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Communicators, Information Pluralism, and Mass-Mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche Conflict

Comunicadores, pluralismo informativo y mass-mediación del conflicto chileno-mapuche

Comunicadores, pluralismo informativo e mediação da mídia do conflito chileno-mapuche

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ABSTRACT | This article presents the results of an investigation (2018-2019) that focused on problematizing the relations between information pluralism and the mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict in the Araucanía Region in southern Chile. In this region, several issues occur due to the confrontation among the Chilean nation-state, Mapuche movements, and transnational corporations located on ancestral territories. Using an argumentative analysis from a corpus of 18 interviews applied to communicators from the Araucanía region, this study has identified various topics and argumentative structures operating as meanings regarding the aspects defining the current model of information pluralism in this region. Moreover, this study has identified the effects of the information pluralism treatment in the Chilean-Mapuche conflict and the proposals for transforming the media ecosystem that would assure moving towards a model of information pluralism of a democratic and intercultural nature. The results establish that the main topics refer to political, economic, intercultural, security, formative, and media aspects.

KEYWORDS: media pluralism; mass-mediation; communicators; intercultural conflict.

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RESUMEN | *El artículo socializa parte de los resultados de una investigación centrada en problematizar las relaciones entre pluralismo informativo y mass-mediación del conflicto chileno-mapuche en la Araucanía, región ubicada al sur de Chile, en la cual se desarrollan diversos acontecimientos de confrontación entre el Estado-nación chileno, el movimiento mapuche y las empresas transnacionales emplazadas en territorios ancestrales. A partir de un análisis argumental aplicado a un corpus de 18 entrevistas a comunicadores de la región de La Araucanía en el período 2018-2019, se identifican los tópicos y las estructuras argumentativas que operan como tramas de sentido en torno al grado de pluralismo informativo en esta región y sus efectos en el tratamiento informativo del conflicto chileno-mapuche. Asimismo, se discuten propuestas de transformación del ecosistema mediático para avanzar hacia un modelo de pluralismo informativo de carácter democrático e intercultural. Los resultados establecen que los tópicos centrales a problematizar refieren a aspectos políticos, económicos, interculturales, de seguridad, formativos y mediáticos.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *pluralismo informativo; mass-mediación; comunicadores; conflicto intercultural.*

RESUMO | O artigo socializa parte dos resultados de um processo de pesquisa que, durante o período entre 2018 e 2019, concentrou-se em problematizar as relações entre pluralismo informativo e mediação da mídia no conflito chileno-mapuche na La Araucanía, região localizada no sul do Chile onde acontecem diversas situações de confronto entre o estado-nação chileno, o movimento indígena mapuche e as empresas transnacionais instaladas em territórios ancestrais. A partir de uma análise de argumentos aplicada a um corpus de 18 entrevistas realizadas a comunicadores da região de La Araucanía no período 2018-2019, foi possível identificar os tópicos e as estruturas argumentativas que atuam como tramas de sentido em torno ao grau de pluralismo informativo nessa região e seus efeitos no tratamento das informações do conflito. Além disso, são discutidas as propostas de transformação do ecossistema midiático, para avançar em um modelo de pluralismo informativo de caráter democrático e intercultural. Os resultados estabelecem que os tópicos centrais a serem problematizados se referem a aspectos políticos, econômicos, interculturais, securitários, formativos e midiáticos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: pluralismo informativo; mediação da mídia; comunicadores; conflito intercultural.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship of the Chilean Nation-State with the Mapuche people has been marked by a long-standing anti-indigenist policy (Pinto, 2003). From the 19th century to the present, the Mapuche people have experienced a series of exclusion and dispossession policies exercised by the State apparatus as part of a national sovereignty program (Nahuelpan, 2012).

Alvarado (2019) establishes that between 1860 and 1880 the border agreements that the Mapuche held with the Spanish crown and later with the leaders who started the independence process were violated by the expansionist eagerness deployed by the emerging Chilean Nation-State, a situation that "tore Mapuche histories apart" (p. 123). Hence, a colonial wound persists, which manifests in various dimensions, such as "territorial dispossession; the installation of a colonial administration; the inferiorization of the Mapuche; forced Chileanization; repression and current political imprisonment; endemic poverty, among others" (Alvarado, 2019, p. 123).

