

Visual Representation of Migrant Women in the Chilean National Press

Representación visual de las mujeres migrantes en la prensa nacional chilena

Anna Ivanova¹ & Lucero Burón Rodríguez²

ABSTRACT

Media representation is crucial because all knowledge of political and social issues is inevitably and inherently mediated. The main objective of this article is to analyze the visual representation of migrant women during the period 2015-2019 in three Chilean newspapers: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, and *Publimetro*. To achieve this objective, a corpus of 705 photographs published in these newspapers was examined using visual analysis methodology. The results show that migrant women are visually circumscribed within larger collectives, during travel, transit, and border crossings; at times they are also depicted in relation to work and housing, as well as their country of origin and these representations often involve racialized markers; and, in some cases, portray them from a maternal or wife role. Thus, it is concluded that these visual representations position migrant women as another passive individuals without agency.

Keywords: 1. migrant women, 2. national press, 3. photographs, 4. Chile, 5. Latin America.

RESUMEN

La representación mediática es crucial debido a que todo el conocimiento de los temas políticos y sociales está inevitable e inherentemente mediado. El objetivo principal de este artículo es analizar la representación visual de las mujeres migrantes durante 2015-2019 en tres periódicos chilenos: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera* y *Publimetro*. Para lograr este objetivo se examinó un corpus de 705 fotografías publicadas en estos periódicos con una metodología de análisis visual. Los resultados demuestran que las mujeres migrantes son visualmente circunscritas a colectivos mayores: al viaje, tránsito y cruce de fronteras; en ocasiones también son representadas con el trabajo y la vivienda, con su país de origen y con marcaciones racializadas; y, en otras, a través del rol maternal o de esposa. Así, se concluye que estas representaciones visuales posicionan a la mujer migrante como otro sujeto pasivo sin capacidad de agenciamiento.

Palabras clave: 1. mujeres migrantes, 2. prensa nacional, 3. fotografía, 4. Chile, 5. América Latina.

Date received: November 25, 2021

Date accepted: June 2, 2022

Original version (Spanish) published online: September 30, 2023

Translation (English) published online: January 25, 2024

¹ Universidad de O'Higgins, Chile, anna.ivanova@uoh.cl, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9019-6101>

² Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile, lpaz.rodriguez9@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6028-9577>



INTRODUCTION³

Migration is a global and historical reality (Soto-Almela & Alcaraz-Mármol, 2017) that, according to different national and local contexts, involves particular phenomena. When it comes to Chile, migratory mobilizations have been recorded for a long time: the first immigrants were the Spanish colonizers, followed by Italian, German, Yugoslavian, Arab, and Asian settlers, among others (Cano & Soffia, 2009). However, these flows of a silent nature did not give rise to any large-scale debate that presented immigrants as a multidimensional problem; their emergence on the national scene was rather perceived in terms of their cultural and economic contribution to the country (Cano & Soffia, 2009). This, however, changed during the 1990s—by the end of the military dictatorship in Chile—, when an increase in intraregional and border immigration from countries such as Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina became noticeable (Stefoni, 2007), and then during the first 15 years of the 21st century, when, as a result of a series of economic, political, and social crises, migration flows from countries such as Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, and Haiti added to the list (Palominos, 2016; Rojas et al., 2016). Thus, one of the elements in conflict when studying migration phenomena in Chile would be the country of origin of migrants, which would bring in an additional element to the configuration of otherness with respect to national identity (Stefoni, 2016).

According to the results of the 2017 Census, the foreign population in Chile corresponded to 4.4% of the country's total, or 746 465 international immigrants, of which 50.6% (377 023) corresponded to women and 44.9% (368 749) to men (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [INE], 2017). This increase impacted public discourse. Already in 2016, the report *La migración en Chile: breve reporte y caracterización* (Migration in Chile: A Brief Report and Characterization) warned that the idea spread among public opinion that the “country was flooded by migrants” (Rojas Pedemonte & Silva Dittborn, 2016, 10)—although statistics would prove the opposite—, a perception that became more acute over time. Currently, a report conducted by CADEM (2021) detected that 56% of the total of its respondents consider that the arrival of immigrants to the country is not good.

Parallel to this, in the last presidential terms, those of Bachelet (2014-2018), and Piñera (2018-2021), the concern for the migration phenomenon was evident even if from contrasting approaches, both to political programs and discourse. In the government of President Bachelet, from an inclusive perspective, presidential instructions were issued focusing on approaching migration as a multidimensional phenomenon, that needed to be addressed by the different public services; in addition, she promoted a migration bill, which however did not advance in its legislative process. On the other hand, during the government of President Piñera, emphasis was placed on the concepts of security, regularity, and control, initially materialized through Presidential Decrees that modified the forms of access and permanence in the country, and later in the new Law 21.325

³ This article was funded by the Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo (ANID) (FONDECYT Project 11180178), for which Anna Ivanova is Head of Research.

on Migration and Foreigners enacted on April 20, 2021 (Law 21.325 of 2021). These demographic, social, and political changes caused a nationwide discussion which reflected in the media.

In view of this, it becomes interesting how the media represent, communicate, and construct certain social images on migration and migrant subjects, since they are one of the main sources of information and provision of meaning, production of social reality, source of knowledge, for the elite and civil society in general (Ivanova & Jocelin-Almendras, 2021; McCombs & Evatt, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Verón, 1994). Thus, by highlighting some aspects over others, the media influence the way people think about certain issues, enabling the privilege of hegemonic voices by being sources from which to learn prejudices and forms of discrimination (Hall, 2010; Van Dijk, 2005).

As for the general representations of migration in the media, these are associated with negative and conflictive aspects of it. That is, there are certain ideas in the collective imaginary such as: immigrants take away jobs, immigrants saturate public services, immigrants bring diseases, immigrants collapse the system, immigrants generate crises, immigrants are invading the country, among others (Cárcel Fernando, 2015; Contrucci et al., 2009).

In the particular case of immigrant women, their gender, their status as foreigners and, in many cases, their irregular migratory situation, make them multidimensionally more vulnerable. Analyses on their visual representation in the press agree in that they tend to be made invisible, depersonalized, or rather presented from their vulnerability and marginality (Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008), “ignoring the itineraries of autonomy and independence that many of these women harbor when they decide to emigrate from closed societies” (Suarez Villegas, 2013, p. 13). In the Chilean case, works on the representation of female migration in the media are practically nonexistent. In this regard, the contribution made on the analysis of the representation of immigrant women in Chilean soap operas stands out, where it can be seen that the imaginary of immigrant women is associated with sexualization, antagonism and victimization (Gallegos Krause, 2019).

That said, the main objective of this paper is to analyze the visual representation of immigrant women in the Chilean print media in three newspapers of nation-wide circulation: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, and *Publímetro* between the years 2015 and 2019. Through the analysis of photographic content and image captions, this research provides empirical evidence on the visual representation of immigrant women in three Chilean media outlets, thus going on a research path little explored in the country, important in terms of how public, political, and social discourses and perceptions about female migration in Chile are constructed. This study is doubly important in the current context of hatred, violence, and exacerbation of extreme nationalism in the country, such as the acts committed against migrants and their families on September 25, 2021 in the city of Iquique, northern border of Chile (González, 2021).

