Media representation of excluded groups: experiences of ethnic groups, migrants, prisoners, and LGBTQIA+ collectives in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile

Representação midiática de grupos excluídos: experiências de grupos étnicos, migrantes, presos e grupos LGBTQIA+ na Argentina, Brasil e Chile

Representación mediática de grupos excluidos: experiencias de grupos étnicos, migrantes, presos y colectivos LGBTQIA+ en Argentina, Brasil y Chile

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: This study seeks to understand how the media represent the socially excluded groups in Latin America and how, in turn, those who make up said groups self-represent their living conditions and relationships with the institutions of the State. This study considered four excluded groups (ethnic groups, migrants, prisoners, and LGBTQIA+) from four cities in three countries (La Plata in Argentina, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and Temuco and Valdivia in Chile). **Methods:** Two phases were considered. Firstly, we worked with the press (with 1,136 news distributed in 13 media outlets in the three countries mentioned above). Secondly, we applied surveys (a total of 133), in-depth interviews (a total of 118), and discussion groups (a total of 19). **Results:** On the one hand, the results show that socially excluded groups are represented in the media with a profile characterized as violent and disadvantaged compared to the rest, marginalized, judicialized, emotionally integrated, and entrepreneurial. On the other hand, the tension between a global satisfaction with life and a specific frustration with where they find themselves is striking among immigrants. **Conclusion:** Negative media representations are explained by the conservative role of the media. Discrimination as a transversal relationship associated with ideas such as problematic, dangerous subjects or threats to the stability of society is explained by the relationships between established groups and those who arrive.

Keywords: Media representation; excluded groups; migrants; prisoners; Latin America.

RESUMO

Introdução: Este estudo busca compreender como os meios de comunicação representam os grupos socialmente excluídos na América Latina e como, por sua vez, aqueles que compõem esses grupos autorrepresentam suas condições de vida e suas relações com as instituições do Estado. Este estudo considerou quatro grupos excluídos (étnicos, migrantes, presos e LGBTQIA+), de quatro cidades de três países diferentes (La Plata em Argentina, Rio de Janeiro em Brasil, e Temuco e Valdivia em Chile). **Métodos:** Foram consideradas duas fases. Primeiramente, trabalhamos com a imprensa (com 1.136 notícias distribuídas em 13 veículos de comunicação dos três países citados). Em segundo lugar, aplicamos inquéritos (um total de 133), entrevistas em profundidade (um total de 118) e grupos de discussão (um total de 19). **Resultados:** Os resultados, de forma geral, mostram que os grupos socialmente excluídos são representados na mídia com um perfil caracterizado como violento, desfavorecido em relação aos demais, marginalizado, judicializado, emocionalmente integrado e empreendedor. Por outro lado, entre os imigrantes, é marcante a tensão entre uma satisfação global com a vida e uma frustração específica com o lugar onde se encontram. **Conclusão:** As representações negativas da mídia são explicadas pelo papel conservador da mídia. A presença da discriminação como relação transversal associada a ideias como assuntos problemáticos, perigosos ou ameaças à estabilidade da sociedade, por sua vez, é explicada pelas relações entre os grupos estabelecidos e os que chegam.

Palavras-chave: Representação midiática; grupos excluídos; migrantes; prisioneiros; América latina.

RESUMEN

Introducción: Este estudio busca comprender cómo los medios de comunicación representan a los grupos socialmente excluidos en América Latina y cómo, a su vez, quienes integran dichos grupos autorrepresentan sus condiciones de vida y sus relaciones con las instituciones del Estado. Este estudio consideró cuatro grupos excluidos (étnicos, migrantes, presos y LGBTQIA+), de cuatro ciudades de tres países diferentes (La Plata en Argentina, Río de Janeiro en Brasil, y Temuco y Valdivia en Chile). **Métodos:** Se consideraron dos fases. En la primera, se trabajó con la prensa (con 1.136 noticias distribuidas en 13 medios de comunicación de los tres países mencionados). En segundo lugar, aplicamos encuestas (un total de 133), entrevistas en profundidad (un total de 118) y grupos de discusión (un total de 19). **Resultados:** Los resultados, en general, muestran que los grupos socialmente excluidos se representan en los medios de comunicación con un perfil caracterizado como violento, desfavorecido respecto al resto, marginado, judicializado, integrado emocionalmente y emprendedor. Por otra parte, entre los inmigrantes llama la atención la tensión entre una satisfacción global de la vida con una frustración específica con el lugar en que se encuentran. **Conclusión:** Las representaciones mediáticas negativas se explican por el rol conservador de los medios de comunicación. La presencia de la discriminación como una relación transversal asociada a ideas como las de sujetos problemáticos, peligrosos o amenazas a la estabilidad de la sociedad, en tanto, se explica por las relaciones entre los grupos establecidos y los que llegan.

Palabras clave: Representación mediática; grupos excluidos; migrantes; prisioneros; América Latina.

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to understand how the media represent the socially excluded groups in Latin America: ethnic groups, migrants, prisoners, and LGBTQIA+ collectives. In particular, it focuses on how those who make up said groups self-represent their living conditions and relationships with the system, especially with the institutions of the State. To do so, we establish two questions: a) how do cultural representations of marginality affect the daily life of the excluded subjects? And b) how can we use this knowledge in the cultural representations made in a society of excluded people to promote cohesion and convergence? To answer the questions, we focus on three central topics: 1) Criminalization and criminal subjection, 2) The relationship between media consumption and legal skills, and 3) The role of media consumption in the resilience and empathy processes. Methodologically, we established two stages. The first refers to a newspaper-oriented topic that analyzes the media's contents. The second topic focuses on ethnographic methodology, including two qualitative techniques, in-depth interviews and focus groups, and a quantitative technique, a survey. In the third topic, we focus on the media representations of socially excluded groups in the four cities of the three countries where the project is carried out: Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

The analysis allows for understanding the present cultural representations. In the latter, we focus on the self-representation of people in the different groups. This focuses on understanding the relationships between the cultural representations of the media and the possible convergence and cohesion dynamics, as well as the relationships with the state and its institutions, justice, the media, and other groups (*Figure 1*).