Since the nineties of the 20th century, there has been an intensification of the conflict relations between the Mapuche people and the Chilean Nation-State, shown in: (a) the design of an ethno-governmental rationality (Boccara, 2007) that administers the lives of others through a series of neo-indigenist policies; (b) the implementation of a necro-politics by the Nation-State, sustained by a military infrastructure system inserted in Mapuche communities; c) the interests of a neo-extractivist capitalist elite that intervenes in indigenous territories, and (d) the process of ethnogenesis that redefines the discourses and action repertoires of the Abya Yala indigenous movements, and specifically of the Mapuche movement.

In this context, communication has played a strategic role. We specifically refer to the functions that the media have had in this regard.

The studies devoted to the analysis of the hegemonic national press in Chile show that the informative coverage of the Mapuche people has disseminated racialized representations, building a divided subject, determined by its proximity/farness and subsumption/resistance to the modernizing project implemented by the Nation-State in its alliance with the capitalist system (Del Valle, 2005; Del Valle et al., 2019; Sáez, 2019; Koziner & Aruguete, 2020). The media operate through discursive modalities that update the 19th century scheme of civilization and barbarism, which has become a series of categorizations that are detrimental to an intercultural dialogue that manages to overcome the existing political-cultural conflict. Works such as that of Circosta (2020) show how the Argentine media update discriminatory traits towards the Mapuche people. The analysis of FuenteAlba and Cañete (2018) studies the stigmatizations that Chilean television constructs about the Mapuche, whose attributions of meaning are mostly associated with violence and conflict.

Regarding the social imaginaries that the Chilean national press constructs and legitimizes about the Mapuche, Aravena and Baeza (2017) reinforce the idea that there is a stigmatized identity that sustains the differentiation and classification of the Mapuche as an alterity. In such terms, the informative treatment of the Mapuche conflict and people makes explicit a reductionist, a-historical and racist gaze, tending to omit the historical-cultural complexity that acts as an explanatory framework for the frictions of the present, leaving in evidence that the media (re)produce the models of legitimization of colonial identity. As has been established in another study, "the Mapuche media presence is presented detached from the responsibilities that should be assumed from the institutionality, since the problematic attribution is always given to another that disarticulates any civilizing project" (Maldonado & Del Valle, 2013, p.286).

For Mapuche media, on the other hand, have become enclaves of resistance and political-cultural struggle in the face of colonial violence.

In Gutiérrez' historical review (2014) we find that the Mapuche communication experiences initiated in 1926 with the publication of the bulletin *El Araucano*, reaching our days with digital counter-informative media, such as *Mapuexpress* and *Werken.cl*, or the Mapuche radio stations *Werken Kvrrvf* and *Radio Aukinko*, to name a few; these constitute fundamental technologies of the process of struggle assumed by the Mapuche people in their anticolonial and self-determination project. Or, as Alvarado and Antileo (2019) say, in the Mapuche press, from its germinal phase "lies part of our thinking against colonial subjection, racism, against dispossession and depriving" (p. 13).

Other studies have established that the Mapuche news media manage to position a political-identitarian narrative that tensions the colonial imaginary installed by the hegemonic media as a framework of conflict representation, highlighting the processes of technological appropriation that have enabled the creation of various Mapuche digital news media (Maldonado, 2014, 2017).

Salazar (2016) points out that the media communication of the Mapuche people obeys a form of activism, whose narrative confronts the official discourse, in addition to generating a dialogic space that enables a social semiosis formulated from the political and cultural distinction; this responds to a tactical movement at a discursive and performative level, since Mapuche communication is a field that configures political self-affirmation and identity self-representation systems, complementing the social struggles that take place within the framework of the claims that the Mapuche movement makes as part of a political agenda ascribed to the reconstruction of the Mapuche world (Maldonado, 2017).

