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# MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

“La Araucanía bajo fuego: Representation of the Mapuches  
and the Mapuche Conflict in Chilean Newspapers”

verfasst von / submitted by

Valentina Belmar Erilkin

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master (MA)

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ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Friedrich Edelmayr,  
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## **1. Dedication**

A mis padres, Nayerda y Mario. ¿Cómo poder agradecerles todo lo que han hecho por mí? Aprecio de todo corazón su apoyo incondicional. Gracias a ustedes, estoy donde estoy. Me han dado la oportunidad de volar y seguir mis sueños. Los quiero muchísimo. A mis tíos (Carmen Gloria, Hilda, Juan Carlos y Marco), mis primos (María José, Pilar, Sebastián, Pablo) y mis bellos sobrinos (Amelia, Josefa y Matías). Muchas gracias por siempre estar a mi lado. A mis abuelitas Carmen y Blanca, grandes mujeres que me han inspirado. Para todos ustedes, muchas gracias y los quiero un montón.

To my friends, Nicole, Puja and Raphael. Thank you for always being by my side, for your unconditional support and love. I appreciate and respect you all so much. To my Vienna BTS-ARMY family. Mädels, you have made Vienna feel like a second home. I cannot put into words how thankful I am that our paths have come together. It has been a difficult time, but thanks to your support and love, I have made it through. To all my dear friends who have supported me in so many ways during this time, thank you and love you!

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## **2. Abstract**

### **English**

There has been an intensification of the conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuches since the transition to democracy in 1989, which has been characterized in the last 20 years by discrimination, violations of human rights, and extreme violence in the handling of this conflict. The following master's thesis with the title "La Araucanía bajo fuego: Representation of the Mapuches and the Mapuche Conflict in Chilean Newspapers" is an investigation about the Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict in Chile, which aims to investigate how the Chilean newspapers *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias* are portraying the images of the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict, as well as to determine Chilean's opinion of these topics. This investigation will work under the thesis that the Chilean media is characterized to portray the Mapuche conflict in a certain manner: in a negative way, contributing to the image of Mapuches as lazy, subversives, terrorists. The way they portray this image has an influence on how the Chilean society perceives the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. Therefore, it is important to discuss and evaluate the situation of the Mapuches in Chile, to not only observe how the media plays a role in providing an image of certain topics to the citizens, but also how it influences their perception on these topics.

For this master's thesis, two methodologies were performed. In the first part, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was carried out in both newspapers within the period of September 2018 and January 2019. A key time frame were the two months prior and after the death of Mapuche activist Camilo Catrillanca. This method is fundamental to investigate how the newspapers are portraying the images of the Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict. Having in mind the results from the critical discourse analysis, an online questionnaire was implemented to determine Chilean's opinion on these topics. It is important to highlight, in analyzing the results from the questionnaire, one finds the participants' answers support statements and results obtained from the critical discourse analysis. The results from both methodologies seem to complement each other.

Respecting the main findings, one can conclude most of the news of both newspapers are built in a negative form, consisting most of the time in news about arson attacks, violence,

which are both connected to the Mapuche conflict. Nonetheless, one must acknowledge there is indeed a difference between both analyzed newspapers. *El Mercurio* reports more often about arson attacks and violent events in La Araucanía, while *Las Últimas Noticias* generally reports scarcely about these issues. Overall, *El Mercurio* seems to approach these news in a harsher way in comparison with *Las Últimas Noticias*, as also confirmed through a vocabulary analysis. Regarding Chilean's opinion about these topics, the participants' results confirm that most of the news about Mapuches are related to the Mapuche conflict (88,1%), arson attacks (82,2%) and Mapuche demands (58,4%). In general, most of the participants have a rather regular-positive view of the Mapuches, especially the age groups between 20-29 and 30-39. However, still demonstrating some negative view of the Mapuches, the results of the questionnaire show a linkage between the Mapuche conflict and terrorism. Around 30% of the participants believe the Mapuche conflict fits under their definition of terrorism.

**Keywords:** Mapuches, Chile, Indigenous Group, Newspaper Press, Terrorism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Questionnaire.

### **Resumen en español**

Desde la transición a la democracia en 1989 se ha intensificado el conflicto entre el Estado chileno y los mapuches, el cual durante los últimos 20 años ha estado caracterizado por discriminación, violaciones a los derechos humanos y violencia extrema en el trato de este mismo. La siguiente tesis de maestría con el título “La Araucanía bajo fuego: *Representation of the Mapuches and the Mapuche Conflict in Chilean Newspapers*” es una investigación acerca de los mapuches y el llamado conflicto mapuche en Chile. El objetivo de este trabajo es investigar cómo los diarios chilenos *El Mercurio* y *Las Últimas Noticias* representan la imagen de los mapuches y el conflicto mapuche, así como también determinar la opinión de chilenos sobre estos temas. Esta investigación analiza la caracterización del conflicto mapuche que se presenta en los medios de comunicación chilenos. Se basa en la tesis de que esta representación es negativa, lo cual contribuye a la imagen general de este grupo étnico como perezosos, subversivos y terroristas. La forma en que se presenta esta imagen tiene una influencia en cómo la sociedad chilena percibe a los mapuches y el conflicto mapuche. En consecuencia, es importante tratar y evaluar la situación de los mapuches en Chile, no solo

para observar cómo los medios de comunicación contribuyen en crear una imagen de ciertos temas en los ciudadanos, sino que también cómo esto influye en la percepción que las personas puedan tener sobre estos temas.

En esta tesis de maestría se utilizaron dos metodologías. En la primera parte se llevó a cabo un Análisis Crítico del Discurso (CDA, por sus siglas en inglés) en ambos diarios anteriormente mencionados, en sus publicaciones hechas entre septiembre de 2018 y enero de 2019. Este lapso corresponde a un periodo clave, dos meses antes y dos meses después del fallecimiento del activista mapuche Camilo Catrillanca. Teniendo en cuenta los resultados del análisis crítico del discurso hecho, en la segunda parte, se ejecutó un cuestionario en línea con el fin de determinar la opinión de los chilenos respecto a los mapuches y el llamado conflicto mapuche. Es importante mencionar que, al analizar los resultados del cuestionario, fue posible comprobar que las respuestas de los participantes confirmaban afirmaciones y resultados obtenidos durante el análisis crítico del discurso. Los resultados de ambas metodologías parecen complementarse una a la otra.

En relación con los resultados principales, se puede concluir que la mayoría de las noticias de ambos diarios entregan noticias negativas, la mayoría trata sobre ataques incendiarios y violencia, ambos elementos conectados con el conflicto mapuche. No obstante, hay que reconocer que existe una diferencia entre ambos diarios analizados. El Mercurio reporta frecuentemente acerca de ataques incendiarios o eventos violentos en la región de La Araucanía, mientras que Las Últimas Noticias informa muy poco sobre estos temas. En general, El Mercurio parece abordar estas noticias de una manera más dura en comparación con Las Últimas Noticias, como también lo confirma un análisis del vocabulario utilizado en esta primera parte de la metodología. En cuanto a la opinión de los chilenos con relación a los mapuches y el llamado conflicto mapuche, los participantes confirmaron que la mayoría de las noticias referente a los mapuches está relacionada al conflicto mapuche (88,1%), ataques incendiarios (82,2%) y demandas mapuches (58,4%). Estos resultados sugieren que, en síntesis, la mayoría de los participantes tiene una imagen regular-positiva de los mapuches, especialmente el grupo etario entre 20-29 años y 30-39. Sin embargo, aun demostrando una imagen negativa hacia los mapuches, los resultados del cuestionario muestran un vínculo

entre el conflicto mapuche y terrorismo. Cerca del 30% de los participantes considera que el conflicto mapuche está dentro de su propia definición de terrorismo.

**Palabras claves:** Mapuches, Chile, Grupo Indígena, Diarios, Terrorismo, Análisis Crítico del Discurso, Cuestionario.

### **Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch**

Seit dem Übergang zur Demokratie im Jahr 1989 hat sich der Konflikt zwischen dem chilenischen Staat und den Mapuches verschärft, welcher in den letzten 20 Jahren durch Diskriminierung, Menschenrechtsverletzungen und extremer Gewalt gekennzeichnet war. Die folgende Masterarbeit mit dem Titel „*La Araucanía bajo fuego: Representation of the Mapuches and the Mapuche Conflict in Chilean Newspapers*“ ist eine Untersuchung der Mapuches und des sogenannten Mapuche Konflikts in Chile. Die Erhebung soll sowohl erforschen, wie die chilenischen Zeitungen *El Mercurio* und *Las Últimas Noticias* die Mapuches und den Mapuche Konflikt darstellen, als auch das Meinungsbild der Chilenen zu diesen Themen zu reflektieren. Diese Masterarbeit basiert auf der These, dass die chilenischen Medien den Mapuche Konflikt auf eine bestimmte Art und Weise darstellen: Auf eine negative Weise, welche die Mapuches als faul, subversiv und terroristisch darstellt. Die Art und Weise, wie genannte Medien eben dieses Narrativ konstruieren, hat einen Einfluss darauf, wie die chilenische Gesellschaft die Mapuches und den Mapuche Konflikt rezipieren. Aus diesem Grund ist es unerlässlich, die Situation der Mapuches in Chile zu diskutieren und zu untersuchen. Es geht nicht nur darum, zu untersuchen, wie Medien dazu beitragen, Bürgern eine Darstellung zu bestimmten Themen zu vermitteln, sondern auch darum, wie diese die Wahrnehmungen der Bürger beeinflussen.

Für diese Untersuchung wurden zwei Methoden angewendet. Im ersten Teil wurde in beiden Zeitungen im Zeitraum von September 2018 und bis Januar 2019 eine Kritische Diskursanalyse (engl. *Critical Discourse Analysis*, CDA) durchgeführt. Dieser Zeitraum entspricht den zwei Monaten vor und nach dem Tod des Mapuche Aktivisten Camilo Catrillanca. Die Hauptergebnisse bestätigen, dass die meisten Artikel beider Zeitungen in negativer Form verfasst sind und hauptsächlich von Brandanschlägen und Gewalt, die mit dem Mapuche Konflikt assoziiert werden, berichten. Unter Berücksichtigung der Ergebnisse der Kritischen Diskursanalyse wurde ein Online-Fragebogen implementiert, um die Meinung

der Chilenen zu diesen Themen zu bestimmen. Die Ergebnisse des Fragebogens spiegeln eine Wahrnehmung der Befragten wider, welche eine negative Berichterstattung der untersuchten Zeitungen über die Mapuches überwiegend bestätigt.

Nichtsdestotrotz muss man zur Kenntnis nehmen, dass es tatsächlich einen Unterschied zwischen den analysierten Zeitungen gibt. *El Mercurio* berichtet häufiger von Brandanschlägen und gewalttätigen Ereignissen in La Araucanía, während *Las Últimas Noticias* darüber kaum berichtet. Im Vergleich zu *Las Últimas Noticias*, scheint *El Mercurio* über diese Nachrichten in einem strengeren Licht zu berichten, was auch durch eine Vokabularanalyse bestätigt werden konnte. In Bezug auf die Meinung der Chilenen zu diesen Themen konnte man durch die Ergebnisse bestätigen, dass die meisten Nachrichten über Mapuches mit dem Mapuche Konflikt (88,1%), Brandanschlägen (82,2%) und den Anforderungen der Mapuche in Verbindung stehen. Die meisten Teilnehmer haben eher eine regulär-positive Darstellung von den Mapuches, insbesondere die Altersgruppen zwischen 20-29 und 30-39. Die Ergebnisse des Fragebogens zeigen jedoch eine negative Darstellung von den Mapuches, da ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Mapuche Konflikt und Terrorismus gezeigt wurde. Etwa 30% der Teilnehmer glauben, dass der Mapuche Konflikt unter ihre Definition von Terrorismus passt.

**Suchbegriffe:** Mapuches, Chile, indigene Bevölkerungsgruppe, Zeitung, Terrorismus, Kritische Diskursanalyse, Fragebogen.

### **3. Introduction**

The Mapuches are an indigenous group of inhabitants in central-south of Chile and the southwestern part of Argentina. This group is well known, as they were the only indigenous people to not be conquered by the Spanish conquest in Latin America. The Mapuches were officially annexed to the Chilean State in 1881 and since subjected to several assimilation policies for integration into the Chilean nation. According to the latest census in Chile in 2017, 9.9% of the population considers themselves as part of the Mapuche people.<sup>1</sup>

Mapuche means “people of the land.” Their culture, history, spiritual life, language, and memory are highly connected to their ancestral land and this is how their struggle begins. Since the Mapuches were annexed to Chile, the State has taken away their rights to their ancestral lands and has given the land to Chilean farmers, though mainly to big and important transnational companies. These situations unleashed the disappointment and discontent of Mapuches in Chile and have led to many forms of demonstrations.

The demonstrations of Mapuches have led to a conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuche communities – the so-called “Mapuche conflict”. Authors who have investigated this conflict agree it has intensified after Chile’s transition to democracy in 1989 with the democratic Chilean State conducting the conflict to what is still today; the criminalization of the Mapuche conflict by the Chilean State, which manifests in discrimination, violations of human rights, and extreme violence, among others situations. Despite national and international laws protecting indigenous peoples all over the world, especially when it comes to the ownership and use of their ancestral lands, these are not entirely protected in Chile. This situation brings consequences to the affected communities and makes the conflict between the State and the Mapuches even bigger.

In the following work, the term “Mapuche conflict” will be used as the main term to describe the conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuches. Sociologist Tito Tricot believes the so-called term “Mapuche conflict” relocates the issue towards the Mapuches, giving the sense this conflict is generated from and by the Mapuches. In not only criminalizing the Mapuche movement and demands, the term also allows the State and private companies to ditch their

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<sup>1</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, “Síntesis de resultados Censo 2017.” (2018), pp. 1-27, here p. 16, accessed December 14, 2020, <https://www.censo2017.cl/descargas/home/sintesis-de-resultados-censo2017.pdf>.

historical and political responsibility.<sup>2</sup> Despite the connotation this term has, the decision to use it in this investigation is based on the utilization of the term in most of the media outlets. It is therefore the most known term for Chileans. By no means is there the intention to look at this conflict as something generated from and by the Mapuches. Furthermore, it does not discard the responsibility the Chilean State and private companies have on the conflict as well.

### **3.1 Aims and objectives**

As mentioned above, there has been an intensification of the conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuches since the transition to democracy in 1989, characterized in the last 20 years by discrimination, violations of human rights, and extreme violence when handling this conflict. Moreover, one may ask how the Mapuches and the so-called conflict been portrayed in the Chilean media? Hence, the idea to specifically investigate Chilean newspapers and how they portray the image of Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. Other questions that will be examined are the influence of media, in this case newspapers, over Chilean's opinion on Mapuche people and the Mapuche conflict.

Under the thesis, the investigation looks into the certain characterization of the Mapuche conflict portrayed by the Chilean media: through a negative portrayal, this contributes to the overall image of Mapuches as lazy, subversives, and terrorists. The way they portray this image has an influence on how the Chilean society perceives the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. Due to this influence, there is not a major critique from Chileans on how the State handles the Mapuche conflict, characterized in the last 20 years by the criminalization of the conflict.

Consequently, the objectives of this work are: to investigate how Chilean newspapers are portraying the image of Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict; to determine Chilean's opinion of Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict; to evaluate if there is influence of newspapers over Chilean's opinion on Mapuche people and the Mapuche conflict; and to assess a possible justification of the criminalization from the State to the Mapuche struggle and their demands through the influence of the media.

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<sup>2</sup> Tito Tricot, "Identidad y política en el nuevo movimiento mapuche," *Historia Actual Online*, no. 15 (2008), pp. 29-50, here p. 36.

### **3.2 Structure**

This investigation is divided in four main chapters. First, there is a methods chapter where the methodology of this work will be explained, consisting of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a questionnaire. Second, a literature review will be done regarding key concepts and topics of this investigation such as the Mapuche conflict and its criminalization. Third, after the literature review of these topics, the first part of this research will follow a critical discourse analysis of two Chilean newspapers and this method will be done for a period of five months (September 2018 until January 2019). The results will be presented by each month analyzed. Fourth, the second part of this research is a questionnaire. Each question will be revised and presented in this chapter. This investigation will end with a discussion/conclusion about the research, taking into consideration the thesis statement, research questions and objectives proposed in this work.

### **3.3 Value of the research**

The motivation to pursue this investigation has come from writing papers related to the topic and consideration on how the information around Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict in Chile is limited and insufficient, leading to misunderstandings and plenty of discussion in Chile. It is a topic not treated fairly in Chile, nor in formal education or the media. In this globalized world, it is essential to keep in mind indigenous peoples. After all, their history, culture, language, knowledge have been the basis of many civilizations of today. Specifically regarding this investigation topic, it is important to discuss the situation of the Mapuches in Chile by observing how the media plays a role in providing an image of certain topics to the citizens and how influences them somehow in the way they perceive these topics. In the following investigation, one will go through key information of the Mapuche conflict, the criminalization of the conflict; but most importantly, identify in which way the Chilean newspapers are portraying the Mapuches' image and the Mapuche conflict, as well as explore the opinion of Chileans' regarding this topic and see where they stand. The idea behind this research is to not only expose the case and situation of Mapuches in Chile to Chileans, but also to anyone who is interested in human rights and indigenous peoples, in order for people to be aware of the situation of indigenous peoples from all over the world.

The connection of this investigation's topic with Global Studies is it not only being a situation happening in Chile, but rather a global problem affecting many indigenous peoples around the world. This research might not provide the answers to reach a solution in Chile nor to indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, but it aims to expose this repressed problem and raise awareness on the ongoing problem needing suitable responses and direct resolutions from nation states.

## **4. Chapter 1: Methods**

In the following research, there will be two methods used. First, a critical discourse analysis of two Chilean newspapers to analyze the style of writing, vocabulary and content about the so-called Mapuche conflict and how the newspapers portray Mapuches' image to the Chilean society. Second, a questionnaire will be carried out to connect the information gathered in the critical discourse analysis to prove or dismiss the thesis regarding the representation of the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict in the media.

### **4.1 First part: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

As the famous linguist and discourse analysis expert Teun van Dijk explains, CDA is a critical perspective of discourse analysis, stating, “discourse analysis ‘with an attitude’. It focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination.”<sup>3</sup> The purpose of CDA is to analyze “structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.”<sup>4</sup> Within the CDA, and also in this research, it is worth including information and analysis to visual images displayed on the newspapers. As Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of CDA, mentions, visual images will reshape the reader's perception of events<sup>5</sup>, in a positive or negative way. That is the reason visual images will be also considered part of this research. Interesting about CDA is, according to van Dijk, it is a scholarship known for its biases since it “does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased – and proud of it.”<sup>6</sup> Why is thought to be biased? Considering it concerns social problems and focuses on topics such as domination, power and abuse manifested in language, it already suggests an issue with the way the discourse is being portrayed to a certain group/society. According to the author of the analysis, this is not right and can be

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<sup>3</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, “Multidisciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001: p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Wodak, “Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis,” in *Handbook of Pragmatics: Manual*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995: p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Fairclough, “Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research,” London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2003: p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> van Dijk, “Multidisciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity,” p. 96.

corrected by performing the analysis on its effect in society such as exposing the issue, mobilizing people, and empowering those powerless and voiceless.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.1.1 Newspapers

In this research, two Chilean newspapers of a certain period will be analyzed to look at the style of writing, vocabulary and content about the Mapuche conflict and their portrayal of the Mapuche's image to the Chilean society. The decision to examine the newspapers is due to the newspapers' discourse, as part of public discourse can lead to serious ideological consequences because of the reach in audience it has. At the same time, it includes speakers representing institutions with authority, which gives it more credibility to public opinion.<sup>8</sup> It is worth looking at the newspaper discourse since "research in many countries has shown time and again that the mass media are the main source of racist beliefs."<sup>9</sup> This does not mean every newspaper has a racist discourse, however, they represent a way to portray different ideas to the main public, especially about ideologies, nationalism, beliefs, the representation of "the others" and so on. Michael Billig believes national newspapers can reproduce the ideas within the concept he calls banal nationalism<sup>10</sup>, which refers to routines of life – habits of language that will remind one of one's nationhood and national identity. It is so well embedded in one's life that it seems very natural into one's social environment. In this case, the habits of language used in newspapers can help form and develop the way the society thinks about certain issues.

Looking at Chilean newspapers, one can characterize the media in Chile to be quite conservative. The conglomerate *El Mercurio* is one of the leading media companies in Chile, owning one of, if not, the most important newspapers in Chile known as *El Mercurio*. This conglomerate had once supported Augusto Pinochet and its military government.<sup>11</sup> Other newspapers such as *La Tercera* or *El Sur* are less conservative but are still sorted within the right/center-right wing in Chile. *La Cuarta* and *Las Últimas Noticias* are very popular

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<sup>7</sup> Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, "Critical Discourse Analysis," *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 29, (2000), pp. 447-466, here p. 449.

<sup>8</sup> M. Eugenia Merino, "Una aproximación interdisciplinaria al estudio del prejuicio étnico en el discurso periodístico," *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 9, (2000), pp. 217-229, here p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, "Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America," Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005: p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Billig, "Banal Nationalism," London: SAGE Publications, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> van Dijk, "Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America," p. 124.

tabloids, and *The Clinic* is a more left wing popular political satire. How can one describe Chilean newspapers? Teun van Dijk describes it very well, as he states “in Chile an influential, critical and independent quality press, as in other countries of Latin America, hardly exists.”<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis method explained

As previously mentioned, the CDA is carried out in two Chilean newspapers: *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias*. Although both newspapers are owned by the conglomerate *El Mercurio*, the decision to choose both has been supported by the fact of both newspapers being the most popular in Chile.<sup>13</sup> Another reason is both target two different audiences. On one hand, *El Mercurio* is characterized by its conservatism, using formal language and targeting mostly high- and middle-class groups. On the other hand, *Las Últimas Noticias* is a popular tabloid, using colloquial language (lots of chilenismos<sup>14</sup>) and targeting mainly middle- and lower-class groups. By covering these two newspapers, one can have a broader sense of how these newspapers reach the different groups of the Chilean society. The period to analyze is determined by the death of the Mapuche activist, Camilo Catrillanca, to be talked about further on in this work. The period consists of two months before and after this unfortunate event (his death being on November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018), starting with the period September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018 until January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

The book “Methods of critical discourse analysis” edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer has been of great inspiration for a specific method to implement the CDA, since it contains article chapters of different experts of CDA. Crucial in this phase is Michael Meyes’ word regarding how one collects the data and the process to do so: “There is no typical CDA way of collecting data. Some authors do not even mention data collection methods.”<sup>15</sup> This is one of the first problems one might face with CDA – how to process the data to be analyzed. However, in the book “Methods of critical discourse analysis”, the authors provide different approaches with more or less the same structure on how one could carry out CDA, to be

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<sup>12</sup> van Dijk, “Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America,” p. 124.

