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FINAL REPORT
INDIGENOUS CONFLICTS IN THE 2010-2011 PERIOD
COVERAGE AND PROCESSING ANALYSIS

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Julio 2011
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COVERAGE AND PROCESSING ANALYSIS
This study was carried out in the frame of the The Joint Programme of the United Nations for MDG Spanish Fund “Conflict Prevention and Peace Building” to comply with the agreements of that Council’s programme, mostly in regard to “Raise awareness of the national society and key actors on cultural diversity value along with language and gender perspective”.

It is part of the United Nations commitment to successfully accomplish the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), with the financial support of a group of agencies existing in Chile (UNDP, PAHO, FAO, UNICEF and UNESCO), along with the Chilean Government. These agencies have received the mandate of supporting peace building by promoting respect for diversity.

UNESCO, a United Nations agency responsible for press freedom and quality tasked the Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen (Communications and Image Institute) of the Universidad de Chile (University of Chile) to develop this study, seeking to reach a more profound understanding on how press coverage influences public’s perception of native peoples.

UNESCO would like to thank every participant of this study, and especially José Miguel Labrín, for his commitment to building sound and reliable information about the conflicts surrounding native peoples, and the way in which press introduces native peoples’ information.

This study is also part of the “Mucho Chile” campaign which has the purpose to promote, within the Chilean society, a greater appreciation of the various identities and the diversity of the different indigenous cultures by recovering their material and immaterial heritage, literature, gastronomy, craft, rites, festivals, customs, traditions and link to the rest of the country’s social sector.

Another purpose is to disseminate the significance of maintaining, protecting, and validating culture diversity in Chile by disseminating their social value, permanence and historic influence over the contemporary society, aiming at applying this logic to education, and raising national community’s awareness about this issue.

The designations that have been used and the presentation of material throughout this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
I. Theoretical frame.

1. The media and the indigenous issue: overview.

It has been established that the question of indigenous acknowledgement, be it in regards to their differences or social integration, constitute a function consistently present in the construction of a more equitable country.

Since the conquest, each group has searched to find their place, and this search has dominated the Latin American setting. It deals with an explanatory genealogy that attempts to value the new organisations of the continent, where the white component emerges as the heritage and legacy of civilization, while the indigenous character goes from the legendary image of resistance to one of denial of progress and pre-modern burden.

As Todorov (1997:27) puts it, the conquest also resulted in a language/power relationship, where the dominant tongue forged the necessary conditions for its growth, reproduction and change over the denied language, which was relegated to a subordinated position in the relationships among the white, indigenous and mestizo persons.

Very early in the history, media control and domain established the conditions for the Latin American national project. Media control and influence quickly established the conditions for creating a Latin American and National projects. The experience of the press as an agent in the modernization process was organized from the controlling sector.
fighting for independence through the importation of the first printing presses. The republican thinking brought along a set of ethics focused on progress and the libertarian principles of the early 19th Century.

This new modern ethos found in the press the possibility of extending the conditions that allowed the emerging national aspirations. This, along with establishing and shaping of a State with an organized constitution, established a mythical setting with respect to emancipated people. The development of a national Chilean identity established a complicated link with the indigenous peoples: on one side praising their heroic heritage of an anti-colonial resistance, and on the other tainting them with a savage and barbarian nature.

The denied otherness of the indigenous characteristics had a key impact on shaping the territory of the new Chile. During the 1850 to 1880s, the country’s expansion brought with it the perception of the indigenous as the otherness, living in the margins of a cultural border. Therefore, occupation appeared to be a possibility for integration with that which emerged as a risk to consolidate the national identity and cartography. The “civilizing” order continued its expansion seeking homogeneity, excluding the different and establishing a white supremacist conception. After the War of the Pacific, the addition of the Northern territories, the protectorate imposed on Rapa Nui (Polynesian name for Easter Island) and the occupation of the Araucanía (zone of Arauco) started the history of a relationship with that cultural difference defined by the perception of the other as a potential subordinated or excluded individual. In a binary game, the assimilation/exclusion polarities became the sole possibilities of interaction.

At that time, the observation of such differences that questioned the unity of the territory was widely discussed in the context of the media and its role. Beyond the stereotyped constructions, the press of the developing national industry established a discourse that defended the expulsion of the “non-civilized” indigenous to the margins of the arising Chilean society. At the same time, the media searched to strengthen the acknowledgement of the national project which favoured the Central-European
immigration that colonized the land to those removed, despite the religious difficulties and the cultural conflict related to this recognition.

As Van Dijk points out in his book “Racismo y Discurso en América Latina” (“Racism and Discourse in Latin America”) the denial of the indigenous existence in the building of the Republic was accompanied by increased political power of the press, particularly one that is acknowledging as being commercial in nature, in other words, liberal. In May 1859, a few years before the military occupation started in the Araucanía, the El Mercurio newspaper published the following information: “…men do not exist to live pointlessly as wild animals, without benefitting the human race; and a barbarian association as barbarous as the Pampas peoples or the Araucarian is nothing more than a horde of wild beasts that for mankind’s interest and the wellbeing of civilization need to be urgently chained or destroyed”.

It is not casual or random that the compression language/power would have determined, from a civilizing ethos focused on Sarmiento’s dichotomy, the others’ exclusion. The experience of a nation being shaped generated a story of what was feasible, where legitimacy was only possible in a communicative scenario with the capability of protecting its reproduction. When imagining the Nation as a community, where direct contact shifts to the dimension of two interrelated subjectivities called “we”, then the territory translates into a complicated geography, pressed together with meanings of the participation limits. Finally, as explained by A.D. Smith (1995:35), the nation will be a mixture of legitimated identity possibilities where the media, particularly that which seeks to mold public opinion, will be a key vector of the images and representations of what is excluded, in this case, the indigenous condition.

In this sense, the heritage of exclusion built by the press will again arise as a question that coincides with a time when the national project made a turn to the recovery of democracy and historical indigenous reparation policies.

The construction of otherness during the 1970’s and 1980’s was rarely studied, primarily due to the fact that the indigenous issue was made invisible during the dictatorship.
Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize the existence of a programme (in terms of sociopolitical strategy) aimed at the Chileanisation of the different native races. This was meant to delegitimize the expression of cultural elements linked with identity, and more importantly the control and sanction of native language use, the banning of rites and application of the customary law, as well as the introduction of legal amendments which prevented free association and the acknowledgment of communities to administer and own land.

In this scenario, indigenous individuals, particularly the Aimara and Mapuche peoples suffered a multiple stigmatizing process during the dictatorship: they were seen as potential subversives, and their political actions were considered offensive within a context of national repression to different political opinions. Also, native peoples were seen as a risk to national security integrity, because they regularly crossed the borders, mainly at the Northern zone of the country. Therefore, it was necessary to progressively assimilate the population to a national identity shaped from the geographic and cultural centre of the country. Finally, a pre-modern condition of the country and local economy set a barrier against capital appearance around agriculture.

The democratic transition of the 1990’s started with the acknowledgment of the historical debt to the indigenous peoples- and its mechanisms for reparation-, which coexisted with the assumed social duty to the cultural homogenization of the indigenous. The transformation was oriented to a new deal and to the construction of a public policy that recognizes cultural diversity [establishment of the CONADI, (National Indigenous Development Corporation), the Historical Truth and New Deal Commission, amongst others)] started to have a place in the public agenda, especially in the established press, which began to observe (and monitor) the new relationships and acknowledgement of the indigenous condition. In this respect, criticism against the autonomous and politically active organisations at the beginning of the 1990’s decade – such as the immediate criminalization of the acts of the current Consejo de Todas las Tierras (Council of All Lands) and the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM) - would overlap with the introduction of new governmental actions that sought an intercultural understanding. A period’s
evaluation shows that the press questioned the land acquisition and assignment programmes, while at the same time it promoted instances related to production development and improvement of poverty conditions, subsuming health and intercultural education innovations under these betterments.

Press coverage went through a turning point during the political transition in 1997, when claims against the forestry companies and local landowners of the Araucanía Region (One of the 14 regions of Chile, site of the conflict) started. Throughout the decade, the speech of the media highlighted the image of the “indigenous conflict.” This fact placed a new otherness on the Mapuche issue, this time, the difference was set as a territory/country controversy. In this respect, the stereotype related to the indigenous characteristic was shaped from an imagery through which the enemy –that denied and denying otherness - was present in the South of Chile, the Mapuche identity being expressed as violent and possibly dangerous, created, according to the press, due to cultural diversity acknowledgment and the incapacity to establish a real acculturation:

“The structures and mechanisms used to build this press speech only strengthen the representation that this type of media and the ideological and economic groups it backs have, of these peoples’ members. What would be your opinion, if walking near a quiosko with newspapers, one day after the other, you read in the headlines or the inside information?: The Mapuches have burned, attacked, assaulted, threatened, put conditions to dialogue, demanded, struggled, etc. Undoubtedly, your perception would be that the South of Chile is living a real war, where chaos prevents people from working and having a normal life.” (Amolef, 2004:19)

The assumption regarding the invariability of media representations in the national newspapers put forth by several authors (Amolef, Del Valle, among others) does not acknowledge the systemic condition related to the configuration of what can be published, the journalistic and context criteria which delimits the observation possibilities of the journalistic task. In this respect, recent evidence complicates the media/audience relationship and the production of social representations about such indigenous otherness.
The Internet and autonomous media extends to the communicational and statement expression possibilities of ethnic nature, generating new conditions of media diversity and diversification of information flows. In fact, in less than a decade, the birth of new media has gone hand in hand with new information structures established with greater capacity to choose the way of managing knowledge of public matters, and with a highly-selective audience.

