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The conflict between the State of Chile and the *Mapuche* people in the national and regional Chilean press (2014–2016)

Abstract

This is a comparative study that analyzes the issues and the sources usage related to the conflict between the State of Chile and the *Mapuche* people in *El Mercurio*, national press, and *El Austral de La Araucanía*, regional press. Front pages published during the first two years of Michelle Bachelet's presidency (2014–2016) conform the corpus of this research. A mixed methodology was applied and a multivariable content analysis was developed (N=603).

Although both media belong to the same conglomerate, proximity with *Mapuche's* traditional land had a decisive influence in news content. *El Austral* gave priority to the political discussion meanwhile *El Mercurio* emphasized violent events and their consequences in regional economic development. *Mapuche's* were considered main actors in the news selection of the national newspaper but they were not quoted as sources. *El Austral*, instead, included *Mapuches* with political –national and regional– sources.

Keywords

Content analysis, topics, sources, Chilean newspaper's, *Mapuche* people.

1. Introduction

The press influences public sphere's construction, interprets and constructs society (Roberts, 1972; Martín-Serrano, 1977; Gomis, 1991; Caldevilla, 2013), and also consolidates values, behaviors and beliefs that

affect the functioning of democracy (McNair, 2000). It interacts with citizens and political actors in "a process of permanent conflict in relation to the generation of public consciousness" (Aruguete, 2015, p. 109).

Most people know about political activity second or third hand and decide to support a public management or not in accordance to newspaper's mediation (Lang-Lang, 1962; Noelle Neumann, 1973; Martín Barbero, 2003).

Inadequate or insufficient treatment of social issues deteriorates public debate's quality and interfere with the execution of public policies. On the contrary, a profound, pluralistic news coverage that contributes to citizens understanding of the complexity of phenomena such as economic gaps, gender inequality, conflicts of ethnic origin or immigration, positively impacts the possibilities of obtaining more efficient solutions to social issues (McBride Report, 1980).

During the last ten years, press mediation between the Chilean State and the *Mapuche* people, which is originally from southern Chile, has been investigated by different scholars. The academic production is broad and covers issues related to the analysis of professional journalism routines in the coverage of indigenous subjects (Labrín, 2011; Maldonado & Del Valle, 2013; Ramírez, 1995; Salinas & Stange, 2009; Armentía & Conde, 2009), as well as the incidence of those practices in the complex processes of inter and intraculturality occurring in the country (Del Valle, 2005). Research has also been carried out on the journalistic construction of the *Mapuche* account and its impact on the processes of national integration (Rodríguez, 2013).

The criteria that Chilean journalism has used to decide news content about the *Mapuche* conflict, and the intensity and frequency of publication of these texts, has established the public agenda around this issue and thus has influenced the way in which all involved parts perceive this conflict (Shaw, 1979). This includes the governments in power at the time, both nationally and regionally, the civil society in general and inhabitants of the zones where the conflict is centered, in this case the region of La Araucanía.

In July 2011, the Institute of Communication and Image (ICEI) of the University of Chile published a report on the coverage and treatment of the indigenous conflict during 2010 and 2011, which synthesizes the relationship between the Chilean State and the *Mapuche* people during the XIX, XX and the first decade of the XXI century, and that recognizes the media as responsible for the construction of social imaginaries replicated over time in Chile.

The study refers to it as a tense genealogy "where the white emerges as the heritage and civilizing legacy, while the Indigenous journeys from the epic image of resistance to the denial of progress and the pre-modern ballast" (Labrín, 2011).

The concept of 'Indigenous conflict' began to be used in 1997 as a result of the burning of three trucks that belonged to logging companies, perpetrated by a group of *Mapuches*. As of that moment, and according to Labrín, traditional press would refer to *Mapuches* as the enemy, the origin and cause of violence and harm (2011, p. 7).

From then on, according to Del Valle (2012), the coverage and treatment of the demands of these ethnic communities, was characterized "by the political emphasis present in mass media discourses, especially in the relationship between the media and political agenda, both as public discursive forms related to power structures, both political and economic" (Del Valle, 2012, p. 83).

Therefore, it seems that the journalistic communication of this conflict has acquired a functionalist and reductive character (McQuail, 1997; Taylor, 2003): the selection of news is not oriented by the relevance of the facts but by what is expected to be achieved through that information. Thus, the representation of *Mapuche* people has been generalized in the following four aspects enunciated by Del Valle (2012, p. 86):

- 1) *Mapuche* indigenous people are represented negatively when they fulfill active roles (for example, terrorists).
- 2) When they fulfill passive roles, such as receiving government aid, they are represented in a positive way.
- 3) The presence of *Mapuches* in the press is limited to "conflicts."
- 4) The sources which are most consulted by the written press to address the "*Mapuche* indigenous conflict" are the police and political sources, which reinforces the negative (police area) and positive (political-governmental field) representations.

