Security, Order, and Control: Analysis of the media framing of migration in digital media during the 2021 presidential campaigns in Chile

Seguridad, orden y control: análisis del tratamiento informativo de migración en los medios digitales durante las campañas presidenciales de 2021 en Chile

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Anna Ivanova. Language professor (English and French) and Ph.D. in English Language and Linguistics from the University of Seville. She is currently an Associate Professor at the Institute of Education Sciences at the University of O'Higgins. Her research career primarily focuses on critical discourse analysis and the informational treatment of migrations. She has served as the principal investigator of a FONDECYT project on the informational treatment of migration in the Chilean national press, with results published in various academic journals. Currently, she is the principal investigator of a FONDECYT project on the securitization of migration in the Chilean quality press.
Universidad O'Higgins, Chile
anna.ivanova@uoh.cl
ORCID: 0000-0002-9019-6101



Lucero Burón Rodríguez is an Anthropologist and a MA in Anthropology from the Catholic University of Temuco. She is currently pursuing a PhD in Territorial Studies of the Global South at the University of Concepción. Her research career has developed along two main lines: migration studies and cultural heritage. In the field of migration, she has participated in FONDECYT projects on media representations of immigrants in the national press (2015-2019). Her recent publications include articles in Scopus journals on the visual representation of migrant women (International Migrations, 2023) and the media representation of immigration in the Chilean press (Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 2024). She has led projects to strengthen migrant organizations in the southern macro zone of Chile and Neuquén. She works as a researcher at the Subdirección de Pueblos Originarios, conducting studies on sites of Mapuche cultural significance in the Araucanía region. She has been a university lecturer in several Chilean institutions, teaching courses in anthropology and intercultural health.
Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile
lucero.buron@uoh.cl
ORCID: 0000-0002-6028-9577

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Abstract:

The 2021 presidential elections in Chile brought the debate among candidates about the search for governability, national unity, crime, security, and migration to the political and media agenda. As a result, the role of the media in covering these debates was key to constructing and installing these topics on the public agenda. This paper examines the media framing of migration on three local news websites, El Mostrador, Bio-Bio, and Cooperativa, during the 2021 presidential campaign in Chile. The study employed a news content analysis of prominent frames used to depict migrants in the news texts. The results demonstrate that the media focus on migration during the 2021 presidential campaign was primarily as a state problem, described a) under the notion of crisis and a situation that becomes uncontrollable, while its real magnitude is not known, and b) as a threat to national security. The study suggests that digital media is fertile ground for analyzing their potential influence on levels of attitudes toward the migrant population. Findings from this study can be applied to other media formats to deepen academic knowledge about marginalized groups.

Keywords:

Presidential campaign; migration; Chile; framing; digital media.

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Resumen:

Las elecciones presidenciales de 2021 en Chile llevaron a la agenda política y mediática el debate entre candidatos sobre la búsqueda de gobernabilidad, unidad nacional, criminalidad, seguridad y migración. Como resultado, el papel de los medios de comunicación en la cobertura de estos debates fue clave para construir e instalar estos temas en la agenda pública. Este artículo examina el encuadre mediático de la migración en tres sitios web de noticias locales, *El Mostrador*, *Bio-Bio* y *Cooperativa*, durante la campaña presidencial de 2021 en Chile. El estudio empleó un análisis del contenido de las noticias y los *frames* utilizados para representar a los inmigrantes en los textos de las noticias. Los resultados demuestran que el enfoque mediático sobre la migración fue principalmente como un problema de Estado, descrito a) bajo la noción de crisis y situación que se torna incontrolable, sin que se conozca su magnitud real, y b) como una amenaza a la seguridad nacional. El estudio sugiere que los medios digitales son un terreno fértil para analizar su potencial influencia en los niveles de actitudes hacia la población migrante. Los hallazgos de este estudio se pueden aplicar a otros formatos de medios para profundizar el conocimiento académico sobre los grupos marginados.

Palabras clave:

Campaña presidencial; inmigración; Chile; *framing*; medios digitales.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Contextual background

According to the last census (2017) of the total number of residents in Chile, foreigners made up 4.4% of the population. Compared to the 2002 census[1], this represents an increase of 3.1%. During the 2017 presidential campaigns, special emphasis was placed on increasing migration and creating measures to "order" "uncontrolled" migration.

Under these assumptions, on the one hand, after being elected on April 10, 2018, President Piñera issued a presidential bill that created a democratic responsibility visa for Venezuelan citizens and a simple consular tourist visa for the Haitian population.[2]

1 According to the 2002 census, the total foreign population in Chile corresponded to 1.3%3% of the total population.

2 The stay in the country is established for a maximum of 30 days for the Haitian population, while for the rest of the countries the period of 90 days is maintained.