In general terms, indigenous communication, in its diverse formats and languages, is introduced into the complex media scenario of the Latin American region as a political-cultural practice that seeks to break the historical evolution of what Quijano (2007) conceptualizes as the coloniality of power, showing that indigenous communication practices go beyond the culturalist diffusion of their identity, assuming a sociopolitical exercise where culture reinvents itself in the processes of struggle for self-affirmation, self-determination, and the achievement of a social justice that continues to be denied (Schiwy, 2006).

We agree with Salazar (2012) when he points out that the development of indigenous media should be understood in direct relation to the process of ethnogenesis consolidated since the nineties of the 20th century, and it is relevant to emphasize that this process is closely linked to the dynamics of technological appropriation conducted by the indigenous movements from Abya Yala, where the techno-media artifacts are re-signified in terms of a decolonizing project (Maldonado, 2018).

Ethnogenesis accounts for a powerful politicization of peoples inferiorized by the coloniality of power, which, in the field of communications, implies the politicization of communicational praxis. Indeed, communication has been configured as a field from which it becomes possible to circulate the discursivities of difference, in addition to promoting the weaving of solidarity networks that seek to counteract the informational imbalances that the hegemonic media system has designed for the reproduction of the dominant order and to the detriment of the democratization of communications in contexts of asymmetrical intercultural relations.

The above allows us to understand that communication is part of a historical, political, cultural, and media landscape designed from the persistence of the colonial. Therefore, we establish that communication becomes a political and identity struggle on the part of inferiorized subjects. However, this communicational struggle is not alien to the fragmentations experienced by any society founded on colonial and capitalist violence. The concentration and centralization of media companies the control of broadcasting circuits and information management resources, as well as the shortcomings that are evident at the level of communication policies, are variables that hinder the strengthening of a democratic and intercultural information pluralism model, since they maintain the tendency to think and consolidate the communicational field from a mercantile, instrumental, and persuasive logic (Torrico, 2015). This marginalizes any possibility of transformation that bets on a liberating, horizontal, and participatory communication, as proposed by Beltrán (1981) when challenging the developmentalist and diffusionist models that have defined for decades the strategic planning of communication in Latin America.

In this context, we have assumed the task of contributing to the debate developed around the links between information pluralism and mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict, proposing a study that broadens its possibilities of understanding. Most of the studies on this subject are characterized by assuming a media-centric and informational approach, focusing on the media structure and what they say about the conflict, mainly concentrating on the hegemonic media, so that the debate on information pluralism is subscribed to its external and internal dimensions. An example of this is the study by Hudson and colleagues (2018), which proposes an indicator of pluralism applied to the thematization of the agenda of the national and regional written press and the validation of sources in the coverage and treatment of the Mapuche issue in Chile[1].

Unlike the aforementioned study, this article focuses on the mediations configured by regional media communicators in Araucanía, analyzing their constructions of meaning about the relationship between information pluralism and mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict.

METHODOLOGY

Eighteen communicators from the region of La Araucanía were interviewed, between 2018 and 2019, to understand "the perspectives that informants have regarding their lives, experiences, or situations" (Soler, 2011, p. 216). The questions were designed based on the specificity of the study field, articulating Martín-Barbero's (2010) map of mediations and the central aspects of framing theory, according to Aruguete (2017).

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1. The PLU17002-2018-2018 project considered a corpus obtained in 181 days of publications in five newspapers: *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* (national scope) and *El Diario de Concepción*, *El Austral de La Araucanía* and *El Austral de Los Ríos* (regional scope). Among the findings, it stands out that:

The Mapuche issue is almost as relevant for the regional press as for *La Tercera*.

El Mercurio's coverage intensifies during the first two years of Michelle Bachelet's government (2014-2016).

1) **The informative framing of the five newspapers is negative.** Values related to the criminalization of the Mapuche, the few possibilities of solution that appear, and the violent claims are prioritized.
2) **Lack of sources is still high.** The use of State sources is high; non-Mapuche civil society also appears strongly. Mapuche sources have no visibility, which is not related to the distribution of actors, where they appear as the second most mentioned.
3) ***El Mercurio*'s coverage was the most pluralistic, although not consistently.** The other media also showed high degrees of pluralism during the first two years of each government. This evaluation decreases as time goes by and in some media –*La Tercera*, for example– the coverage is not very pluralistic as Piñera's government progresses (year 2012).

