Media Consumption and Immigration:
Factors Related to the Perception of
Stigmatization Among Immigrants

NICOLLE ETCHEGARAY
TERESA CORREA
Diego Portales University, Santiago, Chile

Images and attitudes about immigrants are fed and shaped by the media, and their effects are not innocuous. This study investigates the relationship between media exposure and perceptions of stigmatization among immigrants. Drawing from social identity, cultivation, and hostile media effect theories, it examines whether exposure to the media from the host country compared to the country of origin is associated with perceptions of negative media coverage and perceptions of discrimination among foreigners. A survey conducted among 603 Latin American immigrants who live in Santiago, Chile, found that many immigrants perceive that Chilean media promote negative images about immigrants. The study also found that immigrants who are exposed only to media of the host country have increased perceptions of discrimination against them than those who are also exposed to media of the country of origin.

Keywords: media, immigrants, social identity theory, cultivation theory, hostile media effect, stereotype, discrimination, survey, Chile

In the context of globalization, immigration has become an increasingly relevant issue for many countries, and not only for those that traditionally receive foreigners, such as the United States. Many places that in the past inhabitants left for abroad are now becoming immigration-receiving countries. Such is the case of Chile.

According to an analysis by Chile's National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2014), the country is no longer a transit country and has become a destination country for immigrants. According to projections, the migration rate almost tripled between 2002 and 2012.[1] Currently in this country of 17 million people, there are 441,000 immigrants documented by the Foreign Affairs and Immigration Department in 2015, representing 2.7% of the population. More than three fourths of them are from Latin America (Amnistía Internacional, 2015).

Nicolle Etchegaray: nicole.etchegaray@udp.cl
Teresa Correa: teresa.correa@udp.cl
Date submitted: 2015–04–09

[1] The net migration rate grew from 0.9 (per 1000 population) in 2002 to 2.4 in 2012 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2014).

Although research about immigration in Chile has had an eminently demographic or historical perspective (Cano & Soffia, 2009; Cano, Soffia, & Martínez, 2009; Martínez, 1997; Martínez, Soffia, Franco, & Bortolotto, 2013; Norambuena, 2004 Stefoni 2004), studies suggest that people's reactions toward this new facet of immigration are similar to those that exist in other immigration-receiving countries. Certain sectors consider the influx of foreigners as an "invasion" that reduces work openings available to the population and increases crime (Doña, 2001; Norambuena, 2004).

These images and attitudes about immigrants are fed and shaped by the media (Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002; Igartua, 2013; Igartua, Muñiz, Otero, & de la Fuente, 2007). Studies consistently find that immigrants are framed as being a burden for society and connected with negative issues such as illegality and crime (Subervi, Torres, & Montalvo, 2005). Furthermore, some authors have concluded that the media rhetorically represent immigration with negative labels, such as "invaders" and "floods" (Cisneros, 2008), stereotype them (Correa, 2010a), or connect them with social problems (Igartua & Muñiz, 2004). In Chile, the few studies that exist on the subject have arrived at similar conclusions (Doña, 2001; Norambuena, 2004; Poo, 2009). To date, most studies on media and immigrants conduct content analyses of coverage about immigrants (e.g., Cisneros, 2008; Doña, 2001; Igartua et al., 2007; Igartua & Muñiz, 2004 Subervi et al., 2005). But little research examines how the immigrants perceive their representation in the media and how these images are associated with perceptions of stigmatization.

The media do not spread an innocuous image of immigrants. The media's tendency to simplify the portrayal of minority populations such as immigrants stems partly from a weak social identification with minority groups (Correa, 2010a, 2010b; Heider, 2004. From a social psychology perspective, the tendency to stereotype is a result of the fact that people perceive members of other social groups as less diverse and more stereotypical than the members of their own group, with whom they have more interaction, to whom they pay more attention, and to whom they are exposed to larger numbers of (Linville & Fischer, 1993). So one could argue that for the media of the host countries, immigrants are out-group members, and for the media of the countries of origin, immigrants are in-group members. Thus, the media in receiving countries would portray immigrants in a more simplistic and negative way than the media in the countries of origin.

The stereotypical images of minority groups also have effects on the audience. Cultivation theory suggests that the media determine people's images of the world (Gerbner, 1998). Therefore, exposure to media stereotypes accentuates the prevalence of simplified and stigmatized images in the audience. At the same time, hostile media effect theory predicts that people who are strongly identified with an issue or social group such as immigrants tend to perceive that media coverage is biased against their group (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, & Chia, 2001).

Using the theories of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), cultivation (Gerbner, 1998), and hostile media effect (Gunther et al., 2001) as a framework of analysis, this study examines the relationship between media consumption and perceptions of stigmatization among immigrant populations. Specifically, it (1) examines patterns of media consumption among immigrants and (2) establishes the relationship between the perceptions of negative media coverage and discrimination among foreigners.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This study complements three theories that help us understand the effects of media consumption on minority social groups such as immigrants: the theories of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), cultivation (Gerbner, 1998), and hostile media effects (Gunther et al., 2001). But first we will describe the context of immigration in Chile.

Immigration in Chile

Although Chile, throughout its history, has had considerably higher rates of out-migration than immigration, there has always been an awareness of foreigners in the country. Until the middle of the 20th century, these groups were mainly of European origin—which grew during the two World Wars and the Spanish Civil War—and the national population viewed them as positive and capable of enriching national culture and the economy. But the 1982 census clearly revealed that the arrival of Europeans had stopped, while the country attracted the arrival of groups from Central and South America. Diverse studies reveal a new migration reality: an increase in the flow of immigrants from Latin America (Cano & Soffia, 2009; Cano et al., 2009; Doña, 2001; Martínez, 1997; Martínez et al., 2013; Villa & Martínez, 2001). In 2012, out of the total immigrant population in Chile, 37.8% were Peruvian, 15% were Argentinean, 5.1% were Colombian, and 7.7% were Bolivian, and most say that they arrived in Chile in search of better economic opportunities (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2014).

