



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Communication Sciences

**MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: THE PAST, PRESENT AND THE
FUTURE OF PRESS FREEDOM IN CHILE**

Dennisse FLORES CONEJEROS

Master Thesis

Ankara, 2019

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FREEDOM IN CHILE

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Dennisse Flores Conejeros has on the date of 20th June 2019 successfully passed the defense examination and approves her Master Thesis titled "Media and Democracy: The past, present and the future of press freedom in Chile"

.

[Signature]

[Title, Name and Surname] (Jury President)

Dr. İbrahim Övsi A. Nevri Yildiz

[Signature]

Doç.Dr. Emek Çaylı Rahte (Main Adviser)

[Signature]

[Title, Name and Surname]

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Deniz Tansel İliç

[Signature]

[Title, Name and Surname]

I agree that the signatures above belong to the faculty members listed.

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[imza]

Dennisse FLORES CONEJEROS

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ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Tez Danışmanının **Doç. Dr., Emek ÇAYLI RAHTE** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.



Dennisse FLORES CONEJEROS

DEDICATION

To Margarita Conejeros and Nelson Flores; the most supportive parents in the world.

And all journalist who are giving everything for informing the truth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis would not have been the same without the support of all the journalists who agreed to be interviewed for this investigation. Some of them really have serious health problems such as Ernesto Carmona. Without doubt, to him goes a special thanks.

To the Association of Journalists of Chile that received me again and again in the search of journalists and bibliography for my research. They also welcomed me into its establishment to occupy their tools such as newspapers and computers of the place.

Also I have to give a special thanks to my family in Chile, my family in Turkey, to Serhat Ertugrul and my supervisor Emek Cayli Rahte.

Thanks to all of you.

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ABSTRACT

FLORES CONEJEROS, Dennisse. Media and Democracy: The past, present and the future of press freedom in Chile. Master Thesis. Ankara, 2019

Today Press freedom in Chile is not a relevant issue because it is been thought that there is almost no problem related to freedom of expression. However, this Latin American country has a long history to tell. By means of media freedom, today Chile is an a good situation regarding the rankings of democracy and press freedom around the world. But after years of hard struggles in the last 50 years, Chile enforce universal rights such as press freedom and freedom of expression. The experiences during the government of Salvador Allende and later dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet cemented the path of the media and the journalism practices. Standing on this historical context, this study aims to discuss the working conditions that journalists had in the past and what they have today in relation to freedom of expression and the press freedom. To achieve that goal, 15 interviews were conducted to journalists who worked at different times in the history of Chile to demonstrate and understand the transformation of Chilean journalism in the last 50 years. Their experiences and perspectives will allow to open the debate on journalistic practices and the conditions of journalism in the past, present and future in Chile.

Keywords

Journalism in Chile, Press Freedom, Freedom of expression, Journalists in Chile.

ÖZET

FLORES CONEJEROS, Dennisse. Medya ve Demokrasi: Şili'de Basın Özgürlüğünün Dünü Bugünü ve Geleceği. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara, 2019.

Bugün Şili'de basın özgürlüğü güncel bir konu değildir, çünkü ifade özgürlüğü ile ilgili herhangi bir sorun olmadığı düşünülmektedir. Ancak, bu Latin Amerika ülkesi, anlatacak uzun bir geçmişe sahiptir. Bugün Şili, medya özgürlüğü açısından dünyadaki demokrasi ve basın özgürlüğü endeksi sıralamaları baz alındığında, iyi bir durumdadır. Fakat, esasında 50 yıl boyunca verilen zorlu mücadeleler sonunda Şili basın özgürlüğü ve ifade özgürlüğü gibi evrensel haklar konusunda iyi bir noktaya ulaşmıştır. Salvador Allende hükümeti ve daha sonra Augusto Pinochet diktatörlüğü sürecinde yaşananlar genel olarak medyanın ve gazetecilik pratiklerinin rotasını belirlemiştir. Bu tarihsel bağlamdan hareketle, çalışmanın amacı Şili'de gazetecilik koşullarının geçmişten bugüne nasıl bir yola girdiğini ifade özgürlüğü tartışmaları bağlamında ele almaktır. Şili'deki gazeteciliğin son 50 yılda nasıl yol aldığı ortaya koymak için, farklı tarihsel dönemlerde çalışan 15 gazeteci ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Onların deneyimleri ve bakış açıları Şili'de gazetecilik pratiklerine ve geçmişte, bugün ve gelecekte gazeteciliğin koşullarına dair tanıklıklar üzerinden bir tartışma zemini oluşturmaya imkan vermiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Şili'de Gazetecilik, Basın Özgürlüğü, İfade Özgürlüğü, Sansür, Şili'den Gazeteciler.

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LIST OF JOURNALISTS INTERVIEWED

1.- Ernesto Carmona: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Chile. He worked in the newspaper El Siglo, then on channels 9 and 13 of Chilean television and then he was director of the Radio Nacional until 1973. In the presidential era of Salvador Allende, he was a member of the MIR political party. After the coup d'etat of 1973, he had to go into exile in Argentina and then in Venezuela. He returned to Chile in 1993.

2.- Bernardo de La Maza: Journalist graduated from La Universidad Católica. He worked in the newspaper El Mercurio, then on channel 7 till 1975. After that he switched to channel 13 till when democracy came to Chile. Later he came back to TVN as a television presenter in the central news. In the presidential era of Salvador Allende, he was a member of the Communist political party and when the coup d'etat of 1973 happened, he had to go into exile in Argentina and then in Venezuela. He returned to Chile in 1993.

3.- Guillermo Torres: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Chile. He worked in the newspaper El Siglo. After the coup d'etat of 1973, he was taken as a political prisoner being in 5 different concentration camps. In 1975 he was expelled from the country living in Italy and then in the German Democratic Republic as an exile. He returned to Chile in 1984.

4.- Lucía Sepúlveda: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Chile. She worked in the newspaper Puro Chile, then in the magazine Punto Final and in the channel 7 till 1973. She also was a member of the MIR political party and when the coup d'etat of 1973 happened, she began her clandestine life because she was a persecuted politician. Her husband, also the journalist Augusto Carmona, was murdered in 1977, and after 10 years she was forced into exile in Argentina. She returned to Chile in 1993.

5.- Víctor Mandujano: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Chile. He worked in the channel 7 till 1973. After the coup d'etat of 1973, he was taken as

a political prisoner to the concentration camps. He was expelled from the country living in Spain and then in Venezuela as an exile. He returned to Chile in 1987.

6.- Santiago Pavlovic: Journalist and Bachelor of Social Communication, Universidad de Chile. He worked in the newspaper El Norte de Antofagasta, in the magazine La Fech called at that time Claridad and then went to work at Patagonia de Coihaique radio in Aysén for a year. He joined the beginnings of TVN in March 1969 in the press area till today. He is recognized for his research area in the TV program Informe Especial.

7.- Manuel Cabieses: Journalist graduated from the Universidad de Chile. He worked in the newspaper Punto Final becoming later the director of that written media. In the presidential era of Salvador Allende, he was a member of the MIR political party. He was taken as a political prisoner to the concentration camps. He directed the Punto Final magazine until its closure in 2018.

8.- Sergio Campos: In October 1967 he graduated as a teacher of urban primary education at the José Abelardo Núñez Superior Normal School. Later he studied a degree in social communication at the University of Santiago de Chile. He started as an announcer at Radio Corporación in 1969, where he was a news. After the 1973 coup d'etat he was arrested at the Academy of Air Warfare (AGA). Then he went into exile in Argentina and returned to Chile in 1978. He conducted El Diario de Cooperativa from 1981 till today.

9.- Cristián Cabalín: Journalist and Bachelor of Social Communication, Universidad de Chile and Master in Anthropology and Development, Universidad de Chile.

10.- Daniel Inostroza: Journalist currently works in the justice and security section of El Mercurio newspaper. Before of that he worked in the newspaper Publimetro.

11.- Marcela Jimenes: He studied Journalism at the Universidad la República. He worked in the state newspaper La Nación. She is currently general editor of the website El Mostrador.

12. Rayén Araya: She studied Journalism at the University of the Americas. She has been a television animator, music and entertainment commentator, radio broadcaster, television presenter and host of web programs. He began her television career in 1999 as a youth program animator. One of her most relevant works was on Bio Bio radio in 2012. Today he works on the Súbela radio and on the El Desconcierto portal.

13.- Carla Massai: She studied Journalism at the University of the Americas and currently works on the Interferencia portal.

14.- Soledad Abarca: She studied Journalism at the Diego Portales University. He worked on the ADN radio and is currently on the online radio Súbela in the Café con Nata program with Natalia Valdevenito which she has a news commentator space there.

15.- Clara Pérez: Journalist graduated from the Universidad Católica. She worked in the newspaper Fortín Mapocho in 1987. In 1990 started to work in the public newspaper La Nación.

INTRODUCTION

Journalists play a role in society that at first glance seems simple; "The journalist is a person who tells people what happens to people"¹ is a definition that could explain the work of any journalist. However, it is precisely because of this work that their performance has been affecting and changing over time. This is not something that came up yesterday or a couple of years ago; it can be said it started from the minute one of the existence of the media. At a global level, journalists have had to face different types of difficulties depending on the time, the country and the current government.

The press around the world has been deteriorating with respect to press freedom. According to the classical liberal view, which emphasizes the freedom of publication, the media should serve to protect the individual from the abuse of the state (Çaylı & Depeli, 2012: p. 25). Both journalists and the media have been threatened due to the information they disseminate in society that may not necessarily be liked by the authorities or certain selected groups. According to *Freedom of the Press Report* made by Freedom House, the world's population that has a free press stood at only 13 percent, "meaning less than one in seven people live in countries where coverage of political news is robust, the safety of is guaranteed, state intrusion in media affairs is minimal, and the press is not subject to legal or economic pressures"².

According to the General Assembly of the United Nations, a journalist is "any person who exercises a journalistic activity. They are people who observe, describe, document and analyze events, document and analyze statements, policies and any proposal that may affect society, in order to systematize that information and collect facts and analysis to inform the sectors of society"³. It sounds simple, concise and even not very complicated to perform. That role of delivering information to society is one of the main reasons that journalists have

¹ Cruz, Juan (2014). Can we be journalists? It is an opinion piece and those words were made by Eugenio Scalfari, the founder of the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica in Rome*. El País newspaper. https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/07/03/opinion/1404389500_906956.html

² *Freedom of the press report* by Freedom House (2017). https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP_2017_booklet_FINAL_April28.pdf

³ <https://www.undocs.org/es/A/HRC/20/17>

remained in constant conflict. Journalism has gone through very complex times around the world. Even nowadays is not an easy time for journalists because they have to face different difficulties to exercise their own profession freely and without any troubles.

And it is that the close historical relationship between Journalism and politics has put at risk that something that is essential in the work of any communicator, as is freedom of expression, an international right that has not always been respected. For this reason, the process of press freedom has been like a zigzag; sometimes it advances, in others it goes backwards to then move forward and back again and so on (Vélez, 2009).

In the 21st century, sometimes reporting about corruption, organized crime, human rights or the environment, among others, can be dangerous. The World Press Freedom Index, which evaluates the situation of journalism in 180 countries every year, in the report 2019 shows that the number of countries that assure journalists of exercising their work with total freedom continues to decrease, and at the same time also is growing the control exercised by authoritarian regimes to the media⁴.

Chile, a small country with a long and narrow territory, and located at the foot of the world, is a nation that has a story to tell about freedom of expression and especially press freedom. Today, The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index places Chile in the 11th in the world ranking of media freedom, qualifying it in the category *fully free country*⁵. Nevertheless, for Reporters Without Borders (RSF) in the 2019 World Press Freedom Ranking, Chile ranks 46th, dropping 8 places compared to last year. "Although Chile has a relative democratic stability, it remains prey to problems of corruption and still suffers the remnants

⁴ 2019 Edition of the World Press Freedom Index prepared by Reporters Without Borders (RSF). <https://rsf.org/es/clasificacion-mundial-de-la-libertad-de-prensa-2019-la-mecanica-del-miedo>

⁵ Democracy Index 2017; Free speech under attack. A report by The Economist Intelligence Unit. http://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/Democracy_Index_2017.pdf?mkt_tok=eyJpIjoiTkRWalltRTRaRFJsTIRSBsClInQiOiJIRnZiY2FUSUlySGNHR1lUaGIZdXVTMXMzc2lKek5xWjFUMDJxY0J1amFPZEJBbnpab3ljdVlwR2p0TjB4M3dqTzk4MGdNSGJ4RWVvSnRaSEhSVXdUNG1LeG9lUGxUZVEwU0RqeWtWd0VHVENPQXdIb0ViMms1ZFJSUnM3M05OOSJ9

of the dictatorship. In addition, there is a strong concentration of the press and lack of pluralism⁶; in this way, RSF assesses the liberties of both the media and journalists in Chile.

That dictatorship mentioned by RSF is the one that Chile had during 17 years in the hands of the commander of the armed forces Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, who took the government in 1973 to 1990. These were very hard times for Chile during the military dictatorship because there were shameless violations of human rights and journalists could not be saved from this either. During 70s and 80s, journalists constantly were threatened, kick out expelled from their jobs, exiled to others countries or even tortured if they decide to stay in the country.

But before Pinochet the situation was different in Chile. The previous president was Salvador Allende Gossens, a militant of the socialist party who never censured any journalist or media. Some journalists claim that during Allende's time there was full press freedom, while others affirm that it was not so much because political parties had too much influence on media information.

The press must be free and it is not, and probably it has not been, and most likely will be not in the future as well. Why? It is a question that can easily be answered attributing that responsibility to the shift governments. But beyond of that, what happens to the journalists who are the protagonists of this scenario? It seems like the censorship existed from always and that if compared to the Pinochet era that there was an obvious and drastic censorship, today the panorama is much better. But, is it much better in what sense? Does having a moderate censorship make Chile a totally democratic country? It is at this point is important to stop because definitively that journalists have difficulties in doing their work has normalized to such a level, that already the issue of press freedom is not a matter of concern for anyone in Chile.

If Chile is in the top 5 in the rankings of democracy and freedom of expression in Latin America, it looks like that was enough to move forward no matter what kind of journalism is being done in the country and what kind of information the

⁶ 2019 Edition of the World Press Freedom Index about Chile. <https://rsf.org/es/chile>

Chilean are receiving. If Chile has ever had full freedom of the press it is something that with certainty is not known, but it was somewhere in its history because it was intended to be like that. In Allende's time, journalists in general felt comfortable doing their job, but the interruption of the Pinochet dictatorship completely changed that direction and today the press is the result of that phase. It is something like the vestiges of both periods formed the press that exists today in Chile.

Because of that, it is also an important point to consider; what happens to the professionals of today? Are they willing to respect and get respected their own freedom of expression in the media and in society? This is important because the type of journalism that will be in the future in Chile depend a lot of them and the schools of journalism.

Today, there is no censorship problem as in the times of Pinochet. However, there are new techniques of censorship and manipulation of information that emerged hand in hand with the new democratic government after the peaceful end of the Pinochet dictatorship. Censorship and self-censorship are still within the press offices of each media and are perceived as difficult to eradicate.

The press during the Allende government was characterized for being quite ideological: with headlines at first sight attractive to the reader and always attacking the opponent with quite provocative speeches. The objective was always to propagate ideologies of both the right-wing and left-wing, to make known openly through the publishers their own position in front of determined facts. It was a polarized press, but above all quite politicized and critical of national events. But that active press ended on the same day as Pinochet's breakthrough with a coup on September 11, 1973. After that, it did not exist anymore the pluralist press and it was the beginning of the propaganda that the right-wing media made in support of Pinochet

The panorama changed completely for the journalists because the first thing the dictatorship did was to close all the leftist media and persecute the journalists who worked there. But at the same time, there were other media than being

right-wing in the Allende era remained active receiving orders from the same military government about what kind of information they should disclose. The same thing happened with the only state media that has always existed in Chile: *Channel 7 TVN*, where the military were the press chiefs.

But over the years, some media institutions became more courageous and began looking for ways to continue reporting what happened especially with the torture and subsequent disappearance of some people. Many media broadcasters were limited to reporting only a little while others worked clandestinely. But that situation did not prevent these media from being shut down again and again and that their journalists go to concentration camps.

It was very hard times both for the citizens and for the journalists as well. But thanks to the Referendum in Chile in 1988, the Pinochet period ended with democracy returning. Already in the 90`s the political and social conditions were calm, but at the same time Chile had a society that needed to finally do justice especially on issues related to human rights.

Democracy finally reached in Chile, but not so much for the world of journalism because new difficulties have appeared that hinder their work. The neoliberal economic system established by Pinochet brought with it that some entrepreneurs could own different areas of the economy, including the media. That is why today there are large conglomerates that cover both the written press, radio stations and, of course, television. The censorship is not the same as in the time of Pinochet, but the guard and protection of certain private entities, in addition to the publicity of the media, prevents the free exercise of journalists. These types of limitations are much more subtle and difficult to observe, as indicated by the Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Organization of American States (OAS), which has called indirect restrictions on freedom of expression, including the concentration of

property of the media and the arbitrary assignment of radio concessions and official advertising⁷.

And when mentioning communications in the current times, the use of the Internet cannot be ignored, because it has enormous potential to expand freedom of expression in its double dimension: as the right of all people to disseminate and exchange ideas and as a right to seek and receive all kinds of information⁸. Faced with that, do the media have all the freedom to publish any kind of information on the internet? Or should there be limitations in this regard?

21st century and journalistic voices are still silenced. Chile, a democratic country with a leader chosen through electoral voting, but whose exercise of journalism still has certain obstacles that this research will reveal. Which one is the future of the practice journalism in Chile? The current situation will turn worse or better?

This study that explains the difficulties faced by journalists at different times in Chile aims to reactivate the importance of press freedom for democracy and democracy for press freedom. What happened during the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet was a relevant fact not only in Chile, but also internationally. That is why there are some studies that analyze the consequences of the phenomenon of the press in times of dictatorship (Lagos, 2009; Sapiezynska, 2013). In general, are related to investigations about conglomerates in Chile and about the consequences of dictatorships⁹

⁷ Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Organization of American States (OAS) 2018. <http://www.oas.org/es/cidh/docs/anual/2018/docs/IA2018RELE-es.pdf>

⁸ International standards on freedom of expression by the Center for International Media Assistance National Endowment for Democracy (CIMA). https://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CIMA-LatAm-Legal-Frameworks-Guide_English_web-150ppi.pdf

⁹ Those research are:

- Lagos, Claudia (2009) Freedom of Expression and Journalism in Chile: Pressure and Repression. Palabra Clave magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 37-49.
- Sapiezynska, Ewa (2013) Press Freedom under Pressure: Restriction Levels Perceived by Chilean Journalists and Influential Factors. Cuadernos.info magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 11-26.
- Ruiz, Pablo (2011) Media ownership and principles of state intervention to ensure freedom of expression in Chile. Revista de derecho. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 347-359.
- Pellegrini, Silvana (1999) Press quality measurement in Chile. Cuadernos de información magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 49-55.

However, there is none that studies it so widely considering from the government of Salvador Allende (even a little earlier), going through the time of Augusto Pinochet and ending in the current times. In addition, and perhaps most relevant, the contribution that the interviewees will make by telling their experiences, opinions and perspectives will be a fundamental element for this research because that will help to understand the exercise of journalism from the point of view of the journalists' own experiences.

One of the most outstanding books published in Chile and which is a must read for anyone who wants to understand how the press works in present times is called *Press magnates: concentration of the media in Chile* by María Olivia Monckeberg (2008), who also played an important role during the Pinochet's time as a journalist. She was contacted to be part of this investigation, but that was impossible because of her health reasons.

Finally, this study aims to answer the following questions;

1. Why the press has been manipulated in the history of Chile in last 50 years?
2. What are the difficulties that journalists have faced in the different periods of the last 50 years in Chile?
3. Why the press in general cannot be free?
4. Is Chile an example of press freedom for the world?

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- Monckeberg, María Olivia (2008) *The Magnates of the Press: Concentration of the media in Chile*. Debate Editorial. Santiago, Chile.
 - Rodríguez, Raúl (2014) *The border of the dial: Community broadcasting and freedom of expression in Chile: 2000-2010*. Teórica del Departamento de Ciencias de la Comunicación magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 30-49.
 - Baltra, Lidia (2012) *The Chilean press at the crossroads: Between the monochrome voice and the digital revolution*. LOM Ediciones. Santiago, Chile.
 - Insunza, Andrea (2016) *Chile, the shadow of the dictatorship*. Infoamérica: Iberoamerican Communication Review magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 23-26.
 - Bernedo, Patricio (2011) *Three decades after the coup: How did the press contribute to the breakdown of Chilean democracy?* Palabra clave magazine. Santiago, Chile. Pp. 114-124.
 - Merrill, Jéssica (2010) *Freedom of political expression in the written press in Chile*. Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. North Carolina, United States.

5. What would be the ideal scenario for journalistic practices?
6. What are the challenges that Chile has to get a better level of press freedom?
7. What is the future of journalism in Chile?
8. Should freedom of expression have limits?

What is the ideal scenario for the development of journalism with total press freedom is one of the main questions that will be tried to be answered in this study. To find response for that, apart from theoretical discussions over media, democracy, freedom of thought and freedom of the press, interviews with 15 journalists will be used to deepen the discussions. All of them stand out for being tremendously professional and recognized within the journalistic environment in Chile because they do (or at the time they did) everything for helping to have a true democracy in Chile. With the information obtained in this research, it is expected that it will help to develop and strengthen the exercise of the press and to elaborate and promote policies for the improvement of freedom of expression as a law that must be respected and reinforced in Chile. Therefore, to publicize the process of the press freedom in the last decade in study will help this theme to once again take center stage.

And the main contribution that this thesis intends to deliver is to open the debate again on the current situation of freedom of expression and press freedom in Chile from a totally critical point of view. Is Chile an example of press freedom for the world? This and more this thesis will explain.

This research surrounds around the practices of journalists in the last 50 years in Chile to identify what have been the difficulties that they have to face in the exercising of journalism. The focus of this study is to understand press freedom and politics definitely go hand in hand, and what has happened to the media in the last five decades in Chile shows this.

The methodology used will be qualitative type based on multiple interviews. It is important to know first-person experiences that reveal their journalistic practice. For this study, 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted; five journalists

from each period mentioned were interviewed. For example, journalists who in the past were working in Allende`s time. Also who were suffered strong repressions in Pinochet`s time will be interviewed. In turn, journalists who currently work in media will be interviewed to tell if censorship still exists and how it manifests itself.

This collection of information consists of obtaining experiences, perspectives and points of view of journalists, as well as knowing their beginnings in journalism. That is why this study will try to focus on the experiences of each of them in their role as journalists in the media.

As qualitative research is based on an interpretative perspective focused on the understanding of the meaning of the actions of living beings, especially of humans and their institutions (Hernández Sampieri, 2006: p. 9), this study will interpret the information that the interviewees will provide. They will make their reality known in the face of their own experiences as journalists, so it will compare those realities between them.

For data collection, primarily, interviews have been conducted in the following way:

- Standardized in–depth interviews
- Interview questionnaires were based on semi-open ended questions

An interview is an old and more personal form of data collection. In addition to that, open-ended questions always give an edge to dig more information. As there is almost no academic work in the field of journalism in the last 50 years in Chile, interview method seems more effective to get first-hand information from people who are actually in the field. Therefore, interviewees were from following three categories;

- Journalists who worked in the media during the Allende era
- Journalists who worked in the media at the time of Pinochet
- Journalists who work in the media today

All interviews were contacted by all possible ways of communication, starting the search on social networks such as *Facebook* and/or *Twitter*. Their names were obtained finding their press articles on the internet, and also because some of them have written books about how the powers ruined the exercise of the press¹⁰. The lists of those interviewees are in the following:

Table N° 1: Details of Interviews

N°	Interviewed	Date	Profession	Mode	Duration
1	Ernesto Carmona	05.01.2019	Journalist	Face to face	215 minutes
2	Guillermo Torres	13.01.2019	Journalist	Face to face	65 minutes
3	Cristián Cabalín	13.02.2019	Journalist	Face to face	45 minutes
4	Víctor Mandujano	24.02.2019	Journalist	Face to face	190 minutes
5	Lucía Sepúlveda	03.03.2019	Journalist	Face to face	130 minutes
6	Bernardo de la Maza	07.03.2019	Journalist	Face to face	67 minutes
7	Santiago Pavlovic	12.03.2019	Journalist	Face to face	143 minutes
8	Sergio Campos	20.03.2019	Journalist	Face to face	18 minutes
9	Clara Pérez	25.03.2019	Journalist	Face to face	83 minutes
10	Marcela Jiménez	02.04.2019	Journalist	Face to face	24 minutes
11	Soledad Abarca	06.04.2019	Journalist	Face to face	42 minutes
12	Rayen Araya	10.04.2019	Journalist	Face to face	13 minutes
13	Daniel Inostroza	11.04.2019	Journalist	Face to face	92 minutes
14	Manuel Cabieses	15.04.2019	Journalist	Face to face	7 minutes
15	Carla Massai	16.02.2019	Journalist	Face to face	8 minutes

¹⁰ The 15 interviewees accepted that their true identities be used in this research work ensuring that there is no need to use pseudonyms.

After contacting them through social networks, the details of how to obtain the interviews were done through email. In this way, the interviews were arranged. It was preferred to do face-to-face interviews because it is important to ensure that each question is answered in a profound way and thus give rise to the counter-question as well. Most of the interviews were made in the houses of the journalists. This is because many of them are retired and totally removed from the media. That meant a lot because they accompanied their words with old photographs or showed books that they had written years ago. Other journalists were interviewed in their job because they are still current workers and only a couple of them the interview was in a cafeteria of Santiago, Chile.

To carry out the interviews, a consent form was prepared so that the journalists interviewed were aware that the information provided will be used only for this investigation.

It was also done a search for the laws on the press freedom and expression in Chile since its inception. This served to demonstrate the importance that these issues had for each government in different era and how in certain occasions the legislative route was used to manipulate the information.

Another of the elements used in this investigation is the textual analysis of the examples from the press of the time of Allende and Pinochet. For that, a search was made of the written press of both the right-wing and the left-wing press. That search was made in the press archive of the National Library of Santiago. This study reviewed the written press mentioned below:

Table Nº 2: Written press reviewed in the National Library of Santiago

Right-wing newspapers	Left-wing newspapers
El Mercurio	El Siglo
Las Últimas Noticias	El Clarín
La Tercera	Última Hora

La Segunda	Puro Chile
Tribuna	La Nación
La Prensa	

Newspaper reviews are made because it will help to understand how polarized the press was in the 70s and 80s in Chile. The first covers of Allende's time demonstrate the clear ideology that each written media had, as they clearly showed their support or completely opposition to the Unidad Popular government. Then with Pinochet whose times were the strongest in terms of the blatant existing censorship, the covers were evidently filled with false information being complicit of real montages to hide the horrors committed by the dictator in matters of human rights. The covers chosen for this research were not random, but mostly are emblematic in the journalistic world for their controversial content.