CURRENT STATE OF THE DISCUSSION

There are three main characteristics to contemporary migration flows in Chile: a) they are interregional (south-south migrations), taking place in scenarios of socio-political, economic, and environmental crises; b) they have a racial component that disrupts national identity (racialization); and c) they are characterized by their feminization, the latter understood in the framework of the entry of women into the local and global labor market (Stefoni, 2016; Stefoni & Fernández, 2011; Tijoux Merino, 2011). For some authors, these characteristics mark a new way of understanding migration in Chile and, therefore, a new way of relating to otherness from a whitened national identity (Tijoux Merino, 2011; Tijoux Merino & Palominos Mandiola, 2015).

These new patterns of mobility and settlement (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013) occur in unequal scenarios, and under structural conditions that either enable or hinder the inclusion of various types of migrant populations, establishing patterns of mobility and settlement that define which migrant groups are the allowed or denied entry. To this end, it is useful to take into account the contribution of studying border policies to this whole analysis (Stefoni et al., 2019), precisely because such a study allows us to observe how the typological construction of the immigrant is particular, and not generalizable in terms of economic, political and historical conditioning factors that determine who are good and bad migrants, who can belong to the national community, and what position they will occupy within the social hierarchy system.

Despite acknowledging these differences, when representing migrants there is a tendency towards generalization mechanisms that contribute to a stereotyped display of the other, which are strongly produced and reproduced in the media. In this regard, Appadurai (2007) mentions that discourses on others are scrutinized in everyday life due to the dissemination of ideas in which racism, demographics, and social stereotypes are articulated as evidence, and consolidated through media campaigns, performances, rumors, all of which contribute to imagining the other from an ideological and multidimensional construction that generates a consensus on him/her as an enemy.

Thus, the figure of the migrant appears symbolically and analogically associated with his/her exclusion and subordinate position, as a form of hegemonic representation that fulfills a knowledge function (Abrić, 1991). The term (in)migrant designates a social condition that in itself is thought of in exclusionary terms, in a position of social, cultural, and economic inferiority as a stigmatized individual (Correa Téllez, 2016; Tijoux Merino & Palominos Mandiola, 2015) who lacks agency, that is, lacking power to influence, who fulfills a passive role as a spectator in the society in which he/she is inserted (Cuadrado Vertel et al., 2013), where the migrant is defined as a radical outsider (Santos Herceg, 2012). In other words, as the one who is perceived in opposition to the homogeneous national *us*, the one who is defined outside the margins of the senses of belonging of the “contemporary, whitewashed, Eurocentric, free-market and Catholic-conservative ‘Chilean identity’” (Rojas Pedemonte et al., 2015, p. 2). Thus, the national/foreign dichotomy is sustained (Liberona Concha, 2015), as part of national conformations of otherness (Briones, 2005; Segato, 2007), and as markers of foreignness (Restrepo, 2020, 2022).

Thus, when analyzing the forms of representation of otherness, it was observed how typologies are constructed to categorize, symbolize, and stigmatize the other, typologies that tend to make the particular aspects of the other's identity disappear, as in the case of migrant women represented in the press. Van Dijk (2005) argues that, as citizens, individuals obtain most of their knowledge about the social, political, and general facts of the world from the information they hear, read, and see on a daily basis. In this context, the media are considered as “spaces of ideological reproduction and legitimization of reality” (Crespo Fernández, 2008, p. 45), that is, they not only assume the role of sources of information and public space for the expression of opinions, but are also the main entity of ideological reproduction (Van Dijk, 2005) and “powerful spaces of social legitimization” (Villalobos, 2009, p. 4).

In Chile, studies on the representation of migrants in the written press have focused—mainly—on border migration between Chile-Bolivia and Peru (Arévalo Salinas, 2014; Browne Sartori & Romero Lizama, 2010; Liberona Concha, 2015; Mayorga Rogel & León Pino, 2007; Póo Figueroa, 2009). Although written and non-visual discourses are analyzed, they share the idea that the print media have contributed to the creation of stereotypes through the negative representation of otherness, reproducing and affirming the national/foreign dichotomy, as a reflection of a historical correlate that has reinforced the interethnic conflict between bordering countries, as well as the promotion of extreme discourses ranging from paternalistic compassion to the criminalization of the immigrant (Póo Figueroa, 2009). On the other hand, some works highlight the way in which the media in Chile have contributed to the ideological reproduction of migration as a social problem that encompasses poverty, crime, illegality, among other factors (Stefoni & Brito, 2019), as well as the biased association between migration and the pandemic, and the reproduction of racist discourses in the media (Póo Figueroa, 2020).

When it comes to the representation of migrant women in the international press, studies have approached it from the media analysis taking into account the categories of nationality, roles, social relations, visual context, personification, contact with the camera, and headline analysis (Aierbe, 2008; Castagnani & Colorado, 2009; Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008; Pérez, 2003). These studies agree that “the media construct certain representations or social images of immigration” (Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008, p. 170), which echo the ways in which migrations unfold in each of the countries involved. In addition, such studies refer to the construction of images as an ideological process (Wilmott, 2017), mediated by the ideas, trends, and editorial lines of the media. This is why the representation of immigrants in the press, particularly those of women, will always be subject to an intentionality of representation.

Also, the aforementioned studies agree that migrants are presented as masculine others, and that women are subsumed in this exercise, since their image emerges by associating them with situations of vulnerability, processes, work, and family, *depersonalizing* them or presenting them as always related to the masculine other, whether that be children, partners, and/or authorities. This is why understanding the role played by the representation of migrant women is crucial, since the mechanisms to produce *subalternation* of women crystallize male dominance in society, widening the distances between *us* and *the other* (Lube Guizardi et al., 2018).

This summary shows how the representation of migrants—particularly that of women—is associated with the position they occupy within the hierarchy, revitalizing the relations of social domination/subordination (Stefoni & Fernández, 2011) that are added to the administrative situation in the place of destination and to the generational condition, altogether with the meanings that the society of destination imposes on women according to their origin and position within the racialization system (Thayer, 2011). It is precisely in this area of definitions where this study is positioned, addressing how the press attributes meaning to migrant women based on their nationality, roles, relationships, and actions, and how this meaning is constructed through photographic images.

This is why photography is part of each article, as it complements the idea of the written text. Psychological studies have shown that individuals can remember 80% of what they see, but only 30% of what they read and 10% of what they hear (Batziou, 2011). Images are powerful framing tools because they are less intrusive than words and, as such, require less cognitive focus (Rodríguez & Dimitrova, 2011). This may be not only because images, like photographs, appear closer to reality, but also because they have the power to create stronger immediate emotional cues. Due to their high attraction value, images seen on a page, website, or screen, provide the first impression of a story and are easily remembered (Rodgers & Thorson, 2000).