It is a phenomenon similar to what Igartúa *et al.* (2005) recognizes as subtle racism, which "is characterized by a cognitive and affective pattern of lesser manifestation of positive feelings towards members of a different ethnic group" (p. 146).

The application of the newsworthiness criteria to the events that take place around *Mapuche* people is the result of the professional routines of journalism applied by Chilean media, both national and local, in accordance with the editorial principles of each medium.

There is abundant bibliography that defines these procedures and also reveals how they have evolved during the last 50 years (Gans, 1979; Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1978; Van Dijk, 1980; Wolf, 1985; Túnñez & Guevara, 2009; Greene & Lecaros, 2014).

Granting news value to events is a daily procedure, which media professionals accept as appropriate. In 1985, Wolf defined these criteria as the "set of elements through which the information apparatus controls and manages the quantity and type of events from which news will be selected" (p. 222). The classification of these values allows to understand and describe the typical situations of the profession, and to interpret those that are ambiguous when defining the topics that a newspaper will publish (Fontcuberta, 1993).

Túnñez and Guevara (2009) collect the traditional typification and list the newsworthiness values that usually weigh more in the selection of news: the hierarchical level of the people involved; proximity (geographical, social and psychological); impact on the nation; number of people involved in the event; projection and consequences; the novelty; currency, relevance, frequency and conflict (p. 1034).

Once the event has been selected and the journalistic genre with which it will be published has been defined, the journalist and their editor will compose the title. According to Genette (1988), titles can be classified into two categories: thematic (that which is spoken about) and rhematic (what is said about the subject). The key function is rhematic, which lays out the content of the text and how it should be read in advance. In turn, the headline is not "a mere label [...] positions the news much better: it gives it value, relevance, especially highlights one aspect of the text" (Sánchez, 1990). That is why a correct headline is one that sums up correctly the narrated event and appropriately appreciates each element of the news fact (Gomis, 1990). To this is added that "the person in charge of the title plays with the knowledge that is shared with the readers" and interprets the facts (Sánchez, 1990, p. 176). The headlines define the personality of the newspaper and provide interesting data about "the values and ideologies of journalists and newspapers, and, especially, how readers will understand, keep in their memory and use the news' information for the elaboration of their knowledge and opinions about reality" (Van Dijk, 1983).

In the case of Chile, press mediation meets series of unusual characteristics and that is the reason why the impact of printed media in the elaboration of knowledge is so relevant. On the one hand, it should be noted that written press is the third most used means of communication (CNCA, 2011). 98.6% of Chileans declare watching television, 89% listen to the radio and 69.8% read printed newspapers every day, according to data from the Second National Survey of Participation and Cultural Consumption (2011). In addition, 21.8% of press readers declare to read the entire newspaper. The most read newspapers are *Las Últimas Noticias*, second *El Mercurio* and third *La Tercera* (Valida, 2016).

On the other hand, the structure of written media presents a monopoly, which has been studied by Portales (1981 & 1999), Sunkel and Geoffroy (2001), Del Valle (2004), Ruiz Tagle (2011) and Ulloa (2014), who coincide in their conclusions. All the authors indicate that during the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990), the press concentrated in a duopoly of journalistic companies, which to *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* becoming the dominant media of the current democratic period. These newspapers, in turn, are the head of the *El Mercurio SAP* and *Copesa* consortiums, which also own *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Segunda*, 24 regional newspapers, and *La Cuarta*, *La Hora*, the *Qué Pasa* and *Paula* magazines, and a regional newspaper, respectively.

Recent studies describe the Chilean print media market as a sector that is dynamic, sensitive to demand and supply and open to foreign investment. However, the authors add, the sociopolitical circumstances in which these newspapers are produced and distributed have made it difficult for voices that respond to other business groups to arise. This has accentuated the centralist nature of the press and has strengthened the duopoly mentioned in the previous paragraph (Godoy & Gronemeyer, 2012, p. 13; Noam, 2013; Godoy, 2016).