To get 15 journalists the vast majority of who probably will not be currently working on the media it was necessary to make a more exhaustive search to, first, find their names, and then make the most difficult part; to contact them. For that reason, it was necessary to search a lot among the existing articles on the written media of that time (70` to 80`) to find names, then try to look for them in the social networks in case if they had accounts on Facebook or Twitter. It started first with those who had written books counting and analyzing the political communication situation of that time, such as Ernesto Carmona, Guillermo Torres and Lucía Sepúlveda. It reached to all of them and they accepted to collaborate with this research. It also contacted many others who also worked in the Allende or Pinochet era as journalists, but for reasons of health and because their advanced ages also impeded them to give interview. Then, in the first part of the search for journalists who worked during the time of Allende and Pinochet, it was difficult because it received many negatives, but not because they did not want to, but because they were for reasons of force majeure.

Also, to contact journalists who have worked in the media that supported Pinochet and were very critical of Allende was challenging. A list of journalists to meet was created and they were contacted through social networks. Having no result, College of Journalists and some universities journalism departments were also connected, in case they had any contact with them. After getting some emails and phone numbers, it was not easy to contact them many times. Some of them answered that "due to previous agreements they cannot talk about it", others excused themselves saying that they were on vacation or very busy, and many others simply never answered.

To achieve a better explanation of the subject, the study will be divided into three chapters: The first chapter is called *Democracy and Media*, where the concepts of democracy, freedom of expression and freedom of the press will be defined. There will also be a review of the history of how the struggle was for getting those liberties. This is because it is necessary to review the theories that emerged in that battle for freedom of expression as a way to better understand the phenomenon of the press in Chile in the different periods of its history in the last 50 years. In addition, these theoretical discussions will demonstrate how the legislation is changing and adapting according to the interests of governments regarding freedom of the press. And finally there will be a pathway of international legislation to see how much territory achieve to conquer these liberties.

The second chapter called *Journalism practices in Chile (1970 - 1990)* will look over more in detail what happened at that time with journalists and the press through the own stories of the journalists who were working in the times of Allende and Pinochet respectively. There will be a review of the history of Chile from the arrival to power of Salvador Allende and later how his government was. Also, and most relevant, there will be a review of the press of that time to analyze its covers and headlines to see how ideologized was the written press of that time. Then it will continue explaining the interruption of Pinochet to the Palacio de La Moneda to interpret the changes that this generated both in the media and to journalists. Here will also be a review of the right press to know

how much propaganda they did to Pinochet and how the information was manipulated.

And the third chapter is called *The Present and Future of Journalism in Chile*, which will explain how the arrival of democracy in Chile for the world of journalism was. The issue of the large conglomerates existing in the country will also be considered; what they are, who is behind them and what the international authorities say about it. Same will be done with the use of the internet for the press as a new form of expression for press freedom. New forms of journalism that have emerged in recent decades will be focused. Also some research that shows the lack of the freedom expression in nowadays in Chile will be considered in this chapter. While although the terror times for the journalism in Chile is gone, there are other type of ways to make the media and the journalists to adopt vulnerability positions at the moment for making news (Cabalin & Lagos-Lira, 2009). How does the formation of multimedia, press, radio, television and Internet conglomerates impact, for example, on the content that their media emits? That question will be asked to a group of journalist who are currently working in different types of media institutions. Some of them work in the media that belong to the big conglomerates, while others work with smaller media workers but more opposed to the current government. Their opinions and different perspectives will be extracted to know how the journalism today in Chile is and how it will be in the future with regard to own experiences of media professionals.

CHAPTER 1

MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

1.1. UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRACY

To better understand the process that Chile experienced in its last 50 years in terms of its journalistic media practices, it is necessary to define the concept of democracy. The political context is paramount when analyzing the behavior and limits that the press may have had for giving information.

Literally democracy means *government of the people*. What it really means to have a democratic government is a questioning that for centuries many theorists have tried to explain and that until today more experts emerge that create more models of democracy and theories to define the current ones. It seems that the search for real and authentic democracy will continue for longer and contributing the world of social sciences a lot more research.

To find which one is the exactly definition of Democracy is quite difficult. Democracy is also an issue studied a lot because of its complexity, where reality and theory also have a great distance. If the word Democracy is searched in the Oxford dictionary, the official definition is:

“It is a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives¹¹”.

The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) makes every year report about democratic indexes of the countries around the world focusing on five general categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and political culture. Even this study that publishes every year the magazine The Economist explains in its first lines that there is a lively debate for defining Democracy because each nation has

¹¹ Lexico.com by Oxford dictionary <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/democracy>

different levels of Democracy. This report determinate the definition of Democracy as:

“It can be seen as a set of practices and principles that institutionalize, and thereby, ultimately, protect freedom (...) The fundamental features of a democracy include government based on majority rule and the consent of the governed; the existence of free and fair elections; the protection of minority rights; and respect for basic human rights. Democracy presupposes equality before the law, due process and political pluralism¹²”.

To continue to explain what democracy means, both its literal meaning as its relevance in the society, it is necessary to mention one of the modern exponents of the concept of democracy and media too, John Keane¹³, who said that democracy cannot be considered as a global system with normative and ideological principles. This is one is the definition that Keane give to Democracy:

"It is better defined as a system of rules of procedure with normative implications. These rules specify who is authorized to make collective decisions and through what procedures must be adopted these decisions, regardless of the sector in which democracy is practiced. Democracy includes procedures to reach collective decisions so that guarantee the fullest possible and best participation from the qualitative point of view of the parties" (Keane, 1991: p. 562).

Since the age of the ancient Greeks democracy has experienced profound changes. Its origins goes back to classic republicanism and the experience of the Italian Republics of the middle Ages and the Renaissance, then to liberalism and the construction of the representative government of the 18th century and the Ancient Greece. It is often assumed that democracy was created in Greece

¹² Democracy Index 2018: Me too? Political participation, protest and democracy. A report by The Economist Intelligence Unit. p. 46

https://www.prensa.com/politica/democracy-index_LPRFIL20190112_0001.pdf

¹³ John Keane is a prominent political theorist whose work has focused on civil society, democracy and the media. He is currently director of the newly founded Institute for Democracy and Human Rights (IDHR).

around 500 BC. At that time democracy was practiced in very small groups, but then they themselves undertook the creation of popular governments. The most crucial evolutions took place in Greece and Rome, both areas of the Mediterranean.

About 230 years ago in a social and political conflict, with diverse periods of violence which historians widely regard as one of the most important events in human history: French Revolution. Long 18th century the overthrow of the Old Regime was, above all, the demise of the idea of divine origin of power, transferring it to citizenship. This means, among other things, the emergence of the individual against the omnipotence of the State.

It should be remembered that French Revolution was a social and political conflict that occurred to overthrow the Monarchy feudal, or more known as Kingdom of France¹⁴. Convulsed France and other nations of Europe and ended with Napoleon Bonaparte`s coup in 1799. The French Revolution laid the foundation of modern democracy and that is why it is important to mention it in this chapter because it also marked the beginning of the importance of popular sovereignty.

The National Assembly derived from the overthrow of the Old French Regime drafted the founding document not only of the Republic but also of the conception of human rights as universal, inalienable and unconditional guarantees of the people. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, of 1789, considers that “the communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most valuable rights of man; every citizen can speak, write and publish freely¹⁵”. It can be said that those words made law means the triumph of the battle that many thinkers had for obtaining the right of freedom of print, or press freedom as it is known today.

Some texts indicate that Plato and Aristotle were the first to idealize the concept of democracy. Plato, even, in his work *Republic* stated that the best government

¹⁴ The Kingdom of France was a medieval and early modern monarchy in Western Europe. It was one of the most powerful states in Europe from 987 to 1848.

¹⁵ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k495230/f282.image.pagination.langFR>

would be that led by a minority of the best qualified people¹⁶. In the seventeenth century, several democratic theorists continued to believe that democracy meant that representatives had to be chosen from among a very small hereditary aristocracy as was also the case of Italian republics at that time. But after the English Civil War and later when supporters of equality and other radical followers demanded more representation in Parliament and universal male suffrage (Dahl, 2004: p. 20), that paradigm was simply disappearing. Between the assemblies in Europe during the middle Ages, the most influential in the development of the representative government was the English parliament. During centuries that in England the political life was dominated by monarchy. With the English Civil War it was abolished and it was established the republic or *Commonwealth*, but in 1660 the monarchy system was restored again. Already established a parliament, the king needed a leader who could gather a majority of votes in the House of Commons for their laws to be supported. Against his will, within the British Constitution it was settled the election of the prime minister and the cabinet. Already in 1918 the universal male suffrage was achieved and in 1928 the right to vote was granted to all adult women.

In the case of the United States, something similar happened. James Madison who is known as one of the founding fathers of the United States, when inspired and follow the ideas from the French philosopher Montesquieu, he thought that the separation of powers would not only provide a guarantee against the monopoly of power, but would also serve for the powers that be reciprocally counterweigh and balance (Arendt, 1988; p.155). Thus, they considered that the power should be divided into three distinct organs that were the executive, legislative, and judicial and in a federal system.

¹⁶ The Republic is a dialogue that Socrates discusses with various Athenians and foreigners about the meaning of justice and it was written by Plato around 380 BC. It has proven to be one of the world's most influential works of philosophy and political theory.
<https://www.um.es/noesis/zunica/textos/Platon,Republica.pdf>

This is what is known as *liberal democracy* and from there the discussions begin about its improvement as an ideal of governance. John Locke¹⁷, an English philosopher known as the father of liberalism, highlighted the importance that the supreme power represented by the legislative power had a series of control mechanisms and respect the rights and freedoms of people according to the law (Locke, 1996; p.162). However, the German political theorist Carl Schmitt is critical of this because it would respond to selfish interests on the part of representatives who are independent of their voters and their party (Schmitt, 1996; p. 57). In his book *Constitutional Theory* states that “the discussions in the committees of parliament or outside of parliament in so-called multiparty sessions are not discussion. There are instead business calculations and negotiations” (Schmitt, 1888; 2008; p.341).

John Stuart Mill¹⁸, a British philosopher and one of the most influential thinkers in the history of classical liberalism adds participatory elements on the part of citizens to this liberal democracy: “The Parliament has an office, not inferior even to this in importance; to be at once the nation’s Committee of Grievances, and its Congress of Opinions; an arena in which not only the general opinion of the nation, but that of every section of it, and as far as possible of every eminent individual whom it contains, can produce itself in full light and challenge discussion” (Stuart Mill, 1861; 2001: p. 68).

So, it is appearing the importance of the citizen participation, and therefore, political will. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, conflicts were considered destructive for democracies, now conflicts and political struggles become something normal, inevitable and even convenient (Dahl, 1991; Baños, 2006).

¹⁷ John Locke is considered one of the fathers of liberalism and empiricism. He has two fundamental works of the political and liberal thought: *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*” and *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*

¹⁸ John Stuart Mill was also a theorist of utilitarianism and a staunch defender of individual freedom in opposition to unlimited state and social control.
<https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/mill.htm>

It is at this point that it is necessary to stop because it is precisely this reason that led the dictator Augusto Pinochet to cease the social revolts produced in the Allende government and imposing the curfews and states of sieges, in order to cut it out silencing to the citizens and the press.

1.2. MAIN TYPES OF DEMOCRACY AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

And this is because in the sixties, the idea of *participation* enters the popular political vocabulary thanks to the multiplying demands of various social groups. In this context, *participatory democracy* emerges. Participatory democracy aims to educate citizens civically, teaching them to know common problems and to think in public terms and mutuality through deliberation. Thomas Jefferson or Alexis de Tocqueville, both considered as the major influences in regard to the republic of the United States and France respectively, pointed out the importance of counteracting the power of the rulers through a broad participation of society in politics. They called for building a dense society populated with associations and mechanisms for direct participation such as village councils, neighborhood councils, workers councils, regional and national councils, as well as spaces to demand accountability from representatives (Pateman, 1970; p. 122).

It is precisely what Allende did in his government, which was characterized by creating the largest number of unions in all areas, as well as the largest amount of media diversity.

In the 1990s new attempts were made to improve citizens' civic competence as well as the equal consideration of different interests. With this arises the concept of *deliberative democracy* that aims to give importance to the institutions and classical procedures of liberal democracy, but at the same time making explicit the possibilities of complementing it with a strong notion of citizenship and public opinion.

Deliberative democracy refers to provide public reasons that justify the decisions of the governors, that is, all determinations must first pass through the debate in the public space. The model of deliberative democracy offers a useful beginning for criticizing exclusion and offering a vision of the meaning of inclusion (Young, 2000: p.36).

This democracy, moreover, is consensual where the possibility of disobedience is legitimate. For this, it conceives a *consensualization* procedure, that is, it provides symmetrical conditions of argumentative freedom and equality; principles of justice that guide the institutional construction of the basic structure of society, at a political, economic and social level. The basic structure is a public system of rules defining a scheme of activities that leads men to act together so as to produce a greater sum of benefits and assigns to each certain recognized claims to a share in the proceeds. (Rawls, 1971: p. 74)

In this model, deputies are usually elected by free suffrage and representation is reached through political parties. But voting would not be transferring a mandate to the representatives, but a mandate to negotiate commitments, that is, a mandate that the representatives can deliberate, negotiate and reach agreements (Young, 2000: p. 38).

Then, in deliberative democracy there are also weak points because it leaves without approaching issues of exclusion of groups whose demands are beyond the limits of rights and its excessive pretension to reach consensus, it lose the sight of the need to take into consideration the inevitability of the underlying conflict in the society (Mouffe, 1999: p. 4).

And finally there are other theories that point to the existence of *radical democracy*, which aim to incorporate cultural difference and accommodation. Here comes the concept of *agonism* that puts the pluralism of life forms and their democratic accommodation at the center of the debate.

This theoretical model of democracy considers that the conflictive dimension of politics is necessary and seeks an agonist expression of differences. Then, political conflict is desirable as a means to transform identities and forms of

collective understanding. It is considered as an articulation of the struggles against the different forms of subordination whether of class, sex, race, as well as of those others to which the ecological, antinuclear and anti-institutional movements are opposed; it is a true participation of all the citizens who are interested in decisions making (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: p. 294).

After exposing the different models and theories of democracy, it is worth noting that in Latin America during the eighties and nineties, the issue of democracy was very important because in some countries such as Chile had the process of transition from authoritarian to democratic regimes. The idea was to identify what type of democracy is the one that lasted after the transition, which some authors point out were confused democracies with a minimal definition of democracy and that is due to the presence of the liberal economic regime inherited from dictatorships (Sartori, 1990; Mejía Quintana & Jiménez, 2006).

1.3. UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

There is nothing new to saying that media in the current society is very important because of its role in keeping citizens informed with truthful and timely information. The fact that people are constantly receiving information and can comment on it among themselves, that creates a common environment which citizens are interested in the issues of what happens around them. That is why the work of journalists at the international level is recognized so much because they create this type of forum in modern democracies. Thus, media and democracy have maintained a close relationship, till the point that one is not conceived without the other. Media and democracy are integrated into society and normal life that much, it would seem that they were born together. However, both have had a difficult history jointly. It was not easy to get complement and go mutually.

The most important guarantee of a democratic political regime and a stable democracy is the protection and ownership of freedom of expression (Cayli &

Depeli, 2012: p. 15) and the struggle of that right started to happen in the 18th century, continuing in 19th and even it extended till 20th century. It was a conflict between State and freedom. Government was represented as the enemy to beat because it was who restricted the freedoms of citizens at that time.

Benjamin Constant¹⁹, Swiss-French philosopher and politician activist who defended individual liberties during French Revolution, in his very visionary speech giving in Athénée Royal d'Evere says:

“Individual independence is the first need of the moderns: consequently one must never require from them any sacrifices to establish political liberty. It follows that none of the numerous and too highly praised institutions which in the ancient republics hindered individual liberty is any longer admissible in the modern times” (Bailey & Brennan, 2008: p. 844).

Besides making clear the importance of individual freedoms, Benjamin Constant considered that the most relevant of the social liberties is the press, because with media is possible to spread diverse opinions and also to get closer to the truth (López Noriega, 2007: p.50). Although in his early works Constant criticizes the press for fomenting the destabilization of the regime and the achievements of the French Revolution, he also recognizes that newspapers are perhaps the most effective and sometimes the only recourse against the acts of individual oppression inseparable from any government administered by men (Sánchez Mejía, 1992: p.168).

Press represents something essential for getting other freedoms such as thinking and expression. It is like the ideal instrument to achieve informative pluralism, citizen participation in the public sphere and demands the transparency of politics as well (López Noriega, 2007: p. 50). Therefore, the

¹⁹ Benjamin Constant was a fervent classical liberal of the early 19th century, who influenced the Trienio Liberal movement in Spain, the Liberal Revolution of 1820 in Portugal, the Greek War of Independence, the November Uprising in Poland, the Belgian Revolution, and liberalism in Brazil and Mexico. He became deputy in 1819 in France and continued to defend constitutional freedoms until his death. *Leroux, Robert and M. Hart, David (2012) French Liberalism in the 19th century. An anthology. Routledge. New York.*

struggle for getting press freedom focused on eliminating state interference with the aim of opening a wide space where opinions circulated freely.

It is important to mention that the conflict for freedom of the press was through the struggle to consolidate the right to freedom of expression. In addition, at that time freedom of the press was known as freedom of the print.

So, then, is it possible to say that the link between democracy and freedom of expression it is not something recent, but it is one of the triumphs of the liberal over conservative and traditional society. Like this happened in the liberal revolutions in England, France and United States.

As Keane is a standout political theorist of democracy and because it is one of the concepts that are necessary to study in depth for this research, the following will show what Keane says about democracy and how it is related with Media.

Keane discusses the importance of media in all areas of public life, especially in democracy. In general, he is an exponent who is against the media surrendered to laws of the market or in those who are in the monopoly of public powers. He supports the idea that, in democratic society, media must be maintained independent of financial and political power. Keane also describes the characteristics that media should be in democratic context in its role as a public service.

What is the proper relationship between democracy and the media? This is the question that he tries to resolve in some of his books. In his writings, he reviewed the theories of the liberal's thinkers for getting new conclusions and theories. Even he ensures that "the early modern thesis that freedom of communication is a vehicle for certitude, absolute knowledge and the spread of a rational democratic consensus is obsolete. New justifications of the intimate relationship between liberty of the press and democracy are needed" (Keane, 1991: p. 175).

There is no doubt that the relationship between media and democracy is close and since the French Revolution has been treated to validate its importance of

going hand in hand. About this Keane point out that “It cuts across the grain of the conventional thesis that the most important quality of freedom of information and democratic procedures is that they enable the approval of decisions of interest to the whole collectivity or at least to a majority of citizens” (Keane, 1991: p. 175). He means that these freedoms of information and expression that initially supported the idea that they were totally free should have a second more critical reading.

Regarding the definitions of each concept studied in this research, Keane agrees with the great importance of press freedom and even describes it as “an imprescriptible natural right, given by God. It cannot be infringed by any earthly power, and certainly not by corrupt governments wanting to save their own skins. The right to a free press is a political trump held by individuals against government” (Keane, 1991: p. 4).

He also coincides with the power of those freedoms, especially to press freedom because there is a possibility to lead to rebellion and disorder. Even in the book *The Media and Democracy* Keane cites to Tomas Erskine, a British lawyer that for defending his friend Thomas Paine accused for writing the text *Rights of Man*, says in that audience that: “Let men communicate their thoughts with freedom, and their indignation fly off a fire spread on the surface, like gunpowder scattered, they kindle, they communicate; but the explosion is neither loud nor dangerous: keep them under restraint, it is subterranean fire, whose agitation is unseen till it bursts into earthquake or volcano” (Keane, 1991: p. 5).

In the same book, in the chapter *Democracy, Risks and Reversals* also cites to German sociologist, philosopher, jurist, and political economist, Max Weber, who defines democracy “as a system in which people choose a leader who then says `now shut up and obey me`”. This means that Keane is also agree with the power of the State and that is why he says “democratic procedures increase the level of flexibility and reversibility of decision making (...) They create dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, and even stir citizens to anger” (Keane, 1991: p. 15).

Within his theories and analysis are about implicitness of conglomerates and advertising in the media, as well as the survival of State media. Keane mentions that democracy and public service media are “reflexive means of controlling the exercise of power”. That is not only about the government, but also who the owners of media are.

1.4. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND PRESS FREEDOM

When reviewing the history of how the need to defend freedom of expression arose and to understand the importance that the liberal doctrine had to achieve that right to jurisdiction, it helped to know what is meant the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom. It can be said that the philosophers of the liberal doctrine began to refer first to freedom of expression in defense of the freedom of the print.

It is understood that when the information is manipulated or silenced freedom of expression is being violated, but also when opinions are silenced and it is at this point that press freedom is related to freedom of expression.

Freedom of expression is one of the main constitutional rights and as all rights; it exists and is based on the fact that it helps people to be able to express themselves freely. That is why this right is defended and respected by all the authorities and organizations of the world. It is one of the fundamental rights of the people since it is without the freedom of expression, without the freedom to express opinions freely, it is faced with the most absolute repression, being this a fundamental characteristic of the military dictatorships.

The importance of freedom of expression for the strengthening of the democratic system was studied by Alexander Meiklejohn²⁰, one of the most relevant theorists about this topic in the 20th century. For him, freedom of expression should be guaranteed for citizens so they can participate in debates

²⁰ Alexander Meiklejohn was a philosopher known as an advocate of First Amendment freedoms and was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

of public issues. Protection of free speech contributes that people can make necessary decisions for the self-governance, in other words, is what Meiklejohn denominates “citizen participation in decision making” (Meiklejohn, 1948; 2004, p. 46).

Jürgen Habermas²¹ is another of the theorists who studies freedom of expression, but being of the contemporary era, he analyzes it with the current problems that must face now. He approaches the definition of freedom of expression with public debate as one of the basic elements of the liberal democracies of a society: “Political, scientific or literary controversies, [...] the public conform not a space of spectators and listeners but the space of speakers and receivers, in which they are refuted one another it is an exchange of reasons, not a convergence of looks. Participants in speeches that focus on a common thing turn their backs, as who says, to their private lives. They do not need to talk of themselves. Public sphere and private sphere do not mix, but enter into a relationship of complementarity” (Habermas, 2008, p.19). It is related with exchange of opinions between citizens than can make their own ideas and understand the political and social environment which will allow them to exercise their political rights in an informed way.

There is no doubt about the importance of freedom of expression in society and that is why it was taken to be an international law. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²², freedom of expression is the right of every individual to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Based on this, the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA)²³, part of the National Endowment for Democracy, elaborated a guide to set the

²¹ Jürgen Habermas is a German philosopher and sociologist, heir to the Marxist tradition of the Frankfurt School and among his most relevant philosophical works is the Theory of communicative action.

²² Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 19.
https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

²³ The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), at the National Endowment for Democracy, works to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of independent media development throughout the world. The center provides information,

international standards of freedom of expression. It states that the right to freedom of expression is crucial for the exercise of other rights, but also for the full development of people. It is the cornerstone of any free, democratic and participatory society. This institution defines freedom of expression as “the right to express ideas, opinions and issue information of all kinds; the right to access, search and receive information; the right to disseminate information and ideas without regard to borders and by any means of expression²⁴”.

Regarding the concept of freedom of the press, the best way to express oneself freely in a democratic country is the freedom that the press has to report all national facts. In addition, one of the functions of mass media is to inform and entertain. In essence, the fundamental purpose of the media is to help discover the truth, solve political and social problems presenting all forms of evidence and opinion as a basis for good decisions.

1.4.1. LIBERAL DOCTRINE

It is convenient to begin reviewing briefly the liberal doctrine and of course its historical context, because this way, it will be possible to explain how media got power over State and how freedom of expression achieved to occupy the seat of honor that corresponds in the society.

But first, this doctrine had its beginnings on abreast with the economic field. Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Thomas Robert Malthus, English economists propose economic development based on the free market. Globalization as a theory arises with the works of Adam Smith, a moralist philosopher who contradicts the principles of the mercantilist theory of economic policy that establishes that a State progress economically must restrict its imports and promote exports, arguing that competition and specialization of economic

builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies

²⁴ International standards on freedom of expression: A basic guide for legal practitioners in Latin America and the Caribbean. https://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CIMA-LatAm-Legal-Frameworks-Guide_English_web-150ppi.pdf

activities is the elements key. This today is known as the neoliberal economic model.

Liberal doctrine was born in the middle of the confrontation against to traditional society. It was the transformation for having an open society instead of a closet one. To maintain a closed society with an absolutist regime requires the restriction of the media and the information.

That is to say, before of the liberal doctrine there was the traditional doctrine which is directly related with religious issues. It is characterized for being a model of society with immobile character; with laws and restrictions without changes. The limitations were the freedom of access to information as print materials, books, newspaper, and so on, as well as freedom to thoughts and opinion. Even there was not freedom for choosing religion (Aznar Gómez, 2002: p. 226).

Thus, the triumph of freedom of expression, or freedom of printing as it was known at the beginning, it meant winning the struggle for freedom of conscience and individual religion chosen. Then it was interpreted and associated with the victory of a political regime opposed to the absolute power how the traditional doctrine was. (Aznar Gómez, 2002: p. 229). This transition transformed the meaning of the press freedom and the role of the media which marked fundamental profile of the liberal doctrine.

England was the first country which makes the freedom of expression as a primordial element in a new political order. John Milton²⁵, a civil servant for the Commonwealth of England, wrote the first manifesto called *the Areopagitica* in defense of the freedom of thought and printing:

“Release the press from the restrictions with which it was ballasted, so that the power to determine what was true and what was a lie, what was to be published

²⁵ John Milton wrote at a time of religious flux and political upheaval in England. *Areopagítica* (1644), written in condemnation of pre-publication censorship, is among history's most influential and impassioned defenses of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. <http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvSm9obI9NaWx0b24>

and what was to be suppressed, will be left to be confide to a few illiterate individuals and ignorant, who would deny their license to any work that contains” (Milton, 1644; 1976: p. 9).

Milton exposed this speech to the Parliament of England and in the background of that discourse was a religious confrontation of the time.

Much later, David Hume²⁶ in 1741, also known for being a defender of press freedom, approached in one of his essays this theme in England: "Nothing can surprise a foreigner as much as the great freedom that we enjoy in this country to communicate to public as we please and openly censure the measures taken by the king or his ministers” (Hume, 1741; 1985; Smith, 2018: p. 104).

Thereupon, this speech points to a triumph of the liberties over the statecraft:

“We fear being victims of arbitrary power if we were not careful to avoid their progress and there was not an easy system to give the alarm from one extreme to another of the kingdom (...) In this regard, nothing as effective as the freedom of the print which allows to put all the knowledge, wit and talent of the nation at the service of freedom, and encourages everyone to defend it” (Hume, 1741; 1985; Smith, 2018: p. 106).

That is how the liberal doctrine is shaping with that freedom of the print tended to be associated with the existence of a certain political regime opposed to the absolutist power of the traditional order. Role of the media gradually became democratic as well, contributing to the bases of the liberal political doctrine (Aznar Gómez, 2002: p. 229).

Till here is possible to see how the concepts of freedom of print and politics are getting closer. It is started explaining that guarantee freedom of expression is more than a consequence for changing a traditional doctrine as Hume said it; it is become part of the proper functioning of democracy. For example, James

²⁶ David Hume was a Scottish philosopher, economist, sociologist and historian. It is one of the most important figures of Western philosophy and the Scottish Enlightenment.

Mill²⁷, a Scottish philosopher and a historian who contributing his opinion about press freedom, wrote in the Encyclopedia Britannica “it is doubtful that there is any benefit where the people can choose politics and they do not have press freedom at the same time” (Mill, 1644; 1971; Aznar Gómez, 2002).

