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Killing women, making headlines

Exploring the representation of femicide in Chilean online news media

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Abstract

Femicide is the lethal form of gender-based violence (GBV) and is a reflection of our unequal societies and power relations between women and men. This present study is investigating how femicide is represented in the online news media with the argument that it has the ability to shape and form the perceptions and understanding of femicide in the public debate, hence either contributing or counteracting its existence. This was carried out by conducting a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) of online news articles that report on femicide. The material consisted of the two most read online news in 2019. The main findings show that the news media reproduce harmful and stereotyped discourses of femicide by repeatedly constructing victim-blaming representations that diminish the acts of the perpetrator, which obstructs for more complex descriptions of femicide.

Keywords: News reporting, Femicide, Gender-based violence, Feminist Discourse Analysis, Chile.

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Abbreviation list

CDA - Critical discourse analysis

FCDA - Feminist critical discourse analysis

GBV - Gender-based violence

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

UNFPA - United Nations Populations Fund

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

UN Women - United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

SernamEG - Servicio Nacional de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género (English: Ministry of Women and Gender Equity)

Key concepts

Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is an umbrella term that encompasses a broad definition of different forms of violence directed towards an individual based on their gender identity (UN Women, n.d). The specific terminology to describe violence against women and girls is varied and is sometimes used interchangeably: Violence against women, violence against women and girls, gender-based violence against women, and femicide amongst others (WHO, 2012).

Femicide

The term femicide encompasses the intentional murder of women and girls because of their gender and is thus the most extreme form of gender-based violence (WHO, 2012).

Femicide according to Chilean legislation (21.212)

According to Chilean legislation (21.212) femicide is the murder of a woman in a context where there are unequal power relations between the victim and the perpetrator or/and if the murder is driven by discriminatory motives such as the victims sexual orientation, gender identity. It is considered if the femicide is committed by a recurrent or former spouse; or whom she has/had a child in common with; or had a sexual or sentimental relationship with. It is considered as femicide if it is the result of refusing romantic or sexual actions with the perpetrator or as the result of having engaged in prostitution (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, n.d).

1. Introduction

By the end of 2019 in Chile, large groups of blindfolded and protesting women could be spotted in various public spaces chanting “and it wasn’t my fault, nor where I was, nor how I was dressed” (The Guardian, 2019). The performance was created by a Chilean feminist collective directed as a critique against gender-based violence¹ (GBV) against women, victim-blaming narratives, and femicides² in Chile. The performance quickly became viral and sung around the world and drew attention to the systematic and extended oppression women are faced every day (Serafini, 2020). This embodies how the awareness and activism against GBV and femicide have become a growing concern in several societies including Chile.

However, until a few decades ago, GBV and femicide were perceived to be accepted to varying degrees and kept apart from the public sphere. It was only until the second half of the twentieth century that the magnitude of GBV and femicide was made visible and problematized as a reflection of unequal power relations between men and women (Rojas et al. 2004). As with the case of Chile, GBV and femicide have gained increased political and social recognition and have also become more covered and reported in the news media (Nazarit & Pérez, 2014).

However, media reporting on GBV and femicide has been questioned. For example, in the recent joint report by UNICEF and UN Women (Fuentes et al. 2022), the role of news media is described as generating mixed effects and tensions around the public understanding and attitudes toward GBV. During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdowns for instance, the media increasingly reported on how women and girls were disproportionately affected negatively by domestic violence in their homes (Fuentes et al. 2022; UNFPA, 2020). While the media reporting on GBV to some extent increased public attention and debates on the issues, it was accompanied by “decentralizing” features. These commonly fail to address pre-existing gaps in the prevention of GBV and structural issues and gender norms that give rise to GBV in the

¹ Gender-based violence in this study is used to highlight violence against women while the term femicide is used to address the lethal form of gender-based violence.

² See key concepts on page 5.

first place. In the same report, it is described that such media reporting not only obscures and perpetuates misconceptions of GBV but may contribute to the harmful beliefs about GBV and the normalization of violence (Fuentes et al. 2022; UNFPA, 2020). In other words; it is not only important that GBV and femicide is reported, but also *how* it is reported.

Feminist movements in Chile have flagged similar concerns in recent years, where activists have called out the news media for reinforcing harmful stereotypes and myths in public debates and spaces (Nazarit & Pérez, 2014). The Chilean Network against Violence Towards Women has for example remarked worrying tendencies in the news reports on femicide that lack sensitivity towards the victim and the victim's family by fixating on morbid details and feeding into victim-blaming speculations (ibid). What often go *unnoticed and unproblematized* in effect, are the perpetrators of femicide whose actions reflect a belief in having the right and control over the lives of women and girls. The contradictory tension pinpoints how femicide is acknowledged and used in the social and political spheres ranging from the media to the law, but decoupled from deeper questions of culture, norms and attitudes as their slogan “¡Beware, machismo kills!” highlight (RED, 2017). The tension is furthermore underlined by the fact that the femicide rates have not decreased, hence, suggesting that existing measures have been ineffective and insufficient (Nazarit & Pérez, 2014; SernamEG, n.d).

Media can in this context be key in providing platforms to promote social change (Deligiorgis & Benkirane, 2019). Yet in Chile, patterns reveal that news media repeatedly fail in doing so by only covering the most extreme cases of femicide and/or treating them as individual and isolated cases (Ramirez, 2019). Previous research suggests that such media reporting gives rise to a *depoliticization of femicide as a phenomenon*, where femicide is detached from deeper societal issues of gender inequity and injustice. Instead, it is replaced with sensitization strategies that serve to make headlines out of killings while undermining the issues and impacts of femicide (Ananías Soto & Vergara Sánchez, 2016; Cáceres, 2003; Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011; Tapia Neira, 2010; Lagos Lira, 2008; Fernández Tapia, 2016; Fuenzalida Díaz et al. 2017; Arriagada & Salgado, 2021).

Considering that both researchers and activists signpost that the media plays an important formative role in shaping society, and the fact that femicide rates prevail (SernamEg, n.d), this study sets out to explore the representations of femicide in Chilean online news sites in 2019.

1.1 Purpose and research questions

The main purpose of this study is to examine how femicide is portrayed in online news reporting in Chile. In particular, the study will analyze how femicide is portrayed on the two most visited online news sites in Chile during the year 2019. Online news is arguably of special interest for this study because of the growing importance and presence of digital platforms, which previous academic literature has not explored to the same extent as printed ones. Finally, the driving force behind the purpose of this study is the criticism from the growing women's rights activism in Chile and the academic world, and the fact that femicide is an under-researched area and continues to affect women and girls disproportionately.

Research question 1:

How does online news reporting in Chile represent femicide?

Research question 2:

How does the language used in online news reporting on femicide, reinforce or challenge dominant discourses about femicide?

1.3 Delimitations

To answer the research questions within the scope of this research I have chosen to analyze the time period of 2019 and two online news sites: BioBio (n.d) and Emol (n.d). Both are free of charge and are the most widely read online news sites during the last six years in Chile (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021). Finally, the year 2019 was selected as it was the year that marked the highest number of registered cases of femicide to be recorded since the Chilean government started keeping a database of femicides in 2010 (SernamEG, n.d).

1.4 Disposition of study

The following and **second chapter** introduces the reader to the political, social, and mediatic context of femicide in Chile. The **third chapter** places this study in relation to previous research on the subject, first at the broad and then at the regional level. Next, the **fourth chapter** outlines the theoretical framework which opens with a broad theoretical overview of feminist media theory. This is followed by feminist media scholar Michelle Lazar's (2007) concepts on power, gender ideology, and discourse which underpins the Feminist Critical Discourse analysis in this study. The chapter is then further deepened and rounded off with Mariana Aldrete's (2022) study which proposes an analytical framework for the study in question. The **fifth chapter** describes the methodological choices and reflections tied to my position as a researcher. The **sixth chapter** explores and analyzes the empirical material. The **seventh chapter** summarizes the key observations of the analysis into key findings and ends with concluding remarks and suggestions for future studies.

2. Background: contextualization of femicide in Chile

In this section, the reader is presented with a background of the political, social, and media landscape related to femicide in Chile. The in-text quotes used in this chapter come from five scoping interviews conducted in the initial stage of this research to ground the context of the study (see appendix 1 and 2).

2.1 Political development of femicide in Chile

The political context in which femicide is debated has undergone a radical change during the last thirty years. From the beginning, gender-based violence (GBV) against women was not considered a social problem in Chile until the 1990s, largely as a result of the work of feminist organizations, grassroots organizations, and activists dedicated to raising awareness and advocating for change. The trajectory to this initial change was however marked by a series of challenges including cultural resistance from the Catholic church, political agendas, and the Pinochet dictatorship which indirectly or directly, displaced GBV as an issue (Lagos Lira, 2008). It was not until ten years later that the first law against GBV was passed, however, GBV was not considered a crime but a misdemeanor and was moreover only considered if it occurred within the family and the family home (ibid).

Chile has since then adopted a series of legislative measures and public policies. By 2007 Chile introduced the country's first law against femicide which was enacted in 2010 (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, n.d) as with many other Latin American countries (Lagos Lira, 2008). Alongside this development, the concept of femicide reached mediatic status and started to appear sporadically in the Chilean press by the 21st century (ibid).

2.2 Femicide and the media landscape

The ownership of Chilean news media at the time was monopolized by two groups (El Mercurio SAP and Copesa) resulting in a media landscape characterized by a neoliberal and conservative orientation, which is still the case today (Tapa Neira, 2010). When femicide started to be recognized as terminology and quantified by the press in the early 21st century, it underwent a “boom”, particularly in the printed newspaper '*La Cuarta*' which belongs to one of the largest news companies mentioned above. In a scoping interview with a social worker

from the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity, she describes: “[News papers] before showed totally naked women, erotic things, not now because it is out of context, it was different”. The news coverage and reporting in question were overall limited to descriptive aspects, avoiding dealing with in-depth coverage and investigations while favoring cases of femicide that had strong and, or mixed features of jealousy and tragedy (Cabrera Ullivari, 2011). In a scoping interview with a Project Director at a Women's rights organization and former journalist, the media landscape is described as follows;

“In general, the **media here in Chile has to generate visits and clicks**, regardless of what you are doing **for sales**. So in that need to get clicks, views, and all that, **there is clearly no respect for ethics in different areas, including violence against women**. So, well, I retired from the press area ten years ago” [own translation and marks].