Thus, the power/word relation complicates information, and press observation control does not separate from the other explanatory options about the indigenous. These new considerations that will feature the media industry in the upcoming decades should bracket any analysis that tries to generalize or extrapolate results beyond the concrete elements of study. This objection must be an important interpretative key when evaluating the way in which national press covers and deals with information.

2. Journalism and conflict resolution: changes and challenges to achieve new coverage.
The development of industrial press can be circumscribed to two significant factors: the progressive installation of a highly-industrialized information output, media re-politicization mainly oriented from the postwar world to the concept of audience, the installation of professional journalists and the conceptual creation of news as a commodity. By the end of the nineteenth century, technological improvements applied to the press generated a cultural industry related to the concept of information. Until then, the state control over the press had consequently determined not only restriction to freedom of expression, but most of all the configuration of a public environment delimited to press circulation according to political-party affiliation. The press scenario began to be stressed in the North American context. The second wave of the industrial revolution brought along innovations to the press industry that fostered a rapid decrease in related costs and consequently, improvement to press circulation conditions, press run and access for fresh capitals to invest in what was then seen as a “spread of news.” This possibility, spaced out from the political power, had its first appearance in what was referred to as
the *penny paper* or one penny newspaper in the US east coast, in 1853. The relation between the emergence of a press focused on capital with an industrialized horizon, set the initial conditions for the reader to be at a place of observation; no longer from her/his political party affiliation, but rather within a context where she/he is legitimized from her/his consumption capacity, as a mass agent of press reproduction.

The rise of professional journalists points to a similar dimension: the need for a journalist who is technically trained in news items, organic production and reproduction. Therefore, an eye-witness who recognizes the environment changes has the task of generating fresh distinctions for them to again be seen by the audiences.

Thus, the mass public has access to a construction of highly delimited social order due to the distinctions the press industry consolidates as its representation regime: against a context in which expansion guides the journalistic enterprise, the expansion of audiences will be guaranteed to the extent that public opinion can be generated in a neutral space of “objective” descriptions. The liberal tradition that was taking shape in the era of industrialization of the press led to a tendency to recognize the stories as a fresh way of explaining event changes. To do this, the possible translation of the immediate and everyday would become the piece of news, now understood as a relation in fact separated and built from a single assumption: the possibility of the subject-journalist as an agent generating a common knowledge, through a possibly narration from an analogy of the scientific method. Thus, principles such as objectivity, detachment or the systematic comparison of sources arose as potential protocols of such descriptions which ensure the conditions for the new scene of public events. Therefore, journalism is shaped as an actor detached from the political scope, and therefore separated from particular commitments. Together with the industrial development, the press assumes a new possibility of mediation between political and citizenship matters characterized by the use of both the same information transformed into merchandise as well as by the use of publicity, which ensures capital circulation around the press industry.
This new guidance cannot be seen as occurring linearly like vectors of a triad (the industry, politics and the citizens), but rather, as a set of processes occurring at bigger or smaller proximities and distances, all of them within a context, aiming at the need to access a commercial reproduction of information. In other words, the pretended asepsis is limited to the strategic decision of the media, when this later one has to face the news segmentation and approaches, over which it reaches feasibility within a competitive environment.

In doing so, the systemic observation of the press from its liberal matrix, adds different viewpoints about the press’ ought-to-be definition. The idea of detachment and objectivity will become the information shape of the press; a structure oriented to observation and mediation for their audiences, all of this gives form to the fourth power premiss.

The heritage of a press focused on the liberal information paradigm was, for a long time, legitimated until the massive increased use of new media. As early as the 1970’s it was clearly notable that the core outlines of journalism practice had started to be reorganised around the information/entertainment figure, specifically, the events narrative from which the press had to choose and process to primordially comply with the television categories: dynamism, conciseness, contingency and sensations.

By the end of the 1980’s, this situation produced an important and broad debate about the ethics gap generated by the liberal media. The shared diagnosis (Yankelovich, 1983) indicated that pressures made to keep profitability in a new context had triggered quality loss of the same liberal journalism, and by extension, a progressive weakening of press and its link to strengthen democracy. Most seriously: the industrial system solution was generally damaging to the written journalism reputation, particularly in those groups highly committed to press reading.

2.a. Journalistic options.
The critical setting generated a variety of reformation movements with the purpose of reorienting the press meaning, which had primarily acquired validity in the field of public opinion formation. In this respect, answers have varied throughout these last few decades. Some of the more consolidated media, chose to strengthen their denouncing and investigative capacities as a capital placed in the social control scope, particularly in the fields of monitoring and assessing public policies.

The citizenship’s watchdog figure was again praised in the media setting, generating complicated distinctions through a more systemic journalism that has a strong reflective and investigative mark. Innovations in this line allowed setting a line that today is an axis guide to quality journalism: the recognition that journalism must meet a vigilant character while at the same time be educational to the literate public, to raise awareness in its public to make then also vigilant.

Since the proximity loss of the traditional journalistic information and the rare commitment to local diversity, be them of ethnic or social character, set another axis. By the beginning of the 1980’s, the press with a global perspective gave way to a local approach; through which the media, especially those of limited territorial circulation, for them to achieve local influence and progressive loyalty in their communities.

This meant the press had to establish criteria of culturally relevant media communications. Its effect: new actors’ gradual appearance and, specifically, a type of journalism able to avoid dissociation amongst national/global/local information, to shape a more complex journalistic production separated from the rules where that defined as communitarian simply corresponds to information generated from certain territory.

The liberal journalism speech used to achieve detachment and objectivity were also positions being played down, in the extension story processing was legitimated, especially in those segments fond of reading and loyal to weeklies or magazines. The path followed added such elements to contingency, encouraging through them what has been called “new stories”.
Nevertheless, one of the most important tension when evaluating press quality was the capacity to look at the audience beyond their character as consumer citizens, as political agents of social change in their closest context. These trends worked under multiple concepts (public journalism, civic Journalism), met under the assumption that journalism must generate the conditions necessary for democracy strengthening, thus becoming into an efficient mediator between citizens and political power.

These civic perspectives of journalism conceive press development, and by extension, the complete media system, as an actor that not only denounces, controls, educates and shows, but most of all as the process facilitator of social coordination. “(Journalism is) the activity where people try to reach common goals or search to resolve common problems”.

This press setting, described as a possibility, acknowledges that the conflict may be part of the media setting, as far as it embodies the possibility to create intermediate spaces of mediation from which different positions are seen, setting, at the same time, interconnection mechanisms for effective solutions and agreements conciliation.

This possibility of journalistic coverage opens an interesting range of alternatives, almost never reflected in the national press, to redefine the same social function in more complex societies. This social function should be consistent with the increasing valuation, in a wider frame, of establishing a democratic alternative of deliberating matrix. This means that press and journalism must be in charge of recovering those classical elements in the liberal/representative democracy, namely: dialogue, debate and discussion among citizens with equal rights and free, in such a way that the same citizens will be able to find from the interaction among the media the power, and the civic society those solutions to the problems the social and communitarian life set as key factors in a multiple and intercultural environment.

The North American literature offers a wide review of the experiences related to the creation of media deliberation systems and their feasibility. The meeting point to all of those initiatives is that journalism does not leave aside its informative, teaching, or entertaining traditional role, nor abandons its accuracy and objective position in terms of
a political affiliation commitment. It deals more with the fact that journalistic scope may trigger more complex social coordination processes, thus setting participative and active public opinions about the public welfare question.

In short, in a context of increasing demand for a new democracy, considering media as mediators to society speaks of recovering all those links that shaped awareness of what is public in modern times, marked by the involvement of new actors to the prevailing social changes contingency. The coverage analysis to the indigenous issues should target such challenge.

3. Study approaches: Agenda and Framing

Through the representations, values, prejudices and speeches mentioned and spread in the press information, “journalism produces the news that build a part of social reality, enabling individuals to know that world they cannot grasp in a direct manner” (Martini, 2000). This “construction” of reality is carried out by creating awareness of those subjects that in the media’s opinion are more important and deserve to be publicly discussed. Sorting out those matters that citizenship must learn about form what Maxwell, McCombs and Donald Shaw called, in 1972, the “Agenda-Setting Theory”.