Research on demography describes this migration trend as an "unprecedented social phenomenon in the country" (Ducci & Rojas, 2010, p. 95), where different groups of immigrants are concentrating in some districts and recovering urban spaces in the capital city. These new groups have generated new demands in different markets, including food and telecommunications among others. Today, the main television cable companies are offering special packages that include, for instance, Peruvian or Colombian channels. The consulates also offer news bulletins targeted toward their national population living in Chile.

This immigration phenomenon has had an effect on the Chilean society. The Latinobarómetro (2007) survey found that, at a regional level, only one-quarter of the population is in favor of immigration, and Chile stands out as one of the most anti-immigration countries in the continent, with only 13% of Chileans favoring immigration. In this same sense, surveys on intolerance and discrimination conducted in the country by Fundación Ideas (Aymerich, Canales, & Vivanco, 2003 found increasing xenophobic feelings toward Bolivians and Peruvians, to such a degree that they evince the highest accumulated discrimination indexes in the region.

Social Identity, Media, and Immigrants

The media frame events and social groups through the inclusion or omission of certain words, images, metaphors, and sentences to eventually offer a point of view (Entman, 1993). Stereotypes are powerful framing devices, and the media are spaces in which stereotypes are reproduced and disseminated. Stereotyping is a mechanism to manage and categorize new information, but it can

generate an unfounded distortion in the perception of different social groups (Hamilton, 1975). As stated by Lippmann (1922), it is difficult and exhausting to describe things in all their complexity, so the media often rely on the use of stereotypes because it is more efficient. From the point of view of professional routines, the media frequently fall into this kind of simplification owing to lack of space and time. From an ideological perspective, cultural hegemonies are also powerful forces that infiltrate media discourses.

The theory of social identity, one of the most relevant in the social psychology of intergroup relationships, establishes that individuals tend to generate important biases in their perceptions of others depending on whether people are in-group members or out-group members. It predicts that there is an in-group bias, in which individuals tend to not only see in-group members as more heterogeneous and less stereotypical but to favor them and discriminate against out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People also apply cultural stereotypes to the self. That is, people's beliefs about their own social group influence how they perceive and treat themselves (e.g., Hogg & Turner, 1987). Interestingly, "minority members are more likely than majority members to stereotype themselves" (Simon & Hamilton, 1994, p. 699).

Applying this theoretical focus, studies have found that (the lack of) social identification on the part of journalists and media with minority groups, such as Hispanics and women, can result in a more biased coverage of those minorities (Correa, 2010a; Correa & Harp, 2011). Due to this bias against out-group members, one could expect that the media of any country would cover immigrants (out-group members) in a less favorable way than the citizens of its own country. In this sense, studies consistently find that the media construct, reproduce, and strengthen stereotypes about social minorities such as immigrants. For example, immigrants are framed as a burden for society and are linked with concepts such as illegality and criminality (Subervi et al., 2005; Van Dijk 2000, 2001). Van Dijk (2001) has established that media information on immigrants tends to be limited to a narrow range of events, such as reception problems; political responses to immigration policies; social problems such as crime, drugs, and violence; and the (often conflicting) response of the population. But even when potentially "neutral" situations are portrayed, they repeatedly tend to take on a negative dimension when referring to the issue of migration as a threat to law, order, and cultural relations.

In other studies on the structure of media discourse, Van Dijk (2000) states that the media play a central role in the diffusion and validation of what he calls "the new racism," in which minorities are not considered to be biologically inferior, but "different"—a concept that does not simply point to the existence of different physical features or a different culture but to the presence of socially punishable behaviors, such as single-parent families, drug use, and reliance on the assistance of social services.

In the United States, scholars have found that the media rhetorically frame the "flow" of immigrants with negative metaphors such as invaders, destructive floodwaters, and pollutants that contaminate American "purity" (Cisneros, 2008). Regarding Mexican immigration, a study revealed that, over time, Mexican immigration was framed as part of the national agenda and became increasingly associated with violence and economic costs for the United States (Johnson, 2003). In studies of European media (the United Kingdom, France, and Italy), the economic consequences of immigration is the most prevalent frame by focusing on labor market, asylum, and fiscal costs (Caviedes, 2015). In Spain, a

country that has seen an increase in xenophobic tendencies after three decades of immigration, an analysis of the coverage of Spanish newscasts and print press (Igartua et al., 2007) found that 66% of the news about immigrants refers to negative and dramatic events. In addition, the news items that linked immigration with crime were given better coverage space, especially in television, which is much more sensationalist than the written media. The authors conclude that the privileged placement of negative news makes immigration more visible, turning a social process into a "problem," while the presentation of decontextualized individual cases can lead public opinion to have a simplistic and stereotyped view of immigrants.

In Chile, the media coverage of immigrants has been underexplored and has been investigated only with qualitative techniques. One study (Doña, 2001) examined the coverage of the press on the migration phenomenon over a period of 11 years. This work stated that the Chilean press linked immigration with five main subjects: the reasons behind immigration (economic crises in the countries of origin vs. the stability of the Chilean economy); the description of migration flows (comparison between the idealized European migration with the conflictive Asian and Latin American migrations); immigration as a problem (the most frequent angle was illegality, marginality, poverty, and episodes of xenophobia and racism toward immigrants); the emergence of new communities (especially Asian and Peruvian); and, finally, migration legislation.

According to this study, the media have treated migration from the perspective of fear, which is reflected in statements such as "foreigners are stealing the work of Chileans" with no supporting evidence. The coverage also included quotations by "public figures" saying that the country is "besieged," "invaded" by an "avalanche of foreigners," principally illegal. The author stated that the media, as expected, do not admit that they discriminate against immigrants, but that those who appear in the media repeatedly offer xenophobic arguments.

Finally, a study by Poo (2009) investigated the "agenda construction" process in relation to immigration in three different national newspapers. She concluded that there is a recurrent presence of immigrants in the crime pages and in news related to problems in the areas of education, housing, and access to health services. The newspapers categorize undocumented people as "illegals," which gives immigrants a status related to criminalization. Although there are also analyses of news that accuses Chilean citizens of "taking advantage of" the vulnerability of undocumented immigrants, the author concludes that the journalistic discourse and editorial lines of the media construct images imageries of the "other frontier people," which are crossed by "prejudices, feelings of superiority, racial whitewashing, and feelings of an Eurocentric world" (Poo, 2009, p. 2).

