

Securitization and Politicization: News Framing of Venezuelan Immigration in Chile's Digital Media Landscape (2022–2024)

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Abstract

This article examines the evolving representation of Venezuelan immigration in Chilean digital media from 2022 to 2024, a period marked by increasing migration flows and shifting public perceptions. Through a comparative qualitative analysis of headlines from four major online news outlets—*La Tercera Online*, *24 Horas Online*, *Chilevisión Noticias*, and *Emol.com*—the study identifies key media frames used to portray Venezuelan migrants. The findings reveal a transition from an initially diverse focus to a polarized discourse, with increasing emphasis on securitization and political dimensions, often marginalizing sociocultural and humanitarian aspects. While media coverage witnessed exponential growth, broadcast television outlets tended to include coexistence perspectives and amplify the voices of Venezuelan migrants, in contrast to print media, which favored narratives that problematized the migratory phenomenon. The analysis highlights how Chilean media

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constructs a complex, evolving representation of Venezuelan migration, reflecting changes in the sociopolitical context and the power dynamics underpinning discourse production.

Keywords

Venezuelan immigration; security; Chile; framing; digital media.

Securitización y politización: el encuadre noticioso de la inmigración venezolana en los medios digitales chilenos (2022-2024)

Resumen

Este artículo examina la evolución de la representación de la inmigración venezolana en los medios digitales chilenos entre 2022 y 2024, un período marcado por el aumento de los flujos migratorios y la transformación de las percepciones públicas. Mediante un análisis cualitativo comparativo de los titulares de cuatro medios de comunicación digitales de gran relevancia (*La Tercera Online*, *24 Horas Online*, *Chilevisión Noticias* y *Emol.com*), el estudio identifica los principales marcos mediáticos empleados para retratar a los migrantes venezolanos. Los hallazgos revelan una transición desde un enfoque inicialmente diverso hacia un discurso polarizado, con un creciente énfasis en la securitización y en las dimensiones políticas, que a menudo marginan los aspectos socioculturales y humanitarios. Si bien la cobertura mediática experimentó un crecimiento exponencial, los medios de televisión abierta tendieron a incluir perspectivas de coexistencia y a amplificar las voces de los migrantes venezolanos, en contraste con los medios impresos, que favorecieron narrativas que problematizaban el fenómeno migratorio. El análisis destaca cómo los medios chilenos construyen una representación compleja y en evolución de la migración venezolana, que refleja los cambios en el contexto sociopolítico y las dinámicas de poder que subyacen a la producción del discurso.

Palabras clave

Inmigración venezolana; seguridad; Chile; encuadre; medios digitales.

Securitização e politização: o enquadramento midiático da imigração venezuelana na mídia digital chilena (2022-2024)

Resumo

Este artigo examina a evolução da representação da imigração venezuelana na mídia digital chilena entre 2022 e 2024, um período marcado pelo aumento dos fluxos migratórios e pela transformação das percepções públicas. Por meio de uma análise qualitativa comparativa das manchetes de quatro meios de comunicação digitais altamente relevantes (*La Tercera Online*, *24 Horas Online*, *Chilevisión Noticias* e *Emol.com*), o estudo identifica os principais enquadramentos midiáticos usados para retratar migrantes venezuelanos. Os resultados indicam uma transição de uma abordagem inicialmente diversa para um discurso polarizado, com uma ênfase crescente na securitização e nas dimensões políticas, que frequentemente marginalizam aspectos socioculturais e humanitários. Enquanto a cobertura midiática experimentou crescimento exponencial, os meios televisivos tendiam a incluir perspectivas de convivência e amplificar as vozes dos migrantes venezuelanos, em contraste com os meios impressos, que favoreciam narrativas que problematizavam o fenômeno migratório. A análise destaca como a mídia chilena constrói uma representação complexa e em evolução da migração venezuelana, refletindo as mudanças no contexto sociopolítico e nas dinâmicas de poder que subjazem à produção do discurso.

Palavras-chave

Imigração venezuelana; securitização; Chile; enquadramento; mídia digital.

Introduction

The contemporary global landscape of migration is characterized as both a historical and persistent phenomenon (Soto & Alcaraz, 2017), wherein nation-states endeavor to control and regulate the movement and displacement of individuals across borders, often framed through discourses of security and the protection of the national demos (Ivanova & Burón, 2023). This complex phenomenon has been examined from various theoretical perspectives, including mobility regimes (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013), border policies (Stefoni Espinoza et al., 2019), and the autonomy of migration (Mezzadra, 2012; Varela & McLean, 2019). Within this context, the figure of a migrant is often constructed as an “other” or “radical stranger” (Appadurai, 2006; Santos-Herceg, 2012), thereby sustaining a national/foreign dichotomy (Liberona, 2015). This dichotomy is further reinforced by processes of alterity and otherization (Briones, 2008; Segato, 2007) and by various markers of foreignness (Restrepo, 2020, 2022).