According to James Mill, freedom of the expression and press freedom help democracy especially in three functions: autonomy of the vote, publicity and monitoring of the political and critical opinion (Mill, 1644; 1971; Aznar Gómez, 2002). In this way, freedom of the press becomes part of the democratic order and its functions acquire a normative character associated with political contribution.

Britain is the birthplace of the modern principle of liberty of the press. The first country in which there were clear demonstrations in favor of freedom of expression was England.

In The Bill of Rights in 1689 was the first text that mentioned about press freedom. In the ninth article it affirms that “the freedom of speech and the debates and procedures in the Parliament should not be impeded or investigated in any court or place outside the Parliament”²⁸. That means, members of Parliament are exempt from full responsibility for their opinions expressed in their capacity as representatives and they cannot be prosecuted for this too. With this is possible to see that there are notions of freedom of expression, but as a right only for parliamentarians.

Later, with the arrival of the printing, the situation changed again. Publications such as books or the same press were reviewed by Company of Stationers that kept the register and intervened directly (Climent Gallart, 2016; p. 242). From the first moment, the British State imposed prior censorship on freedom of expression. Thus, the 17th century in England is characterized by the

²⁷ James Mill In 1814 undertook to write various articles on politics, law, education and press freedom for the six-volume Supplement to the 4th, 5th, and 6th editions of the Encyclopædia Britannica. His eldest son was the celebrated Utilitarian thinker John Stuart Mill. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-Mill>

²⁸ <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/revolution/collections1/collections-glorious-revolution/billofrights/>

implementation of different types of rules with the aim of controlling liberties related with information and expression.

As was mentioned before, John Milton was the first academician who fights in favor of freedom of expression. *Areopagitica* circulated in the country without a printing license and without having been previously registered, and for that reason it became the most forceful argument against the censorship of the time. With this he laid the doctrinal foundations to strengthen freedoms ensuring that “the free exchange of ideas and opinions is an unavoidable requirement for the progress of knowledge and for the search for truth. This requires that these ideas can flow freely, without any type of restriction. Thus, the human being, as a rational and conscious subject, is self-sufficient to select the ideas provided by environment (Roig Ansuátegui, 1992: p. 902). Hence, Milton supports that the freedom of thought and the diffusion of opinions, without restrictive criteria or previous control their content, help reach the truth. He insists that the truth cannot be imposed to be an object of censorship and all kind of opinions can circulate freely without limits. It is possible to say that Milton trust in the freedom of conscious and intellectual freedom of the society, who has a huge criteria able to identify what is appropriate to say.

John Locke has referred a lot about the concept of freedom expression and how it should be in the society and politics. Like Milton, Locke points out that freedom is projected as the causality of all political acts of man with consent. In general, he emphasizes that is risk to control the freedom of expression because it could unleash a worse situation.

In England the control was in different ways: to established that all books, pamphlets and documents must be approved by the authorities and should be registered in the Company's book. The Company monopolizes the printing of certain books, if unless they have their own license and consent. They are also prohibited the book imports and printed to England. In addition, certain authorities may intervene and destroy all books and documents that do not have the corresponding licenses. The arrest of authors is envisaged, printers

and others involved, as well as the possibility to impose certain penalties (Roig Ansuátegui, 1992: p. 802).

At that time a consequence was that the censorship made to decline the national market of books or the texts and also press suffered complications because the texts were previously corrected by the authority so they were censored too (Climent Gallart, 2016: p. 242).

Cato's Letters, were some famous texts that were published in the press and books that reflected on the rights and freedoms of the English people, altogether with Locke's Writings were the first sources of political ideas and most influential texts both in England and in the American colonies. "The people want to know the truth, and publish it, and judge whether the actions of the rulers are good or bad. To repress the publication of the truth is to act against the people"; this was what was claimed in the texts of the cato's letters (Muñoz Machado & Sánchez, 2013: p. 45).

John Stuart Mill points out that absolute truth do not exist and what there is today can no longer be tomorrow and vice versa. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001: p. 19).

Therefore, the history of freedom of expression and press freedom in England was very moving and agitated thanks to the aforementioned exponents who managed to put the issues of the liberties of people in the arena and thus achieve great accomplishment in terms of the abolition of censorship and the separation between the state and the print media.

1.4.2. FREEDOM OF SPEECH ACCORDING TO LOCKE AND STUART MILL

As it was mentioned previously, John Locke (1666; 1999, p.30) asseverate that every human is naturally free and that liberty, through of the consent, is the

moral force make the civil society and any government. In general in his book *A letter Concerning Toleration*; he establishes the human freedom as the bases and origin of political life. He has always been a fervent defender of freedom of expression and in that book he tries to explain how it should be respected in an era where politics and religion are the strongest.

As in that time, the Church and State were those institutions that censored what was considered impertinent, Locke accentuate that those are entities are incompetent to judge what they the people think and say. He mentions that in his book: "Freedom of conscience is a natural right of every man that belongs equally to those who are disagreeing and themselves; and nobody should be forced to no one in matters of religion neither by law nor by force" (Locke, 1666; 1999, p.111).

That is why Locke alludes and writes about the tolerance because the problem is not what people say, but is to accept different point of view. In his book he exemplifies with religious conflicts saying that "it is not the diversity of opinions, which can never be avoided, but the rejection of tolerance towards those who have different opinions, that could well have been respected, which has produced all the discord and religious wars in the Christian world" (Locke, 1666; 1999, p.117).

In England the first thinkers as James Milton advocated the freedom of conscience and expression as a defense against the intrusions of power; while that John Locke became a defender of the freedoms of worship and of thought in a society that had adopted them as constitutive rights (Segovia, 2016). That is the difference between both that Locke concreted that Milton was saying.

And another relevant thing that Locke point out in his book is about the consequences of keeping freedom expression under control. He relates that "Believe me; unrest does not come from the churches in particular, but of a general tendency of humanity that, when it is pressed by heavy bales, strives to shake the yoke that oppresses it" (Locke, 1666; 1999, p.35). He means that if

maintaining control of society is restricting what they think and write, finally that can cause the opposite and can even inflict dangerous consequences.

Undoubtedly the contribution and the achievements obtained by John Stuart Mill about liberties of human being and especially those related to freedom of expression is very remarkable and that is why it is necessary to quote him in this research.

Stuart Mill criticized the English law because restricted the freedom of print. At that time the State appealed to *the laws of libel* for punishing who make critics against to them. The law of libel was a means that the government uses for protecting themselves from unfavorable opinions and allegations of corruption.

In a first instance, it is necessary to mention that Mill declares that "over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign" (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 13). For Stuart Mill liberty means that every human has plenty of rope, even he continues to explain that "It comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness; demanding liberty of conscience in the most comprehensive sense; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological" (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p.15).

Stuart Mill defines liberties in the way following:

“Liberty of thought and feeling: Absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological.

Liberty of expressing and publishing opinions: May seem to fall under a different principle, since it belongs to that part of the conduct of an individual which concerns other people; but, being almost of as much importance as the liberty of thought itself, and resting in great part on the same reasons, is practically inseparable from it.

Liberty of tastes and pursuits: Framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow: without impediment from our fellow creatures, so long as what we do does

not harm them, even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong.

Freedom to unite: For any purpose not involving harm to others: the persons combining being supposed to be of full age, and not forced or deceived (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p.16)”.

The English philosopher indicates that for a society to be free it must possess all these types of liberties, otherwise it is not even if is missing one of them. It is essential that governments protect those freedoms because the society must have free people. All those categories should be respect and guarantee in absolute way.

About the freedom of expression, Mill remark that allows the approach to the truth and that truth is relative because is always changing and evolving; it is depend of the utility. Mill declares that “the truth of an opinion is part of its utility” (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 24). This is known as the theory of utilitarianism, which is related with is useful that there are many opinions different each other. Thereby, the freedom of expression has a utilitarian argument due to free discussion have practical long-term benefits: it is the path that most likely leads to the discovery of new truths (Torres Bisbal, 2006). It is lead to an open discussion and that has a relevant importance for getting to the truth because it is helping to develop capacities and potentialities of human being. Mill also believes that freedom of expression is a condition for effective political participation in a democracy (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 45).

Mill enumerates in four the different scenarios of freedom of expression in which the search for truth is justified:

1. “If any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.
2. Though the silenced opinion be an error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of truth; and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of

adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

3. Even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds.

4. The meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct: the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good, but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, pp. 49-50)".

According to Mill, those 4 scenarios justify the freedom of expression because that means are looking for the truth. It is about that attribute to getting the truth and not to impose a certain truth. That is because in some cases censorship is used to silence contrary opinions for maintaining the truths inflict. That is why some regimens authoritarians impose their ideals through some media and at the same time they also shut down to the media opposed to their ideas.

However, in the same essay he mentions the acts that affect others or rather the interests of others, which would mark the limits of freedom of expression: "that for such actions as are prejudicial to the interests of others, the individual is accountable, and may be subjected either to social or to legal punishment, if society is of opinion that the one or the other is requisite for its protection" (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 86). Therefore, Mill admits that there should be restriction of freedom if one action harms the interests of another person. "The subject of this Essay is not the so-called Liberty of the Will, so unfortunately opposed to the misnamed doctrine of Philosophical Necessity; but Civil, or Social Liberty: the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual" (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 6), that

means which one are the limits between institutions and human being about freedom of expression.

But Mill also mention when majorities of the society think same thing and that is the reason why some authoritarians regimes wants to control de information of the media because they can create public opinion according to what the State wants to transmit no matter if is true or not: "There needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development, and, if possible, prevent the formation, of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compels all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own" (Stuart Mill, 1859; 2001, p. 9). Mill explains that the most radical interferences are not those exerted by the State, but those that deeply interfere in the lives of people. It can be said that authoritarian governments take advantage of this through of the media to exercise their control in society.

Freedom of expression was born with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, in 1789, when saying that "the free communication of opinions is one of the most precious rights in man and that every citizen can speak, print freely except his responsibility for the abuse of this freedom in the case determined by law" (Fernandez, 1977; Luengo & Yáñez, 2010).

According to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, "every individual has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes the right not to be disturbed because of their opinions, to investigate and receive information and opinions and to disseminate them, without limitation of borders, by any means of expression²⁹". It is also important to mention that in the American Declaration on Human Rights, "everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression. This right includes the freedom to seek, receive and disseminate information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either

²⁹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights written on December 10, 1948, by the General Assembly of the United Nations that approved and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 19.

orally, in writing or in printed or artistic form, or by any other procedure of their choice³⁰”.

It is stated in Principle 10 of the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression that "the protection of reputation must be guaranteed only through civil sanctions, in cases where the offended person is a public official or a public or private individual. who has voluntarily become involved in matters of public interest. Furthermore, in these cases, it must be proven that in the dissemination of the news the communicator intended to inflict damage or full knowledge that false news was being disseminated³¹", only in this way is a correct use of the informative freedoms and the necessary credibility guaranteed in front of the laws.

All persons must have "equal opportunities to receive, search and impart information by any media without discrimination, for any reason, including those of race, color, religion, sex, language, political opinions or any other nature, national or social origin, economic position, birth or any other social condition³²". This is stated in Principle 2 of the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression.

The Inter-American Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression issued by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights stipulated in Article 9 considers that freedom of expression, in all its forms and manifestations "is a fundamental and inalienable right inherent in all persons. It is also an indispensable requirement for the very existence of a democratic society³³", and the free dissemination of ideas.

³⁰ American Convention on Human Rights. Article 13.

³¹ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights adopted the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression during its 108th regular session in October 2000. This declaration constitutes a fundamental document for the interpretation of Article 13 of the American Convention on Human Rights. Its approval is not only a recognition of the importance of the protection of freedom of expression in the Americas, but also incorporates international standards for a more effective defense of the exercise of this right to the inter-American system. Principle 10 of the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression.

<http://www.cidh.oas.org/basicos/basicos13.htm>

³² Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression

³³ Inter-American Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression issued by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Principles of Article 9.

In the American Convention on Human Rights of the OAS, written in 1969 and set apart in Article 13 regarding Freedom of Thought and Expression it is stated that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression"³⁴.

In the same paragraph it was postulated that "the right to expression should not be restricted by indirect methods, such as government abuse or private control of printing presses, radio and television frequencies or equipment used in the dissemination of information, or by any another means that attempts to impede the communication and circulation of ideas and opinions"³⁵.

Lastly, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights drafted in 1966 and where Article 19 letter A is postulated that "no one shall be disturbed because of his/her opinions"³⁶.

1.5. MEDIA FREEDOM: IDEOLOGY, POWER AND OWNERSHIP

Until now the role of the media in society has been discussed as a way of explaining the importance of their struggle for the recognition of the rights of freedom of expression and press freedom. However, already in the 21st century the role played by the media has expanded in such a way that even now some experts question it.

The press is acknowledged to be an instrument of social control only in authoritarian societies as it was mentioned before, whereas in the free countries it is the institutional embodiment of the democratic principle of freedom of

³⁴ American Convention on Human Rights signed at the Inter-American Specialized Conference on Human Rights San José, Costa Rica November 7 to 22, 1969 American Convention on Human Rights (Pact of San José).

³⁵ *Ibíd*, p. 10.

³⁶ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, by its acronym in English) is a general multilateral treaty that recognizes civil and political rights and establishes mechanisms for their protection and guarantee. It was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations through Resolution 2200A (XXI), of December 16, 1966. It entered into force on March 23, 1976. It was adopted at the same time as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural and they are referred to both with the name of International Covenants of Human Rights or Covenants of New York. In turn, these, together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, include what some have called the International Bill of Human Rights <http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/0015.pdf>

expression. A free press, after all, is partly what makes Western democracies free (Curran, 2002: p. 140).

The economy has a leading role in this issue because in the production of information there are two groups: the owners of the media corporations and the creative producers or communicators (Murdock & Golding, 1997: p. 31). Within the mass media these two groups are giving priority to the economy and that is precisely the problem in question.

This has to do with the effects that the media have on the citizens who consume them. John Keane already says in his book *Media and Democracy* (1991) that "freedom of the press is limited to the owners of newspapers" (p. 554). That also includes broadcasting and especially television where for years both were the media chosen by society to get information about the current news.

One of the questions posed by the British communication theorist, Denis McQuail, in his book *Mass Communication Theory*, is "why do people use the media and what do they use them for?" (p. 424). The author himself determines the reasons pointing out that:

- Media and content choice is generally rational and directed towards certain specific goals and satisfactions (thus the audience is active and audience formation can be logically explained).
- Audience members are conscious of the media-related needs which arise in personal (individual) and social (shared) circumstances and can voice these in terms of motivations.
- Broadly speaking, cultural and aesthetic features of content play much less part in attracting audiences than the satisfaction of various personal and social needs (e.g. for relaxation, shared experience, passing time, etc.).
- All or most of the relevant factors for audience formation (motives, perceived or obtained satisfactions, media choices, background variables) can, in principle, be measured. (p. 353).

Then, already knowing what the audience is looking for, radio and television companies know that when they compete, the best way to achieve a maximum audience is to attend elementary preferences by offering simple content (Keane, 1991: p. 553). This means that many times the mass media deliver more popular information to the audience and they do it on purpose. Given the insistent pressure in favor of the maximization of auditors and benefits, it is not surprising that in commercial media there is a strong tendency to avoid the unpopular and biased (Murdock & Golding, 1997: p. 50). There could be multiple reasons why the mass media decide that, but also the question would be who is behind to this determination.

The effort to attract the largest audience can sometimes undermine accuracy and encourage a preoccupation; or rather it is precisely what happens nowadays. Free-market processes have also given rise to plutocratic ownership of newspapers and their concentration into chains, creating the potential for abuse (Curran, 2002: p. 9) for preventing more diversity in the delivery of information.

Therefore, at this point it could be defined as an ideology directly related to the market economy. The ideological of market liberalism also penetrated to mass media. Market liberalism sees society primarily as an aggregation of individuals rather than in the abstract terms of social groups (Curran, 2002: p. 202).

Historically, the first thinkers who advocated press freedom directed their criticisms in particular to the government, but today it must be recognized that communication markets reduce the freedom of communication by creating monopolies, and therefore, the information goes from being a public good to private property. The problem would be that the existence of that market will determine in advance of the publication what opinions will be introduced in the "opinion market" (Keane, 1990: p. 555). The existence of large conglomeration encompassing the greatest amount of mass media allows them to greatly extend their potential control over the production and distribution of the ideas that suit for themselves (Murdock & Golding, 1997: p. 40). Even some experts maintain that the increased commercialization of the media is a means of

emancipation from a cultural elite, in other words, it is related with the growth of consumerism (Curran, 2002: p. 80).

Large business corporations were 'nominal managers' of leading media, that is, are those who has the power of information. Even the people working in them were effectively in control and did not shrink from carrying news detrimental to their parent companies' interests (Curran, 2002: p. 10).

In this sense, as the mass media have become an opinion market as Keane points out, it could also be noted that they became an instrument for the maintenance of class relations, since those who precisely manage the market are the elite of any country. Higher social class is associated with self-esteem, confidence, expectation, sense of control over one's destiny, use of 'educated' language, cognitive development (reflected in differential test scores), educational attainment, social skills, social networks, access to information and access to money and credit (Curran, 2002: p. 202-203). That would be the description of the elite that in this case would fulfill the role of power over the media through the market economy.

In short, the development of the mass media has the role of containing working-class advance and consolidating elite domination (Curran, 2002: p. 4). This would be the reason why several international organizations urge countries to take over large conglomerates because they hinder the true functioning of the media and the fulfillment of press freedom.

1.6. LIMITS OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Democracy and freedom of expression is a link that constitutes a triumph for any society. But nevertheless, today in the present it can be seen that the complete press freedom and expression have thrown new problems.

John Stuart Mill (1859) also refers to this when defending the option that all opinions can be allowed: "Before quitting the subject of freedom of opinion, it is fit to take some notice of those who say that the free expression of all opinions

should be permitted, on condition that the manner be temperate, and do not pass the bounds of fair discussion. Much might be said on the impossibility of fixing where these supposed bounds are to be placed; for if the test be offence to those whose opinions are attacked, I think experience testifies that this offence is given whenever the attack is telling and powerful, and that every opponent who pushes them hard, and whom they find it difficult to answer, appears to them, if he shows any strong feeling on the subject, an intemperate opponent (p. 50)". So, Mill pointed out that being a lie or a truth, society had every right to express itself freely.

The objective limit of freedom of expression is generally interpreted as racist, discriminatory, hate-containing expressions that undermine the negotiation value of communication and make it impossible for them to oppress a section of society (Cayli & Depeli, 2012: p. 17).

According to the International Standards of Freedom of Expression guide which indicates that "at first, all expressions are protected by the right to freedom of expression, no matter the discomfort, regardless of what is shocking, unacceptable, indecent, offensive, unpleasant or rude that can be considered the content of what is said, written or expressed. It is one of the basic demands of pluralism, tolerance and the spirit of openness that define a democracy³⁷".

In this same report it is remarks that one of the points of concern about that is the *principle of necessity and proportionality* which says exactly as follows: "Limitation must be necessary in a democratic society for achievement of the imperious ends that are sought; strictly provided to the purpose pursued; and ideal to achieve the overriding objective. The necessity test is applied in a strict and demanding way, requiring the demonstration that there is an urgent or absolute need to introduce limitations³⁸". This is the point to be discussed which is the need to limit these liberties, since only the use of the reason mentioned by Mill is not sufficient for the current times. In the same guide specifies five

³⁷ Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), belonging to National Endowment for Democracy made the book International standards of freedom of expression: Basic guide for justice operators in Latin America. August 2017. <http://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r37048.pdf>

³⁸ Ibid. 10.

clarifications on the limitations on the right to freedom of expression and one of them is related to the *Apology of national, racial or religious hatred (or the so-called hate speech)*: "There is no universal definition in international law, although there is unanimity that its prohibition should be an exception, hate speech often refers to expressions in favor of incitement to harm (particularly discrimination, hostility or violence) based on the identification of the victim as belonging to a certain social or demographic group³⁹".

Compared to a freedom violation that can be more clearly defined, such as hate speech or the defense of violence, the redness of the threat perception directed towards the whole structure and the ideas that are open to interpretation are sometimes considered dangerous (Cayli & Depeli, 2012: p.18).

1.7. MEDIA AND POLICY REGARDING THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN CHILE

The legislation regarding the exercise of journalism will be revised from the Chilean Constitution of 1925, seeking to contextualize the period related to the freedom of expression and information.

The Constitution of 1925 expands notoriously the written in the previous Constitution of 1833, because in Article 10 states that "all inhabitants have the freedom to emit without prior censorship, their opinions, in word or in writing, by press or in any other way⁴⁰". That law gives the possibility that every person expresses their way of thinking in front of a certain issue to the public opinion without fear of political and legal reprisals against them.

However, the most precise legislation in this area corresponds to Decree Law 425, which is the one that will set the importance of this topic during the first half of the 20th century in Chile in journalistic matters.

³⁹ Ibid. 12.

⁴⁰ Article 10. Published in the Diario Oficial on September 18, 1925.

According to DL 425, the offenses in the delivery of the information would be classified in four groups. The first point is the *provocation* that is to incite the realization of some type of crime, promoting practices that attempt against an individual in society. The second group corresponds to the *publication of false news* or with the purpose of harming someone. A third group points towards *good habits* and the correct behavior of people in general terms. And a fourth group is related to the *insults and slander* of which some individual may be a victim⁴¹.

However, during the 60's sensationalist journalism develops in the written press and radio. This caused the authorities to begin to identify the main shortcomings of Decree Law 425. From this, in the year 1964 appears in the legal scene the law 15.476 that establishes important modifications and adds seven new final articles to this decree on abuses of publicity. Among the most relevant articles are:

- Article 8.- Every newspaper, magazine, newspaper or radio or television broadcaster, is obliged to insert or disseminate free of charge the clarifications or rectifications that are directed to them by any natural or legal person offended or unfoundedly alluded for any published, broadcast or televised information.
- Article 12.- For the purposes of this law, newspapers, magazines or newspapers shall be considered as means of dissemination; the forms, posters, posters, notices, wall inscriptions, flyers or emblems that are sold, distributed or displayed in public places or meetings; and radio, television, cinematography, loudspeakers, phonography and, in general, any device capable of fixing, recording, reproducing or transmitting the word, whatever the form of expression used, sounds or images.
- Article 17.- The publication or reproduction of false news⁴².

⁴¹ Law DL 425. Published in the Diario Oficial on April 01, 1969.

⁴² Law 15.576. Published in the Diario Oficial on June 11, 1964.

Within the legal scope, it will be Law No. 16.643, the last one at the time of the 60's. Its final text considered the following aspects in relation to the previous Law:

- Article 21.- It is not constitute insults that are formulated in articles of political criticism, literary, historical, artistic, scientific, technical and sports, except that his tenor manifests the purpose of insulting, in addition to criticizing.
- Article 24.- It is prohibited the disclosure by any means of dissemination, of the identity or of any other antecedent that leads to it and to minors under 18, whether they are authors, accomplices, accessories or victims of crimes⁴³.

The legislation in the Unidad Popular issued Law No. 17.398 that constituted the Pact of Constitutional Guarantees or Democratic Security. In this law, among other matters, absolute and unrestricted pluralism was recognized, adding to Article 10 No. 3 the following: "It cannot be a crime or abuse to sustain and spread any political idea"⁴⁴.

Once the military government is installed in power, one of its first measures focused on restricting certain freedoms in which civil society participated. They dictated the following laws:

- Bando N°1: "the press, radio stations and television channels addicted to the Popular Unity must suspend their informative activities"⁴⁵.
- Bando N°15: "it has been arranged to exert a strict Press Censorship on the publication media"⁴⁶.

Arrival to the Democracy in Chile those sides were eliminated having until today the Law N ° 19.733, establishes as a right the freedom to emit opinion and the one to inform, without previous censorship, in any form and by any means. It

⁴³ Law 16.643. Published in the Diario Oficial on September 4, 1967.

⁴⁴ Law 17,398. Published in the Diario Oficial on January 9, 1971.

⁴⁵ Bando N° 1 of the Military Government. September 11, 1973.

⁴⁶ Bando N°15 of the Military Government. September 11, 1973.

also contemplates the insult is any expression uttered or action executed in dishonor, discredit or disparagement of another person⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Law 19.733. Published in the Diario Oficial on June 6, 1990.

CHAPTER 2

JOURNALISM IN CHILE (1970 – 1990)

2.1. JOURNALISM IN THE ERA OF SALVADOR ALLENDE (1970-1973)

Is it necessary to ask who Salvador Allende was? Probably is not for people who know politics and about the historic landmarks of world socialism. In the worldwide he is known as the only leftist president who wanted to transform a country like Chile to socialism through the peaceful-electoral route.

Allende participated in politics from his studies at the University of Chile and also he was a candidate for the presidency of the republic four times. He finally achieved to become president of Chile in 1970 and in the middle of an economic crisis, his government ended up abruptly by means of a coup on September 11th of 1973. While El Palacio La Moneda (the government palace) was bombed, Allende gave his last speech to the citizenship and committed suicide later.

Allende did not have an easy government. He ruled in the middle of an economic crisis and with half Chilean society against him. All this was made worse by the role of the media because the bigger newspapers in the country that were on the right side were against him.

2.1.1. ALLENDE: A PIECE OF HIM

Salvador Allende Gossens was born on June 26th of 1908 into a liberal, bourgeois and progressive family. His ancestors were of Basque origin and arrived Chile in the 17th century. He was the fifth brother in his family and he became a politician and developed leadership from 1927 to 1973, in a period of relative institutional stability, exceptional in the Latin American context. At the age of 18 he was president of the Student Center of the School of Medicine of the University of Chile; at 19 he is vice-president of the Student Federation and

around 1930 he started to be a member of the Avance group and to get into the first readings on Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

In 1933 he participated in the founding of the Socialist Party of Chile (PS), militating in this party throughout his life. Two years later, he joined Freemasonry. He was deputy for Valparaíso⁴⁸ in 1937. During the presidential term of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938 - 1941), Allende was Minister of Public Health.

He tried for the first time to the Presidency of Chile in 1952, obtaining 5.44% of the votes. In 1958 he presented himself again as a candidate, getting 28.91% of the suffrages. He ran for president for the third time in 1964 and he was defeated again, although this time he got 38.92% of the vote.

Declassified documents showed that between 1962 and 1964, the Central Intelligence Agency of United State, CIA, financed the campaign of the other conservative candidate Eduardo Frei Montalva, who was president of Chile during 1964 – 1970, with 2.6 million dollars and spent 3 million of dollars in anti-Allende propaganda. The CIA came to the conclusion that Frei won those presidential elections only because of the help of the United States (Vásquez, 2008: p. 63).

With three defeats, Allende's political coalition did not want him to run for the fourth time. After many disputes within the leftist coalition, Allende wins the elections with a narrow margin. On November 3th of 1970, Allende assumed the presidency of Chile (Vásquez, 2008).

2.1.2. ALLENDE IN THE FACE OF THE WORLD: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Since the end of the 50s, and throughout the decade of the '60s, Chile lived a period of boom in social and political struggles and the apex was because of the repeal of the so-called Law of Permanent Defense of Democracy.

⁴⁸ Valparaíso is the Chile's second most populated administrative region.