Likewise, images, in addition to staying in memory longer than words, can also be recalled more quickly (Wardle, 2007). Therefore, photographs in newspapers are an important part of how an individual interprets the news and constructs his or her own opinions (Wilmott, 2017). According to Burgin (1982), photographs are instantly and naturally decoded, and their choice for an article is not random, but rather depending largely on the photographer and the editor. Hall (2010) confirms that, although news photographs appear as objective and natural representations of the real world, the selection of an image for news is a highly ideological procedure that will be influenced by the originality, polemic value, and importance of each news item. In the case of a newspaper photograph, first, its meaning depends on the photographer, who creates his or her own interpretations of the events and the individuals he or she chooses to place in front of the camera (Hamilton, 1997). Then, this meaning is enhanced by the editor, who chooses a photograph and places it alongside the text of the article. Thus, photographic and visual representations are never neutral and largely obey human decisions (Wilmott, 2017).

METHODOLOGY

This paper presents a qualitative content analysis aimed at answering the research question on how photographic images published in three Chilean print media portray immigrant women. The first step consisted in the selection of the corpus, consisting of three Chilean newspapers: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, and *Publímetro*, which were chosen for the following reasons: *El Mercurio*, and *La Tercera* are the newspapers represented by the most important press houses in Chile, which are El Mercurio S. A. P., and Copesa S. A. (Gronemeyer & Porath, 2017). Both newspapers have a seven-day nationwide circulation and are available in print and online for a fixed fee. Both follow a formal writing style, a long-article format and cover a wide range of topics—from politics to sports—.

On the other hand, *Publimetro* is a free newspaper, distributed weekly at the entry points of the Santiago subway, reaching wide to different sectors of the population. This medium follows a less formal writing style and its articles contain less written text. *Publimetro* does not belong to any of the aforementioned media houses, nor is affiliated with any political party. Thus, the three media reach differentiated sectors of the population and have a massive distribution that is accompanied by web publications. Thus, their vital importance in producing and reproducing discourses among different sectors of the population is accounted for.

The data analyzed was collected between the years 2015 and 2019, a period characterized by two milestones in Chile. First, 2015 saw an increase in the regularization procedures of foreigners in the country, which according to the report of the National Institute of Statistics and the Department of Foreigners and Immigration translates into an increase in the provisioning of indefinite residence permits by 35.6%, and of visas by 21.2% over the previous year, which had an impact on the coverage of the migration issue in the press at the national level (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [INE] y Departamento de Extranjería y Migración [DEM], 2020). Second, 2018, during the government of Sebastián Piñera, saw the enactment of two transitory presidential decrees that included the prohibition of the change of migratory status, and the creation of consular and differentiated visas for countries such as Haiti and Venezuela; along with the beginning of a period of extraordinary regularization that would impact the migratory system in Chile, generating a collapse in the Department of Foreigners and Immigration, directly affecting the migrant population and their families (Gobierno de Chile, 2018).

The second step was compiling the corpus by means of manual retrieval method. For this, the data were collected through an online interface or by consulting the physical issue of each newspaper in the National Archive of Chile. Thus, the final corpus presented a collection of three files (one for each newspaper). In total, 705 images of immigrant women were identified over a period of four years. Each image was treated as a basic unit of analysis and was coded independently of the article text. However, following Batziou (2011), and Wilmott (2017), a review of the para-text of each image was carried out, and specifically, the captions were taken into account, as these attract the reader's attention along with the photograph (Holsanova et al., 2006), and often contain additional identifying information (name, age, profession, nationality, among others).

The third step was the content analysis for each image, according to the coding categories previously established as a result of the preliminary analysis of the images during the corpus collection process and the review of similar studies. In particular, the techniques of Batziou (2011), Bleiker (2018), and Wilmott (2017) were adopted for photographic analysis in media. The categories established for this study were organized into two sections. The first included the categorizations of otherness, understood as those social labels employed to represent the migrant *other* versus the national *us* (Pérez-Rincón et al., 2012), as used by newspapers to characterize immigrant women; aspects such as racialized categorizations or markings (Wade, 2022), nationality, belonging to larger collectivities, ties with the local population, and activities carried out were of particular interest. In this case, the predominance of a certain nationality and certain

racialized markers (Magister Antropología, 2022) in the photographs can lead to the establishment of social stereotypes among the local population about female migration in the country.

This research makes use of categories accounting for the local variants of the racial configuration of coloniality as a product of social historical constructions (Wade, 2022). In the Chilean context, these categories reproduce difference in terms of inequality and hierarchies (Magister Antropología, 2022), particularly so when it comes to the visual representations supporting written media.

Also, photographs that portray immigrant women in limited social interactions with the local population serve to categorize them as an out-group, which prevents viewers from visualizing them integrating themselves into local populations. On the other hand, photographs of immigrant women accompanied by others (the other gender and other immigrants) may take away their agency, as they are thus not perceived as independent but rather as part of the other. Moreover, the presence in the photographs of groups of people representing the State—such as the police, the government, and international government bodies—can provoke the construction of the image of immigrant women as linked to security issues and crime.

The second section deals with the technical aspects used for the composition of the images. First, the presentation of immigrant women as individuals was analyzed, since, according to studies in social psychology, individual photographs evoke more empathic emotions in viewers than group photographs, the latter eclipsing individuality and attributing common characteristics to all members of a given social group, thus creating distance between readers and the individuals in the photograph (Bleiker, 2018). That said, the study coded images of immigrant women into four categories: 1) individual, 2) small groups of two to three people, 3) medium-sized groups of 4 to 15 people, and 4) groups of more than 16 people.

Subsequently, the distance from the camera was categorized for the coding of the images. Following Batziou (2011), the photographs were coded as close-up, where only the face is shown; close, where the person is depicted from the waist up; medium-close, when the person appears from the knees up; full, where the whole body of the person is shown; close-long and medium-long, to show people at a close or medium distance in the foreground and long distance in the background, respectively. In addition, the coding analyzed the women's eye contact with the camera. These decisions were based on studies suggesting that closer photos—especially those in which subjects look directly at the camera—produce a more intimate connection with readers, and that, therefore, images in which contact does not occur evoke distance.

From this, the present study will delve into the analysis of press images taken from three Chilean print media: *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, and *Publimetro*, published between the years 2015 and 2019, in which migrant women are featured.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Categorizations on the Otherness of Migrant Women

Table 1 shows that migrant women are most recurrently represented through four racialized categorizations (black, mestizo, white, and Asian), which are used separately or together. Specifically, 35.74% of the photographs correspond to mestizo women, 37.02% to black women, 8.09% to white women, and 1.99% to Asian women. Thus, the analysis shows that the migrant women represented in the media are mainly black or mixed-race.

Table 1. Standardization of Racialized Otherness

Media outlet	Black	White	Mestizo	Asian	Various
<i>El Mercurio</i>	133	30	147	8	96
<i>La Tercera</i>	73	11	77	5	26
<i>Publímetro</i>	55	16	28	1	7
Totals	261	57	252	14	129
Percentage	37.02	8.09	35.74	1.99	18.3

Note: In the *various* category are included those images wherein more than one racialized marking or categorization (Wade, 2022) is represented.

Source: Own elaboration.