The sporadic news coverage reflected the attitudes of the time, with some cases of femicide being acknowledged and reported on by the news, accompanied by trivializing sexist elements.

2.3 The growing activism against gender-based violence and femicide

Over the following years feminist activists continued to push for the government to act for enhancing gender equality and eradicate gender-based violence (GBV) and femicide. In recent years a series of significant protests have drawn attention to the problem of femicide and alternative voices to the otherwise dominant news. By 2015 for example, feminist movements in Chile gained momentum, perhaps due to the feminist movement “Not One Less” (Spanish: Ni Una Menos) (Urzúa Martínez, 2019) that emerged in Argentina the same year in response to a brutal femicide of a pregnant fourteen-year-old Argentinian which sparked public outrage (Boas et al. 2021). Mass demonstrations were consequently held on the streets in Argentina to protest against GBV and femicide which then quickly spread to various Latin American countries including Chile (ibid). In a scoping interview with a Professor in Communication, the activism is described as follows:

“ (...) it was a **demand for a society that effectively takes charge** of promoting different instances, **in favor of gender equality**. And that permeated very strongly because it was also

the **largest mobilization in the history** of feminist reporting with more than one million participants. And from there it was done again and in fact, there was a feminist strike in May 2019. (...) they were two very large movements of women for the demand that also **accelerated the passing of other types of laws**, for example.” [own translation and marks].

Later in 2017, the slogan “Ni Una Menos” could be seen in Chile during mass protests that gathered thousands of women taking the streets in Chile to demand an end to GBV femicide (Urzúa Martínez, 2019). And by 2019 a feminist performance called “The rapist is you” (Spanish: El violador eres tu) was created by a Chilean feminist collective to protest against GBV and victim-blaming beliefs (Serafini, 2020).



Figure 1: The slogan was created by the Spanish feminist Ángeles Álvarez and was used to push for a comprehensive law addressing GBV (RED, 2017).

These examples of historical protests reflect how the vibrant activism in Chile has grown in recent years and pinpoint how and in which forms media and digitalization have played a crucial role, not only in raising awareness around GBV and femicide but also in galvanizing activism into larger movements. In a scoping interview with a President of a Professional media Association comments on the relationship between the public debate and the media:

“Now, I do believe that, effectively, the institutional framework on gender issues, as well as the organized civil society, and the **feminist movement have made a great effort to install the debate** in the **public space**. And I believe that **for years or decades it was precisely the media themselves who obstructed this debate**, did they not? Because **they did not place it as something important**, no?” [own translation and marks].

The news media in Chile have thus largely *influenced* public perceptions of femicide, while also being influenced *by* the growing activism, showing the complex yet important role the media continues to play in the context of femicide and GBV.

2.4 Femicide rates remain unchanged

Overall, the advocacy and public awareness about GBV and femicide in Chile have increased radically during the last decade. However, despite the efforts to reduce and eradicate femicide, the statistics remain the same, signaling that further action is necessary. The Professor in Communication comments:

“Yes, there are **more laws**, there is **more awareness**, there is **more reporting**, there is **more care**, there are **more NGOs**, there is **more data**, but nevertheless, the **cultural practices do not change that much**” [own translation and marks].

The Professor points to Chile's official and national records on femicide, which in the last ten years have varied between 40-46 registered femicides, with the exception of one year when 34 cases were recorded (SernamEG, n.d). The Professor further adds that femicide is an even more widespread issue in the country than most people are aware of, pointing to the forgotten statistics of “femicidios frustrados” (English: attempts to femicides):

“**Femicidios frustrados is an attempt [of femicide]**, but where they did not succeed in killing her, but, but obviously there was an attempt. Therefore, **the intention existed and the act existed**, what happened is that the person had, between quotation marks, good luck, because the woman was not killed” [own translation and marks].

In the final and concluding comments of the interview with the Project Director and former journalist, she also points out the femicide statistics but bridges it with broader issues:

“It is as if we were **copying the number every year over and over again**, there are always about **50 and so many women who are murdered and that never changes**, it is repeated every year, it is repeated because at a **structural and educational level, we are not making many changes** and the **media are also part of the equation**”[own translation and marks].

Examining and understanding how femicide is represented in media, particularly *online news articles* is for this reason considered an interesting case to study. In addition, the sharp readership decline in newspapers is mirrored by an increased digital presence (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2019), which points out the importance of analyzing online articles to bring to critical scrutiny old and new stereotyped representations of femicide.

3. Literature review

The purpose of this chapter is to review the existing research on femicide and media with its variation of theories, methodologies, and key findings. In doing so, the current study seeks to position itself and to extend the previous research by building through a narrative literature review. The chapter presents a brief and broad introduction to the research topic of femicide by tracing the use of the concept across different research fields. This is followed by a section dedicated to the specific focus on the relationship between media and femicide. The chapter concludes with a review of the previous research conducted on news coverage in Chile relevant to this study.

3.1 Femicide: an interdisciplinary research field

The term femicide is used to describe the intentional act of killing women by men, due to their gender. The concept itself has gained a growing amount of attention from a wide variety of scholars throughout the last decades, especially within the research field of feminist studies. The origins of the term and concept of femicide were first coined by the feminist scholar Diana Russell in the 1970s and is understood as the most severe form of gender-based violence (GBV) (Radford & Russell 1992). The terminology of femicide intends to draw attention to the structural violence against women, unlike the gender-neutral word homicide. The act of verbally differentiating the killings of women from men, would not only raise awareness about femicide, but it would also verbalize the injustice which “(...) usually precedes the creation of a movement against it” (Radford & Russell, 1992, p:xiv) as described by Russell.

The concept of femicide since the introduction of Russell has spread and been explored from different perspectives and research fields (EIGE, 2021; Corradi et al. 2016). Today it can be found in academic literature covering themes of criminology (Toledo, 2017), sociology (Weil, 2016), law studies (Howe & Alaattinoglu, 2019), global health- (Coyne-Beasley, Moracco, & Casteel, 2003), human rights studies (Hefti, 2022) which are all disciplines that contribute to and shape the contours and content of development studies.

Despite the broad field of research, the overall research and use of femicide as a concept is employed to highlight and counter the structural and personal violence against women, the definition of femicide however, can vary depending on the focus of the research field and the context within which they occur. The fields of law and sociology serve as two examples, for example, where the end goal is the same but the means to achieve it can differ.

Femicide within the legal field of research is for example concerned with how international (law) and reforms can prevent and eradicate femicide. The focus is then typically focused on studying how countries have or have not, interpreted and implemented femicide laws with references to international standards and laws (Mckinnon, 2021; Padilla, 2022), including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the United Nations general assembly in 1979 or the Istanbul Convention which is the first legally binding agreement on violence against women in Europe adopted in 2011 (Howe & Alaattinoglu, 2019). Some countries do, in addition, distinguish different types of femicide such as intimate femicide which refers to the killing of a woman carried out by a relative or non-intimate where the aggressor did not have any relation to the victim or racialized violence such as the killing of an indigenous woman or girl (Government of Canada, 2021)

The sociological field of research on femicide on the other hand approaches femicide as a social and cultural phenomenon by studying it within the broader systems of norms and values (Corradi et al. 2016). While sociologists understand femicide as the product of a societal and cultural system, a feminist approach draws on the principles within feminist research and gender studies and understands femicide as the product of a patriarchal system. It is however important to understand that although femicide as a research topic may vary depending on its focus, the existing research on the subject of femicide, regardless of the research field; the use of femicide as a concept is underpinned by assumption that women and girls in society are particularly exposed to violence/inequality due to unequal societal power structures that benefit men over women (Radford & Russell, 1992). Having this in mind, a large amount of research on femicide often employs feminist theory, method, or analysis in its research design (Taylor & Jasinski, 2011).

A common factor that researchers on femicide face are that they are challenged by the fact that femicide is underreported, making it difficult to obtain accurate data on the femicide rates and to understand the scale of the problem (Widyono, 2009). Despite these challenges, the research interest in femicide has continued to extend as scholars have taken an interest in studying alternative data other than official femicide rates, including the media coverage of femicide.

3.2 Femicide and news coverage

Earlier research on the impacts of mass media (radio, online media platforms) indicates that news media has the ability to shape people's attitudes and behaviors in how they report a certain happening through a certain language and narrative (Lecheler & Vreese, 2019).

A recent comparative study (Toledo & Lagos Lira, 2014) underlines that news coverage on femicide in Europe and Latin America is no exception to this phenomenon. Online and television news often refer to femicide as a problem between individuals in a heterosexual relationship, in other words, an interpersonal issue, caused by jealousy, drugs, or alcohol. News does in addition, commonly exploit and highlight gruesome information with sensationalized language, and, or blame the victim while excusing the aggressor for the femicide. The authors of the study conclude that, although the impact of news coverage of femicide cannot be empirically measured, the different forms of coverage and reporting of femicide will communicate certain values and norms that people in turn consume. The framing of femicide as isolated for which individuals are responsible renders invisible the structural roots of what is arguably a wider and global societal problem (ibid). Such framing can also feed into an increase of fear amongst women, as news often overemphasizes the most gruesome cases, building on the conception of women's fragility and need for protection (Toledo & Lagos Lira, 2014).

A similar study in the USA (years 2002-2007) demonstrates that news coverage on femicide often writes less information about the woman than the aggressor himself, which in turn dehumanizes and depersonalizes the woman and communicates the relatively lower importance of women compared to the man (Anastasio & Costa, 2004). Gillespie et al. (2013) findings indicate that news often diminishes the aggressor's actions and transfers responsibility onto the victim. The study concludes that the media has a great power of distorting attitudes toward femicide. They also underline that the media can be the problem as

much as it can be the solution, by encouraging public responsibility for example (Gillespie et al. 2013).