Hernán Uribe, a prominent journalist for making a great contribution in the journalism of the 60s and 70s, he says in the book *Morir es la noticia* (1998) that they were historical times in which the social struggle won democratic spaces in favor of majorities; years in which workers, employees and journalists really acceded to parliament. They were very distant times, far from the model of democracy current today (Carmona, 1998: p. 194). In the late 60's and early 70's while Allende was a candidate and then during his government, Chile lived in a socially well-moved environment due to international influences. As Uribe mentioned, there was the rise of social demands and the growth of socialist thought. In addition, the economy of that time played a fundamental role because it had been undergoing changes since the previous decades.

It must be break down by part starting with the economic field; In the 70s, the Chilean economy already presented problems due to its industrialization model. It can be mentioned the agrarian structure⁴⁹, which had a negative impact on inflation, but especially in industrial profits (Valenzuela, 2006: p. 7). Also the export sector, which was mostly the exploitation of copper⁵⁰, it was managed by private companies that meant slow growth for the benefit to the country. Then reigned a process of deficient industrialization, that is, an industrial advance that was not achieved to make grow the exports (Valenzuela, 2006: p. 15)

The government previous of Allende, that of Eduardo Frei Montalva of the Christian Democratic Party (1964-1970) it was an attempt of bourgeois reform (Valenzuela, 2006: p. 7). The agrarian reform expropriated 3.4 million hectares, which correspond to 30% of the farms and 40% of the land, that is, benefited around 28 thousand peasant families (Cuadra, 2017). However, what Frei Montalva promised was much bigger and due to these unfulfilled promises, mobilizations and strikes began throughout the country.

It is a study made by University of Chile in 1973 indicated that in 1966 there were a total of around 3 thousand syndicates, and in 1970 it had already ascended almost 5 thousand. There were regular takeovers of factories, large

⁴⁹ The Agrarian Reform was born in 1962 that allowed the redistribution of state lands among peasants: "The land for those who work it" was the slogan

⁵⁰ The cooper is the country's main mineral and popularly known as "Chile's salary"

estates and establishments everywhere. Also in 70` the strikes increased so much that they compromised 922 thousand workers (Sader, 1973). Students from the country's major universities also joined these strikes.

This tensional climate of absolute social crisis was the context in which the presidential elections of 1970 were unwrapped, which Salvador Allende was a candidate and that was how Chile finally received after its triumph in that presidential race: a country with a high popular discontent and a weak bourgeoisie.

2.1.3. ECONOMIC PROGRAM OF THE ALLENDE CONGLOMERATE

La Unidad Popular⁵¹ was constituted by the urban and rural proletariat, peasants, students and even a small part of the bourgeoisie, that is, it was made up of all those who were strongly affected by the previous government. In the political sphere, La Unidad Popular was made up of 6 political parties: Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Party, MAPU (intellectuals with Christian thought), Social Democratic Party and API (small sector of the bourgeoisie). In the case of MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), it was not part of La Unidad Popular, although it did support it leaving behind the violent acts to peacefully support the Allende government (Baño, 2004: p. 161).

The political project of La Unidad Popular was explained by Allende in his first speech in the face of the Congress on May 21th of 1971: "The circumstances of Russia in 1917 and of Chile in the present are very different. historical is similar (...) There the challenge was accepted and one of the forms of construction of the socialist society that is the dictatorship of the proletariat was built (...) Chile is today the first nation of the Earth called to conform the second model of transition to socialist society (Pérez Pirela & Fraile, 2006). That is to say, Chilean way to socialism, as it is popularly known, it is related to the replacement of the bourgeois apparatus by a popular state and the people.

⁵¹ Unidad Popular was a coalition of left parties of Chile

In relation to the economic structure of la Unidad Popular it was anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic with the perspective of socialism besides expropriating the bourgeoisie (Singer, 2000), that is, the economy that was to be developed was state-owned. In other words, the program had to break almost completely the economic supports of the dominant political bloc (Valenzuela, 2006: p. 20).

During the Allende government, the economic numbers were always favorable: GDP reached 14.6%, the unemployment rate fell to 3.9%, as there was also a considerable increase in salaries (Galarce and Caputo, 2008). Nevertheless, how Allende received a Chile with a stagnant economy completely changing the structure was definitely a risk. Due to the small size of the Chilean economy, the possibilities of developing a national capital goods industry that was profitable, was and is very scarce (Valenzuela, 2006: p. 21). Private investment fell and state investment could not cushion that fall and there was piece-rate tax expenditure. In addition, the intervention of the United States with its economic blockade plays a key role in the collapse of Chile in the 1970s by the by the CIA.

As the report of the Church Committee⁵² points out that the United States cut economic aid, denied loans and made efforts to obtain the cooperation of international financial institutions and the private company pressing the oppressed economy of Chile (Amorós, 2000: p. 62).

In addition, there was a campaign among right-wing merchants to hoard essential products such as sugar, milk, rice, flour, among others, with the aim of causing tremendous social hardship. This generated the existence of a black market of products with very high prices (Sigmund, 1974: p. 30). The shortage was imminent; the ranks of people outside the shops were eternal waiting for some food.

⁵² Church Committee is a formally United States Senate select a committee to study governmental operations about intelligence activities.

2.1.4. UNITED STATE AGAINST TO ALLENDE

According to the Hinchey report⁵³, the Chilean left and Cuba were the main concerns of the United States regarding its foreign policy in Latin America (Sigmund, 1974: p. 39). Also the report revealed that United States financed the opposition political parties and elaborated propaganda against to Allende. Between 1970 and 1973 the Chilean revolution became a nightmare for Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, who only rested when Pinochet ordered the Hawer Hunter to bomb the Palacio de La Moneda. (Amorós, 2000: p. 62). The United States wanted to avoid at all costs the birth of another Cuba in Latin America, as reported by the same Hinchey report (Sigmund, 1974: p. 39). As mentioned before, the CIA contributed with 2.6 million dollars to Frei Montalva's campaign and spent 3 million of dollars in anti-Allende propaganda in the presidential elections that Allende participated in 1964. It is assumed that thanks to this money the candidate of Christian Democracy party managed to win; otherwise the story would have been different.

The White House decided that there was only one option: a very bloody coup that had to establish a brutal and long dictatorship. At 11.52 in the morning the first bomb fell on the Palacio La Moneda, and so on and so forth (Verdugo, 2008: p. 102). This happened on September 11th of 1973, an unforgettable date for Chilean society where the armed forces take the power, which led to the suicide of then President Salvador Allende.

2.2. THE PRESS IN THE TIMES OF ALLENDE AND THE UNIDAD POPULAR

The press in those times was noted for having very particular elements that have not been given more in the later years of Chilean history. What happened here even marked and shaped what would happen next with media. As before it was pointed out about the CIA's involvement in the Allende government in order to overthrow him, they did the same with the press, assigning 12 million 300

⁵³ Hinchey report was another of the cables that reveal the actions of the CIA, although this time delivered by United States Intelligence Community.

thousand dollars only to manipulate the media against the president of the Unidad Popular.

Some of the journalists who worked and were interviewed for this investigation point out that there was a real *trench press*, while others say that these were the times when *the press was totally free*. Also the media was characterized for being quite ideological and the idea was always to propagate beliefs of both the right and the left sides. It was a press in general polarized, but especially very politicized. The popular press in general used crimes, sports and sex to attract the public, and the popular press on the left added to these news elements the political factors (Brunner, 1986: p. 102). That is to say, In the 70s little by little is possible to see how the press is getting closer to politics issues more than in any other area.

It is necessary to consider that in the 70s the total population of Chile was 8,884,768 inhabitants (Roldan, 1974), of which 49.73% of them finished their high school studies, while 93.3% of the population had finished primary school⁵⁴. Illiteracy was 11.7% of the population⁵⁵. It was people who moderately had complete education, while a low percentage been the one who could not read or write. These were times when reading newspapers were part of everyday life (Luengo and Yañez, 2010).

In 1970 the written press and broadcasting were dominated by 10 groups of media and these ten consortiums also had control over Chile's industry and banking system (Monckeberg, 2011: p. 208):

⁵⁴ INE, 1982 census. Population projection. Observation: the data for 1960 and 1970 correspond to the population census. p.34.

⁵⁵ *Ibíd*, p. 35.

Table Nº 3: Media groups in 1970

1	El Mercurio/Lord Cochrane
2	Empresa Editora Zigzag
3	Radio Minería
4	Radio Portales
5	Consortio Periodístico de Chile, COPESA
6	Compañía Chilena de Comunicaciones
7	Emisora Presidente Balmaceda
8	Sociedad Periodística del Sur, SOPESUR
9	Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura
10	Radioemisoras Unidas

As for the written press, for example, the main opposition newspapers were 6 with 540 thousand copies of daily circulation, while those on the left side were 5 newspapers that reached 300 thousand copies per day.

Table Nº 4: Division by political ideology of the written press in Chile in 1970

Opposition newspapers	Left newspapers
El Mercurio	El Siglo
Las Últimas Noticias	El Clarín
La Tercera	Última Hora
La Segunda	Puro Chile

Tribuna	La Nación
La Prensa	

It is easy to classify the press per ideology because already in the 70s, and as it was mentioned before, the media were very polarized and politicized. The written press was a real protagonist in those times. Its objective was clearly to make Chileans aware of the real situation in the country. Media was a tool of dissemination and ideological struggle (Santa Cruz, 1997: p. 58). The headlines were with the largest letters were used and always were more intense. The content of those letters did not show any neutrality. Here are two examples:

Picture N°1: Publication of El Clarín Newspaper. September 5th, 1970⁵⁶.



Translation: Allende razed in the redoubts momios (*Momio* comes from "mummy" and that's the way they were ironically called to those on the right).

⁵⁶ All the covers in the newspapers were taken from the National Library in Santiago, Chile.

Picture N°2: Publication of La Segunda Newspaper. September 10th, 1973.



Translation: Give up! Do it for Chile.

Through the headlines, the right-wing press challenged those on the left and vice versa. The objective of each newspaper was to contradict the other. The sensationalism of the press existed on both sides of the political spectrum (Dermota, 2002: p. 47). This helped Chileans to participate more in politics and for workers to join the syndicate and political parties (Luengo and Yañez, 2010). *"It was very rare to see someone who was not a member of a political party,"* said Lucia Sepúlveda⁵⁷, a journalist during the Allende era who was interviewed for this investigation.

It could be said that between 1970-1973 the media were very divided and competitive to show which of the two sides was right. In addition, in those years there were the largest amounts of newspapers and magazines of various political beliefs in the history of Chile.

⁵⁷ The interview of Lucía Sepúlveda was made on 3rd March, 2019 and the duration is 130 minutes.

2.2.1. THE OPPOSITION PRESS: ALWAYS AGAINST TO ALLENDE

The opposition press of the Unidad Popular was always very critical specifically towards the Allende government. The goal, definitely, it was to create a negative image of Allende

As mentioned before, right-wing newspapers were El Mercurio, Las Últimas Noticias, La Tercera, La Segunda, La Prensa and Tribuna. As the day of the coup approached, all these media became more and more critical against to government. The characteristics of this type of press can be into three (Dooner, 1989: p. 49):

- 1.- Looking for the deterioration of authority;
- 2.- Generate public alarm and trying to show a generalized crisis or a national catastrophe; and
- 3.- Make a permanent call to the coup.

Here are three examples of right-wing newspaper headlines:

Picture N°3: Publication of La Prensa Newspaper. February 11th, 1973.



Translation: Give up S. Allende and Parliamentarian

Picture N°4: Publication of La Tribuna Newspaper. November 14th, 1972.



Translation: Only in the stink Allende hold it

Picture N°5: Publication of La Tribuna Newspaper. January 05th 1972.



Translation: Allende confess that he drank 16 thousand liters of wine.

Those are three examples and the first one is from the newspaper *La Prensa* where they ask to President Allende to leave his position as a president. And in the following examples they belong to the newspaper *La Tribuna*, which was always very explicit when attacking Allende's image.

Regarding the country's internal situation about the stagnation of the economy and the dismantling of basic products, the right-wing press did not give a truce with these themes either. Its headlines were intended to increase the in the population repeating over again that government policies are not working.

An example of them is the headline of the newspaper *La Tercera* which is below that in the front page is about the existence of the black market, the high cost of

the price of bread and also adds "fainting and tears in the queues"⁵⁸, as a way to exacerbate the crisis.

Picture N°6: Publication of La Tercera Newspaper: Septiembre 11th, 1973.



Translation: Black market with bread: E ° 250 per kilo

So, which one was the role played by the press in the democratic break that the country suffered in September 1973? The press was not responsible for the collapse of Chilean democracy, but irresponsibly contributed to do it (Bemedo & Porath, 2004). It can be say that press *were passive accomplices* of what happened on September 11, 1973.

As mentioned earlier, the United States through the CIA had many links with several Chilean political groups and also with the press. The right-wing press made and spread the so-called terror campaign; The CIA invented, financed and paid to journalists to lie blatantly (Carmona, 1998; p. 78).

The same document that declassified the actions of the CIA, the Church Report, mentions that the biggest and possibly the most significant example of support for a communications organization was the money supplied to El Mercurio, Santiago's main newspaper (Arriagada, 2000: p. 106). The document states that El Mercurio received a total of 1,650 million dollars.

A clear example of this is a publication of El Mercurio on June 29, 1973, which says that "the categorical obligation of the people is to put an end to plunder

⁵⁸ It appears in the smallest letters on the cover of the La Tercera.

and disorder, stimulated and protected by the crazed government that smash us (...) In order to carry out this saving political enterprise, it is not necessary to appeal to parties, the electoral masquerade, the lying and poisoned propaganda and deliver to a short number of chosen military the task of putting an end to political anarchy" (Lopez, 2001: p. 70). That is to say, the newspaper was proposing military intervention as an option to overthrow the Allende government. In addition, it calls the government as a system of political anarchy. It is worth it mentioning that the newspapers Las Últimas Noticias and La Segunda, fervent opponents of Allende, are also part of the El Mercurio consortium.

Picture N°7: Publication of El Mercurio Newspaper. August 16th, 1973



Translation: The line of Chile

In this publication El Mercurio publishes about the shortage of food, although calling as *the line of Chile*. "Allende was always a Democrat who never closed to any mass media. Allende never cut the supply of paper to El Mercurio. It could be said that up to 73` there was full freedom of expression and of the press in Chile in formal terms", this was said by the journalist and expert on freedom of expression in Chile, Cristian Cabalín⁵⁹, in an exclusive interview for this research.

⁵⁹ The interview of Cristián Cabalín was made on 13th February, 2019 and the duration is 45 minutes.

2.2.2. LEFTIST PRESS AS AN ETERNAL ALLY OF ALLENDE

“The leftist journalist has to know that he has to be committed with this combat without truce and without barracks that we give to make Chileans a free people and owner of his own destiny. From there then, it is also fair to point out that at this moment leftist journalists must appreciate that their battle and our battle is even more difficult”⁶⁰; This was said by Salvador Allende in a speech given to the National Conference of Left Journalists making a call to the unity of leftist journalists due to the constant attacks that he received daily from the right-wing press.

These calls to make a coalition of journalists in the face of this struggle against the right-wing press develop a sense of belonging that, in this case, would be to the ideology of the left. That is why the leftist media such as El Siglo, El Clarín, Última Hora, Puro Chile y La Nación also acted in the same way as right-wing media with sensationalist and highly politicized headlines.

Picture N°8: Publication of El Clarín Newspaper. August 29th, 1972.



Translation: Get away mummies, poor people are coming!

As mentioned above, they were saying *mummy* to the rightists because they were conservative and antiquated, while the rightists occupied the concept *roto* against the leftists, which means poor person without education and dirty. That is why this publication by El Clarín includes the word *roto* as a way of saying

⁶⁰ <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/allende/1971/mayo10.htm>

that they are a major force and the rightists must escape for that. In addition, headline also said "people (el pueblo) in war against momios and fascists". *El pueblo* is a concept that has no translation in English because it means the union of people who belong to a country and fighting for their rights. The left media used it a lot in their headlines.

Picture N°9: Publication of El Siglo Newspaper. September 11th, 1973.



Translation: Allende your pueblo honor you.

Picture N°10: Publication of Puro Chile Newspaper. March 30th, 1973.



Translation: Rightwing prepares a sinister provocation

Picture N°11: Publication of Puro Chile Newspaper. November 4th, 1970.



Translation: He assumed the government of “el pueblo”

Those newspapers mentioned over again the word "el pueblo" because they want to show that Allende is the only one who will make the people part of Chilean politics and this affirmed or made understand that Allende did not govern for the rich people.

There was a headline in the newspaper *El Siglo* that said "President Allende defeated misinformation and won *el pueblo*"⁶¹. Here there is a bit mention of freedom of expression and press and how Allende cares about these issues. This helps to people can have a perception that in this government there those freedoms. It is an argumentative ability to say that with Allende there is now information, it is an effective instrument for the Government to declare freedom of expression to the population (Luengo & Yáñez, 2010).

Other headlines were "Fascists wants the destruction of the country"⁶² and "Continue chain of rightist attacks"⁶³, which clearly blame the opposition for causing chaos and only want to violently attack to the government. They show an opposition that does not led to authorities to govern in peace.

⁶¹ *El Siglo*, 26 July, 1971, p. 3

⁶² *Clarín*, 10 September, 1973, p. 4

⁶³ *Clarín*, 10 September, 1973, p. 7

But the leftist press not only titled against the right, but also against the right-wing press. Here are two examples: “El Mercurio called to paralyze the country and to break the legality”⁶⁴ and “The criminal rightist led the capital of Santiago without bread”⁶⁵. The objective with these headlines, in this case from the newspaper El Siglo, is that Chileans react negatively against the opposition press.

The press in general shows that information is increasingly polarized and politicized, even going to the extreme to do not assume the errors of the administration. “The coup in Chile confirmed that the media are the most important weapon in the preparation of the coup”, concludes Manuel Cabieses⁶⁶, one of the journalist interviewed for this study.

2.2.3. JOURNALISM IN ALLENDE TIMES ACCORDING TO JOURNALISTS

An important part of this investigation must do portraying the experiences in the flesh of some journalists in each era that marked the history of Chile in the last century. In this part of the story, 1970 till 1973, research work was done to looking for journalists who were practicing journalism in any mass media that already had been mentioned.

It was not easy to find them because many of the journalists who worked hard and who were very prominent and recognized in their time, the military dictatorship made them disappear.

Today, after 46 years since that terrible event in Chile for the coup of 1973, several journalists who survived the storm of Pinochet, today their age and their delicate state of health prevented them to accept the request for interview them.

⁶⁴ El Siglo, 13 October, 1972. Front-page title

⁶⁵ El Siglo, 10 November, 1972. Front-page title

⁶⁶ The interview of Manuel Cabieses was made on 15th April, 2019 and the duration is 7 minutes.

Finally, 5 journalists agreed to be part of my investigation and they are Ernesto Carmona, Bernardo de La Maza, Guillermo Torres, Lucía Sepúlveda, Víctor Mandujano.

“Especially in the Allende government there was full freedom of the press”, firmly says Guillermo Torres Gaona⁶⁷, who worked in various media in the Allende era. He says at the end of 1966 he started working in the newspaper El Siglo, whose owner was the Communist Party. In El Siglo, he comments that he went through all the sections and describes his work in that newspaper as a *"spectacular learning"*.

The newspaper El Siglo was the official speech of the Communist Party and even the editorial of the newspaper was always written by the same president of that political conglomerate. *"It was clearly against the Right and with the search for a political solution like the Unidad Popular was"*, adds Torres when referring to the content of the editorials of this newspaper. He started working at El Siglo during his first year at the University.

Something similar happened with Ernesto Carmona⁶⁸, who assures to have started working so fast in journalism while he was studying. He started working in 1962 in the Prensa Latina Agency, whose owners were from Cuba. Then in 1964 he worked as a journalist in the Salvador Allende campaign. Later he joined the journalistic team of El Siglo newspaper as well. *"It was pretty good as a newspaper because it gave a very particular look at what was happening at that time"*, he says.

Then he labor into television; first he worked on Channel 13, owned by the Universidad Católica, and then switched to Channel 9 of the Universidad de Chile. *"I changed to channel 9 because it was a medium that was more committed to what was happening in the country"*, he remark. The last thing he did before the coup was to be editor of the Radio National and he comments

⁶⁷ The interview of Guillermo Torres Gaona was made on 13th January, 2019 and the duration is 65 minutes.

⁶⁸ The interview of Ernesto Carmona was made on 5th January, 2019 and the duration is 215 minutes.

that *"there was a lot of talk about politics, in general all the radio stations had open spaces of conversation about politics with all kinds of opinions (...) I always received many proposals for working and at that time it was not a drama to find a job. There was a lot of offer even for journalists. Everyone go to Café Haiti⁶⁹ and can get a regular job with a contract"*.

Something similar can be told by Lucia Sepúlveda because she began to work in the profession without having finished her studies of journalism too. She had her beginnings in the newspaper Puro Chile, a media that did to support the candidacy and posterior government of Salvador Allende. Then, she moved to Punto Final magazine⁷⁰ in which she emphasizes that *"it was a magazine that did a very rigorous and super professional work, publishing long texts where everything was explained"*. Before the military coup she switched media again, although this time she did it on television in the Channel 7 called TVN⁷¹: *"There was a law that regulated the functioning of TVN and allowed authorities to put people of confidence inside the channel. For example, the press officer was Augusto Olivares⁷². I worked in TVN by political agreement because I was a member of the MIR political party"*, she explained, but also added that *"there were other areas of TVN where there were journalists who came from Frei's time, so it was quite balanced and there was no control of the media"*.

So, what is the most relevant thing that these journalists have in common? All of them were militants of left-wing political parties: Torres from Communist Party, and Carmona and Sepúlveda from MIR party. As mentioned in the previous chapter by Lucía Sepúlveda, commitment for Chile was so serious that it was very common for everyone to be belonging to any political party.

⁶⁹ A cafeteria that until now exists and is located in the heart of the capital of Santiago

⁷⁰ It was a leftist magazine that played a key role especially in the Dictatorship.

⁷¹ Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN) is the only Channel which is public. It was created by the president Eduardo Frei Montalva

⁷² He is journalist and one of the founders of Punto Final Magazine. Personal friend of Salvador Allende, even at the day of the coup, he committed suicide same like the president in the Palacio La Moneda.

2.2.4. TVN AS A TELEVISION BELONGING TO THE STATE OF CHILE

"I joined TVN when was starting as a channel on March 1969 in the press area", says Santiago Pavlovic⁷³. Everyone knows who he is in Chile, even older adults and children. He is a very well-known journalist who has always been a television face since the use of reason of any Chilean. Even his work as a journalist continues till today being active on TVN yet. He is a very prominent and recognized journalist within the field of journalism for his great work and contribution to Chilean television. That is why it is an honor that he wanted to collaborate in this research.

But before TVN, he also had experience while he was a student: He worked in the newspaper El Norte de Antofagasta⁷⁴ and then traveled to southern Chile to work on Radio Patagonia de Coihayque. "*There I did everything that cannot be done in the media; comment about everything with total freedom and responsibility of course*", he relates.

So far it can be seen these journalists had many job offers since they started their journalism studies and that when they were working they could use press freedom and freedom of expression without any apprehension.

But, why does TVN need a separate chapter in this research? Firstly, it is because its owned by the State of Chile, and second there is an interesting dichotomy to expose; Lucía Sepúlveda already said that TVN had full press freedom because there were employees from Frei's time who were not supporters of Allende, and there were others who were militants of the Unidad Popular coalition as well. "*In the press team (in TVN), there was enough balance that for the leftists it was quite annoying and we considered that our TV was not defending the achievements of the government for stopping the coup*", she details.

⁷³ The interview of Santiago Pavlovic was made on 12th March, 2019 and the duration is 143 minutes.

⁷⁴ The newspaper El Norte de Antofagasta is owned by El Mercurio

However, not everyone have the same vision of Sepúlveda. Santiago Pavlovic assured that *“Allende's government transformed the journalistic department into an organ that promotes the idea of the left and of the Unidad Popular”*.

“On TVN the bias of news and programming was noticeable”, Pavlovic adds, but in the same point Sepúlveda says that *“our vision (as leftists) was that they were boycotting the programming”*.

Another of the journalists who was interviewed for this investigation and was also part of the beginnings of TVN was the newsreader Bernardo de la Maza⁷⁵. He is also well-known in Chile for his almost 40 years of television career as a newsreader, of which 17 years were on TVN. He also started working before graduating from the journalism graduated. He started to work in the newspaper El Mercurio. When he was consulted for how working in one of the newspapers that was accused for receiving money from the United States to harm Allende, de la Maza responds: *“I worked in the international area, so I never knew about that”*, he says.

As de la Maza joined the press team at TVN since his entry in 1969, he comments that *“TVN was created in the time of Frei Montalva with the idea of making a media totally independent from the government. Everyone did not believe that, but in the end it was 99% true. It was fundamental to have an independent media from the government, economic groups and political parties. We did real journalism”*.

This was before of Allende`s period according to de la Maza; after that when the socialist candidate became president he assures that *“Allende intervened clearly to TVN. The news was not so independent anymore. It was not very shameless, but there was a control”*. *“Inside of TVN there was a tremendous polarization as was happening with the Chileans. It was to be in favor or against of the government”*, remarked Pavlovic.

⁷⁵ The interview of Bernardo de la Maza was made on 7th March, 2019 and the duration is 67 minutes.

Another of the journalists interviewed for this investigation is Victor Mandujano⁷⁶, who also started working in the field of journalism when he was a student, and he also began in TVN. About his job there, he confessed that *"most of the journalists in TVN were in Allende side"*.

In his job as a reporter, he said that TVN tried to be as transparent as possible, and that even he remembers one day when he went to report some warehouse outside of Santiago because there they hoarded sacks of flour and they were green color because they were rotten: *"All this was shown and reported on TVN; trying to tell the truth of what was happening, and even for doing that type of reportage, I was often attacked by sellers for showing how they hoarded the merchandise"*, he related.

2.2.5. IDEOLOGIZATION IN THE PRESS

As mentioned before, journalism in the time of Allende has been highlighted for being very polarized and ideologized. In this regard, the journalists interviewed for this research have their own point of views.

For Ernesto Carmona, ideology in the media is paramount saying that *"I had already made a choice and it was the left, I was not interested in working for El Mercurio for example"*. He continues to explain that *"there was a lot of freedom of expression (...) There was the capacity of the political parties to have their own media with their own point of view, and that was diversity and literally freedom of expression"*.

Guillermo Torres thinks the same emphasizing that especially in the Allende government *"there was full press freedom"*. *"You can check El Mercurio because it published the most frightening things. In La Segunda were attacks every day with a very aggressive language. Many insults like treating Allende as a drunkard and having many women"*, he affirms. However, Torres pointed out that doing journalism in these conditions was not easy, nor less to belong to a

⁷⁶ The interview of Víctor Mandujano was made on 24th January, 2019 and the duration is 190 minutes.

media with leftist ideas *"because we had to work hard against the defamation campaign of El Mercurio"*. Lucía Sepúlveda asserts the same saying that *"the entire political universe was deployed; all political thought was represented"*.

Nevertheless, there are also other journalists who are critical about it. Víctor Mandujano, in his case, relates that *"there was a press that used a vocabulary somewhat violent and having an ideology. I would not go back to that because the society also became violent"*.

Against to ideologization is also Santiago Pavlovic who pointing out that with the polarization the press became *"trench media fighting all the time between each other"*. *"The media became political instruments. The channel (TVN) was a kind of advocacy for the promotion of Unidad Popular because in media terms, Allende was in absolute inferiority"* he remarks.