The professional routines and the structure of the media have influenced the formation of the Chilean public opinion about the *Mapuche* people and the conflict that the latter keeps with the Chilean State (Lippman, 1922; Cohen, 1963). This state of public opinion is what is recognized as an agenda-setting, the result of the news selection process that the media carries out according to the concerns of citizens (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2006; Weaver, 1997).

Three public opinion studies published in Chile in 2015, 2016 and 2017 gathered those concerns, or what may also be called the perception that civil society has about the conflict with the *Mapuche* people (Adimark, 2015; CEP, 2016; CADEM, 2017). According to the conclusions, public opinion coincides with some aspects of the discussion between national and regional authorities and those raised by the media agenda, but some exceptions are also observed.

In that regard it is worth mentioning that the level of appreciation is positive rather than negative. 67% of the participants in the Adimark study declared a very positive or positive perception of the *Mapuche* people. According to the participants in that survey, bravery is what best characterizes those who belong to the ethnic group (22%), and the second is their culture (12%). 77% consider that the *Mapuche* people contribute to the cultural diversity of the country. These data coincide with those published by CADEM in 2017, where 97% of the respondents said that it is important that *Mapuche* traditions and culture are preserved.

That positive perception is compatible with the affirmation that coexistence in the region of La Araucanía is more conflictive now than ten years ago (CEP, 2016 and CADEM, 2016). The political situation has also worsened, according both to *Mapuche* (57%) and non-*Mapuche* (63%) respondents. In both surveys, the greatest conflict is violence. In the case of CEP, violence takes place between the police and *Mapuche* communities (44%), and in the case of CADEM (2017) it is the result of the presence of violent groups in the area. The majority of respondents denies that the *Mapuche* demand for the return of lands justifies the use of violence. However, 25% of the CADEM sample and 33% of those surveyed by CEP justify it in some circumstances. Finally, it should be noted that the CADEM study considers that the priority to advance in the solution of the *Mapuche* conflict is to improve education and social opportunities for the *Mapuche* (26%), and then the return of land (23%). In turn, 58% of the sample believes that the common law, and not the anti-terrorist law, should be applied to the *Mapuche* involved in violent criminal acts.

The gap between the news criteria applied by the Chilean press to the *Mapuche* conflict and the perception of public opinion, can be explained perhaps by the fact that local media are subject to a one-dimensional, short-term logic (Verón, 1998). Then, it is pertinent to question what role will be played in this issue by the actors and political sources.

Based on this background, it was established as a research question to know in what degree the geographical proximity with the *Mapuche* conflict affects the thematic and rhematic headlines and the choice of sources and actors in one national and one regional distribution newspapers.

2. Objectives and methodology

The main objective of this research was to compare, from a temporal perspective, the incidence of territorial proximity in the coverage of the *Mapuche* conflict in *El Mercurio*, a newspaper of national coverage, and in *El Austral*, a regional newspaper that is published in the region of La Araucanía, area in which the largest *Mapuche* population is concentrated, during the first half of the government of President Michelle Bachelet (2014–2016).

The specific objectives were four: 1) Compare the presence of the *Mapuche* issue in the cover headlines of both media during time. 2) Recognize the topics that are linked to the *Mapuche* issue according to *El Mercurio* and *El Austral*. 3) Classify the sources that are used to

reference the conflict. 4) Investigate who the relevant actors are according to the values of the national and those of the regional medium.

Based on the objectives, the main hypothesis of the study was proposed: the territorial proximity conditions the framing of the national coverage, which prioritizes conflictive contents and recognizes entrepreneurs as the most affected. The regional one emphasizes the political and social aspects that this situation generates.

To achieve the stated objectives and confirm or refute the hypothesis, a mixed-cut study (quantitative and qualitative) was designed, including a content analysis. This research technique allows to describe in a systematic and quantitative way the manifest content in the media. It consists of applying previously defined rules to measure the frequency with which the elements of interest appear in the set of a mass of information –in this case the cover of selected newspapers– according to the purposes of the investigation.

The selected sample included all the covers of *El Mercurio* and *El Austral de Temuco* published between March 11, 2014, the date on which President Michelle Bachelet took office, and March 11, 2016, that is, two full years. The analysis unit were all the headlines of the covers.

An area map of the thematic headline types was developed from the average design format used by both media. In the case of *El Mercurio* which is a broadsheet-sized newspaper, the upper short news, the subhead, the headline, the left upper lateral, the last-minute headline, the lower left lateral, the second and third headline, the upper right lateral, the lower headline, and the lateral and bottom news briefs were included. In the case of *El Austral*, which is a tabloid-sized newspaper, the superior news briefs, the headline, the subhead, the second title, the inferior, the right lateral, the left, the bottom and the lateral news briefs were included.

