

# Women and finance in online print media: analysis from a feminist perspective

## Mujeres y finanzas en la prensa en línea: análisis desde una perspectiva feminista

### *Mulheres e finanças na imprensa escrita online: análise a partir de uma perspectiva feminista*

**Lorena Andrea Pérez Roa**, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile  
(loperez@uchile.cl)

**Santos Inti Allendes Caro**, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile  
(santos.allendes@ug.uchile.cl)

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**ABSTRACT** | From a feminist approach applied to communication, this paper explores the social representations on the relationship between women and finance in the online press in Chile. For this purpose, we conducted a qualitative content analysis on a corpus of 59 press releases published in online newspapers currently in force in Chile. The results present two assumptions that circulate in the public discussion and that seek to explain women's financial behavior, namely: the weight of the family in women's economic decisions and their financial risk-averse behavior. These assumptions are discussed based on the contributions of a feminist approach applied to communication in order to explore how these representations of women in the financial market remain anchored to traditional gender roles, without reflecting the complexity of women's financial reality, its socioeconomic determinants and the links between finance and the new modes of exploitation of women's bodies.

**KEYWORDS:** women and finance; media and feminist perspectives; content analysis; print media.

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**RESUMEN** | Desde un enfoque feminista aplicado a la comunicación, este trabajo explora las representaciones sociales sobre la relación entre mujeres y finanzas en la prensa en línea de Chile. Para ello, se realizó un análisis de contenido cualitativo sobre un corpus de 59 notas de prensa publicadas en periódicos en línea vigentes en Chile. Los resultados presentan dos supuestos dominantes que buscan explicar el comportamiento financiero de las mujeres: el peso de la familia en las decisiones económicas de las mujeres y su comportamiento adverso al riesgo financiero. Se explora cómo estas representaciones sobre las mujeres en las noticias sobre finanzas siguen ancladas a los roles tradicionales de género, sin reflejar la complejidad de la realidad financiera de las mujeres, sus determinantes socioeconómicos y los vínculos entre las finanzas y los nuevos modos de explotación de los cuerpos femeninos.

**PALABRAS CLAVES:** mujer y finanzas; medios de comunicación y perspectivas feministas; análisis de contenido; medios escritos.

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**RESUMO** | A partir de uma abordagem feminista aplicada à comunicação, este trabalho explora as representações sociais sobre a relação entre as mulheres e as finanças na imprensa online no Chile. Para este efeito, foi realizada uma análise qualitativa do conteúdo de um corpus de 59 comunicados de imprensa publicados em jornais online atualmente em vigor no Chile. Os resultados apresentam dois pressupostos que circulam na discussão pública e que procuram explicar o comportamento financeiro das mulheres, nomeadamente: o peso da família nas decisões econômicas das mulheres e o seu comportamento avesso ao risco financeiro. Explora-se a forma como estas representações das mulheres no mercado financeiro continuam ancoradas nos papéis tradicionais de gênero, sem refletir a complexidade da realidade financeira das mulheres, os seus determinantes socioeconômicos e as ligações entre as finanças e as novas formas de exploração dos corpos das mulheres.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** mulher e finanças; mídia e perspectivas feministas; análise de conteúdo; mídia escrita.

## INTRODUCTION

The financial behavior of Chilean women has been closely monitored by the Financial Market Commission (CMF, by its Spanish acronym) for more than a decade, through the report on gender in the financial system. This provides information for the design of public policies on gender equity, showing the differences between men and women in access to credit and savings products. The results of the last report indicate that, in Chile, gender gaps have been reduced regarding access to and use of financial services (Comisión para el mercado financiero, 2020). As for financial behavior, although women's behavior is systematically better than men's, the market continues to entrust larger amounts and better credit conditions to the latter.