In the Chilean context, migration patterns have undergone significant transformations throughout history. Initially, Chile welcomed Spanish colonizers, followed by waves of immigrants from Italy, Germany, Yugoslavia, the Arab world, and Asia. These “silent” flows were recognized for their cultural and economic contributions to the nation (Cano & Soffia, 2009). However, the landscape of migration shifted notably in the 1990s, following the end of the military dictatorship, with a marked increase in intraregional and border immigration, particularly from Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina (Stefoni, 2007). In the first 15 years of the 21st century, further influxes of migrants occurred due to various economic, political, and social crises, with significant numbers arriving from Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti (Palominos, 2016; Rojas et al., 2021).

Currently, migratory flows in Chile exhibit three key characteristics: they predominantly involve interregional (south-south) migrations occurring within the context of sociopolitical, economic, and environmental crises; they possess a racial dimension that affects national identity; and they are

increasingly feminized, reflecting the incorporation of women into both local and global labor markets (Stefoni, 2011, 2016). These characteristics have led to a re-conceptualization of migration in Chile and a transformed relationship with the notion of otherness, often framed through a whitewashed national identity (Tijoux & Palominos, 2015).

According to the Estimate of Foreign Persons in Chile Report prepared by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and the National Migration Service in 2023, the total foreign population residing in Chile was estimated to be 1,918,683, of which 979,571 were men and 939,012 were women, reflecting an absolute growth of 82,446 individuals and a relative growth of 4.5 % compared to the updated figure from the previous year (INE, 2023, p. 8). The percentage distribution of the foreign population by country is organized as follows: Venezuela leads with 728,586 individuals (38.0 %), followed by Peru with 260,785 (13.6 %), Colombia with 209,946 (10.9 %), Haiti with 188,131 (9.8 %), Bolivia with 180,266 (9.4 %), and Argentina with 83,265 (4.3 %).

In this scenario, the rejection of immigration in Chile has increased from 35.50 % in August 2020 to 62.9 % in December 2022. This rise is particularly striking given that in 2020, a neutral stance dominated, with 36.3 % of respondents holding it. By contrast, in 2022, only 25.8 % maintained a neutral stance, while support for immigration dwindled to 11.3 %. Similarly, in 2024, the Pulso Ciudadano survey asked: “To what extent do you agree or disagree with immigration in Chile?” The results revealed that 62.9 % of respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with immigration in Chile, highlighting a significant association between migration and crime.

The media play a pivotal role in shaping public perceptions of immigration, frequently contributing to the formation of stereotypes through negative representations of otherness, thus reinforcing the national/foreign dichotomy (Arévalo, 2014; Liberona, 2015). The media ideologically reproduce narratives that frame migration as a social problem associated with poverty, crime, and illegality (Stefoni & Brito,

2019; Valenzuela-Vergara, 2019). This portrayal has become increasingly pronounced on digital and social media, where a clear articulation of nationalism, xenophobia, and patriotism emerges in online comments, reflecting anxieties about national security and criticism of government management of migration (Dammert & Erlandsen, 2020). Therefore, dominant media frames pertain to attributions of responsibility and conflict, reflecting a negative perspective and heightened tensions surrounding migratory flows.

Thus, the central problem our work addresses is how Chilean digital media, predominantly consulted by the local population, construct and reproduce social representations of Venezuelan migration. This construction often privileges certain frames over others, potentially influencing public perception and shaping migration policies. We aim to explore the following research questions: How is Venezuelan migration represented in the main Chilean digital media? What differences exist in the informational treatment among the various media analyzed? How have the news frames regarding Venezuelan migration evolved from 2022 to 2024? What frames predominate in media coverage, and what implications do these frames have for the social construction of the Venezuelan migratory phenomenon?

To this end, our primary objective is to analyze how Venezuelan migration is represented in four Chilean digital media outlets—*La Tercera Online*, *24 Horas Online*, *Chilevisión Noticias*, and *Emol.com*—during the period of 2022 to 2024. This analysis will focus on identifying the principal news frames used in media coverage of Venezuelan migration, characterizing their temporal evolution throughout the study period, and comparing coverage across digital news outlets.

