa* [The press tycoons]. Santiago, Chile: Debate.

- Muñiz, C. (2011). Encuadres noticiosos sobre migración en la prensa digital mexicana. Un análisis de contenido exploratorio desde la teoría del framing [News frames on migration in the Mexican digital press: An exploratory content analysis from the theory of framing]. *Convergencia*, 18(55), 213–239.
- National Institute of Statistics. (2020). *Estimación de personas extranjeras residentes habituales en Chile al 31 de diciembre 2019* [Estimate of foreign persons habitually resident in Chile as of December 31, 2019]. Retrieved from <https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2020/03/Estimaci%C3%B3n-Poblaci%C3%B3n-Extranjera-en-Chile-al-31-Diciembre-2019.pdf>
- Pontifical Catholic University of Chile & GfK Adimark. (2018). *Encuesta bicentenario* [Bicentennial survey]. Retrieved from <https://politicaspUBLICAS.uc.cl/prensa/encuesta-bicentenario-2018-confianza-en-la-iglesia-catolica-sufre-su-mayor-caida-pero-la-fe-de-los-fieles-se-mantiene-alta/>
- Poo, X. (2009). Imaginarios sobre inmigración peruana en la prensa escrita chilena: Una mirada a la instalación de la agenda de la diferencia [Imaginary on Peruvian immigration in the Chilean written press: A look at the installation of the difference agenda]. *Revista Faro*, 5(9), 1–9. Retrieved from <http://web.upla.cl/revistafaro/n09/pdf/art03.pdf>
- Reich, Z. (2016). Comparing news reporting across print, radio, television and online: Still distinct manufacturing houses. *Journalism Studies*, 17(5), 552–572. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2015.1006898
- Reuters Institute. (2019). *The Reuters Institute digital news report 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/>
- Riquelme, A. (2013, September). La dictature de Pinochet [The Pinochet dictatorship]. *L'Histoire*, 391, 52–57. Retrieved from <https://www.lhistoire.fr/parution/mensuel-391>
- Rojas, N., Silva, C., Amode, N., Vásquez, J., & Orrego, C. (2016). *Boletín informativo* [Newsletter]. Departamento de extranjería y migración de Chile [Department of foreigners and migration of Chile]. Retrieved from <https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2016/09/boletin-1.pdf>
- Romero-Lizama, P. S. (2011). The different and marginalized: Representations of the “other” immigrants in the media. The case of the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Mapuche in the Chilean press. *Journal of Latin American Communication Research*, 1(2), 81–99. doi:10.1177/0196859918799099
- Santa Ana, O. (2002). *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Santa Ana, O. (2013). *Juan in a hundred: The representations of Latinos on the network news*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 93–109. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x
- Sowards, S. K., & Pineda, R. D. (2013). Immigrant narratives and popular culture in the United States: Border spectacle, unmotivated sympathies, and individualized responsibilities. *Western Journal of Communication, 77*(1), 72–91. doi:10.1080/10570314.2012.693648
- Subervi, F., Torres, J., & Montalvo, D. (2004). *Network Brownout report 2005: The portrayal of Latinos & Latino issues on network television news, 2004 with a retrospect to 1995*. Austin, TX: National Association of Hispanic Journalists.
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2019). *International migration 2019: Report*. New York, NY: United Nations. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf
- Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., & Jardina, A. E. (2013). Immigration opposition among US Whites: General ethnocentrism or media priming of attitudes about Latinos? *Political Psychology, 34*(2), 149–166. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00928x
- Valenzuela-Vergara, E. M. (2018). Media representations of immigration in the Chilean press: To a different narrative of immigration? *Journal of Communication Inquiry, 43*(2), 129–151. doi:10.1177/0196859918799099
- Van Dijk, T. (2000). New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media* (pp. 33–49). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. (2001). Discourse and racism. In D. Goldberg & J. Solomos (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to racial and ethnic studies* (pp. 145–159). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. (2005). Nuevo racismo y noticias. Un enfoque discursivo [New racism and news: A discursive approach]. In R. Nash, R. Tello, & N. Benach (Eds.), *Inmigración, género y espacios urbanos. Los retos de la diversidad* [Immigration, gender and urban spaces. The challenges of diversity] (pp. 33–55). Barcelona, Spain: Edicions Bellaterr.
- Wright, M. (2011). Diversity and the imagined community: Immigrant diversity and conceptions of national identity. *Political Psychology, 32*(5), 837–862. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2011.00843.x