These authors explain that the “the Agenda Setting theory is considerably more than the classical assertion that the news tells us what to think about. The news also tells us how to think about it. Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles”. (McCombs & Shaw, 1993).

The theory explains “how the media influence audiences through the selection of those issues considered as more important”. (Rodríguez, 2004). Thus, theoretical developments from the Agenda-Setting perspective are focused on the identification of issues present in the public debate; the relevance media give to these issues (salience) will be reflected in the issues ranking; the approach or framing means the frame the news will be introduced.
The above paragraphs lay the foundations to the Agenda-Setting studies approach that will inspire this investigation. This means to apply the concepts: focusing on the identification of issues present in the public debate; relevance given by the media which will reflect issues ranking; and the approach or framing, meaning the how a piece of news will be introduced.

Because of mediatisation of public issues and citizenship’s distance from the settings of political participation, it is necessary to analyse the national press contents from the above perspective, since “the media’s agenda has a stronger influence on the audience when it deals with issues that are far from the audience’s experience (unobtrusive issues), that is, as the audience do not have direct experience of them, it trusts on the credibility the media offer in relation to current events (...) On the other hand, the media’s agenda influence is less or minimum when it deals with issues the audience is familiar with. The latter correspondent to the obtrusive issues, when individuals have their own information sources” (Rodríguez, 2004).

It is worth mentioning that the decision to study the press instead of other more massive media, as television or radio, responds to the fact that share or rating do not consider other elements, that is, who are the newspapers readers (decision making people), and the impact these media have over the other media’s agenda. Studies quoted by Rodríguez (2004) explain that press decides radio and TV agenda at a rate higher than what happens in reverse. Though there is no Chilean data, everything indicates Chile follows the same trend. For this reason, analysing press agenda turns to be crucial as we can assume is the most important media.

3.1 Agendas

There are three types of agenda. Firstly, we have the media agenda which is centred on the issues mass media consider as most worth mentioning. This agenda will be ranked by the professional sectoral criteria (journalistic criteria), but also by the own interests of the sector, in general, and particularly, of each media. Additionally, each media will have a gatekeeper (a person or a committee that complies with this role) “who will be
responsible for the news pre-selection for her/his media useful to determine the day’s most relevant subjects” (Rodriguez, 2004: 19).

Then, we have the public agenda. This is the ranking assigned by “the public” to the issues being currently treated in the media. From the emergence of the Agenda Setting Theory, over 200 studies have been conducted, most of which attempted to link the media agenda to the public agenda, demonstrating there is a close relationship between the issues introduced by the media and those the public consider relevant. Nevertheless, the studies have disclosed that the order of priority handled by each other agenda is different (not too much different, but yet different). A research done by Dearing & Rogers in 1996 concluded that “the media agenda sorts out the public agenda” (Rodriguez 2004: 21). 1

Finally, the political (or institutional) agenda arises that “measures the type of actions governments, parliament and several social institutions adopt and which lately will be the unchaining parts of debates, besides being included as the underlined issues in the media and public agendas”: (Rodríguez 2004: 21-22).

3.2 Issues

Issues are “the set of subjects or events that continuously and permanently appear in the media, and which are easily arranged into broader issues or categories” (1977, Shaw, quoted in Rodriguez, 2004). News collected by the media feed these categories. Their importance can be analysed by considering the issues rank present in the public debate. This order of priority depends on the importance criteria determined by the sectoral reasoning defining the agenda. Thus, news building not only includes information passing

on, but it also adds the criteria that value the piece of news as worthy of being communicated. (Martini, 2000).

This study will use these criteria highlighting their importance to issue definition, sources present in the news and the speeches they hoist. “The piece of news is used to study the ways itself is legitimized and made natural as speech before public opinion; the news importance criteria to which it responds to and under which classification it appears; the possible meanings to be build, and the connection with the set of representations that circulate in society” (Martini, 2000).

In the case of social representations, they are the ones to grasp to the journalistic story, and finally impact to create public opinion. Then, under this scheme stigmatisation and stereotypes are feasible: “it is precisely mass communications that by reflecting and transforming social representations arrange the shape and contents of conversations. Numberless representations are social ones as they are conveyed by the media. This relation illustrates the overall interest that media content analysis has to study social representations”. (Farr, in Moscovici, 1985).

Prejudices, values and interpretations schemes work throughout journalistic routines. These routines are the ways in which mass media arrange and implement journalists’ job. For these routines, relationships with information sources gain priority in news building process, because sources (which represent the voice of the informative truth) strengthen the image of a professional, objective and independent journalism. At a higher number of sources, the job is more complete; at a more rich diversity of interviewed persons, the story is more plural. Nevertheless, information collection practices depend on mutual confidence and mistrust between the journalist and the source.

“The analysis of diversity in sources has three levels: the first level considers the society as the source, including individuals, institutions and the society’s problematic agenda; the facts and comments; a second level is formed by the original communicators, that is, all those social actors attempting to use mass communication channels to reach with a
message to their audiences; and finally, the so called information sources, journalists’ contacts, official spokespersons and other sources, news agencies, etc.” (McQuail, 1998).

These three axes previously defined will structure this investigation. On the one hand, we have the aspects related to the Agenda (issues, sources and the speech they reflect), then, the aspects that correspond to the information structure (analysis unit, journalistic genre: informative, leading article, or opinion). All of these include the support (national coverage newspapers), which is the real study object of this investigation.

II. Methodology

1. Methodological design.

**General Purpose:** the purpose is to describe and analyse journalistic coverage and processing of three indigenous conflicts occurred in the 2010-2011 period.

**Specific purposes:**

Through contents analysis, identification of the editorial decisions which determined what deserved to be published and the political and strategic orientation on the indigenous issue.

Relate the different legitimated sources with the specific informative productions, the language being chosen and the indigenous characteristics representation.

Acknowledgement of the relative significance of conflicts coverage, how the issue ranks as leading article and efficiency of the publication in terms of conflicts resolution.

General recommendations for media intervention.
**Hypothesis**

News being analysed tend to focus on what is informative, from a tradition centred on distance position with respect to them along with facts coverage.

The main legitimated sources are the official ones. Likewise, in the media analysed, most of the information comes from these sources.

Indigenous leaders have a significant participation in informative coverage, but this only occurs with that information generated by the indigenous peoples, while they have no participation in related issues generated by other information sources.

The analysed regional newspapers tend to deliver information parallel to the conflicts in a greater proportion than the traditional media, though there is no significant difference between the type of language, sources and stereotypes present in the regional and traditional media.

In rare occasions, media introduce autonomous proposals to conflicts resolution; their trend is to keep distance in this respect.

**Sampling**

This study used a significant sampling covering the indigenous conflicts period the press considered as the most important occurred during the 2010-2011 period.

Once that period is analysed, three great events were considered:

2. **The first Mapuche individual’s Hunger Strike.**

A group of Mapuche people protested against the enforcement of the counterterrorism law they were subjected to in their litigation processes. On June 12, 2010, a group of Mapuche people were imprisoned under pre-trial detention at the jails of Concepción,
Lebu and Temuco. Along the days, eleven persons were added to the twenty-three initial persons detained, all of them imprisoned in the Angol city jail.

The protest became an essential milestone when the petition was spread, as the petition included demands directly questioning the politics instance for it to offer a new deal different from that received from the Concertación governments and continued by the current President, Sebastián Piñera. The petition was focused on criticism to the juridical use of the 18.314 law, regarding the double prosecution by the civil and military courts, demilitarization of the zone the Mapuche people were claiming and freeing of the prisoners considered as “political prisoners”.

The strike escalated into a crisis when the action support transcended its local conditions, widening to the opposition political representatives, intellectuals, opinion leaders and the Catholic Church, which finally would act as mediator. Events developed to a set of negotiations that began the days before the bicentenary celebrations and afterwards, participating indigenous people and government’s representatives. During October, this platform strengthen a position through which the President would waive recurring to the piece of legislation objected to the in course actions, along with a further reform commitment.

During the first quarter of October, the majority reached an agreement, enforcement measures stopped, notwithstanding criticism from some of the individuals in hunger strike.

3. Rapa Nui (Easter Island) land occupation conflict.

In early August, several Rapa Nui clans occupied the island’s fourteen state-owned tenements claiming ancestral land rights. Most of these territories correspond to properties registered in the 1930s and later on, as a national act to develop the island. On
the other hand, as from the 1960 decade, ancestral tenements were assigned for the benefit of governmental agencies, CORFO (Economic Development Agency) included, which at the same time were sold or handed over the benefit to private third parties, with no chance of returning the land to the original owners.

The ethnic Rapa Nui population land ownership rights were raised as a right of restitution act that adds an ancestral sense of autonomy, applied through to the respect for the traditional ways of decision making among the clans. The recognition of these rights was formalised by the Concertación governments, especially during Michelle Bachelet’s government through the 2007 constitutional reform, acknowledging an especial treatment for the island and the draft law about statute of autonomy, introduced in 2008.