Thus, the questions addressed the relationships between communication, culture, and politics in the context of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict, inquiring into the conceptions that communicators have about the ways in which the media produce the public space, both from the point of view of the logics of reproduction of the dominant order as well as from the disputes generated to reconstruct the social order. In turn, questions were designed to delve into the following topics: communication policies, media structure, material resources available for technologically mediated communication, attitudes and beliefs of the interviewees regarding the valuation of events and attribution of responsibilities related to the Chilean-Mapuche conflict, and the use of sources in journalistic work, among others. The classification criteria and some associated data of the interviewees are detailed in the following table (table 1) [2].

The 18 interviews, conducted during the period 2018-2019, were subjected to a model of argument analysis (AA), which assumes that "all argumentation brings into the table a certain rhetorical-discursive strategy, insofar as it selects and orders certain logical-semantic operations in function of a very precise objective" (Giménez, 1981, p. 128). The choice of this analysis model is based mainly on its focus on the production of arguments by the interviewees, as a basic procedure in the construction of their discourses. Thus, it is possible to identify the topics and argumentative structures that operate as plots of meanings linked to the features that define the model of information pluralism at the regional level, as well as their impact on the mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict.

The analysis process consists of two levels:

1. Syntagmatic level: the starting point is the recognition of the topics linked to a discursive object (DO). In our case, the DO is information pluralism and mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. Subsequently, the pivotal arguments associated with that topic are identified, and then the argumentative structure that operates in the discourse is schematized. This argumentative structure refers to a grammar or rule of production of meaning present in the discourse.

2. Paradigmatic level: refers to the "identification and explanation of the collective representations that are generally implicit in the argumentation" (Giménez, 1981, p.149). Their analysis entails reconstructing the ideological systems that constitute a given corpus of discourses. This level makes it possible to understand the social meaning that the discourse constructs and that, in turn, is constitutive of the social system in which it is produced.

2. As instructed by the Ethics Committee of the Universidad Católica de Temuco, the identity and institutional affiliation of the interviewees is protected.

Identity self-identification	Gender	Legal age	Occupational field	Media type: indigenous/Chilean
9 Mapuche	4 women 5 men	9 people	2 women: academia and media 2 women: media 5 men: media .	3 women: indigenous media 1 woman: Chilean media 4 men: indigenous media 1 man: Chilean media.
9 Chilean	1 woman 8 men	9 people	1 woman: academia and media observatory. 1 man: academia. 1 man: municipal direction of communication and journalists' association 6 men: media	2 men: indigenous media 4 men: Chilean media

Table 1. Characteristics and distribution of informants and their media

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS

The interviews analysis has made it possible to identify the following main topics linked to information pluralism and mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict: political-economic, interculturality, security systems, educational processes, and media aspects. As a whole, they build a network of meanings that operates from a critical reading directed to the current state of informative pluralism in the Araucanía region, as well as its incidence in the mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. These topics are supported by a series of argumentative structures that reveal their current state of crisis. However, there are some alternative argumentative structures to transform the communicative ecosystem of this region.

Political and economic

In this topic, communicators develop two argumentative structures. The first is linked to defining what they understand by pluralism in the field of communication and information. This argumentative structure includes:

- Plurality of voices.
- Diversity of sources.
- Communication and democracy.

- Interculturality.
- Freedom of expression.
- Right to communication.

There is agreement among the interviewees regarding what pluralism of information is expected to be:

> I1. Information pluralism has to do with the possibility that all voices are featured when there is a public event; i.e., if there is a news item related to the Mapuche people, whether they are indigenous or not, they can participate in the opinion and have the same exposure time as the rest of the protagonists of the public connotation event. This is pluralism of information, for me.

> I11. I understand that there is a diversification of information, that everyone has a place within the informative process and the elaboration of content (...), that all parties have the same option to give their vision on the matter.