In short, the vast majority of immigration studies has focused on media coverage of immigrants (e.g., Caviedes, 2015; Cisneros, 2008; Igartua et al., 2007; Subervi et al., 2005). Both international and Chilean literature on the subject has found immigrants to be represented in a stereotypical and negative form. This article, however, aims to step forward by analyzing immigrants' patterns of media use and the effects of this coverage on immigrants' perceptions of media coverage and discrimination.

Media Use Among Immigrants: Cultivation and Hostile Media Effects

Types of media use among immigrants may reveal different levels of integration within the host society (Thompson, 2002), although research has found mixed patterns. For instance, Kim (1978) found that immigrants' use of ethnic media diminishes over time, while use of media from the host country increases. However, other studies have shown a more complex pattern. More-integrated immigrants increase their media use in general, including media from the host country, but they do not necessarily decrease the use of the media from their country of origin. Less-integrated immigrants, on the other hand, are more selective in their media use and tend to rely on their homeland media (e.g., Peters & D'Haenens, 2005).

Patterns of media use among immigrants are relevant because the effects of the images to which immigrants are exposed are not innocuous. Cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1998) suggests that the media are far from having the power to dictate the thoughts of their audiences, although they do have the capacity to socialize or "cultivate" their audiences about the issues they cover. In this way, the media could establish common values, influencing beliefs and cognitive and emotional states regarding the subjects portrayed. Although limited and gradual, the effect on audiences would be cumulative and significant (Gerbner, 1998).

Several cultivation studies have explored how media exposure alters the images people have of certain social groups. For example, several investigations have shown that media consumption affects stereotypical attitudes regarding gender roles (Signorelli, 1989) and simplified visions of racial minorities (Lee, Bichard, Irey, Walt, & Carlson, 2009; Lee & Tse, 1994). Based on the effects of media exposure and framing, Igartua and colleagues (2008) conducted an experimental observation and found that participants exposed to news that framed immigration as crime growth displayed a negative attitude toward immigrants and considered immigration a problem, while those exposed to a more positive outlook, such as the economic contribution of immigrants, tended to have more positive views of them. Another study on the framing effects of immigration coverage conducted in the United States found that people reacted more negatively when news about the costs of immigration portrayed a Latin American immigrant than when it portrayed a European immigrant (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). Furthermore, in the United States, exposure to conservative news channels such as FOX News was related to negative attitudes toward Mexican immigrants, even among liberals (Gil de Zúñiga, Correa, & Valenzuela, 2012).

The hostile media effect theory (Gunther, 1992, 1998; Gunther et al., 2001) proposes that people who are highly involved in an issue or strongly identified with a particular social group tend to perceive that the news coverage of those topics or groups are biased against them. The first experiment published on the subject was conducted by Vallone, Ross, and Lepper (1985), who explored perceptions of media coverage of the Middle East conflict comparing Arab and Israeli students with nonpartisan students. They found that nonpartisans considered that the news was neutral, but the two confronted groups believed that news was biased in favor of the other side. Since then, the theoretical model has been successfully tested with various controversial topics, such as the use of primates in laboratory research, genetically modified organisms, and political issues (e.g., Feldman, 2011; Gunther et al., 2001; Gunther & Liebhart,

2006), suggesting that partisans of different groups tend to evaluate the same news coverage in very different ways. A meta-analysis of the hostile media effect research conducted by Hansen and Kim (2011) reported that studies in various contexts and with a range of issues have been consistent with the theory. As Gunther et al. (2001) describe, "people in a wide variety of social groups—for example, Catholics, born-again Christians, Republicans, Democrats, Hispanics, and African Americans—perceived media coverage to be significantly more unfavorable when it focused on their own group" (p. 297).

With this literature and these theories in mind, we ask the following research question:

RQ1:   What are the media consumption patterns of immigrants?

From social identity theory, it is possible to infer a media coverage bias against out-group members such as minorities (Correa, 2010a, 2010b) or immigrants and a more favorable coverage toward in-group members such as natives. Because in their country of origin, immigrants are natives, those that consume the media of their original country are exposed to more diverse coverage than those who are exposed only to the media of the host country. In addition, hostile media effect theory predicts that audiences who are strongly identified with a social group perceive media coverage as unfavorable toward them. Thus, we test the following hypothesis:

H1:   When immigrants consume the media of the host country (in this case, Chile), they will perceive more negative media coverage of their group. And when they consume media of the country of origin, they will perceive less negative media coverage toward foreigners.

The hostile media perception can be transferred to a negative perception of society or public opinion in general. This is explained by a theoretical concept called "persuasive press inference," which suggests that "individuals often infer public opinion from their perceptions of the content of media coverage" (Gunther et al., 2001, p. 298), because they assume that such content (and media content in general) has a significant influence on others. It is also because people tend to think that the little amount of content they consume is representative of the content that is published in all kinds of media (Gunther, 1998). Finally, they assume that this media content is also consumed by the majority of people.

In sum, cultivation theory predicts that media exposure affects people's worldviews and images of certain social groups, and the persuasive press inference suggests that people extrapolate their perception of media content toward public opinion in general. Thus, we expect that immigrants who consume media of the host country will have not only an unfavorable perception of their representation in the media of the host country but a negative perception about how the host society perceives them. Therefore, we test the following hypothesis:

H2:   When immigrants consume media of the host country (in this case, Chile), they will perceive more social discrimination against them. When immigrants consume media of their countries of origin, they will perceive less discrimination of the host country (in this case, Chile) against foreigners.