In the editions in which the *Mapuche* subject was addressed, the following rhematic aspects of the headlines were codified: topics related to the *Mapuche* history and culture, mention of the concepts of violence, crime, terrorism, action of the judicial authorities and members of the executive power, statements or activities of legislators, members of the regional government, entrepreneurs and any event derived from religion.

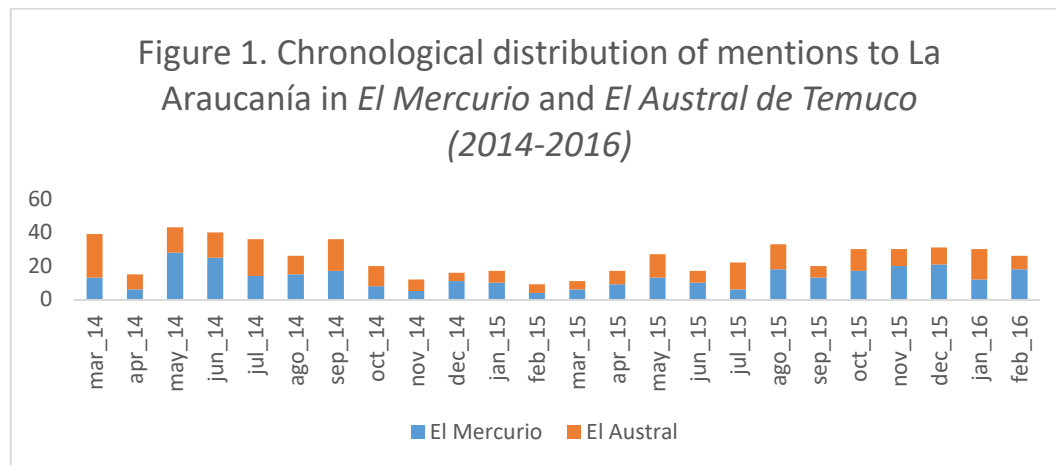
The included sources and actors were the President, the Interior Minister, other members of the executive power, the deputies and senators, the intendant, the mayors, other members of the regional government or the judicial power, the police, firemen, military forces, victims, criminals, witnesses, *Mapuches*, entrepreneurs, the church (priests, bishops, pastors), academics, documentaries, and no identified sources.

The content analysis was carried out by a team during May, June and July 2016. In first place, meetings were held with experts to generate an adequate code book. Before the final analysis, a pilot study was conducted in a 30-day sample, after which the collected records were analyzed and doubts were resolved. In second place, and after it was verified that the defined categories for each variable allowed to establish significant comparisons, the coding of the sample was completed and the results were analyzed using the Stata 13.0 software.

3. Analysis and results

The first result that was quantified was the total mentions in both media. On the cover of *El Mercurio* the *Mapuche* issue was mentioned 319 times in any of its titles, in *El Austral* the number was 284. Although the number of mentions is lower in the regional newspaper, *El Austral* used the main headline 101 times and *El Mercurio* 24. Considering that the maximum was 730 (a headline for two years), the *Mapuche* subject was the most important news for *El Austral* 4.2 times more than for the national distribution newspaper. In this case, the geographical proximity has had a clear impact on the edition of *El Austral*, which usually includes some aspect of the *Mapuche* subject in the main headline. Figure 1 shows the chronological distribution of the total mentions in both newspapers:

Figure 1: Source: elaborated by the author.



The rhematic distribution of the total references in both journals was analyzed in detail. For this, the variables were grouped into four major aspects: culture, politics, violence and economics. Table 1 shows the rhematic synthesis of the variables:

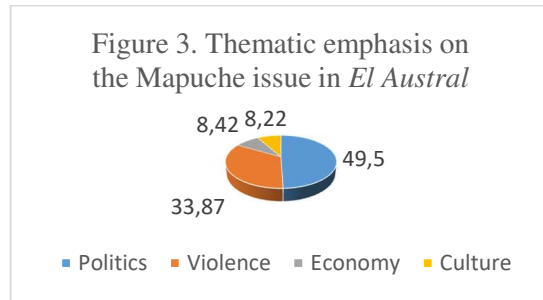
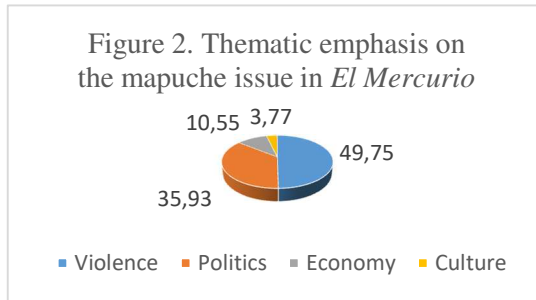
Table 1: Source: elaborated by the author.