The way in which the other migrant is represented is an interesting issue when approached from the perspective of racism or racializing practices (Tijoux Merino & Palominos Mandiola, 2015). These practices are understood as a classification system based on the assumption that some subjects are better than others. In turn, racialization acts as a social mark or stigma (Tijoux Merino, 2011) that is used as a corporealized sign (Goffman, 1963) and a bodily icon (Cuminao Cea et al., 2016; Dubois, 1986) whose ideological intentionality designates and reproduces otherness in relation to an imagined national racial identity (Anderson, 1993; Pérez-Rincón et al., 2012). From the analysis and subsequent coding of the images it can be seen that, in addition to the overrepresentation of black or mestizo women, the media are also prone to use certain nationalities and places of origin to refer to immigrant women acting in an articulated way to define who the other migrants are.

Resources such as flags, typical clothing, or common national symbols are made use of to represent nationality. However, nationality is a less directly constituted trait, but one frequently found at the bottom of photographs in the media studied. The place of origin of migrants intersects with their racialized categorization and is mediated by the historical and social conditions of the context, configuring hierarchies, and producing alterations such as friendly/enemy countries; north/south; developed/underdeveloped, etc., determining who can enter the national territory, who cannot, and under which conditions they can do so (Stefoni, 2016).

Table 2 shows the analysis of the nationalities represented. Out of the 705 images analyzed in the three media, 523 (74.2%) contain references to nationality; in only 182 (25.8%) of them it is not possible to establish nationality. The first place is occupied by images of Haitian women

(33.05%), followed by those of Venezuelan (23.69%), Colombian (15.74%), and Peruvian (11.63%) women. It is important to point out that different nationalities may be represented in the same image, and so the number of images and the number of nationalities symbolized are not necessarily correlated; for the most part, the images with these characteristics are the ones used to contextualize the news on migration, featuring collectivities or large groups.

Table 2. Categorizations of Otherness by Nationality

Nationality	<i>El Mercurio</i>	<i>La Tercera</i>	<i>Publmetro</i>	Results	
	Frequency of appearances in each newspaper			Total	Percentage
Colombian	80	20	11	111	15.74
Venezuelan	113	40	14	167	23.69
Dominican	34	8	2	44	6.24
Haitian	139	59	35	233	33.05
Ecuadorian	28	9	8	45	6.38
Argentinian	13	6	3	22	3.12
Bolivian	47	4	6	57	8.09
Peruvian	61	14	7	82	11.63
Spanish	8	6	1	15	2.13
American (U.S.)	6	1	1	8	1.13
Chinese	7	4	2	13	1.84
Brazilian	7	1	3	11	1.56

Source: Own elaboration.

The articulation between racialized categorizations and nationality as icons of representation is not static. It is thus possible to argue that the press constructs an ideology of who migrant women are following the political correlate and the transformations of the phenomenon over time, that way contributing to the construction of practices of exclusion and discrimination that establish distinctions between an *us* and *the other*. Thus, “the immigrant population suffers, on the part of the Chilean population, a stigmatization that hinders their integration into Chilean society, a stigmatization associated with stereotypes, based on both phenotypical and cultural characteristics, linked to racial status” (Valenzuela et al., 2014, p. 116).

From the analysis of the three media outlets regarding representations of nationality during the period from 2015 to 2019, the following results were obtained: a) for 2015, the representation of nationality showed that 51.28% of the images corresponded to Peruvians and 20.51% to Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Haitians; b) for 2016, 35.71% of the images corresponded to Colombians, 28.57% to Peruvians, 19.39% to Haitians, and 15.31% to Dominicans; c) in 2017, 35.39% of the images corresponded to Haitian people, 17.98% to Venezuelans, and 13.48% to Colombians; d) during 2018, 44.71% of the images corresponded to Haitian people, 23.92% to Venezuelans, and 14.9% to Colombians; and e) during 2019, the focus was on Venezuelan people with 44.12%, followed by Haitians with 23.53%.

The next category of analysis corresponds to the cataloging of the group. For this, we focused on how the women in the images are referred to as members of groups, collectivities, or larger. This belonging is articulated with that of racialized markers or categorizations and with nationality and is used as identity representation and as stereotyping factor, that is, simplified images of individuals or groups including a large number of people (Luengo & Blázquez Entonado, 2004), which together contribute in the reproduction of a representation in which the foreigner is perceived as a dangerous subject, also making reference to a stranger contrasting with the citizen (Dammert & Sandoval, 2019).

According to our analysis, the terms most used⁴ in this set of representations are: migrant (37.87%), immigrant (27.38%), and foreigner (25.39%) (Table 3). A less used category is that of citizen (4.68%), which is generally articulated with that of nationality.⁵ Thus, the articulation between racialized categorizations, nationality, and references to larger groups operate jointly as markers of foreignness (Restrepo, 2020, 2022).

Table 3. Categorizations of Otherness by Collective

Media outlet	Migrant	Immigrant	Foreigner	Refugee	Alien	Community	Citizen
<i>El Mercurio</i>	135	136	113	3	5	4	15
<i>La Tercera</i>	73	42	49	2	3	3	13
<i>Publimetro</i>	59	15	17	1	0	5	5
Totals	267	193	179	6	8	12	33
Percentage	37.87	27.38	25.39	0.85	1.13	1.70	4.68

Source: Own elaboration.

The category of activities carried out by women was identified by analyzing the images. Table 4 summarizes in general terms, based on the total of the sample, the main activities carried out by the people in the images. Among these activities, the following stand out: applying for services before the Department of Foreigners and Immigration and the Civil Registry (7.52%), standing in line in the street for any type of proceeding (11.49%), walking in the streets (12.62%), working and selling (6.95%).

⁴ They can be used jointly or separately.

⁵ For example, Peruvian citizen, Venezuelan citizen, Colombian citizen, and so on.

Table 4. Activities Carried Out

Category	<i>El Mercurio</i>	<i>La Tercera</i>	<i>Publimetro</i>	Results	
	Frequency of appearances in each newspaper			Total	Percentage
Applications, Immigration-Civil Registry	43	6	4	53	7.52
Outside embassies/consulates	10	0	0	10	1.42
PDI ⁶ procedures or actions	9	5	4	18	2.55
Queues on the street for any type of procedure	33	36	12	81	11.49
Demonstrations	18	9	6	33	4.68
Transit on the street	38	30	21	89	12.62
Border	40	0	0	40	5.67
Education	22	2	2	26	3.69
Airport-land transit	18	5	1	24	3.4
Work/selling	33	8	8	49	6.95
Hospital/health services	22	4	0	26	3.69
Religious services	6	1	2	9	1.28
Weddings	4	0	0	4	0.57
Cultural artistic-culinary activities	24	8	2	34	4.82
Crime	24	2	0	26	3.69
Houses/camps	12	4	0	16	2.27
Others	69	77	0	146	20.71

Source: Own elaboration.

Once the occupations of migrant women are identified, it can be preliminarily pointed out that there is a tendency to relate migrant women as individuals in constant displacement and waiting. As stated by Auyero (2013, p. 36):

The waiting of the poor has many features in common with male domination. It is embedded in the mental and bodily dispositions of the dominant (that is, men, State agencies) and the dominated (women, those who wait), and precisely because it is embedded, both groups tend to naturalize or “eternalize” this relationship of domination.