Wage differences and difficulties in accessing paid work are key elements in explaining the gender gap in the financial system. Indeed, regarding the wage gap in Chile, the 2018 Supplementary Income Survey estimates that women receive 27.2% less income compared to men. Therefore, the first would have a *low support rate* and limited access to financial products, worse credit conditions, and a higher probability of indebtedness (Comisión para el mercado financiero, 2018).

Evidence has shown the importance of considering gender biases in financial socialization to understand access gaps (Agnew et al., 2018). These biases, which would start at an early age (Rudeloff et al., 2019), tend to link women to savings practices, excluding them from economic discussions (Yu et al., 2015). In the case of men, they are taught to rely, from an early age, on their economic skills, actively involving them in financial discussions (Al-Bahrani et al., 2020).

The press, as an agent of socialization (Calvo Ortega, 2014), acquires a strategic relevance in addressing these debates, problematizing the traditional gender roles that are reproduced in the financial space. Assuming that the press can build an informative agenda that impacts the public debate (Gronemeyer & Porath, 2017), we consider it relevant to explore the representations of women in the financial system in this informative space. The media participate in the reproduction of stereotypes in society (Puleo, 2007; García Beaudoux et al., 2018), amplifying a series of beliefs and commonplaces regarding how gendered people should handle their behaviors (Huici et al., 2006). A greater informative treatment of these issues could have an impact on the life reality of female readers and provide them with better elements to evaluate financial reports (Rovetto, 2010).

In line with the work of Federici and colleagues (2018) and Adkins (2018) and collaborators (2019), we consider that a feminist approach to financial practices plays a role in formulating social and moral structures, traditionally forged from an idea of the economy distant from women as subjects, based on a heteronormative family model. Thus, women could be better represented in the informative discourse (Rovetto, 2010) and media could promote approaches to the economy closer to their reality.

Following Lee (2014, 2015, 2019) who resorts to a feminist approach applied to communication, we explore how the press can play a stabilizing role of unequal gender social relations when reporting on financial markets. In this regard, the press is understood as a “knowledge production site” (Lee, 2014, p. 273), i.e., it is assumed that media discourses are an important factor in the stereotypes’ elaboration.

### **The feminist critique of gender representations in the media**

For decades, feminist media criticism has been building a research agenda on the need for a representation of women more in line with contemporary social transformations (Rovetto, 2010). This perspective is articulated from three research areas: 1) organizational structure, which studies the dominance of male leadership in the industry; 2) message dissemination, which analyzes the representation of women in media discourse, and 3) content reception, which comprises the female audience (Vega Montiel, in Rovetto, 2013). The evidence emphasizes the relevance of the media in the elaboration of stereotypes, representations, and dominant gender imaginaries. The use of news sources has been studied as an indicator of gender discrimination in newsrooms (Rovetto & Figueroa, 2019). For the authors, the absence of a gender perspective is a “symbolic expression of sexism in informative discourse, and the use of sources acts as an indicator of gender discrimination in newsrooms” (p. 63).

Although the analysis of financial representations from a feminist perspective in the media has been little addressed, the works conducted by Lee (2014, 2019) seek to contribute to a research agenda in this area. In her recent work, the author explores the media representation of the relationship between women and finance. Specifically, she analyzes self-help books aimed at women (2014) and Hollywood fiction films about financial markets (2014, 2019). Her interest is to account for how these representations of gender hinder the work of social reproduction and promote a commodification of women’s bodily capabilities.

To this end, the author proposes the development of an economic-political and feminist approach to communication that allows examining the production,

distribution, and consumption of goods according to gender, as well as the use of ideologies to stabilize unequal social relations. This perspective is based on the assumption that the media are an integral part of a society's fundamental economic, political, social, and cultural processes (Mosco, 2009, in Lee, 2015). In her perspective, it is a disciplinary imperative to promote a feminist approach to the analysis of the intersection between gender, finance, and media from popular discourses, to unmask the hidden macroeconomic dimensions between gender and finance and repair what she calls "the gap between micro and macroeconomic research that traditionally presents finance as disconnected and disembodied areas" (Lee, 2014).