The political debate on autonomy and the scarce fulfilment of the agreements reached, caused that during almost the complete second semester of 2010 and early 2011 a set of territorial actions were carried out to demand recovery of the land in controversy; additionally to requesting political type rights restoration acts: migratory control to who arrive the island and self-government rights undertaken, as the Rapa Nui individuals state, by the Chilean government since the annexation to mainland in 1888.

Despite initial talks between the government and land occupants, the Chilean national authority decided to lay siege to the occupied land, on August 9, notwithstanding the peaceful mobilization of one hundred and forty islanders. Gradual tension led to the eviction of the Hanga Roa hotel, one of the occupations emblematic sites; the use of unnecessary violence raised debate against the action. Similar actions continued towards the end of 2010, with the eviction of Hanga Roa’s town Province Governor square.

It was only until February 2001 that the government acknowledged they had reached an agreement with the Rapa Nui communities. The milestone was the acknowledgment of the indigenous power with respect to the hotel (the ownership will be assigned to a foundation that will have thirty years of beneficial use. Additionally, the government
prepared a statute road map and the controls to the island’s floating population via tax payment.

To date, though these actions put an end to twenty land occupations, they have not yet been accepted by the whole Rapa Nui clans.

c. Second Mapuche hunger strike

The second Mapuche hunger strike is represented by the enforcement measures carried out by the community individuals Hector Llaitul, José Huenuche, Ramón Llanquileo and Jonathan Huillical as a response to the first instance prosecution convicting them to twenty and twenty-five years of imprisonment for their attack to the prosecutor, Mr. Elgueta, during 2008. This verdict recognized them as perpetrators of robbery with intimidation, attempted murder and aggression against public authority, this despite the fact they had been released (along with other seventeen community members) from the offences related to the antiterrorism law.

For 87 days, the four accused sought to be released contending that in the first instance process the investigative part included hidden witnesses, enforced statements and other acts transgressing due process. Fasting extended for larger time compared to 2010 fast, that is, it lasted the full initial year, waiting for the decision to the legal recourse lodged before the Supreme Court.

The sentence was known by the beginning of June. The Supreme Court’s decision rejected annulling the process, and it just diminished the sanctions related to the prosecutor’s attack; Llaitul was sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment, while the other accused were sentenced to eight years.

Few days after the court’s decision, the strikers suffered a health crisis that forced to hospitalise them at different places in the zone, relocating them afterwards at the hospital in Victoria. In this context, without requesting presidential pardon, strikers decided to
stop the strike, conditioning it to setting a Commission to address the Mapuche peoples’ rights. The Commission had the task to demand and watch over the President’s commitments regarding the antiterrorism law amendment and the native peoples’ constitutional rights.

2. Investigation design

Considering all these proceedings and processes, of top coverage, in the next step we decided to which type of media we would apply the study. The opinion that the press constitutes a referral in the generation of public opinion and guidance to the other media, additionally to being the only type of media having in its nature the possibility to consistently follow-up information containing diverse coverage approaches, processing and style, the option was to pick up four newspapers where we could reshape the general cartography of the indigenous issue and its related conflicts.

In a first selection, we considered the La Tercera and El Mercurio newspapers. The former, which is part of the COPESA conglomerate, can be assumed to have a liberal trend editorial line, strongly positioned in the C2 and ABC1 socioeconomic sectors, and young opinion leaders. Its business alliance with the Spanish progressive newspaper “El País”, along with its renewed narrative sections, explains the election. Likewise, El Mercurio, historically linked to the right conservative sectors, with a strong mercantile mark, is recognised as the main media setting the pace; heavily influenced by those well reputed opinion leaders, with an editorial scheme trend of diversifying the journalistic processes starting from a daily informative task throughout long reportages.

The news sampling took the three study cases reported by both newspapers. The decision is based on the fact that such media, due to their nationwide coverage, would create the conditions, as general trends, of the legitimated journalistic processing. In this respect, we acknowledge both newspapers incidence as transversal public opinion leaders, and most of all, as generators of a political-strategic dialogue with decision-making or stakeholders agents.
This alone could be the investigation axis, but for the study has an important territorial mark. The three cases are highly circumscribed to facts and proceedings of nationwide impact, coming from specific regions, in these cases, the Eighth and Ninth Region involved in the Mapuches’ strikes and Rapa Nui Island to study the autonomy and land occupation claim. For this reason, we decided to additionally consider two media circulating in the geographic zones involved. Through news analysis at specific times it will be possible to define similarities and differences conflict by conflict having a functional hypothesis that at a greater proximity to the information production site, there is an increased coverage of the case being analysed, with new actors seen as information agents. We also expect to clarify the relationship between local processing and conflicts resolution alternatives.

It is worth mentioning, that the two regional media were explicitly chosen from the same newspaper company (El Mercurio SAP), thus enabling comparison between newspapers that have the same strategic orientation, with influence in their corresponding contexts.

**News universe:**

All the information, whatever extension or genre, published in La Tercera, El Mercurio in Santiago, El Mercurio in Valparaíso, which core issue is one or more than one of the indigenous conflicts analysed and published in the following periods.

The criterion used to set deadlines dates was the first publication starting from the conflict bursting and the last one, after its relative ending. The relationships are the following:

**Data collection mechanism.**
For data collection and database building it was develop a unique instrument called “analysis matrix”. This fact sheet was applied to each publication complying with the above mentioned requisites, summarizing the variables relevant to the study in terms of purposes and hypothesis.

The fact sheet considers different levels. The first one characterizes the publication being analysed. Here, it is recorded the media name, the news section name, date and the author’s name, if appropriate. The role of this component aims at the construction of a systematic order useful for the later analysis.

The second field relates to the formal characterization of the issue. It is appraised its relative extension with respect to the whole page, journalistic type (chronicle, reportage, etc.), genre type (informative, interpretative, opinion, etc.) and the actors quoted in terms of their importance to the informative construction.

The third field collects the dimension related to the informative production process, that is, the publication’s degree of autonomy or dependence with regard to the actors involved. The item related to proactivity or reactivity of the information is related to this idea. The same applies to the origin of the information and sources categories, which as special interest groups frame and delimit the positions shown in the publication.

The fourth setting analyses the representations defined by the media, when they describe the events. In this, we find factors as the stereotype, the language and gender (type of speech according to gender) relation and recognition of the different indigenous roles.

Finally, this point correlates with the solution perspectives raised by the publication, both at the speech linguistic construction, but also regarding possible subject matter guidelines.

Once the instrument has been determined and tested, data collection process began. Data collection included July and August, and the work was carried out directly from the media printed issues, most of them only available at the National Library newspaper library. At an initial phase, this process was carried out by hand, then data collected was transferred
to an excel database. This later one was exported to SPSS to carry out the quantitative predictive analysis.
III. Results analysis

The analysis was focused on three parameters.

1. News full database analysis.
2. Each conflict general analysis
3. Published information analysis with respect to coverage and processing data for each media being studied, per each period of time.
1. Analysis of all pieces of news in study (without differentiation of conflict type)

The study included 1,191 pieces of news from four newspapers: two of nationwide circulation (El Mercurio and La Tercera) and two newspapers of regional circulation (El Mercurio from Valparaíso, and El Austral, from the South).

Data analysed indicate that El Mercurio carries out the largest news coverage followed by El Austral, La Tercera and finally El Mercurio, Valparaíso. El Austral’s significant coverage stands out, considering that the analysis period is shorter than the periods of La Tercera and El Mercurio.

The analysis period breakdown for each newspaper is shown in the below table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio</td>
<td>03 July 2010 – 12 June 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tercera</td>
<td>08 July 2010 – 10 June 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio, Valparaíso</td>
<td>07 July 2010 – 28 February 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Austral</td>
<td>10 July 2010 – 31 October 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01 March 2011 – 30 June 2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
News frequency increases in September 2010, and pre and post months (August and October).

News distribution by date shows the same trend, while it is possible to point-out specific dates where news concentration is higher. An interesting point to notice was the incidence of the first hunger strike in the days previous to the bicentenary celebrations.

News editorial rank allows identifying the news coverage level. We defined eight categories of editorial rank: Less than 1/6 page; 1/6 page; ¼ page, 1/3 page; ½ page; ¾ page; 1 page, and more than one page. The categories were reduced to:
Low Editorial Rank: Less than 1/6 page, 1/6 page and ¼ page.

Mean Editorial Rank: 1/3 page and ½ page.

High Editorial Rank: ¾ page, 1 page and more than 1 page.

News coverage shows, in general, a low editorial rank.

When ranking editorials by media, that is, its extension, the result shows that El Austral delivers a higher coverage to news related to the indigenous conflict. This trend increases when considering the newspaper’s relative size, compared to the other case study.
Photographs are regularly present in news. The 69.3% of news shows them.

Usually, news photos are more illustrative or descriptive than symbolic photos.