In the same line of opinion has Bernardo de la Maza for being very critical of the type of press at that time, describing it as *"a very particular epoch in the history of Chile because there was an extremely radical division of society between the good and the bad people"*. He added that there was an atmosphere of verbal violence that *"I do not miss it at all because I think it was a very sad episode in Chile"*.

However, the ex-newsreader admitted that *"this press (from Allende's time) was very entertaining; reading the Clarín or El Puro Chile was great, but I think it is not good that (press) should be like that"*.

2.3. JOURNALISM IN THE ERA OF AUGUSTO PINOCHET (1973-1990)

The time that Allende reached the presidency could not govern fluently and in the course of time this became more acute. The reasons why happened like that were: a) Undertake political actions to divide and weaken the Allende coalition; b) maintain and expand contacts with the Chilean military; c) provide support to non-Marxist opposition groups and parties; d) assist certain

periodicals and use other Chilean media that can spread information contrary to the Allende government (Kornbluh, 2003: p. 34).

Furthermore, Allende had few media to counteract the influence of the United States in the area of the economy and the propaganda.

September 11th, 1973, is a day that does not go unnoticed by public opinion. Despite having passed more than 46 years, it has marked the national history of Chile in all its areas, especially in the ideological, social and economic. This has generated diverse opinions on the matter, maintaining to till today a fragmentation of Chilean society; a clear division among Chileans. In the early hours of September 11, 1973, not only the coup leaders were expectant counting the minutes. They also waited tensely entrepreneurs, politicians and trade union leaders who they were in secret from the conspiracy. Among them fifty people who for three years were looking for the overthrow of Allende and the destruction of the leftist (López, 2002: p. 54).

Destroy to the leftist was the reason for the coup d'état. The vision of the military regime and its duration is a consequence of the anti-communist war (Arriagada, 1998). In other words, the political ideology of President Allende was the main adversary of the coup plotters.

Thus, on September 11, 1973, the Palacio de la Moneda was attacked by members of the armed forces who demanded the surrender of President Salvador Allende. Given the refusal, an armed attack was launched against the democratic authorities, causing the president's suicide, the destruction of the government palace and taking of political prisoners close to the figure of Allende, ministers and collaborators, as well as adherents in general to the Unidad Popular.

Once the Junta Military⁷⁷ was constituted, it suppressed diverse rights to the population. The state of siege, curfew, martial law and the suppression of all civil liberties were established. For the Chilean society in general terms, the Military Government is remembered for its cruelty and violence. The great

⁷⁷ Junta Military is a government led by a committee of military leaders.

number of deaths, detentions, exiles and disappearances that have remained in the memory of Chileans are undeniable. In addition, these facts generated a great division among the Chileans when generating controversies, differences of opinion, disturbances, etc.

The arrests were normally accompanied of mistreatment and torture. People were beaten from the moment they were detained. Various forms of semi-suffocation were used in water, in foul-smelling substances such as in excrement. Sexual abuse and rape are frequently reported and also the application of electricity and burns (Arriagada, 1998).

And it is assumed that the economy was also a reason to overthrow Allende and apparently it was; from 1975 the military regime showed a strong authoritarianism in the political and extreme economic liberalism. This is a common trend for several countries that open to international markets, having an authoritarian government internally (Luengo & Yáñez, 2010) as in the case of Chile. The years passed and Pinochet Dictatorship further accentuated its economic ideology towards liberalism. Already in the decade of the 80`s the denominated *Chicago Boys*⁷⁸ implemented as such the economic liberalism becoming the main representatives of this ideology copied from the United States.

The military dictatorship finished after the realization of a plebiscite in 1988, where Chileans had to vote *yes or not* depends if they wanted Pinochet's continuation. Finally the Chilean citizenship said NO, whose political and advertising campaign became famous for its originality. That much it was that even it turned an inspiration for international campaigns.

Then, the military government had to leave its power. General Pinochet warned that he would remain as president until March 11, 1990. That was how the 17 years of dictatorship ended up. However, even though the Dictatorship was ended, but not Augusto Pinochet, because the Constitution of 1980 allowed him

⁷⁸ Chicago Boys was a group of Chilean economist prominent trained at the University of Chicago under Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger.

to continue another eight years as commander in chief of the Army⁷⁹. After finishing his period in the armed forces in 1998⁸⁰, the next day Pinochet was appointed senator for life, amid protests from his national and international opponents⁸¹.

Valech Report⁸², The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report, reported in total adding the cases of missing, executed, tortured and political prisoners (without considering the exiles or the families of all those affected), the number of victims of the Pinochet dictatorship exceeds 40,000, of whom 3,065 are dead or disappeared between September 1973 and March 1990⁸³. Indeed one of the most bloody, violent and repressive dictatorships in world history was this one.

Media was not the exception either and they were also victims of the Pinochet`s dictatorship because it was generated a policy for closing and censoring the entire leftist press. The newspapers Puro Chile, El Clarín, La Nación, El Siglo and Última Hora, as well as magazines and radios that were critical of the rightist were closed on the same day of the military coup.

And also journalists were taken to prison to be tortured. Some of them survived, others died, and others went exiling escaping for saving their lives. Officially 23 journalists were disappeared and killed, in addition to 7 journalism students who never heard from them again either (Carmona, 1998: p. 75).

Undoubtedly during the Unidad Popular government period, the press had a particular participation, assuming an important role for the fall of the Allende government and later the seizure of power by the armed forces in Pinochet's hands. The spaces of the press depend on the struggles and the power of those who starred and because of the great ideological struggle, is that the press was increasingly radical (Sohr, 1998: p. 186). What happened before 1973 in Chile

⁷⁹ http://www.nacion.com/ln_ee/1998/marzo/10/mundo3.html

⁸⁰ *Ibíd*

⁸¹ <https://web.archive.org/web/20000105020552/http://www.fasic.org/bol/bol9803.htm>

⁸² It was a report that recorded of abuses committed in Chile between 1973 and 1990 by agents of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship.

⁸³ https://elpais.com/diario/2011/08/20/internacional/1313791208_850215.html

was not the fault of the press, but neither can it be said that it was innocent. The press portrayed what was happening and, in doing so, contributed to exacerbate the moods over excited (Dooner, 1989: p. 65). That is how the behavior of the press before the military coup seeded in some way what would come next with the violent intervention of Pinochet in Chile.

For that reason that Pinochet`s dictatorship represents one of the most critical periods for freedom of expression. They were 17 years in which civil liberties were notoriously restricted, especially the press and of their informative role. The silencing of the press began on the morning of September 11, 1973, when Bando No. 1 ordered the newspapers closed and decreed silence for the radios (Carmona, 1998: p. 68).

La Junta Military promoted a policy of censorship and self-censorship of the media in order to prevent the population would know openly about the events that were happening. Here it can be appreciated that as in other cases, the manipulation of information is a general characteristic of authoritarian governments. In addition, it is possible to identify the evident preoccupation that existed in La Junta with the mass media, reason why it would explain the closing and censorship from the first day of the Dictatorship.

From that day, one of the most affected groups was those who exercised the work of journalism. The media directors and the journalists who worked with them quickly realized that the coup d'état, after the death of Salvador Allende, would have a second victim: freedom of expression. Newspapers and magazines closed, bombed radios and dozens of imprisoned journalists, some disappeared and hundreds in exile was the first balance (Martorell, 2006: p. 153).

In concrete terms, because of its political tendency occurred the disappearance of the following mass media (Monckeberg, 2011: p. 208):

Table Nº 5: Media closed by the Dictatorship in 1973

Media	Political Tendency
Newspaper Ultima Hora	Communist Party
Newspaper El Siglo	Socialist Party
Newspaper Puro Chile	Socialist Party
Newspaper La Prensa de Santiago	Communist Party
Newspaper El Clarín	Socialist Party
Newspaper La Tribuna de Santiago	Communist Party
Newspaper La Prensa de Santiago	Communist Party
Newspaper La Nación	Communist Party
Newspaper El Popular	Communist Party
Magazine Punto Final	MIR
Magazine Principios	Communist Party
Magazine Chile Hoy	Socialist Party
Magazine Causa Marxista-Leninista	MIR
Magazine El Rebelde	Communist Party
Magazine Enfoque	Communist Party
Magazine Palomo	Communist Party
Magazine Testimonio	Christian Left
Radio Corporación	Socialist Party

Radio Nacional	MIR
Radio Magallanes	Communist Party
Radio Regional de Curicó	Communist Party
Radio del Pacífico	Radical Party

However, the media that were strongly opposed to Allende continued its operation. The agency in charge of examining the material that they would publish was called DINACOS⁸⁴. All press articles were reviewed there before being published. Therefore, media such as El Mercurio, Las Últimas Noticias, La Tercera, La Segunda, Tribuna and La Prensa continued their normal operation, but always under the supervision by DINACOS.

The number of journalists killed during the dictatorship is relevant. The studies mention that there were more than 230 journalists who suffered political imprisonment and torture. Between 1973 and 1980 it is estimated that they were 23 communication professionals executed. This situation was not reported by the media. In Chile, important media omitted human rights violations and placed themselves at the disposal of the military government (Luengo & Yáñez, 2010). It can be assured that some media, mainly newspapers, were adherents and direct allies of the Augusto Pinochet regime. These repressions also harmed journalists in the labor sphere. The closure of several media led hundreds of journalists without work and without the possibility of exercising journalism.

2.3.1. RIGHTIST PRESS IN PINOCHET TIMES

From the day of the military coup, on September 11, 1973, the newspapers of national circulation did not have publications. However, the right-wing press had circulation again on Thursday, September 13th at the same year. Despite the

⁸⁴ DINACOS: Directorate of National Communications.

complete disappearance of the leftist press, the right-wing media continued publishing on its cover against of that ideology.

For example, El Mercurio in its publication of September 16, 1973 wrote with large letters on its cover "Graphics of the Fall of Marxism"⁸⁵. The Últimas Noticias also did it saying "Gigantic operative, the Russians left"⁸⁶. The Diario Tribuna, for its part, put on its cover "Broken relations with Soviets" and "Out of Law Marxism"⁸⁷. The background of these news headlines points clearly an attack to the leftwing ideology.

Picture Nº12: Publication of Tribuna Newspaper. 22th September, 1973.



Translation: Broken relations with Soviets and Out of Law Marxism

⁸⁵ El Mercurio, 16 September, 1973. [Online] http://articulo.mercadolibre.cl/MLC-30920054antiguo-diario-el-mercurio-16-de-septiembre-1973-_JM

⁸⁶ Las Últimas Noticias, 24 September, 1973. *Ibíd.* First page holder.

⁸⁷ Tribuna, 22 September 1973. *Ibíd.* First page holder.

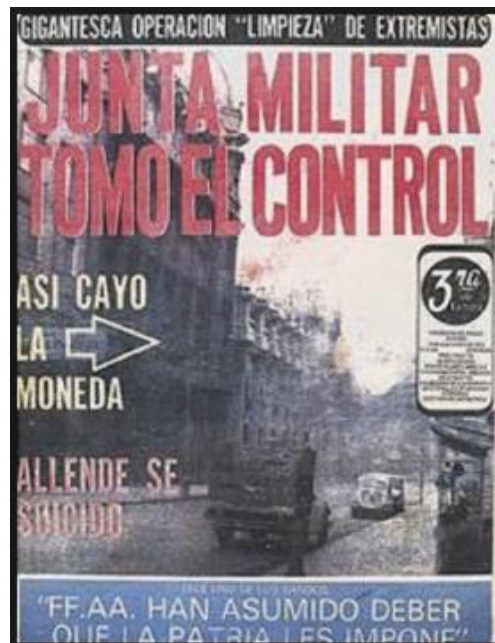
Picture N°13: Publication of El Mercurio Newspaper. 16th September, 1973



Translation: Graphics of the Fall of Marxism

The right-wing press during this period always showed Pinochet as the most capable person to save the country from political-social instability. "I will exercise authority with energy and justice⁸⁸", was published by El Mercurio on 28 September, 1973. Newspaper, La Tercera, also wrote in its cover "Armed forces have assumed the duty that the fatherland imposes on them⁸⁹".

Picture N°14: Publication of La Tercera newspaper. 24th September, 1973.



Translation: Armed forces have assumed the duty that the fatherland imposes on them

⁸⁸ El Mercurio, 28 June 1974. [Online] <http://www.museodeprensa.cl/1974/generalpinochet-asume-mando-supremo-del-pa-s>.

⁸⁹ La Tercera, 24 September, 1973. *Ibíd.* First page holder

In addition, the right-wing press itself was in charge of manipulating information hiding reality. Perhaps one of the most shameful episodes of the press at that time was a publication of the newspaper La Segunda on July 24, 1975, when the press reported the death of 119 people who were opponents of the Pinochet government. The headline was "exterminated like rats"⁹⁰. This headline is cataloged as one of the most abject of terror journalism. The purpose of the headline was to imply to the Chileans that those opponents killed each other. Until today those responsible for the media montage do not do a mea culpa.

So, this heading demonstrates the objective of the right-wing press and ally of Pinochet which is to manipulate information completely.

Picture N°15: Publication of La Segunda newspaper on July 24th, 1975.



Translation: Exterminated like rats

Another headline that also shows the intention to manipulate the information was published by the newspaper Las Últimas Noticias on September 12, 1976⁹¹. On a beach in the Chilean coast, the body of professor and militant communist Marta Ugarte appeared. The investigations determined that the woman had been kidnapped, murdered and thrown into the sea from an aircraft,

⁹⁰ La Segunda on July 24, 1975 <https://www.theclinic.cl/2015/07/25/exterminados-como-ratones-se-cumplen-40-anos-del-tristemente-celebre-titular-de-la-segunda/>

⁹¹ Las Últimas Noticias on September 12, 1976. <https://www.theclinic.cl/2017/04/24/las-portadas-mas-siniestras-los-diarios-la-edwards-eastman-la-dictadura/>

with previous detention and torture in Villa Grimaldi⁹². But nevertheless, Las Últimas Noticias published "strangle a beautiful young woman". The news described the event as a possible crime in the hands of drugged men, which according to the Medical Legal Institute was not really strangled. Then, the press wanted to hide the real reasons for the death of the communist militant.

Picture N°16: Publication of Las Últimas Noticias on September 12th, 1976.



Translation: Strangle a beautiful young woman

"There are no such disappeared", La Segunda, February 9, 1977⁹³. This was another of the controversial headlines that marked the history of the terror press in Chile. The headline on the cover referred to the disappearance of 13 communist militants. The news written by the right-wing newspaper reported that they were in Argentina. However, the truth was that they had been murdered and subsequently disappeared.

⁹² Concentration camp in Chile.

⁹³ La Segunda, February 9, 1977. <https://www.theclinic.cl/2017/04/24/las-portadas-mas-siniestras-los-diarios-la-edwards-eastman-la-dictadura/>

Picture N°17: Publication of La Segunda newspaper on February 9th, 1977.



Translation: There are no such disappeared

As for precisely the media, Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN) and Radio Nacional de Chile were forced to change their editorial line and they operated like propaganda instruments of Pinochet. “Two newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, enjoyed the favors of the military dictatorship”, Cabieles says.

2.3.2. PRESS THAT SURVIVED OF DICTATORSHIP

According to the journalists interviewed for this investigation, surviving in Pinochet's dictatorship was very difficult, even more being journalists and wanting to do the job of informing what was happening. It was a constant challenge and some journalists risked doing it, even compromising their lives.

Officially the censorship was applied in certain periods: at the beginning of the regime and a couple of opportunities during the eighties. However, the media sought a way to survive and one way to do was the constant practice of self-censorship for avoiding raids and suspensions. Radio Cooperativa, for example, was a different voice that despite being censored a couple of times, managed to survive and be current during the dictatorship.

It was just in 1976 when some magazines of mass circulation began to appear. They, together with Radio Cooperativa, formed a set of media that exerted a

journalism of denunciation and dissidence during the dictatorship. “*Thanks to international pressure and international support appear all the media known as existential, which were fundamental to overthrow the dictatorship. Analysis Magazine, Hoy Magazine, Cause Magazine, Apsis Magazine, La Época (Newspaper), Fortín Mapocho (Newspaper), Radio Cooperativa and Radio Chilena generating a critical political climate against the Dictatorship that favored its ending. So we can say the media was a relevant element for the end of the Dictatorship*”, asseverates Cristian Cabalín.

The first of these magazines to appear was *Hoy*, which counted on the auspices of the Christian Democratic political party (DC). It was born in June 1977 and quickly won the favor of the public for respect in the handling of information related with the dictatorship and the humor that were using. The Academia de Humanismo Cristiano⁹⁴ took out the magazine *Análisis* at the end of 1977. The magazine *APSI*⁹⁵ appeared in 1976 with the support of foreign ecclesiastical bodies. Originally it was a 12-page brochure devoted solely to international information, but in 1979 it obtained authorization to include national information. Another of the publications that became an organ of public expression was the magazine *Cauce*, inaugurated on November 18th, 1983, which had a particularly social democratic thought.

There is also the newspaper *Fortín Mapocho*, created in 1947 and then the dictatorship made it disappear immediately in 1973. In 1987 it reappeared to become a publication contrary to the military dictatorship.

And finally the newspaper *La Época*, which emerged in 1987, it had characteristics of certain founding newspapers that expressed the spirit of a new historical stage of a country. *La Época* had the opportunity to become the great newspaper of the renewed Chilean democracy. Every of these written media sold up to 30,000 copies each because they were perceived by Chilean society as necessary and irreplaceable (Otano, 2000).

⁹⁴ Led by Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, whose purpose was to bring together a group of intellectuals to discuss the politics, society, economy and culture of Chile.

⁹⁵ Advertising Agency of Information Services

These media outlets risked doing something different and defending free journalism. Although with the risk of being closed and even persecuted by the dictatorship, they dared to denounce the abuses of human rights.

Despite the strong repression and the threatening conditions, there were some journalists who decided to climb on the bandwagon, while others that despite the consequences, they took more risk and pursued their ideal until the end. One of them is also the journalist who agreed to collaborate in this research, Clara Pérez, who did a heroic job in the newspaper *Fortín Mapocho* in the 80s.

The *Fortín Mapocho* was born in 1947 with the purpose of being a written media for the trade unions of the time. However, in February 1984 it had a complete change in its editorial line, defining itself as an open opposition to the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Given this decision it had multiple consequences such as repression and intimidation with numerous complaints and strict censorship measures. Clara Pérez emphasizes that inside the *Fortín Mapocho* in the 80s "*there was a lot of freedom to investigate*".

Although she worked in the Sports area of the newspaper, that section always had a political perspective. The notes covered the rights of the players of different sports, trade union rights, the pensions that were given to the athletes, the manifestations that occurred in the football world and so on.

According to Pérez, one of the cases that she remembers reporting is the story of a cycling champion who was arrested missing, as well as the story of a world champion of the marine infantry, Raul Choque, persecuted by the dictatorship, who spoke about the bodies that he found at the bottom of the sea: "*those news were the most relevant and newsworthy event that marked the guidelines in the Fortin Mapocho and in the international guideline*", she says.

"In the Pan-American Games of 87` in Indianapolis, they were as selected two Chileans who were being prosecuted for crimes against humanity. Those Chileans were the second in the caravana de la muerte⁹⁶; Sergio Arredondo

⁹⁶ It was a Chilean Army death squad that flew by helicopters between September 30 and October 22, 1973. The squad killed 97 people: 26 in the South and 71 in the North of Chile.

and a member of the CNI⁹⁷, Francisco Acevedo, accused of having topped the six killed in Operation Albania⁹⁸. These people were represented as representatives of Chile in the Pan-American Games. That kind of stories we published in the Fortín and despite the constant threats of closure, we always move forward”, she relates.

When asking her why she keeps going facing that risk of even putting her life at stake, she replies that *“I studied journalism because I was motivated by the political context of the time and it was impossible to stay out. In addition, we all believed the story that we were working for the return of democracy and overthrow the dictatorship. I felt that working in the Fortín it made more sense than selling just a newspaper”.*

Another of the journalists that definitely is well-known for everyone in Chile is the radio announcer Sergio Campos, who also accepted to be part of this investigation and to collaborate with his experience in the work of journalism in Dictatorship. He began working on Radio Cooperativa since 1981, when the Pinochet dictatorship had censored each and every opposition media.

It is important to mention that Radio Cooperativa is one of the most important information broadcasters in Chile⁹⁹. In 1971 decided to mark its opposition to the government of Salvador Allende to be an ally of the Christian Democracy party. That is why after the coup d'état immediately supported the military dictatorship of Pinochet. This situation endured only a few years because in 1976 it became opposition to the regime, denouncing everything related to human rights violations.

The same Sergio Campos explains that the radio took that turn because it was appeals of amparos in courts for people who were arrested and disappeared.

https://web.archive.org/web/20050829012641/http://www.memoriayjusticia.cl/english/en_focus-caravan.html

⁹⁷ It was the intelligence agency which functioned as an organ of persecution, kidnapping, murder and disappearance of political opponents of Pinochet.

⁹⁸ Operation Albania killed twelve members of the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (a Chilean guerrilla) between June 15 and 16, 1987.

⁹⁹ Estudio Ipsos: Radios Corazón y Bío Bío se mantienen como las más escuchadas en Chile. March 3, 2016. <https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/2013/10/30/estudio-ipsos-radios-corazon-y-bio-bio-se-mantienen-como-las-mas-escuchadas-en-chile.shtml>

"*That was necessary to make it known*", he points out. Then, this radio began to mention who were officially disappeared by the Dictatorship, although always with a limit: "*we always received warnings that we can not go further*", he adds.

As he indicates that there was always a limit to protect the safety of each of the journalists of Radio Cooperativa, Sergio Campos was also one of the communicators that the Dictatorship took it and send to a concentration camp. On this delicate subject he was not consulted, but only roughly he comments that to Radio Cooperativa "*the restrictions were very brutal and the radio was closed many times*".

Campos details that in Cooperativa there were 3 types of censorship. One was prior censorship, which consisted of a soldier reaching the radio and suppressing certain audios and texts of the script. The form of censorship was very arbitrary because a military man could censor paragraph 1, and another one came and censored paragraph 5 or wedge 1. It should be noted that there were military permanently at the broadcasters. Then there was the repressive censorship where they applied administrative measures where they shut down the media without saying how long they would be closed. And the last one is self-censorship between themselves.

According to him, in order to continue forward informing about what happened around the Dictatorship, they occupied a lot of "*language with tones*". "*The Dictator Fell: Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown in the Philippines*", *only in this way we said and emphasized the word Dictator for letting to the people know that was related to the Chilean Dictatorship as well*", he relates. With this, he explains that there was always a double language when delivering information and that situation was the beginning of the road for a country with a little more freedom of expression and to guarantee the right of information.

Regarding self-censorship he indicated that it was never his case because he always felt calm: "*everyone on the radio was still working with a lot of commitment*", he says. For that reason, and as it happened with some of the

other interviewees, he emphasizes that *"fear becomes secondary, so I put all my heart, spirit and soul into recovering democracy"*.

2.3.3. JOURNALISTS DURING PINOCHET TIME: EXILE AND TORTURE

The search for journalists who worked at this time was not an easy task either. Very little of them are still current on the media today, while the rest stayed abroad after the exile, or simply lost their footprint. But there are some journalists who, although are not on the media, they are willing to tell and share what they have experienced about that time in journalism for this research.

Ernesto Carmona, who admits having a totally leftist ideology and that is why he worked only in the media with that ideology, he knew it from the first moment that due to the coup d'etat, he had to save his life. *"The coup happened and I saved my life. I went to Argentina. There were a list of journalists who were going to be killed and we were there. I did not want to leave Chile, I wanted to stay fighting"*, he confessed. This is how Carmona was in Argentina, then in Peru and later in Venezuela where he lived his longest time of exile. However, from abroad he continued working in Chile collaborating as a correspondent in the Chilean magazine *Análisis*.

A similar story is the one that Lucía Sepúlveda has, who also told her experience on the same day of the coup d'etat. *"We went (with her husband also journalist) to cover the news in the Palacio La Moneda. When it was possible, we went back to home to clean; taking out the documents that we understood that could be compromising. Then we had to leave the house. From there my life changed absolutely"*, she said. And it was like that because from that moment his clandestine life began. In 1977, her husband, who was the reconigzed journalist Augusto Carmona, was murdered. She endured 10 years of hiding with her daughter, surviving by teaching English, doing translations with a false identity. She did not see her family in all those years, but she managed to send messages to them for saying that she was still alive.

Guillermo Torres also has his story; working in the newspaper El Siglo, he wanted to report the bombing of Palacio La Moneda. The streets were closed and that is why he decided to go to the Universidad Técnica del Estado¹⁰⁰ where he also worked on the radio there. From that moment his life changed completely too. *“I stayed there (at the university) because we could not leave for the curfew and the next day the military took the university and they took us prisoners. There my story began for two years as a political prisoner where I was in five different concentration camps and then in the 1975 they kicked me out from the country. I arrived in the German Democratic Republic and Italy”*, he relates.

Being in a concentration camp must be one of the most terrible nightmares for every human being. Therefore it is unnecessary to detail what was happening inside. However, Torres also said that different things happened there: *“When we were prisoners, we had a Mural Diary that was called Chacabuco 73`. We were like 15 imprisoned journalists and we had a radio newscast at dinner time and we read the news for all the prisoners. We wrote the news by hand. The papers and pencils were sent by our relatives. The information we prepared had to be delivered first to the Concentration Camp Management so that they could review it and approve it”*, he relates, a worthy story to be shared and that demonstrates the great meaning that they felt for the journalistic exercise. He also adds that *“in the mural there was a broad organization. There were people who learned to read, there were card championships, a sports organization and groups of theater. Every Friday there was a show because what we had most it was time; there were many artists and poets. That was what bothered the jailers a lot”*. At the same moment of the arrest and subsequent transfer to one of the concentration camps, Chilean singer Víctor Jara was at his side. Even he witnessed how the military identified Jara among the masses to take him away and to torture until his death.

Another of the journalists interviewed who also suffered torture in the concentration camps was Víctor Mandujano. He says that, as his father was

¹⁰⁰ Public university created in 1947.

one of the founders of the Socialist Party, a neighbor denounced him. *"I never militated in any party. I have a clear ideology, but nothing else. One month after the coup, they (DINA) raided my house. They threw the door down at 3am and start to break all the furniture looking for weapons. Then they took me in detention".* And without going into more details, he said that *"inside (the concentration camp), some people were tortured and others were not, in my case, I was".*

2.3.4. WORKING IN THE PUBLIC TV

It should be remembered that in Chile there has always been only one public channel and that is the case of channel 7, TVN. In the previous chapter on how to do journalism in the time of Allende, the journalists interviewed discussed about their work in TVN and it was possible to see that while some of them thought that press freedom and freedom of expression was absolute, for others it was not that much. Precisely Santiago Pavlovic was one of them. He says that for the day of the coup, he could not enter to TVN because it was raided by the military. After two days he managed to get there and the same director of the channel, who at that time was Gonzalo Beltrán¹⁰¹, asked him to be head the press department. His experience sums it up in this way: *"We never did journalism at that time. The first era was controlled by the Communications Secretariat that reviewed all the scripts of the news"*, he relates.