### **The feminist critique of gender representation in finance**

The feminist critique in the financial space is articulated from the denunciation of the androcentric bias that attributes to homo economicus characteristics that are considered universal for the human species, but which are typical of a "male, white, adult, heterosexual, healthy, middle-income" human being (Rodríguez Enríquez, 2015). Thus, it seeks to critically account for the political-cultural assumptions that organize economic activity and that have relegated women to a subordinate space (Pérez Orozco, 2004). Specifically, it questions the role assigned to women in the domestic space, focusing their economic action on family care and welfare, emphasizing their reproductive capacities and dependence on men in the family nucleus.

Since the global financial crisis of 2008, feminist critique began to turn its interest to finance and the analysis of the narratives that explained the global financial crisis. Hozic and True (2016) bring together a series of works on the crisis from its gender dimensions, addressing the structural roots of inequality, exclusion, and oppression of financial structures. Their purpose is to critique the aspects of the economy that affect welfare, but tend to be ignored in macroeconomic analyses, and to question the punitive narrative that installs the idea that the crisis results from a series of contagious events exogenous to the capitalist system and that must be managed through the punitive containment of the culprits (Cameron et al., 2011; Brassett & Tehel, 2015; Hozic & True, 2016). Another relevant point of this line of work is the denunciation of new forms of exploitation that expose marginalized groups, such as women, racialized people, and migrants to riskier and more unstable financial products (Adkins, 2018).

In this vein, Roberts (2015, 2016) identifies three narratives present in international institutions (IMF, World Bank, United Nations, OECD, among others) that seek to promote interventions in the financial market in favor of women.

The first refers to the idea of *women as saviors*, which states that greater integration in financial markets, specifically of women in the Global South, will help alleviate poverty and stimulate national economies. The second refers to *technocratic equality*, which argues that new technologies in finance have helped eliminate gender-based discrimination by standardizing risk assessment models. The third is that of *womeconomics*, which insists on the gender advantages or dividends that can be obtained by encouraging women to assume higher positions in financial institutions. These three narratives, in this author's opinion, produce a business case for gender, which seeks to increase women's participation in financial markets and improve their ability to consume goods and services. In this regard, they are narratives that understand gender inequalities as a market imperfection and not as a structure conditioned by the power-production and social reproduction relations of financial markets.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The aim of this research is to explore, from a feminist approach applied to communication, the social representations on the relationship between women and finance in the Chilean online press. The work focuses on the processes of creation and dissemination of representations related to women in the media (Gonem & i Solà, 2009). For this purpose, we conducted a qualitative content analysis on a corpus of 59 news pieces published in online newspapers in Chile.

Online press is understood as the set of print media that digitalize their content on web platforms (Díaz & Mellado, 2017). The press in digital format has gained great prominence in the last decade, positioning itself as a space for readers' interaction and intervention (Raimondo Anselmino, 2014; Gascón, 2020). This activity leaves its mark on the newspaper interface, allows reading rankings, comments or surveys, among others (Raimondo Anselmino, 2012). On the other hand, the social representations present in the online press are made available to an increasingly broad and participatory audience. However, digitalized information is not neutral. Newspapers have the power to give importance to certain topics, and deny visibility to others (Díaz & Mellado, 2017; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007). In this regard, and considering that news broadcasting processes are permeated by gender representations, our work seeks to explore those constructed when reporting on women in the financial sphere, analyzing the dissemination of social repetitions linked to women (Gonem & i Solà, 2009) to contribute to more inclusive and egalitarian communicative scenarios in terms of gender (Rovetto & Simelio, 2012).