<sup>13</sup> Asociación Chilena de Publicidad, “Boletín de circulación y lectura. 1° semestre 2018,” (no date), accessed April 30, 2020, <https://www.dropbox.com/s/lbg636dnhuzn6tm/Boletin%20Circulaci%C3%B3n%20y%20Lectura%20Diarios%20y%20Revistas%201%C2%B0semestre%202018.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Chilean Spanish words.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Meyer, “Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA,” in *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001: p. 23.

presented in this section. One thing is clear, “there is no consistent CDA methodology, some features are common to most CDA approaches: firstly they are problem oriented and not focused on specific linguistic items,”<sup>16</sup> and that should be the main focus of the methodology used here, oriented towards the specific research questions of this work.

The following guidelines are taken from the article chapter “Discourse and knowledge: Theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis”<sup>17</sup> by the linguist Siegfried Jäger, published in the book already mentioned above. Here the author presents analytical guidelines for processing material. In this research, the only guidelines used are presented below (the respective numbering might be different from that of the original article).

### **Guidelines:**

1. Processing material for the structure analysis:
  - 1.1 Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper
  
2. Processing the material for the sample final analysis of discourse fragments:
  - 2.1 Institutional framework: “context”
  
  - 2.2 Text “surface”
    - 2.2.1 Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs
    - 2.2.2 Headlines, headings, subheadings
  
  - 2.3 Rhetorical means
    - 2.3.1 Implications and insinuations
    - 2.3.2 Vocabulary and style
  
  - 2.4 Ideological statements based on contents

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<sup>16</sup> Meyer, “Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA,” p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Siegfried Jäger, “Discourse and knowledge: Theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis,” in *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001: pp. 32-62.

2.4.1 What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?

2.5 Concluding interpretation of the entire discourse strand investigated with reference to the processed material used

Apart from these guidelines, a table was created presenting negative and positive connotations of vocabulary as well as vocabulary related to the Mapuche conflict, for example:

<b>Vocabulary</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>terroristas</i> (terrorists)	X
<i>ocupación</i> (land occupation)	X

#### **4.2 Second part: Questionnaire**

For the second part of this investigation, an online questionnaire was carried out. At first, the idea was to perform interviews in person in Chile. Nonetheless due to COVID-19, it was not possible to carry through. Instead, an online questionnaire was made to prove or dismiss the information gathered in the CDA chapter, as well as a form to determine Chilean's opinion of Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict.

For this part of the methodology, the idea to perform an online questionnaire came through Alan Bryman and his book "Social Research Methods".<sup>18</sup> Here the author states both "the self-completion questionnaire and the structured interview are very similar methods of social research."<sup>19</sup> Although the difference is that by a self-completion questionnaire, there is no interviewer asking questions and the respondents answer the questions by themselves. Alan Bryman also suggests the research instrument has to be easy to follow and answer, in the case of a questionnaire. These arguments further supported the idea to carry out an online

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<sup>18</sup> Alan Bryman, "Social Research Methods," New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid: p. 233.

questionnaire, especially in times when travelling and personally interviewing people are difficult.

In this investigation, a web survey was implemented, meaning the data was collected through a website where a questionnaire can be found and completed online. In contrast with an email survey, the web survey “has an important advantage over the email survey in that it can use a much wider variety of embellishments in terms of appearance (color, formatting, response styles, and so on)”<sup>20</sup> making it more interesting for the prospective respondents. However, it is not possible to determine the rate response in this kind of questionnaire. Nonetheless, “one factor that may affect the response rate is how far the topic is interesting or relevant to the sample members” as well as how easy it is to follow and answer.

In his book, Alan Bryman presents advantages and disadvantages of online questionnaires. These were considered before performing the questionnaire. Some of the advantages are: quick administering compared with personal interviews; it can reach a large number of people very easily; no need for transcription; and distance is not a problem, since the participant needs only a computer, and, in times of a pandemic, this point is key. Some of the disadvantages are: there is no one present if respondents are having difficulty answering a question; there is no way to prove someone’s identity; it reaches only people who have internet and computer access.

Considering the points mentioned above, a 15 question-questionnaire was created. Out of the 15 questions, there was just one open question where it was asked for participants to put into words what a certain concept meant to them. The questionnaire was created in a Google form because of its easy format and interesting terms of appearance. The first part of the Google form contained an information sheet about the author of the thesis, information about the questionnaire such as anonymity, no expenses and payments for participating, voluntary participation and general information about the research topic. Regarding the last point, it was stated that to prevent influencing on the respondents’ answers, there was to be no explanation about the research topic and/or the thesis of the investigation. What was only stated was the research being about Chilean media (in this case, newspapers), the Mapuche conflict and the relationship between the Chilean State and the Mapuches. Towards the end

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<sup>20</sup> Bryman, “Social Research Methods,” p. 671.

of the information sheet, it informed confidentiality of all personal data (such as name and e-mail) and, in case of any doubts or questions, they should contact the researcher.

Before continuing with the questionnaire and right after the information sheet, there was a consent form for the participants to fill in. It stated first, they confirm having read and understood the information sheet, and the opportunity to consider the information and questions asked. Secondly, it was asked whether they understood the participation is voluntary, and presented the choice to withdraw at any time. Finally, it stated whether they agreed to take part in the above study. Once having ticked all three boxes, they were able to proceed with the questionnaire. This part of the methodology followed some of the checklist steps proposed by Alan Bryman on his “Social Research Methods”<sup>21</sup> book.

The original information sheet, consent form and questionnaire in Spanish can be found in the appendix of this work. A translation of the questionnaire will be provided in the “results” chapter so it may be understood what questions were created and how the respondents answered them.

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<sup>21</sup> Bryman, “Social Research Methods,” p. 153.

## **5. Chapter 2: An introduction to the Mapuche conflict and its criminalization**

### **5.1 The Mapuche Conflict**

#### **5.1.1 Introduction to the Mapuche conflict**

As previously mentioned, the Mapuche struggle dates to their annexation by the Chilean State, when the State decided to take over the Mapuche territory (mostly in the La Araucanía Region). Their land “was reduced from approximately ten million hectares to five hundred thousand hectares.”<sup>22</sup> As sociologist Gilda M. Waldman states in one of her articles, “nation-building involved the establishment of state sovereignty over Araucano territory in order to incorporate its population into the national project.”<sup>23</sup> This is how the Chilean State took over the ancestral lands of Mapuches; by doing so the State thought it would be the way to transform “natives” into “citizens”.

The Mapuche struggle went through a moment of hope during the government of Salvador Allende, who, with the agrarian reform, wanted to return the ancestral lands to Mapuche communities. Nevertheless, all this failed once dictator Augusto Pinochet came into power in 1973. As Wildman explains, the military regime handed over the Mapuche lands to foreign investors as a way to modernize the country and take a lead in the international markets.<sup>24</sup> Although the Mapuches regained hope once the transition to democracy in 1990 started, the government policies towards the Mapuche community did not change under the Concertación<sup>25</sup> governments.

The main demand of Mapuches focuses on the recognition of the cultural and ethnic diversity; the participation of their representatives in handling the indigenous state politics; legal protection of their lands and water; and support to their economic and cultural development.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Sarah D. Warren, “Indigenous in the city: the politics of urban Mapuche identity in Chile,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 4 (2015), pp. 694-712, here p. 699. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1181772>.

<sup>23</sup> Gilda M. Waldman, “Historical memory and present-day oblivion: The Mapuche conflict in post-dictatorial Chile,” *Time & Society* 21, no. 1 (2012), pp. 55-70, here p. 58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X11431336>.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 58-59.

<sup>25</sup> Coalition of center-left political parties in Chile. Founded in 1988.

<sup>26</sup> José Aylwin, “Los conflictos en el territorio mapuche: antecedentes y perspectivas,” *Revista Perspectivas* 3, no. 2 (2000), pp. 277-300, here p. 280. <http://www.dii.uchile.cl/~revista/ArticulosVol3-N2/02-J Aylwin.pdf>.

The main problem lies in the occupation, commercial exploitation of their ancestral lands and the environmental and social consequences brought to Mapuche communities. As referred by the UN Special Rapporteur, Ben Emmerson, in his report, this is “viewed by sections of the Mapuche as an attack on their essential values and even on their very right to exist.”<sup>27</sup> Today, the Mapuches continue the fight for their ancestral lands to preserve their existence.

This whole situation has led to a conflict with the State, who noticeably has conflict of interests. In their way to preserve and recover their lands, the Mapuches have become an enemy to transnational corporations as well as to the own Chilean State, as Francisca Fernández and Doris Ojeda affirm. According to these authors, both transnational corporations and the State see the Mapuches as an impediment for development and modernization.<sup>28</sup> The Mapuches have resisted and showed their discontent through different types of demonstrations such as road blockages, arson attacks, seizure of farms, damage to property, and fire damage to plantations and machines. Regarding the Mapuche demonstrations, the government has taken different measures to “calm” the situation like the Antiterrorist Law<sup>29</sup> that has led to the criminalization of the conflict and several violations of human rights.

Unfortunately, the Chilean State lacks a deep dialogue and resolution with its indigenous peoples, especially the Mapuches. Until today there is no truce between the State and the Mapuches as the conflict goes on. As human rights lawyer José Aylwin states, many people in Chile still reject this dialogue or any resolution to the Mapuche conflict. Curiously, these are also the ones promoting Chile in the international realm as a modern, democratic, up-to-global-tendencies country.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> United Nations, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Emmerson,” (2014), accessed April 6, 2020, [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/\\_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2\\_en.doc&action=defaultItemOpen=1](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2_en.doc&action=defaultItemOpen=1).

<sup>28</sup> Francisca Fernández Droguett and Doris Ojeda Cisternas, “Criminalización de la resistencia mapuche como política del miedo,” *Athenea Digital* 15, no. 4 (2015), pp. 267-277, here p. 275.

<sup>29</sup> For more information about the Antiterrorist Law, refer to this work’s pages: 29-32.

<sup>30</sup> Aylwin, “Los conflictos en el territorio mapuche: antecedentes y perspectivas,” p. 280. <http://www.dii.uchile.cl/~revista/ArticulosVol3-N2/02-J Aylwin.pdf>.

### 5.1.2 National legal framework regarding the Mapuches in the Chilean constitution

In October 1993, Chile enacted Law N°19.253 about Protection, Support and Development of the Indigenous, better known as the *Ley Indígena* (Indigenous Law). This is the first law in Chile that provides the norm when regarding indigenous peoples in the country. Furthermore, one should keep in mind this law was enacted four years after the *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*<sup>31</sup> in 1989 which, until 1993, was not ratified by Chile. The 1989 Convention was only ratified in 2008 after the pressure of Mapuche organizations.

The Indigenous Law contains norms concerning:

“the protection of indigenous lands, the development of indigenous people and communities, and the respect for and protection of the indigenous cultures and languages. Law 19.253 promotes the participation of the indigenous, and the duty of the State and territorial organisations to hear and consider the opinion of the indigenous organisations recognised by the law in matters that affect them. It establishes the National Corporation on Indigenous Development (CONADI), in charge of coordinating and executing the State’s indigenous policies, and establishes a special legal procedure in cases involving issues related to land.”<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, when one analyzes the language used in the redaction of this law, one notices two things: first, it defines the indigenous peoples identity within the concept of the Chilean nation as article 2 of this law<sup>33</sup> states that “*se considerará indígenas para los efectos de esta ley, a todas las personas de nacionalidad chilena que se encuentren en los siguientes casos...*”<sup>34</sup> In this case, the indigenous peoples must be Chilean to be considered part of

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<sup>31</sup> International Labour Organization, “C169 – Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169),” (no date), accessed April 6, 2020, [https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:0::NO::P12100\\_INSTRUMENT\\_ID,P12100\\_LANG\\_CODE:312314,en:NO](https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID,P12100_LANG_CODE:312314,en:NO).

<sup>32</sup> Anne Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land. Litigation as a Strategy to Defend Indigenous Land Rights,” *CMI Working Paper*, no. 3 (2008), pp. 1-20, here p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Biblioteca Nacional del Congreso Nacional de Chile, “Establece normas sobre protección, fomento y desarrollo de los indígenas, y crea la corporación nacional de desarrollo indígena,” (2018), accessed April 6, 2020, <https://consultaindigena.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/06/LEY-INDIGENA-19.253-OCT-1993.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> Translation: For the purposes of this law, it will be considered indigenous all people with Chilean nationality who are in the following cases...

indigenous communities, dismissing, in any case, their indigenous identity. Second, it leaves out the term “peoples”; the law only recognizes the existence of various ethnicities. As author Anne Skjævestad states “the recognition of the indigenous as a people is crucial to secure collective rights such as the right to self-determination... [for example] the right to self-determination guarantees the indigenous sovereign management of their territories and natural resources.”<sup>35</sup> Just the use of this word leads to different consequences for indigenous communities in Chile and is the reason for one of the biggest demands of Mapuches to be included in the Indigenous Law.

This law is also the first one within the Chilean constitution to address the rights to land of indigenous communities. In article 13 of the Indigenous Law<sup>36</sup>, one can find indigenous lands “cannot be transferred, seized, taxed, or acquired through prescriptive titles, except between indigenous communities or persons from the same ethnic group.”<sup>37</sup> In case of tenancy, the indigenous lands can only be exchanged by non-indigenous lands with the same land value as theirs, only if it has the free consent of the owner and the authorization of *National Corporation on Indigenous Development* (CONADI from now on).

Despite the protection of indigenous land in the Indigenous Law, this measure seems inefficient when it comes to economic development projects that have been done in Chile in the last 25 years. In the end, CONADI did not prove to be what Mapuches expected, as the corporation supported different types of projects. In the end, these projects such as the construction of hydroelectric dams under Mapuche territory despite the opposition of the communities violated the Indigenous Law.

Chile has yet to fully recognize indigenous peoples (and use of the correct term) in its constitution, still presently the same. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2020, a new plebiscite for a new constitution to replace the actual constitution written under Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship was voted and approved with 78,28% of the votes.<sup>38</sup> This plebiscite is the result of social

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<sup>35</sup> Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land,” p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Biblioteca Nacional del Congreso Nacional de Chile, “Establece normas sobre protección, fomento y desarrollo de los indígenas, y crea la corporación nacional de desarrollo indígena,” (2018), accessed April 6, 2020, <https://consultaindigena.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/06/LEY-INDIGENA-19.253-OCT-1993.pdf>.

<sup>37</sup> Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land,” p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> Servicio Electoral de Chile, “Votación Constitución Política 2020,” (2020), accessed December 2, 2020, <https://pv.servelecciones.cl/>.

upheaval in the country since October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019. In the protests, the Chilean society has shown its support for the Mapuches' and indigenous communities' demands by using their flag. Even though the plebiscite was approved, it remains to be seen whether the demands of Mapuches and other indigenous communities in Chile will finally be recognized.

### **5.1.3 Rights to land**

The rights to land is one of, if not the main, topic within the Mapuche conflict and may be the reason for its start. Perhaps, if the Chilean State had not appropriated Mapuche land or were more careful in protecting the Mapuches' rights over their ancestral lands, the Mapuches would have not started a case in confronting the State; starting a whole movement which is known today as the Mapuche conflict. It is fundamental to address this topic and understand what it means within the conflict. In addition, it is important to understand how this topic is being handled by the State, the Mapuche's reaction to how the State deals with this issue, and some of the consequences of this problem. This section, just as the previous ones, will present part of the foundational knowledge for the topic of the Mapuche conflict.

To indigenous peoples, land is of major significance. It is the basis of their livelihood, culture and spiritual identity. As political scientist Jeanne Simon and Mapuche sociologist Claudio J. González-Parra state, the land and territory for indigenous peoples are “where people constantly interact with their environment, creating meaning and representation.”<sup>39</sup> Likewise, this is connected with their economic development. Once one interferes in their indigenous land and territory, there will be big consequences in all the aspects previously mentioned, affecting their livelihood and living conditions.

When one refers to international norms, it is necessary to define the concepts of indigenous land and territory. As Anne Skjævestad defines, “while the notion of land refers to the classic idea of the possession of land and property guarantees, territory is a broader concept that also covers natural resources.”<sup>40</sup> This corresponds to everything within the habitat such as water, animals, subsoil, forest, etc..

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<sup>39</sup> Jeanne Simon and Claudio J. González-Parra, “International Norms and National Indigenous Politics: Mapuche Demands for Territory in Chile,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 20, no. 1 (2014), pp. 79-98, here p. 92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2014.879767>.

<sup>40</sup> Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land,” 11.

*Mapuche* means “people of the land.” This is the reason why their culture, history, spiritual life, language, and memory are highly connected to their ancestral land. As mentioned before, the Mapuches have been affected by the loss of their ancestral land since their annexation to Chile. The main reason for the conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuches is due to the non-commitment from the State to return and/or protect Mapuches’ ancestral lands. For example, their lands have been used for the construction of dams, highways, natural resources exploitation and forestry, “which in the last 30 years ...has become one of the most important activities in the Chilean economy.”<sup>41</sup> This kind of use of these ancestral lands has led to big environmental problems such as droughts, difficult conditions for agriculture (as well as for hunting and gathering) and drying up water resources.<sup>42</sup>

Since Chile came back to democracy in 1990, the governments from presidents Patricio Aylwin, Eduardo Frei, Ricardo Lagos, Michelle Bachelet and Sebastián Piñera have justified “land purchases in terms of productivity (to reduce poverty and marginality).”<sup>43</sup> Even though there is an Indigenous Law from 1993 that protects indigenous communities and their land and use of them, the State maintains a mentality of prioritizing the economic development of the country over the safeguard and protection of ancestral indigenous lands. The most affected in land grabbing by the State are the Mapuches. They have been evicted from their lands by the construction of dams and highways – destroying their native flora with man-made infrastructure and forestry. One might wonder why this is allowed when there are national and international laws that protect indigenous lands. In Chile, some laws are prioritized over the Indigenous Law: “the concession laws (mining, hydroelectricity, forestry, Waters Code, etc.) have a constitutional subsistence (the concept of social function of property recognised in article 19, no. 24 of the Constitution) that the indigenous law does not

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<sup>41</sup> Susan Culliney, Marisa Peterson and Ian Royer, “The Mapuche struggle for land and recognition. A legal analysis,” *Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Workshop: Lewis & Clark Law School*, (2013): p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> IFHR (International Federation on Human Rights), “La otra transición chilena: Derechos del pueblo Mapuche, política penal y protesta social en un estado democrático,” (2006): pp. 5-6, quoted in Anne Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land. Litigation as a Strategy to Defend Indigenous Land Rights,” *CMI Working Paper*, no. 3 (2008): p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Simon and González-Parra, “International Norms and National Indigenous Politics: Mapuche Demands for Territory in Chile,” p. 86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2014.879767>.

have.”<sup>44</sup> This means if there is a national interest over a determined land (in this case in Mapuche land), the Chilean State can take that territory and carry out or build different projects because of national interest that would not only help the economy of the country, but also increase the well-being of Chileans.

The Chilean State has developed measures to avoid the escalation of the Mapuche conflict such as the enactment of the Indigenous Law, the creation of CONADI, the procedures that the law requires and consultations to CONADI. However, all these measures and law procedures end up approving economic development projects to be carried out in the ancestral lands of Mapuches. This is the reason many Mapuches question the Indigenous Law. They have stated most projects are imposed against their will, with their rights to land within the law not being fulfilled. In the end, this results in the threat of their natural and cultural resources.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the consequences of this situation have led to an escalation of the conflict between the Chilean State and the Mapuches. This is due to the environmental, social and cultural impacts different projects have caused in Mapuche ancestral lands and their communities.

But how did the conflict lead to what it is today? One has to keep in mind even that though the democratic governments after the dictatorship period in Chile included indigenous peoples in their agenda, the real relationship between the State and the communities did not change at all. This contributed to the disillusionment of the indigenous peoples, in this case the Mapuches, with the State and their institutions. As sociologist Tito Tricot states, one of the key moments was in 1997 in Lumaco, in La Araucanía Region. Mapuche communities from Lumaco forcibly recovered part of their ancestral lands, burned trucks from a forest company as part of their new way to protest. As Tricot articulates, this symbolizes the end of a phase and the beginning of a new one for the Mapuche movement.<sup>46</sup> Before those events

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<sup>44</sup> UDP (Diego Portales University), “Derechos Humanos de los Pueblos Indígenas, Informe Anual sobre Derechos Humanos en Chile,” (2003): p. 10, quoted in Anne Skjævestad, “The Mapuche People’s Battle for Indigenous Land. Litigation as a Strategy to Defend Indigenous Land Rights,” *CMI Working Paper*, no. 3 (2008): p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> José Aylwin, Elías Paillán and Cristián Oposo, “Manejo alternativo de conflictos en territorio mapuche de Chile: Lecciones de la represa del Biobío,” in *Conflicto y Colaboración en el manejo Recursos Naturales en América Latina*, San José: University for Peace, San José Campus, 2001: p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Tito Tricot, “Lumako: Punto de inflexión en el desarrollo del nuevo movimiento mapuche,” *Historia Actual Online*, no. 19 (2009), pp. 77-96, here p. 86.

took place, on October 8<sup>th</sup> Mapuches called for a reunion with local and regional authorities to discuss the issues Mapuches went through at the time. 300 Mapuches participated, yet no authorities were present. Tricot sees the Lumaco event as a repercussion of the non-interest from Chilean authorities, contributing to the disappointment in how the State handles the conflict.<sup>47</sup> This situation indeed changed the relationship between the State and the Mapuches, but also the form of the Mapuche movement. It was then characterized by collective participation on decision making and the actions to be taken; recover (mostly forcibly) stolen land; territorial control; defense against police repression; confrontation with forest companies; detachment from Chilean political parties; and demands of collective rights and autonomy, based on the concept of self-determination.<sup>48</sup>

From then on, the conflict is defined by the following topics: a) conflicts over rights to get their ancestral lands back, b) conflicts about the construction of road works, c) conflicts about hydroelectric projects such as Pangué and Ralco dams in Biobío River, d) conflicts with forest companies, and e) conflicts about Mapuches who are deprived of their liberty, considered by Mapuches to be political prisoners.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the Mapuche resistance has been characterized by active activism from different Mapuche communities. One of the most important organizations in the Mapuche movement is *Coordinadora de Comunidades Mapuche en Conflicto Arauco – Malleco* (CAM), characterized by their form of action, their radicalism, complexity and their open conflict with the Chilean State.<sup>50</sup> The most serious act of violence within the Mapuche protests has been damage to private property, such as the burning of forest trucks loaded with wood, houses and private warehouses owned by important farmers and forest companies.<sup>51</sup> The State's reaction to the active Mapuche protests has been defined by extreme violence, persecution, imprisonment to important leaders of Mapuche communities, directing a criminalization of the conflict between these

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<sup>47</sup> Tricot, "Lumako: Punto de inflexión en el desarrollo del nuevo movimiento mapuche," p. 86.