3.3 Femicide and news coverage in Chile

Previous research that covers the topic of media and femicide in Chile has analyzed the news broadcast on television (Antezana Barrios & Lagos Lira, 2015). A vast majority, however, have mainly focused on printed newspapers between the years 2000-2016, with a particularly strong focus on the traditional and older newspaper 'La Cuarta' (Ananías Soto & Vergara Sánchez, 2016; Cáceres, 2003; Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011; Tapia Neira, 2010; Lagos Lira, 2008; Fernández Tapia, 2016; Fuenzalida Díaz et al. 2017; Olivares Ramirez, 2019).

Previous news content analysis focusing on the years between 1994-2008 has shown to trivialize the violence against women by framing women as emotional and men as masculine with uncontrollable rage and with insensitive, trivializing humoristic elements such as "*Peasant man killed his wife when she asked him to screw himself with the booze*" and "*The author of the crime was able to squeeze the cheek, but he is ready for the [jail] picture*" [own translations] (Tapia Neira, 2010, p:104-105). Other studies suggest that the one-sided news reporting on femicide reflects the depoliticization of violence against women by decoupling the issue from a wider political context. GBV and femicide do for example lead to economic losses such as health costs and expenses for society, which is never articulated in the news reporting (Cáceres, 2003).

Other more recent studies on printed media and television are in general employing content analysis as a method to capture recurring patterns. The key findings point out that the news coverage commonly; uses sensationalistic language that frames the femicide as a cause of jealousy or love (Lagos Lira, 2008); naturalizes the masculine control over women by decontextualizing the femicide (Rojas, 2004); focuses on the most violent cases of femicide and the youngest victims (Ananías Soto & Vergara Sánchez, 2016); reproduces the idea of the masculine domination of women by naturalize femicide (Fernández Tapia, 2016); favors the justification of violence by connecting the cause of the femicide with previous relationship issues (Cabrera Ullivarri, 2011; Fuenzalida Díaz et al, 2017); overexpose morbid information of the victim, suggesting a "second space of violence" where the victim life was deprived in

the first place and then broadcasted with gory details with no insensitivity towards the victim's relatives (Olivares Ramirez, 2019).

3.4 Final implications for study

These previous studies as a whole highlight the core problematic elements in the news coverage by pointing out the weight and importance of language, what information is included or left out, and from which perspective the femicide is reported from, (individual, community, and/or global). The studies thus confirm the power of the media's role and underline that the issue has remained throughout the years. There is although no previous research that analyzes Chilean digital news outlets after the years of 2016. Lastly, only one of the previous studies in the region has explicitly used a feminist perspective, which all together motivates the relevance and purpose of this study.

4. Theoretical framework

Feminist theorizing on media and discourse theory will be employed in this research to unpack and examine the representations of femicide in Chilean online news. In doing so, it seeks to explore how power relations around gender representations are discursively (re)produced and presented in the media discourses. These concepts ground the analysis theoretically and provide the study with a critical lens through which the analysis will be guided.

The theoretical framework is presented in three main sections. In the first section, the reader is briefly introduced to the main premises and debates of feminist media theory. In the second section, the conceptualization of power, gender ideology and discourse is described by engaging with the theoretical underpinnings of Michelle's Lazars (2007; 2005) Feminist Critical Discourse analysis (FCDA). In the last and third sections, the discussion is extended to Mariana Aldrete's (2022) previous research on the representation of femicide in Latin American media, which offers an analytical framework to analyze and understand the discourses in the empirical material.

4.1 Feminist media theory: an overview

Feminist media theory is at its core concerned with how the power of media shapes our understandings and perceptions of gender by building on feminist theories and principles. Feminist media theory as such contains a broad diversity of theories and approaches, and just as with feminism itself, it can be paired with a myriad of variations such as liberal, socialist, and postcolonial feminism just to mention a few (Bachmann et al. 2018). Feminist media theory has in these terms also grown to include more nuanced understandings of gender and media by recognizing the diversity of women for example. The common denominator of feminist media theory, however, puts the media at the center of the debate and seeks to understand and address the complex dimensions of power and gender (ibid).

Initially, feminist media theory emerged in the context of the women's rights movement in the 1970s in the USA where feminists struggled against widespread sexism and discrimination

against women and for the advancement of gender equality. The struggle over meanings and values communicated through media consequently became a central concern for feminists and has remained so to this day (Steiner, 2014).

The earlier concerns within feminist media theory mainly focused on how advertisement, entertainment television, and news sexually objectified women. Sexist ads where women were portrayed as “objects” for the male consumers’ desires and pleasures were a rule rather than an exception (Steiner, 2014; Wolin, 2003). The “male gaze” concept described by the scholar Laura Mulvey (1975) was one early influential conception that embodies this strand of criticism. In her study on “*Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*” (1975), Mulvey analyzed how the male-owned Hollywood film industry in the 1970s narratively constructed women as “the other” by systematically referring to women and “feminine features” as the exception and the opposite of the male traits. Mulvey thus exposed how the film industry repetitively represented women as passive objects, to be freed and enjoyed by men, while men on the opposite, were portrayed as the protagonist character in the storyline (Mulvey, 1975).

The analysis of Mulvey (1975) and similar research became particularly important for feminist media theory as it exposed how the patriarchal structures permeated media (Tuchman, 1978; Radway, 1984; Friedan, 1963; Millett, 1970). The effects of objectification and sexualization were a key focus for feminist media analysis in the 1970s, ultimately arguing that girls and women would internalize the representations and ideas, which in turn would open up self-objectification and low self-esteem. Such notions would arguably reinforce harmful gender stereotypes and patriarchal structures (Steiner, 2014). Feminist media theory also problematized the lack of women within the media professions as an issue, arguing that if women were entitled to media professions, the media content would be more inclusive as a result of women’s influences (Steiner, 2014).

In sum, these main debates and concerns in early feminist media theory provide an insight into how the relationship between media and gender was understood, and thereby also what was regarded as an issue and not. While contemporary feminist media theory inevitably builds on the early foundations of feminist media theory, many of today’s feminist media scholars stress the importance of more nuanced analysis. The influential feminist scholar and

activists bell hooks, for example, highlighted how early feminist media theory and analysis focused on the media representations and experiences of white middle-classed heterosexual women while overlooking the diversity of sexualities, minorities, and colors such as black women (Steiner, 2014; hooks, 2008; hooks, 2015). This critical insight is of particular interest to feminist media scholar Lazar who argues for a more intersectional and fluid understanding of gender in media, by engaging with the concepts of power and gender. The following section will undertake Lazar's (2007;2005) theoretical underpinnings of power, gender ideology and discourse which is essential to understand how media representations of femicide are discursively (re)constructed, reinforced, or challenged.

4.2. Michelle Lazar: Power, gender ideology and discourse

Feminist media scholar Lazar has previously published an extensive body of research that falls within feminist media theory. She is particularly known for her research on gender and sexuality in media discourse. Lazar further demonstrates and emphasizes how power and ideology give shape to different gendered representations of sexuality, GBV, parenthood, etc in mediatic spaces including film, television, advertising, and digital news and social platforms (Lazar & Sun, 2020; Lazar & Wan, 2022; Lazar, 2014; Lazar, 2006; Lazar, 2000; Milani & Lazar, 2017; Lazar, 1998).

Lazar (2005) is furthermore known for her development of Feminist Discourse Analysis (FCDA) to study how specific structures in language form certain meanings, in other words, discourse. Lazar's previous research and her understanding of how discourses (re)constructs gendered *representations* in media are of particular relevance to this study's theoretical concern with the representation of femicide, and how reporting may either reinforce or challenge *dominant cultural representations* about femicide. I will thus locate Lazar's core theoretical concepts in this section and address her methodological tools (FCDA) further on in the methodology chapter.

4.2.1 Power & discourse

According to Lazar (2007), the gender representations we see in media are reflections of our social and cultural norms and values that either *reinforce or challenge* harmful stereotypes (source). Language from this perspective then has a regulatory social function that is valuable

to study. To understand Lazar's reasoning we need to familiarize ourselves with her conception of power, gender ideology, and discourse.

Lazar (2007) draws from the Foucauldian conception of power which conceives of power as operating in multiple forms and being embedded everywhere (Foucault, 1991). Physical GBV for example, is one *explicit* form of power that manifests dominance and control over women. Harmful cultural norms, values, and beliefs such as objectification of women however, are also *one form of (in)explicit power* and domination that reduces women into a commodity for male desire and pleasure (Lazar, 2007). Power is in this sense both *visible and invisible* to the eye (Foucault, 1991). Power in the Foucauldian tradition of thought is therefore a force that manifests in outspoken systems of rules and practices that shape how we think, talk, and understand our surroundings (ibid). Foucault further refers to the term *discourse* to describe how each person has a system of ideas and actions that project our understanding of the world. Essentially, discourse functions as a (self)regulatory system of rules that constrain or enable actions and ideas which form rules for what is acceptable or not (ibid). Discourses from the Foucauldian perspective are however *never static*, they are rather in a constant struggle of meaning-negotiating which opens up for one of Foucault's most influential concepts; where there is power there is resistance (Foucault, 1990). This interconnection between power and resistance then means that language can either reinforce or challenge *representations of gender*. This is further developed in the following section, with Lazar's (2007; 2005) understanding of gender ideology and discourse.

4.2.2 Gender: Social construction and ideology

Lazar's (2007) understanding of gender is then bridged with discourse by arguing that *gender* is a social construction formed through and by *discursive, cultural, and social processes*. It is through discourses that certain "rules" are (re)created and regulate our beliefs, behaviors, and expectations of each other that create gendered categories with binary characteristics; man/woman, strong/weak, rational/irrational for example. By combining the concepts of power, discourse, and gender, Lazar seeks to unravel how *larger discursive patterns* of power about gender are communicated at a large-scale level. Lazar further identifies the ways in which mass media such as films, news, and songs, function as institutionalized forms through which gender inequality is discursively communicated. Partly drawing on Gramsci's

conception of hegemony Lazar describes how: “*Gender ideology is hegemonic in that it often does not appear as domination at all, appearing instead as largely consensual and acceptable to most in a community*” (Lazar, 2007, p:147) such as the normalization of GBV in movies, games or news for example.