The news pieces analyzed were published between 2014 and 2019. The choice of this period responds to the fact that, during those years, the reports *Género en el sistema financiero e Informe de Deuda Morosa* (Gender in the Financial System and Non-Performing Loan Report) were published by the Financial Markets Commission and Equifax, in alliance with Universidad San Sebastián, respectively. The first report arises from an institutional commitment to generate information that contributes to the design of public policies to overcome gender gaps in the financial system. The second provides a technical analysis of the evolution of unpaid personal credit debts. They are characterized by publishing a set of data on access to and use of credit products in Chile, disaggregated by gender, thus accounting for the profound inequalities that cross the Chilean financial system in this area.

Table 1 shows a summary of the media and the proportion of articles that published information on both reports during the period studied. This corpus was obtained from a search for news pieces that made direct reference to the results of these studies and interpreted them on the newspapers' websites. Most of these were published weeks after the results of both reports had been disseminated. It should be noted that the report on gender in the financial system is published annually, while the report on non-performing loan is published quarterly.

Online newspaper	Selected news pieces
ADN Radio	1
Atacama Noticias	1
Bio -Bio	4
Diario Concepción	2
Diario Financiero	2
Diario La Estrategia	1
El Desconcierto	1
El Dínamo	3
El Mostrador	8
El Tipógrafo	1
EMOL	3
Gran Valparaíso	1
La Cuarta	1
La Segunda Móvil	1
La Tercera	23
Publimetro	4
Tarapacá online	1
The Clinic	1
Total	59

**Table 1. Number of news pieces by digital newspaper (2014-2019)**

Source: Own elaboration.

<b>Reports</b>			
<b>Year*</b>	<b>Gender in the financial system</b>	<b>Non-performing loan report</b>	<b>Other reports **</b>
2014	2	1	0
2015	2	1	2
2016	2	2	0
2017	6	1	6
2018	12	7	2
2019	4	8	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>11</b>

\* The table seeks to account for the number of news that were published in the 2014 - 2018 period.

\*\* These reports are mostly published by CHILEDEUDAS, a legal organization that has conducted studies and journalist dissemination work based on the results of the report on non-performing loan and gender in the financial system.

**Table 2. Number of selected news pieces referring to the reports**

*Source: Own elaboration.*

We conducted a qualitative content analysis, since this technique interprets the messages contained in certain texts, discourses, or communicative products (Piñuel, 2002) to reveal specific aspects of a phenomenon manifested in a given context. In this regard, it is a useful tool for reinterpreting the manifest content of texts to generate new readings of the phenomenon under research (Wimmer & Dominik, 2001). The analysis process was structured in two stages. First, an inductive categorization process (Álvarez, 2012), where the object of analysis was the body of the news item. Thus, the aim was to reduce the volume of information and categorize it according to the main cultural representations on the relationship between women and finance. Then, we present the content of some of the representations found in both categories.

## **RESULTS**

Two dominant frameworks emerged from the inductive categorization process:

- Family first: refers to the relationship between women's financial behavior and the household's progress.
- Risk aversion: refers to women's more conservative financial behaviors.

### **Family first: women and domestic economy**

One of the images that circulate most strongly in the press about women's relationship with finances is their almost natural link to good household management. In fact, of the 59 online articles reviewed, 30% refer to women in the financial



space explicitly alluding to their abilities to manage the household. These skills are expressed in the online press in two main ways: 1) as a *market segmentation*, i.e., as preferential consumers of financial products designed for them and the protection of the family, and 2) as a *behavior punished* by the financial system, which ends up marginalizing them from its benefits. It is worth noting that, of the total number of news pieces linked to the family first category, 35% refer to market segmentation and 65%, to punished behavior.

This framing can be illustrated with the following example:

Answer honestly: Who in your family decides how much to spend on weekly groceries, saves money over time, shops around to find the best service, or compares different bank rates to get the best deals? It is very likely that the person who came to your mind is your mother (and even you, if you are a woman) (Yasinetskaya, 2017).