Figure 1. Media representation of excluded groups.
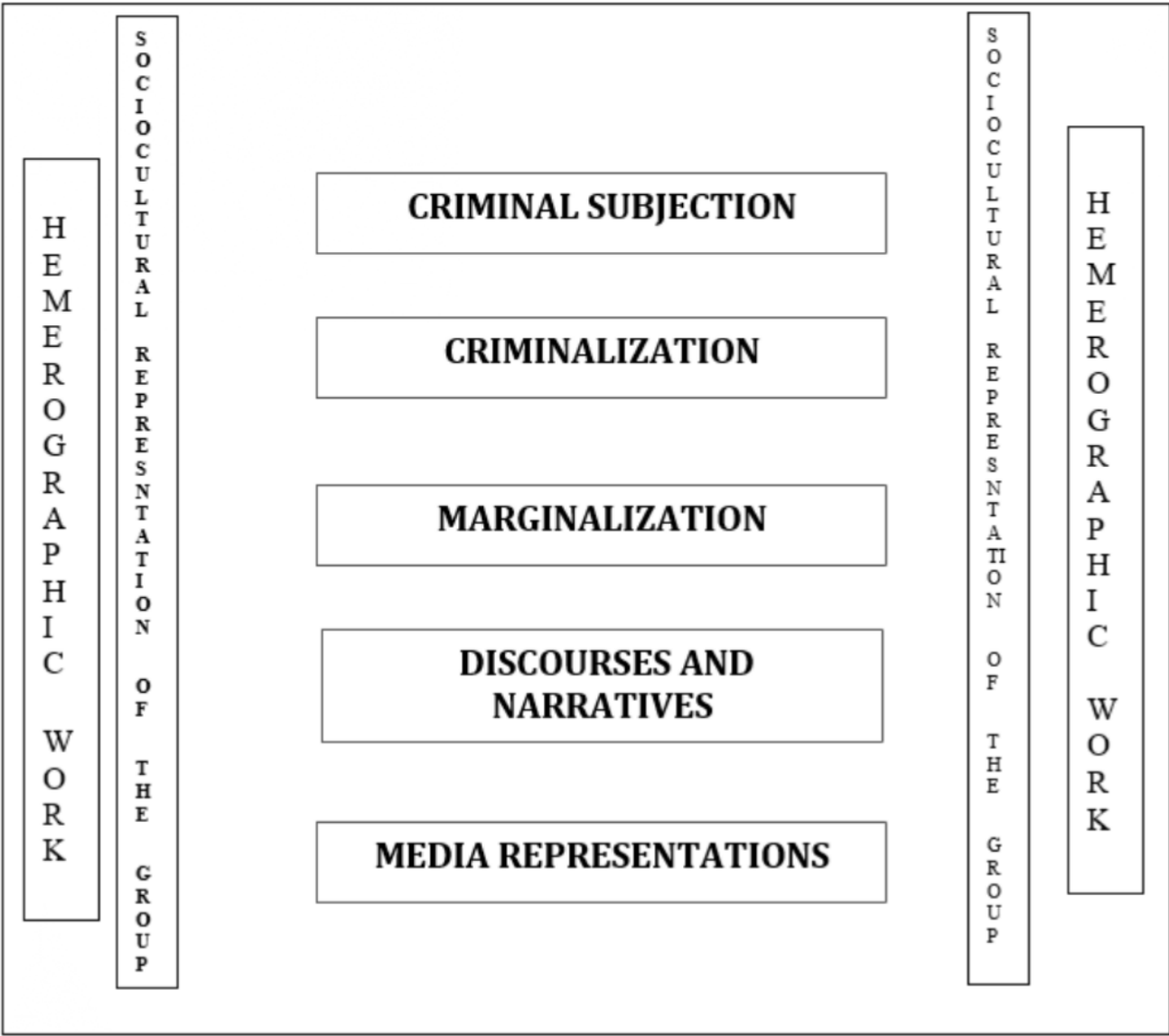
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Media representations of the others

In general terms, policies are increasingly elaborated on symbolic, socioemotional, and subjective levels. Minorities, such as migrants and Indigenous peoples, commonly suffer from acculturation stress because they feel far away from their countries of origin or they have difficulties adapting to new cultures (Segovia-Lagos et al. 2023). In this respect, traditional media contribute to the acculturation stress and the exclusion of minorities in Latin America by negatively portraying them in their discourses (Ivanova et al., Van Dijk 2007). It can be mainly seen in media representations of identity conflicts and the forms regulating the neoliberal economic model (Leiva 2008), implying a prevalence of specific exclusion policies. In all, media play a primary role in cultural, political, and social modeling and have an undeniable character of institutional change.

A matrix explaining the above deals with the globalization of the neoliberal economic model, which also results in globalizing enemies. This involves subjugating Others to make them lose their homes, their rights to decide about their bodies, and their political status, so the enemy tends to suffer this triple loss (Mbembe 2001).

Given the above, the media produce enemies to support strategies of exclusion because, in some cases, their operations incur in spectralization of the other, that is, an epistemological turn letting the enemies in a constant latency (Blanco & Peeren 2013). This way, we can see how negative sentiments from the media to the members of other groups, both ethnic groups and immigrants, result in discomfort, insecurity, and sometimes fear and resentment, but not in explicit enemizations (Igartua & Humanes 2004).

The media generally represent the different excluded social groups through categories and stereotyped attributions (Arendt 2023; Billings & Parrott 2020). As shown in findings from various studies, these media representations often constitute one of the primary sources of information about society (Arendt 2023; Kennedy & Prat 2019; Ramasubramanian & Murphy 2014). Hence, this is a problem that we must take seriously. Leaving aside those studies on the effects of the media, there is no doubt that the media contents carry out stereotypes that later turn into prejudices (Arendt 2023).

Enemization and power in the media

Numerous hypotheses about the media's conditions, roles, and functions have been proposed. In this vein, they produce discourses expressing the voice of the power of the hegemonic elites, which impacts the perception of reality and interpretations of itself, or they impact the informative priorities (Notley & Dezuanni 2022). There is a current discussion on the role of the media in terms of the place of power or space established by the power (Freedman 2015). Therefore, circulating informative contents has the capacity for social inclusion and exclusion (Nyabuto, 2023).

Likewise, we can observe permanent processes of constructing the enemy as part of the ongoing conflict between the hegemonic groups and those who represent any form of transformation of the *status quo* (Del Valle 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024a, 2024b, 2024c), especially ethnic groups, migrants, prisoners, and LGBTQIA+ collectives. In this sense, concepts developed by other authors in different contexts, such as ethnic community formation processes and interethnic relations (Fiń 2020), are of interest to understand, for example, whether the system of social relations between different ethnic groups is transferred to a migration situation. Another concept of interest is that of borders, which, as a spatial mechanism for controlling the movement of people, are linked to time, especially the time of movement (Montagna, Gorza, Moschella & Perino 2024). On the other hand, it is interesting to approach the complexities of migratory processes -as well as interactions with native peoples and other groups- from a bilateral perspective, which understands these processes as part of a reciprocal exchange and not from a unilateral vision that demands from the other the ability to adapt to the new situation (Laurano & Gianturco 2019).

In this respect, the media socialize and constantly produce social representations. These operations perpetuate stereotypes surrounding the individual and collective imaginary, resulting in discrimination (Colella 2017). Furthermore, several studies suggest that the media produce political prejudices (Gerrero-Solé 2022) as part of their ideology (Ceia 2022).