<sup>48</sup> Tricot, "Identidad y política en el nuevo movimiento mapuche," p. 37.

<sup>49</sup> Salvador Millaleo, "El conflicto mapuche y la aplicación de la Ley Antiterrorista en Chile," *Academia.edu* (2012): pp. 1-37, here p. 2, accessed April 9, 2020, [https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El\\_Conflicto\\_Mapuche\\_y\\_la\\_Aplicaci%C3%B3n\\_de\\_la\\_Ley\\_Antiterrorista\\_en\\_Chile](https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El_Conflicto_Mapuche_y_la_Aplicaci%C3%B3n_de_la_Ley_Antiterrorista_en_Chile).

<sup>50</sup> César Enrique Pineda, "Dominación y emancipación en el pueblo mapuche. El pensamiento de la Coordinadora Arauco Malleco," *Revista SudHistoria*, no. 4 (2012), pp. 43-72, here p. 44.

<sup>51</sup> Javiera Donoso Jiménez, "Violencia política en Chile entre el pueblo mapuche y el gobierno del presidente Ricardo Lagos," *Revista de Relaciones Internacionales, Estrategia y Seguridad* 8, no. 2 (2013), pp. 63-93, here p. 78.

two actors. Mapuche's reaction to the criminalization of their protests have been of shutting the door to further dialogue with the State, as there is no real commitment from the State to reach agreements with the Mapuche communities. In the case of violence within the conflict, it has reached a level where the lives of Mapuches have been lost, affecting the willingness of Mapuches to enter dialogue with the State.

## **5.2 Criminalization of the Mapuche conflict**

The following part will discuss how the Mapuche conflict has been criminalized by the Chilean State. First, criminalization will be understood here as “the act or process of making something illegal” and “the fact of treating somebody as a criminal” as stated by the Oxford Dictionary.<sup>52</sup> In this case, the process of making the conflict as something “illegal” and to treat Mapuches as “criminals and/or terrorists” implies the criminalization of the conflict. One wonders why the Chilean State has taken such a position regarding the Mapuche conflict. Waldman believes the Mapuche movement represents a threat to the State, as the Mapuche have openly criticized the economic and political model of the government, as well as the exclusion of certain sectors of the population. She adds:

“The Mapuche movement has shed light on critical issues such as the destruction of natural resources, the weakness of democracy, the lack of equal opportunities, social exclusion, respect for citizens' human rights and, most of all, the political failure to adequately resolve the Mapuche conflict.”<sup>53</sup>

The modern epoch of state repression of the Mapuches started in 2001 with the application of the *Ley Seguridad Interior del Estado* (Internal State Security Law). As protests grew in 2004, the State imposed the *Ley Antiterrorista* (Antiterrorist Law).<sup>54</sup> By doing this, the State defined the Mapuches involved in the conflict as terrorists. This criminalization of the Mapuche movement has manifested in raids, the militarization of the La Araucanía Region, extreme violence from the police, imprisonment of different Mapuche authorities, and death of Mapuche people by police forces.

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<sup>52</sup> Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, “Criminalization,” accessed April 9, 2020, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/criminalization?q=criminalization>.

<sup>53</sup> Waldman, “Historical memory and present-day oblivion: The Mapuche conflict in post-dictatorial Chile,” p. 64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X11431336>.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid: pp. 62-63.

### 5.2.1 The Antiterrorist Law

The Antiterrorist Law (*Ley 18,314*) has been questioned because of its definition of terrorism, in addition to the procedural method and its discriminatory use against indigenous peoples. It is the harshest law in the Chilean legislation and was introduced in 1984 under Pinochet's dictatorship. Karinna González offers a brief but sufficient definition of this law: “*duplica las condenas normales para algunos delitos, dificulta la libertad provisional, permite la retención de pruebas y que los acusados sean condenados basándose en el testimonio de testigos anónimos.*”<sup>55</sup>

What makes this law different? Apart from what Karinna González mentions, this law hinders lawyers to interrogate anonymous witnesses and to access the investigation right away as the prosecution authorities can withhold key pieces of the investigation up to six months (normally is up to 40 days)<sup>56</sup>; detention under ordinary criminal law consists of 24 hours in police custody (which could be extended up to three days). However, under the Antiterrorist Law it could be extended by a judge up to ten days<sup>57</sup>, meaning the judge is the one who attributes or not the terrorist character to the crime. Furthermore, the testimony of one single anonymous witness can be accepted as the basis for conviction – demonstrating the unfairness of this whole process. Lastly, any person in Chile can report a crime as terrorism: a company, the mayor of a city, an individual, the Home Secretary, as examples.<sup>58</sup>

The use of the Antiterrorist Law has been used mainly in cases of arson, a crime not previously part of the law during Pinochet's time and was included afterward during the democratic governments. The crimes of arson under the Antiterrorist Law include for

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<sup>55</sup> Translation: “It duplicates normal sentences for some crimes, it hinders provisional release, allows withholding of evidence and that the defendant to be sentenced under the testimony of anonymous witnesses.” Karinna González Palominos, “‘¡Liberar, liberar al mapuche por luchar!’ Activismo, derechos humanos y prisión política mapuche en Chile,” *E-Cadernos CES*, no. 28 (2017), pp. 211-235, here p. 219. <https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.2628>.

<sup>56</sup> Julio Cortés Morales, “Legislación antiterrorista en Chile: diagnóstico y propuestas de modificación,” *Serie Policy Papers*, no. 3 (2019), pp. 1-25, here p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> United Nations, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Emmerson,” (2014), accessed April 10, 2020, [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/\\_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2\\_en.doc&action=defaultItemOpen=1](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2_en.doc&action=defaultItemOpen=1).

<sup>58</sup> Millaleo Hernández, “El Conflicto Mapuche y la Aplicación de la Ley Antiterrorista en Chile,” p. 22, accessed April 10, 2020, [https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El\\_Conflicto\\_Mapuche\\_y\\_la\\_Aplicaci%C3%B3n\\_de\\_la\\_Ley\\_Antiterrorista\\_en\\_Chile](https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El_Conflicto_Mapuche_y_la_Aplicaci%C3%B3n_de_la_Ley_Antiterrorista_en_Chile).

example unoccupied buildings, forests, harvests, grasses, hills, and plantations.<sup>59</sup> As Salvador Millaleo states, the inclusion of less serious arson crimes within the Antiterrorist Law makes it seem highly questionable comparing it to the terrorist crimes referred to in international conventions.<sup>60</sup> Ben Emmerson commented on his report for the United Nations that the problem of the definition of terrorism in the Chilean constitution mainly lies in the absence of political consensus from the political parties as to whether the Mapuche protests can or should be stigmatized as terrorism.<sup>61</sup>

The author Eduardo Mella believes this law is a violation of human rights, due to all the procedural elements already mentioned.<sup>62</sup> His standpoint is supported by different human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and the United Nations, who have dealt with this topic many times in their reports. Even the Inter-American Court of Human Rights condemned Chile in 2014 for the implementation of the Antiterrorist Law against Mapuche activists:

“several articles of the American Convention on Human Rights, including the principle of legality, presumption of innocence, right to freedom of expression, right to an impartial judge, equality before the law and non-discrimination against seven members of the Mapuche community and a human rights defender. It obligated Chile to provide all necessary support to the victims who were accused and arrested, including eliminating the effects of the terrorism sentences and to provide reparations to the victims.” (cited by Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Millaleo Hernández, “El Conflicto Mapuche y la Aplicación de la Ley Antiterrorista en Chile,” p. 21, accessed April 10, 2020, [https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El\\_Conflicto\\_Mapuche\\_y\\_la\\_Aplicaci%C3%B3n\\_de\\_la\\_Ley\\_Antiterrorista\\_en\\_Chile](https://www.academia.edu/3797840/El_Conflicto_Mapuche_y_la_Aplicaci%C3%B3n_de_la_Ley_Antiterrorista_en_Chile).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid: p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> United Nations, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Emmerson,” (2014), accessed April 10, 2020, [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/\\_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2\\_en.doc&action=default&DefaultItemOpen=1](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2_en.doc&action=default&DefaultItemOpen=1).

<sup>62</sup> Eduardo Mella Seguel, “La Aplicación del Derecho Penal Común y Antiterrorista como Respuesta a la Protesta Social de Indígenas Mapuche Durante el Periodo 2000-2010,” *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 4, no. 1 (2014), pp. 122-138, here p. 128.

<sup>63</sup> Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization, “Submission of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization to the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples with Respect to their Cultural Heritage,” (2015): p. 16, accessed April 10, 2020, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/EMRIP/CulturalHeritage/UNPO.pdf>.

One of the main problems of the Antiterrorist Law is the definition of terrorism. The United Nations Human Rights Committee expressed their concern about how broad the definition of terrorism is applied in this law, as Mapuches have been prosecuted under this law for social demands related to the defense of their ancestral lands.<sup>64</sup> In the absence of an international consensus on the definition of terrorism, Ben Emmerson in his report described these three steps that should be acknowledged as terrorism:

“a) committed against members of the general population, or segments of it, with the intention of causing death or serious bodily injury, or the taking of hostages; b) Committed for the purpose of provoking a state of terror, intimidating a population, or compelling a Government or international organization to do or abstain from doing any act; c) Corresponding to all elements of a serious crime as defined by the law.”<sup>65</sup>

Here, one wonders if simple arson, burning equipment, and tree plantations can be considered terrorism. Is not one of the main elements of the terrorist act missing: disregard of human life or compromising the constitutional order? It is not stated the Chilean State should not prosecute the crimes undertaken by Mapuches, but rather that they should do it under the normal criminal law of the country. This is because the crimes committed are not part of the international definition of terrorism. A good example of the ambiguity of the Antiterrorist Law is provided by Myrna Villegas, director of the Human Rights Center of the Universidad de Chile, in an opinion column where she indicates many cases could be prosecuted under the Antiterrorist Law such as gang wars and murders, shootings, among others; interestingly enough, the law is not applied in those cases.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos, “Recomendaciones sobre la Ley N° 18.314 “que determina conductas terroristas y fija su penalidad” realizadas por el Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos y los Órganos Internacionales de Derechos Humanos al Estado de Chile,” (2018): p. 7, accessed April 10, 2020, <https://www.indh.cl/bb/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2Ley-Antiterrorista-INDH-SUDH-SIDH-3.pdf>.

<sup>65</sup> United Nations, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Ben Emmerson,” (2014), accessed April 10, 2020, [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/\\_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2\\_en.doc&action=default&DefaultItemOpen=1](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/_layouts/15/WopiFrame.aspx?source=doc=/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session25/Documents/A.HRC.25.59.Add.2_en.doc&action=default&DefaultItemOpen=1).

<sup>66</sup> Myrna Villegas, “Derechos Humanos, ley antiterrorista y mapuche,” (no date), accessed April 10, 2020, <http://www.derecho.uchile.cl/comunicaciones/columnas-de-opinion/137354/derechos-humanos-ley-antiterrorista-y-mapuchebmyrna-villegas>.

In this case it is evident the Antiterrorist Law is being applied disproportionately against the Mapuches. As informed by the Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization, “according to the UN Human Rights Committee, the Mapuche represent more than 60% of those investigated or prosecuted on terrorism charges.”<sup>67</sup> This and other measures such as raids and the militarization of the zone (presence of heavily armed police officers such as special forces and armored vehicles) follow extreme violence in the La Araucanía Region, as a response to the increase of the Mapuche conflict. Yet, the State has ignored the recommendations from national and international human rights organizations, as the Antiterrorist Law has become a legal mechanism to repress the Mapuche movement.

### **5.2.2 The militarization of the La Araucanía Region**

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the definition of militarization indicates:

“a steady growth in the military potential of states. Such growth is usually accompanied by an increasing role for military institutions both in national affairs, including the economic, social and political spheres, and in international affairs.”<sup>68</sup>

Here, the focus is on the increasing role in national affairs. Although no military forces are yet to be involved in the conflict between the State and the Mapuche communities, one can see this militarization through the heavily armed police officers sent to the La Araucanía Region. Additionally, this is also seen with the implementation of the station of the special force of military uniformed police *Grupo de Operaciones Especiales* (GOPE), which are trained to execute high-risk operations. As sociologist Nicolás Rojas describes, there has been disproportionate growth in the police expenditure in the La Araucanía Region and it has been translated to helicopters flying the zone and armored vehicles are part of the common

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<sup>67</sup> Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization, “Submission of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization to the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples with Respect to their Cultural Heritage,” (2015): p. 15, accessed April 10, 2020, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/EMRIP/CulturalHeritage/UNPO.pdf>.

<sup>68</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), “Militarization and Arms Control in Latin America,” *World Armaments and Disarmament SIPRI Yearbook 1982*, London: Taylor and Francis, 1982: p. 393 in Andrew L. Ross, “Dimensions of Militarization In the Third World,” *ARMED FORCES & SOCIETY* 13, no. 4 (1987): p. 562.

traffic.<sup>69</sup> There has not been legal support for the militarization of the zone, provoking excessive violence in all operations carried out in the zone. This has ended with the death of Mapuche people, a large number of the injured, and trauma not only to Mapuche activists but also the elderly, kids and women.

Very interesting to mention is the training of the police Special Forces in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism by Colombian police, demonstrating the kind of environment developed by the State and Special Forces in the region.<sup>70</sup> One comment supporting how violence works in the region is from a Police Commander from the La Araucanía Region in a memorandum in June 1999:

*“Se puede apreciar con absoluta claridad que el personal de Carabineros llega al lugar de los hechos con un ánimo confrontacional predisposto, e incluso en más de algún procedimiento ha sido la actuación policial desmedida y prepotente la que ha provocado la reacción de los mapuche.”*<sup>71</sup> (Newspaper La Tercera, December 2000 cited by Victor Toledo Llanquedo<sup>72</sup>).

This kind of excessive violence has resulted in the death of 15 Mapuches since 2001.<sup>73</sup> The latest case was that of Camilo Catrillanca in November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018. The case gained national and international attention from different human rights organizations, including the United Nations, due to the way the State has treated the case; on one hand, stating it was an accident from the police despite police withholding key evidence regarding the case.

### **5.2.3 The case of Camilo Catrillanca**

As briefly mentioned in the last part, due to the militarization in the La Araucanía Region and the excessive violence special police forces use in their operations in the zone, the

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<sup>69</sup> Nicolás Rojas Pedemonte and Omar Miranda, “Dinámica sociopolítica del conflicto y la violencia en territorio mapuche. Particularidades históricas de un nuevo ciclo en las relaciones contenciosas,” *REVISTA DE SOCIOLOGÍA*, no. 30 (2015), pp. 33-69, here p. 59. <https://doi.org/10.5354/0719-529x.2015.46411>

<sup>70</sup> Jakob Meer, “How the Chilean government deals with the Mapuche conflict,” (2019), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://blog.prif.org/2019/04/16/how-the-chilean-government-deals-with-the-mapuche-conflict/>.

<sup>71</sup> Translation: “One can notice very clearly that police personnel arrive to the scene with a predisposed confrontational approach. Furthermore, in one than more procedure the excessive police act has led to the reaction of Mapuches.”

<sup>72</sup> Víctor Toledo Llancaqueo, “Prima ratio. Movilización mapuche y política penal. Los marcos de la política indígena en Chile 1990-2007,” *OSAL VIII*, no. 22 (2007), pp. 253-293, here p. 263.

<sup>73</sup> La izquierda Diario, “15 mapuches asesinados en los gobiernos de la Concertación y la derecha,” (2018), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://www.laizquierdadiario.cl/15-mapuches-asesinados-en-los-gobiernos-de-la-Concertacion-y-la-derecha>.

procedures have led to Mapuches getting killed. The latest deceased was Mapuche activist Camilo Catrillanca (24 years old) on November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018. It is an important case to discuss since first, it rose much debate both nationally and internationally, and second, the critical discourse analysis of newspapers carried out will be the time frame of this event.

Chilean special forces were tracking down the robbery of three cars (by masked and armed men) from a group of schoolteachers from Temecucui in the La Araucanía Region. Camilo was riding his tractor when he was shot in the head (from behind) by a special force officer. He was not alone but in the company of a 15 year old boy, who was also arrested and beaten by the police. At first, the media pointed out Camilo was shot as he found himself amid a police operation.<sup>74</sup> It was also stated that he was involved in the robbery. Suspicion started when on November 17<sup>th</sup>, police authorities confirmed that the police involved in the raid did not have any recording cameras the day of the accident.<sup>75</sup> The next day, however, the Home Secretary confirmed the police indeed recorded the accident, yet the video material was destroyed by the same police.<sup>76</sup> This gave a sense of a dubious process of the police and government authorities to the population and human rights organizations.

This episode led to protests not only by Mapuches in the La Araucanía Region but also by Chilean people in several cities of the country. As reported by Pascale Bonnefoy for *The New York Times*, “demonstrators banged pots and pans throughout Santiago and other cities, demanding the resignation of [Home Secretary] Andres Chadwick and the dismantling of the Jungle Commando police unit,”<sup>77</sup> which was the special unit in charge of the raid that killed Camilo Catrillanca.

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<sup>74</sup> Miguel Leone, “El asesinato de Camilo Catrillanca y el movimiento mapuche en Chile,” *OpenDemocracy*, (2019), pp. 1-6, here p. 2, accessed April 15, 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/docview/2167069193?accountid=14682>.

<sup>75</sup> Radio Agricultura, “Carabineros confirma que no llevaban cámaras para grabar el día de la muerte de Catrillanca,” (2018), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://www.radioagricultura.cl/nacional/2018/11/17/carabineros-confirma-que-no-llevaban-camaras-para-grabar-el-dia-de-la-muerte-de-catrillanca.html>.

<sup>76</sup> 24Horas, “Ministro Chadwick confirma que carabinero destruyó registro operativo donde murió Camilo Catrillanca,” (2018), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://www.24horas.cl/nacional/ministro-chadwick-confirma-que-carabinero-destruyo-registro-de-operativo-donde-murio-camilo-catrillanca-2868039>.

<sup>77</sup> Pascale Bonnefoy, “Indigenous Man's Killing Escalates Chilean Unrest,” *New York Times*, November 26, 2018, A6(L). *Gale Academic OneFile*, accessed April 15, 2020, <https://link-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/apps/doc/A563343002/AONE?u=43wien&sid=AONE&xid=c4667280>.

Ciper Chile (journalistic research center) revealed on November 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018 an intelligence document they accessed from 2017. Here, they disclose Camilo was a target of special forces since at least 2017, due to his role in the defense of the Mapuche identity and culture. Since he was young, he was not only a student leader but also, during the 2011 student demonstrations in Chile, demanded the demilitarization of the Mapuche territory. Afterward, he became an important leader of *Alianza Territorial Mapuche* (Mapuche territorial alliance – a Mapuche organization).<sup>78</sup> Three days later, sergeant Alarcón (the responsible of Camilo’s death), confessed in a video on social media that he was forced to lie. Later, Ciper published a reconstruction of the crime, supporting Mr. Alarcon’s statement. On December 19<sup>th</sup>, Ciper shocked the country with exclusive videos recorded by the police during the moment of murder<sup>79</sup>, further supporting their information about the event. This whole situation led to a mistrust of the government, its institutions, the national police and the media, and the portrayal of the information and news regarding this whole situation.

In the following chapter, two Chileans newspapers will be analyzed from September 2018 until January 2019, where one will be able to see how the media portrayed the information regarding the Mapuches, the Mapuche conflict and the death of Camilo Catrillanca.

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<sup>78</sup> Nicolás Sepúlveda. CIPER, “Informe policial secreto: Camilo Catrillanca estaba en la mira de carabineros,” (2018), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://ciperchile.cl/2018/11/27/informe-policial-secreto-camilo-catrillanca-estaba-en-la-mira-de-carabineros/>.

<sup>79</sup> Stefanie Pacheco and Tanya Hirsch, “El rol de los medios de comunicación en el Caso Catrillanca,” *European Journalism Observatory*, (no date), accessed April 15, 2020, <https://es.ejo-online.eu/ethics-quality/caso-catrillanca-manipulacion-chile-mapuche/>.