Lazar eventually connects back to the importance of studying the language by highlighting that the core theoretical concern of FCDA is to expose and analyze these “*(...) discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order – relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group, and disadvantage, exclude, and disempower women as a social group*” (Lazar, 2007, p:145). This underlines the particular interest in analyzing the discursive representations of femicide presented in the news.

4.2.3. Gender & intersectionality

Many of today’s feminist scholars that take an interest in analyzing media representations of gender, including Lazar, are in particular emphasizing the importance of intersectionality. This is anchored in the need to contribute to more nuanced analyses, as explained earlier in feminist media theory (see end of section 4.1). Gender according to Lazar, intersects with “*(...) other systems of power based on race/ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, age, culture, and geography*” (Lazar, 2007, p:149). From this perspective, factors such as social class, ethnicity, geography, (dis)abilities will foster different experiences of being a woman and there through different forms of gender oppression. Undertaking an intersectional perspective thus means acknowledging that there is not one universal and equal experience nor one unified oppression against women, but rather multiple ones (ibid).

The recognition of intersectionality is of particular concern to Lazar’s theoretical work and FCDA, precisely due to the academic attention and criticism paid to “white feminism”. Feminist scholar Talpade Mohanty is among those voices that have criticized the universalizing tendencies of Western feminism, where women have been discursively and historically transformed into a homogeneous group through the eyes of the western world (Mohanty, 1984). Incorporating an intersectional perspective thus means actively seeking to avoid the typical pitfalls of white feminism, by recognizing the complexity of power and

oppression. For this study, it means acknowledging that there are overlapping factors of identity that intersect in media representations.

4.2 Representations of femicide in media

In the previous section, I addressed power, gender ideology and (media) discourse on a theoretical level. To deepen the theory further I will present Aldrete's (2022) recent study which offers an analytical framework to examine the different dominant forms of representation in which *femicide* is discursively constructed and contested in news media. These are according to Aldrete "(...) *applicable to the analysis of discourses in Latin America, both in traditional media and in other platforms and social networks*" (Aldrete, 2022, p:154) and useful "(...) *to examine the way in which patriarchal power is discursively reproduced and resisted in the media coverage of femicides*" [own translation] (Aldrete, 2022, p:156). Aldrete's (2022) analytical framework systematizes previous studies on representations of femicide in Latin America and has been developed in close conversation with Lazar's theoretical perspectives of FCDA.

4.2.1 Victims and perpetrators: binary traits

According to Aldrete (2022), dominant media discourses on femicide in Latin America are often built on assigning binary gender traits (negative/positive) to victims and perpetrators built on the workings of gender ideology that was described previously by Lazar (2007) (see 4.2.2). These discursive representations often favor a justification of the perpetrator's motives while feeding into a victim-blaming discourse.

These dichotomies are in first hand often centered around the projection of the "good" and the "bad" woman, where the former (the victim) is "(...) *characterized by their receptivity to violence and are held responsible for not taking care of themselves*" [own translation] (Aldrete, 2022, p:160). Typical examples of such binary gender dichotomies are often built around faithful/unfaithful, aggressive/calm, blameless/blameworthy, responsible/irresponsible, and dominant/subordinate where the negative traits are repeatedly assigned to the victim. The binary gender dichotomy of the faithful man/ and the unfaithful woman is for example often used in Latin American news reporting on femicide which projects stereotyped beliefs of women being unfaithful in relationships. News media often

imply, direct or indirect, that the victim in question had a liberal and therefore promiscuous view of sexual relations which assumes infidelity. Victims of femicide are therethrough commonly portrayed as being responsible for the femicide by bringing the situation upon themselves, or placing themselves in danger, and therefore “deliberately” wanting to meet their killer as described by Cáceres (2002). Such discourse consequently feeds into victim-blaming discourses and stereotypes about women and men in abusive and violent relationships (Cáceres, 2002). Similarly, binary gender dichotomies of victims as “passive” or “calm” and perpetrators as “aggressive” obscures the complexity of gender-based violence as passivity suggests that the victim permitted or encouraged the violence by not being self-protecting enough (Aldrete, 2022).

Aldrete (2022) furthermore suggests that perpetrators on the other hand, often are assigned “masculine” traits of domination such as strength, control and aggressiveness. The perpetrator’s motives for femicide are therethrough often built on these traits by referring to “provoking factors” such as jealousy, disputes, infidelity, alcoholism, stress, and/or psychological problems which then assumably causes the perpetrator into an enraged aggressiveness and a behavior beyond his control.

Aldrete (2022) also describes that these discursive representations often involve essentialized traits that cut across both genders, not belonging solely to women or men, in comparison to the description of gender binaries for example. Media often repetitively refer and reduce both victims and perpetrators to specific characteristics tied to their gender, age, sexuality, or nationality which feeds into an essentialization (Aldrete, 2022). Essentialism can for example be contrasted with what was previously described as intersectionality (see section 4.2.3) which recognizes that individuals are shaped by multiple and different layers of social categories (Lazar, 2007). Essentialized and binary gender traits can furthermore intersect and appear together, thus reinforcing stereotyped gender roles (Aldrete, 2022). Assigning binary gender and/or essentialized traits in femicide news coverage essentially reflects the underlying and established societal attitudes and beliefs about gender roles and hierarchies as conceptualized by Lazar (see section 4.2).

4.2.2 Sensationalist language

According to Aldrete (2022), an overemphasis on the details of the murder or morbid information about the victim's body and similar forms of sensationalist strategies is particularly present in the Latin American news media discourses tied to femicide. Suggestively, when GBV is treated as a commodity for the news market to increase their sales, it renders femicide into "Blood as spectacle" [own translation] (Buitrón, 1997). In connecting back and building on Lazar's (2007) conception of gender ideology, sensationalist and discriminatory media discourses on femicide are in themselves hegemonic given the space in which they reproduce and reinforce gender stereotypes (Aldrete, 2002; Lagos Lira, 2008). When media uses sensationalist language in reporting femicide it consequently communicates the relative news value of a murdered woman but also the cultural and social woman as such, while simultaneously contributing to its naturalization. While the news reporting itself sheds light on the issue, they are arguably problematic because "*They have emotional effects and attract attention, but they do not serve to empathize with the victim*" [own translation] (Aldrete, 2022, p:160). In other words, the media then serves to reproduce certain "progressive" representations while reproducing harmful ones. The characteristic use of sensationalist language in news media including Chile (see section 3.3) thus reflects how the news media are profit-driven in terms of generating news that attract the most readers possible at the expense of accuracy and ethical practice.

4.2.3 Resistant discourses

All together Aldrete (2002) offers a handful of concepts to explore how gender binary and/or essentialized traits and sensationalist language are discursively constructing different representations of femicide. On one hand, they show the importance of analyzing what and how femicide is treated in the mediatic news discourse. On the other hand, it also marks what is left out and not addressed in the news coverage. By building on Lazar's (2007) conception of gender ideology and discursive power, Aldrete (2022) underscores the importance of analyzing resistant discourses. This is furthermore of importance given that previous research on discourse analysis tied to femicide often tends to focus on discriminatory discourses while overlooking the existence and expressions of opposing ones. Aldrete (2022) has then identified general patterns of such discourses which often derive from authorities, activists, experts or the victim's family. These are furthermore often discourses that include expressions

or outspoken criticism against the legal and criminal system, the responsibility of the state Aldrete (2022) suggestively considered them as expressions of resistant discourses as they break with how femicide usually is represented in media. These discourses are then considered to “(...) *produce ruptures and negotiation of meaning*” [own translation](Aldrete, 2022, p:168) which highlights how gender representation and femicide might be (re)constructed in the public space.

4.2.4 Governmental discourses and meaning negotiation

Aldrete (2022) has likewise identified governmental discourses tied to state actors, authorities or similar actors with connections to the government. These are considered as hegemonic discourses since they are anchored in the institutional setting. Governmental discourses in this context are according to (Aldrete) characterized by “(...) *moral implications, prejudices and gender stereotypes (Flores 2017) that make the context of gender violence characteristic of femicide invisible*” [own translation] (Aldrete, 2022, p:159).

Governmental discourses might however break away from these stereotyped representations of femicide through the “production of ruptures and/ or negotiation of meanings “(...) *that previously sustained the patriarchal discriminatory discourse*” (Aldrete, 2022, p:163). An example of these can be statements acknowledging the governmental responsibility in eradicating femicide or seeing to the societal structures or ensuring punity against those who commit femicide (Aldrete, 2022).

The theoretical chapter has in summary provided an overview of feminist media theory and its main debates, along with Lazar's (2007) theoretical understandings of power, discourse and gender ideology, and finally an insight into how dominant discourses in Latin American report on femicide. Together these theoretical perspectives underpin the research and provide the lens through which the news will be analyzed.

5. Methodology

The following chapter describes the study's research design, empirical material and methodological choices. The ethical considerations are then presented and concluded with a description of the limitations of the study.

5.1 Research design

The selected research strategy for this study is of qualitative character in the form that it is interested in the meaning-making behind wordings and representations of femicide, while quantitative research would focus on numbers and emphasize quantification firsthand (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative research is furthermore interested in how words and phrases are built, based on the assumption that humans give meaning to their surroundings and actions through language (Bergström & Svärd, 2018). A qualitative approach to language in regard to this study then implies that the news articles covering femicide contain certain preconceptions and ideas about gender and femicide which can be mapped and understood through a qualitative analysis (ibid).

5.2 Data collection

The data collection in this study is two-folded. It involves scoping interviews and a desk-based collection of online news articles.

5.2.1 Scoping Interviews

Five scoping interviews with individuals based in Santiago, Chile, (see appendix 1 and 2) were conducted in the initial stage of this study with the purpose of facilitating a contextual understanding of femicide and the mediatic landscape in Chile. Initially, one group interview was conducted with one psychologist and social worker at the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity. Thereafter I conducted an individual interview with a Professor in Communication followed by a third with a President of a Professional media Association and one with a Project Director at a Women's rights organization and former journalist. The key informants were selected according to their different roles and knowledge base and were found online and contacted through their email addresses. The first group interview was conducted by myself in person in Chile since I was there during that particular period of the thesis process.