METHODS

Research ethics

The project that led to this publication's results (including its annexes of consent and assent) was approved by the Scientific Ethics Committee of the Universidad de La Frontera on December 11, 2020, as recorded in Minutes No061_19, Folio No043_19. The above is a precondition for conducting fieldwork, mainly for interviews, discussion groups, and surveys.

Methodological Limitations

The main challenges of the research are threefold: a) to increase the number of subjects and corpuses, b) to update the study to follow up on continuities and changes in the findings, and c) to broaden the comparative nature of the study. An effort was made here to include findings in Italy, due to work currently underway, but the expansion should be greater.

Hemerographic Analysis (framing analysis)

Regarding the hemerographic analysis (framing analysis), a corpus of 1,136 news items was analyzed and distributed in thirteen media outlets belonging to the four cities of the three countries (*Table 1*).

Table 1. Hemerographic analysis corpus.

Media	Country	Media type	Percentage
El Mercurio	Chile	Hegemonic media	**6.40%**
La Tercera	Chile	Hegemonic media	**23.80%**
El Austral de Temuco	Chile	Hegemonic media	**11.10%**
El Austral de Valdivia	Chile	Hegemonic media	**8.30%**
Mapuexpress	Chile	Counter- Hegemonic media	**3.30%**
El Mostrador	Chile	Counter- Hegemonic media	**1.20%**
Clarin	Argentina	Hegemonic media	**6.80%**
Página/12	Argentina	Counter- Hegemonic media	**16.50%**
El Dia	Argentina	Hegemonic media	**10.20%**
Portal 221	Argentina	Counter- Hegemonic media	**3%**
O' Globo	Brazil	Hegemonic media	**2.20%**
Extra	Brazil	Hegemonic media	**4.30%**
Noticia Preta	Brazil	Counter- Hegemonic media	**2.90%**

Source: created by the authors of the research.

In-depth Interviews and Discussion Groups

In the case of interviews and discussion groups, they were applied separately and analyzed jointly. The sample with which we worked is detailed below. In the case of in-depth interviews, they were conducted throughout all cities and with all the groups (*Table 2*):

Table 2. In-depth interviews.

City (Country)	Group	Subjects
Temuco (Chile)	Ethnic	10
Temuco (Chile)	Migrants	10
Temuco (Chile)	Prisoners	9
Temuco (Chile)	LGBTQIA+	9
Valdivia (Chile)	Ethnic	10
Valdivia (Chile)	Migrants	9
Valdivia (Chile)	Prisoners	10
Valdivia (Chile)	LGBTQIA+	10
La Plata (Argentina)	Ethnic	5
La Plata (Argentina)	Migrants	2
La Plata (Argentina)	Prisoners	4
La Plata (Argentina)	LGBTQIA+	4
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	Ethnic	8
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	Migrants	2
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	Prisoners	8
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	LGBTQIA+	8

Source: created by the authors of the research.

The conditions for the discussion groups (*Table 3*) required working with the closest groups (Temuco and Valdivia in Chile). The pandemic restricted ethnographic work in Brazil and Argentina, and even after the opening (March 2022), working with groups remained tricky.

Table 3. Discussion Groups

City (Country)	Group	Discussion Groups
Temuco (Chile)	Prisoners	1
Temuco (Chile)	LGBTQIA+	3
Temuco (Chile)	Ethnic	3
Temuco (Chile)	Migrants	3
Valdivia (Chile)	Prisoners	2
Valdivia (Chile)	LGBTQIA+	3
Valdivia (Chile)	Ethnic	3
Valdivia (Chile)	Migrants	1

Source: created by the authors of the research.

The answers to the questionnaires (differentiated by each group due to more specific questions) were analyzed through a qualitative content analysis, whose coding and data analysis work was carried out with the support of the Qualitative Data Analysis Software. Computer Aided (CAQDAS) *Nvivo 12*, to categorize the codes and categories of open and axial coding and group them in a dendrogram.

The survey results provided valuable insights into marginalized groups' self-representation, perceptions of the media's portrayal, and relationships with the state and its institutions. These findings are crucial in understanding the dynamics of cultural representation and convergence among excluded groups in Latin America (*Figure 2*).

Figure 2. Dynamics of cultural representation and convergence.
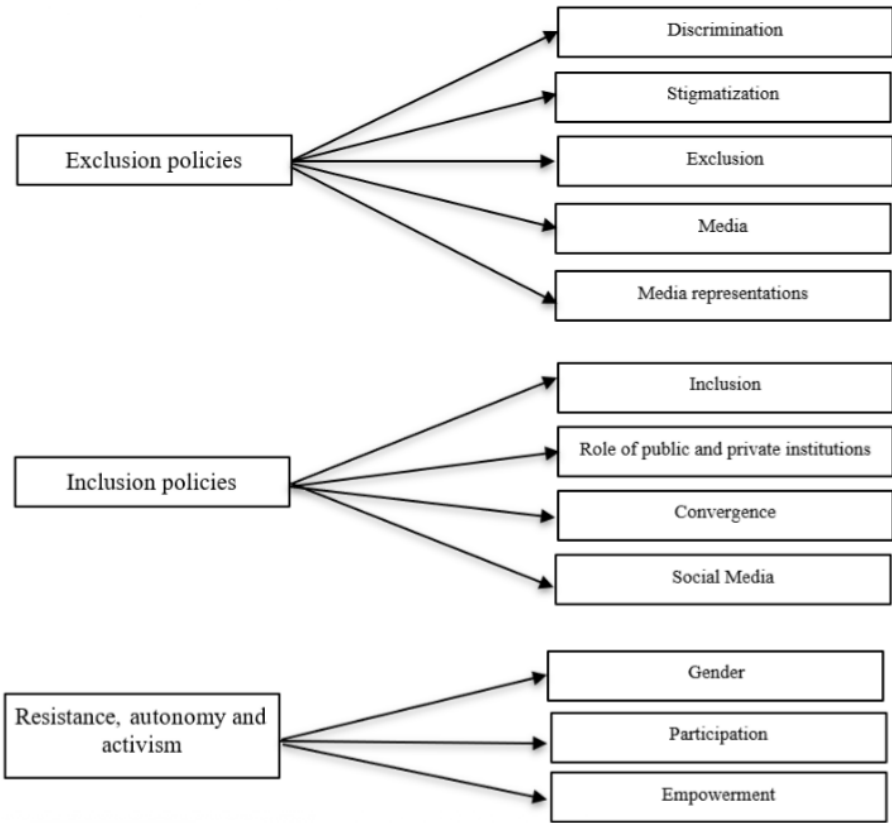
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

Surveys

In the case of the surveys, the sample is made up of 133 subjects, including migrants and members of the LGBTQIA+ communities over 18 years of age who agreed to respond to the survey, characterized as follows:

- One hundred migrants (75% of the sample) and 33 LGBTQIA+ (25%).