This study is crucial for understanding how Chilean digital media—the population's primary source of information—construct narratives about Venezuelan migration that directly influence public perception and the legitimization of migration policies. The analysis of the evolution of frames between 2022 and 2024 reveals a transition from diversified coverage to a polarized discourse centered on securitization and

politicization, marginalizing sociocultural and humanitarian dimensions, with concrete implications for social integration and migrants' rights.

The Framing Theory and Its Specific Application to Migration Studies

The media “have the power to define the agenda, influence public opinion, and, therefore, shape citizens’ attitudes toward issues” (Checa et al., 2012, p. 8). In 1972, McCombs and Shaw proposed an approach known as Agenda Setting for studying the cognitive effects of the media. According to this approach, the media, through their content, can influence the public agenda or the salience of topics on which the public should think. As a result, our knowledge of events and their priorities is based on what the media decide. Consequently, the topics most discussed in the media become more discussed in public opinion: “the mass media are capable of transferring the relevance of a news item on their agenda to that of society” (McCombs & Evatt, 1995, p. 17), or, conversely, we exclude topics that the media exclude from their content.

This process is realized through media frames. For Ko (2020), “a frame refers to the way in which the media direct the audience’s attention to a particular aspect of an issue” (p. 5). The author argues that frames are necessary for the media to explain social phenomena; however, he emphasizes that their use will affect how audiences perceive them. Nonetheless, framing has a negative ramification because it limits the audience’s attention to a particular scope (Hall, 1982). Thus, framing necessarily produces a selection effect, giving salience to some aspects of an issue while neglecting others (Entman, 1993). By emphasizing certain aspects of an issue, the media can shape popular perceptions. Using this selection process, the media induce the audience to accept a particular interpretation of a given issue. As a consequence, exposure to a particular framing of social problems influences public attitudes toward the relevant policies (Scheufele, 1999).

In migration studies, framing theory (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999) offers conceptual tools to analyze how certain aspects of migration

are selected and highlighted at the expense of others. The media communicate, transmit, and construct particular social images of migration and migrant subjects, as they are one of the main sources of information and meaning-making, a producer of social reality, a source of knowledge for the political elite and civil society in general (Ivanova & Burón, 2023; Ivanova & Jocelin, 2021; McCombs & Evatt, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Verón, 1994). By foregrounding certain aspects over others, the media influence how people think about specific topics, privileging hegemonic voices and serving as sources of prejudice and discrimination (Hall, 2010; Van Dijk, 2005). Specific studies on migratory framing (Igartua et al., 2006) have identified recurring frames, including “security/threat,” “economic competition,” “humanitarian/victim,” and “cultural/economic contribution.”

Along these lines, Van Dijk (2005) argues that, as citizens, we form most of our knowledge about social and political events and the world in general from the information we hear, read, and see daily. In this context, the media are considered as “spaces of ideological reproduction and legitimation of reality” (Crespo, 2008, p. 45). That is, they are not only sources of information and a public space for opinion expression, but also, as the primary entity of ideological reproduction (Van Dijk, 2005) and “powerful spaces of social legitimation” (Villalobos, 2004, p. 4).

Media Representation of (Venezuelan) Migration in Chile

Recent scholarship has underscored the presence of a “differentiated approach based on country of origin” in the portrayal of migrant groups within the Chilean media (Scherman & Etchegaray, 2021). For instance, Ivanova and Burón (2023, 2024) examine the tension arising from the visibility and suppression of racism towards immigrants in the Chilean press, noting that there exist “frames that perpetuate stereotypes and racial markers.” In turn, Dammert and Erlandsen (2020) investigate how media outlets used migrants’ nationality as a distinguishing factor during the 2017 presidential elections in Chile. Furthermore, Nesbet et al. (2021) demonstrate that these discriminatory trends based on nationality are both mirrored and intensified on social media platforms,

while Doña-Reveco (2024) explores the portrayals of immigration in Chilean newspapers, identifying the development of distinct narratives that depict Chile as the “South American tiger” and categorize migrants in accordance with their national origins.

In a similar vein, a study by Ivanova and Burón (2023) examining the visual representation of migrant women from 2015 to 2019 reveals a significant bias in media portrayals by nationality. Specifically, the authors demonstrate that national origin serves as a marker of social differentiation, reinforcing stereotypes about the labor and social roles attributed to each national group.