The others were carried out digitally through the video conferencing tool Microsoft Teams (Microsoft, 2023). All of the interviews were conducted by myself and conducted in Spanish.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed into text. The texts were then translated from Spanish to English by myself. The interviews were further integrated into the background chapter using in-text quotes (see chapter 2).

5.2.2 Online news articles

To answer the study's questions, I chose to analyze two of Chile's most-read and visited news sites: Emol (n.d) and Biobio (n.d). Both news sites cover national news without paywalls and have the highest numbers of readership during the last decades (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021). Thereafter, I chose to study all online news articles covering femicide cases during 2019. This was the year with the highest number of recorded cases of femicide since the Chilean government started to record femicides in 2010 (SernamEG, n.d).

When the selection and timeframe of the news sites were chosen, an official list of the registered cases of femicide was downloaded from the website of Chile's Ministry of Women and Gender Equity (SernamEG, n.d). All the lists contain the name, age, and date of each femicide, which in turn served as a set of keywords for the search bar at the websites in the search of news articles. Each article was later downloaded and organized into separate folders. A total of 112 articles were collected (see appendix 3).

5.3 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as method

In order to examine how the representations of femicide are manifested in the news articles, the methodological structures of Lazar's Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) will be used (Lazar, 2007). FCDA to begin with falls under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is an approach that undertakes a critical study of the meaning-making language tied to social inequality and injustice, related to issues of power and conflicts (Bergström & Boreus, ; Boréus & Brylla, 2018).

FCDA is furthermore openly committed to analyzing gendered discourses that maintain, exclude, and disadvantage women as a social group. FCDA as such is then particularly interested in demystifying and detangling gender, power, and ideology in discourses as explained by Lazar's (2007) theoretical underpinnings (see section 4.2). The overarching aim of FCDA as a method is then to examine and show how "(...) *the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged*" (Lazar, 2007, p:142). The core of FCDA then speaks directly to my research questions and is thus considered to be appropriate for the study.

5.3.1 Ontology and epistemology of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

In FCDA, discourse is understood as a social practice through which we give meaning to our surroundings by constructing and describing social realities. Additionally, social and cultural norms and values, condition how discourses are constructed. From this point of view, discourse and social practice are in dialectical relationships where discourse is inherently a part of and constituted by social practices (Bergström & Ekström, 2018). The ontological and epistemological assumptions that derive from FCDA can therefore be traced to social constructivism, especially in terms of how FCDA conceptualizes gender as a social construction but also in how gender inequality is discourse produced and embedded in unequal gendered power relations.

5.3.2. FCDA in practice

The main task of discourse analysis within FCDA according to Lazar is to examine how the interrelations between power and gender ideology give rise to representations of gender (Lazar, 2005). For this study, it means using the FCDA to *examine the discursive production of gendered representations in the selected news articles*. The approaches, analytical frameworks, and categories to analyze the empirical data may however vary as FCDA, including discourse analysis, does not provide any standardized tools or step-by-step guides for such task (Lazar, 2005).

Instead, Lazar describes FCDA as being used to analyze constructions of gendered representation vis-à-vis particular gendered orders (Lazar, 2005). Here, Alderete's (2022) discursive representations of femicide in media (see section 4.2) will function as the

analytical framework to analyze expressions of gendered representations. Aldrete's (2022, p:153) framework furthermore provides overarching questions that operationalize the theory into four analytical questions to be posed to the empirical material:

1. *Analyzing representation of victims and perpetrators.*
2. *Analyzing sensationalist use of the information.*
3. *Analyzing counter-discourses and legitimation, by analyzing the prominence, the representation of the information sources, and the argumentative supports.*
4. *Identify the ruptures in the hegemonic patriarchal discourse and a meaning negotiation with a temporal dimension comparative study.*

In concrete, it means examining the discursive representations of victims and perpetrators, particularly if the victims are represented negatively if they are blamed and/or if the motives of the perpetrators are justified. It also means examining the sensationalistic strategies of information. And lastly, if there are any resistant discourses amongst families, communities and governmental actors. The first two questions make it possible to answer research question 1 of this study, while the next two questions answer research question 2.

In order to facilitate and manage the large number of articles I used the qualitative software program NVivo (version 1.7.1.1534). The analytical questions were posed to each article and coded into overarching nodes³ (units of observations) in accordance with Aldrete's (2022) discursive representations (see section 4.2). What was important in this process was not to force an analytical framework on the empirical material. Instead, for example, two discourses could be observed in one article but then be coded into different nodes. In the final step of the analysis, I compiled all the nodes in a list from most recurrent to least, answering which one was more prominent.

5.5 Ethical considerations and limitations

³ In Nvivo (version 1.7.1.1534) coding refers to the process of reading, selecting content and coding them into units of observations called a node. This allows the researcher to move explanatory through the data while looking for patterns (QSR International, n.d.)

5.5.1 Positionality and reflexivity

As a researcher it is crucial that I reflect on my positionality and that I am transparent with my reflections and the research process. This study to start with follows the ethical “do no harm” principles which imply actively reflecting on the (un)expected outcomes of the research including who it might benefit or harm (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This is considered particularly important for this study as it is written in the field of development studies which historically has a long and problematic history of exploitation and expropriation (Hammet, 2014). Historically, development researchers have studied communities in the Global South that are neither theirs and/or neither speak their language. Consequently, researchers have either gathered information without the knowledge of the local population or gathered information and knowledge from the local population without acknowledging this or handing over the final results of the research (ibid).

For this study, it has meant that I initially designed the study with the help of existing and local expertise in the form of key informants (see section 5.2.1). Each participant was given a consent form (see appendix 4) with respect to their confidentiality which stated that they at any time of the study can withdraw or choose to not answer specific questions for example. The final work is also to be shared with each interviewed. These choices have in sum been made to follow the “do no harm” and even so go beyond this in a way that engages as much as possible with local voices, given time and resource constraints.

5.5.2 Difficulties and limitations

One difficulty I encountered was the time-consuming collection of news articles. For one site, Emol, the names of the victims were frequently excluded, which made the digital search and selection of these articles much more complicated than expected. I met this challenge by “backtracking” all the articles written on the day of the femicide and the following week after. This challenge required systematic attention to details in large flows of information, on my part. Finally, this study has naturally been limited in terms of how much empirical material was analyzed. One year, 2019 with the highest femicide rates (SernamEG,n.d), was studied with references to time.

6. Observations and analysis

In this chapter the main results have been categorized into three overarching sections with respective subcategories. These are arranged in hierarchical and descending order starting with the most prevalent representations: 6.1 Sensationalist use of information and language, 6.2 Representations of victims and perpetrators, and ending with the least 6.3 Critical voices from families, communities and government. In the following and last chapter seven, the key findings of the analysis will be summarized in concluding remarks.

All the bolded words in the quotes were added by me to underline the observations.

6.1. Sensationalist use of information and language

6.1.1 Graphic descriptions: stabbing and shootings, heads and hearts

The largest and by far most recurrent and dominant observation throughout the articles was the use of graphic language and use of information dedicated to describe the condition in which the victim's deceased body was found. This involved frequent and detailed descriptions of the victim's wounds, sometimes accompanied by a description of the probable cause of death. This is illustrated in two different quotes from two different articles: "*According to the first findings, the **victim had cuts on her neck and shoulder, while the cranial area had more serious wounds***" (Lisette R Biobio), and:

"The 30 year old woman was found lifeless this morning inside a house on Copihues Avenue street, with **signs of being stabbed in her abdominal area and thorax, with an object lying next to her.**" (Ethel Chevez Sánchez Emol 1).

The graphic language is observed to be *exclusively* linked to the victim's body and injuries, which is characterized by what Aldrete (2022) describes as a sensationalist use of language and information, by repeatedly emphasizing and using detailed information such as gunshot wounds, fist blows, (facial) cuts, head injuries, stabs, marks of strangulation, suffocation:

“(…) the prosecutor Lorena Morales, specialized in crimes of domestic violence (VIF), ordered the Homicide Squad (BH) of the PDI to carry out the first investigations. The **victim was found on the second floor, more specifically in her bedroom, with three wounds in the thoracic area, made with a knife**, which was seized, according to Morales” (Sandra Biobio 3)

The graphic language is moreover often accompanied by details regarding where the body was found, by who, and by which force the weapon/violence was used toward the victim. two different examples from two different articles follow:

“According to reports, in this context, the accused pulled out a **32-centimeter knife** with which he stabbed the woman **19 times in various parts of her body**, causing the victim to fall to the ground while the perpetrator fled the scene in a collective cab (...) **A total of 19 sharp stab wounds, most of them in the back** “(Joyce Tello Emol 2)

“(…) she was killed with a **stabbing weapon in which she was stabbed 13 times in the thorax with**, in the **precordial area, where the heart is located**, according to information given from the Investigative Police” (Sandra Pozo Emol)

The type of weapon and quantification of the victim’s injuries is moreover often placed in the opening headlines and subheadings of the articles which are known to be typical places of where the reader’s eye first lands. This can thus be considered as a deliberate and active strategy to attract readers for the generation of clicks which essentially is linked to what Aldrete (2022) describes as a commodification of violence. On one hand, the murder is rightfully acknowledged, labeled and referred to as femicide in all articles. On the other hand, it is repeatedly accompanied with a fixation on morbid details regarding the victim’s body to the extent that it appears as accepted and normal.

This can be related to Lazar’s (2007) understanding of gender ideology which explains how women can be acknowledged while simultaneously rendered invisible through discursive means that obscures unequal power relations. The widespread and continued overemphasis on morbid details is then considered hegemonic in the sense that it dominates in the articles but appears as the normal.

These types of discursive representations then dehumanize the victim while naturalizing violence against women and femicide, according to Aldrete (2022). These sorts of representations with overexposure of the deceased victim's body rather creates a "second space of violence" even after her death, as described by Ramirez (2019). However, within this context, it is noted that there are no trivializing elements of humoristic or sexist expressions, as identified previously in the Chilean news (Tapia Neira, 2010).