Wrapping up this part of the presentation of the results and their analysis, Tables 5 and 6 show who are the other individuals who appear accompanying the women. The first table shows the variables of representation related to other genders and the representation of non-migrants; the second table shows in how many of the total sample images women appear or do not appear accompanied by someone. In this regard, it should be mentioned that men are overrepresented in the cases observed, whether they are authorities, public officials, children, and/or migrants too. In this case, women are made almost invisible under collectivities or masses of people; this social

⁶ Acronym for Policía de Investigaciones (Chilean Investigative Police).

invisibility is reflected in the written media, as mentioned by other authors (Castagnani & Colorado, 2009; Masanet Ripoll & Ripoll Arcacia, 2008).

A study on the representation of refugees in the Spanish press showed that “refugee women rarely appear without men in photographs. When they are without men, women usually appear with children. This is consistent with traditional representations of women, which deny them the ability to act” (Wilmott, 2017, p. 67).

Table 5. Other Individuals Represented in Images Together with Women (Total Results)

Non-migrant representation	Percentage	Representation of other genders	Percentage
160	23	295	42
No representation	Percentage	No representation	Percentage
545	77	410	58

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 6. Other Individuals Represented in Images Together with Women (Results by Newspaper)

Category	<i>El Mercurio</i>	<i>La Tercera</i>	<i>Publimetro</i>	Results	
	Frequency of appearances in each newspaper			Totals	Percentage
With company	291	122	68	481	68.23
Without company	110	75	39	224	31.77

Source: Own elaboration.

The representation found in the corpus of other individuals accompanying the women speaks of the ties that are established in the context of migration. Likewise, these categories reflect that the migrant woman is perceived as an individual constructed mainly from her relationship with others. This is evident in Table 6, where, out of the total sample, 68.23% of the photographs represent women with company versus 31.77% which correspond to images of individuals by themselves.

The activities carried out by women are associated with the categories analyzed pertaining the figures of companions, non-migrants, and other genders. Regarding the aforementioned variable, the presence or company of children, partners, authorities, or public officials, as well as other migrants, was recurrently observed; the presence of companions in the image is related to the type of activities carried out. For example, in waiting situations (lines in the street and for procedures), the presence of companions such as children, authorities, and other migrants was observed. In health contexts, women are accompanied by children, health personnel, or partners. Thus, the representation of migrant women or their non-representation is permeated by a communicative intentionality in which categorizations of otherness act, such as racialized categorization,

nationality, and belonging to a collectivity that designates them as others. The technical and compositional aspects of the images are discussed below.

Visual Representation of Migrant Women

In terms of the visual representation of migrant women, the results show that migrant women appear mostly in relation to groups or collectivities of nationals or migrants⁷ (78.30%) and that—on rare occasions—they occupy their own place in the pages of newspapers (21.70%) (Table 7). In this case, group images create an emotional distance between the reader and the women (Small et al., 2007) by inserting them within collectivities, as extras, having their main role in telling their own story taken away.

Table 7. Size of the Group of People by Newspaper

Media outlet	Individual	Group	Total
<i>El Mercurio</i>	77	324	401
<i>La Tercera</i>	50	147	197
<i>Publimetro</i>	26	81	107
Totals	153	552	705
Percentage	21.7	78.3	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Along with this, the composition and size of the groups also has other characteristics (Table 8). For example, if we review the total sample of the three analyzed media outlets, 29.79% correspond to images in which women appear in groups of between 4 to 15 people; however, in second place, we find the representation of women in groups of between 2 to 3 people (24.68%). This is important since in most of the images studied—in this category—the presence of women is associated with a partner, with their work, and with raising or caring for children. Thus, the figure of the migrant woman is mainly related to the tasks, activities, or roles that she may represent in terms historically established for women: as mothers, wives, and caregivers.

In those large groups of more than 16 people (23.83%), scenes were observed in which women are found among masses of individuals in diverse contexts or spaces, such as lines in the street and in waiting situations (for any type of procedure), transiting at borders, airports, or simply walking in the street. This representation positions women as part of the migrant collectivity in general rather than as a particular agent (Table 4).

⁷ Immigrants or foreigners may also be mentioned, depending on the note, the media outlet, or even the writer of the article in which the image appears.

Table 8. Size of the Group of People by Newspaper

Media outlet	Individual	Small groups (2-3 people)	Medium sized groups (4-15 people)	Large groups (more than 16 people)	Total
<i>El Mercurio</i>	78	110	124	89	401
<i>La Tercera</i>	49	35	59	54	197
<i>Publimetro</i>	26	29	27	25	107
Totals	153	174	210	168	705
Percentage	21.70	24.68	29.79	23.83	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Thirdly (Table 9), the analysis took into account camera distance from the subject and the composition of the shots studied. For this observation, it is relevant to consider the technical mediation in photography, to which Cuminao Cea et al. (2016) add a perspective based on the fact that the perception, prejudices, stereotypes, and knowledge of the photographer about the portrayed subjects will be manifested in the construction of the image from technical and aesthetic elements. In this way “the technical framing of the photographs does not highlight individuality, rather emphasizes long distance and group shots, thus contributing to the depersonalization of the subjects” (Wilmott, 2017, p. 88). In this context, the results are shown below.

Table 9. Camera Distance

Media outlet	Close-up	Close	Medium- close	Full	Close-long	Medium- long	Other	Total
<i>El Mercurio</i>	29	38	124	133	3	2	72	401
<i>La Tercera</i>	34	36	40	81	5	1	0	197
<i>Publimetro</i>	25	25	24	14	7	12	0	107
Totals	88	99	188	228	15	15	72	705
Percentage	12.48	14.04	26.67	32.34	2.13	2.13	10.21	100

Source: Own elaboration.

As shown in Table 9, camera distances are similar to the results associated with group composition. In the first place, full-shot images stand out (32.34%); in second place, medium-close shot images (26.67%); in third place, close images (14.04%); and in fourth place, close-up photographs (12.48%), where only the face is framed. The category *others* (10.21%) represents the classification of long, high-angle, and low-angle shots.

Full shot photographs are used to record images of queues in the street, people in transit, or people carrying out procedures; medium-close shot photographs are used for mid-sized and small groups and, sometimes, for individuals carrying out work, cultural, or educational activities, among others. Close shots are used for images in which there is a personification of the individual or to refer to specific situations where no personification is necessarily implied. As for the other

distances and angles, the close-up is used less frequently, which is directly related to the following categories of contact with the camera and personification.

Table 10. Visual Contact

Media outlet	Yes	No	Total
<i>El Mercurio</i>	119	282	401
<i>La Tercera</i>	70	127	197
<i>Publimetro</i>	46	61	107
Totals	235	470	705
Percentage	33.33	66.67	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Contact with the camera implies an interaction between the portrayed and the portrayer, an awareness on the part of the person being portrayed of the presence of an observer and an awareness of being represented, and with this an emotional intentionality that links him/her to a potential receiving public. Observing the results and the pattern followed, it can be seen that migrant women are mostly portrayed under frames of low interaction with the creator of the image, which also implies a distance from the readers of the analyzed media. Moreover, this minimal visual contact with the camera can be associated with the depersonification of the women in the photographs analyzed.