## **6. Chapter 3: Critical Discourse Analysis on *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias***

As presented in the chapter about critical discourse analysis, this work will analyze the style of writing, vocabulary and content about the so-called Mapuche conflict and how the newspapers portray Mapuche's image to the Chilean society. In the same chapter, two newspapers are used for analysis – *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias*, both from the same conglomerate *El Mercurio*. The period of investigation is set to two months prior the death of Camilo Catrillanca and two months after it, comprising the time between September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018 and January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

The news in both newspapers were chosen regarding keywords related to the Mapuches, the Mapuche conflict and the incident regarding Camilo Catrillanca. These keywords were either found in the heading of the news or in the first paragraph. From both newspapers, a total of 267 pieces of news were taken as potential pieces to be analyzed. Nevertheless, at the end only 151 were analyzed. The decision to cut out the number of news pieces to be analyzed was due to their content. At first, news with keywords such as Mapuches, Mapuche conflict, arson attack, Machi, Lonko, Camilo Catrillanca were chosen. However, when reading the news, it was noticed the news were not directly related to the Mapuches despite being briefly mentioned. Therefore it was decided to rule out the news not directly related with the topic of the Mapuches, the Mapuche conflict and Camilo Catrillanca.

In this chapter, the results of the critical discourse analysis of both newspapers were presented according to the approach displayed in the methodology chapter. In the first part, the guidelines introduced by Siegfried Jäger were used to show the analysis done in all 5 months of the period established. It is important to acknowledge that, due to the number of pieces of news analyzed, it is not possible to present a detailed analysis on each piece of news; however, a summary of each month were displayed. In the second part, tables related to the vocabulary were created to present the different vocabulary used in both newspapers, and so the reader also has a clearer overview of the vocabulary used in both newspapers in relation to the topics of these news.

## 6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis: Results from *El Mercurio*

At first, 237 pieces of news were collected within the established period of 5 months, however at the end only 129 made it to the final analysis. As explained above, many of the pieces were not directly related to the topics of this investigation. In the following tables, the analysis for each month is presented:

Questions	September 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Most of the news are related to Plan Araucanía <sup>80</sup> and the different reactions to this plan. Two are related to incidents and just one piece of news is related to tourism in Mapuche land.
2) Institutional framework: “context”	Situation in the La Araucanía Region. Violence issues. Plan Araucanía. Demands indigenous peoples (and Mapuches).
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	If the news are about people addressing a certain topic, they insert pictures of them. However, if it addresses a violent event, they insert pictures of the damages caused during that event.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	Positive headlines about the Plan Araucanía from the government and it normally states there is a will to dialogue between the government and the Mapuches. When it comes to violent events, the wording is more negative, and it is surprising how the actors of these events (the Mapuches) are not explicitly named. It implicitly states the ones who caused these attacks are Mapuches.
5) Implications and insinuations	Complicated relationship between companies, the Chilean State and Mapuches. In violent issues, sometimes it is

<sup>80</sup> Plan Araucanía is the *Acuerdo Nacional por el Desarrollo y la Paz en la Araucanía* (National Agreement for the Development and Peace in the La Araucanía Region), an agreement presented by president Sebastián Piñera on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2018. It has 3 main points: 1 – will to dialogue, agreement and quest for peace. 2 – acknowledgement and appreciation of our diversity. 3 – integral and inclusive development in the region through “Plan Impulso”. Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, Intendencia de La Araucanía y Ministerios Sectoriales involucrados en Plan Impulso Araucanía, “Acuerdo Nacional por el Desarrollo y la Paz en la Araucanía,” (2018), accessed August 31, 2020, [https://cdn.digital.gob.cl/filer\\_public/60/d4/60d4404f-7a81-4753-8dc8-08b2cc2f3c13/acuerdo\\_nacional\\_por\\_el\\_desarrollo\\_y\\_la\\_paz\\_en\\_la\\_araucaania.pdf](https://cdn.digital.gob.cl/filer_public/60/d4/60d4404f-7a81-4753-8dc8-08b2cc2f3c13/acuerdo_nacional_por_el_desarrollo_y_la_paz_en_la_araucaania.pdf).

	<p>implied it is done by Mapuches and that the Mapuche organization CAM<sup>81</sup> is somehow related to violent events. The government is doing a good job with Plan Araucanía and are willing to work together with the Mapuches.</p>
6) Vocabulary and style	<p>Positive: when talking about the dialogue and willingness to cooperate between government, companies and the Mapuches. Also positive: when discussing Mapuche tourism and culture.</p> <p>Negative: regarding violent events.</p> <p>Interesting remark as <i>El Mercurio</i> had a conversation with the speaker of CAM and they use quotation mark in the word “<i>descartado</i>” (ruled out) when he expressed the government did not invite CAM to dialogue with them and to propose ideas to the Plan Araucanía. It feels as if they are doubting his statement.</p>
7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	<p>Mapuches: they are willing to dialogue with the government; they are the ones involved in burning companies equipment; they do not trust 100% the government.</p> <p>Government: they are willing to dialogue with Mapuches, previous governments did not do much about the conflict situation; they are taking into account the demands of indigenous peoples.</p> <p>Conflict: there is a lot of violence; use of weapons from both sides.</p>
8) News in the main cover	2

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<sup>81</sup> CAM: *Coordinadora de Comunidades Mapuche en Conflicto Arauco – Malleco*. One of the most important Mapuche organizations regarding their activism.

9) Total of news analyzed	10
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Questions	October 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Most are about arson attacks in the La Araucanía Region. There is one interesting news about a children's book to teach kids about Mapuche traditions.
2) Institutional framework: "context"	Arson attacks in the last days/weeks.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	Arson attack news: pictures of the damages. Children's book news: kids dressed in Mapuche clothing while playing.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	When it comes to arson attack news, they do not mention Mapuches in the headlines, headings or subheadings. It is implied who has done these attacks.
5) Implications and insinuations	It is implied the perpetrators of the attacks are Mapuches. In one of the news, it is said one of the perpetrators has connection with FARC, linking them to terrorism. About the children's book: it is implied it had a good reception and that is why they are working on a second one.
6) Vocabulary and style	When it comes to arson attacks, the vocabulary and style used is negative. Even in one of the news, people who have been interviewed used the words terrorists and anarchists to refer to Mapuche people. One of them even said " <i>quieren terminar con nuestra región</i> " (they want to end with our region). Interesting how they use "our region". What is left, then, to the territory of Mapuches? Are they not considered?

7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	<p>Mapuches: it is implied they are the perpetrators of arson attacks (in the headings). There are Mapuche leaders who condemn the violence happening in the region.</p> <p>Government: they did not consult Mapuches when working on Plan Araucanía and this is one of the main problems when it comes to Mapuches rejecting this project.</p> <p>Conflict: It seems violent attacks happen quite often.</p>
8) News in the main cover	1
9) Total of news analyzed	7

Questions	November 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	<p>Before Camilo Catrillanca's death: news was mostly about arson attacks, conflicts between Mapuches and forest companies, and also a trip of <i>machis</i><sup>82</sup> and <i>lonkos</i><sup>83</sup> with authorities from the government to learn about the inclusion of indigenous health system into the "normal" system.</p> <p>After Camilo's death: first, news reported about his death and how he was potentially involved in the robbery of three cars. Then most of the news are about the consequences that have happened after the death of Camilo which has led to an increase of arson attacks and violent events in Biobío Region, in La Araucanía Region by Mapuches and also protests throughout the whole country. Other news is about the whole political problem with police forces lying about evidence, and political parties from and against the</p>

<sup>82</sup> *Machi* is a traditional healer and religious leader in the Mapuche culture.

<sup>83</sup> *Lonko* is the chief of various Mapuche communities.

	<p>government discussing about it. These violent events are expressed as the biggest ones since December 1997 when it was the sort of “beginning” of the Mapuche conflict. According to a poll, 80% see the Mapuche conflict as the biggest social conflict in the country since 2010.</p> <p>News not related to arson attacks or Camilo’s death: teachers of indigenous languages and cultures in schools. It was very informative about the situation in the country, and they used the example of Mapudungún as one of these indigenous languages. Other of the news is about Chemamülles – Mapuche art to be exhibited in a metro station in Santiago.</p>
2) Institutional framework: “context”	Violence problems in the region, arson attacks, Plan Araucanía and mostly the death of Camilo Catrillanca.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	<p>Arson attack news: pictures of the damages.</p> <p>News about Camilo’s death: photos of the place where it all took place.</p>
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	At the beginning of the situation of Camilo’s death, there is no mention in headlines, headings, subheadings, that the police were the ones who shot him dead. This is only briefly mentioned in the body of the news.
5) Implications and insinuations	<p>In many of the violent events/arson attacks, there are pamphlets found, which are related to the Mapuche conflict – linking these events to the doings of Mapuches.</p> <p>It is interesting how one of the victims of arson attacks (his house got burned) says: “...vinimos aportar, a hacer turismo” (we came here to contribute, to do tourism). Is he implying that without “their help” the region would not be</p>

	<p>the same? Are they doing a favor to the Mapuche communities and/or the region?</p>
<p>6) Vocabulary and style</p>	<p>Just like previous months, as it comes to arson attacks/violent events, the vocabulary and style used is negative. One can notice the repetition of words such as violence, <i>ataque</i> (attacks), <i>atentado</i> (which the translation would be also attack).</p> <p>In the news related to Camilo’s death, the General Director of police forces in Chile explained at the beginning that Camilo used to participate in these kinds of crimes. What does he mean by that? Is it a justification as to why Camilo was followed by the police and shot?</p> <p>In the news about this poll that sees the Mapuche conflict as the biggest social conflict in Chile, the director of the public policies center of Universidad Católica says: “<i>la cobertura mediática puede incidir en la visión que muchos tienen de la relación Estado y pueblo Mapuche</i>” (the media coverage can come into play in the way people perceive the relationship between the State and the Mapuche people). I do agree with his statement. He also adds mainly arson attacks/violent events are portrayed in the media and is why people only have in mind these situations when one talks about the Mapuches and the State.</p> <p>In another news about arson attacks, it is highlighted that a house destroyed was built in 1868. Is this a resource to appeal somehow to the reader of the “importance” of the house?</p>

	<p>In the news about teaching indigenous languages and cultures: one interesting note was how the teacher mentioned that many kids ask him where his country was, and he had to explain them that the Mapuches do live in Chile as well. He also mentioned most of the ones interested in his classes are foreign kids.</p>
<p>7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?</p>	<p>Mapuches: Mapuches are also attacked/affected by the violence in the region.</p> <p>Government: gives special benefits to Mapuches; The director of the National Institute of Human Rights is actively involved in the investigation of Camilo's death; The government supports fully the police forces; The government is present in the region and their goal is to improve the relationship with Mapuches through dialogue. They stress it many times in the news; Most of the government solutions are taken and done in Santiago, when they should be done and taken in the region with the Mapuches. Most of the solutions are related to development and economic growth.</p> <p>Conflict: the topic of land is of high importance in the conflict with the State; They use special forces units (including helicopters) in car thefts in the region. Here, one wonders why these special forces are not used in other regions of the country in similar situations such as theft and violence; The death of Camilo have led to one of the biggest crisis of the conflict since December 1997; There have been other deaths of Mapuches by the hands of policemen which raises doubts on their official statements; There has been</p>

	repressive policies in the region which has led to the current violence in La Araucanía.
8) News in the main cover	11
9) Total of news analyzed	48

<b>Questions</b>	<b>December 2018</b>
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	<p>Most of the news in December 2018 are related to Camilo Catrillanca's death or arson attacks that have been happening greatly in that month due to protests regarding Camilo's death. The news were about the investigation of the case, statements of the policemen involved in Camilo's death, and inquiry to the Home Secretary; New video leaked of the day Camilo died. It shows the policemen had cameras and proves they hid key evidence; Policemen involved in Camilo's death state their bosses told them to lie; Government spokeswoman speaks about self-criticism on how the government has dealt with Catrillanca's death; Presentation of condolence letters the President wrote to Catrillanca's father and grandfather.</p> <p>Regarding arson attacks: the news related them to protests for Camilo's death, or how this situation has affected the La Araucanía Region; Review of "violent year" in the La Araucanía Region.</p> <p>News not related to arson attacks or the death of Catrillanca: awards to indigenous handicraft; The creation of a customs-free zone for the Mapuches in the La Araucanía Region to boost the economy in the region; Review of the Plan Araucanía; The director of CONADI</p>

	<p>talks about the Indigenous Peoples Ministry, Indigenous Law and land handover to indigenous peoples.</p>
2) Institutional framework: “context”	<p>Mostly about Camilo Catrillanca’s death and Plan Araucanía.</p>
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	<p>Video images from the cameras policemen had the day Camilo died; Pictures of the damages of arson attacks and protests.</p> <p>If it is not directly related to arson attacks or the investigation of Camilo’s death, normally the pictures are of the people talking about these issues.</p>
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	<p>One of the headlines has a strong statement: “...we do not tolerate terrorist acts.”</p> <p>Another one shows the government position to find the truth about Camilo’s death: “...the government will investigate tirelessly to clarify the case.”</p>
5) Implications and insinuations	<p>Again, as in November 2018, in many of the violent events/arson attacks, there are pamphlets found related to the Mapuche conflict – linking these events to the doings of Mapuches.</p> <p>Attacks are seen as terrorist acts by the government.</p> <p>One of the news reports how the Foreign Minister of Venezuela received Mapuche leaders and the CAM leader in Caracas. Is there any connection they want to portray between Venezuela and the Mapuches? In Chile, the Venezuelan government is seen negatively. Is this implied connection supposed to influence the view of Chileans on Mapuches?</p>

	<p>With the new video leaked showing what happened the day Camilo died: the policemen statements are questioned since key events they stated happened did not occur.</p> <p>The crisis in the La Araucanía Region is due to Catrillanca's death and has led to one of the biggest crises for the government in 2018.</p> <p>It is somehow stated in one of the news that the violent acts in the La Araucanía Region have the people living under a "constant fear". Due to this situation, business associations feel left behind and not protected by the government at all.</p>
6) Vocabulary and style	<p>With new evidence in the case of Camilo Catrillanca, news tend to use more positive vocabulary, presenting a different version to the previous weeks, as well as providing the statements of the policemen involved.</p> <p>Just like previous months, when it comes to arson attacks/violent events, the vocabulary and style used are negative. In one of the news, the governor of the La Araucanía Region commented on how the media repeats the same images, so as to give the sense the region is under constant fire all the time.</p> <p>It also seems interesting the words "dialogue", "peace" and "development" most likely appear together all the time.</p> <p>The style seems positive when the news is about finding a solution to the conflict and starting a dialogue with the communities. These are words presented in government speech all the time.</p>

	<p>Interesting is the style used to describe one of the protests. The author of text reports about a protest in Santiago (due to Camilo's death) and writes about people attacking policemen: <i>“además de lanzarles piedras y lo que encontraban a su paso”</i> (beside throwing them stones, they would throw everything they would find). His writing makes the news even more negative and elucidates how reckless the demonstrators are.</p>
<p>7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?</p>	<p>Mapuches: Appreciate the intervention of different religions to act as a mediator between them and the Chilean State, however they believe Mapuches themselves are the best mediators since they know best about their own demands; Mapuches refer to the militarization of their region; The news implicitly implies the Venezuelan government supports the Mapuche movement.</p> <p>Government: the attacks in the La Araucanía Region are seen as terrorist attacks; Decide to grant constitutional acknowledgement to Mapuches, however this has been a promise for decades, stated every time there is a big crisis between the State and Mapuches; The government was not aware of the existence of the videos leaked the policemen hid in the case of Camilo Catrillanca's death; Government feels sorry for immediately believing the testimony of police forces and have recognized it was a mistake to have done so; The government promises to do everything in their power to find out the truth about Camilo Catrillanca's death.</p>

	<p>Conflict: there has been excessive use of force in how the government has dealt with the conflict and it is being questioned if the Mapuches are really the group they have to fight against; There is also a contradictory way the government deals with the conflict: on one hand, they believe dialogue is the best way to a solution; on the other hand, they use a firm hand to deal with the conflict; The government shows an openness to an agreement with the indigenous peoples of the country, but mostly want to work through it with political powers, instead of with the indigenous peoples themselves. One wonders here what the point is, to be open for an agreement that might not include the indigenous peoples' opinions?; The case of Camilo Catrillanca's death is not the only one involving policemen excessive use of force. It has happened before; 2018 has been a violent year regarding the Mapuche conflict.</p>
8) News in the main cover	5
9) Total of news analyzed	49

<b>Questions</b>	<b>January 2019</b>
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	<p>Most of the news are about the implications of the death of Camilo Catrillanca, such as the implementation of Plan Araucanía and how the government is trying to get back to it and do amendments.</p> <p>Other news is about: arson attacks; CAM backing up Mapuches that seize lands – they see this as a legitimate way of resistance; and the good work done by CONADI on buying lands to transfer later to Mapuches.</p>

2) Institutional framework: “context”	Plan Araucanía, arson attacks, Mapuche conflict, Camilo Catrillanca’s death.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	<p>Arson attack news: pictures of the damages.</p> <p>In other news: pictures of people who are involved in the news or who are stating their opinions.</p>
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	Speaker of the government talks about terrorism in the La Araucanía Region.
5) Implications and insinuations	<p>Pamphlets signed by CAM are found in the places where arson attacks have taken place – implication of the CAM in these attacks?</p> <p>The governor of the region implies that Mapuches are harming themselves by burning the machines (in the arson attacks), since these machines are the ones giving them jobs.</p> <p>Due to the violence in the region, people are nervous and worried.</p>
6) Vocabulary and style	<p>Just like previous months, when it comes to arson attacks/violent events, the vocabulary and style used are negative.</p> <p>An interesting aspect is that when someone from the government mentions they reject violence, they always make sure to State that their commitment is with the security of citizens, the maintenance of public order and the respect of rule of law.</p>

7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	<p>Mapuches: CAM seems to be a more active and radical organization of Mapuches; Mapuches ask the government not to make Plan Araucanía for Mapuches, but with Mapuches.</p> <p>Government: for Plan Araucanía, the group work will not create a difference between Mapuches and average civilians; They are 100% open for dialogue, however they will not tolerate violence.</p> <p>Conflict: Senator Huenchumilla accuses this conflict being a problem of all governments (not only from Piñera's government) since they have all given police forces the solution to a political problem; The government sees arson attacks as terrorism.</p>
8) News in the main cover	1
9) Total of news analyzed	15

From the 129 news analyzed from *El Mercurio*, tables with positive and keywords and words related to the Mapuche conflict have been created. Here are the results:

<b>Positive words</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>diálogo(s)</i> / dialogue	105
<i>desarrollo</i> / development	16
<i>paz</i> / peace	34
<i>cultura (mapuche)</i> / (mapuche) culture	11
<i>esperanza</i> / hope	2
<i>bien común</i> / common good	1
<i>prosperidad</i> / prosperity	1
<i>tradición mapuche</i> / mapuche tradition	1
<i>patrimonio mapuche</i> / mapuche heritage	1

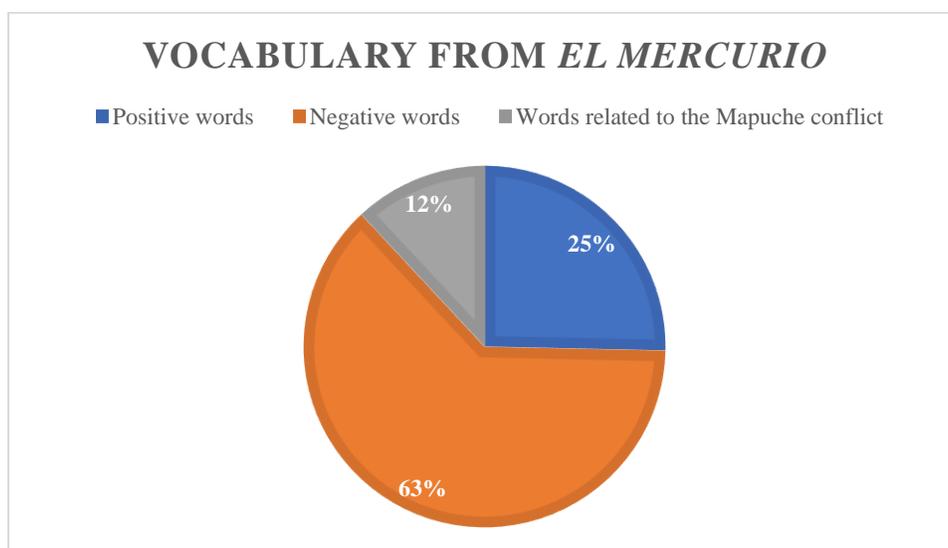
<i>inclusión indígena</i> / indigenous inclusion	1
<i>convivencia</i> / coexistence	2
<i>confianza(s)</i> / trust	12

<b>Negative words</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>ataque</i> / attack	79
<i>destruido(s)</i> / destroyed	23
<i>atentado (incendiario)</i> / arson attack	78
<i>pérdidas</i> / losses	24
<i>violencia</i> / violence	105
<i>violencia rural</i> / rural violence	36
<i>ocupación</i> / land occupation	11
<i>incidente(s)</i> / incident(s)	11
<i>protesta(s)</i> / protest(s)	11
<i>manifestante(s)</i> / demonstrator(s)	8
<i>disturbio(s)</i> / riot(s)	4
<i>daño(s)</i> / damage(s)	13
<i>encapuchado(s)</i> / hooded person(s)	45
<i>pobreza</i> / poverty	5
<i>terrorista(s)</i> / terrorist(s)	3
<i>anarquistas</i> / anarchists	1
<i>terrorismo</i> / terrorism	5
<i>guerrilla(s)</i>	1

<b>Words related to the Mapuche Conflict</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>Ley Antiterrorista</i> / Antiterrorist Law	4
<i>entrega de tierras</i> / land handover	3
<i>reconocimiento (constitucional)</i> / constitutional recognition	21

<i>plurinacionalidad</i> / plurinationality	2
<i>autodeterminación</i> / self-determination	4
<i>participación/representación política</i> / political participation/representation	5
<i>recuperación territorial</i> / land recovery	3
<i>autonomía</i> / autonomy	6
<i>libertad presos/detenidos mapuches</i> / freedom to Mapuche prisoners/arrested	2
<i>conflicto (mapuche)</i> / (mapuche) conflict	30
<i>nación mapuche</i> / mapuche nation	1
<i>represión</i> / repression	1
<i>conflictos territoriales</i> / territorial conflicts	3
<i>militarización</i> / militarization	3

The words presented in the previous tables are 738 words in total: 187 positive words, 463 negative words, 88 words related to the Mapuche conflict. The following graphic shows the number of words used in each category to visualize the use of these words in *El Mercurio*:



From the positive words, the most used ones are *diálogo* (dialogue), *desarrollo* (development) and *paz* (peace). These words come quite often from the government side: Stressing the only

way to find a solution is through “dialogue”; as well as the main goal for the region is to find “development” and “peace”. From the negative words, the most used ones are *ataque* (attack), *atentado incendiario* (arson attack) and *violencia* (violence). Both the words “attack” and “arson attack” (79 and 78 times used, accordingly) are mostly used as synonyms. From the words related to the Mapuche conflict, the most used are *conflicto mapuche* (Mapuche conflict) and *reconocimiento constitucional* (constitutional recognition). Especially, the word “constitutional recognition” is used as a solution from the government to the Mapuche conflict. This has been a promise from many governments, not only from that of Sebastián Piñera.