On the other hand, it reinvigorates the discussion of the immigration bill[3], which focuses on three axes: orderly, regulated and safe migration.

In October of the same year, as a result of the rise in the costs of public transport in Santiago, a social outbreak with the motto "Chile woke up" began at the national level and called for improvements in people's living conditions, greater citizen participation, changes in the constitution and the resignation of the president, among other things.

As a result, between 2020 and 2023, a constituent process was developed; this process included an entry plebiscite, election of constituents, exit plebiscite (culminated with the rejection of the first proposal), a second process of election of constituents and an exit plebiscite, where the constitutional proposal was again rejected.

Additionally, in the national context described, campaigns and elections for mayors, governors, senators, and deputies were developed. In 2021, presidential campaigns began, and the main axes of the political agenda included the search for governance, security, crime, and migration.

According to Airgood (2017), for a country in an internal crisis, the media's interest in migration is the product of the phenomena and historical, political, and sociocultural characteristics of each place. Thus, migration is constructed as a problem that needs to be controlled and managed so that the country "returns to what it was". This study aims to analyze the media representation of migration in the context of presidential campaigns in 2021. In Chile, through the informational treatment provided by digital media (*Cooperativa*, *Bio-Bio* and *El Mostrador*) on migration during the first and second presidential rounds of 2021, we asked ourselves the following questions: What was the informational treatment provided by the media of communication to migration during the first and second presidential round in 2021 in Chile? Was there a difference, according to the media, in the informational treatment of migration during the first and second presidential rounds in 2021 in Chile? The political relevance of the candidatures in the informational treatment that the media provided to migration during the first and second 2021 presidential rounds in Chile?

From this general objective, three specific objectives emerge, and their respective research questions include the following: 1. Compare the differences in the informational treatment between the different media during both electoral rounds and the political belonging of the candidates during the electoral process. How does digital media contribute to the construction of stereotypes and negative representations of migrants? Why does the media present migration as a security problem and as a threat? What impact does digital media coverage have on the formation of attitudes toward the migrant population? 2.- Identify the main frames used by digital media to represent migration during the electoral period. What frames do digital media use to represent migration during the electoral period? What differences exist in the coverage of the migration issue between the different media analyzed? 3.- Evaluate how the immediacy characteristic of digital media influences the coverage of the immigration issue during presidential campaigns. How does the immediacy characteristic of digital media influence coverage of the migration issue during presidential campaigns, and what effects does this influence the depth and context of information on migration?

3 The first version of the bill was presented by S. Piñera in 2013 during his first presidential term.

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PI2: Was there a difference, according to the media, in the informational treatment of migration during the first and second presidential rounds in 2021 in Chile?

PI3: Was there a difference according to the political relevance of the candidacies in the informational treatment that the media gave to migration during the first and second presidential rounds in 2021 in Chile?

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1.2. Migration and the media

The press, in its role as a social and political actor, "becomes a mediator between civil society and the state" and "builds representations of power and the society within which it operates" (Kircher, 2005: 116). This mediation capacity is particularly significant in the electoral context, where "the reference press has a high degree of ideological influence in the media system" (Giró & Jarque, 2006: 254), which can affect the way in which different media, according to their editorial line, address sensitive issues such as migration.

To formulate statements about representation in the media, the establishment of agendas and *framing* are the central concepts to be addressed. Thus, the media have the power to define which topics the population reflects on and, even more, influence how they think about them (Mellado & Humanes, 2017). The first dimension (what) refers to the establishment of agendas, whereas the second dimension (how) refers to media *framing*. Both concepts are used to investigate what issues are (or are not) in the media and how they are represented (Rothenberger & Schmitt, 2024).

Thus, in the establishment of agendas, the most prominent problems, according to the media, are selected and assigned salience in their pages (McCombs & Evatt, 1995). This salience can be measured by simply counting the number of times a particular topic is mentioned in the media. This can also be accomplished through the hierarchy of events, which mainly defines the position that certain events occupy within the medium and their "size" (or physical space). However, in addition to the ability of the media to influence what people think, the way in which they write about certain topics is also relevant (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009).

According to Kosicki (1993), the construction and establishment of an agenda are performed through "*frames*", which can be identified through "the presence or absence of certain keywords, standard phrases, stereotypical images, information sources and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing groupings of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993: 52). This is where framing theory was born (De Vreese, 2005; Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974); this theory "understands frames as interpretation schemes whose main elements are the selection, organization, presentation, and highlighting of aspects particularities of reality, raising them in salience at the expense of others" (Kovar, 2023: 7). According to this theory, "any media source presents a topic through its lenses and lexical style, highlighting certain aspects but omitting others, generating significant biases and subjectivities" (López-Baucells *et al.*, 2023: online).