But at the moment for asking him about why he accepted to continue working in a media that had become a total ally of Pinochet, Pavlovic responds that *"I had 3 children and I had to survive. I was not a leftist who was with Allende, but I was not a supporter of a coup d'etat either. It was much unexpected and I always had the faith that in the history of Chile it was not for those hits no less with those degrees of cruelty. No one imagined the degree of violence"*.

Something very similar says Bernardo de la Maza, who also continued to work in TVN as a field reporter journalist. He tells that in TVN there was an absolute

¹⁰¹ He was director of many successful TV programs in Chile.

control of the news by DINA staff. Even the news was recorded one hour in advance to avoid informational errors. *"There was no freedom there"*, he sums up.

Bernardo de la Maza also adds that the same DINA began to burn all rolls of recordings that contained images of Allende and that even the people of the press department were concerned to save a few. Finally they did, but very little of them.

He was also asked the same about his work at TVN in the era of Pinochet and this is his answer: *"A journalist in Dictatorship does not make any sense. Journalism does not make any sense. They ruined me 17 years of my life to me. But if I had not accepted those conditions, I would have been without journalism for 17 years and I can't imagine that"*, he assures.

Both Bernardo de la Maza and Santiago Pavlovic admit that they never received threats while working on TVN. This is because they understood that the only way to have work and not be in danger in the attempt it was simply self-censor themselves. *"I did not receive threats, but neither did I talk about what was happening. I had to occasionally be news presenter, and what I did was eliminate all the adjectives. When I had to say 'the excellent government', I said only 'the Government' that already for me that was a tremendous risk"*, he counts.

Finally when they were asked clearly if they knew what was really happening with the opponents of the Pinochet government, who were kidnapped to be subsequently tortured and sometimes even murdered in the bloodiest way as possible, their answers are very different from each other. Pavlovic admits that he knew it: *"Obviously I knew it, but I had to work"*. However, de la Maza says that he did not know that much *"because who knew it they were those who had a direct relationship with political prisoners"*.

It should be remembered that in Pinochet's time the TVN channel was intervened from the first moment after the coup. There existed a communications department inside of TVN predated by the DINA, that is to say,

it was the military that edited all the news and elaborated, in turn, the information.

2.4. PARTISAN JOURNALISM

As could be seen throughout this chapter, the press at the time of Allende as well as that of Pinochet was very politicized and polarized, that is, they had a very clear editorial line regarding which political side to support in the whole crisis process that Chile lived. The relationship between news media and political institutions in those times denotes a partisan bias.

Partisan bias is understood as the systematic tendency to benefit political actors or certain coalitions through preferential or disadvantageous editorial treatments (Fico, Freedman, & Love, 2006; Echeverría, 2017). Such practice takes on an important political dimension by constituting a transgression to the norms of impartiality and objectivity of journalistic performance, considering the latter as the balance in the presentation of the different facets of a theme or event, neutrality in tone and form, emotional containment, separation between facts and opinion, and absence of second intentions (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, & White, 2009; Echeverría, 2017).

From the point of view of the characteristics of a democracy, that is, in Allende's time, the transgression of both principles has significant political consequences. The equitable representation of political options in the media is a necessary condition to ensure equal rights to eligibility. This basis is essential in the context of the control that certain elite groups have to express themselves in public (Dahl, 2000; Echeverría, 2017). In addition, impartiality is important in journalism because it points to the principle of diversity according to which the media are conceived as scenarios that must reflect in a balanced way the plurality of social and political groups and interests, in attention to the public interest (McQuail, 1998; Echeverría, 2017).

The impartiality in journalism is a professional norm adhered to what is known as objectivity at the time that any media broadcast delivers information to society.

However, in the times of Allende and Pinochet the partisan press was not seen as something negative because in various media systems partisan bias is a conventional and even desirable attribute. Many times it is called as a committed and openly ideological partisan press, a phenomenon sometimes understood as healthy for the good performance of the system (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, & White, 2009; Echeverría, 2017). In that logic, being neutral is considered a lack of commitment, civility or political loyalty, because journalists carry out this work (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Echeverría, 2017).

One of the reasons why the media choose being partisans is for generating affordable and attractive coverage, as happened with the press of the 70s and 80s in Chile.

CHAPTER 3

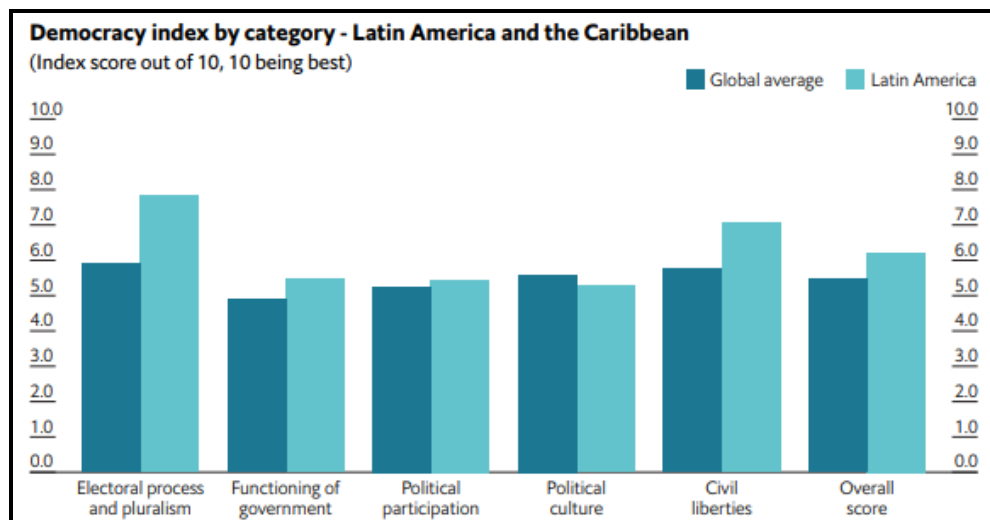
THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF JOURNALISM IN CHILE

3.1 DEMOCRACY AND PRESS FREEDOM NOWADAYS

As discussed in the first chapter, because of the strong link between democracy and media, it is important to show the situation of the democracy in Chile in nowadays compared with its neighboring countries in Latin America.

For that, it is necessary to mention the research called The Economist Intelligence Unit (The EIU)¹⁰² which provides a snapshot of the state of democracy worldwide for 165 independent states and two territories. The Democracy Index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation and political culture. In Latin America the scenario is following:

Graphic N° 1: Democracy Index In Latin America and the Caribbean



Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit. Scale is based on 10 indicators

¹⁰² A report by The Economist Intelligence Unit called *Democracy Index 2018: Me too? Political participation, protest and democracy*.
<https://www.hablandoclarocr.com/images/pdfs/indicedemocracia2018>

Latin America and the Caribbean remains the most democratic region in the developing world. However, the region's overall score fell a bit again in 2018 from 6.26 to 6.24. The report says that the reasons are due to Latin American governments have continued to be beset by corruption and the effects of transnational organized crime, and persistent deficiencies in governance and the practice of democracy¹⁰³. Below is shown in which position and how democratic are every country in Latin America and the Caribbean, that is to say, if those countries are full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regimen or authoritarian.

Table N°6: Democratic system in Latin America and the Caribbean

Latin America and the Caribbean 2018									
	Overall score	Global Rank	Regional rank	I Electoral process and pluralism	II Functioning of government	III Political participation	IV Political culture	V Civil liberties	Regime type
Uruguay	8.38	15	1	10.00	8.57	6.11	7.50	9.71	Full democracy
Costa Rica	8.07	20	2	9.58	7.50	6.67	7.50	9.12	Full democracy
Chile	7.97	23=	3	9.58	8.57	4.44	8.13	9.12	Flawed democracy
Trinidad and Tobago	7.16	43	4	9.58	7.14	6.11	5.63	7.35	Flawed democracy
Panama	7.05	45	5	9.58	6.07	6.67	5.00	7.94	Flawed democracy
Argentina	7.02	47=	6	9.17	5.36	6.11	6.25	8.24	Flawed democracy
Jamaica	7.02	47=	7	8.75	7.14	4.44	6.25	8.53	Flawed democracy
Suriname	6.98	49	8	9.17	6.43	6.67	5.00	7.65	Flawed democracy
Brazil	6.97	50	9	9.58	5.36	6.67	5.00	8.24	Flawed democracy
Colombia	6.96	51	10	9.17	6.79	5.00	5.63	8.24	Flawed democracy
Guyana	6.67	54=	11	9.17	5.71	6.11	5.00	7.35	Flawed democracy
Peru	6.60	59	12	9.17	5.00	5.56	5.63	7.65	Flawed democracy
Dominican Republic	6.54	61	13	9.17	5.36	6.11	5.00	7.06	Flawed democracy
Ecuador	6.27	68	14	8.75	5.36	6.11	4.38	6.76	Flawed democracy
Paraguay	6.24	70	15	8.75	5.71	5.00	4.38	7.35	Flawed democracy
Mexico	6.19	71=	16	8.33	6.07	7.22	3.13	6.18	Flawed democracy
El Salvador	5.96	77	17	9.17	4.29	5.56	3.75	7.06	Hybrid regime
Bolivia	5.70	83	18	7.50	4.64	5.56	3.75	7.06	Hybrid regime
Honduras	5.63	85	19	8.50	4.64	4.44	4.38	6.18	Hybrid regime
Guatemala	5.60	87	20	7.92	5.36	3.89	4.38	6.47	Hybrid regime
Haiti	4.91	102	21	5.58	2.93	3.89	6.25	5.88	Hybrid regime
Nicaragua	3.63	122	22	2.67	1.86	3.89	5.63	4.12	Authoritarian
Venezuela	3.16	134=	23	1.67	1.79	4.44	4.38	3.53	Authoritarian
Cuba	3.00	142	24	1.08	3.57	3.33	4.38	2.65	Authoritarian

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit. Scale is based on 10 indicators

¹⁰³ *Ibíd.* P.19.

In this table even though Chile is in the 3rd position with 7.97 between Latin countries and in the place 23th around the world, at the same time is cataloged as *flawed democracy regime type*. According to this report, Chile is low in political participation, not like civil liberties that are still keeping high. The EIU define *flawed democracy* as these countries also have free and fair elections and, even if there are problems (such as infringements on media freedom), basic civil liberties are respected. However, there are significant weaknesses in other aspects of democracy, including problems in governance, an underdeveloped political culture and low levels of political participation¹⁰⁴.

Referring to press freedom in Latin America, the number of countries considered safe and where journalists can work with total security continues to decline¹⁰⁵; like this expressed *Reporters Without Borders (RSF)*¹⁰⁶ in its last research in 2019. According to that report, the stage that journalists have to work is not favorable in current times. *“If the political debate slides surreptitiously or openly towards a civil war-style atmosphere, in which journalists are treated as scapegoats, then democracy is in great danger”*, RSF secretary-general Christophe Deloire said and he added that *“halting this cycle of fear and intimidation is a matter of the utmost urgency for all people of good will who value the freedoms acquired in the course of history”*¹⁰⁷.

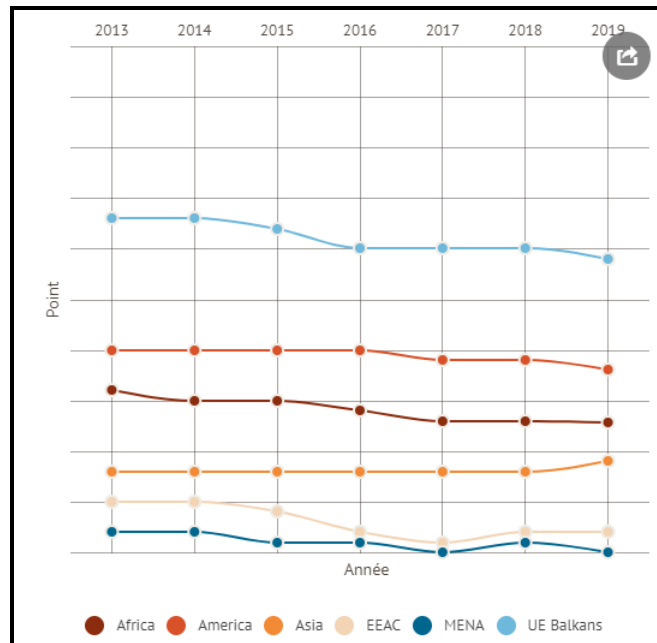
In the graphic N°2 is showing how it has been the evolution of the continents since 2013 till 2019 about Press Freedom. In addition, it is also to observe how was the performance of Latin America in the Caribbean in the last years.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibíd.* p. 49.

¹⁰⁵ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by RSF <https://rsf.org/es/america>

¹⁰⁶ Reporters Without Borders (RSF) is one of the world's leading NGOs in the defense and promotion of freedom of information.

¹⁰⁷ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by <https://rsf.org/en/2019-world-press-freedom-index-cycle-fear>

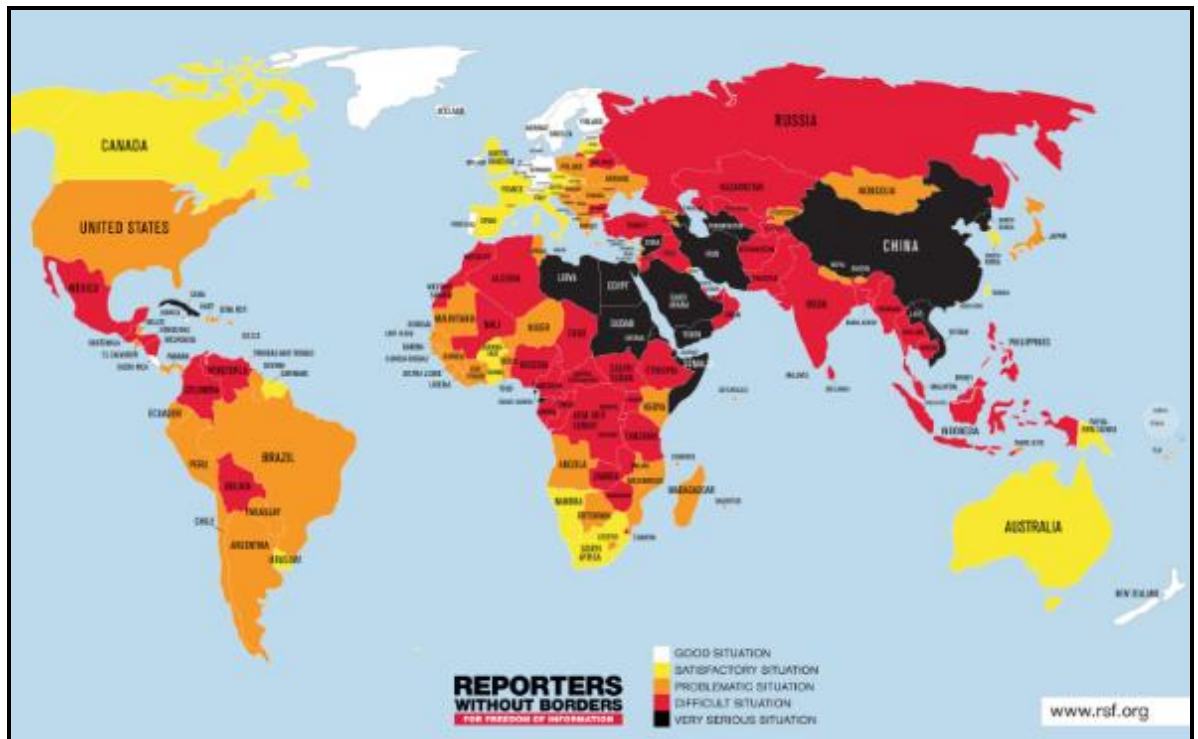
Graphic N°2: Evolution of the Press Freedom in Latin America in the Caribbean

**Source: Reporters Without Borders (RSF) 2019.
Index for each continent about Press Freedom.**

Only 24% of the 180 countries and territories are classified as *good* or *fairly good* in press freedom, as opposed to 26% last year. “*Threats, insults and attacks are now part of the occupational hazards for journalists in many countries*” the report said and that is why is possible to observe in this table that the majority of the continents are lowering their scores since 2013, and they are continue like this till 2019. That is because some countries like United States (48th), for example, stood out for its democracy especially the way that journalists were treated. Nowadays the situation changed as a result of an increasingly hostile climate around Donald Trump.

Continuing the focus in the neighbor’s countries of Chile which are located in Latin America and the Caribbean, it will show a map bellow that indicate the level of press freedom that every country per color (more darken is because the situation is more critical).

Picture N° 18: Press freedom in Latin America and the Caribbean



Source: Reporters Without Borders 2019.

America, both the north and the south, it is the continent which has more deterioration worldwide due to level of restriction and violations that press freedom have there. This was not just due to the poor performance of the United States, Brazil and Venezuela, but also because Nicaraguan journalists are treated as protesters and are often physically attacked and Mexico at least ten journalists were murdered in 2018.

The countries with the best performance in the region are Costa Rica (10°), Uruguay (19°) and Chile (46°), while Honduras (146°), Venezuela (148°) and Cuba (169°) are located in the last three places. RSF summary in this way the current situation in Latin America and the Caribbean: *“corruption, impunity, cyber-surveillance and government violence and violations of freedom of information take many different forms in this vast region; Mexican, Honduran, Colombian and Brazilian journalists sometimes pay with their lives for investigating drug trafficking or corruption. Cuban and Venezuelan journalists are under constant pressure from governments that use all possible means to*

*cancel independent media outlets. Journalists in the United States cannot freely cover stories linked to surveillance or espionage*¹⁰⁸.

Whence, as can be seen in these conclusions of this report by RSF, the situation in Latin America about press freedom is complicated because of the interference of the government still on media. In these countries the State is still clearly involve in the work of journalists. That is why this report is published every year for measuring the behavior of each State versus the proper functioning of the media and journalism practices.

Freedom House for its side points out that 46% of the countries of Latin America are in the *free* category, while 14% would be considered *not free* in terms of press freedom¹⁰⁹. As in the RSF report, Freedom House insists that *“Brazil, Colombia, Honduras, and Mexico remain among the world’s most dangerous places for journalists, and all face ongoing challenges in investigating and prosecuting these crimes*¹¹⁰”.

In the case of Chile in the World Ranking of Press Freedom by RSF fall 8 places in the version 2019. *“Chile, although has relatively stable democracy, continues to suffer from corruption and consequences from the military dictatorship*¹¹¹” the report said.

It also details that the fall in the ranking is due to journalist *“still have problems to cover certain issues such as political corruption and protests of the Mapuche*¹¹², *which have been in conflict with the Chilean state for almost 200 years*¹¹³”. This was because the secrecy of journalistic sources was not respected and there were numerous cases of abusive judicial proceedings against journalists who dealt with sensitive issues such as those already mentioned.

¹⁰⁸ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by RSF in America <https://rsf.org/en/americas>

¹⁰⁹ Freedom of the Press 2017 report by Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2017>

¹¹⁰ *Ibíd.* p. 21.

¹¹¹ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by RSF in Chile <https://rsf.org/en/chile>

¹¹² The Mapuche are an indigenous community who are living in the south-central of Chile.

¹¹³ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by RSF in Chile <https://rsf.org/en/chile>

Specifically about this Ernesto Carmona thinks that “*democracy means that there is no repression, but there are repress not as in the Dictatorship, but on another scale and in another way. If you are a foreign journalist and you land in Araucanía (Chilean region that are living indigenous) and start talking to the Mapuches, they (government) take you out of the country without anyone knowing and without protests. That happens frequently in Chile. If a foreign journalist goes to the consulate to say that comes to report about the Mapuche case will never give him the visa. In the US, journalists are also arrested who are caught with cameras and do not have a visa. I believe that Democracy is a great fallacy*”.

Finally the report adds that pluralism and democratic debate are “*limited because of the concentration of ownership of the media and the difficulty that media find to ensure long-term survival*”¹¹⁴.

In the following table is possible to see how Chile was improved in the ranking since 2013, making great strides in terms of press freedom:

Table N°7: Ranking press freedom in Chile

Ranking since 2013					
Year	Ranking		Year	Ranking	
2018	38 / 180	↓	2014	58 / 180	↑
2017	33 / 180	↓	2013	60 / 180	=
2016	31 / 180	↑			
2015	43 / 180	↑			

Source: Reporters Without Borders 2019.

However, in the last year and for the first time it presented a relapse and that is reason to consider even more if it is due to the existence of large conglomerates and also because there are still vestiges of the military dictatorship as indicated by RSF. Apparently, what was done and changed by

¹¹⁴ *Ibíd.*

the dictator Pinochet on media broadcasting would be one of the reasons that Chile cannot enjoy a full press freedom and one of the consequences is precisely the existence of a duopoly in the media today.

The Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2018¹¹⁵ indicates that although several countries in Latin America have made progress in terms of press freedom and freedom of expression, the Office of the Special Rapporteur notes that in some countries the honor and reputation of public officials are still disproportionately protected. In several cases *"these regulations have been used as mechanisms to silence the press or prosecute journalists"*¹¹⁶, as happened in the case of Chile that *"journalists were subject to lawsuits"*¹¹⁷. The report also highlights the violence against community and indigenous journalists in recent years, identifying different cases of raids, harassment and obstruction of the informative work of community media in several countries as well as in Chile.

If there is press freedom in Chile today it will be also possible to know from the protagonists; those journalists who are current on the media broadcasting. One of them is Soledad Abarca¹¹⁸, a journalist from Universidad Diego Portales in Chile who works today at Súbela, one of the most successful online radio stations in the country. She says that *"the whole issue of press freedom has to do with money and that is why in the mass media it is difficult to find that freedom because they don't have it"*. Something similar is expressed by Daniel Inostroza¹¹⁹, journalist of the right-wing newspaper El Mercurio, who was the only one to agree to collaborate with this investigation after many attempts with

¹¹⁵ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights created the Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression during 1997. Through the Office of the Special Rapporteur, the Commission sought to encourage the defense of the right to freedom of thought and expression in the hemisphere, given the fundamental role this right plays in consolidating and developing the democratic system and in protecting, guaranteeing, and promoting other human rights. It has full support among the OAS Member States.

¹¹⁶ The Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2018. P. 271 <http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/docs/annual/2018/docs/IA2018RELE-en.pdf>

¹¹⁷ *Ibíd.*

¹¹⁸ The interview of Soledad Abarca was made on 6th April, 2019 and the duration is 42 minutes.

¹¹⁹ The interview of Daniel Inostroza was made on 11th April, 2019 and the duration is 92 minutes.

other journalists from the same media, he affirms that *"today there is little freedom of the press because for example I have a more leftist thought, but when I left the University I realized that we have to work, so the system obliges us to forget the ideals. The neoliberal model is responsible for the exercise of journalism is not with the freedom that should be"*.

Marcela Jimenes¹²⁰, editor of one of the most opposition news portals in Chile, El Mostrador, does not have a different opinion either; *"Absolute freedom does not exist because every media broadcasting need money to survive and that money can come from the pockets of the owners or the sponsors"*.

Carla Massai¹²¹, journalist from one of the digital website that makes investigative journalism in Chile, Interferencia, indicates that *"there are press freedom in general in the traditional media, but not at all. That is why people are already bored of reading news and prefer alternative media"*.

However, their responses change when they are asked if they feel free in their own current media. Soledad Abarca indicates that in Súbela Radio *"I can say what I want, but I always be careful with my words. My freedom is almost 99%"*. Something similar also indicates Marcela Jimenes with respect to El Mostrador: *"it is the place where I have had more freedom to write and report,"* she says. But for Daniel Inostroza the scenario is different for his work in one of the most controversial newspapers that supported the dictatorship and for unknown reasons is still current: *"I am in the exercise of journalism where I can observe how certain information that citizens have the right to know are violated"* he affirms.

3.2. CENSORSHIP IN CHILE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

It is possible to see that although Chile is well positioned in the rankings of democracy and press freedom, there are still some vestiges of repression as

¹²⁰ The interview of Marcela Jimenes was made on 2nd April, 2019 and the duration is 24 minutes.

¹²¹ The interview of Carla Massai was made on 16th February, 2019 and the duration is 8 minutes.

indicated by the Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, as well as the journalists interviewed for this investigation who affirmed that it is very difficult for the Chilean media broadcasting in general to enjoy full freedom.

Censorship can be defined as the use of power by the state or an influential group to control freedom of expression. The censorship in most cases is carried out to control the opinions of a society and above all suppress the internal crisis of a country by uprisings to the discontent of the actions of the government, as was the case of Chile in the 70s in hands of Pinochet.

According to Ernesto Carmona, who was interviewed for this research, censorship in the written press has to do with the fact that "*in the end of public liberties and the violation of all human rights, they framed the creation of a uniformed press*". That is, a homogeneous press like that obtained after the military coup in 1973. That is why when we refer to the freedom of expression and press in dictatorial governments, it is common to relate it directly to the censorship of the press, especially the written one.

Censorship, as an institution aimed directed to limit or to prohibit the publication and dissemination of certain information, constitutes a restriction on the free exchange of ideas, imposed by the public authorities, aware of the energy potential that these include (Vivanco, 1992; Luengo & Yáñez, 2010: p. 94). According to what is said by the author, censorship is the absolute call to the participation of silence, that is, there is no relationship between what is really happening, such as the torture and disappearances in Pinochet's time, and what society thinks. In other words, it is against the thinking of the human being and occurred with the thinking of Chileans since the arrival of Pinochet.

The act of omitting information, not giving it complete or simply changing it is what is known as censorship as explained by John Keane in his book *Liberty of the Press* (1991) that also explains that "this misunderstanding of the recursive relationship between individuals and their media of communication explains why the early modern paradigm of Liberty of the press had no clear grasp of the

(quasi-conscious) mechanisms by which individuals voluntarily restrict and confine their expressions (p. 38)".

However, in the 21st century that kind of hard censorship found in the Pinochet dictatorship is no longer existent. This may be due to the fact that it has not been analyzed what happens with the press in the emerging democracies and the structure of the media market that still provoke the self-censorship of journalists, the indirect restrictions on the part of private actors and pressures exerted through the assignment of advertising as indicated by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR)¹²².

In Chile there is a study that was carried out in 2013 by the Institute of Communication and Image of the University of Chile (ICEI)¹²³, with the aim of investigating the new forms that acquire restrictions on the exercise of journalism. For that, journalists who practice in Santiago's media were surveyed with the objective of describing and analyzing the types and levels of restriction perceived by them in the exercise of journalism.

The study made three types of obstacles that come from the editors or directors:

- 1) Having to soften the news by recommendation of some superior;
- 2) Total or partial restriction of reporting a news item on the recommendation of a superior;
- 3) Total or partial restriction of publishing a news item on the recommendation of a superior¹²⁴.

¹²² The Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 2018
<http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/docs/annual/2018/docs/IA2018RELE-en.pdf>

¹²³ ICEI is a high level academic unit from the University of Chile destined to develop research, teaching and extension around the problems and matters associated with communication in contemporary society. <http://www.icei.uchile.cl/>

¹²⁴ Study Press Freedom under Pressure: Restriction Levels Perceived by Chilean Journalists and Influential Factors by ICEI https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0719-367X2013000100002&script=sci_arttext

Table N°8: Restriction in Journalism in Chile

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percentage	Accumulated percentage
Never any restriction	20	11,7	11,8	11,8
Having experienced restrictions by superiors	32	18,7	18,9	30,8
Having experienced 2 types of restrictions by superiors	29	17,0	17,2	47,9
Having experienced all the restrictions by superiors (softening news, restricting reporting and publishing)	88	51,5	52,1	100,0
Total	169	98,8	100,0	
Perdidos Sistema	2	1,2		
Total	171	100,0		

Source: ICEI

Then, as can be seen in the table N° 8, more than half of the journalists have experienced the three types of restrictions and only 11.7% have not experienced them. It could be inferred that journalists in Chile are not free from the same press rooms where they have to follow orders from superiors to know what and how to publish on media.