Method

To explore immigrants' patterns of media consumption and perceptions of media coverage and discrimination against foreigners, this study relied on a secondary analysis of a face-to-face survey of immigrants conducted by Alianza Comunicación y Pobreza (Communication and Poverty Alliance), a group of universities and nongovernmental organizations that work on poverty policies in Chile.[2] The respondents were all over the age of 18 and had been living in Santiago, Chile, for at least six months. The immigrants belonged to the nationalities that correspond to the migrations into the country according to data provided by the Foreign Affairs and Immigration Department. The survey was carried out between June 15 and July 8, 2012.

Because it is difficult to define a sampling frame in immigrant populations, a quota sampling of 603 cases distributed proportionally according to respondents' nationality was taken. The survey was conducted in the neighborhoods and districts of Santiago where, according to figures of the Ministry of Interior, Latin American immigrants are concentrated.[3] Thus, the interviewers visited these districts and surveyed Latin American immigrants until the quota was completed. The results were weighted according to gender and country of origin, following information on immigrants provided by the Foreign Affairs and Immigration Department for 2011.

Description of Variables

Sociodemographic variables: Age was measured as a continuous variable (M = 35; SD = 11.34), and gender as a dichotomous variable (0 = male; 1 = female). Education was measured by the question "What is your level of education?" Replies included seven categories, ranging from *incomplete basic or primary* to *postgraduate* (M = 3.94; *Mdn* = 4.0; SD = 1.15). The average education level was *complete high school*. Because the survey did not ask about income, possession of material goods was used as a proxy of income. An additive index regarding the possession of 10 material goods was created. Respondents were asked whether they had the following material goods: computer, mobile phone, Internet connection, video camera, current bank account, pool, housekeeping services, car, cable TV, and second house (α = .91; M = 2.71; *Mdn* = 3.0; SD = 1.82). The number of years living in Chile was measured as a continuous variable (M = 5.62; *Mdn* = 4.0; SD = 4.95). We also created a variable of the proportion of years living in Chile by dividing the number of years living in Chile over age (M = 0.16; Mdn = 0.13; SD = 0.13). Proportion of years living in Chile was also included among the control variables, because it is expected that experience in a foreign country can alter immigrants' perceptions of stigmatization in the media. This variable was created because the experience of three years living in Chile for an 18-year-old person is different than three years for a 50-year-old person. Gender, education, and income also acted as control variables in the analysis.

---

[2] The Communication and Poverty Alliance is integrated by the School of Journalism at Diego Portales University, the Foundación para la Superación de la Pobreza (Foundation to Overcome Poverty), AméricaSolidaria (Supportive America), and Avina and Hogar de Cristo.

[3] The districts were Quilicura (18.2%), Recoleta (10.1%), Independencia (8.7%), Estación Central (9.2%), Santiago Centro (7.4%), Pedro Aguirre Cerda (12.8%), and Quinta Normal (6.4%).

Perception of negative media coverage about foreigners: This variable was constructed with an index based on the following question: "In general, using a 1 to 5 scale, in which 1 represents *a very negative image* and 5 *a very positive image*, would you say that the image of foreigners portrayed by the following media is…? The categories were: (1) newspapers, (2) broadcast television, (3) radio, (4) Internet websites, and (5) magazines. The index was constructed based on the average scores in each category (Cronbach's α = .89, *M* = 2.98; *SD* = 0.82).

Perception of discrimination toward foreigners: The perception of discrimination toward foreigners was measured by a 5-point Likert scale, in which 1 = *totally disagree* and 5 = *totally agree*. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "In Chile, being a foreigner is frowned upon" (*M* = 3.14; *SD* = 0.97).

Personal experience with discrimination: The following question was used to measure personal experience of discrimination: "During the time you have been living in Chile, have you been discriminated against?" The response was dichotomous (1 = yes; 0 = no). This variable was used as a control.

Exposure to the media of the country of origin: This exposure variable was created from the combination of two questions: (1) "Normally, do you watch any television channel from your country of origin to keep informed?" (2) "Normally, do you read any newspapers from your country of origin to keep informed?" (1 = yes; 0 = no). (Spearman's Brown coefficient = .50). These two variables were added and then the new variable was recoded as a dummy variable. Thus, those who had answered yes to either of the two questions were coded as 1, and those who had answered no were coded as 0.

Exposure to Chilean media: 97.1% of the sample consumed Chilean media. Only 2.9% of the respondents (18 cases of the sample) said that they were not exposed to any Chilean media (see the Results section). This low number did not allow for statistical comparisons. Given that we wanted to compare those who had been exposed to the media of the country of origin with those who had been exposed to Chilean media, in the bivariate and multivariate analyses, the 18 cases that had not been exposed to Chilean media were eliminated from the sample. Thus, the sample included only people who had been exposed to Chilean media. As a result, the no option to the variable measuring exposure to the media of the country of origin was considered as a default measure of exposure to Chilean media only. Those who answered yes to exposure of the country of origin consumed media from both the original and host countries.

Description of the Sample

The study surveyed 603 immigrants, of which 56% were women and 44% were men. Ages ranged between 18 and 74, with an average age of 35. The participants surveyed had been living in Chile for an average of 5.6 years. No one was visiting the country. The average education level was secondary school graduates or incomplete technical-professional education. Their nationalities were as follows: 65% Peruvian, 14% Colombian, 13% Bolivian, 7% Ecuadoran, and 2% Haitian.

Over half (57%) had immigrated to Chile in search of work, 12% traveled to Chile as tourists and stayed, and 11% moved to Chile to be with their families. Eighty-seven percent were employed, and three out of four respondents sent remittances to their country of origin.

Results

Media Consumption and Stigmatization

Regarding research question 1, which asked about patterns of media consumption among immigrants, the results indicated that 27% of the immigrants were exposed to television and 20% to newspapers of their country of origin. The combination revealed that 35% of immigrants were exposed to media of their country of origin, and 65% were not. The analyses also found that exposure to the media of their original country did not necessarily decrease as years living in Chile increased. About a quarter (24%) of immigrants who had been living in Chile one year or less were exposed to the media of their original country. This percentage increased to 40% for those who had been living in Chile between two and eight years and then decreased to 35% among immigrants who had stayed in Chile nine years or more.