Regarding Venezuelan migration, scholars such as Rodríguez and Gissi (2023) argue that there is no uniform migration experience. Instead, Venezuelan migration is “uneven and highly stratified,” reflecting a complex phenomenon that has evolved over time across different waves. In the case of their media representations in Chile, the research is situated within a framework in which the media functions as a hegemonic apparatus that constructs specific narratives surrounding the migratory phenomenon (Stefoni & Brito, 2019). Evidence indicates that Venezuelan migration is primarily framed through interpretative lenses of “crisis,” “emergency,” and “institutional overflow,” thereby contributing to the formation of imaginaries characterized as “grotesque” (Saldívar et al., 2022).

According to Bello Arellano (2023), the representation of Venezuelan migration in Chilean media underwent a significant transformation between 2017 and 2019. Initially, Venezuelan migrants were portrayed favorably, depicted as victims of a dictatorial regime that “expelled” them from their homeland. This perception led to favorable immigration policies and the implementation of a specific democratic responsibility visa. The positive representation was rooted in historical factors, particularly Chile’s indebtedness to Venezuela for the reception of Chileans during the 1970s and 1980s. However, as the migratory flow increased, media narratives shifted, focusing on the “massive migration of

Venezuelans” and the notion of a “migratory crisis” (Saldívar et al., 2022; Stefoni & Brito, 2019).

Within these frames, the media portrayal of Venezuelan migration shifted progressively from a stance of “moderate otherness” (Brons, 2015), which leaned towards acceptance, to one of “radical otherness,” characterized by complete rejection and a maximum distancing from the perceived “us.” This transformation in media and political discourse is indicative of the restrictive migration policy described by Bello Arellano (2023) and Gaete (2022) during the Piñera administration, which emphasized control over humanitarian concerns and social integration. This approach reflects how media narratives of responsibility, conflict, and human interest were closely aligned with government policies. Analyses by Bello Arellano (2023) and Gaete (2022) highlight that a significant interplay between media representation and migration policy marks the migration crisis in Chile.

Currently, media representations of Venezuelan migration in Chile are characterized by a pronounced negativity and a tendency to problematize the migrant experience. Navarro-Corticello (2024) notes that the media often emphasize conflictual aspects, thereby reinforcing stereotypes and cultivating an image of the Venezuelan migrant as a threatening “other.” Male Venezuelan immigrants are frequently depicted as destabilizing agents linked to crime and social instability, while female Venezuelan migrants are portrayed in a hypersexualized manner, described as “voluptuous, beautiful, and selfish.” This disparity in gender representation illustrates the intersection of xenophobic and sexist stereotypes within media discourse.

Interestingly, this negative portrayal resonates with findings by Castellanos and Prada-Penagos (2020), who observed similar trends in other contexts in which the media tend to draw connections between migrants and negative concepts, fostering an adversarial climate between migrants and the host society. In alignment with Regis’ (2024) observations in the Peruvian context, the media in Chile similarly

associate Venezuelan migrants with issues such as violence, disease, invasion, illegality, and informality. Consequently, media narratives in Chile have accentuated the perception of immigrants as a threat to national security (Navarro-Conticello, 2024), paralleling the portrayal in Peru, where immigrants are linked to problems of violence and health crises (Castellanos & Prada-Penagos, 2020).

Methodology

This article reports the findings of a comparative qualitative study analyzing how Venezuelan migration is represented across four Chilean digital media outlets: *La Tercera Online*, *24 Horas Online*, *Chilevisión Noticias*, and *Emol.com*. The longitudinal analysis spans the period from March 11, 2022, to August 31, 2024, from the start of Gabriel Boric's presidential term to one month after the 2024 Venezuelan presidential elections.

The study focuses on headlines, which serve as essential mechanisms for simplifying information and attracting readers' attention to subsequent content (Andrew, 2007). In this context, Van Dijk (2012) asserts that "the formulation of headlines and leads reflects the way the newspaper frames the topics and organizes the meaning of the entire text" (p. 22). Furthermore, media studies have shown that most readers do not engage with full articles; instead, they tend to focus on headlines, which serve as cognitive shortcuts that capture and shape public attention (Bell, 1991).

Universe and Sample

The selection of the media outlets is informed by the *Digital News Report 2024* (Newman et al., 2024), which identifies several online news platforms as the most popular among users in Chile. Specifically, it highlights *Meganoticias Online* (26%), *La Tercera Online* (23%), *24 Horas Online (TVN)* (22%), *Chilevisión Noticias* (20%), and *Emol.com* (19%). Our sample comprises the last four platforms, balancing the inclusion of two media outlets with a print base (*La Tercera Online* and *Emol*) and two broadcast media (*24 Horas Online (TVN)* and *Chilevisión Noticias*). Additionally, we ensured that the selected platforms had their own search engines, which is why *Meganoticias* was excluded.