- 74% female, 22% male, and 5% other genders (non-binary, queer, specifically).

- The participants were between 20 and 63 (average age 35.2 years).

- By country of origin, participants were 48% Venezuelan, 25% Chilean, 23% Colombian, 2% Ecuadorian, and 1% Haitian.

- Regarding educational level, the sample consisted of 43% of subjects with complete university education, 21% with incomplete university education or complete technical education, 15% with complete secondary or incomplete technical studies, 9% with incomplete secondary education, 7% with postgraduate studies, 3% with complete primary education, and 2% with incomplete basic studies or lower education.

- Regarding occupation, 62% of those surveyed work, 25% are not working, 11% work and study, and 2% only study.

The survey was applied using the *QuestionPro* software, licensed by the University of La Frontera, and the informed consent was in electronic format before answering the survey. Once the survey was sent, the system prevented it from being answered again from the same IP address to avoid duplication of participation. The statistical software *SPSS* (version 25) analyzed the data obtained (IBM, 2021). Descriptive Statistics (First Level) and an Analysis of Scales and their behavior with the sample (Cronbach's alpha, Student's t-test, one-way ANOVA, and Pearson's correlations) were considered (Oviedo & Campo-Arias, 2005). The Discrimination Perception Scale (Ugalde-Watson, 2011; Foley, 2005), the Barcelona Immigrant Stress Scale [BISS], and the Satisfaction with Life Scale–SWLS were used.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hemerographic analysis

The preceding allowed us to obtain some general findings, which show the presence of the significant issues addressed and those that later emerged (*Figure 3*):

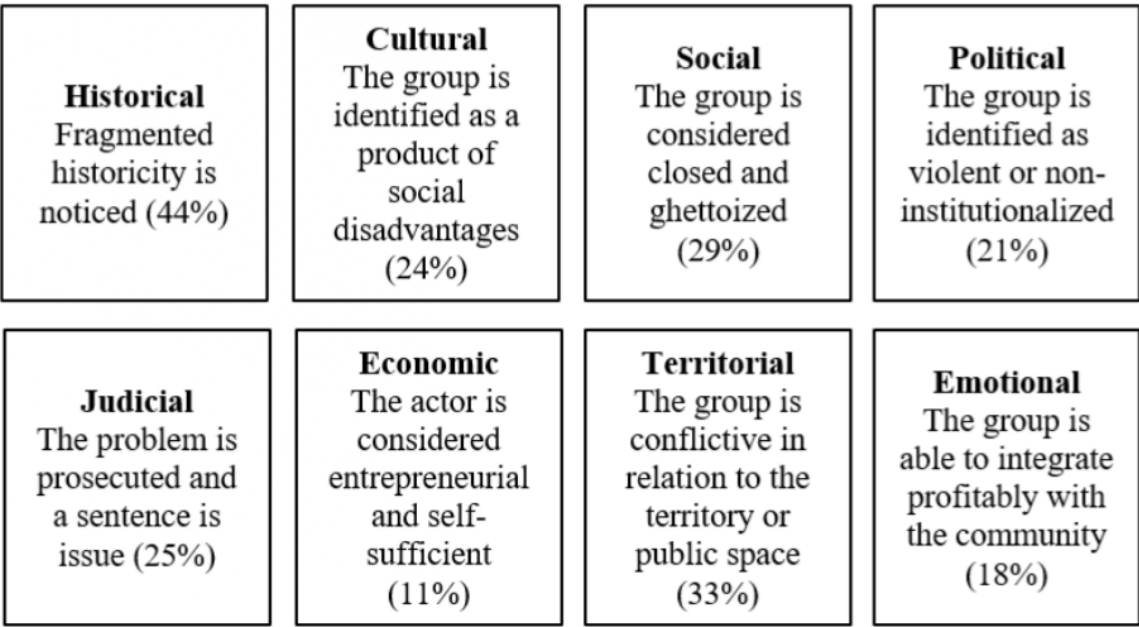**Figure 3.** Findings from the hemerographic analysis.

Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

The results, in general, show that the socially excluded groups are represented with a profile characterized as violent, disadvantaged concerning the rest, marginalized, judicialized, emotionally integrated, and entrepreneurial (*Figure 4*).

A recent study carried out in Italy observed that media coverage of migration is characterized by a return to the past, being "anchored in an exclusive and binary imaginary that struggles to recognize the structural nature of the migratory phenomenon and the plural composition of Italian society" (Naletto, 2024, p. 238). In this same sense, the media discourse during the first part of 2024 was characterized by a problematic, dramatized, frequently alarmist, and dehumanizing representation of the migrant (Naletto, 2024).

On the other hand, in Italy, a deformation of the image of the migrant has been observed, falsifying the perception in the collective imagination, presenting them as invaders, evaders, carriers of diseases, who steal jobs from Italians, who threaten security, all fallacious representations that are contradicted by the data (Di Sciullo & Blasetti 2024).

Figure 4. Results from the hemerographic analysis.

Historical Fragmented historicity is noticed (44%)	**Cultural** The group is identified as a product of social disadvantages (24%)	**Social** The group is considered closed and ghettoized (29%)	**Political** The group is identified as violent or non-institutionalized (21%)
Judicial The problem is prosecuted and a sentence is issue (25%)	**Economic** The actor is considered entrepreneurial and self-sufficient (11%)	**Territorial** The group is conflictive in relation to the territory or public space (33%)	**Emotional** The group is able to integrate profitably with the community (18%)

Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

Specifically, the newspaper analysis considered 146 variables observed in 1,136 news items.

The coverage of the groups is distributed as follows:

−   Native peoples/Ethnic Groups: 32%

−   Inmates/inmates: 28%

−   Immigrants: 23%

−   LGBTQIA+ collectives: 3%

The most present theme is Crime and insecurity (38%), followed by Political Statements or public policies oriented to the sector of public officials on any of the groups (11%), other topics -not identifiable through the matrix- (11 %), Protest measures and visibility in public space (9%), and in the same proportion (7%), Culture and Social Security.

At a general level -without differentiating by the group- the media portray groups mainly negatively (40%), followed by a lower percentage when they are mentioned positively (22%) or impartially/indefinitely (39%).

Although all are seen by the media indefinitely in a high proportion, it is possible to establish certain particularities (*Fig. 5*), where the groups with the highest negative representation by the press are Inmates/Ex-Inmates and Ethnic Collectives with very high numbers: close (31% and 30% respectively), while in their counterpart, the groups that are seen more positively by the media are Migrants (31%) and the LGBTQIA+ collectives (32%, in addition to the particularity that the Ethnic Collective also has a high percentage of positive evaluation (32%), considering that at the same time, it is seen more negatively by the media.