Table 11. Personification of the Portrayed Women

Media outlet	Yes	No	Total
<i>El Mercurio</i>	160	241	401
<i>La Tercera</i>	70	127	197
<i>Publimetro</i>	14	93	107
Totals	244	461	705
Percentage	34.61	65.39	100

Source: Own elaboration.

As can be seen in Table 11, the percentages of images with/without camera contact and images with/without personification are similar. This depersonification speaks of a—previously addressed—tendency towards generalizing migrant women, which can be linked to the dehumanization of the other (Appadurai, 2007; Bauman, 2016). Women not only appear as just another migrant within a broad group but also their identity disappears, or identity configurations constructed by others appear instead, without even knowing how they are being represented. The three media analyzed resort to the personification of women when they seek to construct narratives about life stories, or when they gather opinions or experiences about migration processes. In these cases, women appear individualized and personified, however, this characterization focuses on the different activities or roles that women develop in the host contexts, and often this representation is also constructed in relation to other persons accompanying them.

To conclude this section of the analysis, it should be pointed out that the review of the visual representation of migrant women in the press show that the media and their photographic constructions choose certain elements of the reality they seek to represent, and omit some others (Cuminao Cea et al., 2016). In this sense, the elements chosen to elaborate these images are: 1) the distancing from the portrayer; 2) the mass—and collectivity—belonging of those represented over their individuality; 3) the depersonification of individuals; 4) the over-masculinization of migration. The omitted elements are: 1) the diverse roles that migrant women play; 2) women's capacity for agency; 3) personification; 4) visual contact with the portrayer and the readers of the media outlet.

CLOSING REMARKS

Images published in the media play a central role in framing how immigrants are publicly perceived and politically debated. These images construct political-social reality by showing or not what can and cannot be seen, and indirectly, what can and cannot be thought, thus influencing not only what it is possible to legitimately say in public, but also what it is not possible to express (Bleiker, 2018).

The results of this study show that the migrant woman represented by the written press between the years 2015 and 2019 is foremost a woman circumscribed to a larger group or collective—first a migrant and then a woman—, agreeing with propositions by Batziou (2011) and Wilmott (2017). As for the categorizations of otherness used to chart, on the one hand, migrants and, then, migrant women, an articulation is established between racialized markings, nationality, and belonging to a collectivity that is conceived as a category of otherness vis-à-vis nationals. There is a special emphasis on the presentation of photographs of women from neighboring and Latin American countries, mainly black, South American women; the migrant *other* is then black, Latin American, a radically different foreigner (Santos Herceg, 2012).

Also, when images intentionally seek to present the figure of migrant women, the media tend to appeal to the roles or activities they perform, linking them to child rearing, family formation, traveling, transiting, and displacement, and in some instances to working and housing. Moreover, migrant women, like migrant men, are presented as subjects who are always in transit, in conflict after situations of waiting. This matches the readings that other authors have made on the presentation of recent—mainly, Latin American—migration, as novel and massive, in such a way that it has configured an ideology that positions Chile as a pole of attraction of migrant population, where migration and migrants begin to be constructed as a social problem (Cano & Soffia, 2009; Contrucci et al., 2009; Correa Téllez, 2016; Lube Guizardi & Garcés, 2014). In this case, by positioning migrant women as massive groups in a constant wait, they are presented under an inaction of sorts that deprives them of their capacity for agency and self-representation.

This way, the visual representation of female migration in the press reveals how the socio-historical, economic, and political conditioning factors—which enable or hinder the displacement and inclusion of women in a national community that thinks of itself from an imagined homogeneity (Anderson, 1993)—act as arguments that contribute to construct an image of the migrant *other* as a subject lacking the capacity to make their own demands, to transform and

influence the unequal contexts in which he/she is located (Sassen, 2010). Thus, the migrant woman—for the media—is mostly black, mestizo, South American and/or Caribbean, a woman who raises families, works, and is always subject to not belonging.

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the importance of paying attention to images and how the media echo the different social and political discourses is of the essence in the current national context. First, because it is an area in the study of migration that has been little addressed; second, because migration movements are a constant in a world deep into crisis, and because violations of the human rights of migrants have become increasingly common in this country, where the media reproduce racist discourses and inform practices of racial discrimination (Magister Antropología, 2022).

Finally, it was deemed necessary to further this line of research by addressing, for example, the transformations over time of the representation of migrant subjects in general, questioning which aspects have been emphasized at certain times, which discourses have prevailed, and which have mutated. The representation of migrants—and, in particular, that of migrant women—is the product of a correlate produced by the media in relation to the social context and the national contingency, and is, therefore, a dynamic construction that in turn produces and reproduces social stigmas. This representation is also rooted in the foundational historical discourses on the Chilean Nation-State. The results presented open endless paths of analysis, contributing to understanding how the media influence the prevailing discourses and attitudes in society, which often end up segmenting, stratifying, and excluding the people who inhabit the territories.

Translation: Fernando Llanas.

REFERENCES

- Abric, J. C. (1991). *Prácticas sociales y representación*. Ediciones Coyoacán.
- Aierbe, P. M. (2008). Representación de las mujeres trabajadoras inmigrantes en los medios de comunicación. In A. M Bañón Hernández (Ed.), *Comunicación, empleo y mujer inmigrante* (pp. 7-20). Tercera Prensa. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2736591>
- Anderson, B. (1993). *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexiones sobre el origen y la difusión del nacionalismo*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Appadurai, A. (2007). *El rechazo de las minorías: ensayo sobre la geografía de la furia*. Tusquets Editores.
- Arévalo Salinas, A. I. (2014). El rol de la prensa escrita en la reproducción de la violencia en el conflicto entre Chile y Perú. Propuestas de paz desde la comunicación. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, (48), 151-164. <https://doi.org/10.7440/res48.2014.12>
- Auyero, J. (2013). *Pacientes del Estado*. Eudeba.