Table 1 outlines the characteristics of the sample, including the number of headlines analyzed for each media outlet and across various years.

Table 1. Composition of the Corpus

Media outlet	Time period / No. of headlines			Total number of headlines per media outlet
	2022	2023	2024	
<i>La Tercera online</i>	18	22	75	115
<i>24 Horas Online</i>	39	104	193	336
<i>Chilevisión Noticias</i>	61	73	99	233
<i>Emol.com</i>	29	63	299	391
Total per year	153	263	713	1,075

Source: Own elaboration

The sample was built using two search methods: the first utilized the web platform of each media outlet, while the second employed Google’s advanced search engine, using the following string in Spanish:

Venezolanos OR Venezuela OR Venezolano OR Venezolana OR Venezolanas

This approach enabled targeted search for relevant keywords, a necessary restriction to ensure the relevance of the results, and a characteristic not available in other databases (Nimri et al., 2024).

Coding and Analysis

The coding and analysis were initially conducted using ATLAS.ti 24. We employed an inductive approach in which frames emerged from the collected corpus in situ (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) since we believe it broadens the possibility of discovering a more comprehensive list of frames, contributing to a deeper analysis of the issue. To achieve this objective, we systematically identified key terms and phrases relevant to Venezuelan immigration or to Venezuelans in Chile. To mitigate potential reliability issues early, we discussed instances of “problematic” coding. When significant disagreement arose among team members, our established protocol required that the unit of analysis be designated “unassignable,” resulting in its exclusion from the final corpus. However,

this protocol was ultimately unnecessary, as consensus was reached on all coded elements. This dual approach enhanced the reliability of our findings and facilitated a thorough and balanced analysis.

This process yielded 393 initial codes. Subsequently, we refined these codes by identifying redundancies, synonyms, and categories, ultimately categorizing them into a cohesive set of 288 codes, organized into seven frame groups, as detailed in Table 2.

Table 2. Identified Frame Groups

Frame group	Number of codes
Migration crisis	8
Crime and security	34
Location	82
Identification	110
Politics	24
Organization	35

Source: Own elaboration

Finally, we reduced the sample to 59 codes by eliminating those related to location (news context) and identification (names of the represented actors). While these codes provide contextual data, they fall outside the analytical focus of our study.

Subsequently, we organized the remaining codes according to themes, identifying four central frames: *securitization*, *politics*, *migration crisis*, and *coexistence*. Each headline was then classified according to these frames, and we quantified the frequency of each frame across years, media outlets, and thematic categories. This allowed us to identify the percentage representation of each frame. Throughout the process, an emergent variable, labeled “Venezuelans’ opinions,” surfaced as a frame and was analyzed using the same criteria.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of media coverage of Venezuelan immigration in Chile from 2022 to 2024 reveals a marked intensification of the topic, with the number of news articles increasing from 153 in 2022 to 713 in 2024, suggesting the issue's growing prominence within the national media agenda.

As mentioned before, the four main frames previously identified in the codification phase are *securitization*, *politics*, *migration crisis*, and *coexistence*. These reveal the symbolic and narrative structures that construct the social representation of the Venezuelan migrant in the selected corpus.

Regarding the overall analysis (Table 3), the results indicate a significant evolution in media coverage of Venezuelan migration between 2022 and 2024. In 2022, based on a sample of 153 news articles, *securitization* was the dominant frame, accounting for 39.87 %, followed by *politics* at 27.45 %. The proportions of *migration crisis* and *coexistence* frames remained relatively similar at 18.30 % and 20.26 %, respectively.

By 2023, with 263 news articles, *securitization* further increased its dominance to 48.29 %, while *politics* decreased to 20.15 %. Finally, the year 2024 marks a remarkable shift: with 713 news items, the *politics* frame surged to 59.61 %, *securitization* declined to 33.66 %, and coverage of the *migration crisis* and *coexistence* frames decreased significantly to 9.12 % and 6.03 %, respectively.