In the newspapers studied, news is categorized into six sections: Editorial, letters, Civic Management/Local Chronicles, National, Politics and others. The “others” section is composed of all those sections having less than 50 cases. Part of this category includes: “Citizenship Protection”,

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**Fotografía**

- Si: 69.3%
- No: 30.7%

**Tipo de Fotografía**

- Ilustrativa / Descriptiva: 86%
- Simbólica: 14%

According to the Type of Information we recognised six categories. The “Others” case includes all those categories with less than 50 cases. Some of categories included here are: Newsphoto”, “Editorial”, “Editorial Column”, “Opinion Column”, “Opinion Article”, “Interpretative Reportage”, and “Investigations Reportage”.

**Sección**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frecuencia</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartas</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gestión Cívica / Crónica Local</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacional</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Política</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otro</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tipo de Información**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frecuencia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breve</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nota / Crónica Breve</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crónica</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carta al Director</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportaje Informativo</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otro</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another way of reclassifying News Type (that will be used below) is: Brief Note/Chronicle”, “Letters to the Director”, Editorial” (including editorial column and editorial), “Opinion” (it includes an opinion article and column), “Reportage”, (different reportage types), and “Others”. According to this reclassification “Brief Note/Chronicle/Newspoto” has the higher rate (74.5%), followed by “Letters to the Director” and “Reportage” (both 8.3%).

Standing out among sub-issues highlight: “Judicial Proceedings” (10.8%), “Government’s Conflict Solutions” (10.3%), “Evaluation of Public and Social Policies” (8.9%). When reclassifying this variable, we considered six types of offence categories: “Offence” (Attempt on someone’s life, offence against individuals’ without death, land occupation, property damage); “Rights Transgression” (Poverty/Social Exclusion, Police Control), “Solution Perspectives” (Solutions perspectives from other Social Actors, from the Indigenous People, from the Government), “Improvements and Public Policies” (Entrepreneurship Undertaking and Innovation, Rural Life Quality Improvement, Public and Social Policies Evaluation), Proceedings (Judicial) and “Others” (Intercultural Education and Health, Science, Education, Environment, Economy, Politics, Health, Trends, Others). In this case, the issues that stand out are: “Solution Perspectives”, Improvement and Public Policies” and “Offence”. The other case: “Proceedings, because its reclassification only includes this same variable.
Despite the subject-matter dispersion, mention must be made the study shows an outstanding trend when it deals with placing the information from journalistic practices oriented to alternatives. Regardless the quality of these alternatives, the four newspapers studied considered the actors’ relative positions as an issue to be covered, in a projective perspective, in the three conflicts.

Regarding activity generated by the news (news proactivity), data is definitively in the “No” category. This means a direct acknowledgment that journalism depend on sources, with no own agenda, autonomous from both the official voices and groups of interest.

Regarding Information Origin, there is a higher rate: “Events/Qualitative Milestone” and Follow-up” Coverage.
Regarding reactivity to news it highlights: “Government” (29%), “Courts/Prosecution” (13%) and “Mapuches’ Groups” (12%).
The study accounts for a wide and rich type of sources. From a total of 2,186 sources consulted, the outstanding ones are: “Government Representatives”, “Other Government Representatives”, “Mapuche Civil Society Leaders” (Men) and “Mapuche Adults”.

![Graph showing the distribution of sources](image-url)
In the recoded analysis, the most outstanding sources are: “Government”, “Of Indigenous Character”, “Others” and Civil Society”. Regarding the First Source being Consulted, “Government”, “Others” and “Of Indigenous Character” stand out.

Regarding stereotypes used in news processing, there is no common stereotype (62%). Nevertheless, when one stereotype is mentioned, the words used are “Advocates of Violence/Terrorist” (14%) and “Victim” (10%).
Regarding news location, in general, there is no clear trend, finding “Others” and “Office/Workplace” as the most common.

![Localización](image)

In general, pieces of news do not identify the district where the fact or event occurs.

![Identificación Comuna](image)
Also, it is not common the use of a type of language and speech according to gender.

The same happens regarding an acknowledgement to the Indigenous Role.
Regarding the Journalistic Language used to news processing, the outstanding types of language are “Descriptive/Detached/Neutral”, “With Trend towards Conflict Generation” and “Denouncing”. It is necessary to notice that the second category includes those journalistic uses where the actor’s position is stressed, or else, the information is characterized by the actors’ contradictions.

**TABLES OF CONTINGENCY**

In the next pages, different graphs showing trends by newspaper are shown.
In the case of the Central Issue, in El Austral there is a clear trend towards dealing with the Mapuche people’ issue, and to a lesser extent, Governmental Management. El Mercurio also centres its pieces of news on Governmental Management and the Mapuche People. On the other hand, La Tercera focuses on Governmental Management, Proceedings, lawsuits and Court issues. El Mercurio, Valparaíso, tends to focus on Security issues.

When analysing sub-issues by newspaper and omitting the “Others” category, it is possible to say that El Mercurio gives more space to Solution Perspectives and Criminal Facts; La Tercera refers more to Improvements and Public Policies, Criminal Facts; El Mercurio, Valparaíso, refers to Criminal Facts and Solution Perspectives; and El Austral refers to Improvements, Public Policies and Solution Perspectives. It is worth mentioning, that El Austral is the newspaper giving more importance to Rights Transgression.
When analysing Stereotypes by Newspaper, substantial differences emerge: The newspapers using stereotypes at a higher rate in their reports are El Mercurio, El Austral and to a lesser extent, La Tercera. It can be highlighted that El Mercurio uses the stereotypes of “Advocates of Violence /Terrorists”, “Victim” and “Enterprising Person”. When La Tercera refers to stereotypes, it only refers to “Advocates of Violence/Terrorists”.

![Sub-tema Por Periódico](image)

![Estereotipos Por Periódico](image)
When analysing the editorial ranking newspapers give to pieces of news related to the indigenous conflict, we can find some outstanding data. La Tercera and El Mercurio, Valparaíso are the newspapers giving the higher editorial rank to news. Nevertheless, this is a misleading result, since the editorial rank rates being analysed correspond to news taken from inside of each newspaper, but as it was previously explained, La Tercera and El Mercurio, Valparaíso are the newspapers with the lowest news rate.

Regarding the use of Language according to Gender of the speaking person, it is possible to recognise that the higher rate is present in regional newspapers as El Mercurio, Valparaíso, and El Austral, while El Mercurio, has a very low rate and La Tercera does not use it.
When analysing the First Source being consulted by Newspaper we noticed that, for example, El Mercurio, Valparaiso, almost always only consults to “Government” and “Legal/Police” sources. El Mercurio’s higher rates of consultations sources are “Others” and “Government”. La Tercera’s consultation sources are “Government” and “Others”; and El Austral consults to “Government” and “Indigenous Peoples” sources. It is worth mentioning, that rates represent the First Source being consulted by each newspaper, and data do not correspond to the full rate of pieces of news as a whole.
When analysing the Journalistic Language used by the different newspapers, we found meaningful trends. El Austral is the newspaper using the Descriptive/Detached/Neutral language (59%) with the highest rate, though this is the highest rate tendency. One distinctive feature in El Mercurio is its regular use of “With Trend towards Generating Conflicts” language (21%), and in a third preference the use of language: “With Trend towards Conflicts Resolution”. In La Tercera we found “Denouncing Language” (19%) in second place; “With Trend towards Conflicts Generation” in third place (16%). El Mercurio, Valparaíso, uses in second place “Denouncing Language” (18%); “With Trend towards Generating Conflicts” language and “With Trend towards Conflicts Resolution” language in third place (both rates are 16%).

In the next pages, you will find different graphs based on contingency tables between different variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lenguaje Periodistico Por Periódico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Mercurio</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptivo / Distanciado / Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con Tendencia a la Generación de Conflicto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tendencia a Resolución de Conflicto / De Denuncia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprometido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otro Lenguaje Periodistico</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations.
A clear tendency regarding the Type of Information and the Editorial Ranking can be observed. The graph analyses the Editorial Ranking rate by each Type of Information. Brief Notes/Chronicles/NewsPhotos, Letters to the Director and Editorial have the lowest editorial rank. Reportages and Others account for the highest editorial ranking. As previously mentioned, this does not imply a higher rate, but the internal distribution of each Type of Piece of News.

When analysing the Type of Information by Stereotype:
First Strike Analysis

26 July 2010 – 13 October 2010

Newspapers: La Tercera, El Mercurio, El Austral

Those pieces of news having as central issue the “Rapa-Nui People” were screened.

Result: a total of 639 news items.
“El Austral” places almost all the news items in the sections “Civic Management/Local Chronicle”. La Tercera places news items in the National News section and in less proportion in the “Letters” section. El Mercurio places the pieces of news under the “Letters”, “National News” and “Political News” section. Substantial differences were observed on x² tests.