From the critical discourse analysis on *El Mercurio*, there are two interesting things to point out not within the tables of the analysis itself. On the one hand, it stands out that the news about Mapuches are barely reported. There are also few interviews on the issues with Mapuche speakers. Those giving statements are most of the time authorities from the government or people affected by rural violence. In the news, one does not see Mapuche’s statements about certain issues or try to deny implications from the news. Would it not be fairer to have both sides of the stories? On one part, one can notice that in the news related to arson attacks or rural violence, the perpetrators of these situations are always implied; it is never directly mentioned this was done by Mapuches. Nevertheless, it is mentioned pamphlets related to the Mapuche struggle and their demands are found in the places where attacks or rural violence have taken place, so this is a form to connect these issues with the actions of Mapuches. On the other part, the use of visual images is used to show the damages of arson attacks and protests. Normally, it includes middle size photos in the news article.

## **6.2 Critical Discourse Analysis: Results from *Las Últimas Noticias***

At first, 30 pieces of news were collected within the period of 5 months; after all, only 22 made it to the final analysis, since many of the pieces were not directly related to the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. In the following tables, the analysis for each month is presented:

Questions	September 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Information about Plan Araucanía.
2) Institutional framework: “context”	Plan Araucanía.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	No images.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	No remarks.
5) Implications and insinuations	No remarks.
6) Vocabulary and style	Since both news are about the Plan Araucanía, the vocabulary and style used is positive because this plan is supposed to help and improve the region.
7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	<p>Mapuches: no remarks.</p> <p>Government: they hope that Plan Araucanía is going to change the destiny of the region. It will not change everything at once, but it will be definitely a step forward; The measures presented in Plan Araucanía shows that the government is looking to preserve the cultural diversity and that there is a huge respect for Mapuche traditions and culture.</p> <p>Conflict: no remarks</p>
8) News in the main cover	0
9) Total of news analyzed	2

Questions	October 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Supreme Court removes the terrorist grade in the case Luchsinger Mackay. <sup>84</sup>
2) Institutional framework: “context”	Case Luchsinger Mackay.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	Son of the couple Luchsinger Mackay.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	No remarks
5) Implications and insinuations	No remarks
6) Vocabulary and style	No remarks
7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	<p>Mapuches: no remarks</p> <p>Government: no remarks</p> <p>Conflict: the controversial Antiterrorist Law is mentioned, normally used against Mapuches. In the news, it is pointed out that to apply this law, there must be a special component causing fear in the population, being the object of the same attack. This must be proven in trial, which, in this case, was not. One of the lawyers from the family Luchsinger Mackay said this case caused fear in the population; however, the defense lawyer said that in this case every arson attack would go under terrorism.</p>
8) News in the main cover	0
9) Total of news analyzed	1

<sup>84</sup> The case Luchsinger Mackay refers a court case related to the murder of Werner Luchsinger and Vivianne Mackay on January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2013 in the La Araucanía region. This happened under the protest of the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of the Mapuche student Matías Catrileo.

Questions	November 2018
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Most news is related to Camilo's death, for example, one can find: reactions of politicians in regard to Catrillanca's death; Information about the funeral of Camilo Catrillanca; News about how the policemen involved in the situation lied about having their cameras on during the procedure; Testimony of the 15 years old witness who was with Camilo the day of the incident.
2) Institutional framework: "context"	Camilo Catrillanca's death.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	People involved in the news.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	One of the headlines states Mapuche communities and civilians from the Araucanía Region ask for peace in the region.
5) Implications and insinuations	<p>It is mentioned there is a complex situation due to Catrillanca's death. In one of the news it is stated that this "problem" (with the Mapuches) cannot be resolved only with the willingness of the government, since the situation is a topic concerning the whole country.</p> <p>In another news, after 15 days of investigation, the regional prosecutor says one can finally talk about murder in the case of Camilo Catrillanca.</p>
6) Vocabulary and style	Just as in <i>El Mercurio</i> , there is a repetition of words such as peace and development. However, the vocabulary and style seem not as harsh as in <i>El Mercurio</i> . For example, in one of the news there is a comment by the writer that seems like a critique, saying that "by the way, until this moment they have not <u>even</u> arranged any imputations", directly connecting how the policemen involved in the incident

	were not charged with any imputations, even days after the situation.
7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	Mapuches: no remarks  Government: due to the violence in the region, the government supports the labor of policemen; however, they also demand them to operate in accordance to the law; the government also often states the doors to dialogue are always open for Catrillanca's family.  Conflict: no remarks
8) News in the main cover	1
9) Total of news analyzed	9

<b>Questions</b>	<b>December 2018</b>
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Most news is related to Camilo's death. For example, one can find: the arguments presented by the prosecutors in the case Catrillanca; News about how the policemen indeed had cameras; Inquiry to the Home Secretary about Camilo's death, carried out by a Mapuche member of the parliament.
2) Institutional framework: "context"	Camilo Catrillanca's death.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	People involved in the news; In one of the news regarding protests in repudiation of the circumstances under Camilo's death, the main photo of the news shows protestors attacking policemen.
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	"There was no intention to kill him" said the lawyer of the policemen involved in the case. The headline of this news makes the newspaper piece controversial.

	<p>“We cannot resolve a problem of centuries in a few minutes” said the Minister of Social Development. Another controversial headline. This is a common statement provided by the government.</p>
<p>5) Implications and insinuations</p>	<p>In one of the news, it is ruled out that Camilo’s death was an accident. It is also ruled out previous confrontation as stated by the policemen involved in the situation. This shows how the policemen lied in their statements.</p> <p>The Home Secretary states that without violence, there would be no special forces in the La Araucanía Region. What about the other regions in the country that are under dreadful criminality rates? Where are the special forces there?</p>
<p>6) Vocabulary and style</p>	<p>In one of the news, the vocabulary is a bit harsh since the topics of the news are violence and Mapuche conflict.</p> <p>In the news reporting the protest, the vocabulary and style are very descriptive in how the protestors attacked policemen.</p>
<p>7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?</p>	<p>Mapuches: no remarks</p> <p>Government: the Home Secretary’s comments on the question of believing there is terrorism in the La Araucanía Region; he states he believes there is. He considers terrorism as a fear tactic created for the population. For him, this is not his personal opinion, since other governments have applied the Antiterrorist Law; On the question about constitutional recognition of the Mapuches and plurinationality, he voices that plurinationality</p>

	<p>weakens the nation. Here one can see why this will not ever be agreed with the Chilean State; Once again, it is expressed that for the government the only way to move forward (regarding the Mapuche conflict) is dialogue.</p> <p>Conflict: in the inquiry to the Home Secretary, he affirms the government is and always has been open to dialogue. However, the Mapuche parliament member strikes back by asking: “do you think one can dialogue with bullets?”, referring to the violence problems in the La Araucanía region with the special forces.</p>
8) News in the main cover	0
9) Total of news analyzed	9

<b>Questions</b>	<b>January 2019</b>
1) Summary of the theme addressed/covered by the newspaper	Tourism in <i>Rukas</i> (typical Mapuche housing).
2) Institutional framework: “context”	No remarks.
3) Graphic layout, including pictures and graphs	<i>Rukas</i> .
4) Headlines, headings, subheadings	No remarks.
5) Implications and insinuations	No remarks.
6) Vocabulary and style	Normal/positive vocabulary. The news explains what a <i>Ruka</i> is, how adding modern features attracts visitors, and presents the positives about modern <i>Rukas</i> , explaining the current demand to stay in them for the holidays.

7) What kind of notion/what kind of understanding about the Mapuches, government, conflict underlies the article/does the article convey?	No remarks.
8) News in the main cover	0
9) Total of news analyzed	1

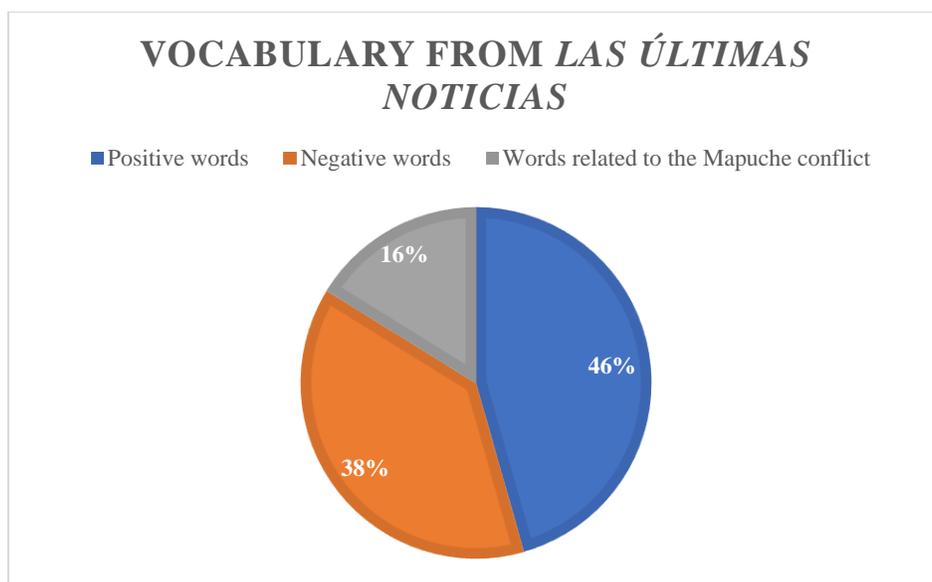
From the 22 pieces of news analyzed from *Las Últimas Noticias*, tables with both positive, and negative words and words related to the Mapuche conflict have been created. The same words analyzed from the previous newspaper have been used for the tables of this one, nevertheless, not all the same words were found and that is why the following tables are shorter than the ones presented before. Here are the results:

<b>Positive words</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>diálogo(s)</i> / dialogue(s)	7
<i>desarrollo</i> / development	4
<i>paz</i> / peace	12
<i>cultura (mapuche)</i> / (mapuche) culture	5
<i>tradicón mapuche</i> / mapuche tradition	1
<i>confianza(s)</i> / trust	2

<b>Negative words</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>ataque</i> / attack	2
<i>atentado (incendiario)</i> / arson attack	2
<i>violencia</i> / violence	8
<i>violencia rural</i> / rural violence	2
<i>crimen</i> / crime	1
<i>encapuchado(s)</i> / hooded person(s)	1
<i>terrorista(s)</i> / terrorist(s)	7
<i>terrorismo</i> / terrorism	3

<b>Words related to the Mapuche Conflict</b>	<b>Times used</b>
<i>Ley Antiterrorista</i> / Antiterrorist Law	2
<i>entrega de tierras</i> / land handover	1
<i>reconomiento</i> ( <i>constitucional</i> ) / constitutional recognition	3
<i>plurinacionalidad</i> / plurinationality	2
<i>participación/representación</i> <i>política</i> / political participation/representation	1
<i>autonomía</i> / autonomy	1
<i>conflicto (mapuche)</i> / (mapuche) conflict	1

The words presented in the previous tables are 68 words in total: 31 positive words, 26 negative words, 11 words related to the Mapuche conflict. The following graphic shows the number of words used in each category to visualize the use of these words in *Las Últimas Noticias*:



From the positive words, the most used ones are just like in the previous newspaper *diálogo* (dialogue) and *paz* (peace). These words are not used as much as in *El Mercurio*, since only 22 news were analyzed. From the negative words, the most used ones are *violencia* (violence) and *terrorista(s)* (terrorist(s)). Here it is relevant to point out how the word “terrorist” is one of the most used. From the words related to the Mapuche conflict, there are no words to highlight considering these words were only used two or three times.

From the critical discourse analysis on *Las Últimas Noticias*, there were remarkable aspects worth mentioning. One thing noticed was the vocabulary used by this newspaper being less harsh and negative in relation to Mapuches. As stated in one of the tables, there is in one news a certain type of critique to the lack of punishment regarding Camilo Catrillanca’s case, when the author of the news writes: “by the way, until this moment they have not even arranged any imputations,” implying that by that time, there were still no imputations on the case. In comparison to the results of *El Mercurio*, this situation stands out seeing the difference on vocabulary, style and also the topic of the news. This is a point worth mentioning. Nonetheless, *Las Últimas Noticias* uses the word “terrorist” more often than *El*

*Mercurio*. Another very important observation was that in *Las Últimas Noticias*, there were hardly any reports about arson attacks, which in comparison with *El Mercurio*, many of those kinds of reports were present. On another note, there are not so many words related to the Mapuche conflict. Here, one wonders if it could be due to the number of news analyzed.

### **6.3 Final remarks about the Critical Discourse Analysis' results**

There are a few points to present as a conclusion regarding the critical discourse analysis of both newspapers. One thing observed was that in many of the news (from both newspapers, but also more noticeable in *El Mercurio*) referring to the Mapuches, especially in news about arson attacks or violent events, they did not directly name Mapuches; it was implied they were the perpetrators just by stating the location, what had happened and that pamphlets about the Mapuche cause were found in the place. The reader should have previous knowledge of the linkages implying Mapuches are to blame. This is a strategy of newspapers to not directly mention and accuse Mapuches of arson attacks or violent events; to not come up as stigmatizing Mapuches. The linkages stem due to the way newspapers have reported these issues in the past and to previous similar situations in the region involving the Mapuches. When it comes to the reaction of the government in regards to the Mapuche conflict, every time there is a big crisis within this conflict, it always brings to the table the need to approve the constitutional recognition of not only Mapuches but all indigenous peoples in the country. This has been a statement provided by the government not only under the crisis of Camilo Catrillanca's case, but has been repeated again by different governments since the beginning of the conflict in 1997. One statement that was striking to read was the comment from the director of public policies center of Universidad Católica, as he stated the media coverage can influence the way people perceive the relationship between the State and the Mapuche people. This gives the impression to Chileans that the region is under fire all the time, because all there is to know about the region is the arson attacks, rural violence and the Mapuche conflict. If the reader/public regularly consumes news about these issues, it is obvious this may influence their opinion on the region and the Mapuches. This perception will be developed further in this work, as a questionnaire regarding the critical discourse analysis and the Mapuche conflict will be carried out.

Equally important is the analysis of the words used by both newspapers. In this matter, the use of the words “terrorist” and “terrorism” are quite strong to talk about the Mapuche conflict. Lately, it has been the way to characterize their struggle and movement. Nonetheless, can one talk of terrorism when the struggle and their demands are consistent with the rights of indigenous peoples? In the same way, words such as “rural violence”, are very intriguing to look at. In none of the newspapers is it explained what “rural violence” is. Is it only the violence perpetrated by Mapuches? Does it apply to any rural place in the country or only in the La Araucanía Region? Certainly, there is an open interpretation to this word, but in all cases, both newspapers refer it as the violence perpetrated by Mapuches in the La Araucanía or Biobío Region. By comparing the words used by the two newspapers, the use of negative words in *El Mercurio* is remarkable as that of *Las Últimas Noticias*. This is because the first one uses way more negative words and portrays negative news (such as rural violence and arson attacks) more often.

Something that may catch one’s attention is the absence of any interviews with Mapuches about Plan Araucanía or Camilo Catrillanca’s case. The interviews carried out were mostly with authorities of the government or people affected by rural violence. It feels as if the newspaper agencies are not giving them any public space to present their side of the story. Finally, one can see in *Las Últimas Noticias* there are not so many news about Mapuches, and if there are some, these are very short news pieces. In contrast, *El Mercurio* often delivers more news about the Mapuches, especially in connection to the topics of rural violence and arson attacks. Something also remarkable in their news pieces are the images used; most of the time when reporting the violence issues, there are always images about the damages caused (unlike *Las Últimas Noticias*, as they do not publish many of these images).

## **7. Chapter 4: Analysis of the questionnaire results**

As mentioned previously in the methods chapter, the questionnaire in Spanish consists of 15 questions, one open question, and 14 closed-ended questions. The questionnaire was published online on September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2020, over social media such as WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook. It asked for participants to answer a questionnaire related to the Chilean media (in this case, newspapers), the Mapuche conflict and the relationship between the Chilean State and the Mapuches. Furthermore, it also asked for it to be shared with friends, colleagues and family members. Due to the high number of responses in 24 hours, it was decided to close the questionnaire, since in this time, it received 104 responses. Having in mind the previous work done with CDA, it was decided 100 responses would be enough for the analysis of this part. However, it was not imaginable to get such a response in such little time. Even after closing the questionnaire, the researcher obtained many e-mails from potential participants interested in taking part of the questionnaire. Out of the 104 responses, three were repeated and these responses were deleted from the questionnaire, leaving a total of 101 responses. In this chapter, one will go through each question of the questionnaire, the final results and remarks about it.

### **7.1 Questionnaire results**

The first three “questions”, which are not considered official questions within the questionnaire, asked personal information of the participants such as name, age and residence (in which region of Chile they reside). Though no mention of names will be presented, it is worth mentioning the age and residence of the participants to give an overview of the people who took part.

#### Age

The youngest participants were 22 years old (3 people) and the oldest was 77 years old. Since this questionnaire was published online through social media, there was the risk of participants mostly being in their 20s-30s; however, it was possible to reach other age groups as well:

- From 20 to 29 years old → 32 persons
- From 30 to 39 years old → 21 persons
- From 40 to 49 years old → 13 persons

- From 50 to 59 years old → 21 persons
- From 60 to 69 years old → 13 persons
- + 70 years → one person

### Residence

As of 2020, Chile is divided in 16 regions. Here the order will be presented from north to south.

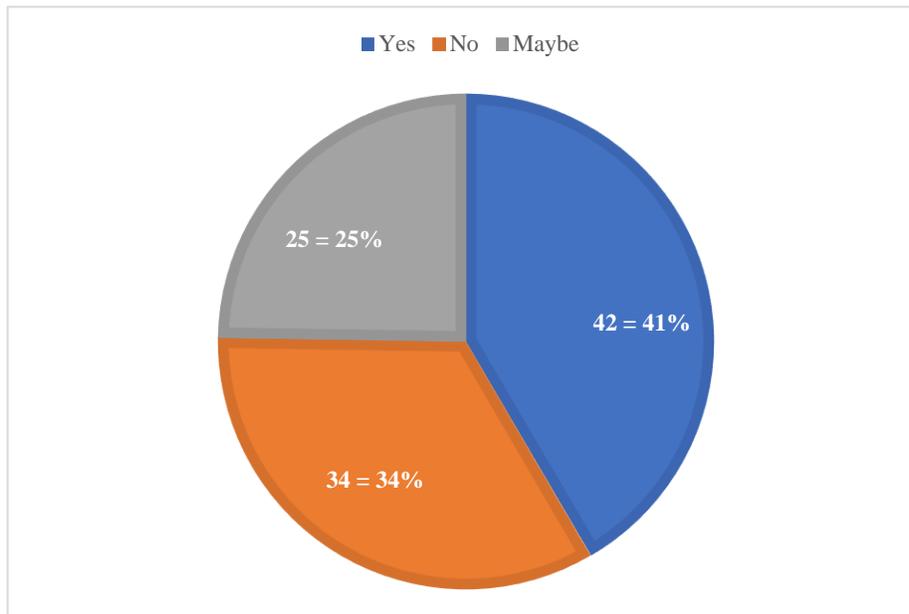
- Región de Arica y Parinacota → 2 persons
- Región de Tarapacá → 5 persons
- Región de Valparaíso → 3 persons
- Región Metropolitana de Santiago → 11 persons
- Región del Maule → 2 persons
- Región de Ñuble → 15 persons
- Región del Biobío → 57 persons
- Región de La Araucanía → 1 person
- Región de Los Lagos → 5 persons

It is important to note two things: first, according to the latest census in Chile in 2017, most of the population considering themselves as Mapuche or part Mapuche live in Región Metropolitana de Santiago, Región del Biobío, Región de La Araucanía and Región de Los Lagos.<sup>85</sup> Second, as one can notice, there is a big difference between the residence of the participants as most of them live in Región del Biobío. The reason behind this result could be most of the people approached by the researcher are from this region, since she is originally from there. This can be identified as a bias in the research.

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<sup>85</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile, “5.1 Población que se considera perteneciente a un pueblo originario, según sexo,” (2018), accessed October 5, 2020, <http://resultados.censo2017.cl/Home/Download>.