In evaluating the pluralism degrees in the communications ecosystem in Araucanía, the argumentative structure highlights the political and economic factors that influence the current crisis experienced by information pluralism in this region. The pivotal arguments that organize this structure are:

- Media concentration and corporate centralization.
- Neoliberal commodification of information.
- Multiculturalism.
- Nation-State and internal colonialism.
- Weakness of public policies in the communication field.

Two excerpts from interviews are significant in this regard, the first from a Mapuche interviewee, the second from a Chilean one:

> I5. I have a theory, which is the theory of economy and conflict, which works on different levels: economic, political, symbolic, etc. For example, in terms of the symbolic, the conflict sells, i.e., I sell so many newspapers and they put on the front page "five trucks were burned", "the caretaker was beaten"; thus, conflict works as an element that generates economy, that generates symbolic economy, and economy in formal terms; i.e., a media sells both ideology and merchandise.

> I12. In Chile there is no information pluralism. The big media are in the hands of a small group of businessmen who want to show a certain point of view and maintain a status quo (...). This lack of information pluralism has an impact on the treatment of the so-called conflict, because this generates a certain public opinion and, therefore, an impact on national politics. Thus, violent political measures such as the Anti-Terrorist Law or the *Comando Jungla* (Jungle Command) are justified, as well as the approval of economic megaprojects such as hydroelectric, mining, and forestry projects.

The crisis of information pluralism presents other pivotal arguments that the interviewees share. A fundamental one refers to the fact that overcoming the low indexes of pluralism does not only and exclusively involve improving the administrative and economic conditions of the media field. The communicators, especially those who identify themselves as Mapuche, but not only them, emphasize the need for policies that recognize their condition as a people (and not only as an ethnic group), in addition to sustaining the legitimacy of the vindictive actions that make up the repertoires of contention of the Mapuche people in their process of Wallmapu[3] reconstruction. Thus, two additional argumentative structures are built to ensure informational pluralism:

- Constitutional recognition of the Mapuche people.
- Reconstruction of the Mapuche country.

Both can be seen in the following interview excerpts:

> I8. For me it does not make sense on its own (information pluralism) if there is no constitutional recognition. I believe that this is a State issue (...). If the State does not make a constitutional recognition of the Mapuche people, society will not permeate either, and the media are part of society.

> I9. (Information pluralism) could be solved by granting effective autonomy to the Mapuche people (...). Today, there is not even constitutional recognition of the Mapuche people. In Chile, a unitary State is recognized, but these grassroots social realities are not recognized.

These arguments come both from the Mapuche agents interviewed and from those who recognize themselves as non-Mapuche. There is consensus among those interviewed that, in order to overcome the crisis of informational pluralism,

3. Wallmapu, from Mapudungun, refers to the entire Mapuche ancestral territory, which is undergoing a process of systematic reduction as a result of the dispossession policies implemented since the 19th century by the Chilean and Argentinean states.

a project is required that goes beyond the strictly communicational, since that this is intertwined with political (internal colonialism versus indigenous recognition), territorial (State delimitation versus territorial recovery), economic (extractivist capitalism versus local (post)development), and historical (politics of dispossession versus anti-colonial struggles) spheres. In short, for the informants, the pluralism of information required by the Araucanía region would demand a process of decolonization to ensure its intercultural projection.

Interculturality

The limits of informative pluralism are also linked to the multicultural policies and practices of a Nation-State and a media system anchored into the guidelines of the modern-colonial-capitalist project that has structured the territorial, ideological, and socioeconomic courses of the Chilean nation, a situation detrimental to any intercultural political, communicational, and identity project. The pivotal arguments that support the interculturality topic are centered on ethical dimensions that favor coexistence, recognition, equity, and autonomy of/among peoples.

> I4. Theoretically, it is understood that you assume a dialogue between two cultures and that you are basically looking for the other's incorporation, valorization, and recognition.

> I12. Interculturality has to do with interaction and communication between different cultures based on horizontality, respect, and recognition.