In other words, the main point of the theory of framing is that the media not only sets the public agenda but also implicitly dictates to the public a way of thinking about certain issues (Igartua *et al.*, 2007).

However, the media "have the power to define the agenda, influence public opinion and, therefore, the attitude of citizens toward issues" (Checa *et al.*, 2012: 8). In the case of migration, Melella (2015) highlights that the media tends to create a stigmatizing construction of the migrant as other. According to Van Dijk (2005) and Crespo (2008), the media contribute to

the ideological reproduction and social legitimation of migration as a problem (Ivanova and Burón, 2024; Stefoni and Brito, 2019; Valenzuela and Vergara, 2019), reproducing at the same time creating and recreating the public and political discourse of the period (Ivanova and Burón, 2024). Thus, the media contributes to the creation of stereotypes through the negative representation of the migrant, reproducing and affirming the national/foreign dichotomy (Póo, 2009).

Brouwer and colleagues (2017) utilize a quantitative approach to analyze the relationship between the representation of "illegal" or undocumented immigration and the processes of criminalization, concluding that the media increases the process of criminalization, emphasizing the use of the name "illegal immigrants"[4] and its relationship with crime in conjunction with the use of statistics. In addition, they conclude that the increase in the approach to irregular or undocumented migrations is a product of the increase in public political debate and that, in this sense, the media are more reproducers than producers of discourses.

In the case of journalistic discourses, Rizo (2001) warns that the media incites fear when they represent migration as a threat, which provokes attitudes and behaviors of aversion; that is, natives are emotionally persuaded that they should fear and reject them (Retis, 2004).

In Chile, studies on the representation of migrants in the media have focused (mainly) on border migration between Chile-Bolivia and Peru (Arévalo, 2014; Browne and Romero, 2010; Liberona, 2015; Mayorga and León, 2007; Póo, 2009). They share the idea that the 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 neighboring countries. In addition, extreme discourses that range from paternalistic compassion to criminalization of the immigrant subject are promoted (Póo, 2009).

On the other hand, some studies have highlighted how the media in Chile have contributed to the ideological reproduction of migration as a social problem that includes poverty, crime, and illegality, among others (Stefoni and Brito, 2019; Valenzuela and Vergara, 2019), as well as the tendentious association between migration and pandemics, such as the reproduction of racist discourses in the media (Póo, 2020), and the impact of the media discourse on migration in electoral processes in Chile (Dammert and Erlandsen, 2020). In their work on migration in southern Chile (Ivanova and Jocelin, 2021), they conclude that migrants tend to be represented as passive social entities, emphasizing government policies on migration rather than the contribution of immigrants in the destination society.

Moreover, as a result of globalization and advancements in information technologies, digital media are becoming increasingly important in people's daily lives; between 2019 and 2022 in Chile, internet penetration is the highest in the world. Latin America, with an increase from 78% to 92% (Newman *et al.*, 2023). A study carried out by Central University in 2022 indicated that information searches on the digital platform "WIP Chile (2010) reported that approximately 70% of people read news online at least once a month" (Cornejo and González, 2022: 13) and that, according to the Public Opinion Survey Journalism

4 The term illegal is applied to talk about irregular or undocumented migration, the use of it induces a direct relationship between migration/crime and crime, we refer to it only to illustrate how the media are expressed and does not correspond to an ascription of the authors to the concept.

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UDP-Feedback of Diego Portales University, the majority of respondents dedicate less than 30 minutes to a specific news website (73%) (Journalism UDP, 2020).

In the same way that the consumption of digital platforms has increased, digital media stands out for the ability to publish and follow news instantly such that it occurs and thus disseminates it quickly. This immediacy for Greene González *et al.* (2022) represents a new stage in the development of the media, which privileges immediacy over objectivity. For the authors, this stage is driven by speed, immediacy, hypertextuality, interactivity, and multimedia characteristics of the digital world (Vobič and Trivundza Ilija, 2015). The speed is what drives the work when preparing online editions (Fortunati and Sarrica, 2011). To respond to immediacy, journalists almost never provide original content; they choose to do "second-hand journalism" and "monitor other media" (Boczkowski, 2009: 101).

In addition to immediacy, an increasing number of digital media outlets pay attention to their audiences, giving importance to the use of metrics and the analysis of cliques that give news, a product of the great changes in journalism as a result of technological innovations (Greene González *et al.*, 2022).

Based on these data, it is necessary to begin exploring this type of media source owing to its scope and, therefore, influence on society. With respect to migration and digital media in Chile, we highlight the work of Figueiredo *et al.* (2023), whose study invites us to explore how the news uses certain groups, such as the migrant population, in the "construction of the crisis".