Table 3. Media Frames of Venezuelan Migration in Chile, 2022–2024

Year	Frame	News outlet				Total per year	% per year
		<i>La Tercera online</i>	<i>24 horas online (TVN)</i>	<i>Chilevisión noticias</i>	<i>Emol.com</i>		
2022	Securitization	6	24	22	9	61	39.87
	Politics	6	3	11	22	42	27.45
	Migration crisis	5	5	6	12	28	18.30
	Coexistence	0	7	24	0	31	20.26

Year	Frame	News outlet				Total per year	% per year
		<i>La Tercera online</i>	<i>24 horas online (TVN)</i>	<i>Chilevisión noticias</i>	<i>Emol.com</i>		
2023	Securitization	6	81	22	18	127	48.29
	Politics	10	7	14	22	53	20.15
	Migration crisis	8	14	26	31	79	30.04
	Coexistence	6	10	38	0	54	20.53
2024	Securitization	17	88	44	91	240	33.66
	Politics	56	97	56	216	425	59.61
	Migration crisis	9	24	10	22	65	9.12
	Coexistence	2	18	19	4	43	6.03

Source: Own elaboration

Notably, the exponential increase in coverage in 2024 appears linked to heightened political debate over migration and its management. This is particularly evident in the context of the Venezuelan presidential elections and their broader impact on Latin America and the global political agenda. This quantitative growth is accompanied by a qualitative transformation, in which the Venezuelan political dimension takes on an unprecedented level of prominence in Chilean media narratives.

Regarding results by media outlet, *Chilevisión Noticias* (Table 4) and *24 Horas Online (TVN)* (Table 5) indicate that securitization is the predominant frame in both outlets. Specifically, in *24 Horas Online (TVN)*, this frame accounts for 57.44 % of the total coverage, while in *Chilevisión Noticias*, it maintains a notable presence, comprising 37.77 % within the analyzed corpus. This predominance suggests a tendency to portray migration primarily through a national security lens, which may contribute to the social construction of migrants as potential threats.

Table 4. Venezuelan Migration in *Chilevisión Noticias*, 2022–2024

Year	%	Securitization	%	Politics	%	Migration crisis	%	Coexistence	Total per year
2022	36.07	22	18	11	9.84	6	39	24	61
2023	30.14	22	19	14	35.62	26	52	38	73
2024	44.44	44	57	56	10.10	10	19	19	99
Total	37.77	88	34.76	81	18.03	42	34.76	81	233

Source: Own elaboration

Table 5. Venezuelan Migration in *24 Horas Online (TVN)*, 2022–2024

Year	Securitization	%	Politics	%	Migration crisis	%	Coexistence	%	Total per year
2022	24	61.54	3	7.69	5	12.82	7	17.95	39
2023	81	77.88	7	6.73	14	13.46	10	9.62	104
2024	88	45.60	97	50.26	24	12.44	18	9.33	193
Total	193	57.44	107	31.85	43	12.80	35	10.42	336

Source: Own elaboration

Furthermore, a notable increase in the prominence of the *politics* frame is observed, particularly in 2024. In *24 Horas Online (TVN)*, this frame accounts for 50.26% of the coverage that year, indicating a growing politicization of the migratory phenomenon. This shift reflects a transformation in public discourse, in which Venezuelan migration is increasingly framed as a matter of political contestation.

The frames of *migration crisis* and *coexistence* maintain a smaller yet consistent presence. In *24 Horas Online (TVN)*, coverage related to the

migration crisis accounts for 12.80 %, while the *coexistence* frame accounts for 10.42 %. These figures suggest a tendency to subordinate humanitarian and social integration narratives to security and political paradigms.

In the case of *Emol* (Table 6), a clear predominance of the *politics* frame is evident, accounting for 66.50 % of the corpus analyzed. The second most prominent frame is *securitization*, representing 30.18 %, followed by the *migration crisis* at 16.62 %. The frame of *coexistence* remains practically marginal, comprising only 1.02 %.

Table 6. Venezuelan Migration in *Emol*, 2022–2024

Year	%	Securitization	%	Politics	%	Migration crisis	%	Coexistence	Total sample per year
2022	31.03	9	75.86	22	41.38	12	0.00	0	29
2023	28.57	18	34.92	22	49.21	31	0.00	0	63
2024	30.43	91	72.24	216	7.36	22	1.34	4	299
Total	30.18	118	66.50	260	16.62	65	1.02	4	391

Source: Own elaboration

The results for *La Tercera* (Table 7) reveal similar patterns to those observed in other outlets, but with some notable differences. The *politics* frame remains predominant, accounting for 62.61 % of the total coverage, followed by *securitization* with 25.22 % and the *migration crisis* with 19.13 %. Unlike *Emol*, *La Tercera* exhibits a higher coverage rate within the *coexistence* frame at 6.96 %, although this remains the least frequently employed approach.