“El Mercurio’s” categories to publish pieces of news are: “Events/Qualitative Milestone”, then “Public Statement/Manifesto”. La Tercera bases on “Follow-up Coverage”, “Denounce to the Media” and “Events/Qualitative Milestone”. El Austral bases on: “Events/Qualitative Milestone”,

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53
“Public Statement/Manifesto and “Follow-Up Coverage”. El Austral is the newspaper with higher rate of “Protests/Public or Political Activity coverage. La Tercera is the only newspaper that uses “Denounces to the Media” to publish this news items.

El Mercurio reacts against “Government”, “Others” and in less proportion to “Political Parties”. La Tercera reacts against “Government”, “Others” and to a lesser extent to “Mapuches’ Groups’. El Austral reacts against “Mapuches’ Groups”, “Others” and “Government”, and in less proportion to “Non-Indigenous Social Organisations”.

![Chart showing reactions to different categories by newspapers](image-url)

“La Tercera” y “El Austral” cuentan con el mayor ranking editorial, mientras que El Mercurio y El Austral cuentan con el menor ranking editorial.
While “El Mercurio” and “La Tercera” obtain their information from few information sources, “El Austral” distributes its information sources more homogenously.

All the newspapers work with “Brief Notes/Chronicles/NewsPhotos”. La Tercera and El Mercurio base their information on “Letters to the Director” and “Reportages”.


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It is worth mentioning, how for “Solutions Perspectives” and “Rights Transgression” subissues, the “Victim” stereotype is raised. For “Criminal Facts” and “Judicial Proceedings” the stereotype used is “Advocates of Violence/Terrorist”. In the case of “Improvements and Public Policies”, the stereotype used is “Enterprising Person”.

![Bar Chart](image-url)
It is more pro-active in the “Improvements and Public Policies”, and “Rights Transgression” subissues.
The “Government” is the source with more consults, most of all in the “Solutions Perspectives” and Public Policies Improvements” subissues. The “Indigenous People” are consulted about “Solutions Perspectives” and “Judicial Proceedings”. The “Civil Society” is consulted about: “Criminal Facts” and “Juridical/Police”.

![Bar chart showing consults by sub-tema, indicating the number of consults for each category.]
SECOND MAPUCHE STRIKE ANALYSIS

15 March 2011 – 07 June 2011

Newspapers analysed: La Tercera, El Mercurio, El Austral

Variable being screened: Central Issue= “Rapa-Nui People” (no cases were found)

Total data card: 177

During the second Mapuche hunger strike the informative cycles have their peak when the following events occur: health crisis, new actors’ appearance, closing of agreements.
El Austral's higher informative rate means not only a more extended specific coverage of the strike, but also a higher relative presence in this newspaper of the indigenous issues. The proximity of the indigenous issue in the Region's reality is a fact that influences such major coverage.
It can be observed certain parity among the Executive branch, the indigenous civil society and the juridical system as the three main agents of the newspaper’s information.
Despite the different nomenclatures of the three media analysed, there is a clear coincidence regarding the priority newspapers give to the indigenous issue information: all of them use the news items space, focused on narrative of situations, in a local or national chronicle format.
El Mercurio, Santiago, sticks to its trend towards generating the highest number of negative stereotypes about the Mapuche issue. The difference compared to El Austral is interesting, which also includes a “positive” valuation, that is, “Enterprising Person”. It is necessary to clarify that the use of the explicit stereotype studied, in generally, is low, because of certain journalistic predominance to “neutrality” in the use of some descriptions.
El Austral newspaper is characterized by its higher presence of indigenous sources. This is related to the identification of the strike Mapuche individuals, their leaders. Likewise, the media has a richer agenda to other type of subjects in the same period, where their main actors are leaders or persons that belong to communities of the Araucanía Region.
In the second hunger strike, it was not possible to appreciate media direct participation regarding solutions proposals. This confirms the hypothesis that affirms the media do not have an independent position that influences the agenda beyond the introduction of alternatives coming from their sources.
The analysis shows that solutions perspectives remain constant among the different sources. The government has a greater presence when it deals with improvement in quality of life and the development of public polices, while most of the sources coming from indigenous people circumscribe to judicial proceedings.
Rapa Nui (Easter Island) Conflict Analysis

07 July 2010 – 29 February 2011

Newspapers: El Mercurio, La Tercera, El Mercurio, Valparaiso

Variable screened: Central Issue = “Mapuche Peoples”

Words qualitative censure as variable considered “News Headline” with key words as: Mapuche, Community Person, Hunger Strike, City of Angol.

Total: 381 pieces of news
Though El Mercurio, Valparaíso, has a regional circulation, informative flow is not substantial. The wider editorial scope of El Mercurio, Santiago, highlights in the sample.
Newspaper Section Analysis for each Newspaper

The media do not show substantial differences in the coverage sections. The outstanding presence of the national section can be homologated to daily chronicle or general information, as in El Mercurio, Valparaíso.
Regarding subject matter dispersion, there are some trends. While El Mercurio’s trend is towards focusing on solution perspectives, La Tercera and El Mercurio, Valparaiso, balance their processing priorities by categorizing “criminal facts” and “public policies improvements”.
Analysis by Subissue

![Chart: Estereotipos Por Sub-tema](chart1)

![Chart: Proactividad Por Sub-tema](chart2)
Though the trend has a reactive origin, major proactivity is present when news address development issues and circumscribe the conflict to the public policies assessment frame.

The media continue to maintain its trend towards recognising that the solutions perspectives voice comes from Government’s representatives. In the Rapa Nui conflict, indigenous leaderships have a scarce subject matter influence.
NEWSPAPER LANGUAGE ANALYSIS

Lenguaje Periodístico Por Conflicto Indígena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1ERA HUELG MAPUCHE</th>
<th>2A HUELG MAPUCHE</th>
<th>CONFLICTO RAPANUI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LP: Descriptivo / Distanciado / Neutral</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP: Con Tendencia a la Generación de Conflicto</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP: Emotivo / Con Estructura Dramática-Narrativa</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP: Tendencia a Resolución de Conflicto / Periodismo de Alternativas</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>132</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP: De Denuncia</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP: Comprometido</td>
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<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otro Lenguaje Periodístico</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total menciones</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COVERAGE ANALYSIS OF
LEADING INDIGENOUS WOMEN

The variables screened: Sources consulted 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 y 6 = Mapuche (Woman) Civil Society Leaders and Rapa Nui (Woman) Civil Society Leaders.

Total pieces of news analysed: 117

Remarks: All the graphs are expressed in percentage ( %).

Considering similar coverage time and publication available space (media’s size), the El Austral newspaper gives more visibility to women leadership, though this visibility is only focused on Mapuche claims.
**Sub-tema**

- Vulneración de Derechos: 8%
- Delictivo: 11%
- Perspectivas de Solución: 31%
- Procesos Judiciales: 18%
- Otros: 21%
- Mejoramiento y Políticas Públicas: 11%

**Tipo de Información**

- Nota Breve / Cronica / Fotonoticia: 81%
- Reportaje: 17%
- Carta al Director: 1%
- Otro: 1%

**Consultada Fuente:**

- Primera: 29,9
- Segunda: 34,2
- Tercera: 18,8
- Cuarta: 12,8
- Quinta: 3,4
- Sexta: 0,9
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

H1: The trend of pieces of news being analysed is to focus on what is informative, from a tradition focused on detachment along with facts coverage.

This study corroborates the hypothesis. Though media has extended its coverage pattern to new journalistic modalities, mainly to those of investigative or narrative character, for the indigenous people conflicts case coverage is still centred on traditional ways, that is, specific events bursting into to a sequence of feasible facts.

This setting cannot overlook the outstanding place gained by the conflict coverage in terms of its extension and time span. Only in rare occasions, media give way to complicated processes, continuously. The hunger strike, in our opinion, reaches its highest point, because it made visible a larger problem concerning the indigenous conflict, particularly regarding the land claim, demand of due process, and illegitimacy of the antiterrorism law enforcement, in their cases. In this respect, coverage continuity made possible to emphasize, for the first time, the projections when facing the indigenous conflict, since its beginning in 1997, to suggest contingent solutions modalities to be implemented in the medium term.

This change brought about by the striker’s pressure found acceptance in the media being analysed, representing a change of direction in the traditional coverage trends. These pieces of news follow- up set concern (but not the pro-positive reaction) for the solutions setting, while stereotypes related to the indigenous conditions were considerably restricted. From certain point of view, it is possible to notice that media studied reported cautiously, limiting unfortunate descriptions, taking distance to avoid polarization of the subject-matter, while permitting an outward-looking editorial to the publication of alternatives.

When considering the substantial volume of information attributable or generated from and in relation to the three conflicts, the lack of an interpretative approach to
understanding the phenomenon is surprising. This is demonstrated by the scarce media’s participation in extended coverage, but for some publications of the Rapa Nui land occupations or El Austral’s extended coverage. Processing type and media approach were not only directly affected by this fact, but most of all, this fact reflects lack of in-depth analysis of the conflicts, avoiding major public debate. It is noticeable that the three newspapers’ trend was to imitate a TV coverage, that is, brief and contingent, but where the presentation of alternatives created the difference with respect to such type of coverage strategy.