Variable Grouping			
Culture	Politics	Violence	Economy
<i>Mapuche</i> culture	Executive Power	Violence	Entrepreneurs
<i>Mapuche</i> history	Regional government	Crime	Companies
	Other politicians	Terrorism	
	Judicial Power		

In the case of *El Mercurio*, most of the mentions of the *Mapuche* issue are linked to some aspect of violence (198 mentions); the second emphasis is on political issues (143 mentions), then economic (42 mentions) and finally cultural (15 mentions). In the case of *El Austral*, the accumulation of mentions is observed in the political (247 mentions), violence (169 mentions), economy (42 mentions) and cultural (41 mentions). The sum of mentions described here is greater than the total number of identified headlines which were mentioned previously because some units of analysis contained more than one of the aspects that were codified.

As shown in Figures 2 and 3, the most relevant aspect is related to the emphasis on violence and political issues, which are the two aspects that concentrate the references in both media and that are reversed. *El Austral* emphasizes the political aspects of *Mapuche* issues with almost half of the mentions, while *El Mercurio* considers violence more relevant.

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This relationship is reversed in the second mention: the second emphasis of *El Mercurio* is politics, while for *El Austral* it is violence. Economy is the third emphasis in both media, although *El Mercurio* gives a relative importance to the link of the *Mapuche* with the economic that surpasses *El Austral* by 2.13 percentage points. For their part, culture issues have a notorious presence in the agenda of the local newspaper, appearing more than twice as many times as in *El Mercurio*.

As can be observed, the thematic emphases show relevant differences. In the case of *El Austral*, a political agenda is found in what has to do with the *Mapuche* people, which that involves the regional government, the central government and the *Mapuche* themselves. In the case of *El Mercurio*, violence is established as a priority agenda, which implies events perpetrated by victimizers that cause victims and economic losses and that also involve the political sector.

In third place, the sources used by both media were analyzed. While *El Austral* quoted 503 sources, *El Mercurio* resorted to 362. This is because 155 references in *El Mercurio* lacked a source, which never happened in the case of *El Austral*.

To graph the use of sources, the variables were grouped into sources of the national government (President, Interior Minister, other members of the Executive Branch), the regional government (Intendant, Mayor, other Regional Government members), parliamentarians, members of the Judicial Branch, law enforcement (police, firefighters, investigation police –PDI– and Military Forces), victims, witnesses, *Mapuche* people, entrepreneurs, academics, church (members of the clergy) and criminals.

Table 2 shows the distribution of sources for each medium. It is highlighted there that 42.82% of the mentions of *El Mercurio* did not include sources, a figure that is equal to 0 in the case of *El Austral*. The high number of texts that lack a source is striking, considering that it is one of the routines that most affects the criteria of journalistic quality defined until now by the theory of journalism (Gans, 1979; Wolf, 1987; Fontcuberta & Borrat, 2006). The percentage is so high that it is possible to consider that this finding does not respond to geographical proximity but has its origin in other causes.

The second source concentration in the case of *El Mercurio* corresponds to the category "entrepreneurs," who appear in 11.6% of the mentions. The third is observed in the case of members of the regional government (9.39%).

The most cited sources in *El Austral* are the *Mapuche* themselves (19.48%), then the regional government (14.31%) and the national government (12.33%). Entrepreneurs are the fifth most cited source with 9.15% references.