Participants viewed Chilean TV channels as follows: 37% watched Chilevisión, 28% watched Mega, 15% watched TVN, and 12% watched Canal 13. Only 4% said that they did not watch any of these channels. Regarding newspapers, 22% read El Mercurio, 14% read La Cuarta, and 11% read La Tercera. Thirty-four percent said that they did not read newspapers. The combination of exposure to Chilean TV and newspapers revealed that only 2.9% of immigrants were not exposed to Chilean media.

With respect to perceptions of discrimination, most of the immigrants perceived that Chilean newspapers and television promoted negative images of foreigners. The perception of media coverage is different in radio and on the Internet, where about a third of the respondents said that these media promoted a positive image (see Figure 1).
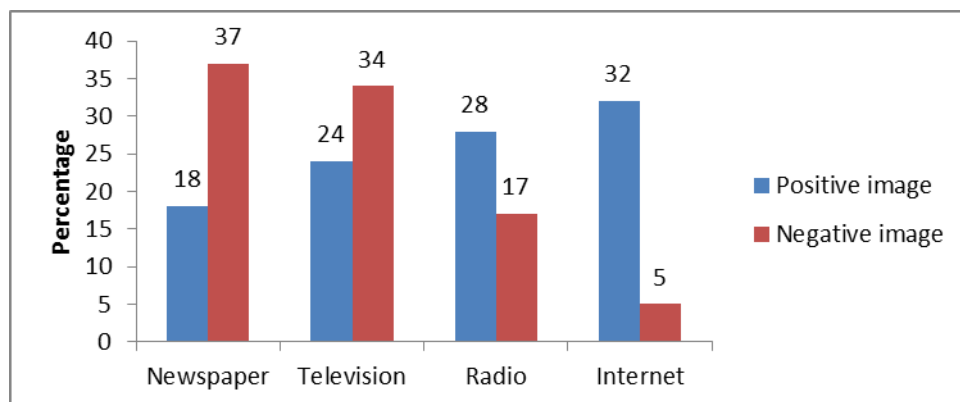

Figure 1. Immigrants' perceptions of coverage about foreigners by type of media (N = 603).

However, almost half (45%) said that being a foreigner in Chile is frowned upon, while 30% disagreed with this statement (the rest neither agreed nor disagreed). Finally, 41% stated that they had suffered discrimination against in Chile (and 59% stated the contrary).

To test hypotheses proposing a relationship between media consumption and perceptions of media coverage and discrimination against foreigners, two types of analyses were carried out: a difference of means test (*t* test) and a multiple regression.[4] The purpose of the multiple regression was to test the relation between media consumption and perceptions of discrimination, controlling for sociodemographic factors, proportion of years living in Chile, and the possibility of having had a personal experience of discrimination.

The difference of means test reveals that the immigrants exposed to the media of the host country have a significantly higher perception that these media portray foreigners negatively compared to the immigrants exposed to the media of the country of origin. They also have a higher perception that foreigners suffer discrimination (see Figure 2).
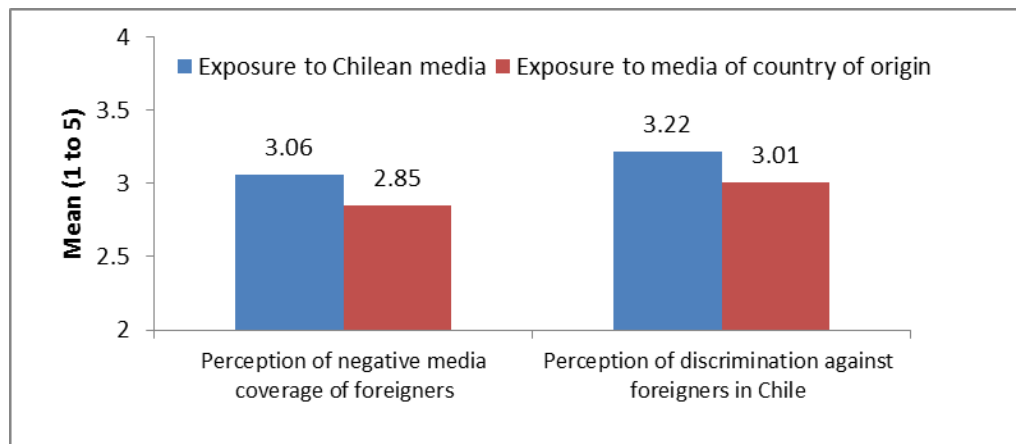

Figure 2. Means of those who consume media of their country of origin
(n = 457, t = 2.79) and those who do not (n = 572, t = 2.29). p ≤ .01, one-tailed test.

For a more rigorous analysis, we conducted a multiple regression that controls for factors that might affect perceptions of stigmatization in the media and perceptions of discrimination against foreigners. We controlled for gender, income, education, the proportion of years that immigrants had spent in Chile compared to their age, and whether they had been victims of personal discrimination. The analyses revealed that, among the control variables, men were more likely to perceive negative media

---

[4] In the bivariate and multivariate analyses, the 18 people who had not been exposed to Chilean media were eliminated from the sample, and the no option to the variable measuring exposure to the media of the country of origin was considered as a default measure of exposure to Chilean media.

coverage, and women tended to perceive more discrimination against immigrants. The results also revealed that immigrants who had personal experiences of discrimination were less likely to perceive negative media coverage but more likely to perceive discrimination toward foreigners.

Regarding the hypotheses, the analyses revealed that the relation between media consumption and perceptions of stigmatization remained the same. As shown in Table 1, consumption of media of the country of origin (versus media of the host country) resulted in lower perceptions of negative media coverage of foreigners and lower perceptions that immigrants are victims of discrimination, and vice versa. Therefore, both hypotheses were supported.

Table 1. Multiple Regression of Media Consumption Factors
Related to Perceptions of Discrimination in the Media and in Real Life.