Lastly, the graphic language, how, where, and with what force the victim was killed with is never observed to develop into a deeper and meaningful conversation about GBV and femicide. According to Toledo and Lagos Lira (2014), this type of sensationalistic use of information and language rather shocks its reader, suggestively fostering an increased public fear amongst women against men which serves as "cautionary tales" but also for those who find themselves in an abusive relationship which then might perpetuate a cycle of violence (Toledo & Lagos, 2014).

6.1.2 Sensationalist story-format: in the footsteps of the perpetrator

The second most recurrent discursive representation is directly related to the *acts* of the perpetrator in a story-like format. A notable similarity between this and the previous discourse is that the victim appears as a passive character but in this case in an indirect correlation and presence of the perpetrator actions. This consequently falls in line with how women and men have been portrayed in the media historically, with the man being assigned the protagonist character and the woman as a side figure or undefined character, through the "male gaze" (Mulvey, 1975). An example of this follows:

"It was on September 27, 2019 when the man took the victim to a rural property in the town of Caramávida, commune of Los Álamos. **He took the woman to an area with the alleged purpose of looking for firewood** and while there **he fatally assaulted her with a blunt object**. Then, **he hid the corpse with soil and the debris from a forestry harvest**" (Constanza Biobio 5).

This discourse, unlike the previous ones in 6.1.1, provides an insight into how the perpetrator committed the femicide step by step in chronological order. Also illustrated in another example where the perpetrators act are described:

“(…) the man of Haitian nationality **used a knife to inflict a series of wounds on her face, abdominal and cervical area while she was sleeping.** This occurred in the **bedroom** that the **couple shared with their three daughters of 8, 6 and 3 years of age.** The attack resulted in the victim dying of anemia. **After that, the man covered her body,** left a letter and **hid the knife with which he murdered her with in a washing machine. He then handed over cash** and her account card with passwords to his family members” (Christianne, Bio 2).

This quote shows how certain discursive representations of femicide are written to build up a suspense to catch the reader’s attention, suggestively capitalizing on violence and emotions as Aldrete (2022) describes. Just as Ananías and Vergara (2016) previous study shows, these types of stories-like formats and descriptions of femicide are furthermore often centered around the most violent cases of femicide, often dedicated to a set or series of articles about the same femicide but over a longer time. This stands out in comparison to the previous section where the femicide only is assigned one article.

These discursive representations furthermore, often spell out who were there to witness the femicide. These are in general centralized on whether the couple’s children were eyewitnesses to the femicide or if they were present in the house, but also whether they were present in the first place: *“Femicide in Trehuaco: Man who **shot wife in front of their children** sentenced to 13 years in prison”* (Bernardita Pedraza Gutiérrez BioBio)

“(…) yesterday the deputy prosecutor of Quirihue, Cecilia González, commented that the crime was committed in the presence of the victim’s daughter. "They only had a little girl in common, of two years age," she said.” (Bernardita Pedraza Gutiérrez, Emol)

They often involve comments from neighbors, describing how there were sounds of screams and cries for example. These descriptions do not bring any informative value except to take advantage of the reader’s emotions at the expense of the victims and families integrity and privacy.

6.2. Representations of victims and perpetrators

6.2.1 Victims: responsibilities of women

The third largest and most recurring discursive representation centers around the victim's previous police reporting. More specifically, when the victim last reported the perpetrator (which year, month, week) how many times ("many times", "just once") to whom (police, women's center), and whether or not she continued with the reporting process. These are often straightforward descriptions of the victims actions without any further analysis or question of why the victim acted (or not) as she did.

"The prosecutor of the Public Prosecutor's Office, Natalie Johnson, told Radio Bío Bío that **the woman reported her partner 10 years ago** and that according to her children, **she was a silent victim of verbal and psychological aggression**" (María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 4)

This is notably the first time that the victim is attributed agency to some degree, unlike the first two where the victim is described as a passive character. This particular article furthermore includes a more nuanced representation of how GBV can manifest itself by pointing out psychological violence. However, in other articles and discursive representations of the victim, the victim's action is often accompanied by information centered around what the victim did not do. This inherently diminishes the actions of the perpetrator while transferring the responsibility over to the victim, as noted by Gillespie et al. (2013) previous study:

"(...) the Public Prosecutor's Office is investigating, it is very important to gather all the background information **to know exactly what happened**. On the other hand, the police announced that the **victim was not a user of the Women's Center or any Sernameg program**. However, he indicated that on November 19 the **woman filed a complaint for threats in the context of domestic violence**" (Daniela Vivar Nauto Biobio)

These discursive representations of victims are then indirectly portraying the victims actions as inadequate, which reminds of victim-blaming discourses (Aldrete, 2022). This is also noted

in another article:

“Initial inquiries show that there were **no formal complaints of domestic violence**, although it was **confirmed that the victim had gone to the Women's Center to ask for help** for acts of violence that allegedly occurred half a year ago” (Laura Gálvez Videla Emol 1)

The same type of discourse is observed in other articles and illustrated in the following quote:

“During the day, the Minister for Women Isabel Plá confirmed that there was **already a complaint filed by the victim before 2018**, which did not proceed because **she withdrew**, and then **returned to live with her partner**. According to neighbors, the latter occurred less than three months ago” (Deisy Inostroza Araya BioBio 1)

Here, the victim-blaming discourse described by Aldrete (2022) is more prevalent. This recalls how essentialist notions render GBV and femicide to a seemingly “straightforward problem”: the victim was beaten, but she chose to return deliberately and was killed. The victim is therefore made responsible for her own death as she should have known better. This also speaks to how Lazar (source) and Aldrete (2022) describes that women often are discursively constructed with references to gendered feminine traits such as women being irrational and emotional which disempower women as a social group.

The majority of the articles that in some form address the victim’s previous police reports focus on the victim’s action rather than focusing on the perpetrator’s actions. In this specific context, it implies that the focal point of the femicide is centered around if a) the victim went to the police and b) how many times, rather than addressing the perpetrators (sometimes long history) of violent behavior. It thus represents femicide as something inevitable: filing a complaint or issuing a restraining order. It will not matter because “it is bound to happen” which ultimately renders femicide a natural and societal phenomenon. Secondly, this type of discourse suggestively signals that a) women are responsible for their own safety, b) it is the woman’s responsibility to report an abusive partner, instead of problematizing why, how and in what forms perpetrators are violent.

The discursive representation echoes the stereotypical and damaging reminder to women and girls not to dress "inappropriately" because it may attract attention from men who may get

“(sexual)ideas”, instead of problematizing how men think they are allowed to rape a woman in the first place. The responsibility of the perpetrator is thus invisibilized in the notion of highlighting how women should act, thus blaming and holding the victim responsible for the femicide. This discourse also reminds of Aldrete’s (2022) descriptions of the binary gender dichotomy of responsible/irresponsible, where victims are framed as responsible for reporting violence and staying away from violence, while men are not responsible nor being held responsible for their violence. As noted in Gillespie et al. (2013) previous research, these discursive representations favor the perpetrators and disadvantage the victims, in focusing solely on the victim’s actions.

6.2.2 Perpetrators: justification of motives

Another discursive representation repetitively focuses on the perpetrator’s motive for the femicide and falls in line with observations in previous research (Lagos Lira, 2008; Tapia Neira, 2010; Rojas, 2004; Fernandes Taipia, 2016). Jealousy and aggressiveness are continuously portrayed as the sometimes direct, or indirect single and provoking factor for the killing: *“The first information indicate that there were **no previous complaints for violence** and that the **aggressor's motivation was jealousy**”* (Sandra Pozo BioBio 1)

“(…) the 60-year-old man left a letter in which **he admitted what had happened and assured** that the **motive for the crime was jealousy**. The two had no children in common, but she had them from a previous relationship” (Laura Galvez Videla Emol 1)

This discursive representation corresponds well with how Aldrete (2022) describes that the focus is often shifted away from the perpetrator by suggesting that the victim must have provoked the perpetrator. Here it is also underscored that victim in question had children from another relationships which suggestively puts the victim in bad image.

By drawing from Lazar’s (2007) conception of discursive power, such discourses inherently sustains the unbalanced power relations between men and women, victim and perpetrators, by legitimizing violence. It also recalls the constructions of gender binary dichotomies of men and women, where men are portrayed as jealous and possessive and women are portrayed as “the catalysator”, rendered to being either faithful or unfaithful to their partner. Unlike the previous two quotes, infidelity is spelt out in another article:

“Fabian Silva, head of the homicide squad in Puerto Montt, explained that “the man had made known his intention to cause some harm to the woman (...) to carry out some kind of **revenge for an infidelity**”. (Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 5)

Although this is not the most dominant discursive representation of femicide as noted in Lagos (2008) previous research for example, it continues to nourish the beliefs that men are aggressive and jealous of “nature” with inherent and uncontrollable rage (Aldrete, 2022; Tapia Neira, 2010) which naturalizes masculine control over women (Rojas et al, 2004). This is also embodied when articles repetitively refer to how a “discussion” triggered the perpetrator to kill:

“The chief prosecutor (s) of Quirihue, Cecilia González Palacios, explained that on the day the crime occurred, a **discussion was generated between the couple**. Then the man **fired a 12-gauge shotgun at the woman, who died** at the scene”(Bernardita Pedraza Gutiérrez BioBio)

“The man allegedly murdered the woman, then took his own life. “There was **a discussion between the victim and the accused, which had a tragic outcome**. First she died and then unfortunately he took his own life because of the argument,” said prosecutor Florentino Bobadilla” (Yaricza Cáceres Montecinos Emol)

“(…) the **suspect had an argument with the woman** in a public street this morning, and then stabbed her with a knife, which caused her death at the same place.” (Joyce Tello Avilés Biobio 1)

As with jealousy, this discursive representation projects a rather simplistic portrayal of femicide by detaching it from a variety of factors and issues such as toxic and controlling behaviors, economic stress and inequality, housing issues, etc, and rendering the causes of gender-based violence into “couple problems” characterized by drama, and passion. This is also noted in Rojas et als (2004) previous research and described as a decontextualisation. In this context, the term discussion furthermore signalizes that there was a mutual conflict between two individuals, when in fact discussion in the context of femicide rather derives from an imbalanced relationship from the start. By drawing on Lazars (2007) conception of discursive power, “discussion” as an explanation of femicide obscures the otherwise

asymmetrical gender power that operates in connection to the perpetrator and the act of femicide through discursive means.