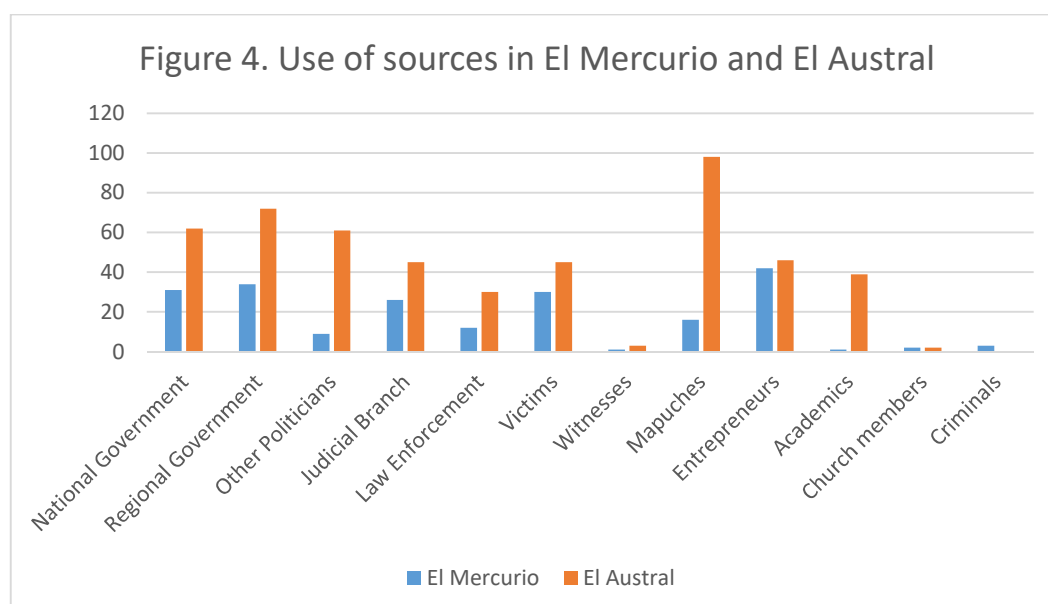
Table 2: Source: elaborated by the author.

Table 2. Source use in *El Mercurio* and *El Austral*

	<i>El Mercurio</i>		<i>El Austral</i>	
	Total	%	Total	%
National Government	31	8.56	62	12.33
Regional Government	34	9.39	72	14.31
Legislators	9	2.49	61	12.13
Judicial Branch	26	7.18	45	8.95
Law Enforcement	12	3.31	30	5.96
Victims	30	8.29	45	8.95
Witnesses	1	0.28	3	0.60
<i>Mapuche</i>	16	4.42	98	19.48
Entrepreneurs	42	11.60	46	9.15
Academics	1	0.28	39	7.75
Church	2	0.55	2	0.40
Criminals	3	0.83	0	0.00
Non identified	155	42.82	0	0.00
Total	362	100	503	100

Figure 4 compares all the types of sources that were coded during fieldwork. There, it is reinforced not only that *El Austral* used a greater number of sources but also resorted to a variety of significant citations. What stands out is the presence of *Mapuche* sources and the focus on political voices, both from the national and regional governments and parliamentarians, coded as "other politicians". In turn, the regional media includes the voice of academics, a source that has a minimal presence in the case of *El Mercurio* (39 in *El Austral* and 1 in *El Mercurio*). Finally, it should be noted that *El Austral* also consults more entrepreneurs than *El Mercurio*, in absolute numbers (46 and 42 respectively).

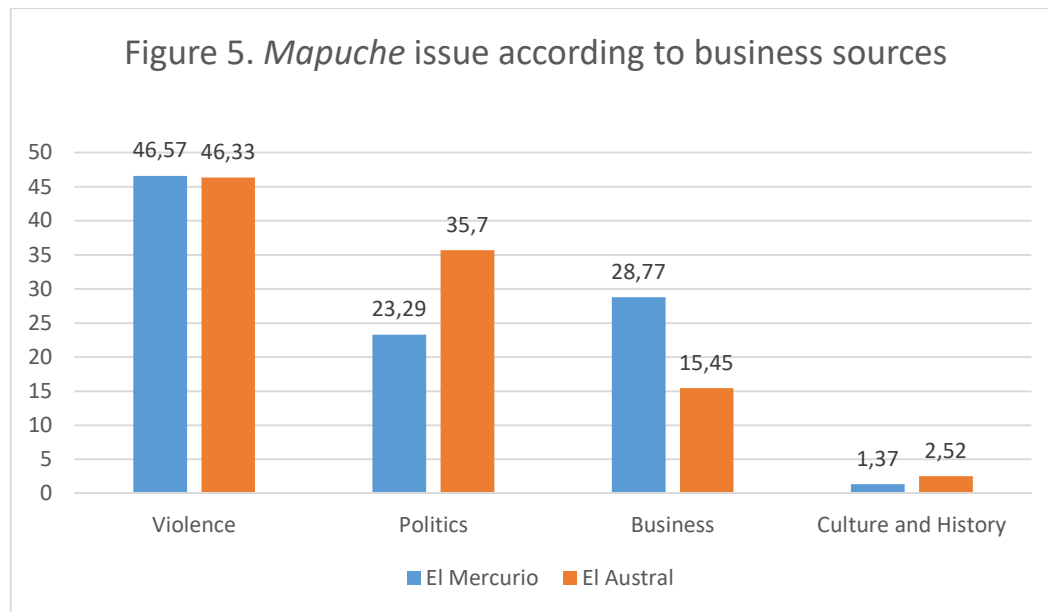
Figure 4: Source: elaborated by the author.