Negative representation of the press

The following table (*Table 4*) shows a number of other important findings to consider.

Figure 5. Negative representation of the press
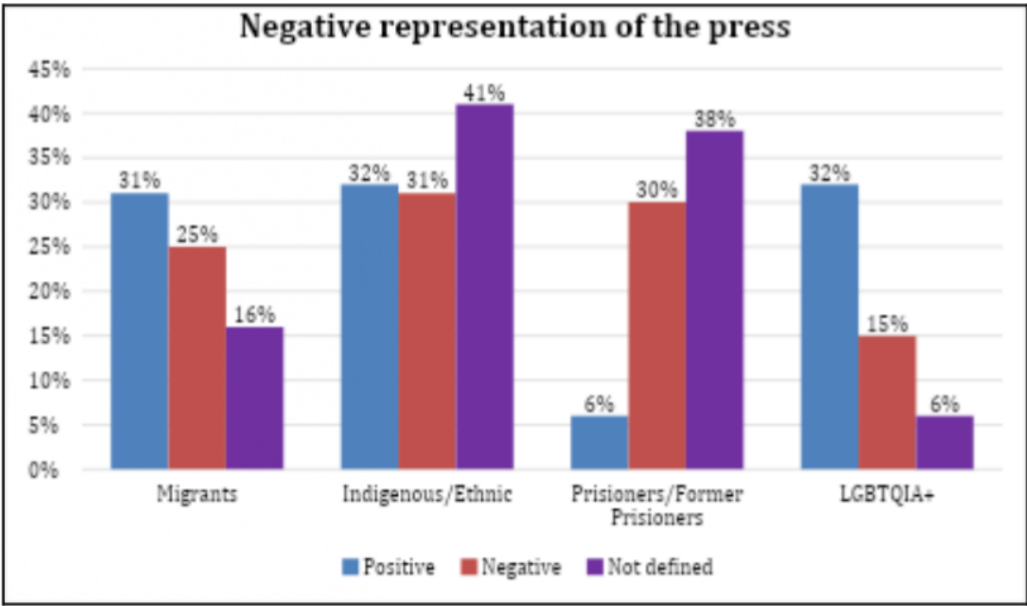
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

Table 4. Other relevant findings of the analysis of the treatment of the contents

| Findings	%	Scopes
Although there is no significant reference to the role of the state when it appears it is in terms of "repressive policies"	14%	Specifically analyze why the State is generally perceived as absent and when it appears it is in negative terms. How can you establish a more proactive and supportive role?
The data shows that the events related to the collectives occur mainly in the Judicial Field	29%	Analyze the trend towards judicialization by governmental institutions
As the principal source regarding the reported facts: - the Judiciary and - the Security Forces are mainly present	18% and 11%, respectively	In addition to the judicialization, security actions are added, which absolutely reduces the analysis of the problem
The groups appear as actors in the news that refer to them in the following proportion: - Inmates/ Ex-Inmates - Ethnic group - LGBTQIA - Migrants	17%, 17%, 13%, and 12%, respectively	The presence of ethnic groups is consistent with other findings, and the case of persons deprived of liberty is symptomatic
Responsibility is mainly attributed to the facts in the case of: - migrants - inmates/ex-inmates	41% and 33%, respectively	Once again, persons deprived of their liberty appear to be responsible, followed by immigrants. It is not uncommon for the executive branch to embody negative governmental actions
On the other hand, responsibility for the events is attributed mainly to the National Executive Branch	34%	
The human face is absent from: - news stories, and - aspects to achieve empathy are not promoted	67% and absent in 83%, respectively	The absence of "the human" in the representations facilitates the increasing dehumanization of the problem
Although on the other hand, the conflict is not directly framed compared to the news that does	60% and 41%, respectively	The news proved effective in framing the conflict

Source: created by the authors of the research.

Furthermore, a recent study based on statistics in Italy shows the emergence of overcrowding, with the prison population increasing by more than 6% over the last year. Foreigners are overrepresented because the increase in detentions in this group only indicates less access to alternative measures (Antonelli 2024).

Interviews and Discussion Groups

Four pillars are mentioned in the case of exclusion policies (*Figure 6*), which involve actions towards groups, such as discrimination, exclusion, and stigmatization, mainly in the sense of being perceived as problematic, dangerous subjects, or threats to the stability of society.

Figure 6. Action groups
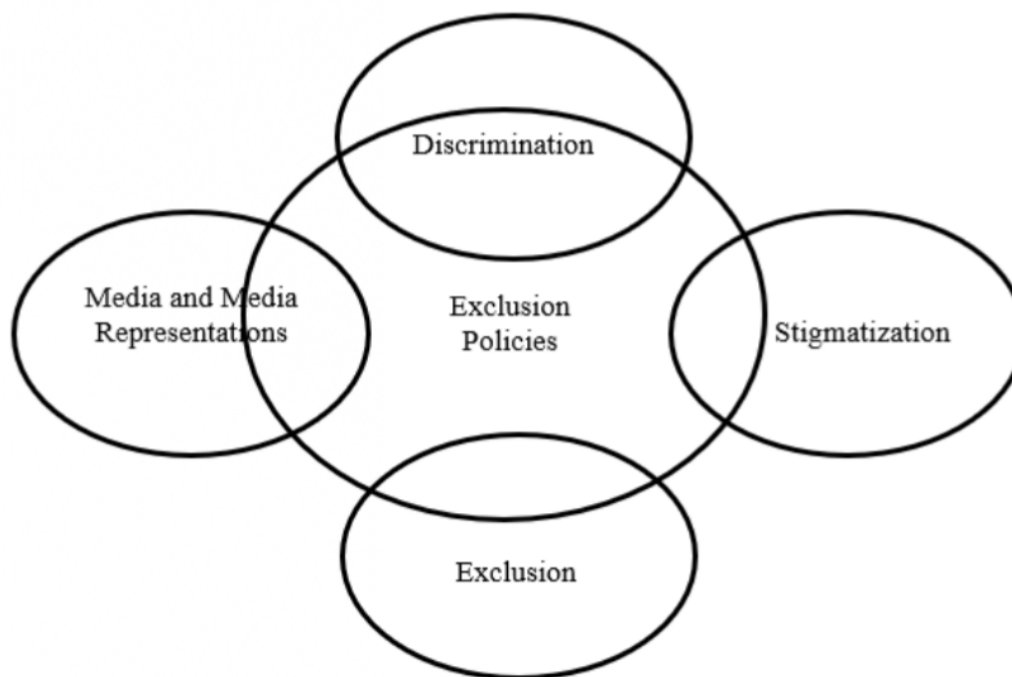
Exclusion, discrimination, and stigmatization

Labor exclusion

"*Discrimination…was when I worked in a national pre-university. This pre-university needed to hire a local sales manager, and I applied within the possibilities I had; because it was a promotion to the position, they did not accept me, and it was because they told me that my last name was Mapuche. I was a brunette…*" (Mapuche, Chile).