These discourses are on occasion followed up with direct quotes from the perpetrator that explicitly takes away or are attempts to remove the responsibility of his act. When these types of quotes appear, they are often placed in the opening title of the article: *“Man arrested for killing his ex-partner in Quintero claims he killed her "by accident only".”* (Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo BioBio 4). And: *“(…) the defense argued that the man presented mental instability* (Fahime Díaz Dervich Emol), and finally:

“According to the first information, the man had arrived at the establishment in a vehicle to approach the woman, beat her and kill her. After his arrest, he assured that the gunshot in question "was by accident".”(Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo Emol 1)

As noted in previous studies of (Toledo & Lagos, 2014; Aldrete 2022) these discursive representations of the perpetrator are sometimes placed with reference to alcohol or mental instability which inherently decouples the perpetrator from owing any responsibility for his acts. It is however not among the most prominent discursive representation as previously observed by Toledo and Lagos (2014).

6.3 Critical voices from families, communities, and government

6.3.1 Family and community: “ We do not want revenge, we want justice”

Just as Lazar (2008) is concerned with drawing attention to examining how discursive (re)constructions maintain social gendered orders, examining resisting and transforming discourses are of equal importance. The fourth and notably less present discursive representation centers around the critical voices of the victim’s families and communities and often concerns the flawed criminal justice system. These discursive representations commonly involve family members who are expressing their sorrow, anger, or frustration in different forms, here illustrated in two different quotes:

“The **family** of Isabel Alvarez **accused slowness in the investigation and lack of diligence** of institutions such as **Sernameg, PDI, the Forensic Medical Service and the Prosecutor's**

Office, from the time they reported her disappearance until now. ” (Isabel Álvarez Solís BioBio 2)

“(…) **brother** of the victim, **cried out for justice for his relative** considering that the suspect has a **previous conviction for homicide**. ” He should not get out because he had already done a **criminal case prior to this and he was released**. ” (Mariela Naigual Pino BioBio 1)

These are moreover often addressing how the perpetrator in question has slipped through the criminal justice system and gotten away with previous sentences, or how the victim’s prior reporting have exacerbated the violence. One illustrative quote from one of the victim’s daughters follows, which embodies dissent against the law enforcement:

“(…) **he became even more enraged**. ”When he **got out of jail**, he went to the prosecutor's office and then called me for having filed a complaint and told me that he was going to **kill her anyway**. (...) he told me 'So they filed a lawsuit against me? **I don't know why they gave him that information**, he called me very **angry**, he told me 'So they sued me? **Take the consequences**, he said’ ” (Natividad Barcaza Faúndez BioBio)

What is pointed at is the inadequacy of the law and enforcement systems and how these may negatively affect victims of GBV. In turning to Aldrete (2002), these discourses (outspoken criticisms against the law enforcement as in the case above) can be considered as a resistant discourse that breaks with how the media usually focus on the victim. The discursive representation of femicide is then “recontextualised” to a certain degree, as can be observed in the following quote:

“Andrea Celis, friend and co-worker of the victim’s mother, **demanded justice** so that a **situation like this does not happen again**. ”Let justice be done, but let it be done for real,” she commented. ”We would not like what is happening to Coni and her family not to happen again. We are **here to visualize that gender violence has to stop, that violence against women have to cease to exist** “ (Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 3)

This specific quote consequently points to femicide as a societal problem by highlighting that a) femicide should not occur, b) but that it inherently is likely to happen again and c) that the

criminal justice system needs to be improved by hinting to previous failures of the past. This discursive representation of femicide is then considerably underscoring how femicide forms part of the state's responsibility to a certain degree. Activists from women's rights organizations similarly points out other more social dimensions to femicide as illustrated in the following quote:

“Ana Godoy, of the **Coordinadora No más Violencia de Género**, stated that **there are several factors that lead a woman to abandon legal proceedings, and called for more support for victims**. "Many times they are **isolated from their support networks**, (...) many women **cannot continue with the judicial processes**", she said.” (María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 1)

This specific example highlights the structural and societal issues and dimensions of femicide and gender-based violence by pinpointing how social networks may play a key role in the prevention of femicide. This type of discursive representation of femicide suggestively provides the reader with a more complex understanding of femicide as a phenomenon. This is also observed in another quote:

“The **spokeswoman for the demonstrators**, Kuyen Clavería, said that those affected must **wait for weeks for an appointment with the center's psychologist**, who then provides 20 minutes of assistance. Clavería explained that along with making visible what is happening, they held the **demonstration so that the government entities would understand that more resources are needed** (Rosa Cañiulef BioBio 1).

This type of discourse critically highlights the poor conditions that women receive when seeking support from the state, which Aldrete (2022) would describe as an opposing discourse that consequently links femicide with the state's responsibility.

“It increases the **feeling of injustice that the victims have**, the perception that there is **no access to justice** (...) It is terrible, **especially in the outlying communities** such as Santa Juana, Cañete, and the entire province of Arauco and Bío Bío", she said” (Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 4)

These are furthermore on occasions underlining how women may receive different levels of support depending on where they live. This type of discursive representation could to some extent be associated with what Lazar (2008) would refer to as an intersection of multiple disadvantages in this case. Here it is understood gender structures do not exist in isolation but that they rather intersect with various structures of power.

6.3.2 Government: “We need to review our system”

The last and least present discursive representation centers around internal criticism from ministers, governors, mayors and state employees. These are often focusing on addressing critique against the institutional inefficiency, specifically in processing victims’ reports and providing them with support and protection in time. This discursive representation then repetitively tends to place the responsibility on police authorities, as reports and complaints fall within their work area. Most often, they explicitly seek to find out who failed to follow the working protocols as illustrated by the following quote:

“**Victim reports aggressions**, but police **officers did not report to the prosecutor's office** The woman **had reported abuse in the relationship more than a week ago**. However, the prosecutor's office found out when **she had already died**. (...) **According to protocol**, the **police must forward the complaint as soon as possible** to the Public Prosecutor's Office. A slight delay could occur if the report was filed on a weekend. This was not the case, since May 6 was a Monday” (Mariela Naigual Pinol Emol 1)

The core concern in these governmental discourses is firsthand occupied with scrutinizing procedures of practical character as the one above. Here it is acknowledged that a) the victim did what was expected of her but b) the government failed in providing her assistance in time. When the 24th case of femicide was registered, the minister of Women’s affairs commented:

“(…) this case **"shows once again that explanations come late**. We are demanding the institutions to understand that **crimes of violence against women have to be prioritized** and that **we cannot continue to put their victims at the end of the line**". "They are the institutions in **charge of receiving complaints in a timely manner, protecting the victims and initiating actions against the aggressors**," said the Secretary of State” (Helen Barra

Ortega Emol 2)

This discursive representation of femicide does therefore, to some degree, address the broader and systematic factors that contribute to femicide. However, it is observed that these often appear in connection with the most “extreme cases of femicide”, when a rather major or obvious protocol failure has been revealed such as the one illustrated above. In a different quote, a governor pinpoints how machismo is the root of the femicide, which is a notable observation as it is the only time a) the word machismo is used and b) the perpetrator is pointed out in connection with harmful culture and societal norms:

“ "Meanwhile, the **mayor of the commune** declared that they are studying how to become part of the case as a municipality and that the **incident shocked** them in a great way due to the violence it caused. "This type of situation should not happen. **Joyce was a victim of machismo and of an irrational man.**" “(Joyce Tello Avilés BioBio 3)

In turning to Aldrete (2022), such discursive representation of femicide could be considered as an expression of a rupture of the patriarchal discourse, given that it disadvantages men as a social group. Lastly, these governmental discourses are in general characterized by condemning comments (as noted above also) which underline the government's statements and positions against GBV and femicide, with a notable and recurrent attention directed towards the victim's children:

“(…) mayor of the commune, said that as a municipality they will **provide social and legal assistance with a lawyer**, adding that as a community they **regret what happened** and hope that the facts will be clarified. **"We are all shocked** (...) we want 100% clarification of the facts. There are **three minors who have been left in a very delicate condition**", said the communal chief.” (Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 4)

These governmental discourses stand out as they address some dimensions of the societal consequences of femicide. In this particular quote what is highlighted is a) the need and importance to provide victims' families with juridical support and a) seeing to the victims' children. This consequently highlights the government's responsibility and the societal dimensions of femicide. This is also observed in another article about the same femicide case:

“I deeply regret the femicide that occurred in Chimbarongo. As a government we will file a lawsuit against the responsible party and we will **provide assistance to the family**, to whom we send our condolences. Let us hope that **the investigation advances quickly so that there is justice**” (Helen Barra Ortega Emol 1)

Bringing justice through legal means is the link between the government responsibility and femicide which repetitively recurs in the governmental discourses. This, according to Aldrete (2022), could be an expression of how governmental and hegemonic discourse is changing to a certain extent, by recognizing femicide as a social issue with the need for support and resources located within the institutional framework.

7. Key analytical findings and conclusion

The previous chapter has in summary been important to outline the study's observations and to explore the discursive representations of femicide in the selected news outlet. The following section aims to summarize these observations into broader key findings to answer how the online news report represents femicide and how the language consequently reinforces or challenges dominant discourses.