H2: The main legitimated sources are the official ones. Likewise, for the media studied, most of the information comes from these sources.

Data analysed corroborate the country’s tendency to show a close relationship between informative production and the use of official sources, particularly those linked to the Government.

This tradition of relationships has a new face when it deals with the cases analysed, when the actions/events shaping the conflict setting may be exactly recognised as those that oppose to the State’s management, the practice of justice, and transversally to the President’s performance. The analysis makes possible to notice that despite such criticism, none of the mentioned public power representatives suffered legitimacy harm, and their position in the rise or crisis development was never questioned. In other words, the study discloses the strong predominance of a “principle of authority” in newspaper production, where the only setting tensioned during the crisis development is the scope of justice criterion that stems from the antiterrorist law and police role during land occupation eviction in Rapa Nui.

The news rank, added to the scarce autonomy and own agenda of the media studied, transversally characterizes the study. Even considering the editorial pages, the newspaper’s trend is to place legitimated actors as the voice of its position regarding the
conflict, while at the same time these actors’ ideology proximity is similar to that of the media studied, thus strengthening the editorial selection produced. As it has been explained, the El Austral newspaper, which generates the most complex visions on the indigenous issue, also trends to reproduce this situation, now from a dialogue that covers national subject-matters from a local point of view. Thus, regional governmental authorities in their role replace the central government’s authorities, as in the capacity of Mayors of the main districts.

Along with the government, it is important to distinguish media’s management in relationship to courts and their representatives as a whole. Despite this is a crucial axis, transversal to the three conflicts, the justice administration system is rarely questioned by the journalistic practice. In fact, the media’s presence in the cases is mediated by the proceedings where the media restrain their role to reshaping the prosecutors and solicitors for the defence position, along with a picture of the police actions or related investigations. In this respect, media recognise justice implementation as a process, where lack of debate translates into the conditions raised by the antiterrorist law, in the Mapuche peoples’ case. Thus, tangentially, the hunger strike turns into a suit against the law and the condition when it is applied, above the guilty or innocent legal arguments. In short, it may be noticed that above the legal character supporting coverage, the latter is finally oriented from a political debate that generates such informative codependency both from and towards the government.

The Rapa Nui case is different in this respect. In the extension the case deals with land occupation, the offence considered is the hotel occupation. Nevertheless, the first coverage relates to the autonomy statute and mainland’s political debts, that is, the traditional ways of managing the island. In this respect, coverage also shifts to the substance of the issue, therefore, in direct relationship to the Government.

Summing up, this investigation would make possible to state that in front of the government and the Executive branch informative preeminence, options control to reach a way out to the conflict, the lack of criticism to governmental options and associated
actors, it is not feasible to base that the three cases studied respond to a crisis for any of the actors being questioned from the indigenous paradigm. From claiming rights in particular, coverage placed a major issue of national interest, and the debate raised enabled the government to compress the possibilities of change, above the justice administration system or the legislative-parliamentary instance.

**H3. Indigenous leaders have a significant participation in informative coverage, but this only occurs with that information generated by the indigenous peoples, while they have no participation in related issues generated by other information sources.**

The study makes possible to affirm that from the conflicts analysed, an increase in the number of indigenous spokespersons can be observed. In the three cases, information reflect an acknowledgement of these new agents, be them those directly related to the conflict (family representatives acting in the Rapa Nui land occupations; hunger strikers and their families, in the Mapuche peoples’ conflict), leaderships as the local indigenous authorities, members of indigenous organizations, among others.

This factor acquires significance in the extension the media analysed acknowledge openness towards the indigenous individuals as accepted actors with respect to the issues affecting them. Thus, the power/informative production relationship, mentioned in the above paragraph, is in some degree played down. In other words, the analysis makes possible to state that in front of a proper media and communicational strategy management, to achieve an efficient incidence, there is a path for the press to make visible and incorporate to the public debate the feasibility of indigenous actions.

A key factor to this has been the emergence of Natividad Llanquileo a referent to the indigenous claiming rights. Though the study did not analyse in-depth her leader condition, her positioning shifted the negative observation and most of all, the media's subject-matter related to violence compared to other leaders as Aucán Huilcamán or Juana Calfunao. Llanquileo’s predominance and the wide coverage to her, gives chance to make a hypothesis about a new “anchorage” between the mass media system and the indigenous description, particularly with respect to the Mapuche peoples’ case. Media
shaped a character whose appearance is *ad hoc* to the specific dimension of the strike, transforming her voice into a media individual of public interest beyond her role in the indigenous claiming rights. Among other elements affecting this new orientation, in our opinion, would be her condition as a young person, apparently untied to the older leaderships, her biography marked by the field-city immigration, and therefore, for the media, an image that brackets the Mapuches’ rural condition, as well as a speech focused on the need to solve the conflict, without directly appealing to confrontation, but most of all to an agreement. In this case, a new principle of authority would be present to face the indigenous condition, where the new leaders’ generation, those with university background and born during the Mapuche conflict emergence in democracy, would shift the older leaderships in the way of a renewal of the same indigenous cause, the establishment of a new indigenous nationalism, among other factors.

It is worth mentioning, that this situation cannot be directly linked to the case of Rapa Nui. While it is possible to recognize a similar orientation, that is, to recognize the indigenous actions initiated by their own actors, from the media’s side, it is impossible to perceive an outstanding individual leadership. The media analysed delimit the island’s conflict as one of collective nature, relevantly to the presence of islander’s clans, and from their emerging condition. Finally, while in the Mapuche context leadership seems to be a renewal to conflict alternatives, in the case of Rapa Nui, the centre is marked by the visibility and staging of new events, that is, political change newness regarding the island’s self-determination is more important than a sense of continuity of the historical coverage, as it happens with the Mapuche case.

The openness of the media to new voices, which indirectly broaden and complicate coverage of indigenous issues, must not leave aside those traditional ways, through which the media represent what is indigenous. In fact, the study undoubtedly accounts for those stereotypical associations with the Mapuche factor, centred on the offence and similar actions, noticing that these associations still persist, maybe with less intensity than in the past decades. On the other hand, the investigation does corroborate the absence of indigenous sources participation in terms of related issues; the press studied in the period,
allows making the hypothesis that there is a direct relationship between the indigenous issue visibility and the informative production made by the groups, and these groups are related to the conflicts themselves and not to other related subject-matters. Mention must be made of the scarce coverage about other issues during the period, even in a newspaper having an extended agenda on the indigenous issue, as the El Austral, where the Mapuche conflict is also circumscribed to a limited range of issues, most of them related to the rural aspect, the socio-cultural integration an economic enterprising actions, among others.

**H4: The trend of the regional newspapers analysed is to deliver information parallel to the conflicts in a greater proportion than the traditional media, though there is no significant difference between the type of language, sources and stereotypes present in the regional and traditional media.**

Though it is impossible to set a trend of the media’s agendas and their variations along time, the study makes possible to affirm that at least regarding the El Austral newspaper the hypothesis quoted can be corroborated.

It stems from the several issues studied that, when analyzing the structure of the media’s agenda, during the period studied, the greater legitimacy of the indigenous position is obvious. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the increased data and sources of indigenous origin must be situated considering the place the Mapuche issue has in the Ninth Region. It is possible to affirm that the larger subject-matter coverage and increased presence of indigenous people’s is associated to the increased information produced and generated from the indigenous individuals, and this gives value to such media’s outward-looking when choosing what to publish; however, the media’s difficulty to raise a specific orientation to the Mapuche issue, beyond a segmented subject-matter field of informative production implies the media’s weakness and shows bias in its relationship to own events circulation scope. In the same respect, the relationship between El Mercurio, Valparaíso, and the Rapa Nui’s informative coverage is of greater concern: the study does
not detect subject matter variations during the period studied, beyond the specific conflict.

An important aspect of the El Austral newspaper is the relationship perceived between local development issues and the indigenous world. The positive stereotype related to the enterprising characteristic and the relative importance of indigenous rural innovation information outstand the communities’ economic significance in the regional context being studied. Likewise, when noticing the important coverage to intercultural education and health initiatives, it is possible to recognise a general positive valuation from the setting to the indigenous issue, in what we could call an “informative policy oriented to integration”.

In this process, there are three conditions that remain associated: the outskirts and urban link, that is, the Mapuche issue lives in the outskirts of urban condition; the Mapuche race is shaped from a tension between an individual with history opposed to an individual with economic conditions, and the generalization from its ethnic condition, that is, mainly formed by groups above other sociocultural characteristics.

Regarding the Rapa Nui characteristics, these peoples’ situation as fringe areas replicates in the information studied. Along with the conflict, they are referred to regarding tourism and the “exotic” nature of their identity and cultural proximity to the Polynesia.

H5: In rare occasions, media introduce autonomous proposals to conflicts resolution; their trend is to keep distance in this respect.