It is important to point out that when this topic is linked to the existing information pluralism, the arguments refer to a multicultural model of colonial and capitalist character, condensed in the following argumentative structures:

- The subjugation of the information field to the neoliberal market guidelines, since the Chilean-Mapuche conflict is constructed as an event linked to the information commodification.
- The predominance of technologies of administrative regulation and symbolic production of the indigenous as radical alterity, subject of conflict, and Chilean modernizing project irruption agent.

Some excerpts from the interviews analyzed show certain examples of these argumentative grammars:

> I4. If the notion of interculturality were to be truly embodied in the communications people, it should imply, at least in the media coverage, the use of another type of language. You permanently see that there is talk of terrorist attacks, terrorist actions, and the support this has when you go to read the information is not much, we have seen it in a series of situations that have occurred in the territory.

> I13. The information is very biased, it is monocultural, there is no adequate treatment from different perspectives. Therefore, there is no interculturality, not even an attempt to make it appear in the media.

When the interculturality issue is approached regarding the role of the Mapuche media, the argumentative structure does not present the levels of coherence evidenced above. This responds to the logics of cultural, territorial, political, and professional ascription that the interviewees declare as senses of belonging to a specific place of enunciation. Although all the interviewees positively value the presence of the Mapuche media when problematizing informative pluralism, they do not reach a consensus when evaluating their role in the mass-mediatization of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. The arguments identified show three tendencies:

- The Mapuche press has circulated invisible narratives, allowing the voice of the inferiorized to circulate and be heard.
- Mapuche media narratives operate as systems of signification that enhance conflict relations.
- Mapuche communication contributes to interculturality, but it must advance in the generation of new content and broaden its audience niches.

We quote some fragments that exemplify the proposed argumentative structures:

> I10. This has been the fundamental work of *Werken Kvrrvf* radio, to talk about all the issues, about the criminalization of the Mapuche people for resisting and to explain the fact that the Mapuche people are still in resistance.

> I14. They do not collaborate to an intercultural concept, because they also limit themselves, because they speak to their own and not to the whole society.

> I7. The Mapuche media are pro Mapuche cause, and I think they are consistent with their line and with what they declare. Now, the impact they have, to me as a user, seems to be very low, very limited.

Topics linked to security

The topic associated with security, which we call "securitarian", has been expressed as a central axis of the reflection of the interviewees when identifying the limits of information pluralism in Araucanía. As a whole, they argue about the contradictions between the regulations that promote information pluralism through freedom of expression and freedom of the press (Law No. 19,733 of 2001) and the security practices deployed by State agencies. Telephone tapping, persecution of communicators, raids, confiscated resources, intervention of digital sites, prosecution and imprisonment of communicators, are some

of the actions conducted, breaking the normative frameworks assumed and declared by the Nation-State itself in matters of promotion and protection of informative pluralism:

> I1. There is the case of the filmmaker named Varela; I remember that she was filming a topic on the Mapuche conflict and they took her into custody. In fact, with *Operación Huracán* (Hurricane Operation), several journalists and lawyers realized that they had all their phones tapped. That happened.

> I11. It happened to me once when I was in a march and Carabineros[4] tried to take my mobile phone because I was recording a person who was hiding under a bus escaping from them, and they tried to take my phone, in fact they wet it with the water car.

The contradiction between policies linked to security and communication policies responds to the fragmentation experienced by any space intervened by colonial systems (Fanon, 2009). What is protected in these spaces is national sovereignty and the interests of capital, turning the apparent contradiction between ensuring information pluralism and security systems into a necessary strategy, where the latter operates as a function of the stability of the command model. In other words, government technologies are required to ensure the elimination of any internal enemy that stands in the way of the nation, its imaginaries, and its economic enclaves. Indeed, media communication is a field to intervene and fragment every time such factors are questioned, thus ensuring the perennial status of that indissoluble alliance that De Sousa (2017) observes between colonialism and capitalism.

Intercultural training

The next topic identified in the analysis process is training, which emerges related to arguments that demand the renewal of the curricula of those university degrees that train social communicators. The informants consider it necessary to define them in direct relation to the intercultural context of the Araucanía region.