Question 1: Do you consider yourself reader of newspapers in Chile?<sup>86</sup>

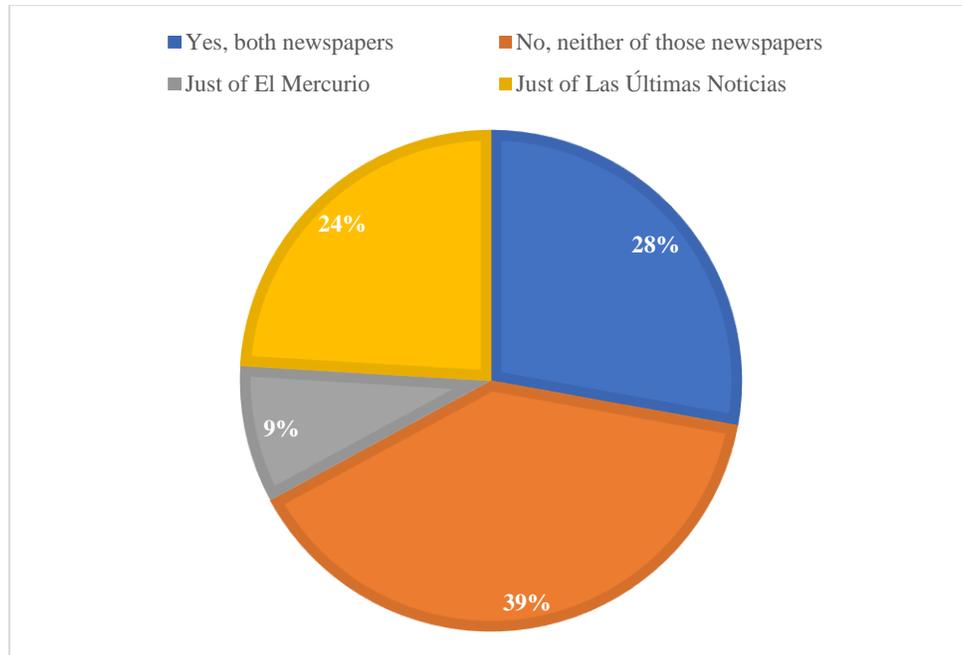


Most of the participants consider themselves readers of newspapers in Chile. After analyzing the responses by age, most replying “yes” were over 30 years old, as only 7 people from the group age 20-29 replied affirmatively to this question. Whereas for the “no” answer, most of the participants replying are from the group age 20-29, consisting in 18 people (56,25% of the total of participants within this group age).

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<sup>86</sup> For the original text in Spanish in the original form, please refer to the appendix at the end of this work (Title 10).

Question 2: Are you a reader of the newspapers *El Mercurio* or *Las Últimas Noticias*? In case of an affirmative answer, which of the both newspapers do you read? In case of a negative answer, please indicate which newspapers do you read.



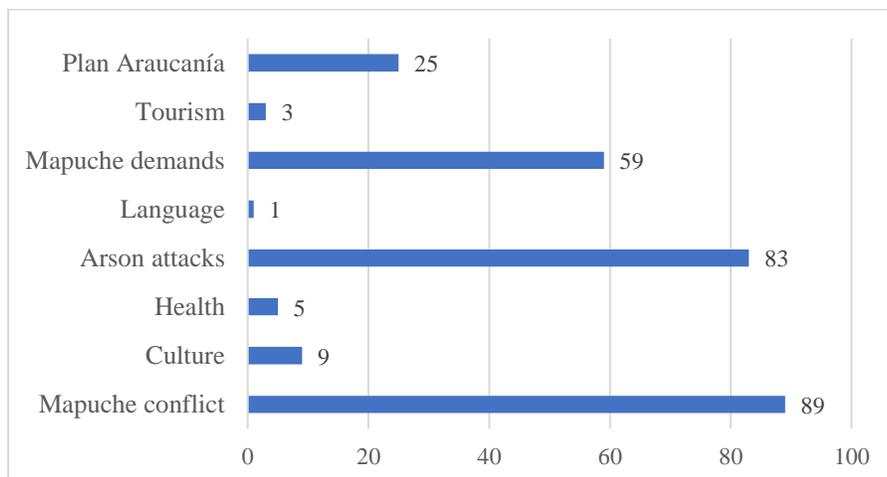
As the responses show, most of the participants are readers of at least one of the newspapers analyzed in this investigation. 28% read both and 33% just one of them, *Las Últimas Noticias* being the most popular within the participants. As expressed in the question, some of the participants indicated the newspapers they read, with many being in digital format. Some of them are *La Tercera* (mentioned by 5 persons and one of the most read newspapers in Chile), *El Sur* (mentioned by 4 persons; this is a regional newspaper from Región del Biobío) and *El Mostrador* (mentioned by 3 persons; one of the popular digital newspapers in Chile).

Question 3: To which kind of audience do you think the newspapers *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias* are destined? (It is possible to pick more than one option)



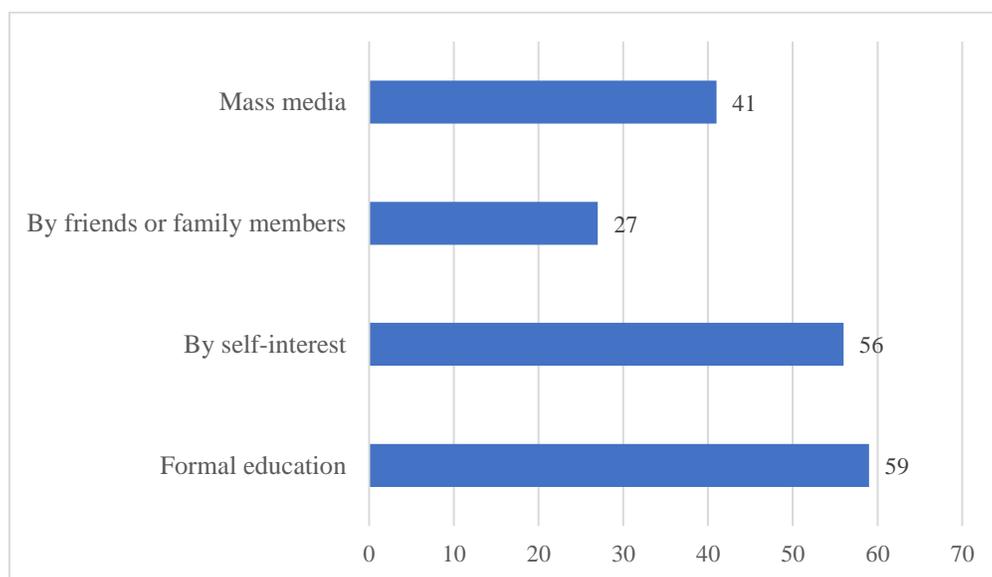
In relation to question number 3, the participants seem to agree on the target audience of both newspapers and support the information provided in the methods chapter about the target audience of these newspapers. Overall, *El Mercurio* targets mainly the upper- and middle-class, being the first option highest voted, with 94 persons; and *Las Últimas Noticias* targets middle- and lower-class, being the first option chosen by 80 persons.

Question 4: What kind of news have you recently read on the newspapers that is related to the Mapuches? (Please choose at most three options)



As in question number 4, it seems there is a tendency of news related to topics associated with the Mapuche conflict, such as the concept itself, arson attacks and Mapuche demands. Furthermore, the participants were asked to write down another option if the topic of the news they have recently read is not within the options. Some of their answers were: hunger strike by Mapuche political prisoners; police violence against Mapuches; news about Elicura Chihuailaf (Mapuche writer) winning the National Literature Award 2020; and finally, terrorism. This is one of the answers that stood out the most at this point. Despite one person having additionally added to the other concepts, it is striking this word is used in relation to Mapuches. It already takes one back to the critical discourse analysis chapter and how this word has been used by politicians, members of the government and union workers from La Araucanía. In conclusion, most of the topics presented in the news read by the participants are in accordance with the results presented in the CDA chapter, as is most of the news related to the Mapuche conflict. So far, some points presented in the CDA have been confirmed by the participants of the questionnaire.

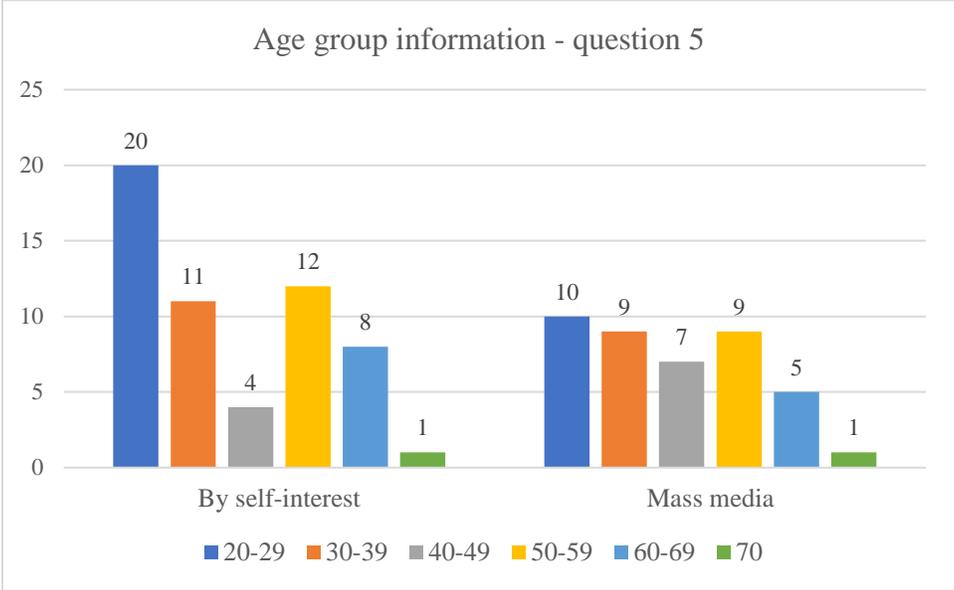
Question 5: In terms of your knowledge about the Mapuche history and culture, how has this knowledge been acquired? (Please choose at most two options)



Most of the participants have chosen “formal education” (58,4%) and “by self-interest” (55,4%) the way they have acquired their knowledge about the Mapuche history and culture. Mass media is not much behind, with 40,6% of the votes. In this question, it was also possible

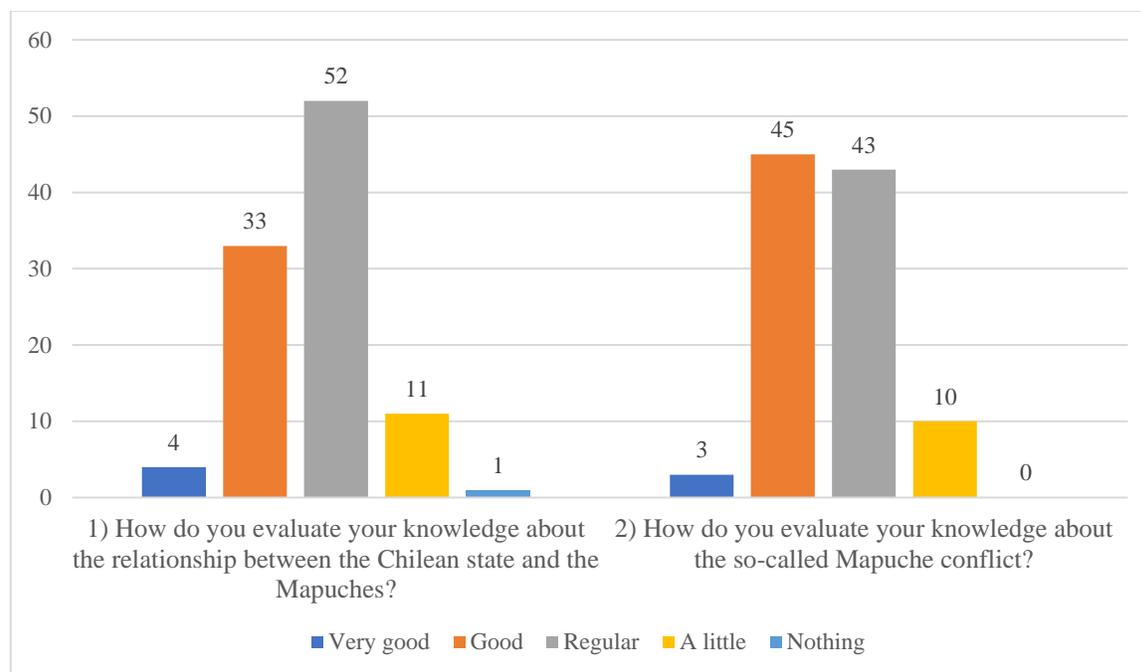
for the participants to add other options. Some of them were “by social media” and “lectures related to the topic”.

When analyzing the results, one may wonder how it would be divided in age groups as per the answers “by self-interest” and “mass media”, since “by self-interest” already means there is a curiosity about the topic. Through “mass media”, one has in mind the thesis that media (in this case, newspapers) can influence the way people perceive a topic by the way they portray it. Perhaps this can tell one more about the answers of the next questions, such as whether it is somehow related with age groups and how participants informed themselves about the topic. Here is the following graphic focused on the age group within these two options:



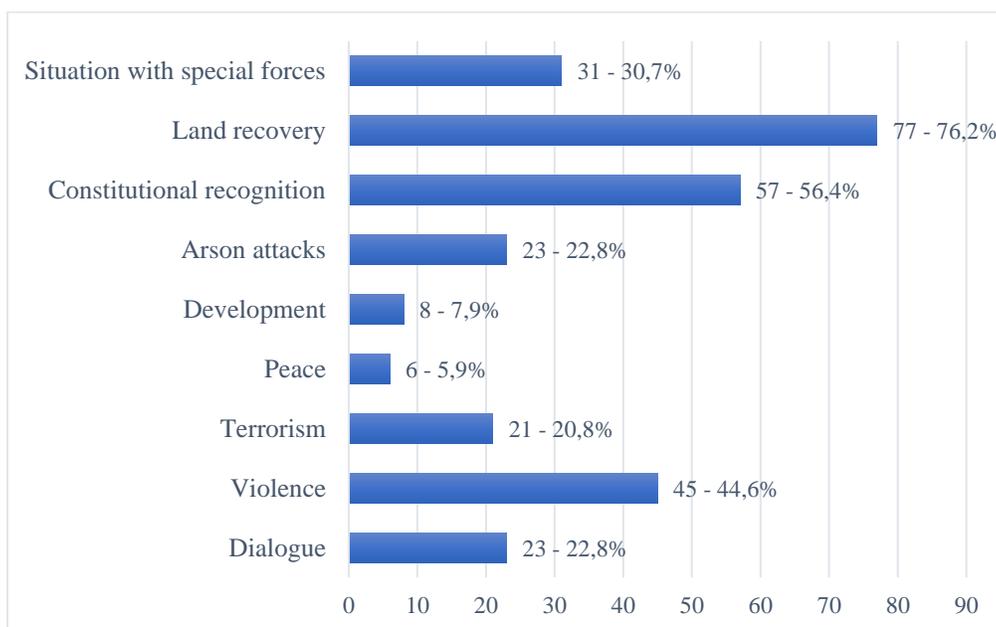
According to the presented graphic and by comparing both of these options, it looks as if most of age groups inform themselves “by self-interest” rather than “mass media”, being the biggest one to differ, as expected, with the age group between 20-29 years old. The only age group that seems to inform themselves more through “mass media” is the 40-49 year old group.

Question 6: According to the following table: 1) How do you evaluate your knowledge about the relationship between the Chilean State and the Mapuches? 2) How do you evaluate your knowledge about the so-called Mapuche conflict?



On the first question about the relationship between the Chilean State and the Mapuches, most of the participants (52 persons) declared to have regular knowledge about the relationship. Only 4 people affirmed to have “very good knowledge”, with them being 45 years old (3 persons) and 33 years old (one person from La Araucanía Region). Just one person (29 years old) acknowledged to have “zero knowledge” about the relationship. Regarding the second question, about their knowledge in relation to the so-called Mapuche conflict, the difference between “good” and “regular” is not as much as seen in the previous question. It could be this topic is approached way more often in media in comparison to the relationship between the Chilean State and the Mapuches. As presented in the CDA chapter, almost all news is related to the so-called Mapuche conflict and does not go deeper into their relationship with the State. In the second question, the three people who have selected to have “very good knowledge” about the Mapuche conflict are the same to have picked this option in the previous question.

Question 7: Please choose 3 terms that according to your opinion define the Mapuche conflict



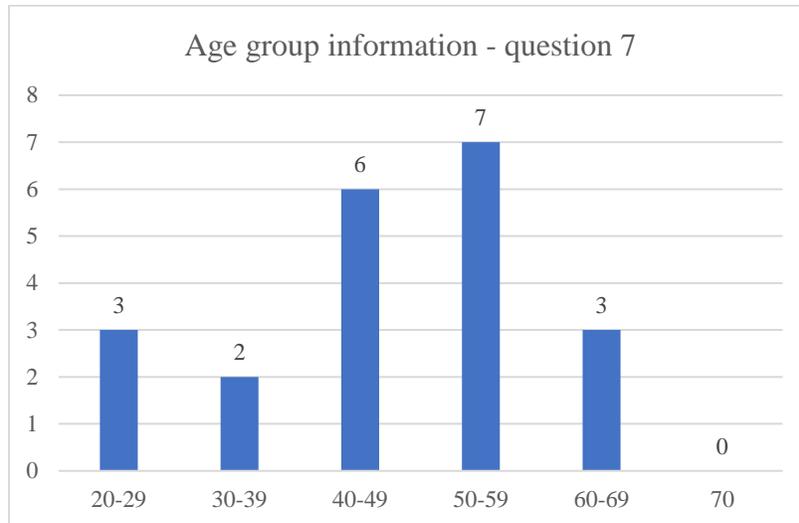
The terms proposed in this question come from the CDA of both newspapers, by using the most used words in these newspapers. The idea behind this was to check how much the terms related to the results presented in the CDA chapter. As one can see, the three most chosen terms were “land recovery” (76,2%), “constitutional recognition” (56,4%) and “violence” (44,6%) – the last two being the most used words by the analyzed newspapers. Demonstrating around the same percentage, one finds the words “arson attacks” (22,8%), “terrorism” (20,8%) and “dialogue” (22,8%). All these three words are directly related to the Mapuche conflict, as presented in both newspapers. In this question, it was surprising to see 21 persons describing the Mapuche conflict under the term “terrorism”. That is why the next questions (question 8 and 9) go further into the concept of terrorism and the participants own associations and beliefs of the term, especially when considering the Mapuches, if so.

Not only was there the option to choose the terms, but to also write-in other terms, in case of not finding the ones they wanted. Some of the added terms were:

- “Use of the Mapuche movement by terrorist groups” and “lumber theft mafias”
- “Political advantage”, “lack of dialogue”, “lack of truth”
- “Respect to their culture”
- “Violence from the State to the conflict”

- “Racism”

Just as with the option “terrorism”, it seems one of the participants had further continued with this concept and added the Mapuche movement as being used by terrorist groups (no information if he/she considers the Mapuches as terrorists). In this context, under which age group are the participants seeing the Mapuche conflict as terrorism? Hence, the following graphic to show the age group of these participants:



As one can see, the age group that perceives the Mapuche conflict under the term of terrorism is around 40 and 59 years old.

Question 8: How would you describe “terrorism”? (It is not necessary an elaborated answer. The main point is that you express your opinion)

This is the only open question in the questionnaire. After the previous question, it was considered that one needs to know the position of the participants regarding the definition of terrorism. At this point, there were 101 answers to this question and, after reading the answers, the conclusion was most of the participants described terrorism as (a) violent act(s) to cause terror in a determined population. Besides the majority’s opinion, there were some interesting answers presented and analyzed hereafter<sup>87</sup>:

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<sup>87</sup> The answers are presented in Spanish and the translated versions will be presented in the following footnotes. The translations have been translated by the researcher since she has a degree in Translation, and it has been also reviewed by another translator colleague.

- 1) *“Ataque a la propiedad privada y pública de un país sin medir consecuencias por parte de un grupo extranjero.”*<sup>88</sup> (participant 1, age 33) → here one term that caught one’s attention is “foreign group”, since it seems this person only relates a terrorist act with a foreign group, not with “nationals” of a country.
- 2) *“Destrucción y enfermo de ideología que defienden intereses corrompiendo y desviando el pensamiento para reclutar personas con un bajo nivel intelectual.”*<sup>89</sup> (participant 2, age 63) → Here it is interesting how the participant uses the words “sick ideology”, “corrupt” and “divert” the thinking of people, as well as hinting that the target public of the terrorist “ideology” would be people with a low intellectual level.
- 3) *“Mi interpretación del terrorismo sería cualquier acción radical violenta que busca materializar el enojo, molestia con una población en particular (i.e: USA 9/11). En general, creo que el terrorismo busca romper la “paz” dando a conocer de manera brutal la realidad/disconformidad con una dada situación.”*<sup>90</sup> (participant 3, age 27) → The previous definition is the most elaborated within the other answers, since the participant even tried to relate the concept with an example, such as 9/11 in the USA.
- 4) *“Muerte a inocentes.”*<sup>91</sup> (participant 4, age 52) → If the participant believes terrorism is the death of innocent people, would not this definition involve other types of crimes as well? It seems a very broad definition for such complex concept as terrorism.
- 5) *“Atentados, ataques.”*<sup>92</sup> (participant 5, age 30) → Here one finds again the same words that are repeated constantly by the newspapers analyzed regarding the Mapuche conflict.
- 6) *“Agrupación militar o paramilitar que con uso de la fuerza o violencia imponen sus pretensiones a los demás miembros del Estado sin sujetarse a la constitución o a las*

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<sup>88</sup> Attack to the private and public property of a country, without measuring the consequences, carried out by a foreign group.

<sup>89</sup> Destruction and sick ideology to defend their interests by corrupting and diverting the thinking and to recruit people with a low intellectual level.

<sup>90</sup> My interpretation of terrorism would be any radical/violent activity that seeks to embody the anger/discomfort with a particular population (i.e: USA 9/11). In general, I believe terrorism seeks to break the “peace” by making known in a brutal way the reality/discomfort with a situation.

<sup>91</sup> Death to innocent people.

<sup>92</sup> Attacks, arson attacks

*leyes.*”<sup>93</sup> (participant 6, age 45) → The intriguing part of this definition is how the participant links the members of a terrorist group with a military or paramilitary group, as well as he/she believes this group is completely against what a nation is, the State, the Constitution and the law. Even though, some other participants have mentioned that terrorists groups go against the State, this has been the only answer where the constitution and law has been mentioned. It seems that both concepts are also of great importance to the participant.

- 7) “*Ataques de carácter bélico contra ciudadanos del país.*”<sup>94</sup> (participant 7, age 27) → In this definition, it is surprising the use of warlike attacks. It adds a more violent, extreme and harsher meaning to the word terrorism.
- 8) “*Encapuchados, rostros ocultos, sumado a destrozos de bienes materiales y ataques; incluso con resultado de muerte; a personas.*”<sup>95</sup> (participant 8, age 40) → Here again one can find key words that have been found in the CDA such as hooded persons, damages (to material goods) and attacks. It is salient how this participant relates terrorism to hooded persons and hidden faces. Is there any relation between this definition and what is portrayed in the newspapers? Is there already a connection between this person’s definition and the concept of the Mapuche conflict? Unfortunately, there is no means to answer these questions since a follow-up interview/questions were not involved in the questionnaire.