Relational exclusion

"*My thesis is that homosexuality or belonging to any of the sexual orientations of the LGBT collective and identities isolates you a little from human relations, so that isolation caused by gender violence in which we are full of masks that in the end distance from the true human relationships that we seek or should develop*" (LGBTQIA+, Chile).

Body exclusion

"*All our stories are marked by discriminatory values and practices that come from the hetero norm of patriarchy and, above all, the norm as a system that not only produces and reproduces certain bodies and those that fall outside the norm*" (LGBT, Argentina)

Educational exclusion

"*the most violent discriminatory practices and perhaps the one that one suffered the most has to do with the school environment… I feel that the school is a violent environment in that sense, where stereotypes and stigmas are well marked*" (Quechua, Argentina).

Social exclusion

"*It was shocking, but I tried to take these situations calmly, understanding the context in which I find myself*" (Prisoner, Argentina).

General exclusion

"*We live it differently. For example, at work, in education, or history. In the elaboration of policy on the part of governments. In all aspects, not physically, verbally or morally.*" (Guaraní, Argentina).

Media representation, discrimination, and stigmatization

"*The first thing the hegemonic media do is stigmatize the Mapuche; they call us terrorists. They always put the Wichís on the agenda when they die of hunger, or they put the Indigenous peoples on the agenda when there is some repression, some roadblock, some death*" (Mapuche, Argentina).

"classifying the prisoners, the people who are deprived of their liberty as violent, like we are going to go out and kill them all, we are going to rob them and always showing the worst face of prison or the worst face of people what a crime" (Prisoner, Argentina).

"The media have strengthened this discourse of order, this discourse that has criminalized us, this discourse that has stigmatized us, that has objectified many of us, and for this reason, transvestites and prostitution have always been associated, transvestites and easy sex, even that of dehumanization" (LGBTQIA+, Argentina).

"Generally, the media are directed at target audiences; we will never find out that El Mercurio treats us as an oppressed people; on the contrary, they will treat us as a terrorist group from the ninth region, the drug traffickers from Alto Bío Bío, then they will always treat us like this" (Mapuche, Valdivia).

"You can't keep saying all the time "Haiti is poor, Haiti has people who can't eat, I don't like it, no." (Migrant, Brazil).

"Discrimination is constant. I, for example, live it every day. Not only do I live, but I see many black brothers and peripherals who suffer racism and prejudice. Only the fact that we are already black, we are already discriminated against by bourgeois society". (Quilombola, Brazil).

Regarding inclusion policies (*Figure 7*), four pillars are mentioned similarly. Still, the particularity is that two instruments/tools for inclusion are appreciated -or otherwise, an impeding factor- and two actions so that inclusion occurs in the context of the collectives.

Figure 7. Inclusion policies.
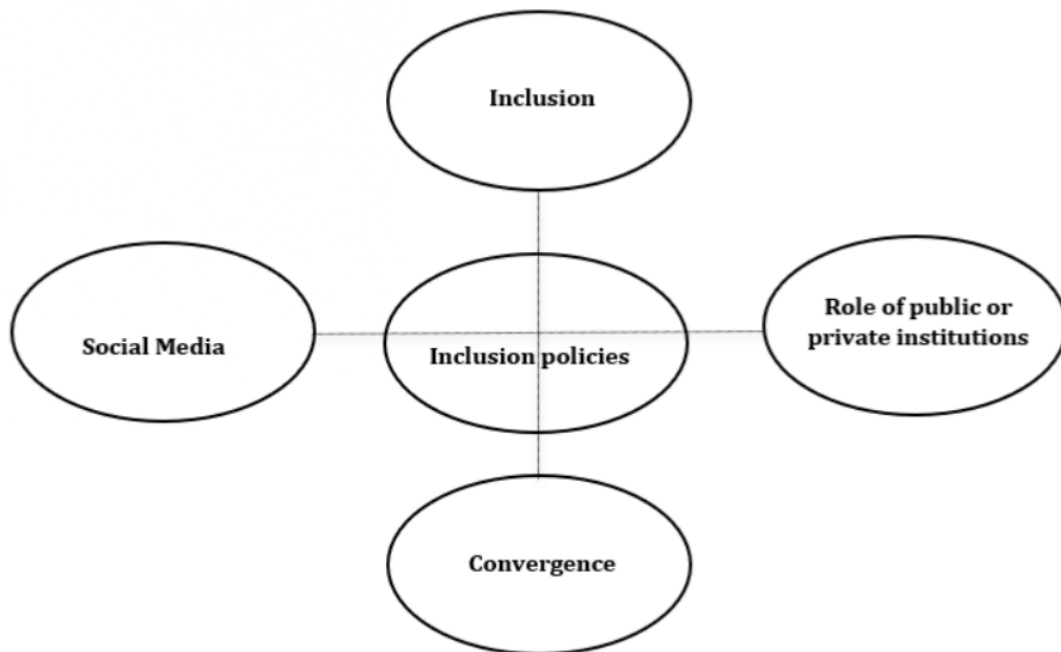
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

Inclusion

Critique

"The State has not advanced in inclusion. The logic of the state has been to integrate. Intercultural health programs, bilingual intercultural education, Conadi (National Corporation for Indigenous Development) policies" (Mapuche, Chile).

External requirement

"I think it is fundamental that there could be a center or institution that cares for people when they leave prison and gives them tools to reinsert themselves and get out of that criminal world" (Prisoner, Chile).

Internal requirement

"If the groups stopped fighting and rowed to the same side, it would be a super remarkable advance; we are fighting for the same "bullshit" through different approaches but in the same fight. There are always these quarrels between the different

organizations, but as long as these different organizations can communicate with each other, putting aside all the egos, a lot could be achieved" (LGBTQIA+, Chile).

Social media

"It helps me. I am campaigning by visiting the communities and, simultaneously, on social networks. Through social networks, I received invitations from Arica, Santiago, Los Angeles, Chillán, Concepción, Lebu, and Chiloé. And I have traveled, thanks to social networks..." (Mapuche, Chile).

"I will only be involved in the WhatsApp group because sometimes I need to integrate; I know that there are Colombian, Peruvian, and Venezuelan athletes, and well, yesterday, I saw the news that a Haitian girl representing Chile won a medal; look how things change. This transculturation begins to be done drop by drop" (Migrant, Chile).

"Today we have a great reach of social networks, so the social networks widely disseminate many things that the hegemonic newspapers did not disclose today." (Favela person, Brazil).