	Linear regression: perception of negative media coverage of foreigners		Linear regression: perception of discrimination against foreigners in Chile	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	β	β	β	β
Block 1: Control variables				
Education (continuous)	−.03	−.02	−.01	−.003
Income (continuous)	−.09	−.08	−.07	−.05
Gender (1 = female)	−.14***	−.14**	.12**	.12**
Proportion of years in Chile (continuous)	−.001	−.001	.05	.05
Experience of discrimination (1 = yes)	−.19***	−.18***	.12**	.13**
Block 2: Media variable				
Exposure to media of country of origin (1 = yes; 0 = default measure of exposure to Chilean media)	—	−.11*	—	−.09*
R^2	5.3%***	6.4%***	3.6%**	4.3%***
N	456	456	571	571

* $p \leq .05$, two-tailed. ** p ≤ .01, two-tailed. *** $p \leq .001$, two-tailed.

Discussion and Conclusion

Given the current relevance of migration movements and how media representation of foreigners pervades discourses and attitudes toward them, it is important to study the relationship between media consumption and perceptions of media coverage and discrimination. Most immigration studies investigate how media frame immigration by reproducing and spreading negative and stereotypical images of immigrants (e.g., Caviedes, 2015; Cisneros, 2008; Doña, 2001; Igartua et al., 2007; Poo, 2009). The few studies that have explored the effects of these images on the audience have found a negative effect on its members (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Igartua & Cheng, 2009). This study went a step further. In addition to strengthening the literature that explores how exposure to certain media can affect audience attitudes, it analyzed how immigrants themselves perceive their representation in the media and how these media images affect perceptions of stigmatization toward their own group. On the basis of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), cultivation (Gerbner, 1998), and hostile media effect (Gunther et al., 2001) theories, we investigated media consumption patterns and explored to what extent the media consumption of the host country (in this case, Chile) versus the country of origin is related to perceptions of negative media coverage and perceptions of discrimination toward foreigners.

First, the results revealed that almost all immigrants consumed media from the host country (only 2.9% did not consume Chilean media) and one-third consumed media from the country of origin. The results also indicated that more years in the host country was related to a more diverse media exposure, which includes an increase in the exposure to media from one's home country. This diverse media exposure is in line with previous findings, which have suggested that more-integrated immigrants increase their media use in general, including media from the host and original countries (Peters & D'Haenens, 2005). Although research has linked immigrants' media consumption with levels of assimilation (e.g., Kim, 1978; Peters & D'Haenens, 2005; Thompson, 2002), we cannot assume this relationship in this case, because it is also possible that immigrants are consuming only the media available to them. Although there is a sizable market of cable TV packages targeted toward Latin American immigrants, the ethnic media market has not fully developed. Future research should investigate this emerging media market and immigrant audience in Latin America, where migration processes are increasing.

Regarding attitudes toward media coverage—the discovery of which was our main purpose-—we found that immigrants perceived that Chilean newspapers and television promoted negative images of them, but they did not perceive the same for radio and the Internet. Probably, this is related to the number of voices that participate in each media industry. In Chile, two large conglomerates dominate the press market and four national networks dominate the television markets, but radio and the Internet are much more fragmented and niche-oriented. Thus, the immigrants perceive a more negative coverage in industries that have fewer voices and, therefore, a more hegemonic discourse, in which immigrants represent the "other" or out-group members. At the same time, immigrants have more possibilities to choose from the Internet and radio and get exposed to content and discourses with which they may feel a closer identification.

As established in the first hypothesis, the results found that consuming media from the country of origin is related to lower perceptions of negative media coverage. On the other hand, consuming media from the host country, like Chile, is related to higher perceptions of negative media coverage. These differences in perception, depending on the origin of the media, were maintained even when controlling for sociodemographic factors such as gender, age, and education as well as for the proportion of years living in Chile and for personal experiences with discrimination.

From social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), one can assert that the media of the host country (i.e., the Chilean media) tend to reproduce more stereotypes regarding Peruvian, Colombian, Bolivian, Ecuadoran, and other Latin American immigrants. This may be due to the existence of a weaker social identification and less social contact with this group (Correa, 2010b; Tajfel & Turner 1986). Therefore, the professional cultures, routines, and ideologies available tend to adopt hegemonic discourses that stereotype and simplify the minority social group. On the contrary, the media of the country of origin would portray their citizens as more diverse and heterogeneous because they have more contact and social identification with them. So those immigrants who continue to be exposed to the media of their country of origin will perceive the media coverage as less negative. Also, hostile media effect theory (e.g., Gunther et al., 2001) suggests that people who have a strong identification with a group tend to perceive a negative media portrayal toward them. Thus, immigrants who are more exposed to the Chilean media would perceive a society that portrays them negatively and stereotypically.

The results also indicate that media consumption is elated not only to perceptions of media coverage but to a perception of discrimination. Cultivation theory suggests that media consumption affects perceptions of reality (Gerbner, 1998), and research conducted by Gunther and colleagues (e.g., 1998, 2001) poses that people infer public opinion from their perceptions of media they consume. Thus, we found that exposure to Chilean media (versus media from the country of origin) is associated with higher levels of perception of discrimination against foreigners. In other words, if an immigrant consumes Chilean media, which tend to portray foreigners in a negative light, the immigrant will tend to believe that immigrants are discriminated against, even though this person might not have experienced discrimination personally. The opposite also occurs: If foreigners consume the media of their country of origin, they will tend to perceive that they are less discriminated against.

Unexpectedly, we found that one of the control variables—personal experience of discrimination—had a negative relationship with perceptions of negative media coverage and a positive association with perceptions of discrimination. Although the latter result is expected, the former seems counterintuitive. However, it is possible that the experience of discrimination in real life is so much more negative than the one perceived by media content that immigrants who have lived such experiences do not consider the media content as negative as their vivid experiences.

The literature has shown that in societies in which stereotyping of minority groups is deeply rooted, the effects of stereotypes influence not only how society in general sees the world but the perceptions of reality among the members of those minority groups; and these perceptions generate self-stereotypes (e.g., Hogg & Turner, 1987; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). Therefore, immigrants who are consistently exposed to negative ideas of themselves might become prone to self-stigmatization.