These eight definitions were either chosen due to the interesting use of words or the definition itself caught the researcher’s attention. They are presented here since they relate to the following question.

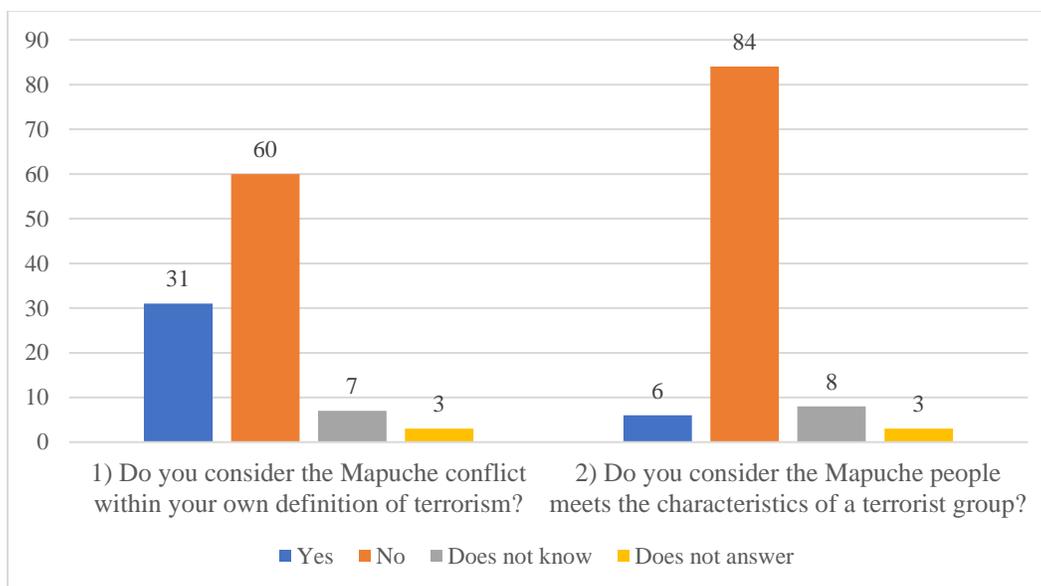
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<sup>93</sup> Military or paramilitary group that by the use force or violence impose their claims to the other members of a State, without being bound to the constitution or the law.

<sup>94</sup> Warlike attacks against citizens of the country.

<sup>95</sup> Hooded persons, hidden faces, damages to material goods and attacks; even with resulting in death.

Question 9: According to the following table: 1) Do you consider the Mapuche conflict within your own definition of terrorism? 2) Do you consider the Mapuche people meets the characteristics of a terrorist group?



Regarding the first question, most of the participants do not see the Mapuche conflict under their own definition of terrorism, despite 31% believing it is. Having in mind the previous section with the definitions of terrorism, it is a good idea if one compares the answers of the previous participants with respect to both questions. In the case they have answered “yes” to the first question, it will display how they see by the Mapuche conflict.

Participant's number related to the previous question	1) Do you consider the Mapuche conflict within your own definition of terrorism?	2) Do you consider the Mapuche people meets the characteristics of a terrorist group?
Participant 1 (age: 33)	No	No
Participant 2 (age: 63)	No	No
Participant 3 (age: 27)	Yes	Does not know
Participant 4 (age: 52)	Yes	Yes
Participant 5 (age: 30)	Does not know	No
Participant 6 (age: 45)	Yes	No
Participant 7 (age: 27)	Yes	No

Participant 8 (age: 40)	Yes	Does not know
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5 out of 8 participants selected from question number 8 believe the Mapuche conflict is under their definition of terrorism. However, only one concluded all Mapuche people to be terrorists. This is the same person that described terrorism as death to innocent people. For these participants, the Mapuche conflict is categorized as a violent/radical act, including warlike attacks, military or paramilitary groups.

Going back to question 1 (*do you consider the Mapuche conflict within your own definition of terrorism?*), 31 participants see the Mapuche conflict as terrorism. 35,48% of the participants are between 50-59 years old and 29,09% are between 20-29 years old. It was a surprise to see the results of the age group 20-29, since in question number 7, only three participants described the Mapuche conflict under the term of terrorism. Their answer would have changed if considering their ability to choose three terms in question 7. However, in questions 8 and 9, their opinion was directly asked about terrorism and if they considered the Mapuche conflict as terrorism.

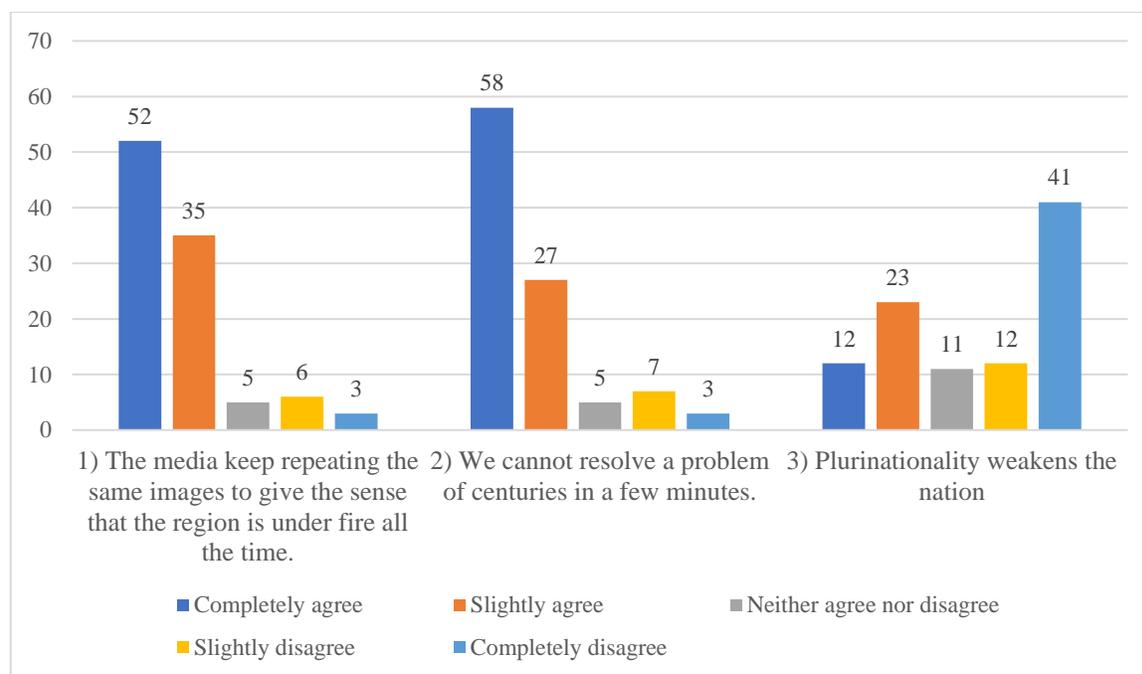
Moving forward to question 2 (*do you consider the Mapuche people meets the characteristics of a terrorist group?*), it is clear most of the participants (84 out of 101) do not consider the Mapuches as a terrorist group. Nonetheless, six of them do. Although six compared to the other 84 participants does not seem as a shocking result, it still stands out that six participants see all Mapuches as a terrorist group. In this context, it will be analyzed the participants that chose “yes” to these questions and one will compare the participants’ answers to previous questions and see if there is any pattern within their previous answers.

From the six participants, one is of the group age 20-29, two of 30-39, one of 40-49, and two of 50-59. Three participants consider themselves readers of newspapers in Chile and two chose “maybe”. Two participants are readers of *El Mercurio*, one of *Las Últimas Noticias* and two read both. What do they have in common? First, all chose the mass media outlets as their way to inform themselves about the history and culture of the Mapuches, while five out of six chose formal education as the other answer. They all seem to have “good” or “regular” as their answers to the knowledge of the relationship of the Chilean State with the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. When one compares it with the answers these six participants gave

in the question “if they consider the Mapuche conflict under their own definition of terrorism”, they all answered affirmative to this question.

Question 10: How much do you agree with following statements?

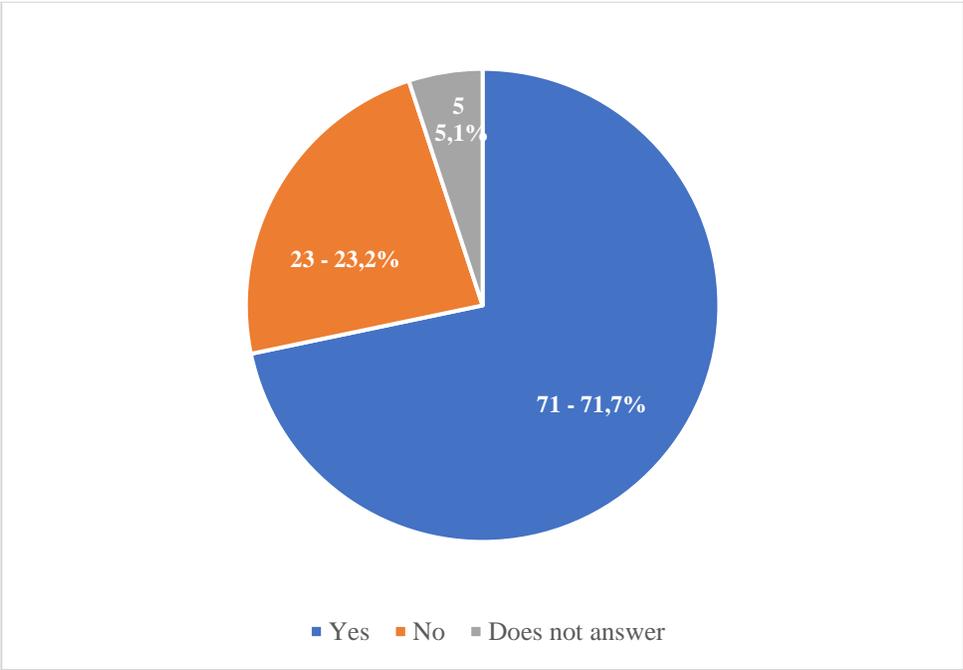
The following statements were taken from some of the news in *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias*, analyzed in the CDA and chosen for examination by the participants to reveal their opinions.



Regarding the first statement, 86% of the participants somewhat agree (either “completely” or “slightly”) that the media repeats the same images to give the sense the region is under fire all the time. As to the second statement, again most of the participants (84%) somewhat agree with the sentence. In this statement there is no need to further explain what is meant, because reading and having in mind the topics of the questionnaire, gives a hint to what is referring. The participant also needs previous knowledge about what politicians comment on this topic. This was stated by the Minister of Social Development back in December 2018 in *Las Últimas Noticias*. As mentioned in the CDA chapter regarding this statement, it is not possible to find a solution to a problem (in this case, the situation between the Chilean State and the Mapuches) in such a short time. With respect to the third statement, it seems the opinions of the participants are more divided this time. Despite this, most still somewhat

disagree to the statement articulated by the former Home Secretary back in December 2018 in *Las Últimas Noticias*. The participants somewhat agreeing with the statement are mostly between 30 to 59 years old: that being, the age group between 50-59 is the one with most participants agreeing. It has come to attention, some participants who have responded in a supportive way for the Mapuches seem to agree that the plurinationality weakens the nation. Would this point somehow influence the participants support to the demands of Mapuches? Why would that be the case? Is the notion of the nation highly important to them? It would have been very interesting to make a follow-up question to the participants agreeing with this statement on how they define under “nation” and why they believe the plurinationality weakens the nation.

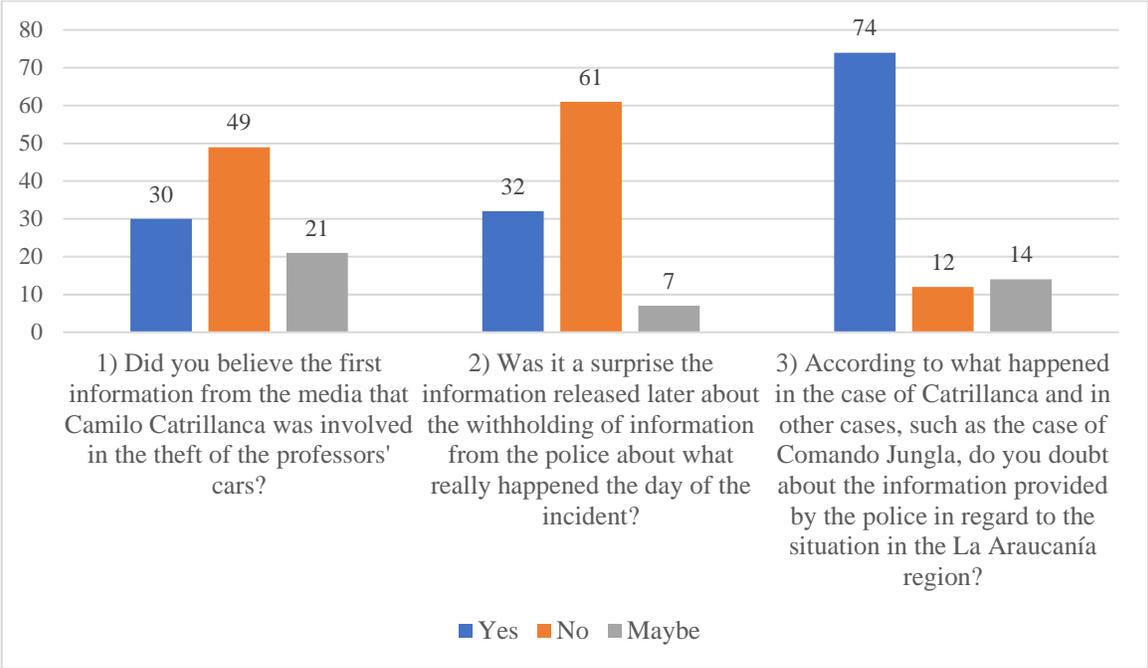
Question 11: According to your knowledge of the situation that is happening between the Chilean State and the Mapuches, do you think there is a criminalization from the State to the Mapuche struggle?



Once again, one finds a clear result with 71,7% of the participants, as they believe there is a criminalization from the Chilean State to the Mapuche struggle. The Chilean State has been following a path of criminalization with the conflict in La Araucanía in the last 20 years, leading to an escalation of the conflict. The repressive policies of the State used against the Mapuches and their demands has led to belief of a criminalization to the struggle. The age

groups answering affirmative to this question were 20-29 (with 28 persons), 30-39 (with 20) and 50-59 (with 11). On the contrary, the groups against this belief were the older groups within the 50-59 (9 persons) and 40-49 and 60-69 (5 each).

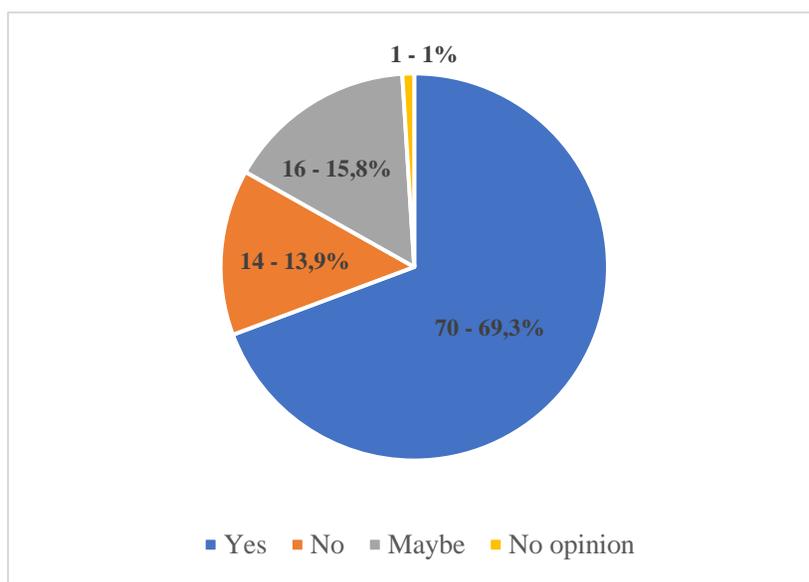
Question 12: Regarding the case of Camilo Catrillanca in 2018:



For the CDA part, the period set for the analysis of the newspapers was between September 2018 and January 2019 and was determined by the death of the Mapuche activist, Camilo Catrillanca. This situation caused heated discussions in the whole country, leading to multiple protests throughout the whole country. Since this topic was also included in both newspapers from November 2018 onwards (November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018 being the date of his death), it was also necessary to ask questions related to this topic, about the media and about the trust to police forces. In the first question, most participants (49 persons) did not believe the information reported by the media that Camilo was one of the thieves. In the second question, the difference is larger between those who were surprised by the police withholding information about what really happened that day (32 persons responded affirmatively vs. 62 negatively). Here, it seems the same number of people who trusted the information by the media are those who were surprised by the procedures of the police forces. In the third question, the participants reveal categorically their mistrust of the information given by the police regarding the situation in La Araucanía; this is due to the case of Camilo Catrillanca and

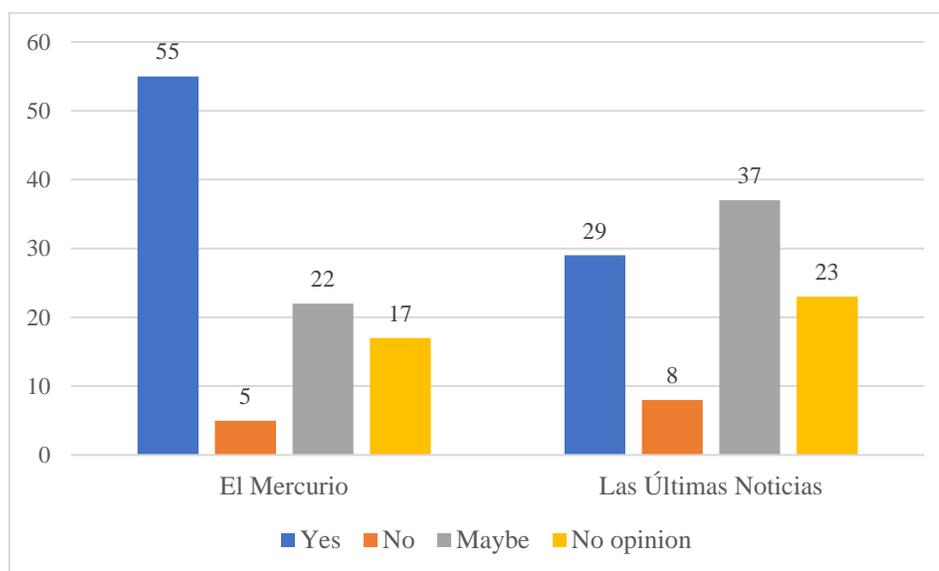
other cases that have shown an unacceptable procedure of the police forces in La Araucanía and with the treatment to Mapuches. What does this say of the police forces and the government policies carried out in the region? There is a pattern that shows the disbelief of Chilean citizens of their own police forces. Who can they believe next? It cannot be the same Chilean citizens are not able to trust their national police.

Question 13: Do you think the way the media present certain topics could influence positively or negatively in the way you perceive these?



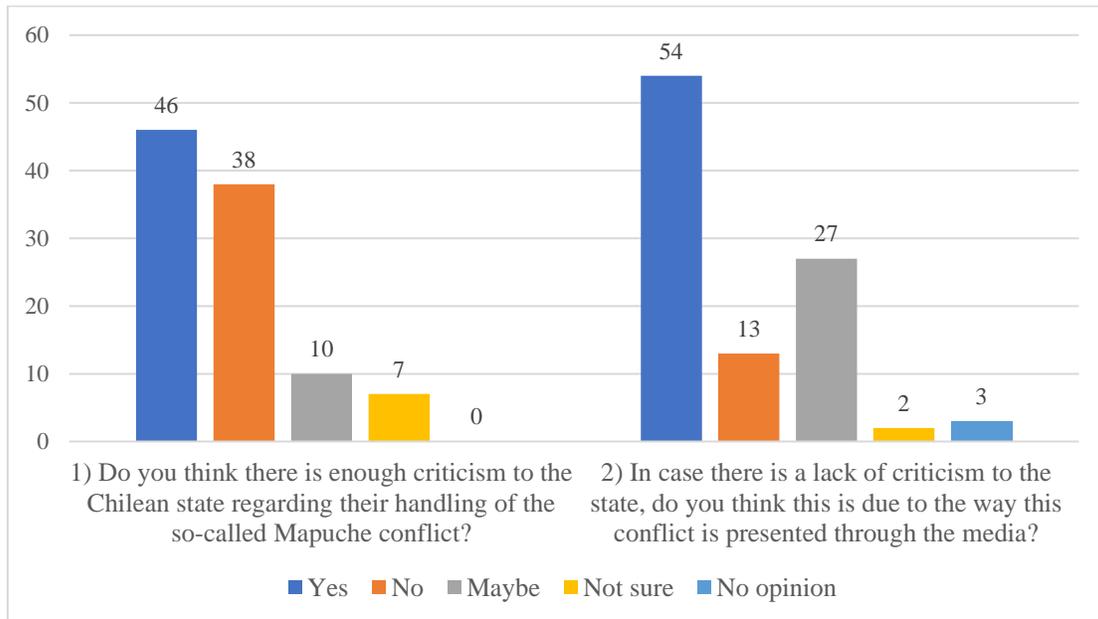
Before finishing the questionnaire, it was important to know the stance of the participants of whether they believed the media's portrayal of certain topics in influencing them positively or negatively on how they perceive these topics. Certainly, 69,3% of the participants believe the media influences the way they perceive certain topics. Only 13,9% does not see it this way.

Question 14: According to your knowledge, do you think that *El Mercurio* and/or *Las Últimas Noticias* present the image of the Mapuches in a negative way?