At the same time, it is observed that both media prioritize regional sources, although the informative frame proposed by each one is significantly different. The analysis of the topics that mention the sources allows visualizing that frame difference.

Business sources frame the *Mapuche* subject around violence. This occurs in both *El Mercurio* and *El Austral*, but important differences are observed in the other topics, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Source: elaborated by the author.



According to *El Mercurio*, political sources belonging to the central government prioritize political discussion, at the same level, with respect to the *Mapuche* people. The sources of the central government cited by *El Austral* focus on issues of violence and then on political activity. References to other topics are significantly lower.

The second most consulted source in *El Mercurio* is the regional government, which also links the *Mapuches* with violence (39.22%), with the central government (33.33%), the culture of the indigenous peoples (15.69). % and entrepreneurs (11.76%). In the case of *El Austral*, something similar happens, the regional government is also the second most cited source and the thematic preferences are the same. There is a direct relation with geographical proximity.

The minimal presence of the *Mapuches* among the sources quoted by *El Mercurio* (4.42%) is striking when compared with *El Austral*, where they are the most cited (19.48%) and, above all, because the topics they most use are the same ones mentioned by entrepreneurs in *El Mercurio*: violence (38.6%) and business activity in the region (27.63%).

Finally, it is necessary to analyze the relevance given to the actors who consider themselves involved in one medium or the other, and if the incidence of geographical proximity can also be recognized there. When the coding was developed, 17 possible actors were included; for this analysis, they were grouped, as in the case of the sources, in 12.

According to the mentions in any of the headlines of the national newspaper, the most relevant actors are the victims (18.81%), then the entrepreneurs (17.72%) and in third place the *Mapuches* (16.82%). In *El Austral*, on the other hand, the priority actors are the *Mapuches* (23.31%), then the Judicial Branch (9.16%) and in third place the victims (8.99%). For the regional newspaper, entrepreneurs are in seventh place (5.43%) along with other members of the regional government, and after the Intendant (8.90%), other politicians (7.56%) and the Executive Branch (6, 94%). From the point of view of the inclusion of some actors or others,

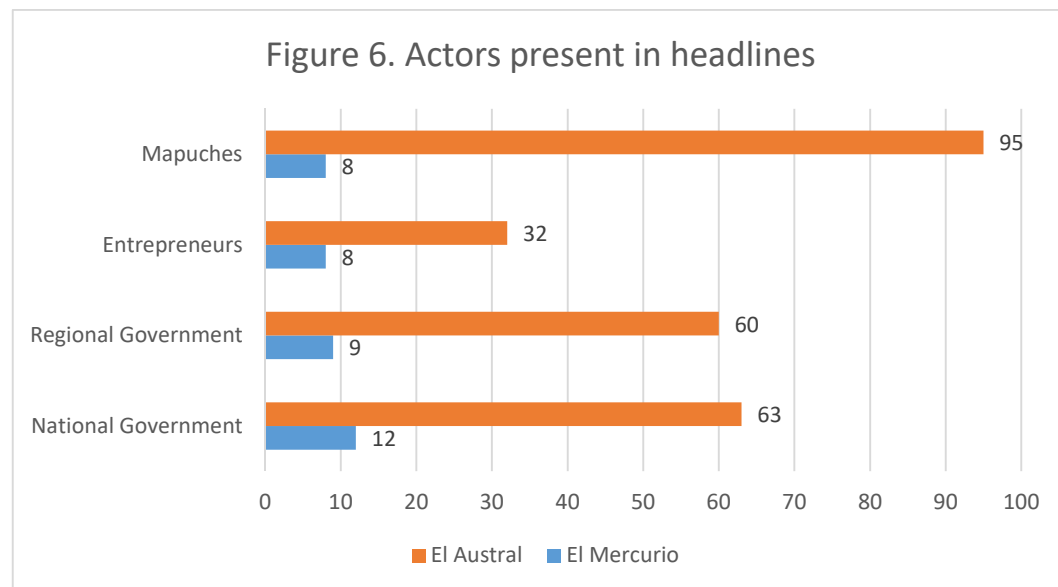
these results are coherent with the theming that prioritize both media: violence in the case of *El Mercurio*, the political aspects of the conflict in the case of *El Austral*.