This study concludes that one of the most serious obstacles that free exercise of journalism has is constituted by a network of "silent pressures" coming from two specific social systems: the political and the economic mainly. "(Since 1990) there are more subtle and sophisticated mechanisms of pressure and censorship; calls by phone, the work of corporate communications agencies, the need for publicity and self-financing have led the media and journalists to adopt positions of vulnerability to external agents in the news construction", the study determinates¹²⁵.

But to stay in their jobs, many journalists must follow orders. That can also be considered as an act of self-censorship. Keane (1991) also explain about self-censorship that "censorship can assume another form entirely. It can be echo within us, take up residence within ourselves, spying on us, to private amanuensis who reminds us never to go too far (p. 39)".

¹²⁵ Ibid.

In Pinochet's time, self-censorship was evident because journalists were in danger for their lives. Today the situation is different. The self-censorship of journalists is a fact that happens in general in today's media, especially in Chile.

Self-censorship is the censorship carried out by the same media before publishing it, as a measure that the authorities or anyone who exercise power do not exert pressure on them, based on the fear of the mass media before the excessive and arbitrary sanctions (Vivanco, 1992; Luengo & Yáñez, 2010, p. 97).

Given this, the journalists interviewed for this research also shared their experiences and points of view about that. Cristian Cabalín concludes that "*the material conditions associated with journalistic work have problems such as the concentration of the media, which means that there are very few spaces for that circulation of ideas to be free, fluid, deliberate and diverse. Another is the serious deterioration of the working conditions of a journalist which implies multifunctionality, low salaries and inability to report issues due to the rush of time, an excess supply of professionals for a very small market*".

Daniel Inostroza relates an experience that he had when he worked in Publimetro, one of the written media in Chile: "*I wrote an article about popular pharmacies and compared them with the three big pharmacy chains that have more than 90% of the market in Chile. On the page 2 of the newspaper was that reportage and on page 3 was the advertising of one of those big brands of pharmacy. In the end we had pressures from the director of the newspaper and finally they eliminated it. That was an act of censure that as a journalist I was a victim*", he says.

Regarding his current performance in the newspaper El Mercurio, Inostroza admits that "*in recent years in Chile we have several cases of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church and El Mercurio, which is a conservative media and very close to the Church, treats these news in a soft way. For example on the cover it cannot mention the word abuse. Their headlines are very soft about these crimes of the Catholic Church*".

Soledad Abarca also has something to contribute to this topic after his previous experience working on ADN radio, one of the largest radio stations in Chile. *"On that radio it was very difficult to propose topics because the editors decided everything, so as journalists I was just following orders because I never had the chance to propose or do a critical job and that kills a bit the spirit of being a journalist"*, she says.

Rayén Araya¹²⁶ is another journalist that was interviewed for this research. She is working in La Red channel 4 as TV driver in the program Mentiras Verdaderas. Regarding the restrictions that a journalist can have, she says that *"according to my experience in mass media, press freedom is super limited. It cannot always align the political or economic vision that a journalist can have with the editorial line of the media that is being worked on and that happened to me"*.

Carla Massai in her previous works she ensures that *"the editors always changed the content of my notes without prior discussion at least because they are supposed to know more and what the high headquarters really want, so I just kept quiet and abided"*.

3.3. CONGLOMERATES IN CHILE

According to the Office of the Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the IACHR¹²⁷, any type of concentration in the field of communication media violates the exercise of freedom of expression as well as democracy. Even in the article 12 of the Declaration of Principle on Freedom of Expression, it is established that:

"Monopolies or oligopolies in the ownership and control of the communication media must be subject to anti-trust laws, as they conspire against democracy"

¹²⁶ The interview of Rayen Araya was made on 10th February, 2019 and the duration is 13 minutes.

¹²⁷ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) is a principal and autonomous organ of the Organization of American States (OAS) whose mission is to promote and protect human rights in the American hemisphere.

by limiting the plurality and diversity which ensure the full exercise of people's right to information. In no case should such laws apply exclusively to the media. The concession of radio and television broadcast frequencies should take into account democratic criteria that provide equal opportunity of access for all individuals¹²⁸."

Even in the Twentieth Anniversary of the Joint Declaration 2019¹²⁹ made by Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression it was stipulated as challenges to freedom of expression in the next decade that *"in order to protect against unaccountable private domination of the environment for freedom of expression, we urge the development effective rules and systems to address, in relation to companies providing digital communications services, undue concentration of ownership and practices which represent an abuse of a dominant market position¹³⁰"*.

With this it can be deduced that the existence of large conglomerates involving different types of media is a problem in whole Latin America and that is why the OAS calls for action on this matter. That is also includes Chile.

At the inauguration of the 70th Assembly of the Inter-American Press Association (SIP) held in Chile, the Chilean Journalists Association indicated on that occasion that *"today Chile holds the sad first place in the rankings of media ownership concentration. Latin American communication, which gives 95% to Chile, a tight duopoly of printed media, an oligopoly of television stations with*

¹²⁸ Declaration of Principle on Freedom of Expression article n°12.

<http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/expression/showarticle.asp?artID=26&IID=1>

¹²⁹ A meeting that brought together to The United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organization of American States (OAS) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information.

¹³⁰ Twentieth Anniversary of the Joint Declaration: Challenges to Freedom of Expression in the next decade. <http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/expression/showarticle.asp?artID=1146&IID=1>

foreign capital and 45% of the radial market concentrated in the hands of a transnational conglomerate constitute the national panorama¹³¹.

It is a worrisome subject because it concerns all types of media: television, radio and also the written press. The National Television Council CNTV¹³² published a study called Concentration of Media in the Chilean Television Industry, where it can see the media concentration, what groups are and who are the owners of them, in addition to making clear in what other areas of the market are also entrepreneurs and owners.

Although the study was done in 2015, it is the last existing version created by the National Television Council CNTV, but for this research these data are useful because the media landscape and its ownership have remained unchanged until today.

Table N°9: Media groups

Group	Owner	Media broadcasting	Business/ Media Companies	Other sectors
Group Bethia	Liliana Solari, Carlos Heller Solari, Andrea Heller Solari	Open TV, cable TV, radio, internet	Etc. Medios S.A. - Red Televisiva Megavisión S.A.	Retail, real estate, transportation, wine, agriculture, horse riding, health, football concessionaire
Group Canal 13	Andrónico Luksic Carig 67% - PUC 33%	Open TV, cable TV, radio, internet	Canal 13 S.A. - Radiodifusión SpA	Industrial, banks, mining, agricultural
Group Prisa (Spain)	Liberty Acquisition Holdings Corp. (Martin E. Franklin y Nicolas Berggruen) y Rucandio S.A. (Familia Polanco)	Television, radio, magazines, newspapers, internet	Ibero Americana Radio Chile S.A.	Editorial (Education)
Group Televisa (Mexico)	Emilio Azcárraga Jean	Television, internet, radio, magazines	Editorial Televisa Chile S.A.	Film production, telecommunications, dubbing, animation, football club
Time Warner (EEUU)	Time Warner Inc. - Turner Broadcasting System	Open TV, cable TV, internet	CNN Chile S.A. (al 50% con VTR) - Red de Televisión Chilevisión	Film production, videogames

Source: CNTV May 2015¹³³

¹³¹ <https://www.colegiodeperiodistas.cl/2014/10/colegio-de-periodistas-junto.html>

¹³² The National Television Council (CNTV) is an agency of the State of Chile whose function is to control the operation of television services.

¹³³ The report it was made in 2015 and is the last existing version created by the National Television Council CNTV, but for this research these data are useful because the media landscape and its ownership have remained unchanged until today.

Then it can be said that in Chile the media are concentrated in 5 main groups: Grupo Copesa, Grupo Time Warner, Grupo Edwards, Grupo Luksic and Grupo Bethia.

“This scenario of the concentration of media ownership is the most severe in the media history of Chile”, Carla Massai says, but she insists that “journalists have to make people inside of any media respect them. Our job cannot be hindered for only economic interests”.

Daniel Inostroza that also works in one of the biggest conglomerates in Chile expresses that *“El Mercurio and La Tercera are two newspaper companies that respond to the interests of their owners and sadly they are linked to economic groups and the major political groups in this country. This is the perfect scenario for do not have press freedom”.*

And the same line Marcela Jimenes thinks the same to remarks that *“those media (which are belonging to conglomerates) do not touch certain people and they protect certain sectors as well. This is so dangerous for the society”.*

It is worth mentioning that International standards on freedom of expression made by CIMA suggests that *“States have the positive obligation of ensuring a free, plural, and independent media environment and avoiding media concentration. Therefore, it is crucial to guarantee the independence of the agencies that regulate radio and television, which must be collegiate and plural institutions ruled by clear and transparent procedures, and adhere to due process and strict judicial control”¹³⁴.*

3.3.1. CHILEAN TELEVISION

Its beginnings is referred to a set of institutional initiatives of the Chilean Universities (Catholic University had channel 13 and channel 11 was belong to

¹³⁴ International standards on freedom of expression: A basic guide for legal practitioners in Latin America and the Caribbean. Pp. 37. <https://www.cima.ned.org/resource/international-standards-on-freedom-of-expression-a-basic-guide-for-legal-practitioners-in-latin-america-and-the-caribbean/>

University of Chile), during the government of Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez at the end of the decade of the '50s, and the subsequent creation of a state-owned national television TVN channel 7 during the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva at the end of the 1960s. After the 1973 coup d'état, profound transformations were made in the television system because there was a gradual liberalization of television through advertisements and advertising.

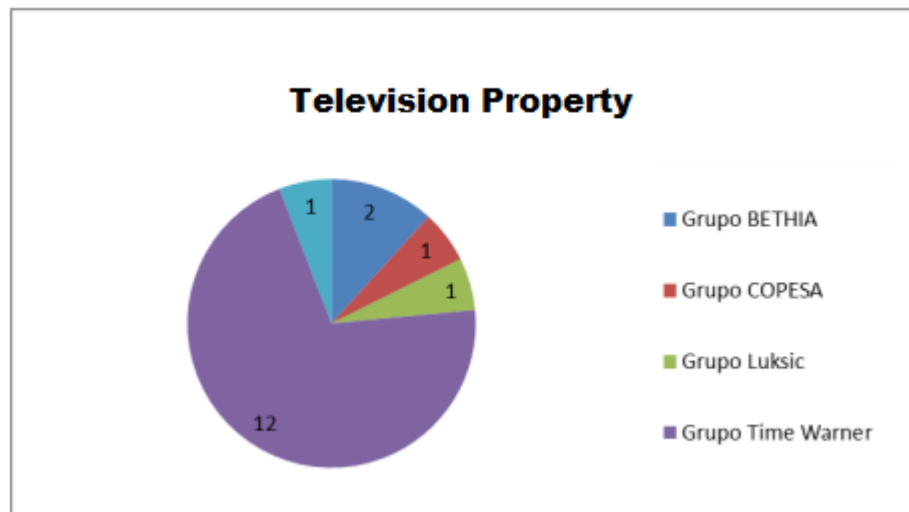
From the decade of the '90 a new scenario is constituted for the development of the Chilean television system. The creation of new private stations, the modification of the regulatory institutionality of the television system and the complexity of the advertising investment market, currently establish an open television. The offer of the television market created Mega (channel 9), La Red (channel 4) and the former channel of the University of Chile, now converted into Chilevisión (channel 11) was privatized, as well as institutional channels such as C13 that was Catholic University of Chile and TVN, wholly owned by the State.

Table N°10: List of concessions

	Number of regions where the channel is seen
Telecanal	10
La Red	13
UCV TV	6
TVN	15
MEGA	15
CHV	15
C13	15

Source: CNTV (May, 2015)

Graphic N° 3: Television property



Source: CNTV

As seen in the previous graphic N° 3, who leads the television property are the Time Warner Group, owner of Chilevisión, also to the world news network CNN and the TV channels HBO, TNT, Cinemax, I-SAT, MGM, Infinito, Warner Brothers, Cartoon Network, Nickelodeon and Boomerang, among others¹³⁵. This television network is owned by the American billionaire, Ted Turner, who has a fortune valued more than 2,200 billion dollars¹³⁶.

The BETHIA Group, for its part, owns the MEGA channel, the channel that was the first to become private in 1990, and the ETC TV channel. This group, in addition, owns the radio Candela FM¹³⁷.

3.3.2. RADIO IN CHILE

Historically, the radio market in Chile has been relatively competitive with a large number of broadcasters. In the last few years three important consortiums have entered the national radio market: The Ibero American Radio Chile, Copesa and Group Luksic.

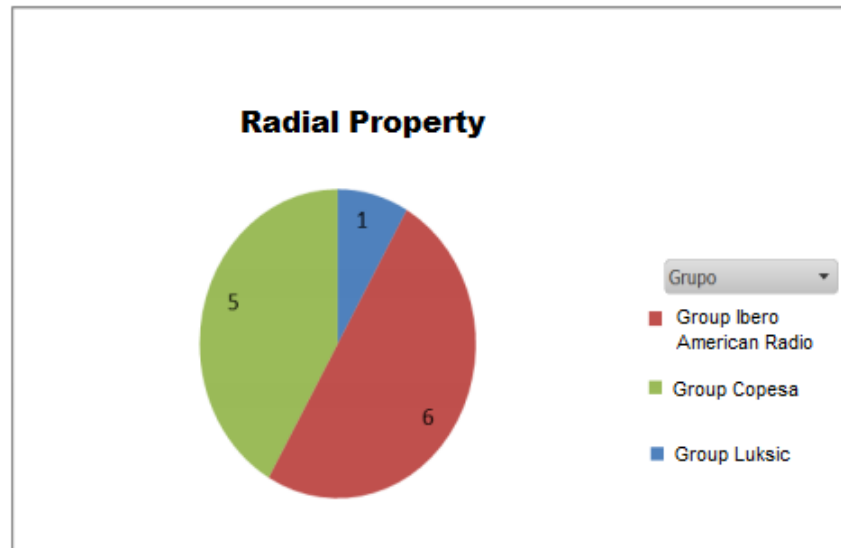
¹³⁵ Official website of Time Warner <http://www.timewarner.com/>

¹³⁶ Ranking made by Forbes

<https://www.forbes.com/profile/ted-turner/?list=billionaires#6a92f5a450db>

¹³⁷ Official website of BETHIA group <http://www.bethia.cl/>

Graphic N° 4: Radial property



Source: CNTV

Ibero American Radio Chile is represented by the International Ibero American Media Partners holding, formed by US capitals (Hicks, Muse, Taste and Furst group) and Venezuelans (Group Cisneros). It controls 12 national radio stations: Pudahuel, FM HIT, Future, Imagine, Rock and Pop, Corazón, Los 40, FM Dos, Radio Uno, Concierto, ADN Radio, Radioactiva¹³⁸.

The Copesa group, on the other hand, is also the owner of several newspapers in the written press. The radio stations that this group has are: Radio Duna, Radio Carolina, Radio Zero, Radio Beethoven, Radio Disney, Radio Paula¹³⁹.

The Luksic group, in addition to having Channel 13, it controls the radio stations Oasis FM, Play FM, Sonar FM and Tele 13 Radio¹⁴⁰.

“There are radios that have been buying other radios and in the end they throw away all the journalists of the local radio stations and transmit them from only one central station. It is also the concentration of the property that affects employment; reduces the possibility of jobs and thus unemployment grows, so

¹³⁸ Official website of Ibero American Radio Chile <https://www.iarc.cl/>

¹³⁹ Official website of Copesa Group <http://www.grupocopesa.cl/>

¹⁴⁰ Information took it from

<http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lcy53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpd2kvMTNfUmFkaW9z>

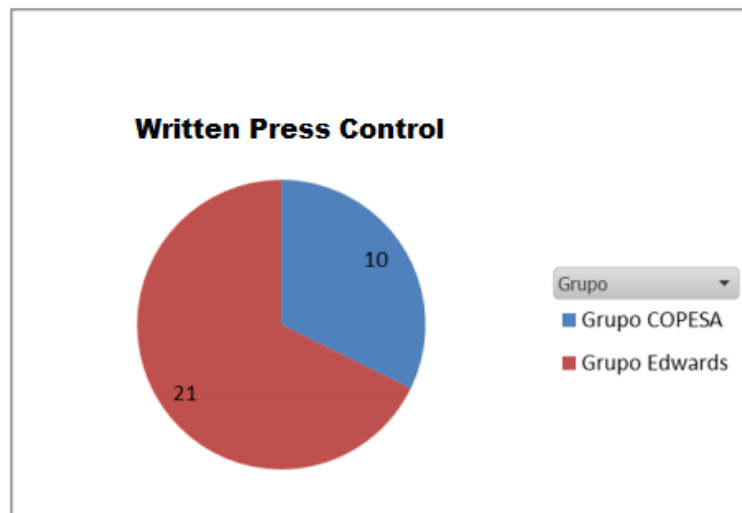
journalism is not a profession that I advise to study”, sentences negatively Ernesto Carmona.

3.3.3. WRITTEN PRESS IN CHILE

The written press represented the first expression of what it is known as mass media. Its birth is closely linked to the need of certain political groups to publicly circulate their ideas (Sohr, 1998; p. 11). The first journalistic companies of private character are El Mercurio and the Consorcio Periodístico de Chile S.A. (COPESA) that began in the 50's and that exist until today.

At present and according to data from the National Press Association (ANP) in Chile there are a total of 90 periodicals; 56 correspond to newspapers published at least 4 times a week and the remaining 34 to weekly, fortnightly and other journals with different periodicity¹⁴¹.

Graphic N° 5: Written press property



Source: CNTV

El Mercurio S.A.P is a Chilean company owned by the Edwards family, belonging to the Chilean elite. The newspapers that it has are El Mercurio, Las Últimas Noticias and La Segunda, in addition to 8 regional newspapers.

¹⁴¹ The National Association of the Press (ANP) is the association of publishing companies of written media in Chile. <http://anp.cl/>

The second group is the Chilean Journalism Consortium, COPESA, which is property of the Álvaro Saieh, positioned as one of the businessman richest in Chile with a fortune of 3 billion of dollars¹⁴². COPESA publishes the national newspapers La Tercera and La Cuarta and the regional newspapers for free distribution La Hora and La Hora de la Tarde.

3.4. CURRENT SITUATION OF JOURNALS

In the 21st century it has been seen some changes in the way society is being informed. Television, radio and especially the written press do not have the same reception that they had even more than a century ago.

Ten years ago in 2009 the newspaper El País showed concern about it publishing a news titled "uncertainties of the written press," informing that the American Press Institute brought together 50 editors from the most important newspapers in the United States in November of that same year to discuss how the fall in sales and advertising revenue, the breakdown of the Internet and new technologies, and the competition of new players, such as news aggregators (Google News and others), are leading the press "on the edge of the precipice"¹⁴³.

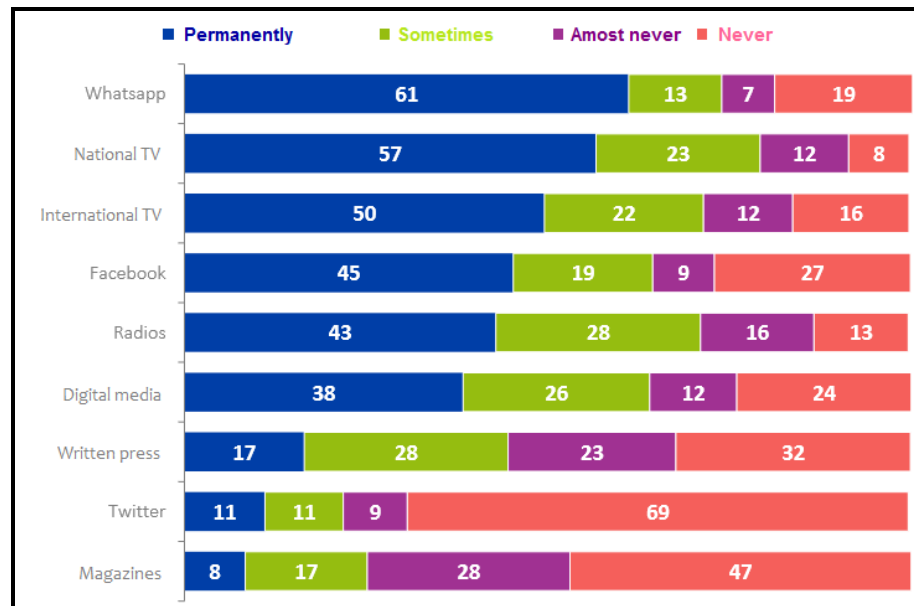
Today the fact that printed newspapers are not as widely read as before is not an open secret and that crisis also hit the Chilean newspapers; their levels of readership have also dropped dramatically. This is confirmed by the latest Chilean Cadem research, which in April 2018 made a survey about media broadcasting and one of the questions directed to Chilean society was "how often do you use the those media and platforms to follow news and stay informed?"¹⁴⁴. This was the result:

¹⁴² Ranking made by Forbes <https://www.forbes.com/profile/alvaro-saieh-bendeck/?list=billionaires#461f0d315537>

¹⁴³ Newspaper El País published on 26 June 2009. https://elpais.com/diario/2009/07/26/opinion/1248559205_850215.html

¹⁴⁴ Cadem is a private Chilean company that makes surveys. Published on April 2018 <https://www.cadem.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Track-PP-223.pdf>

Table N° 11: Survey about media broadcasting



Source: Cadem research

The survey shows that written press occupy one of the last places (17%) as a means used frequently by Chileans to follow the news and stay informed. However, the medium that leads that survey is the use of Whatsapp with 61%. Digital media achieved 38% and Facebook is still the most used social media with 45%, while Twitter reaches only 11%.

This survey confirms an undeniable tendency of decrease for the printed press in the face of the constant advance of the digital press that is gaining space, credibility and audiences. Print and broadcast journalism has to compete with online journalism practices that present free, quick and interactive flow of news (Cayli Rahte, 2016; p. 225).

Whatsapp is the medium chosen by most Chileans to inform themselves, followed by television, whether national or international. Television is still important in the homes of Chileans, although it shows that the reading of newspapers is in crisis. In this situation, Marcela Jimenes, who is the main boss in the website El Mostrador, concludes that *“people who use technology the most have been losing the habit of reading, which has always been the mechanism to inform and acquire culture”*. Lucía Sepúlveda is totally agree with this too:

“People have already chosen to inform themselves in another way. The young people no longer read the newspapers or watch the news. It is dramatic”, she adds.

Bernardo de la Maza concludes same too in saying that *“today people are informed very little through newspapers and they are breaking and disappearing worldwide for this. So, the great press freedom is in Internet today”*. Pavlovic also joins these statements finishing uping that *“people are not reading newspapers not only in Chile, but in the world. It all coincided with a catastrophe that affects the written media that is related with reading; newspaper production, magazines and even books that is a world issue and that came to Chile”*.

The table N° 12 is showing that between the years 2015 to 2019, Chilean newspaper in general circulation encountered a substantial decrease. Las Últimas Noticias newspaper, for example, in 2015 made 101.389 newspaper per day, but in 2018 the number drop to 78.523 copies. El Mercurio in 2015 had 143.043 newspaper circulation and then in 2018 that number was reduced to 126.654; around 20 thousand copies less of difference. Same situation is happening with every single written media¹⁴⁵.

Table N° 12: Circulation of newspapers

Newspaper	Newspaper circulation January - June 2015 per day	Newspaper circulation January - June 2018 per day
El Mercurio	143.043	126.654
La Segunda	20.451	11.692
Las Últimas Noticias	101.389	78.523
La Tercera	86.802	76.017
La Hora	93.000	87.167
La Cuarta	78.629	51.256
Publimetro	88.000	86.466
Diario Financiero	91.415	82.574

Source: Chilean advertising association (Achap)

¹⁴⁵ Chilean advertising association (Achap) is a private Chilean company that makes studies about the behavior of consumers and the national economy. The research are here <http://www.achap.cl/estudios/>

But this does not mean that people are not interested in getting news because people who have table devices and smart phones read news more actively (Cayli Rahte, 2016; p. 225). What is changing is the way that people are being informed and that it was shown in the table N° 11. Whatsapp is even what is leading in Chile followed by TV and of course by digital media.

3.5. PAPER VERSUS DIGITAL

As demonstrated above, it has been seen a decrease in the circulation of newspapers in Chile, but that does not mean that Chileans are not being informed because they are using other ways of obtaining that same information from written media such as the possibility of reading them in the digital version, as well as follow them on Twitter or Facebook.

Below is shown in the table N° 13 the number of followers that each written media has on their own account on Facebook and Twitter. These numbers will be compared with the amount of circulation newspapers that have those media papers.

Table N° 13: Comparision between Newspaper circulation and social media followers

Newspaper	Newspaper circulation January - June 2018 per day	Facebook followers	Twitter followers
El Mercurio	126.654	164.992	67.601
La Segunda	11.692	136.455	582.864
Las Últimas Noticias	78.523	544.549	150.918
La Tercera	76.017	3.613.713	1.850.335
La Hora	87.167	114.807	303.008
La Cuarta	51.256	458.215	780.805
Publimetro	86.466	753.869	923.882
Diario Financiero	82.574	162.239	151.131

Source: Chilean advertising association (Achap)

The newspaper La Tercera, for example, has 3.613.713 followers on Facebook, 1.850.335 on Twitter, but it has 76.017 newspaper circulations. Same for La Segunda that it has 11.692, but 136.455 followers on Facebook and 582.864 on

Twitter. That is to say, Chileans prefer to read written press on devices instead to buy or subscribe for the newspaper to arrive home.

Online facilities, like Twitter or Facebook, have been adopted by big media institutions and this shows the compatibility of professional journalism with online-civic journalism (Cayli Rahte, 2016; p. 222). These social networks allow users to participate by reading the news and have the possibility to share it, so that others can read it too, as well as give an opinion and publish it. In addition, Twitter and Facebook offer instantaneity and a number of information and news that could not only come from the accounts of the mainstream media, but also from the same citizens. The way in which journalism approaches the audience is directly linked to the debate between journalism as a public service and journalism as an organization for purely commercial purposes. Classical distinctions when analyzing the way in which journalists approach the audience correspond to the dichotomy of the public as a citizen versus the public as a consumer (Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, & Legnante, 2011; Alvear & Mellado, 2018, p. 343).

This is where the role of media institutions considered by society has is questioned. Soledad Abarca has her opinion about that: *“The big media underestimate people a lot. They are to blame for treating people badly, for believing that they do not listen and do not read. That is why they do not listen to people and they are not considering that valuable information that many times there is in social networks delivered and published by the same citizens”*, she thinks.

Rayen Araya who stands out for having an active participation in social networks such as Facebook, Instagram and in particular Twitter, she argues that *“I use social networks a lot because I believe that today is the way to connect directly with people. It is with that audience that previously sent a letter or telephoned to the media broadcasting, today they are just a click away. It is also a very nutritious reporting space (...) a lot of information that I use comes from there, from people and from the cases that they tell me. For example, I base on that with issues related to education when schools are taking or when*

universities stoppage. It's like a pre-report and a kind of warning given by the same people".