In a context in which interaction between cultures and nationalities will intensify, as indicated by research about immigration issues (Cano et al., 2009), it will become increasingly necessary to understand how the different groups are perceived and the role played by the media in the integration process.

This study relies on a secondary data analysis of a face-to-face survey conducted among immigrants by a group of institutions that work on poverty policies. Thus, we had to work with the available measures. Many variables were measured at the nominal rather than continuous level. Therefore, the possibilities of analyses were restricted to the available questions. Future research could explore similar relationships using frequency of exposure to Chilean media and media from the country of origin. These better measures would likely lead to stronger associations. Also, further analyses should improve the measures of the constructs of perception of discrimination toward foreigners and personal experience of discrimination by creating multiple-item scales and not relying on a single item. Finally, research on the topic could include psychological variables as moderators or controls.

In any case, this article represents progress in various respects: First, we studied the effect of media consumption on the construction of stereotypes from the perspective of the audience—particularly from the perspective of a minority group, such as immigrants in Chile. From a theoretical perspective, this work applied the theory of social identity to the creation of stereotyped visions on the part of the media. It also complemented this social psychology theory with cultivation theory to analyze how the media's stigmatizing view pervades their audiences.

Finally, in terms of methodology, a face-to-face survey of 603 people was carried out. Although this is not a representative survey, given the impossibility of identifying its sampling framework, it represents a step forward in the understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of an increasingly important social group.

References

Amnistía Internacional. (2015, March 20). *Immigrants in Chile: Toward a country without discrimination.* Retrieved from http://amnistia.cl/web/noticia/inmigrantes-en-chile-hacia-un-pais-sin-discriminacion/

Aymerich, J., Canales, M., & Vivanco, M. (2003). *Tercera encuesta sobre tolerancia y discriminación: Informe y Análisis* [Third survey on tolerance and discrimination: Report and analysis]. Ideas Foundation and Department of Sociology, University of Chile. Retrieved from http://www.libros.uchile.cl/240

Brader, T., Valentino, N. A., & Suhay, E. (2008). What triggers public opposition to immigration? Anxiety, group cues and immigration threat. *American Journal of Political Science*, *52*(4), 959–978. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00353.x

Cano, M. V., & Soffia, M. (2009). Los estudios sobre migración internacional en Chile: apuntes y comentarios para una agenda de investigación actualizada [Studies on international migration in Chile: Notes and feedback for an updated research agenda]. *Papeles de Población, 6.* Santiago, Chile: CEPAL. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?pid=S1405-74252009000300007&script=sci_arttext

Cano, M. V., Soffia, M., & Martínez, J. (2009). Conocer para legislar y hacer política: los desafíos de Chile ante un nuevo escenario migratorio [Knowing to legislate and do politics: The challenges of Chile on a new migration scenario]. *Serie Población y Desarrollo, 88.* Santiago, Chile: CEPAL. Retrieved from http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/7228/S0900516.pdf?sequence=1

Caviedes, A. (2015). An emerging "European" news portrayal of immigration? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(6), 897–917. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002199

Cisneros, J. A. (2008). Contaminated: The metaphor of ''immigrant as pollutant'' in media representations of immigration. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, *11*(4), 569–601. doi:10.1353/rap.0.0068

Correa, T. (2010a). Framing Latinas: Hispanic women through the lenses of Spanish-language and English-language news media. *Journalism*, *11*(4), 425–443. doi:10.1177/1464884910367597

Correa, T. (2010b). Latino reporters' ethnic identification with sources affects newspaper content. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *31*(3), 75.

Correa, T., & Harp, D. (2011). Women matter in newsrooms: How power and critical mass relate to the coverage of the HPV vaccine. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 88*(2), 301–319. doi:10.1177/107769901108800205

Doña, C. (2001). *Percepción de la inmigración reciente en Chile* [Perception of recent immigration in Chile] (Thesis). Sociology School at University of Chile, Santiago, Chile.

Ducci, M. E., & Rojas, L. (2010). La pequeña Lima: Nueva cara y vitalidad para el centro de Santiago de Chile [The small Lima: New face and vitality of downtown Santiago]. *EURE* (Santiago), *36*(108), 95–121. doi:10.4067/S0250-71612010000200005

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

Feldman, L. (2011). Partisan differences in opinionated news perceptions: A test of the hostile media effect. *Political Behavior, 33*(3), 407–432. doi:10.1007/s11109-010-9139-4

Gerbner, G. (1998). Cultivation analysis: An overview. *Mass Communication and Society, 1*(3/4), 175–194. doi:10.1080/15205436.1998.9677855

Gil de Zúñiga, H., Correa, T., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Selective exposure to cable news and immigration in the U.S.: The relationship between FOX News, CNN, and attitudes toward Mexican immigrants. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *56*(4), 597–615. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.732138

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). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gunther, A. C. (1992). Biased press or biased public? Attitudes toward media coverage of social groups. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *56*(2), 147–167. doi:10.1086/269308

Gunther, A. C. (1998). The persuasive press inference effects of mass media on perceived public opinion. *Communication Research, 25*(5), 486–504. doi:10.1177/009365098025005002

Gunther, A. C., Christen, C. T., Liebhart, J., & Chia, C.-Y. S. (2001). Congenial public, contrary press, and biased estimates of the climate of opinion. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *65*, 295–320. doi:10.1086/322846

Gunther, A. C., & Liebhart, J. L. (2006). Broad reach or biased source? Decomposing the hostile media effect. *Journal of Communication*, *56*(3), 449–466. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00295.x

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). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hansen, G. J., & Kim, H. (2011). Is the media biased against me? A meta-analysis of the hostile media effect research. *Communication Research Reports, 28*(2), 169–179. doi:10.1080/08824096.2011.565280

Heider, D. (Ed.). (2004). *Class and news*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hogg M. A., & Turner J. C. (1987). Intergroup behaviour, self-stereotyping and the salience of social categories. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *26*, 325–340.