The agents interviewed value positively the contributions made by academia in the region[5] in terms of research, building critical knowledge on the triad of communication, interculturality and conflict, focusing their arguments on the formative role, mainly at the undergraduate level. However, they note with concern

4. Chilean police (translator's note).

5. Currently, only Universidad de La Frontera offers, at the regional level, a degree in Social Communication and the professional journalist diploma. This public institution has a master's degree in Communication Sciences and a Ph.D. in Communication.

that the intercultural dimension is approached as a circumstantial element, stating that it should be considered a transversal dimension in the communicators' training. This argument is expressed by professional and non-professional communicators. They agree on the need to support intercultural journalism. For them, training in intercultural journalism should address and explain the permanent tension between the local, the national, and the global. They argue about the need to develop theoretical, procedural, and attitudinal knowledge that favors the ways of approaching the interculturality present in the Araucanía region, specifically regarding the relations between the Mapuche people and Western society. Moreovers, they consider that such knowledge cannot reproduce the excluding logics of Western rationality. The discourses appeal to an intercultural journalism based on the dialogue of knowledge as an ethical-political principle that vindicates the epistemes of the colonized subjects.

> I8. The intercultural ethical training of journalism students who graduate with a level of knowledge and intercultural competence will allow them to approach this in a different way.
>
> I12. There should be intercultural training for journalists and there should be more training for Mapuche journalists so that they can professionalize their own media and work in the traditional media to be able to express their perspective.

The media

The media topic is linked to several factors that cross the field of informative communication, such as the use of sources, media policy, material resources, workers' attitudes and beliefs, assessment of events, attribution of responsibilities, and political economy of the media.

Each of the problem areas provides relevant information on the crisis of information pluralism and its possible overcoming. Although we cannot describe each one specifically, the analysis shows that the role of the media, in a context of conflict, is of utmost relevance.

According to the informants, the media treatment of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict requires professional routines, communication policies, material conditions, and attitudinal changes in line with the region's intercultural context. Only in this way, they agree, will it be possible to advance in designing a new system of information pluralism for this region and the country.

For example, when it comes to the use of sources, the interviewees establish differences that are ideologically mediated. Although they identify progress in the incorporation of sources from the Mapuche world, highlighting the presence of

intellectuals, activists, or traditional authorities in the hegemonic media in recent times, in the Chilean media the use of official sources (political, police, and judicial) persists, consolidating a State-centric narrative that restricts the possibilities of understanding the conflict between the Mapuche people and the Chilean Nation-State. Communicators belonging to Mapuche media prioritize the use of Mapuche sources (traditional authorities, Mapuche militants, Mapuche political prisoners, Mapuche academics, Mapuche leaders attached to communities or organizations in struggle), a situation that, to a certain extent, reproduces the exclusion of actors whose positions are antagonistic to the Mapuche claim. Nevertheless, they assume this procedure as an action that seeks to position the voice of those who have historically been marginalized from the circuits of production of social meaning.

There is consensus among those interviewed that both practices related to source selection criteria do not favor a pluralistic treatment of information. However, the same arguments allow us to understand that the division assumed by the media is conditioned by each medium's policy and approach, the cultural and ideological tensions that emerge in contexts of socio-political conflict, the impossibility of accessing heterogeneous sources, the reproduction of work practices subsumed to the dynamics of a journalistic task where the productive temporalities make it impossible to contrast diverse sources, in addition to the communicators' socio-cognitive aspects according to their identity, territorial, mnemonic adscriptions, among others.

The above is seen in the arguments centered on the informative treatment of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. The argumentative structures focus on the inability of the Chilean press to generate forms of informative treatment that overcome the spectacularization of the conflict and the social representations that (re)produce a negative and racialized vision of the Mapuche people. In this regard, one of the Mapuche communicators interviewed states:

> I11. If you watch the news, any act of rural violence is categorically labelled as a terrorist attack; very few mention acts of rural violence or arson attacks, they call it terrorism, practically blaming various organizations, such as the Arauco Malleco Coordinating Committee, as responsible for the acts. Thus, there is already a vision, a collective thought in society, that terrorism is immediately associated with the Mapuche people.