- Batzou, A. (2011). *Picturing immigration: Photojournalistic representation of immigrants in Greek and Spanish Press*. Intellect Books.
- Bauman, Z. (2016). *Extraños llamando a la puerta*. Ediciones Paidós.
- Bleiker, R. (Ed.). (2018). *Visual global politics*. Taylor & Francis.
- Briones, C. (2005). *Cartografías argentinas: políticas indigenistas y formaciones provinciales de alteridad*. Antropofagia.
- Browne Sartori, R., & Romero Lizama, 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. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, 9(26), 233-249. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682010000200012>
- Burgin, V. (Ed.). (1982). *Thinking photography*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- CADEM. (2021, October 4). Un 56% cree que la llegada de migrantes a Chile es «mala» para el país. *24 Horas*. <https://cadem.cl/24-horas-un-56-cree-que-la-llegada-de-migrantes-a-chile-es-mala-para-el-pais/>
- Cano, V., & Soffia, M. (2009). Los estudios sobre migración internacional en Chile: Apuntes y comentarios para una agenda de investigación actualizada. *Papeles de Población*, 15(61), 129-167.
- Cárcel Fernando, S. (2015). *Racismo en los medios de comunicación. Tratamiento de los inmigrantes en la prensa española*. Universidad de Valladolid. <https://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/17660>
- Castagnani, T., & Colorado, C. (2009). La representación de la mujer inmigrante en la prensa escrita española. *Discurso & Sociedad*, 3(4), 621-657.
- Contrucci, S., Cano Christiny, M. V., & Martínez Pizarro, J. (2009). Conocer para legislar y hacer política: los desafíos de Chile ante un nuevo escenario migratorio. CEPAL. <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/7228-conocer-legislar-hacer-politica-desafios-chile-un-nuevo-escenario-migratorio>
- Correa Téllez, J. (2016). La inmigración como «problema» o el resurgir de la raza. Racismo cotidiano y su papel en la conformación de la nación. In M. E. Tijoux (Ed.), *Racismo en Chile. La piel como marca de la inmigración* (pp. 35-47). Editorial Universitaria.
- Crespo Fernández, E. (2008). El léxico de la inmigración: atenuación y ofensa verbal en la prensa alicantina. In M. Martínez (Ed.), *Inmigración, discurso y medios de comunicación* (pp. 45-64). Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert.
- Cuadrado Vertel, B. J., Saraza Hernández, D. C., & Forero Ayala, J. E. (2013). El agenciamiento social en contextos de emergencia: comunidades educadoras de Altos de La Florida en el municipio de Soacha. *Aletheia*, 5(2), 152-169.
- Cuminao Cea, Á., Azocar Avendaño, A., & Flores Chávez, J. (2016). Construcción de la imagen del inmigrante europeo en el discurso fotográfico de fines del siglo XIX y principios del XX en La Araucanía. El caso de los colonos italianos y franceses en Capitán Pastene y Traiguén, respectivamente. *Actas de Periodismo y Comunicación*, 2(1). <https://perio.unlp.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/actas/article/view/3680>

- Dammert, L., & Sandoval, R. (2019). Crimen, inseguridad y migración: de la percepción a la realidad. In N. Rojas Pedemonte, & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: evidencia y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 199-230). LOM Ediciones.
- Dubois, P. (1986). *El acto fotográfico: de la representación a la recepción*. Paidós.
- Gallegos Krause, E. (2019). Telenovelas, identidad y alteridad: imaginarios sociales sobre mujeres migrantes en telenovelas chilenas. *RevCom*, (8). <https://doi.org/10.24215/24517836e013>
- Glick Schiller, N., & Salazar, N. B. (2013). Regimes of mobility across the globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(2), 183-200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.723253>
- Gobierno de Chile. (2018, April 9). Presidente Piñera anuncia reforma migratoria. *Prensa Presidencia*. <https://prensa.presidencia.cl/discurso.aspx?id=73020>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Estigma. La identidad deteriorada*. Amorrortu Editores.
- González, A. (2021, September 25). «¡No más migrantes!»: manifestantes queman carpas de venezolanos en Iquique. *Biobiochile.cl*. <https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/chile/2021/09/25/manifestantes-queman-carpas-de-migrantes-en-iquique.shtml>
- Gronemeyer, M. E., & Porath, W. (2017). Tendencias de la posición editorial en diarios de referencia en Chile: el arte de dosificar la crítica frente a la actuación de los actores políticos. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 37(1), 177-202. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2017000100008>
- Hall, S. (2010). The determinations of news photographs (1973). In C. Greer (Ed.), *Crime and media. A reader* (pp. 123-134). Routledge.
- Hamilton, P. (1997). Representing the social: France and Frenchness in post-war humanist photography. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 75-150). Sage Publications; The Open University.
- Holsanova, J., Rahm, H., & Holmqvist, K. (2006). Entry points and reading paths on newspaper spreads: Comparing a semiotic analysis with eye-tracking measurements. *Visual Communication*, 5(1), 65-93.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). (2017). Segunda entrega de resultados definitivos. Censo 2017. INE Chile. http://www.censo2017.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/presentacion_de_la_segunda_entrega_de_resultados_censo2017.pdf
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE), & Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (DEM). (2020). *Estimación de personas extranjeras residentes habituales en Chile al 31 de diciembre de 2019. Informe técnico*. INE. https://www.ine.cl/docs/default-source/demografia-y-migracion/publicaciones-y-anuarios/migraci%C3%B3n-internacional/estimaci%C3%B3n-poblaci%C3%B3n-extranjera-en-chile-2018/estimaci%C3%B3n-poblaci%C3%B3n-extranjera-en-chile-2019-metodolog%C3%ADa.pdf?sfvrsn=5b145256_6
- Ivanova, A., & Jocelin-Almendras, J. A. (2021). Representations of (Im)migrants in Chilean local press headlines: A case study of El Austral Temuco. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 23(1), 227-242. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00832-2>

- Law 21.325 of 2021. Establece normas en materia de migración y extranjería con el objeto de regular el ingreso, la estadía, la residencia y el egreso de personas extranjeras del país, y el ejercicio de derechos y deberes, estableciendo una nueva institucionalidad para estos fines. April 11, 2021.
- Liberona Concha, N. (2015). De las fronteras geopolíticas a las fronteras sociales: la migración boliviana a través de la prensa de Tarapacá (1990-2007). *Estudios Fronterizos*, 16(32), 41-74.
- Lube Guizardi, M., & Garcés, A. (2014). Estudios de caso de la migración peruana «en Chile»: un análisis crítico de las distorsiones de representación y representatividad en los recortes espaciales. *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande*, (58), 223-240. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-34022014000200012>
- Lube Guizardi, M., González Torralbo, H., & Stefoni, C. (2018). De feminismos y movilidades. Debates críticos sobre migraciones y género en América Latina (1980-2018). *Revista Rumbos TS*, (18), 37-66.
- Luengo González, M. R., & Blázquez Entonado, F. (2004). *Género y libros de texto: un estudio de estereotipos en las imágenes*. Instituto de la Mujer de Extremadura. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=252503>
- Magister Antropología. (2022, March 17). *Conferencia: raza y el racismo en América Latina*. Dr. Eduardo Restrepo [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KmAZXxjS0Ns>
- Masanet Ripoll, E., & Ripoll Arcacia, C. (2008). La representación de la mujer inmigrante en la prensa nacional. *Papers. Revista de Sociología*, (89), 169-185. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers/v89n0.753>
- Mayorga Rojel, A. J., & León Pino, C. (2007). El malvado siempre es el otro: Perú y su construcción discursiva en la prensa chilena. *Universum*, 22(2), 164-176. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-23762007000200011>
- McCombs, M., & Evatt, D. (1995). Los temas y los aspectos: explorando una nueva dimensión de la «agenda setting». *Communication & Society*, 8(1), 7-32.
- Palominos, S. (2016). Racismo, inmigración y políticas culturales. La subordinación racializada de las comunidades inmigrantes como principio de la construcción de la identidad chilena. In M. E. Tijoux (Ed.), *Racismo en Chile. La piel como marca de la inmigración* (pp. 187-213). Editorial Universitaria.
- Pérez, C. (2003). Las inmigrantes en la prensa: víctimas sin proyecto migratorio. *Mugak*, 24. <http://mugak.eu/revista-mugak/no-24/las-inmigrantes-en-la-prensa-victimas-sin-proyecto-migratorio>
- Pérez-Rincón, S., Vives, A., García, A., & Expósito, C. (2012). Reproducción de la otredad inmigrante en Barcelona y recepción popular des espacio urbano representado como «gueto». *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, (29), 160-182. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/178958>
- Póo Figueroa, X. (2009). Imaginarios sobre inmigración peruana en la prensa escrita chilena: una mirada a la instalación de la agenda de la diferencia. *F@ro: Revista Teórica del Departamento de Ciencias de la Comunicación*, 1(9).