2. Method

To answer the above, the first step of the study was to determine a corpus of texts. For this purpose, we chose to study the three most reliable digital news media in Chile (Newman *et al.*, 2023), *Cooperativa*, *Bio-Bio,* and *El Mostrador,* during two time frames: the first (September 22–November 18, 2021) and second rounds (November 18–December 18, 2021) of the presidential electoral campaigns in 2021.

The candidates and the candidates for the first round were Gabriel Boric Font (I Approve Dignity), José Antonio Kast (Christian Social Front), Franco Parisi (People's Party), Sebastián Sichel (Independent, for Chile We Can More), Yasna Provoste (Christian Democratic Party), Marco Enríquez Ominami (Progressive Party) and Eduardo Artés (Patriotic Union). After voting, the candidates José Antonio Kast and Gabriel Boric Font returned to the second round, with 27.91% and 25.83% of the votes, respectively.

After the media and the period of interest were defined, the second step consisted of the systematic compilation of a corpus of relevant articles. This was achieved by manual retrieval of online interfaces from newspapers.

The review of materials for the construction of the corpus of information took as a point of reference the *Cooperativa* medium, which has a search engine that allows the selection of specific dates of time and the search for what was published on this day by subject. To filter the information, the following terms were applied as criteria: *migration, politics, and campaign(s) presidencies(s) 2021*.

Subsequently, the same search criteria are applied for the *Bio-Bio* and *El Mostrador* media, which locate and divide the survey into the same time bands. The same search terms were used to collect information in the *Bio-Bio* medium. In the case of *El*

Mostrador, as it does not have a search engine on its web platform, information was collected via the Google search engine, adding the term *El Mostrador* to the list of terms of *Bío-Bío* and *Cooperativa*. Of the total corpus compiled, the repetition of news for each of the media outlets was discarded since it is common that a news item is broadcast more than once in the "news in development" format. The final corpus of the work was composed of 39 news items, each of which is understood as a unit of analysis.

Table 1. Study corpus

Presidential Campaign	Cooperative	Bio-Bio	El Mostrador
First Round	9	4	12
Second Round	8	5	1

Source: own elaboration

Subsequently, each unit of analysis was assigned a code with the following metadata:

a. newspaper: C = *La Cooperativa*; BB = *Bio-Bio*; M = *El Mostrador*;

b. internal number of the news item: [1, 2, 3, ...];

c. presidential round: PV = first round; SV = second round.

Once the final sample was obtained, the next step consisted of the analysis of the corpus. Given its limited size, the analysis was performed simultaneously by two coders for five working days. To analyze the collected corpus, we applied qualitative content analysis (Neuman, 2014) of each analysis unit via the Atlas. Ti Pro 22 software. Our research employed an inductive approach, allowing the frames to emerge organically from the corpus during the process. analysis (Vázquez-Herrero *et al.*, 2023) rather than starting with a predefined set of settings. This methodology provides a more open and nuanced exploration of the data (Salvador-Mata and Cortiñas-Rovira, 2023), extending the possibility of discovering a broader list of frames and thus contributing to a deeper analysis of the question (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

For this purpose, we identified the main words and phrases related to immigration. To address potential reliability issues at an early stage, we have discussions about any "problematic" encoding. In cases of notable disagreement between team members, our protocol dictated that the unit of analysis be classified "unassignable" and, consequently, eliminated from the final corpus. However, this protocol was not applied since we reached a consensus on all the coded elements. The dual approach not only strengthened the reliability of our findings but also ensured a complete and balanced analysis.

In the second instance, we group the words and phrases together until we reach a total of seven categories. These categories or "frames" are presented in two subsections, first analyzing the frames that emerged from the analysis of the media coverage of the first presidential round and then that of the second round.

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ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

3. Results

3.1. Migration during the First Presidential Round

The results of the first round[5] show that the programmatic proposals are addressed by the media, citing the presidential debates and focusing on two main frames related to migration: 1) migratory crisis/crisis on the northern border and those responsible and 2) Venezuelan migration and irregular migration:

[1] The president of RN, Francisco Chahuán, insisted on the official attack that blames the presidential candidate of Approve Dignity, Gabriel Boric, for the irregular income of Venezuelans to Chile. C.1.PV.

[2] Kast insisted on the construction of a ditch to block the entry of undocumented people. *BB.3.PV.*

[3] The standard-bearer of the Republican Party, José Antonio Kast, affirmed that "the migratory disaster began with Bachelet and has now gotten out of control with Sebastián Piñera", and called on his contenders to go to Iquique or Colchane to address the issue in front of migrants and the neighbors of the area. M.2.PV.