In the case of resistance (*Figure 8*), autonomy, and activism, three major sub-themes emerge: effective participation, the empowerment of collective members to make themselves visible and ensure their rights, and inclusion and non-discrimination.

Figure 8. Categories of resistance, autonomies, and activism.
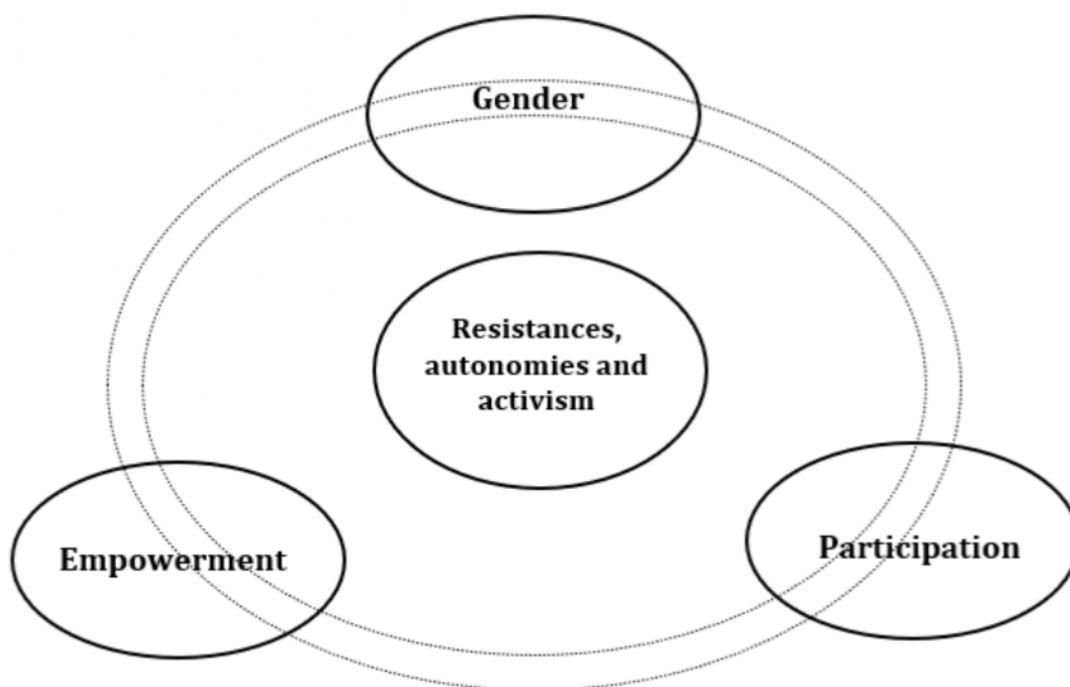
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

Gender

Today, we cannot continue feeding a society and a patriarchal State in which only men have an opinion when women are 60%. You have to see the percentage issue. I am not saying there are no women in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, but I believe there are still many more to arrive and Mapuches." (Mapuche, Chile).

Empowerment

"I think about the process of resistance that we have, and I resist, and I live here with a lot of pride in this family that I have, this family that raised me, of coming from this family that taught me so much." (Quilombola, Brazil).

"You have to fight for your rights. It is an obligation. Because if you don't fight, who's going to fight for you?" (Migrant, Brazil).

Participation

"I believe that activism can expose certain circumstances and certain bodies that have been invisible within the official history of this country" (LGBTQIA+, Chile).

Finally, some categories emerge (*Figure 9*) with force and autonomy in the groups' discourses.

Figure 9. Categories emerge from the discourses of the groups.
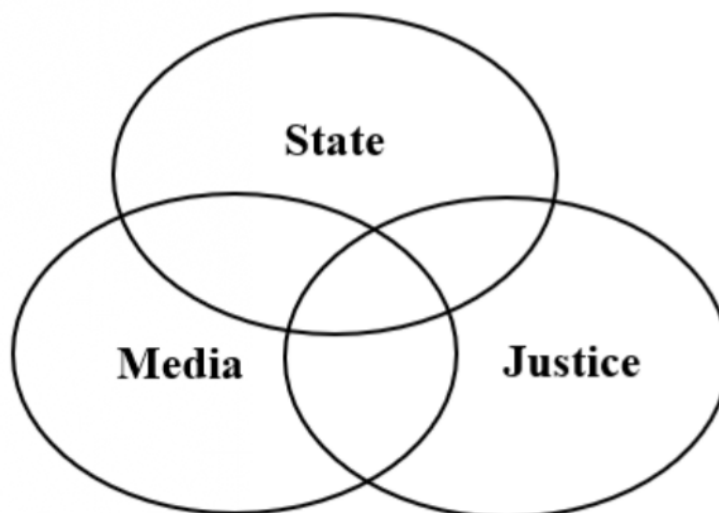
Source: Converging Horizons, ANID Chile, PIA-ANILLOS, SOC180045 2024.

State

"And I believe that the State has all the responsibility, because it is the one that dictates the laws, it is the one that orders. Let's say the educational system, the health system. In other words, and everything that has to do with an order, with a political and social order. That is to say, even in the Judiciary, good laws" (Mapuche, Argentina).

"There are no public policies aimed at quilombola or Indigenous areas. Or to the less favored population as a whole, right? More public policies should focus on the social as a whole, right?" (Quilombola, Brazil).

"the State for allowing certain things, for allowing everything in reality, allowing up to where we are today, of everything that is the outbreak, and there you see all the groups of diversities that existed and existed in Chile that were being oppressed by and were many, and the level of abuse was so great that we were all sad or omitted from it, living in our bubble of discrimination, because the State had achieved that, dividing us among all of us, and it is something that is maintained because that is the norm, keeping you inside of those same standards, and the state does nothing to change it" (LGBTQIA+, Chile).

"Totally poh compadre because the debt is rather looked at let's say in quotes that someone kills someone or runs over someone cured, look at that when someone suddenly killed a "drunk" guy eh the papers are arranged here and there, but the (buddy) gets caught with a (marijuana cigarette) they treat it little less like ´erasing it from the map´ poh won (lazy)" (Prisoner, Chile).

Media

"What is the reading that the hegemonic media do? The social plans are to keep lazy people who don't work, which I don't tell you because I worked in the administration area of the MTE (excluded workers movement)" (Migrant, Argentina).

"they have contributed to generating false images of the Mapuche throughout time; today he is a terrorist, before drunk, lazy and a thief, who must be erased, exterminated since they cannot do it openly, ignoring their situation is defined, invisible in the quantifications, disaggregating, specificities" (Mapuche, Chile).

Justice

"Justice for diversity and sexual dissidence has been complicated." (LGBTQIA+, Chile).

"to minimize some things, to maximize another stop, to punish, to condemn anyone who runs from that desire, from that normality. It is not true. None of this that those normal parameters want" (Prisoner, Argentina).