Regarding market segmentation to respond to women's needs, much of the content analyzed uses the behaviors traditionally attributed to women as an available explanation to analyze the data issued by the Gender in the Financial System reports (Comisión para el mercado financiero, 2018):

According to the report, Chilean women have a more active demand than men in savings products and debt for housing. In other words, it seems that women take on more debt with a vision for the future and seeking the stability of the family nucleus ("Las mujeres son menos morosas pero...", 2018).

Although the report's analysis seeks to analyze the differences between the behavior of women and men, since its objective is to overcome the gender gaps in the financial system, to assume that they *save to be the owners of their homes* or that they *seek family stability* implies presuming the collective will of women's economic projects. Thus, for example, another news piece by the same newspaper, referring to the contracting of private insurance by women, indicates the increase in female-headed households, their contribution gaps, and maternity, three segmentation characteristics that the insurance market uses to offer them its services:

Female-headed household had grown from 29.3% to 37.6% in the 2006-2015 period, according to the INE<sup>1</sup>, which drives them to take out insurance to protect their children (...). When it comes to taking out insurance women would do so according to their age: from 20 to 35 years their preferences would be linked to health insurance, insurance with additional voluntary

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1. Chilean National Statistics Institute (translator's note).

contributions, focused on improving their pension and life insurance as a means of protection for their children. Another factor for the increase in the demand for insurance would be linked to maternity reasons, contribution gaps, in order not only to increase the pension, but also to have financial protection for the household (“Contratación de seguros con ahorro por mujeres...”, 2018).

Although the news items analyzed assume the role of the financial market in generating responses to the structural inequalities that specifically affect women, the results do show a concern for their material living conditions. This is strikingly evident in the news pieces referring to the results of non-performing loan reports. Thirty-six percent of these question the financial situation affecting them. This concern is explicitly addressed, for example, in the news piece *¿Por qué los chilenos se endeudan tanto?* (Why do Chileans become so indebted):

Given the proportion of women with unpaid installments [non-performing loans], it can be hypothesized that a percentage of them with low or no income have access to credit in credit issuers that are not banks. The country’s delicate economic situation is evident in these figures; sectors more sensitive to economic cycles, such as young people, the elderly, and women, are in a tighter situation. This is not only due to the non-performance loan figures themselves, but also to the circumstances behind them, such as income levels, unemployment rate, and inflation rates, which have deteriorated the payment capacity of the most vulnerable segments (“76% de los deudores morosos...”, 2015).

Despite the above, the news analyzed do not delve into how the female condition is addressed by the system in financial risk codes. As the following news pieces points out, women are punished by the financial system for being women, mothers, and *responsible* for family welfare:

Women of childbearing age, i.e., between 25 and 40 years old, are charged higher interest rates for a bank loan. This is because, for financial institutions, their risk is lower, because for these companies, when a woman becomes pregnant she will probably stop working and lose her economic solvency, despite the fact that women are better payers than men and save more. Interest rates are up to 20% higher in the 25-40 age range, compared to the 40-50 age range (Montes, 2019).

In their economic rationality, financial institutions may be applying more restrictive terms, amounts, and/or rates to individuals or groups perceived as riskier. In such an environment, income gaps, lack of credit history, and labor stability conditions could be affecting women’s access to credit (Arroyo, 2017).

All these penalties (fertile age, wage gap, and labor instability) translate into worse conditions of access to credit, higher interest rates, and access to lower amounts of credit. The transversal nature of gender inequality also crosses the financial dimension and –as is the case in other areas– these are gender discriminations that have no technical arguments to justify them.

### **Women’s risk aversion: thrifty, good payers, but conservatives**

Gender stereotypes to explain the unfavorable credit conditions that the financial market offers women are reproduced in the news analyzed. The financial market would respond in accordance with women’s natural behavior, who are represented as: thrifty, good payers, and adverse to financial risk. Twenty-nine percent of the news pieces oscillate between these three interpretative axes and use these terms to explain their financial behavior. The most frequent reference is that they are good payers (70%), followed by the idea of women as thrifty (17%), and financial risk-averse (13%).