The medium that mostly develops the theme is *El Mostrador*, which focuses on migration in the northern part of the country, mainly in the context of the acts of violence that occurred in the city of Iquique on 09/25/2021 (see [4,5]). In the bodies of texts of this medium, expressions such as *humanitarian crisis*, *humanitarian drama*, *migration as an evil*, *illegal and uncontrolled migration*, and *immigration problems* appear:

[4] In an issue that managed to align the entire opposition, the presidential candidates of the right and center right joined the rejection of the events in Iquique, where a group burned the belongings of migrants, and noted that the State should reinforce the measures and solve this crisis, marking some differences with the approaches of the left and center-left M.2.PV.

[5] The candidate for the new social pact added that "we cannot install a new M.1. PV sacrifice zone in the north.

[6] Yasna Provoste, who addressed the problem of immigration and the role that the government has played, adopted measures to address this humanitarian crisis, also referred to the vote on the project that seeks the decriminalization of abortion, among other issues, M.6.PV.

In the case of *Cooperativa*, most of the headlines of the first round refer to the treatment of the migratory crisis, or migratory situation, focused on the northern border in connection to the Venezuelan crisis. It is evident that the crisis is approached as a crisis of borders and income with a focus on finding those responsible for the crisis:

[7] [...] Yasna Provoste (DC), insisted on her criticism of the government for the migration crisis in the north of Chile, mainly of Venezuelan citizens, assuring that it seeks to place a "smokescreen" after the incidents registered during this weekend in Iquique C.2.PV.

5 See the complete corpus in Annex 1.

[8] [...] Sebastián Sichel (Chile Vamos) and José Antonio Kast (Republicans)culparon [...] Gabriel Boric, assuring that he supports irregular migration C.2.PV.

Bio-Bio follows the trend of the two previous media that focus on migration from what happened in the north; although it does not necessarily use the words migratory crisis, it does use the idea of irregularity as one of the main problems and the need to control migration, which is attributed to this main problem.

[9] Republican Party candidate José Antonio Kast noted that the problem extends from opposition governments and called for the closure of borders.

[10] Senator and candidate of the conglomerate, Yasna Provoste, criticized the government and accused it of not adopting the necessary policies to address migration.

That said, the results from media outlets coincided in approaching migration from the perspective of a border or humanitarian crisis during the first presidential round. The issue of migration is related mainly to the irregular entry of people through unauthorized passages and Venezuelan migration, either to blame Sebastián Piñera's administration or Bachelet or candidates such as Boric.

In particular, candidates such as Artes and Provoste opt for a position more linked to human rights. Meo focuses on the benefits that migration can bring in economic terms, Kast and Sichel focus on border control and the development of technologies to control these aspects. For his part, candidate Boric focuses not only on the idea of regular, orderly, and safe migration but also on programs that support people who are already in the country. The candidate Provoste focuses on the idea of a humanitarian crisis and the need for shelters.

In general terms, the candidates assume the existence of a crisis, which becomes important in the media agenda when the burning of tents occurs in the city of Iquique and which, however, has its roots in multilateral, political, and major problems. data. The need to elaborate a plan that orders migration and regulates it is present since the problem is irregular migration (except for Artes, which is the only one that speaks of migration as a human right).

3.2. Migration during the Second Presidential Round

Unlike the first presidential round, the second-round campaign is more limited in time and candidates, which allows greater media development of the Kast and Boric programs separately and in comparison with each other. The results (see Annex 2) show that the *Cooperativa* media equitably covers both candidacies and proposals, in addition to presenting at least one note comparing both campaigns. The *Bio-Bio* medium allocates greater coverage to the Boric candidate and applies the logic of the comparison between both proposals. *El Mostrador* develops an extensive opinion column where both proposals on migration are analyzed.

In turn, during the second round, there was a reduction in the amount of immigration thematic approach by each medium. The results of the second round show that the migration issue was addressed in three media by the candidates Boric and Kast using five thematic frames: 1) migration problem; 2) borders; 3) regularity/irregularity; 4) immigration law; and 5) control and order.

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In general, regarding the current situation in the country, both candidates assume that migration is *a problem* that must be addressed and that conditions are unworthy for the migrant population.

[11] "We have a gigantic humanitarian problem; people come in, and today, they do not have dignity in the treatment they are given. There are people who live on the street, in tents", commented [Kast] C.5. SV

[12] "We will have to deal with an enormous problem inherited from the current government, which translates into more than 60,000 people who have entered clandestinely in the last three years", said Thayer, a sociologist and migrant officer for the command. C.3.SV.

In the case of *borders,* Boric and Kast agree that migration is a global phenomenon; however, some variations in its media coverage are observed here. In the case of Kast, physical control of the border is emphasized, including the creation of a "ditch". On the other hand, in the case of Boric, they talk about the management of borders and their control, as well as support for the territories.