- Póo Figueroa, X. (2020, April 23). Migración y pandemia: cuando los medios son un peligro. *El Desconcierto*. <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/opinion/2020/04/23/migracion-y-pandemia-cuando-los-medios-son-un-peligro.html>
- Restrepo, E. (2020). Hacer antropología desde América Latina hoy: especificidades y desafíos. In G. Díaz Croveto (Ed.), *Antropología contemporánea: intersecciones, encuentros y reflexiones desde el sur sur* (pp. 147-180). Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Temuco.
- Rodgers, S., & Thorson, E. (2000). «Fixing»; stereotypes in news photos: A synergistic approach with the Los Angeles Times. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 7(3), 8-7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15551390009363436>
- Rodríguez, L., & Dimitrova, D. V. (2011). The levels of visual framing. *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 30(1), 48-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23796529.2011.11674684>
- Rojas Pedemonte, N., Amode, N., & Vásquez Rencoret, J. (2015). Racismo y matrices de «inclusión» de la migración haitiana en Chile: elementos conceptuales y contextuales para la discusión. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, (42). <https://journals.openedition.org/polis/11341>
- Rojas Pedemonte, N., & Silva Dittborn, C. (2016). *La migración en Chile: breve reporte y caracterización*. Observatorio Iberoamericano sobre Movilidad Humana, Migraciones y Desarrollo. https://www.academia.edu/27074674/2016_La_migraci%C3%B3n_en_Chile_breve_reporte_y_caracterizaci%C3%B3n
- Rojas Pedemonte, N., Silva, C., Amode, N., Vásquez, J. & Orrego, C. (2016). Migración haitiana en Chile (*Boletín Informativo* no. 1). Departamento de Extranjería y Migración. <https://internetworkmigration.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/migracioin-haitiana-en-chile.pdf>
- Santos Herceg, J. (2012). El miedo al/del extranjero en lo cotidiano. La constitución del otro como enemigo. *Actuel Marx*, 12(1), 71-88.
- Sassen, S. (2010). *Territorio, autoridad y derechos: de los ensamblajes medievales a los ensamblajes globales*. Katz Editores.
- Segato, R. L. (2007). *La nación y sus otros. Raza, etnicidad y diversidad religiosa en tiempos de políticas de la identidad*. Prometeo Editorial.
- Small, D. A., Loewenstein, G., & Slovic, P. (2007). Sympathy and callousness: The impact of deliberative thought on donations to identifiable and statistical victims. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 102(2), 143-153. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2006.01.005>
- Soto-Almela, J., & Alcaraz-Mármol, G. (2017). Comparing the portrayal of immigration in two Spanish newspapers: A semantic prosody analysis. *Onomázein*, (38), 147-168. https://scholar.google.es/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=es&user=7bbGcGgAAAAJ&citation_for_view=7bbGcGgAAAAJ:7PzIFSSx8tAC
- Stefoni, C. (2007). Los movimientos migratorios como un nuevo agente de integración. El caso Chile-Argentina. In M. Artaza Rouxel, & P. Milet García (Eds.), *Nuestros vecinos* (pp. 69-81). Ril Editores.
- Stefoni, C. (2016). La nacionalidad y el color de piel en la racialización del extranjero. Migrantes como buenos trabajadores en el sector de la construcción. In M. E. Tijoux (Ed.), *Racismo en Chile. La piel como marca de la inmigración* (pp. 65-75). Editorial Universitaria.

- Stefoni, C., & Brito, S. (2019). Migraciones y migrantes en los medios de prensa en Chile: la delicada relación entre las políticas de control y los procesos de racialización. *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades*, 23(2), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.35588/rhsm.v23i2.4099>
- Stefoni, C., & Fernández, R. (2011). Mujeres inmigrantes en el trabajo doméstico: entre el servilismo y los derechos. In C. Stefoni (Ed.), *Mujeres inmigrantes en Chile: ¿mano de obra o trabajadoras con derechos?* (pp. 43-72). Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.
- Stefoni, C., Lube Guizardi, M., & González Torralbo, H. (2019). La construcción política de la frontera. Entre los discursos nacionalistas y la «producción» de trabajadores precarios. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, 17(51), 137-162. <https://doi.org/10.32735/S0718-6568/2018-N51-1353>
- Suarez Villegas, J. C. (2013). La mujer inmigrante en la cultura patriarcal y su reflejo en los medios de comunicación. *Sphera Publica*, 1(13), 77-94. <https://sphera.ucam.edu/index.php/sphera-01/article/view/128/145>
- Thayer, E. (2011). Trabajo y género: la condición social de inmigrante como referente para la definición de la identidad. In C. Stefoni (Ed.), *Mujeres inmigrantes en Chile ¿mano de obra o trabajadoras con derechos?* (pp. 75-108). Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.
- Tijoux Merino, M. E. (2011). Negando al «otro»: El constante sufrimiento de los inmigrantes peruanos en Chile. In C. Stefoni (Ed.), *Mujeres inmigrantes en Chile ¿mano de obra o trabajadoras con derechos?* (pp. 15-42). Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.
- Tijoux Merino, M. E., & Palominos Mandiola, S. (2015). Aproximaciones teóricas para el estudio de procesos de racialización y sexualización en los fenómenos migratorios de Chile. *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*, 14(42), 247-275. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682015000300012>
- Valenzuela, P., Riveros, K., Palomo, N., Araya, I., Campos, B., Salazar, C., & Tavie, C. (2014). Integración laboral de los inmigrantes haitianos, dominicanos y colombianos en Santiago de Chile. *Antropologías del Sur*, 1(2), 101-121. <https://doi.org/10.25074/rantros.v1i2.845>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2005). El análisis crítico del discurso. *Texturas*, 1, 13-69.
- Verón, E. (1994). *Mediatización, comunicación política y mutaciones de la democracia*. Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. <https://e-archivo.uc3m.es/handle/10016/7830>
- Villalobos, C. (2009). Los inmigrantes y la delincuencia en prensa. Una imagen distorsionada. *Forum de las Culturas*, (20). https://entrefejas.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/179_villalobos1.pdf
- Wade, P. (2022). El concepto raza y la lucha contra el racismo. *Estudios Sociológicos de El Colegio de México*, 40, 29-56. <https://doi.org/10.24201/es.2022v40nne.2071>
- Wardle, C. (2007). Monsters and angels: Visual press coverage of child murders in the USA and UK, 1930-2000. *Journalism*, 8(3), 263-284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884907076461>
- Wilmott, A. C. (2017). The politics of photography: Visual depictions of Syrian refugees in U.K. online media. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 24(2), 67-82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15551393.2017.1307113>