This question is related to the results of the CDA done in this investigation. As one can see, the clearest results are with *El Mercurio*; nonetheless, for *Las Últimas Noticias*, the participants answers are quite divided. Most of the participants believe that *El Mercurio* portrays a negative image of Mapuches and only 5 persons are against this statement. However, in the case of *Las Últimas Noticias*, 29 persons believe they do and 8 are against. The majority answered “maybe”, which shows most of them are not sure about if they do or do not. When one compares these results with the ones obtained in the CDA chapter, there is a consistency in the results of *El Mercurio*. According to these, *El Mercurio* does uses more negative words in their news about Mapuches. It is the newspaper that informs the most about the so-called Mapuche conflict and the situation in La Araucanía Region, especially portraying the news in a negative way. However, in the case of *Las Últimas Noticias*, most participants chose “maybe” (37) or “yes” (29) to this question; according to the results in the CDA, *Las Últimas Noticias* does not use so many negative words in their news as *El Mercurio*. It was found that there is not so much news regarding the Mapuches, and if there was, these are very short pieces. There is no doubt the participants believe these newspapers in one way or another negatively portray the Mapuches’ image, and it seems to correspond to the analysis done in the previous chapter, especially when it comes to the results of *El Mercurio*.

Question 15: According to your opinion:



In the final question, the purpose was to be direct to the participants and openly ask them these questions, also part of the main research questions. Before one goes to the results, it is necessary to state that these are the answers of 101 people. It does not make it representative of a whole country; however, it already gives a certain direction to how people stand regarding these issues.

First, it was essential to figure out if the participants believed there is enough criticism to the Chilean State regarding their handling of the Mapuche conflict. The majority believes there is, by answering “yes” (46 persons) and “maybe” (10 people). However, 38 participants do not see it this way. This is where the second question comes in, and as it is related to one of the main research questions (“if the media has any influence on ...”). It was not stated what kind of media (which in the case of this investigation, would be newspapers), but most of the participants do believe that the lack of criticism is due to the way the Mapuche conflict is presented by the media, as 54 persons answered “yes” and 27 answered “maybe”. Here the participants against this statement are a bit higher than the previous question, that being with 13 persons against it. Most of the participants answering “yes” were in the age group of 20-29 (24 persons) and 30-39 (13 persons), and the ones against it were mostly in the 30-39 (4 persons) and 40-49 and 60-69 age group (3 persons each). If one compares these results with

question number 13 and compare how the age groups answered to these questions, one can see there is a pattern that the age groups 20-29 and 30-39 do believe the media can influence the way they perceive certain topics and that the lack of criticism is due to the way the media presents the conflict.

## **7.2 Final remarks about the questionnaire results**

As one can see, chapter 4 containing the results of the questionnaire has been a long one, as it in explains in detail and analyzes each of the questions presented in the questionnaire. As some final remarks of this chapter, the researcher would like to highlight that some of the results obtained in this questionnaire coincide with declared statements in this investigation or even with results defined in the CDA chapter. This is supportive of the previous statements and results presented in this work. Some of these are:

- The results of question 3 agree on the target audience of both newspapers and supporting the information provided in the methods chapter about these newspapers. As identified, the participants agree that *El Mercurio* targets an upper- and middle-class audience, with the first being most voted; they also agree *Las Últimas Noticias* targets a middle- and lower-class audience, being the most voted first option too.
- The participants answered that the news they have read recently related to Mapuches are mostly about the Mapuche conflict, arson attacks and Mapuche demands. This is in accordance with the results presented in the CDA. During the five months of the analyzation of each newspaper, one could notice most of the news in both newspapers are about these three topics, rather than focusing on more neutral topics about the Mapuches such as tourism, health, Mapudungún (their language) or anything related to their culture.
- When the participants were asked to define the so-called Mapuche conflict in three terms, the most voted were on land recovery, constitutional recognition and violence. The last two were within the most used words by the analyzed newspapers in the CDA chapter.
- One of the questions to be answered by this investigation is to see if the Chilean State criminalizes the Mapuche struggle. That is why in the review chapter, there is a subtitle in relation to the criminalization of the Mapuche conflict. The subtitle

presents the ways the Chilean State has criminalized the struggle and how this has caused the conflict to escalate. Already noted in the CDA, one can identify in the news how the repressive policies from the Chilean State has caused an escalation of the conflict, leading to loss of lives and violations of human rights. Having that in mind, the participants were directly asked if they believed the Chilean State perpetuates criminalization within the conflict, to which 71,7% answered affirmatively. Therefore, it confirms the statements stated in the review section regarding the criminalization.

- Part of the results from the CDA chapter was that *El Mercurio* does portray a negative image of the Mapuches, having in mind the use of words, style and even the use of visual images of their news, as well as the topics of the news, which is mostly about the Mapuche conflict, arson attacks, violence and protests. *Las Últimas Noticias* seems not to be so harsh on the way they portray Mapuches' image. The wording they use is not so negative and, in general, they do not seem to write extensive articles about the conflict; just brief news about the situation in La Araucanía. Considering these results, it was asked in the questionnaire if the participants believe these two newspapers were portraying a negative image of the Mapuches. Not surprisingly, most of the participants answered "yes" to *El Mercurio*, while for *Las Últimas Noticias* most of them answered "maybe" (37 persons) and then "yes" (29 persons). The answers "no" in both newspapers are very low, not even reaching 10 persons each. Again, the results obtained in the CDA are in concordance with the answers from the participants of the questionnaire.

Not only by having the results of the CDA on both newspapers but also the results of the questionnaire, one can already draw conclusions on how the Chilean newspapers portray the image of Mapuche to Chileans and how these interpretations are taken by the audience thanks to their answers in the questionnaire. Clearly, having the results of both methods carried out in this investigation, a sense of accord and support to the arguments are presented. Now it is time for a discussion on the final conclusions and sum up the results to see in which way this whole investigation, if so, has been able to answer the research questions stated at the very beginning of this work.

## **8. Conclusion**

Newspapers as part of the public discourse can lead to ideological consequences due to the reach they have. They represent a form in portraying different ideas to the public, such as ideologies, beliefs and the representation of “the others”. Thus, the habits of language can help form and develop the way a society think about certain issues. By not only having this in mind but also considering the actual situation of Mapuches in Chile and the ongoing conflict between these indigenous peoples and the Chilean State, this investigation is aimed to research on how Chilean newspapers portray the image of Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict.

It has been a long and thorough investigation. First, the methodology chapter introduced the two methods used in this work: Critical Discourse Analysis and questionnaire. As presented in this chapter, CDA is indeed biased. There is an issue with the way the discourse is being portrayed, in this case, how the newspapers are portraying the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. By performing a CDA, one seeks to have an effect on the society, like exposing the issue and/or mobilize people.<sup>96</sup> The questionnaire was carried out in regards to the results of the CDA and its main aim was to determine Chilean’s opinion of the Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict. By the end, one could see it also worked to support the results collected in the CDA chapter. Second, an introduction to the Mapuches, the Mapuche conflict and its criminalization was presented. The intention is to offer the reader the context of the situation of the Mapuches in Chile. Third, the two analysis chapters are displayed, with an in-depth approach to analyze each month (in the CDA chapter) and each question (in the questionnaire chapter) to disclose a clear way the analysis was carried out, likewise the results obtained from the analysis.

This investigation worked under the thesis of the Chilean media, in this case the newspapers, being characterized as portraying the Mapuche conflict in a negative way, contributing to the negative image of Mapuches by Chileans. The main research question was related to how the Chilean newspapers (in this case *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias*) portray the images of Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict. By performing a CDA in both newspapers, one can conclude most of the news pieces are built in a negative form, mostly consisting

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<sup>96</sup> Blommaert and Bulcaen, “Critical discourse analysis,” p. 449.

news about arson attacks, violence, which are both connected to the Mapuche conflict. Nonetheless, one must acknowledge there is indeed a difference between both analyzed newspapers. By comparing the analysis of both newspapers, first, one can notice *El Mercurio* reports more often about arson attacks, violent events in La Araucanía; however, *Las Últimas Noticias* reports scarcely about these issues. Second, the number of negative words used in *El Mercurio* are remarkable in comparison to *Las Últimas Noticias*; from the 738 words analyzed in *El Mercurio*, 463 were categorized as negative. As in *Las Últimas Noticias* from the 68 words analyzed, 26 were categorized as negative. These results were later confirmed in the questionnaire as most of the participants believe these two newspapers present Mapuches' image in a negative way, *El Mercurio* being the most voted one with around 55% (refer to question 14 in the questionnaire).

Two other main objectives from this investigation were to determine Chilean's opinion on the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict and evaluate if there is any influence of newspapers over Chilean's opinion regarding these topics. Following the first objective, the questionnaire proved useful in determining the opinion of 101 Chileans on these topics. One can conclude that most of the participants are more than familiar with the topic since it is constantly portrayed in the media. Thanks to their responses, one could figure out that most of this news about Mapuches is related to the Mapuche conflict (88,1%), arson attacks (82,2%) and Mapuche demands (58,4%). In general, it seems most of the participants have a rather regular-positive view of the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict, especially the age groups between 20-29 and 30-39. However, it still demonstrated that some of them link Mapuches, especially the situation of the so-called Mapuche conflict, with terrorism, as around 30% of the participants believe the Mapuche conflict fits under their own definition of terrorism. Surprisingly, as most of them have a regular-positive view, 41% of the participants agree with the former Home Secretary statement that plurinationality weakens the nation. One wonders if this point somehow influences the participants support to the demands of Mapuches? Is the notion of the nation highly important to them?

Regarding the second aim to evaluate if there is any influence of newspapers over Chilean's opinion regarding these topics, one must recognize it is a difficult evaluation. In this case, due to time-space issues, this was rather a direct question asked to the participants (refer to

question 13 in the questionnaire for details of the results). The answer was clear, as around 69% of the participants believe the way mass media present certain issues can have either a positive or negative influence on their perceptions.

At this point, it is important to highlight that by analyzing the results from the questionnaire, one finds the answers obtained support statements and results from the CDA. For example, the results of the target audience of both newspapers and the most used words analyzed in the CDA chapter. These words were chosen the topics of news the participants have read about in reference to the Mapuches and how they would define the so-called Mapuche conflict. This support proves the results taken from both methodologies come together and the accuracy of these results. It confirms that the ideas presented are not just mere ideas taken by the researcher, but rather something that others can also perceive.

As a final objective, the researcher proposed to assess a possible justification of the criminalization from the State to the Mapuche struggle and their demands through the influence of the media. Adding to this point, it was also difficult to assess due to the direction of the thesis and the methodologies used. However, it was possible thanks to the questionnaire to assess the participants' opinion regarding this topic. Around 71% of the participants believe there is a criminalization from the State to the Mapuche struggle. When one asked if there was enough criticism to the Chilean State regarding their handling of the Mapuche conflict, 45% thinks there is, against a 37% who think there is not. The follow-up question in this section was, that in case of lack of criticism, if they believed this was due the way this conflict is portrayed by the media. Around 54% do believe the lack of criticism comes by the way the media portrays the Mapuche conflict. One cannot assess if the media's portray of this conflict works as a justification from the State to carry out repressive policies against the Mapuches; however, it was confirmed by the participants that, first, they believe there is a criminalization from the State, and second, that the media influence on the audience about this conflict leads to a lack of criticism to the State.

From the four objectives presented in this investigation, three were achieved. The last one presented was not possible to assess, however, it still was possible to gather information about the situation. In this investigation, it was also possible (through the CDA) to investigate and observe what kind of news *El Mercurio* and *Las Últimas Noticias* were writing about the

Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict, by focusing on the style and vocabulary. Through the questionnaire, it was possible to grasp more information about Chileans' opinion regarding the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict, which has been very enlightening to the investigation as shown by the results.

Personally, this investigation has been a learning journey, despite many of the statements and ideas presented being part of academic knowledge regarding this topic. Thanks to this investigation, it was possible to confirm many of these presented ideas, supported by the results from the CDA and questionnaire. It was possible to affirm the thesis under this investigation and, in the end, both methodologies carried out supported each other with the results. It is conceivable to assert both analyzed newspapers treat Mapuches and the so-called Mapuche conflict in a negative form, especially considering *El Mercurio* (according to the results of the CDA). Most of the news are focused on damages and violence related to the Mapuche conflict, leaving to the side any news related to the Mapuche culture, barely found in both newspapers.

As the participants answered, there is a way the media influences people to perceive certain topics. One certainly can recognize it in Chile and how the media has contributed to the idea of the Mapuches and the Mapuche conflict. Just as Carlos del Valle-Rojas, María Jose Ufarte Ruiz, Francisco José Murcia Verdú and Francisca Silva-Layera state in their investigation of content analysis using the framing theory in *El Mercurio*, the fact that Mapuches are treated with unfavorable and damaging frames has an impact in the stance and beliefs towards this group to be negative by the public who consumes this media.<sup>97</sup> It was also possible to confirm how most participants describe the Mapuche conflict with the same negative words used by the newspapers, such as “violence”, “terrorism” and “arson attacks”. Likewise, it was interesting to see how the participants relate the Mapuche conflict with terrorism, an idea that has been transmitted in the newspapers through statements from authorities and people affected by rural violence.

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<sup>97</sup> Carlos del Valle-Rojas, María José Ufarte Ruiz, Francisco José Murcia Verdú and Francisca Silva-Layera, “Tratamiento informativo de los mapuches en el diario El Mercurio. Un análisis de contenido desde la teoría del framing,” *Correspondencias & Análisis*, no. 9, (2019), pp. 86-104, here p. 97. <https://doi.org/10.24265/cian.2019.n9.05>.

As mentioned before during the investigation, the method of CDA is biased. The motivation to pursue this investigation was due to the concern of the use of discourse in the media. There was intention to expose the issue to the society and mobilize people and support to indigenous peoples, in this case the Mapuches, where their demands and rights are outdone by the interests of multinational companies and the obsession of different Chilean governments with economic development. According to José Aylwin, one has to recognize that part of the Chilean society and the State have an historical debt with the Mapuches, which until this point has been not settled.<sup>98</sup> This whole situation within the Mapuches and the Chilean State must be taken seriously by the government and their authorities. The steps to reach “peace” must be taken now and not in the next 20 years. Furthermore, the Chilean State needs to make sweeping reforms to the police forces and make the situation and dialogue between the State and the Mapuches transparent for all. One knows there is no immediate solution to this problem, but it is time to start working towards a solution now. The solution is not through violence but through dialogue and understanding, which should be based in the acknowledgement and respect to the other, to their history, culture and rights.<sup>99</sup>

For further research and when having in mind the results of the CDA, it would be advisable to carry out interviews in person in Chile. For many of the questions from the questionnaire, the answers were very interesting and would have been suitable to do follow-up questions to gather more information from the participants to get to the root of why, for example, they link the so-called Mapuche conflict with terrorism. In the same way, the sample size of participants could be larger and become the focus of a future research contemplating the results from the CDA. Likewise, if one focuses on the first methodology of this investigation, it would be interesting to carry it out by comparing newspapers from different conglomerates with contrasting ideologies. It is expected that this investigation through the obtained results serves as an encouragement to keep researching about this topic, especially during these times when the Mapuche struggle has joined and gained momentum through the social movements in Chile starting in October 2019. It is not only important to expose it to the

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<sup>98</sup> Aylwin, “Los conflictos en el territorio mapuche: antecedentes y perspectivas,” p. 295.  
<http://www.dii.uchile.cl/~revista/ArticulosVol3-N2/02-J Aylwin.pdf>.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid: p. 296.

Chilean audience but to the international audience as well, since the media discourse has not changed and the conflict between the Mapuches and the Chilean State is still on-going.

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## **10. Appendix**

### **10.1 Information sheet**

¡Bienvenidas y bienvenidos!

Has sido invitado a participar en un cuestionario sobre los medios de comunicación chilenos (específicamente diarios), el conflicto Mapuche y la relación del Estado chileno con el pueblo Mapuche.

Antes de decidir si quieres participar de este cuestionario, tienes que leer la siguiente información acerca de la posible participación y del cuestionario. Por favor, tómate el tiempo necesario para leer cuidadosamente la siguiente información.

Este cuestionario forma parte de mi tesis de máster de EMGS (European Master in Global Studies - Máster Europeo en Estudios Globales) de la Universidad de Leipzig y la Universidad de Viena. Para no influenciar las respuestas de este cuestionario, no puedo entregar información detallada sobre el estudio que estoy llevando a cabo, pero si lo deseas, puedes entregarme tu correo electrónico y puedo enviarte más información una vez que hayas respondido.

La participación en este cuestionario es totalmente voluntaria. Si decides participar, al final de esta página encontraras un formulario de consentimiento, en el cual confirmas que has aceptado participar. Si deseas abandonar el cuestionario y no realizarlo, estás totalmente en tu derecho.

Si decides participar, deberás contestar un cuestionario de 15 preguntas acerca del tema. Por favor, sé lo más sincero que puedas al dar las respuestas. Aquí no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, sino que se trata de dar tu opinión y no serás juzgado o juzgada por ello.

Al ser participación voluntaria, se debe aclarar que no hay incentivo monetario ni material por la participación.

Una vez que se termine el plazo para contestar el cuestionario, se reunirán las respuestas entregadas y se analizarán los resultados para ser publicados en la tesis.

Importante: la información recabada será totalmente confidencial, así mismo los datos entregados por los participantes. No se utilizará ni publicará ningún tipo de información personal entregados en la tesis.

Si tienes alguna duda o consulta, o quisieras más información, no dudes en contactarme.

Contacto:

Valentina Belmar

[vbelmareri@gmail.com](mailto:vbelmareri@gmail.com)

## **10.2 Consent form**

1. Confirmando que he leído y comprendido la información entregada anteriormente acerca del cuestionario y de mi participación en éste. Tuve la oportunidad de considerar la información presentada, realizar las preguntas necesarias y tener respuestas satisfactorias a estas.
2. Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria y que puedo abandonar el cuestionario en cualquier momento.
3. Acepto participar en el cuestionario.

## 10.3 Questionnaire

# Cuestionario Tesis Postgrado

\*Obligatorio

## Cuestionario

Nombre \*

Tu respuesta

---

Edad \*

Tu respuesta

---

Residencia (Región) \*

Tu respuesta

---

1. ¿Se considera lector de diarios en Chile?

- Sí
- No
- Tal vez

2. ¿Es lector del diario El Mercurio o Las Últimas Noticias? En caso de respuesta afirmativa, ¿de cuál de ellos es lector? En caso de responder no, indicar nombre del diario que lee.

- Sí, de ambos diarios
- No, ninguno de los diarios mencionados
- Solo de El Mercurio
- Solo de Las Últimas Noticias
- Otros: \_\_\_\_\_

3. ¿A qué tipo de audiencia cree usted que están destinado los diarios El Mercurio y Las Últimas Noticias? (más de una opción posible) \*

	Clase alta	Clase media	Clase baja
El Mercurio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Las Últimas Noticias	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. ¿Qué tipo de noticias ha leído últimamente que se relacione con los Mapuches? (elegir máximo 3 opciones)

- Ataques incendiarios
- Turismo
- Salud
- Demandas Mapuches
- Plan Araucanía
- Idioma
- Conflicto Mapuche
- Cultura
- Otros: \_\_\_\_\_

5. En cuanto a su conocimiento de la historia y cultura Mapuche, ¿de qué forma ha sido este adquirido? (elegir máximo 2 opciones)

- A través de amigos o familiares
- Educación formal
- Por su propio interés
- Medios de comunicación
- Otros: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Según la tabla indicada a continuación: \*

	Muy bueno	Bueno	Regular	Un poco	Nada
¿Cómo evalúa su conocimiento acerca de la relación Estado Chileno y Mapuches?	<input type="radio"/>				
¿Cómo evalúa su conocimiento acerca del llamado conflicto Mapuche?	<input type="radio"/>				

7. Escoja 3 términos que según su opinión definan el conflicto Mapuche.

- Desarrollo
- Violencia
- Recuperación de territorio
- Terrorismo
- Diálogo
- Paz
- Ataque incendiario
- Reconocimiento constitucional
- Situación con fuerzas especiales
- Otros: \_\_\_\_\_

8. ¿Cómo definiría usted "terrorismo"? (No es necesario una definición compleja. Se busca solo saber su opinión) \*

Tu respuesta \_\_\_\_\_

9. Según la tabla indicada: \*

	Sí	No	No sabe	No contesta
¿Considera usted que el conflicto Mapuche entra dentro de su propia definición de terrorismo?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
¿Considera usted que el pueblo Mapuche cumple con las características de un grupo terrorista?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. ¿Qué tan de acuerdo está con las siguientes afirmaciones?

	Totalmente de acuerdo	Algo de acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Algo en desacuerdo	Totalmente en desacuerdo
1. Los medios de comunicación siguen repitiendo las mismas imágenes para dar la sensación de que la región de la Araucanía se encuentra bajo fuego todo el tiempo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. No podemos resolver un problema de siglos en solo minutos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. La plurinacionalidad debilita la nación	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Según su conocimiento de la situación que ocurre entre el Estado chileno y los Mapuches, ¿cree usted que existe una criminalización por parte del Estado frente a la lucha Mapuche?

- Sí
- No
- No contesta

12. En cuanto al caso de Camilo Catrillanca en el año 2018:

	Sí	No	Tal vez
¿Creyó usted la primera información entregada por los medios de comunicación de que Camilo Catrillanca estaba involucrado en el robo de los vehículos de las profesoras?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
¿Fue una sorpresa la información entregada más tarde sobre el ocultamiento de información de parte de Carabineros acerca de lo que pasó ese día?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Según lo ocurrido en el caso Catrillanca y en casos anteriores, como el caso del comando Jungla, ¿duda acerca de las informaciones entregadas por carabineros acerca de lo que ocurre en la región de la Araucanía?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. ¿Cree que la forma en que los medios de comunicación presentan ciertos temas puede influenciar positiva o negativamente la forma en que usted los percibe?

- Sí
- No
- Tal vez
- No opina

15. Según su opinión:

Sí

No

Tal vez

No estoy  
seguro

No opina

1. ¿Cree usted que hay suficientes críticas al Estado chileno por el manejo del conflicto Mapuche?

2. En caso de falta de crítica al Estado, ¿cree que esto se debe a la forma en cómo se presenta este conflicto a través de los medios de comunicación?

Atrás

Enviar