"Horrible, I believe that Chile is a constant violator of human rights and systematically commits crimes against humanity; after the Tapihue treaty of 1825, Chile is south of the Bio Bío river in fact and not in law, just like the Argentine state to the south of Río Negro" (Mapuche, Chile).

Surveys

Migrants

Discrimination Perception Scale

In general, in all dimensions, the subjects report a position of disagreement about direct aggression and unfair treatment in a positive sense. On the other hand, disputes over access to services and labor integration are problematic for migrants in Chile today. Specifically, the means do not show statistically significant differences by gender, while there are statistically significant differences by country (Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, and Ecuador).

Barcelona Immigrant Stress Scale [BISS]

In general, there is a tendency to disagree in feeling "culture shock" between the culture of destination and the culture of origin, a tendency to disagree in feeling discrimination, an intermediate tendency between agreement and disagreement in feeling levels of psychosocial stress, and a tendency to agree in the perception of nostalgia in their condition as migrants. Specifically, there are no statistically significant differences by gender or by country (Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, and Ecuador).

Satisfaction with Life Scale – SWLS

All perceptions are positive: perception of life close to its ideal, excellent living conditions, satisfaction with life in general, obtaining desired things in life, and keeping things as they are. They are as if life could be lived again. Specifically, there are no statistically significant differences by gender or country.

LGBTQIA+

The scale of perceived discrimination in the LGBTQIA+ collective

Regarding the perception of personal discrimination, there is an impartial position. However, there are two items of the dimension that have a higher average score, approaching the level of agreement in personal discrimination, which must be considered: "They treat me differently because I am not heterosexual" and "I have been judged for not being heterosexual." About the Perception of Group Discrimination there is a tendency to agree with the perception of discrimination at the group level for belonging to the LGBTQIA+ collective, highlighting the following items: "The country's educational system does not meet the needs of the LGBTQIA+ community," "In public, same-sex couples are not treated in the same way as heterosexual ones.", and "My country's politicians minimize the needs of the LGBT community."

Perceived Social Problems Scale

Those surveyed do perceive social problems due to their condition of belonging to the LGBTQIA+ community. All the areas report being perceived as social problems, especially "Getting the job I wanted," "Living calmly, without worrying about being attacked or harmed," and "Getting welfare."

Satisfaction with Life Scale – SWLS

About perceptions, these are considered positive: Perception of life close to its ideal with a tendency to agree about feeling satisfied with obtaining things desired in life. Perception of excellent living conditions, with a tendency to agree about perceiving their living conditions as "excellent". Perception of satisfaction with life in general with a propensity to agree about feeling satisfied with life in general. Perception of obtaining desired things in life, with a direct tendency to agree about of feeling confident with obtaining desired things in life. Perception of keeping things as they are if life could be lived again, approaching agreement on wanting to keep things as they are if life could be lived again.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is relevant to consider that this research addresses the different dimensions of representations: the representations of the media, the represented themselves, and the social fabric that benefits from them (Gianturco & Colella 2022). Therefore, it is not only about the media representations of the different socially excluded groups but also how they are represented, considering that they are part of a social and cultural fabric.

Among the main results, we can state that in general terms, the analyzed media represent the groups mainly in a negative way (40%), followed by a percentage in an impartial/indefinite way (39%) and, finally, in a positive way (22 %). At a differentiated level of group and integrating the different media, certain particularities can be established: (a) The groups with the most significant negative representation by the media are Inmates/Ex-Inmates and Ethnic Collectives with very close figures (31% and 30%, respectively); (b) The groups that are seen more positively by the media are Migrants (31%) and LGBTQIA+ Groups (32%), and (c) The Ethnic Collective also has a high percentage of positive assessment (32%). These results

coincide with the analyses carried out in other studies, according to which the indigenous voices are silenced and deprived of access to community or indigenous media (Marroquin 2024). In the case of media discourse, there is no doubt that it is part of strategies and tactics for the production of enemies, thus generating a spectralization of the other, that is, leaving the other in a constant latency (Blanco & Peeren 2013) of enemization.

From the qualitative perspective, 118 interviews and 19 discussion groups were applied. Moreover, 133 surveys were conducted quantitatively, especially for immigrants and LGBTQIA+ people. The main findings of the qualitative analysis are expressed as follows: About the exclusion policies, we can observe the following: (a) Four pillars are mentioned, of which three are actions towards the groups, such as discrimination, exclusion, and stigmatization, mainly as problematic, dangerous subjects or threats to the stability of society; (b) in the case of discrimination, it is an event related to all groups.

All of the above coincides with a global discourse and practice of enemization (Del Valle 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024a, 2024b, 2024c).

Concerning inclusion policies, we can observe that (a) Four pillars are mentioned, but the particularity is that instruments/tools for inclusion and actions are appreciated so that inclusion occurs in the context of the collectives; (b) in the first place, the inclusion process itself is mentioned, which according to the interviews can occur, but not without contradictions and some difficulties.

In this way, there is no doubt that policies operate from a unilateral vision that is only based on demanding from the other the ability to adapt (Laurano & Gianturco 2019), without other considerations.

The significant resistance sub-themes, autonomy, and activism are highlighted: (a) effective participation and (b) empowerment. Undoubtedly as part of processes of ethnic community formation and interethnic relations (Fiń 2020), but in general terms of all types of communities.

On the other hand, with the findings of the quantitative analysis, we highlight the following: In the case of the immigrant survey, the correlation between the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS) and the Immigrant Stress Scale [BISS] is noteworthy: (a) Being satisfied with life and not being able to bear the current situation in the destination country, (b) Being satisfied with life and regretting having come to the country of destination, (c) Being satisfied with life and feeling like a failure in the country, (d) Being satisfied with life and having worsened their situation in the destination country; (e) Until now, having achieved the desired things and having worsened their situation in the destination country.

In the above case, we can understand these apparent contradictions of different minorities as part of acculturation stress, because they feel far from their countries of origin or have difficulties adapting to new cultures (Segovia-Lagos et al. 2023).

Finally, it is important to consider the theoretical-methodological and sociocultural challenges of advancing in an exhaustive, comparative, and multi-country analysis to understand the phenomena of social exclusion of minority groups as hegemonic discourses and practices of alienation of others, sustained by particular economic-political interests. This is a pending line of research and development on a large scale.

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Contribution of each author to the manuscript:

Task	% of contribution of each author				
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A. theoretical and conceptual foundations and problematization:	75%	---	25%	—	—
B. data research and statistical analysis:	50%	---	—	50%	---
C. elaboration of figures and tables:	50%	---	—	50%	---
D. drafting, reviewing and writing of the text:	50%	25%	—	25%	---
E. selection of bibliographical references	100%	---	---	---	---
F. discussion of results and concepts	50%	---	25%	---	25%