The analysis shows that the news coverage on femicide largely projects simplistic and problematic representations of femicide that undermine the severity of femicide and the urgency of more efforts to combat it on a structural level

Firstly, the analytical chapter exposes how femicide is represented and limited to what Aldrete (2022) considers a sensationalistic use of language and information. These discursive representations construct femicide with graphic descriptions and with the use of a storytelling format, either fixated on the victim's deceased body or on the perpetrator's gaze. This key finding implies that news reporting on femicide renders *femicide* into *individual tragedies of women*. A representation that confirms the criticism made by women rights activists and previous research carried out in the region (Toledo & Lagos, 2014). The news reporting further builds on a contradiction by addressing and condemning femicide but concurrently reproduces a simplistic representation. The main representation is focusing on factors such as how many times the victim was stabbed, or how the perpetrator successfully tricked the woman into the place of the murder. This ultimately blurs the contextual and structural factors and instead reinforces unequal power relations and harmful norms, which ultimately leads to femicide and is the very core of why the term exists. Turning to Lazar's (2007) understanding of discursive power and gender ideology, the notion of reporting on femicide without providing any context or critical analysis then reinforces male violence and control over women by naturalizing the violence.

Secondly, the news reporting repetitively communicates a representation of femicide that holds victims responsible for their own murder. The few times that victims are addressed (beyond the description of a dead body), the focus is put on the women's behavior, choices, and actions that consequently culminated in being murdered. Aligned with Lazar (2008), this discursive representation is rooted in the existing binary gender order, where men are bound

to be aggressive and dominating to nature and women are bound to be emotional and subordinate. A representation that essentially holds women responsible for their own safety. Overall, there are very few instances where these representations are challenged. Most notable are the representations that come from activists who point out and problematize cultural norms and behaviors among men as a motive for femicide. Among these, there are elements of families pointing to the legal system and finally, the state discourses that explicitly condemn femicide but fail to address preventive measures. These discourses serve to some extent to challenge the otherwise victim-blaming representations of femicide but are overshadowed by the large proportion that repeatedly represents harmful stereotypical representations of victims, perpetrators and femicide.

These key findings have in concluding remarks underscored that the new media possesses a powerful hegemonic position in selecting which issues to include and what not, but also in what shapes and forms. It underlines how news media must be held accountable for reproducing harmful stereotypes and misconceptions about femicide but also for installing progressive debates and giving voice to social change. For further research it would be interesting to undertake a combined FCDA analysis of visual elements and text in online news to explore how these might interplay.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interviewed individuals

Table 1.

Interviewees	Roles
1.	Group interview with one psychologist and one social worker, at the Chilean Ministry of Women and Gender Equity
2.	Professor in Communication, Santiago, Chile
3.	President of Professional media Association, Santiago, Chile
4.	Project Director at Women rights organization and former journalist, Santiago Chile

Appendix 2. Interview questions

I) How is femicide and violence against women in Chile portrayed in the public discussion?

II) What possible influence, if any, does the media coverage on femicide have, in Chile?

III) Are there any counter-narrative ways of coverage and reporting on femicide that aims to change the public perception of femicide?

Appendix 3. Empirical material

Table 2: Number of articles corresponding to online news sites.

Year	Registered Femicides	Emol	BioBio	Total amount of articles
2019	46	34	76	112

List 3: Empirical material

BioBio 2019 by alphabetical order:

1. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 1](#)
2. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 2](#)
3. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 3](#)
4. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 4](#)
5. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 5](#)
6. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz BioBio 6](#)
7. [Bernardita Pedraza Gutiérrez BioBio](#)
8. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo BioBio 1](#)
9. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo BioBio 2](#)
10. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo BioBio 3](#)
11. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo BioBio 4](#)
12. [Carolina Villegas Viveros BioBio](#)
13. [Christianne Villard BioBio](#)
14. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 1](#)
15. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 2](#)
16. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 3](#)
17. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 4](#)
18. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 5](#)
19. [Constanza Chandía Rivera BioBio 6](#)
20. [Daniela Vivar Nauto BioBio](#)
21. [Deisy Inostroza Araya BioBio 1](#)

22. [Deisy Inostroza Araya BioBio 2](#)
23. [Delicienne Sajuste BioBio 1](#)
24. [Delicienne Sajuste BioBio 2](#)
25. [Fahime Díaz Dervich BioBio](#)
26. [Gabriela Contreras Uribe BioBio 1](#)
27. [Gabriela Contreras Uribe BioBio 2](#)
28. [Genoveva BioBio](#)
29. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 1](#)
30. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 2](#)
31. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 3](#)
32. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 4](#)
33. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 5](#)
34. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 6](#)
35. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 7](#)
36. [Glenda Delgado Cárdenas BioBio 8](#)
37. [Gloria Lagos Huenullan BioBio 1](#)
38. [Gloria Lagos Huenullan BioBio 2](#)
39. [Helen Barra Ortega BioBio 1](#)
40. [Helen Barra Ortega BioBio 2](#)
41. [Helen Barra Ortega BioBio 3](#)
42. [Isabel Álvarez Solís BioBio 1](#)
43. [Isabel Álvarez Solís BioBio 2](#)
44. [Isabel Álvarez Solís BioBio 3](#)
45. [Joyce Tello Avilés BioBio 1](#)
46. [Joyce Tello Avilés BioBio 2](#)
47. [Joyce Tello Avilés BioBio 3](#)
48. [Katherine Fernández Quintero BioBio](#)
49. [Katherine Fernández Quintero BioBio 2](#)
50. [Lisette R BioBio 1](#)
51. [Lisette R BioBio 2](#)
52. [Lisette R BioBio 3](#)
53. [Lisette R BioBio 4](#)

54. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 1](#)
55. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 2](#)
56. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 3](#)
57. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 4](#)
58. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 5](#)
59. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 6](#)
60. [María Edith Barría Mansilla BioBio 7](#)
61. [Mariela Naigual Pino BioBio 1](#)
62. [Mariela Naigual Pino BioBio 2](#)
63. [Mariela Naigual Pino BioBio 3](#)
64. [Mónica Paillacar BioBio](#)
65. [Natividad Barcaza Faúndez BioBio](#)
66. [Patricia Raquel Silva Lea BioBio](#)
67. [Rosa Cañiulef BioBio 1](#)
68. [Rosa Cañiulef BioBio 2](#)
69. [Rosa Cañiulef BioBio 3](#)
70. [Sandra pozo BioBio](#)
71. [Scarlett Díaz Llaitul BioBio](#)
72. [Vesna Philbey BioBio 1](#)
73. [Vesna Philbey BioBio 2](#)
74. [Wendy BioBio 1](#)
75. [Wendy BioBio 2](#)
76. [Yaricza Cáceres Montecinos Bio Bio](#)

Emol 2019 by alphabetical order:

1. [Ana María Velásquez Muñoz Emol](#)
2. [Bernardita Pedraza Gutiérrez Emol](#)
3. [Blanca Rosa Sáez Henríquez Emol](#)
4. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo Emol 1](#)
5. [Carolina Alejandra Muñoz Rebolledo Emol 2](#)
6. [Carolina Villegas Viveros Emol](#)
7. [Deisy Inostroza Araya Emol](#)

8. [Ethel Chevez Sánchez Emol 1](#)
9. [Ethel Chevez Sánchez Emol 2](#)
10. [Fahime Díaz Dervich Emol](#)
11. [Gabriela Contreras Emol](#)
12. [Genoveva Reyes Olea Emol](#)
13. [Helen Barra Ortega Emol 1](#)
14. [Helen Barra Ortega Emol 2](#)
15. [Joyce Tello Avilés Emol 1](#)
16. [Joyce Tello Avilés Emol 2](#)
17. [Katherine Fernández Quinter Emol](#)
18. [Laura Gálvez Videla Emol 1](#)
19. [Laura Gálvez Videla Emol 2](#)
20. [Lisette Dayana Riffo Cayupan Emol 1](#)
21. [Lisette Dayana Riffo Cayupan Emol 2](#)
22. [María Edith Barría Mansilla Emol](#)
23. [María Evelyn Saavedra Emol](#)
24. [Mariela Naigual Pinol Emol 1](#)
25. [Mariela Naigual Pinol Emol 2](#)
26. [N.E.M.R Emol](#)
27. [Natividad Barcaza Faúndez Emol 1](#)
28. [Natividad Barcaza Faúndez Emol 2](#)
29. [Patricia Silvia Leal Emol](#)
30. [Sandra Pozo Rivas Emol](#)
31. [Silvia Adasme Soto Emol](#)
32. [Vesna Emol](#)
33. [Wendy González Pérez Emol](#)
34. [Yaricza Cáceres Montecinos Emol](#)

Appendix 4. Consent form

Participant Consent Form (English)

Thank you for your interest to be interviewed as part of a master thesis of the International Master Program in International Development and Management at Lund University in Sweden. The purpose of this consent form is to specify the terms of participation.

All information is confidential and will not be revealed or associated with your name/organization unless you agree to it. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions, please inform me before, during or after the interview. You can choose to pause or withdraw from the interview or to have a question explained at any time.

Date:

Do you consent that I record the interview? (yes/no):

(the audio will not be shared with other persons)

Name of interviewer (if anonymous, write anonymous):

Organization and position of interview (if anonymous, write anonymous):

Do you consent that I may use your answers for my thesis? (yes/no):

Signature of participant (if anonymous, write anonymous):

Formulario de consentimiento del participante (Spanish)

Gracias por su interés en ser entrevistado como parte de una tesis de maestría del Programa de Maestría Internacional en Desarrollo y Gestión Internacional de la Universidad de Lund, Suecia. El objetivo de este formulario de consentimiento es especificar las condiciones de participación.

Toda la información es confidencial y no será revelada ni asociada a su nombre/organización a menos que usted esté de acuerdo. Si no desea responder a alguna de las preguntas, le ruego que me lo comunique antes, durante o después de la entrevista. Puede optar por hacer una pausa en la entrevista, retirarse de ella o pedir que le expliquen una pregunta en cualquier momento.

Fecha:

¿Autoriza que grabe la entrevista? (sí/no):

(el audio no se compartirá con otras personas)

Nombre del entrevistado (si es anónimo, escriba anónimo):

Organización y cargo de la entrevista (si es anónima, escriba anónimo):

¿Autoriza que utilice sus respuestas para mi tesis? (sí/no):

Firma del participante (si es anónimo, escriba anónimo):