[13] "We have to change the Piñera doctrine, of inviting people to come to Chile and then abandoning the people who arrive" emphasized Thayer, stating that "for that, we propose measures in three areas: response to the crisis, better management and control on the border, and support for the communes that receive migrants who today are abandoned and not from a deficient policy", C.3.SV.

[14] The candidate, also supported by the ruling party, defended his intention to build a "ditch" in the northern Chilean territory to stop the irregular entry of foreigners. As he had already said in debates, he assured that "the ditch was started by Michelle Bachelet." C.5.SV.

For *regularity/irregularity* framing, both candidates talk about the entry of migrants, reducing the problem only to this dimension. However, they differ in that, for Boric, the focus should be on a regularization process, and in the case of Kast, it should be on a prior control process and even include a qualified migration as a requirement. Neither agrees with irregular migration; in fact, both speak of regular and orderly migration. Boric only adds the concept of safety.

[15] Gabriel Boric stated that orderly and regular migration is required in Chile. BB.2.SV.

[16] What we [Kast] propose is not to reject immigrants but to enter through the door and not the window. C.5. SV

The *Migration Law* framework is only addressed at *the Counter* and *Bio-Bio*, where Boric's proposal is covered from the point of view of the implementation and allocation of resources to the Migration Service and the ratification of the Global Migration Pact: "A migratory policy, regular, orderly and safe", with a focus on rights and interculturality. In the case of the candidate, Kast refers only to compliance with the law and the reinforcement of immigration controls.

[17] To strengthen the resources allocated to the new Migration Service, its budget was increased to create 4 lines of work associated with requirements for better functioning of this new service through the National Registry of Migrants Program, the Program Visas Abroad, the Closing Gaps Program and the Regional Inclusion Program. BB.1.SV.

[18] "require compliance with current law and strengthen the controls and tools that the State has to effectively apply the law" M.1.SV.

Finally, the *control and order* framework is the central focus of each proposal covered by the media. In particular, there is talk of border control and organizing migration as solutions to the crisis, which is sometimes humanitarian and bordering at other times. With respect to candidacies, the media covers Boric's proposal, which emphasizes the control and order of the people, and Kast's proposal, which focuses on the protection of national sovereignty.

[19] We have to have orderly borders and regular migration, and that is something that we all have to take care of. BB.2.SV.

[20] (…) According to Kast, it must "be regulated according to the country's capacities to guarantee decent treatment and conditions so that every person who, complying with the applicable legislation, reaches our territory and joins our community", C.4.SV.

4. Discussion and conclusions

Migration during the presidential campaigns of 2021 is located in the media focus as a country problem, described under the notion of crisis and a situation that becomes uncontrollable, while its real magnitude (quantity) is not known and as long as the other is seen or represented as a threat to the target society.

Regarding the frames used by the media to portray the presidential campaigns around the issue of migration, we observe a special emphasis on placing irregularity as a problem, particularly as a problem of security and order, in the context of a country in crisis. In fact, it is striking that none of the candidates are opposed to migration in general; rather, they are opposed to a particular type of migration, which they define as "irregular" and even "illegal" migration. Both in the media coverage and in relation to the political differences between candidates, we do not observe great differences but rather an emphasis on regulation, order, and control. For example, during the first and second presidential rounds, the predominant frames are crisis, migration crisis, border crisis, or humanitarian crisis, followed by control, security and order frames.

In comparative terms, the media highlights the most extreme ideas, for example, the proposal of candidate Kast on the construction of a ditch on the northern border or the ideas of Provoste and Boric, which refer to the creation of shelters or the delivery of housing to the population. migrant. The above occurs again during the second presidential round between José Antonio Kast (Christian Social Front) and Gabriel Boric (Approve Dignity), where the most radical differences between the candidates regarding this issue are exposed in comparative terms, agreeing with (Greussing and Boomgaarden, 2017), who speak about the double narrative present in the European media from the refugee crisis about the criminalization of irregular migration or the victimization of migrants.

A nuance between the two periods is the focus on these "migration crises". During the first campaign, the emphasis is on who or who is responsible, and during the second presidential round, the focus is on who and how to solve the problem of the so-called crisis. For example, first, the candidates opposed to the government in turn blame former President Sebastián Piñera for the political act of attending Cúcuta, whereas the candidates, mainly from the right, blame the second administration (2014-2018) for the former president Michelle Bachelet for "opening the door to an uncontrolled migration" (C.1.PV., M.2.PV., M.5.PV.) Second, between Kast and Boric, there is greater treatment in their concrete positions for the approach to migration than in whom or how the "problem" originated.

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Illustratively, situated in the same paradigm of order, Boric adds the concept of safe migration in terms of humanitarian conditions that guarantee the rights of the people who migrate. In the case of Kast, the concept of control is added, with a focus on more surveillance technologies, increasing or improving entry processes through authorized steps, and greater police and military control in the northern border area.