The qualities of thrifty and good payers usually go hand in hand: “Women are better payers and save more, therefore, they fall less into arrears than men, being more orderly in financial terms” (Montes, 2019); “Women are better payers than Chilean men, showing greater financial responsibility than theirs” (“A la hora de la calillas...”, 2019). Indeed, the savings products taken out by women have increased significantly compared to men (Comisión de mercados financieros, 2018). Nevertheless, the fact that women have more savings products does not necessarily imply that they can save more, as their savings amounts are lower. In this regard, income differences condition women’s savings possibilities. Despite this, news reports insist on linking savings behaviors with risk aversion: “Women are more conservative than men when taking out loans, which is also confirmed by the fact that they save 20% more” (“A la hora de las calillas”, 2019).

Finally, regarding women’s ability to respond on time to financial commitments, we believe it is relevant to detail two elements. First, we would like to emphasize that the information provided by the financial reports shows that women’s debts are generally smaller and are especially concentrated in retail. This implies that women generally have access to loans for smaller amounts, but with higher interest rates. According to the news pieces, this trend has continued since 2012. Secondly, it should be emphasized that, although there is objective data that show that women tend to meet their financial commitments on time, such as “fewer bounced checks” and “fewer credit cards with debts”, female arrears have been increasing in recent years. This is despite the fact that men’s arrears are still almost twice as high as those of women.

In this regard, the latest Equifax reports (Equifax, 2019) do not provide conclusive evidence that women are better or worse payers than men, but they do show that they are in a more fragile position to meet their commitments, due to how sensitive this behavior is to salary conditions. In other words, the condition of being a good payer depends on the payment possibilities. Therefore, it is worth asking whether women will be able to maintain this attribute if their salary conditions become even more precarious. Hence the relevance of looking critically at the call to overcome gender gaps and favor financial deepening, since this is built on structural inequalities that can be accentuated if they are sought to be overcome through debt.

## DISCUSSION

The findings indicate two major representations of the relationship between women and finance that circulate in the Chilean online press: 1) the weight of the family in their economic decisions, and 2) the persistence of financial risk-averse behavior.

Regarding the first assumption, our work found two different ways in which journalists express it. First, as a process of financial diversification that creates new products designed for women to compensate for the economic inequalities they face (pension gaps, insurance for children's education, etc.) or to finance social reproduction activities (loans for housewives, microcredits, etc.). Second, as a behavior punished by the system, which tends to marginalize women from its economic benefits.

As for the processes of financial diversification and the creation of markets especially designed for women, we can account for the fact that these tend to naturalize existing structural gender inequalities, promoting a model of women's inclusion in the financial system in which economic inequalities are commodified, creating new business niches of greater risk and instability (Adkins, 2018). Maternity pension gaps and the mandate to protect the economic future of children are neither women's responsibilities nor market failures, but would respond to gendered structures that sustain the dominant paradigms of finance and global governance (Hozic & True, 2016). Understanding the importance of the gender representations disseminated in the studied news pieces, we consider it relevant to delve deeper into these structural conditions and avoid naturalizing women's financial conditions as a fact of exclusive individual responsibility.

Considering the representation of finance as a legitimate space to respond to the needs of social reproduction and understanding the central position that women have historically occupied in this task, it is not surprising that the financial

system offers specific responses for them to assume family risks. While various research works conducted in Chile offer empirical evidence on the ways in which social reproduction is increasingly structurally linked to finance (Pérez Roa, 2020; López & Bonilla, 2020), the strategy of favoring women's integration into financial markets is considered a form of financial exploitation (Cavallero & Gago, 2019). Finance constructs business arguments (Roberts, 2015) linked to traditional roles of care and family protection to promote the consumption of financial products, thus compromising their future ability to pay (Federici et al., 2018). In this regard, the analyzed pieces account for how finance constructs a commercial argument on the basis of the very condition of women, thus promoting a commodification of their bodily capacities (Lee, 2015).