Table 7. Venezuelan Migration in *La Tercera*, 2022–2024

Year	%	Securitization	%	Politics	%	Migration crisis	%	Coexistence	Total sample per year
2022	33.33	6	33.33	6	27.78	5	0.00	0	18
2023	27.27	6	45.45	10	36.36	8	27.27	6	22
2024	22.67	17	74.67	56	12.00	9	2.67	2	75
Total	25.22	29	62.61	72	19.13	22	6.96	8	115

Source: Own elaboration

As seen in the results, when analyzing media outlets with a print base (*Emol* and *La Tercera*), *politics* and *securitization* frames lead the coverage. However, *Emol* exhibits a greater tendency towards *securitization* (30.18 % vs. 25.22 %) and a lower inclination towards the *coexistence* frame (1.02 % vs. 6.96 %) compared to *La Tercera*. The difference in total coverage volume is also notable: *Emol* dedicates more space to the topic, publishing 391 articles compared to *La Tercera*'s 115.

Regarding media coverage from open television sources (*24 Horas Online* and *Chilevisión Noticias*), our analysis reveals a substantial increase in coverage by both outlets through 2024, predominantly emphasizing the political context. Notably, the proportion of coverage dedicated to the *migration crisis* has declined comparably across both media platforms by 2024, whereas the *securitization* frame has remained relatively stable. These findings suggest a strategic shift in media narratives, transitioning from an early focus on humanitarian concerns towards a more politicized portrayal of the Venezuelan migration phenomenon in Chile.

In addition, outlets with a print base predominantly emphasize the challenges posed by Venezuelan migration in both political and security

contexts. Conversely, open television media tend to focus more on themes of coexistence. Although this emphasis is relatively modest in percentage terms, it holds qualitative significance, as it centers on issues such as Venezuelans’ perceptions of various practices, public spaces, festivities, and locations—a phenomenon we refer to as the “Venezuelans’ Opinions” frame. Table 8 summarizes these results.

Table 8. Emerging Framing Analysis, “Venezuelans’ Opinions”, by Medium and by Annual Total

Media outlet	Year			Total
	2022	2023	2024	
<i>La Tercera Online</i>	0	0	2	2
<i>24 Horas Online (TVN)</i>	5	9	14	28
<i>Chilevisión Noticias</i>	13	28	17	58
<i>Emol.com</i>	1	2	8	11
Annual totals	19	39	41	99

Source: Own elaboration

Within the “Venezuelans’ Opinions” frame, a discernible upward trend in media coverage is observed from 2022 to 2024. The data indicate that 99 news articles feature Venezuelans as subjects articulating their perspectives on various issues. Distribution by media outlet shows *Chilevisión Noticias* leading with 58 articles, followed by *24 Horas Online (TVN)* with 28 articles. In contrast, *Emol.com* and *La Tercera Online* account for lower coverage, with 11 and 2 articles, respectively. The progressive increase in total coverage—from 19 articles in 2022 to 39 in 2023 and 41 in 2024—underscores the growing visibility and active, participatory role of Venezuelan voices within the Chilean media landscape.

Conclusions

This article outlines a comparative study of the representation of Venezuelan immigration in Chilean digital media from 2022 to 2024. What do these findings mean? First, they highlight significant

transformations in both the volume of coverage and the frames used to address this migratory phenomenon, indicating an evolution from initially diverse treatments to a pronounced polarization between political and security contexts.

In general terms, media coverage grew exponentially, reflecting the issue's increasing prominence on the public agenda. The findings provide evidence supporting the salience of the leading media frames of immigration identified in previous research (e.g., security). However, they have also highlighted a qualitative shift in Chile from a security approach in 2022 to the politicization of Venezuelan immigrants in 2024.

Second, the comparative media analysis reveals significant disparities in media treatment. The media outlets with a print base (*Emol* and *La Tercera*) favored narratives that problematized the migratory phenomenon, emphasizing political and security dimensions. Conversely, broadcast television outlets (*Chilevisión Noticias* and *24 Horas Online*) tended to include perspectives on coexistence and amplify the voices of Venezuelan migrants, as evidenced by the emergence of the “Venezuelans’ Opinions” frame.

Hence, from a communicational perspective, our analysis demonstrates how Chilean media have constructed a representation regime that predominantly emphasizes the security and political dimensions of the Venezuelan migratory phenomenon, marginalizing sociocultural and humanitarian aspects. The temporal evolution of media frames indicates a shift in coverage approach, transitioning from an initially more diversified focus to a polarized discourse predominantly centered on securitization and political frames.