In accordance with the above, Dammert and Erlandsen (2020: 67) noted, "The media coverage, during the electoral campaign periods, is mainly linked to the content generated by the political debate". This is reflected mainly in the use of candidate spots and minute-by-minute monitoring of debates and publications, placing less emphasis on the political programs of each candidate. In this context, we observe how the immediacy of digital media (Greene González *et al.*, 2022) is present in the case in question. It is important to consider this form of media action and what consequences it has for the public, who gathers these ideas.

Digital media primarily focus on the immediacy of news rather than on the development of candidates' political ideas or proposals. This occurs in the first presidential round, characterized by a greater number of candidates with coalition policies. During the second presidential round, immediacy continues to be a significant tool, with a slight increase in the depth of the development of the ideas and positions of each candidate, generally put in a comparison format. In the second round, we observed a decrease in the informational treatment of the immigration issue with respect to the number of headlines or their appearance. The decline in the case of *Cooperativa* and *Bio-Bio* is not related to a greater depth in such a significant approach, but in the middle *El Mostrador*, it is reflected in columns dedicated to analyzing in depth the programs of both candidates.

The immediacy in digital media in the publication of information focuses on the result or contingency and not on the context, causes, or reasons of certain situations. In this way, the public is left with the result without delving into or better understanding the context of the story or its contrasts.

Another consequence of this operation is that the media simultaneously publishes certain headlines, losing the possibility of developing ideas, nuances, and opinions; consequently, media diversity is lost, and it seems that the media have neutral ideologies or positions in front of events or people. Immediacy contributes to the illusion of objectivity in the digital media analyzed.

Irregular migrants are invisible to the system, but they are visible to society; for this reason, migration translates into a security and control problem, especially in the context of a country that, during the period analyzed, is fractured by its own internal problems; in this way, the figure of the migrant becomes a scapegoat. This responds, on the one hand, to the national political context, such as the constituent process that was underway; on the other hand, to a contingent social context located in the city of Iquique, the northern border of the country, where hundreds of immigrants are stranded in its streets. In this way, we agree that the idea of security is intrinsically linked to the notion of insecurity (Grimaldi, 2022) that is mutable over time and that it seems that, in the Chilean context of the process in question, the search for an external scapegoat is needed (Figueiredo *et al.*, 2023), to forget the problems of national unity as the media call the current state of the country during the campaigns, that scapegoat is a particular type of migrant—the irregular migrant.

Understanding this, we wonder why the media shows us migration as a security problem and what makes migration a threat. On the other hand, why was the focus on the migration crisis if the two candidates are from political parties with opposite

ideologies? With respect to this, we think that there is a deeper and more historical response, already widely addressed by (Anderson, 1993; Appadurai, 2006, 2015; Bauman, 2016), that is related to the idea of the nation and the imagined community. For this purpose, it is important to briefly return to the national historical context and the contingent context.

Chile is conceived as a nation based on three elements: sovereignty, limits or borders, and community, and it imagines itself based on the ideas of homogeneity and equality. We also agree with Santos-Herceg (2012) and his idea of the foreigner as a radical stranger who breaks into the life of this conceived community. In turn, Liberona (2015) noted that migrants and migration are representative of the dichotomy between foreign nationals; in this sense, the media are reproducers of historical nationalist discourses, particularly with respect to border countries. In this sense, both candidates and the media highlight migration following the logic of the production of alterizations and/or otherizations (Briones, 2008; Restrepo, 2020; Segato, 2007).

Returning to the current and contingent context, there is another element related to the idea of threat and insecurity, which are coupled with the ideas of control/security. In the reviewed media, electoral speeches are emphasized in the control of migration and its regulation, which translates, for example, into the calls of some candidates to generate and produce better technologies for border control and to provide more capacity and authority to the police and military to protect them and to protect unauthorized passages. In addition, it translates into adjusting the processes of entry into the country or producing better control mechanisms for the entry of people through authorized steps. In this sense, migration is configured as a threat to the extent that it cannot be controlled.

Finally, digital news is fertile ground for analyzing audience reactions, which would allow for the study of its potential influence on levels of prejudice and how these relate to situations and milestones concerning the migrant population (Figueiredo *et al.*, 2023: 35).