As mentioned before, media analysed do not generate proposals to resolve the conflicts, and their position is to keep a clear difference between informative journalism and those spaces of opinion.

In El Mercurio, Santiago, this dissociation is seen in the coverage strategy. While the pages inside the newspaper directly and almost exclusively refer to the strike coverage, the opinion pages take care of the analytic and interpretative level of the conflict context. Thus, the journalistic dimension limits to follow-up coverage, through reporting the main
milestones and information that links indigenous leaderships to mainland’s revolutionary groups. On the contrary, editorial positions give room to debate and ideas confrontation, searching for equilibrium, though the editorial, which is the media’s political orientation and strategy article, questions the government’s agreements policy established, particularly regarding rights allocation generated by their ethnic difference. In these spaces of opinion, El Mercurio’s trend is to favour an integration national policy, focused on poverty reduction and major development possibilities, above a more complicated integration of intercultural characteristics.

In this respect, El Mercurio focuses debate on two ways: rejection to rights allocation to original races as a negative precedent to generate equality and the other way, it considers hunger strikes as an illegitimate pressure in front of an unresolved juridical setting.

El Mercurio, Santiago, also criticizes the indigenous “especial” treatment for the Rapa Nui case. Using the newspaper’s economy section, El Mercurio covered the case: sources were not criminalised and information is mostly oriented to present the negotiation process among individuals, the state and clans. However, instead of providing in-depth analysis to develop such alternatives, setting in its inside pages a debate about solutions feasibility, it retakes indigenous autonomy questioning, and most of all, the Concertation government’s political management of the issue.

This opposes to La Tercera’s positions. The newspaper is an example of liberal orientation journalism, that is, there is no journalism of alternatives. However, space is given to Mapuche leaders, but its role becomes more a response to the information already raised, that is, pieces of news content do not describe a voice making trouble coming from the Mapuche peoples. They are used as main or predominant source when they make announcements, as the hunger strike of the detainee’s relatives, or when they decide to stop the strike. Therefore, it works as a newspaper that validates the expression of milestones.

At editorial level, in the letters to the Director emerge official and dissenting voices emerge. This is seen as a section where letters are published in a balanced way. Detractors
and supporters of the Mapuche cause appear a similar number of times. However, the origin of the problem is not touched in depth. The media’s trend is to publish voices focused on the need to ensure due process and strikers’ rights; however, regarding the media’s pretended neutrality and objectivity is not systematically perceived when it deals with land claims as a country problem. The newspaper limits to informing the government’s negotiations improvements, awarding to this actor the feasibility of reaching an agreement, as well as to the Church, in its mediating role.

The absence of a statement transversally delimiting coverage and processing regarding an eventual outcome is also a constant present in the Rapa Nui conflict coverage. La Tercera’s newspaper type of processing, in this point, is similar to that of El Mercurio, Valparaíso.

El Austral newspaper, issued in the Araucanía zone, sets a clear link supporting conflict resolution actions. Despite we were not able to present an investigation around the front pages, this newspaper was the one highlighting the conflict coverage, and particularly, the information related to the development of the negotiating table. Compared to La Tercera and El Mercurio, Valparaíso, particularly regarding El Mercurio, Santiago, this one key media of the consortium from which El Austral is part of, in El Austral an editorial debate of the issue is practically inexistent: the media’s commitment to a consensual track to finish the conflict can only be found when considering the significant news items number that follow-up agreements, particularly of the relation between the end of the hunger strike and the establishment of the “Plan Araucanía” (The Araucanía Programme), the President announced during the presidential message on 18 September 2010. In short, the El Austral’s coverage legitimates, to a higher extent, the need to set a new deal with the indigenous peoples, though it does not reflect, same as the other media, a direct pro-positive call in front of the specific conflict, or else, with respect to the general context to set a country policy of multiple and intercultural acknowledgement.
Technical recommendations.

The results of this investigation enable to formulate a set of general recommendations, related to both gaps diagnosed in processing and coverage of in the indigenous conflicts, and the efficient incidence of indigenous leaderships. To introduce this, we have defined intervention fields with possible strategies and actions to be develop in the medium term.

1. Journalists and media decision making.

The result of this study makes possible to assess that media analysed have scarce and biased knowledge about the indigenous affair in Chile, their sociocultural realities and the historical implications current conflicts have on shaping the country’s democratic order. It is necessary to systematically train media professionals to transform the race issue in the country into newsworthy content. In our opinion, this means to apply an early intervention to undergraduate training, but also to the professional orientation of those who already work at decision making positions in the media studied.

From the study it is possible to reach to different strategies. In the long-run, the most efficient one would be to work with those journalists who usually cover indigenous subject matters, particularly in the Ninth Region. A differentiate practice with these journalists, aiming at generating more intricate distinctions about the journalism practice, would enable editorial innovation to deepen local commitment regarding indigenous issues as a wider subject matter diversity. Journalism with a strong intercultural mark, that is, oriented to citizen’s following-up and monitoring of indigenous policies is highly feasible, through an alliance and training programme of local media. Considering the regions’ media limited circuit, investments should consider local universities as main training spaces for future professionals of such local reality.

In those media where coverage ideological orientations or coverage traditions generate a position opposite to conflicts resolution, it would be relevant to combine training in indigenous issues with the introduction of new journalistic alternatives
focused on, for example, media social responsibility. This alliance with the media must consider as a first objective the generation of conditions to achieve editorial change, where a “coverage informative chance” is set to introduce facts or situations where the indigenous issue is considered important. Settings with priority would be, for example, development of intercultural initiatives in the field of public policies management. In this level, it is also advisable to prepare handbooks regarding indigenous coverage processing, through letting know a non discriminatory language, able to recognise traditional roles.

2. **Strengthening of indigenous organisations’ communications management capabilities.**

The media’s openness to fresh indigenous spokespersons not only reveals concern about the new generation of leaders, but it is also an opportunity to set from the same groups or associations, influential and efficient tools to generate impact.

This means to observe communications work beyond the leader’s individual practice. It deals with establishing communicative skills inside the communities, as part of their own organizational development as an axis that will synergistically benefit their positioning, increasing their visibility with the media, regarding the native peoples’ diversity. This transformation should happen gradually and be focused on each community’s needs, creating the necessary skills, but in an independent way, without the need to depend on other actors.

This job must have a systematic start, by giving the organizations major and better infrastructural conditions, especially access and connectivity. The reason for this is to plan from there the rationale of organizational information as a public welfare, for it to be, in a first step, part of the alternative media circulation, strengthening the use of Internet social networks. This first stage, along with the strengthening of
the indigenous communicators’ network will make possible a gradual approach to less segmented communicational scopes, and therefore, more competitive with the journalistic description and selection.

3. Participation of other civil society actors and strengthening of alliances

In this investigation an outstanding finding was to realize the scarce diversity of actors with media presence, or by default, presence of actors who are not considered important for the indigenous issues coverage, especially when it refers to conflicts resolution. It is important to notice the absence of other actors of the civil society and the academic world.

Any communicational intervention searching for solutions and development alternatives, must consider forming alliances. Such relationships should promote those perspectives making possible a link between the indigenous claiming rights with the shaping of specific public policies. As it can be appreciated from this diagnostic study, the perspectives to solve the conflict were limited, of scarce concern, and strongly delimited by the current government. In a country were negotiating tables have been inefficient and legal reforms do not generate more substantial conditions for change, it is necessary for both NGOs and Universities, among other knowledge spaces, for them to promote other conflicts resolution instances, as for example, social and community local mediations process, promotion of participative policies, and the implementation of greater debating possibilities for the municipal and district management.
4. Direct intervention to promote an intercultural process and diversity acknowledgement in the ruling and legal system.

One of the consequences of the conflicts analysed was the need to generate new political, juridical and legal conditions about indigenous claim rights, particularly regarding the enforcement of the antiterrorist law.

If we consider public opinions’ shape, it deals with a complex challenge. Any decision implying not enforcing the antiterrorist law or augmenting legal safeguards to Mapuches accused may result in a greater impunity perception from those interest groups, who systematically recognise themselves as victims of the indigenous claiming acts. We consider relevant to reorient indigenous condition acknowledgement towards intercultural integration concern, turning this space into an efficient setting for dialogue, and common cooperative construction for high diversity contexts.

The indigenous issue problem must translate into a task for the international organizations oriented to a systematic advocacy regarding the country’s democratic weakness and those quality gaps where lack of citizens’ participation and public debate are included. An agenda programmed for the intervention of parliament members and national, local politician representatives’ favouring alternatives promoting equality in diversity, is necessary as a communicational strategy for social change.

Finally, the juridical system, especially that of criminal proceeding, requires in-depth analysis from the human rights field to its relationship with cultural diversity. Considering the role of prosecutors in justice administration, the outcome of this investigation makes possible to assume the need a training work
addressed to such group public servants, so criminal investigations are done considering cultural frame.


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