In relation to savings and payment behaviors, and the supposed adversity of women in the face of financial risk, our analysis recognizes three elements in the news pieces analyzed. First, the news stories tend to establish a link between women's predisposition to save and good payment behaviors; second, these saving and payment behaviors are linked to future family protection, and third, it is assumed that women are naturally risk-averse.

With regard to financial behavior, we observe how women's savings are naturally linked to family provision. However, this idea responds to a limited conception of women's savings. Several studies (Pérez-Roa & Troncoso, 2019; Belleau & Lobet, 2017; Zelizer, 2011) discuss how saving is a recurrent practice in women over time, due to historical difficulties in accessing money: women accessing it through others (Belleau & Lobet, 2017), female prevalence in the informal market (Villarreal, 2008), economic transfers between support networks (PérezRoa, 2019), and persistent salary gaps in the wage labor market. However, labeling savings practices as risk-averse favors an androcentric perspective of finance, colonized by an ideal of a white, adult, heterosexual man who takes risks by submitting to the logic of capital accumulation demanded by finance (Rodríguez Enríquez, 2015). In other words, to represent risk as a financial virtue in the press responds to the idea that men are driven by selfish motives, while women are driven by altruistic behaviors, seeking to privilege the welfare of their households over their own. These assumptions have organized economic activity and relegated women to a subordinate space (Hartmann & Folbre in Orozco, 2004). Thus, by labeling risky financial behaviors as positive for the financial market, women are discounted in a double sense: first, it denies them the possibility of being recognized as a person with authority in the financial market (Lee & Raesch, 2014) and second, it favors a conceptualization of them as victims of the male world economy made for men (Lee, 2014), ignoring that gender relations are social and historical constructions and not a mere characteristic of individuals (Hozic & True, 2016).

## CONCLUSIONS

Representations referring to the relationship between women and finance in the Chilean press continue to be anchored to their traditional roles in the economic space, without reflecting the complexity of their financial reality, its socioeconomic determinants, and the links between finance and the new modes of exploitation of female bodies. The above invites us to move towards an analysis that links women's financial problems with a perspective that problematizes the subaltern place they have occupied in the world of economics and finance. In this regard, rather than idealizing women's behaviors with phrases such as "women are good payers", or "they always look after the family's interest", we must approach this relationship as the result of a more complex web of power relations that have hindered their access to economic resources (Federici, 2014; Roberts, 2015; Adkins, 2018).

In a context of economic and health crisis, where Chilean indicators of progress in the economic situation of women regressed, it is even more relevant to favor a feminist perspective to address the relationship between women and finance in journalism. Their labor participation rate went back more than 10 years –from 47% in 2010 to 42.9%, according to Mizala (2020). The National Statistics Institute estimates that around 910,000 women have lost their jobs in Chile during this pandemic (Mendía & Pérez, 2020) and 83% are unable to cover their debts with their income (Placencia, 2020). Adopting a critical stance implies problematizing the widespread assumption that finance is an effective and neutral strategy to solve gender gaps (Lee, 2019).

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**LORENA ANDREA PÉREZ ROA**, assistant professor at the School of Social Work at the Universidad de Chile and associate researcher of the Chilean Milenio Initiative on Authority and Power Asymmetries. She holds a Ph.D. in Human Sciences from the University of Montreal, a master's degree in Anthropology from the Universidad de Chile and a bachelor's degree in Social Work from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Her research focuses on socioeconomic relations, household financial practices, and the financialization of everyday life.

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5959-9439>

**SANTOS INTI ALLENDES CARO**, social worker, Universidad de Chile. Master's student in Social Work at the same university. Thesis student of the Chilean Milenio Initiative on Authority and Power Asymmetries. ANID – Milenio Science Initiative Program - Code NCS17\_ 007(2018).

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9190-7067>