Following the analysis of the interviews, the above is intrinsically linked to the regulation of the media system, subsumed to a mercantile logic that lacks policies that contribute to strengthen informative pluralism from a democratic and intercultural perspective. Despite the proliferation of new media agents, as is the case of the Mapuche media, the Chilean communicative ecosystem, and specifically

that of the Araucanía region, has not undergone fundamental transformations in terms of equitable distribution of frequencies to broadcast contents, much less a balance that allows a fair competition within the neoliberal media market.

The reality of the national media system reveals imbalances that are transferred to the regional context. Indeed, if we stop to think about informational pluralism in Chile from its structural scope, we find that the deficient conditions in terms of regulation and distribution of communicative power interfere negatively in ensuring freedom of expression and the right to communication for those sectors marginalized by the Chilean neoliberal model (Del Valle, 2016).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This work proposed a qualitative and transversal approach to the problem of information pluralism and its incidence in the mass-mediation of the Chilean-Mapuche conflict in the media of the Araucanía region, including not only the content of the information produced but also relevant context variables, such as the economic-political, intercultural, security, professional training, and the media, topics that as a whole emerged from the argumentative analysis of the interviewees' discourses. Thus, in the economic-political area, aspects such as the plurality of voices, interculturality, freedom of expression and the right to communication stand out. The diversity of voices, for example, is a broader and more complex quality than the diversity of sources, since it changes the position from the place of the media and institutions to the place of social actors regardless of their institutional roles. We observe the productive process from the media and sources to the actors that dynamize the information field in Chile and *Wallmapu*, contributing to understand the phenomenon not only from the media structure and the discourses disseminated, but also from the mediations configured by the communicators themselves.

As for intercultural issues, aspects such as coexistence, recognition, equity and autonomy of/among peoples are highlighted. The Chilean-Mapuche conflict is constructed as an event linked to the commodification of information, and the predominance of technologies of administrative regulation and symbolic production of the indigenous as an alterity to be excluded. In this context, it is important to see how invisible narratives are produced to give place to the voices of inferiorized actors, and how this is related, precisely, to the preponderant role attributed to the actors over the media and the institutions. At this point stands out the need for these new narratives, specifically those put into circulation through the Mapuche media, to get out of the common place of the conflict to advance an agenda able to account for other thematizations, typical of the intracultural and intercultural dynamics of the Mapuche people.

Por su parte, la seguridad emerge como una explicación sobre el rechazo hacia un trabajo periodístico pluralista, debido a que en contextos de conflictividades aparece la oposición al trabajo con ciertos actores-fuente que no son los habituales. En otras palabras, la censura, la confiscación de materiales de trabajo, la intervención de sitios digitales, entre otras, son todas acciones sustentadas en razones de seguridad, las que se producen –según los casos relatados– precisamente frente a la emergencia de voces divergentes, ya sean chilenas como mapuche.

On the other hand, training appears as a condition to ensure information pluralism in contexts of interethnic and intercultural conflict. In this regard, it is proposed to advance in training Mapuche and non-Mapuche students in intercultural journalism. This requires an epistemological detachment from the unanimous validation of academic knowledge, including and validating local epistemes.

Regarding the media, it is highlighted that the differences in the mass-mediation of the conflict between Chilean and Mapuche media are mainly due to the material conditions, the routines of journalistic work, and the cultural and ideological mediations of each media's editorial line and, complementarily, the mediations assumed by the communicators, according to their posture in relation to the events related to the Chilean-Mapuche conflict.

Advancing towards a greater degree of information pluralism for the Araucanía region, considering the context of colonial violence experienced in this region, requires, in short, a process of structural decolonization, where the field of communication can be de-westernized, i.e., detach itself from instrumental and mercantile rationality to advance towards a democratic and intercultural design. A model configured on the basis of dialogue, the transformation of the political economy of media communication, a media law that superimposes the right to communication on the freedom of the free flow of information, as well as deontological criteria that come from training and are deployed in professional praxis.

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