Finally, the presence of actors was also quantified only in the main headlines of each medium, considering the relevance that this has when knowing and understanding reality (Van Dijk, 1983).

Although for *El Mercurio* the main actors of the *Mapuche* issue are the victims, in the headline of the codified editions the National Government is the main actor, while in the case of *El Austral* the presence of the *Mapuche* actors coincides in the general titling and in the main headline. The graph below is drawn up considering that *El Mercurio* published during the two years covered by this sample 24 headlines on the *Mapuche* issue and in *El Austral* 101 headlines addressing the subject were included.

Presence of actor in Headlines of *El Mercurio* and *El Austral* is shown in Figure 6:

Figure 6: Source: elaborated by the author.



4. Conclusions

After the bibliographic review, news coding and analysis of results, it can be concluded that the criteria for granting news value to the events related to the *Mapuche* people in *El Mercurio* and *El Austral* exceed territoriality.

The topic with the greatest prominence in the national press is the violence surrounding the conflict between the State of Chile and the *Mapuche* people (49.75% of the thematic distribution). Entrepreneurs are the most used source by this medium and the topic that most concerns them is the effect of violence on business activity. This is concluded from the number of mentions and their thematic distribution and is reinforced by the analysis of sources and the presence of actors that *El Mercurio* includes.

In the case of *El Austral*, the news frame is different. Firstly, because *Mapuche* issues belong, above all, to the political agenda (49.5%). The most consulted sources are the *Mapuche* themselves (19.48% in *El Austral* and 4.42% in *El Mercurio*) and then the political sources (12.33% National Government and 14.31% Regional Government). The topics to which the *Mapuche* sources refer have to do with violence (38.6%) and with business activity (27.63%). The political sources cited in *El Austral* also focus on violence (42.89%), but when they touch on government issues, the references to the central (32.7%) rather than the regional (15.07%) are prioritized.

It should also be mentioned that these results confirm the four aspects indicated by Del Valle (2012, p.86) about the representation of the *Mapuche* people in the press: the prevailing theme is violence, its presence is limited to conflicts, sources reinforce the negative representations that surround this issue.

With respect to the actors, there are substantial differences. According to *El Mercurio*, the conflict between the State of Chile and the *Mapuche* people is carried out in similar measures by the victims (18.81%), the entrepreneurs (17.62%) and the *Mapuches* (16.82%). This coincides with the analysis mentioned above, but it should be noted that the presence of *Mapuches* is enhanced when violent events are narrated and they appear as actors, not when it is decided who will appear as a source in a news text.

For *El Austral* the key actors are the *Mapuche* themselves (23.31%) and far below are members of the Judicial Branch (9.16%) and then the victims (8.99%). This means that it is the indigenous themselves who appear as a source and who refer to violence and the political issues that encompass this conflict in the regional newspaper.

It does not seem that the agenda of both media reflects public opinion, since the issues that civil society mentions to refer to the *Mapuche* issue, which are detailed on pages 7 and 8 of this article, are not included. It can be affirmed, in that regard, that the entrepreneurs and *Mapuches* are integrated in the political agenda and in the news guidelines proposed by *El Mercurio* and *El Austral*, while the perception that civil society has about this subject is not.

It is also worth mentioning the striking result on the use of sources in *El Mercurio*. 42.82% of the mentions did not include sources. This data is not typical of elite newspapers and it is surprising that this negative routine is used in the medium. A methodological error was ruled out because the corresponding procedures were carried out to prevent this from happening.

What stands out then is that in this case, territoriality affects the selection of news more than the system of media ownership. Although *El Austral* belongs to the conglomerate *El Mercurio S. A. P.*, the regional medium has its own agenda and journalistic routines, different to those applied by the edition that is produced in the capital city. There is no evidence of what Breed (1955) calls "arterial process", which describes how the leading media influence those of smaller circulation and that Natalia Aruguete describes in her book *The power of the agenda* (2015). Therefore, there is no standardization or uniformity between *El Mercurio* and *El Austral de La Araucanía*.

These findings allow new research about the journalistic framing of the *Mapuche* issue, using for this a larger corpus, which includes not only headlines but full texts. Especially considering the gap between the perception of public opinion and that of local actors and sources, which is what prevails in the press edited by *El Mercurio S.A.P.* and is also replicated by political actors and the incidence of journalistic content in the definition and application of public policies.

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