The dominance of *securitization* and *politics* frames over those emphasizing *coexistence* and humanitarian concerns indicates a media tendency to foreground narratives centered on control and conflict, rather than integration and human rights. In particular, the dominance of *politics* reflects what Bourdieu (1991, 2000) terms a form of

“symbolic violence,” whereby media exert power over categorization and classification, naturalizing certain perspectives while marginalizing others. This orientation risks reinforcing stereotypes and prejudices, ultimately contributing to the legitimization of restrictive immigration policies.

Conversely, the notably low representation of the *coexistence* frame suggests what Hall et al. (2013) might describe as a “hegemonic representation” that tends to dehumanize the Venezuelan migrant, privileging narratives centered on conflict and problematization over those promoting integration and cultural coexistence. This phenomenon aligns with what critical anthropology calls “moral panic” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), in which media discourse socially constructs migration as a threat to the established order.

In this regard, a third intriguing finding is that the representation of Venezuelan migration has undergone specific transformations compared to other migratory flows. The emergence of the “Venezuelans’ Opinion” frame, with 99 articles evenly distributed between 2022 and 2024, is a noteworthy finding, indicating an evolution toward greater visibility of migrant voices. Unlike migrants of other nationalities, historically portrayed as lacking agency (Ivanova & Burón, 2023), Venezuelans are increasingly depicted as active political actors, especially within the context of the Venezuelan electoral process. This distinction suggests a form of “symbolic violence,” as described by Bourdieu (1991, 2000), in which the media exercise a categorizing power that normalizes certain perspectives over others. However, this progress contrasts with the decline of the coexistence frame (from 20.26 % in 2022 to 6.03 % in 2024), which Appadurai (2006) might describe as a “production of difference.”

Further, from a theoretical standpoint, these results can be interpreted through various conceptual lenses. Framing theory (Entman, 1993) helps elucidate the “master frame change” in media narratives, while the anthropological perspective (Douglas, 1986, 2003) sheds light on how these processes contribute to the construction of categories of belonging and exclusion. The predominance of political and security frames over

coexistence frames reflects a discursive strategy that, according to Van Dijk (2008), perpetuates structures of power and inequality.

These transformations in the treatment of information have significant implications for the social construction of the Venezuelan migratory phenomenon. The increasing politicization of the issue, along with the persistent security narratives, may legitimize restrictive migration policies and influence dynamics of social integration. Yet the emergence of platforms for migrant voices offers the potential for more inclusive, multidimensional narratives.

The findings of this study validate the observations of Ivanova et al. (2022) on “frames that perpetuate stereotypes and racial markers,” as well as Dammert and Erlandsen’s (2020) thesis regarding the use of nationality as a differentiating factor, thereby confirming patterns of racialization in media discourse. In this sense, the transformation identified by Bello Arellano (2023) in the representation of Venezuelans is evidenced, evolving from an initially favorable narrative—in which they were depicted as victims of dictatorship—toward the construction of “crisis” and “institutional overflow” discourses (Saldívar et al., 2022; Stefoni & Brito, 2019).

These results also corroborate Stefoni and Brito’s (2019) thesis that the media function as hegemonic apparatuses that construct specific narratives of the migratory phenomenon, particularly through frames of responsibility and conflict. Although this study does not exhaustively analyze gender dimensions, the findings engage with Navarro-Conticello’s (2024) observations on differentiated representations in which Venezuelan men are linked to criminality, and women are hypersexualized. Finally, the identified patterns replicate trends observed in other Latin American contexts, notably Peru (Castellanos & Prada-Penagos, 2020; Regis, 2024), where Venezuelan migrants are associated with violence, disease, invasion, and informality, evidencing a transnational securitization of the Venezuelan migratory phenomenon.

The considerations outlined here highlight the limitations of relying on only four media outlets and underscore the relevance of future comparative studies to explore other sources of information. Therefore, the finding should not be taken to represent all Chilean digital media. The present study also has the limitation of covering only a three-year period ending in 2024. Future studies could investigate this by following the same outlets (or additional outlets) over a longer period.

Another limitation based on a short period of analysis is that the study does not provide insights into how the voice of the Venezuelans will (if so) continue to be present in the Chilean media and what this voice represents. This would be an interesting perspective to include in the future.

Despite these limitations, this study illustrates how Chilean media construct a complex and evolving representation of Venezuelan migration, in which frame evolution reflects changes in the sociopolitical context and the power dynamics underpinning discourse production. Understanding these processes is crucial for fostering balanced information treatment and contributing to migration policies grounded in a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

The most recent immigration changes that have reshaped Chile's demographic and social landscapes will continue to shape the national and political arenas. In turn, our hope is that the current study marks an important step in demonstrating the value of the ongoing conversation between the digital media institutions and immigration shifts in Chile.

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