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6. Specific contributions of each author

	Name and Surname
Conception and design of the work	Anna Ivanova and Lucero Burón Rodríguez
Methodology	Anna Ivanova and Lucero Burón Rodríguez
Data collection and analysis	Lucero Burón Rodríguez
Discussion and conclusions	Anna Ivanova and Lucero Burón Rodríguez
Drafting, formatting, version review and approval	Anna Ivanova and Lucero Burón Rodríguez

ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

7. Conflicts of interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest contained in this article.

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Annex 1. Corpus from the first presidential round

Table 1. First-round *La Cooperativa*

Code	Date	Holder
C.1.PV.	27/09/2021	Chahuán: By promising a "great pardon", Boric is an accomplice in the migration crisis.
C.2.PV.	27/09/2021	Provoste: Government rejected UNHCR offer of shelter for migrants
C.3.PV.	28/09/2021	"From the same creators of it is the fault of the previous government": Jackson ironically faced criticism of Boric for the immigration crisis.
C.4.PV.	28/09/2021	Comando de Sichel questions that Chile has legally welcomed only seven Venezuelans.

ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

C.5.PV.	12/10/2021	Migration, governance and economic program marked the second presidential debate
C.6.PV.	15/10/2021	[Minute by Minute] Reactions to Archi's Presidential Debate
C.7.PV.	15/10/2021	Pensions, La Araucanía and more: Archi's debate in three sentences of each candidate
C.8.PV.	01/11/2021	Gabriel Boric presented his government program with 53 proposals "for a new Chile"

Source: own elaboration

Table 2. First-round *Bio-Bio*

Code	Date	Headline
BB.1.PV.	28/09/2021	Migration crisis: Boric and Provoste point to the "bad" Government of Piñera and Kast asks to close borders.
BB.2.PV.	02/10/21	Cariola and criticism of Maduropor migración Venezuelan: It has a responsibility like all governments.
BB.3.PV.	12/10/2021	Araucanía, human rights, migration and CA against Piñera: the definitions that marked the presidential debate
BB.4.PV.	11/11/21	The main definitions of the presidential candidates in Enade 2021

Source: own elaboration

Table 3. First-round *El Mostrador*

Code	Date	Headline
M.1.PV.	24/09/2021	Provoste by migratory crisis: "The massive expulsions do not solve the problem if the Government does not have a clear control in our border"
M.2.PV.	26/09/2021	Right-wing presidential candidates criticize the state for immigration management and call on the opposition to clarify their proposals
M.3.PV.	26/09/2021	Opposition lines up against the Government due to migration crisis: They accuse abandonment, irresponsibility and lack of coordination

M.4.PV.	27/09/2021	Zero self-criticism on the right: for the Government, JA Kast and RN what happened in Iquique is the fault of... Boric
M.5.PV.	27/09/2021	Boric's reply due to the migration crisis: "The responsibility lies with the bad government of Sebastián Piñera"
M.6.PV.	28/09/2021	Yasna Provoste summons President Piñera due to the migratory crisis in the north: "A few years ago I called on migrants to come to Chile; now he expels them with violence » That the Government accept international aid and create a great shelter", said the presidential candidate of the New Social Pact.
M.7.PV.	28/09/2021	The immigration crisis, Yasna Provoste's definitions of immigration issues and how it affects the presidential race
M.8.PV.	08/10/2021	There is more capacity: how to channel migration to build a more prosperous Chile
M.9.PV.	12/10/2021	ME-O summons Kast for ditch measure to combat migratory crisis: "I have asked the command to buy a shovel, to have it and to be able to dig holes"
M.10.PV.	24/10/2021	Kast used the case of Joan Florvil to present a proposal for migration in the electoral strip

Source: own elaboration

Annex 2. Second-round corpus

Table 1. Second-round *La Cooperativa*

Code	Date	Headline
C.1.SV.	22-11-2021	Boric: "We will make all the necessary revisions, I understand the concern for the anguish of the present"
C.2.SV.	05/12/2021	Boric wants to encourage regularity, so that migrants "do not enter through the window"
C.3.SV.	05/12/2021	While Boric and Kast are deployed in regions, this Sunday the second round strip started
C.4.SV.	07/12/2021	Kast presented his new government plan, "enriched and enhanced by dialog"

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C.5.SV.	08/12/2021	Kast: "Chile continues to be a country of good people and I believe that I can carry out a government in peace"

Source: own elaboration

Table 2. Second-round *Bio-Bio*

Code	Date	Holder
BB.1.SV.	23-11-21	It will apply to Kast or Boric: The spending priorities that Chile will have according to the Presupuesto 2022
BB.2.SV.	01-12-21	Boric is committed to "respecting the law" at the borders and ending presidential delegates
BB.3.SV.	01-12-21	Boric gives its advisers 7 days to deliver a government proposal with Provoste and MEO initiatives
BB.4.SV.	02-12-21	Balance of the meeting of governors of Tarapacá in which the presidential candidates were

Source: own elaboration

Table 3. Second-round *El Mostrador*

Code	Date	Headline
M.1.SV.	06/12/2021	The immigration issue in the Kast and Boric programs: a critical review

Source: own elaboration

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