Igartua, J. J. (2013). Attitudinal impact and cognitive channelling of immigration stereotypes through the news. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social, 68*, 599–621. doi:10.4185/RLCS-2013-992en

Igartua, J. J., & Muñiz, C. (2004). Encuadres noticiosos e inmigración: un análisis de contenido de la prensa y televisión españolas [Immigration and newsframes: A content analysis of the Spanish press and television]. *Zer, Revista de Estudios de Comunicación*, *9*(16), 87–104.

Igartua, J. J., Muñiz, C., Otero J., & de la Fuente, M. (2007). El tratamiento informativo de la inmigración en los medios de comunicación españoles. Un análisis de contenido desde la Teoría del Framing

[The informative treatment of immigration in the Spanish media: A content analysis from the framing theory]. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico, 13*, 91–110.

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 socio-cognitive impact of news on immigration]. *Revista de Psicología Social*, *23*(1), 3–16.

Igartua, J. J., & Cheng, L. (2009). Moderating effect of group cue while processing news on immigration. Is framing effect a heuristic process? *Journal of Communication*, *59*(4), 726–749. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01454.x

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. (2014). *Actualización de Proyecciones de Población (2002–2020)* [Updated population projections (2002–2020)]. Retrieved from http://www.ine.cl/canales/sala_prensa/revistaseconomicas/presentaciones/pdf/proyecciones_poblacion_2014.pdf

Johnson, K. R. (2003). *Mixed race America and the law: A reader*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Kim, Y. (1978). A communication approach to the acculturation process: A study of Korean immigrants in Chicago. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 2*(2), 197–224.

Latinobarómetro. (2007). Oportunidades de Integración Regional II [Opportunities for regional integration II]. Retrieved from http://www.latinobarometro.org/docs/OportunidadesDeIntegracionIICAFLimaPeru_Abril_16_2008.pdf

Lee, M., Bichard, S., Irey, M., Walt, H., & Carlson, A. (2009). Television viewing and ethnic stereotypes: Do college students form stereotypical perceptions of ethnic groups as a result of heavy television consumption? *Howard Journal of Communication, 20*(1), 95–110. doi:10.1080/10646170802665281

Lee, W-N., & Tse, D. K. (1994). Changing media consumption in a new home: Acculturation patterns among Hong Kong immigrants to Canada. *Journal of Advertising*, *23*(1), 57–70. doi:10.1080/00913367.1994.10673431

Linville P. W., & Fischer G. W. (1993). Exemplar and abstraction models of perceived group variability and stereotypicality. *Social Cognition, 11*(1), 92–125. doi:10.1521/soco.1993.11.1.92

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Martínez, J. (1997). Situación y tendencias de la migración internacional en Chile [Status and trends of international migration in Chile]. *Serie B, 120*. Retrieved from http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/7388/S9700062_es.pdf?sequence=1

Martínez, J., Soffia, M., Franco, J. D. C., & Bortolotto, I. (2013). Migración internacional en Chile: tendencias, políticas, normas y participación de la sociedad civil [International migration in Chile: Trends, policies, norms and participation of civil society]. In L. M. Chiarello (Ed.), *Las políticas públicas sobre migraciones y la sociedad civil en América Latina* [The public policies on immigration and civil society in Latin America] (pp. 118–242). New York, NY: Scalabrini International Migration Network.

Norambuena, C. (2004). Chile y sus nuevos inmigrantes: Ni acogidos ni rechazados [Chile and its new immigrants: Neither welcomed nor rejected]. *Revista Universitaria, 85*, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Retrieved from http://www.bcn.cl/carpeta_temas/temas_portada.2006-05-16.1264867506/documentos_pdf.2006-05-16.5645522940/archivos_pdf.2006-05-16.4906319450/archivo1

Peters, A. L., & D'Haenens, L. (2005). Bridging or bonding? Relationships between integration and media use among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. *Communications*, *30*, 201–231. doi:10.1515/comm.2005.30.2.201

Poo, X. (2009). Imaginarios sobre inmigración peruana en la prensa escrita chilena: una mirada a la instalación de la agenda de la diferencia [Imaginaries on Peruvian immigration in the Chilean press: A look at the installation of the agenda of the difference]. *Revista Faro, 5,* 9. Faculty of Humanities, University of Playa Ancha, Valparaiso, Chile. Retrieved from http://web.upla.cl/revistafaro/n09/pdf/art03.pdf

Signorelli, N. (1989). Television and conceptions about sex roles: Maintaining conventionality and the status quo. *Sex Roles*, *21*(5–6), 337–356.

Simon B., & Hamilton D. L. (1994). Self-stereotyping and social context: The effects of relative in-group size and in-group status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66*(4), 699–711. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.66.4.699

Stefoni, C. (2004). Inmigración y ciudadanía: la formación de comunidades peruanas en Santiago y la emergencia de nuevos ciudadanos [Immigration and citizenship: The formation of Peruvian communities in Santiago and the emergence of new citizens]. *Política*, *43.* 319–335. Retrieved from http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=64504313

Subervi, F., Torres, J., & Montalvo, D. (2005). *Network brownout report 2005: The portrayal of Latinos and Latino issues on network television news, 2004 with a retrospect to 1995*. Washington DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists.

Tajfel, H., & Turner J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relation*s (pp. 7–24), Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Thompson, K. (2002). Border crossing and diasporic identities: Media use and leisure practices of an ethnic minority. *Qualitative Sociology, 25*(3), 409–418. doi:10.1023/A:1016038114625

Vallone, R. P., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1985). The hostile media phenomenon: Biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the Beirut massacre. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *49*(3), 577. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.49.3.577

Van Dijk, T. (2000). New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In S. Cottle (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media* (pp. 33–49). Milton Keynes, 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. 145–149). Oxford. UK: Blackwell.

Villa, M., & Martínez, J. (2001). El mapa migratorio internacional de América Latina y el Caribe: patrones, perfiles, repercusiones e incertidumbres [International migration map of Latin America and the Caribbean: Patterns, profiles, effects and uncertainties]. Santiago de Chile: *CEPAL*, 1-28.