That is why in the beginning was mentioned the concept of civic journalism because it incorporate elements of public journalism that seeks to motivate the audience to participate in social, political and cultural life with strong features of social responsibility and awareness of public life; the audience try to collaborate with information and advice on goods and services that can be useful for the daily life of people (Merritt, 1998; Alvear & Mellado, 2018, p. 344).

Undoubtedly the technological changes associated with the development of the media have forced journalists to adapt their routines and practices according to the needs of new platforms. It was even necessary to bring back *civic journalism* or also called *public journalism*, which has its birth certificate in the United States in the late eighties and early nineties. It was initially conceived as an essay by the press to find new ways of interacting with the public. Its emergence is attributed to Jay Rosen, one of the founders of public journalism, within what he called *the six major crises in the US press*, as a way to identify the problems of the press and in turn find a solution that finally it was to consider the participation of the citizenship (Mateus, 2012, pp. 42 - 43).

3.6. LIMITS OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Undoubtedly with the expansion of social networks it is difficult to identify the frontier of an unpleasant or offensive expression that cannot be punished from the perspective of standards. And also is hard and not easy to recognize when an expression can be described as hate speech. According to the International Standards of Freedom of Expression guide states that "the fundamental thing is that hate speech has to be seen as an exception. In addition, there must be intent, that is, the deliberate will to harm the person or group of people to those that the hateful expression is destined¹⁴⁶". And about the exercises of the journalists in this point, the same guide expresses that journalist's objective was

¹⁴⁶ *Ibíd.* 17

not to advocate violence, but to inform¹⁴⁷. This means that journalists cannot be subjected to hate transmission, nor can they be part of it, but they must focus only on reporting regardless of the situation.

In relation to this, some journalists' interviews also have something to say about it because many of them currently are working in digital media. Soledad Abarca in her job in Súbela Radio says that "*freedom of expression is about sharing ideas, conversing with the other, but the offense is no longer part of freedom of expression. Here we are against of the hate speech. Before we received many offenses on social networks, even a man came several times to the radio because he was disagreed with our way of thinking. He wanted to confront us and we were afraid of that situation and there we understand the risk of expressing what we think in a society like Chile that is not 100% used to that*". About this situation, the journalist said that today that does not happen and that they almost no longer receive messages of hate or anything because a kind of community has been formed. In every program the messages that people send to them are read on both Facebook and Twitter. She claims that hate messages almost no longer exist now like before.

In the case of Marcela Jimenes that is leading the team of journalists who are working in the online newspaper El Mostrador, which as mentioned above is one of the only media that recognizes itself as an opponent, she comments that the use of social networks is essential for them, but they had to take certain measures because the total freedom of expression was playing tricks on them: "*we closed the comments and although it was lost a community was formed in the networks that is very important to build fidelity, but the level of aggression was escalating. It was a permanent violence towards the newspaper, the journalists and among the netizens themselves*", she says.

What Jimenes explains is that when the news is published on the official website of its medium, at the below there was a space where readers could express their opinions and debate. Today they decided to close it because of the level of aggressiveness of the comments. It is a situation that not only the El

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 13.

Mostrador portal decided, but the vast majority of the large media made it too; the only open spaces for debates stays exclusively in social networks.

Santiago Pavlovic agrees with the same saying that *"I am surprised to read the comments of the electronic news; it is something very irrational and violent. It is absurd for the media to accept such insults from the audiences. They are hateful and hurtful. It is a very repudiable thing"*. That is why he agrees that the comments section must be close on the official pages of the online news portals.

Rayén Araya is a journalist that is using the social media a lot as a pre report for any news, but she recognizes that there are many insults that she receives in these means. What she does when she receives them she says that *"it has been a long road and I have been quite studious about how to better manage social networks today. I started blocking some, silencing others and now I answer them. We already had the experience with the United States elections that because of not giving these spaces for debate and believing in the fake news, President Trump came out, so it is necessary to face what is happening instead of ignoring"*. She also explains that behind some aggressive comments there is an account with only one or two photo with nonsense comments that means are false and there are many like that in social media which are known as bots.

Massai about it says that *"I do not have open social networks for anyone to write to me because I already had several bad experiences, so I prefer to contribute in this society with research and informing with real facts rather than with my opinion"*.

3.7. DIGITAL ERA IN CHILE

Digital media is becoming more reliable than traditional media and is a worldwide and Latin American phenomenon. The research called *Edelman Trust Barometer 2019* reveals that *"the growth of social media platforms fully*

*shifted people's trust from a top-down orientation to a horizontal one in favor of peers or experts. Now we are seeing a further reordering of trust to more local sources*¹⁴⁸.

Latin Americans revealed that they trust more the digital media and social networks than in the press, radio or television, a trend that has been manifesting since 2006 (Sosa Plata, 2016: p. 27). However, in 2019 the scenario changed as revealed Edelman Trust Barometer in its last research which mentions that “this is a dramatic reversal from just a year ago, when half of our study respondents had walked away from traditional media because it was biased, chasing clicks and too upsetting to read. Trust in traditional media and trust in search are now tied at 66 percent, their highest historical levels, while trust in social media is in crisis (43 percent), especially in several developed regions that show enormous trust gaps between traditional and social media (US / Canada, 31-point gap; Europe, 26-point gap)¹⁴⁹”.

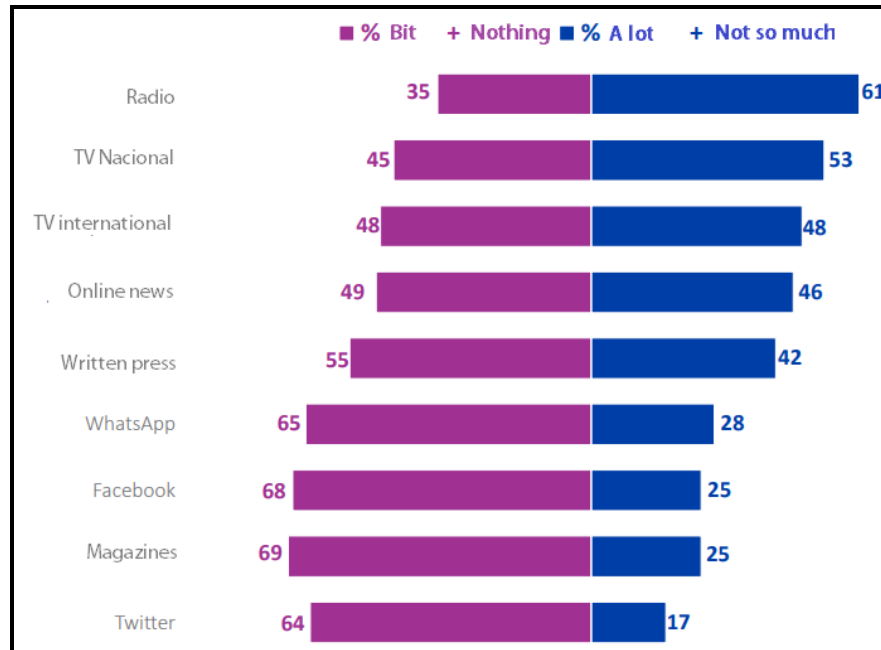
Chile is not the exception either and also presented this same trend as indicated the latest research about the level of trust towards the media made by Cadem Survey (2018). In the graph N° 6 is shown that regarding its level of confidence, the radio remains in the first place with 61%. They are followed for national television with 53%, cable television with 48%, online newspapers and portals with 46%, and printed newspapers with 42%. Much further behind are the new platforms: WhatsApp falls from 33% to 28%, Facebook falls from 32% to 25% and although Twitter improves 3pts it remains with a confidence level with only 17%¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ The research *Edelman Trust Barometer 2019*. P. 2
https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2019-02/2019_Edelman_Trust_Barometer_Executive_Summary.pdf

¹⁴⁹ *Ibíd.*

¹⁵⁰ The research made by Cadem Survey in Chile in 2018. <https://www.cadem.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Track-PP-223.pdf>

Graphic N° 6: How much confidence do Chileans have in the information and news that they get from the following media?



Source: Cadem Survey 2018

As *Edelman Trust Barometer 2019* indicates that the great reason for this low confidence is due to the well-known Fake News by revealing that citizens say they are afraid of the effects that false news can have on public opinion. It also indicates that an average citizen does not have the ability to distinguish between true and false news¹⁵¹, so that is the problem in the current times of the digital age.

But on the other hand it can see that worldwide, including Chile, people continue to use more and more internet and social networks. It was previously shown that Chileans, for example, preferred to read the news of the big media on the web instead of buying paper. Upcoming will be shown in table N° 14 the number of followers on both Facebook and Twitter that one of the best-known columnists and / or journalist of each medium has, and will be compared with the number of followers who have their own media.

¹⁵¹ *Ibíd.* P 6.

Table N° 14: Number of followers on Facebook and Twitter of every written media and the most well-known journalist y/o columnist

Newspaper	Facebook followers	Twitter followers	Journalist	Facebook followers	Twitter followers
El Mercurio	164.992	67.601	Cristián Warnken	21.634	22.300
La Segunda	136.455	582.864	Ana Josefa Silva	11.101	62.634
Las Últimas Noticias	544.549	150.918	Larry Moe	204	122.929
La Tercera	3.613.713	1.850.335	Daniel Matamala	671	1.113.951
La Hora	114.807	303.008	María Jaraquemada	x	3.185
La Cuarta	458.215	780.805	Vasco Moulián	4.856	334.654
Publímetro	753.869	923.882	Nicolás Copano	75.638	794.170
Diario Financiero	162.239	151.131	Cristián Saieh	x	18.949

Although no journalist and / or columnist exceeds its own means when it comes to the number of followers on social networks, some results can also be highlighted. La Tercera, for example, which has the highest number of followers in social media, also has a Daniel Matamala as a columnist who has 1.113.951 followers on Twitter; he has more than half. Same in Publímetro newspaper which has a Nicolás Copano has a columnist who has 794.170 followers on Twitter even exceeding the number of followers that has his media on Facebook.

In this regard, Carla Massai although she acknowledges that she has no social media accounts, she admits that *"the media realized that they should take their contents to social networks and even mention the accounts of the journalists who write the news, so the audience can feel certain closeness with the media and with those who work there"*.

In the case of Soledad Abarca, or rather of the media in which she works, the Radio Súbela Online, she says that *"we (on the radio) did not have money to do marketing, and we started using social networks. In each program we are attentive to Twitter and everything is answered. We know our auditors face to face, so a community has been built between them. We are not a megaphone that transmits things because is a community is talking. Sometimes the auditors*

send us news that interests them and we integrate it to the pattern and that got the hook with the people immediately".

The written press interacts with their own audiences through the social networks and they do the same with their most recognized journalists and / or columnists because it is a form of direct rapprochement with the audience. But the level of approach is determined by each media as is the case of the Radio Súbela, which for them is very important to form a community of followers who can gather, meet and have a daily interaction in each radio program on social networks.

The media are not mere vehicles of dominant ideology or pure and innocent entertainment. Rather, they are a complex artifact that embodies political and social discourses, whose analysis and interpretation require methods of reading and criticism that articulate their insertion into political economy, social relations and the political environment in which they are produced, circulated and received (Kellner, 1995: p. 11). These methods of reading and criticism can be found in the so-called blogs.

Blogs are one of the internet tools that have grown the most in recent years. Blogs can be an adequate instrument for constructive and open debate. The great value provided by a blog is not the skill to create content easily, but its ability to interact between the blogger and the reader and the power to link bloggers within the so-called blogosphere (Barrero, Criado, & Ramilo, 2006; p. 11).

There has also been a growing debate about the role of digital media in social change, as various manifestations began to take shape on Facebook and Twitter. The observation of this phenomenon in Chilean cyber-newspapers and in social networks in general shows the emergence, in a relatively stable way, of a digital public sphere that opens a space for citizen debate on issues that affect political organizations and the functioning of institutions (Arancibia & Montecino, 2014; p. 216).

Today's internet activism is thus arguably an increasingly important domain of current political struggles that is creating the base and the basis for an unprecedented worldwide antiwar/pro-peace and social justice movement during a time of terrorism, war, and intense political contestation (Kellner, 2012: p. 601).

This arose after the growing coexistence of journalism with social networks, the need to manage and adapt to constantly developing technologies, the requires for immediacy and a constant updating of information, demands from the audience for new topics of interest, and the control that these same audiences exert over journalistic work, all in a context of information overabundance (Gronemeyer, 2012).

The new era of digital media - YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and cyber-news commentary blogs, among others, is reconfiguring the ecology of political communication. This has led to the modification of the modes of citizen participation in the political debate. In other words, today, a fact of the political sphere is communicated through radio, television, the written press or online by its protagonists. However, this discursive event, in seconds, is commented through the social networks by the common citizen (Arancibia & Montecino, 2014; p. 217).

In Chile, most of the national press media keep online portals accessible from various social networks. In this way, the Internet user is granted access to the public arena, where deliberation with other members of the cyber community contributes to the construction of digital democracy, because the communication platform offered by the Internet allows a transcendence of the information to a greater number of readers (Arancibia & Montecino, 2014; p. 218).

Now, in the vocabulary and in the limits that the bloggers or cyber users who comment on social networks about politics and who participate in debates on the Internet, it is almost minimal. In social networks and in the world of blogs, Chileans often use certain terminologies to call the authorities such as *thieves*,

insects, animals and drones; while other terms refer to the privilege status enjoyed by the political class thanks to spurious negotiations such as *the congress millionaires club* (Arancibia & Montecino, 2014; p. 231).

This is an example that in Chile there is a freedom of expression in social networks because many bloggers and in the comments of social networks declassify the authorities without any cases in which these acts have been sanctioned.

3.8. WORKING CONDITIONS OF JOURNALISTS

The neoliberal economy has also changed the quality of work of people worldwide, as contracts are increasingly fragile, there is high labor mobility, unionization and collective bargaining has decreased, informal work has increased and insufficient labor policies are verified where wages do not increase along with inflation as indicated by the International Labor Organization (ILO). In the case of journalists, it is not very far from that reality.

In Chile, journalists are really poorly paid, in addition to working in lousy working conditions. Undoubtedly, new technologies and economic crises have generated a significant decrease in advertising investment, which has caused lower revenues in the media and has generated layoffs and closures of press departments, along with a progressive precariousness of the working conditions of the journalists (Mellado & Lagos, 2013; p. 523).

A study done in Chile shows that, in general, the salary of Chilean journalists is low in relation to the rest of the professionals in the field of communication, as well as in comparison with other professions. Seven of ten journalists earn a gross salary of less than 2000 dollars per month, and three of ten less than 1000 dollars, while only 4.3% reach a salary above 5000 dollars per month (Mellado & Lagos, 2013; p. 530).

From this point of view, there is a salary precariousness that leads journalists to have a work survival rather than a professional development.

In general, journalists and communicators are in conditions of employment outside the law that do not allow their professional development or job satisfaction (García, Osorio, & Ramírez, 2015; p. 133). This situation leads many to have two or more jobs.

3.9. FUTURE OF JOURNALISM IN CHILE

Talking about the future of communications can be somewhat complex because everything is changing over time. In addition, the various restrictions that the press has today are difficult to eliminate because the economic interests behind advertising and media concentration seem to always dominate the press and its freedom.

To know and understand the transformation that Chile has had in terms of press freedom and what it could have in the future, it is necessary to know from the same experts who have been the protagonists in these 50 years of journalism in Chile. From their experiences, in this chapter they will give their opinion about what will happen to journalism in Chile.

About the current press, Cristián Cabalín evaluates that *"it could not be said that freedom of expression is subjugated in Chile, perhaps it is not absolutely rigorous, but it is full and guaranteed. No one is persecuted for his political ideas and no one risks his life for putting a comment on Twitter or Facebook"*.

Guillermo Torres considers that one of the current problems of press freedom is that *"all media have the same views with the economic model. A democracy needs plurality, different visions and today that does not happen. Today the press is very uniform with one point of view. None of the media questions the model for example"*. Lucía Sepúlveda also sees another type of the problems that is related with the interests of the people: *"today there is another type of society. It is something dynamic. Society is according to what is happening. That is why nowadays media are talking only about entertainment, football and*

crime. So those are people's issues. If we could report other information, I think I would make click on the Chilean society", she thinks.

Carla Massai also believes that Chilean society should change to be more prepared to receive quality information: "*Interferencia works hard to investigate in depth what is happening in the government, but even our audience is still low. We need the Chilean society appreciates what we do and the other means that exercise the place of strong opponents of the current government"*, she manifests.

In the same line Soledad Abarca adds that "*there are many factors that have made us forget that the role of the media is to inform and create meaning"*. But at the same time she also holds the media responsible for this pointing out that "*in these traditional media there is no journalist who investigate in depth and therefore in the articles and reports there is little criticism of everything and that is not helps to society"*.

Manuel Cabieses thinks that "*the so-called press freedom defended by the businessmen of the news serves only their interests and in the end we are aware that such freedom will not be fully achieved as long as national and foreign financial groups and sectors of landowners keep much of their communications under their control of masses of Chile"*.

Santiago Pavlovic, however, his analysis of the current press is rather positive: "*practically the opposition media is not existing that much even those which appeared during Dictatorship. And in this situation it generated a respect for diversity. In several of the media left of being exclusive right-wing bastions as El Mercurio which was also transformed; it is no longer the same El Mercurio of the 70`. TV channels in general no longer aim to defend ideological positions and it is difficult for them to assume positions of sectarianism or total bias and that is fine in my opinion"*.

Ernesto Carmona has a negative perspective about press freedom in nowadays precisely because of conglomerates in saying that "*there are very little variety of crystals and there are no crystals like those of the 60s, which were with many*

points of view and that is also due to the concentration of the media that is a subject that concerns freedom press and freedom of expression”, and he adds that “*El Mercurio and La Tercera have the same point of view, there is no editorial line. La Tercera has several more media that is the same: radios, magazines. El Mercurio is already an empire. It has newspapers in 25 cities of the country and that is an immense communicational power*”. Even Bernardo de La Maza says that “*El Mercurio and La Tercera are dying by themselves*”. Marcela Jimenes is also very critical of traditional media, especially with El Mercurio in saying that “*it is the medium of the conservative elite of this country. It offers a look that does not go beyond*”. About that, Daniel Inostroza who is working in El Mercurio now indicates that “*El Mercurio represents a sector of great power and influence and it will be same in 30 years*”. But as for his work in that written media he expresses that “*El Mercurio is also more critical, it hits with news and also fulfills the role of oversight, but it still has many surroundings dangerous*”.

Guillermo Torres is also critical about El Mercurio and the duopoly that exists in general by saying that “*without a doubt there is a control of the media in relation to the economic model and the interests behind (...) today the press is very uniform; at a glance. None of them questions that model*”. Manuel Cabieses in this regard, El Mercurio and La Tercera adds that “*despite being different business chains, they constitute an ideological monopoly*.”

At the same time, some journalists emphasize the importance of the journalistic spirit that must remain above all and always: “*the journalist does not own the information and has an ethical duty to make it known when it is in the public interest because the information belongs to the public*”, opines Inostroza. Along the same lines about journalism in Allende's time, Torres adds that “*I remember everything as a gigantic task; an unforgettable and life-learning thing. It was a total commitment to President Allende's cause. It is because for us it was very fascinating the idea that we could really change the world. I never looked at it as a sacrifice; it was as part of a task to contribute the country. They were unforgettable years*”. Clara Pérez also thinks something quite similar: “*I felt that*

I contributed with a grain of sand for this society to change and that was very motivational", she asseverates.

When asked about the future of journalism in Chile, the first thing that most journalists answered was something related to the Internet. Pavlovic is one of them to point out that *"the world changed and there is a tremendous revolution in the media because the arrival of social networks was totally explosive and that affected all the media"*. Rayen Araya also points out that *"social networks are not a means of communication, but if they are used as such there must be a journalist behind who uses his criteria to know what should be exposed or not"*.

Jimenes is more categorical about the media today with the use of the internet to remarks that *"social networks are fulfilling a fundamental role filling a space of absence in the media. Before the media uncovered things, now social networks do it and the media pick it up and transform it into reality"*.

And on this subject Bernardo de la Maza has a lot to say because after retiring and quitting permanently from television, he decided to continue in the communications taking advantage of the use of Internet, specifically YouTube. He has a channel which analyzes everything about national and international facts: *"Here I do things that I could probably do nowhere. On TVN I had space to comment, but not as free as here"*.

Sergio Campos believes that one of the relevant things that should exist today and always is the conscience clause in journalism and he hopes that if it is not respected today, that it will be in the future: *"There is a conscience clause that any journalist should do present and it is not done. Today if you refuse to do something you are forced to resign and I hope there are mechanisms for journalists to defend themselves and be respected in the future"*, he affirms.

Another element that media should worry to survive in the future is about the audience and Abarca explains that: *"People who arrive here are dissatisfied with the traditional media. We know our auditors face to face; a community has been armed between them. So, we are not a megaphone that transmits things, but a community that we talk to"*. To this, Abarca continues to criticize the

current media by saying that *"the difference with any big media are loses contact with people and with what interests people"*. Jimenez thinks the same and indicates that the formula to get that audience she got it with her digital media El Mostrador which traditional media should follow: *"we have grown above all in the young public. Our age group of readers is very similar between women and men and of different ages. It is very even and that has to do with open spaces and make journalism towards those different audiences"*, she sentences.

Some journalists also agree that the current media lacks the use of humor as was used years ago in Chile and had good results. About this Carmona thinks that *"today there is no sense of humor or something that makes you laugh. It's over the journalism with humorous politician; that was very good"*. Clara Pérez thinks the same with her experience in the newspaper El Fortín Mapocho: *"(The newspaper) was based on the humor of laughing at the dictatorship and that is needed in conjunction with a critical press"*, she adds.

About the future of journalism, the vast majority of journalists believe it will be positive and that better times will finally come, but with certain conditions. In this regard, de la Maza is optimistic in pointing out that *"more and more people want to have access to know what is happening and that someone has to deliver it. That someone necessarily has to be a journalist. All opinion, focus, information well done, well complete, not biased, it is given by a journalist, and that journalist must necessarily be linked to social networks"*.

Torres has a positive vision, but that will depend on the authorities: *"I have always been a person with hope and I believe that things have to be improved at least. Not only must the press law be reviewed, but many more for to be a real press freedom in the future"*.

For a positive vision for the improvement of journalism in Chile, Rayén Araya warns that it is a challenge: *"Today Chileans are much more permeable in information because they already know that there are other media to inform themselves that they are not the traditional ones, so I think that media have not*

been updated to realize that their audience is no longer so basic. The need for counter-opinion space has gained support because they do not have it in traditional media. Thanks to social networks that transparency is required”, she holds.

Abarca is emphatic to point out that in order to survive it need to generate a business model: *“The future of the media has always been to return to the origin, and the media have a leg in the public service, independent of the infrastructure and the economic issue. A media that survives must generate a business model that allows it to be independent”, she determines. Something similar repeats Cabieses by saying that “media must find some way to survive because today the income that allows them to subsist and develop comes mainly from advertising that, in practice, means a subsidy to the media so they can fulfill the mission of creating citizen opinion currents”.*

Although Cristian Cabalín is critical with the conglomerates of radio, television and the written press, he still expresses optimism regarding freedoms expressing that *“the concentration in the media has intensified and that would have an impact on issues related to freedom of expression. But more issues are discussed today than were discussed before and more openly such as sexuality, the HIV campaign and also about the irregularities of the Catholic Church”.*

However, there are others who are not so optimistic and who do not even dare to go far with their forecasts such as Santiago Pavlovic who stating that *“I do not dare to diagnose because I am on a path of descent into nothingness. Traditional media will survive, but journalism will tend to electronic media. Somehow it will have to be regulated to avoid this about violent comments and fake news”.*

Lucía Sepúlveda also has a not that optimist perception because it will depend of the social media too: “I don't think will be a change in traditional media. I believe that social movements will be able to generate other communication”, she says.

Jimenes is more categorical and pessimistic when she points out that "*I have a very bad prognosis with journalism here in Chile. I think that the generations of journalists that are coming are very ignorant*". Massai thinks almost the same when expressing that "*in Interferencia it was very difficult for us to assemble the team because journalists in general are not well informed or do not even know how Chilean politics are formed, so I think that while there are journalists of low quality, journalism in Chile it will hardly improve it*".

Something similar indicate Víctor Mandujano who is taken his experience as a journalist in Allende's time for saying that "*I think journalists are not committed to the cause. We were very committed and I don't see that in current generations*".

Daniel Inostroza is also pessimistic with his vision to asseverate that "*there is no media offer. If there were a printed newspaper such as La Tercera and El Mercurio, but independent and that did not respond to the interests of large economic groups, I believe that people would buy it, but is required a greater cultural and educational level of the population for that*".

Finally, Carmona also delivers his diagnosis by providing a journalistic ideal that for him will be difficult to have: "*That must be truthful, that it tells you the things that happened, not that it is neutral, but must be true. Today fake news is published, then the profession of journalism is in absolute decline, it is no longer what we saw when we were young*".

CONCLUSION

The freedom of the press is an issue that became important over time. In short words it could say that freedom was, is and always will be important because of the great contribution that gives to a society and democracy. However, with the historical path and subsequent analysis of what happened in Chile in the last 50 years, it has been proven that the way to enforce that right it has not been easy and that in addition there is still a lot to do to finally be valued as it should be.

The struggle for this right began at the time of the printing press when many thinkers could not express themselves at all and were radically censored. In the 18th century the monarchy together with the Church was the masters and lords in Europe and their poor tolerance of criticism made them the main enemies of freedom of expression. That is why the liberal doctrine led by its thinkers John Milton, James Mill, John Locke and John Stuart Mill demonstrate the importance of having the clarity that freedom of thought and expression are inherent in the human being.

And that is why defining what is understood by democracy is also relevant because these freedoms go hand in hand with that political system. Democracy guarantees those rights and governments must take charge to ensure compliance. Although it was already mentioned above, it is necessary to repeat it because it should never be forgotten that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its article 19 indicates that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers¹⁵².

There are freedoms of human beings that are supported by international authorities and therefore countries should take these matters very seriously. However, the reality is another as demonstrated by this research.

¹⁵² The Universal Declaration of Human Rights <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>

Latin America is not the best example in terms of democracies or press freedom because every year are murders and / or disappearance of journalists. There are still undemocratic regimes such as Cuba and Venezuela that do not allow the existence of opposition press or that their citizens can express themselves freely if they are against their rulers.

But the case of Chile is different. Both the ranking of democracy and the freedom of the press have a very good score. It even seems as if Chile was an example among its peers in Latin America for having a solid democracy and almost full press freedom. National rankings are based on extreme methods to assess freedom of the press or expression and all countries are measured equally. That is why it is not possible to detect what Chilean journalist really live on a daily or what happens inside the press rooms of each media outlet.

Reporters Without Borders determinate that of Chile in the World Ranking of Press Freedom fall 8 places in the version 2019 saying that “*although has relatively stable democracy, continues to suffer from corruption and consequences from the military dictatorship*¹⁵³”. What Chileans experienced in the 70s and 80s was very hard and journalists were no exception. Tortures and disappearances of people and also many communicators who worked in the left-wing press at the time included in the list of enemies of Pinochet. How strong it will have been that until today there are repercussions understood as a bad inheritance of Pinochet to the media system in Chile.

To better understand what was said, 15 journalists contributed with the investigation; 10 of them worked in the 70's and 80's and the others are currently journalists from different media in Chile. Those who worked in Allende's time agree that it was a time when freedom of the press was full. It is true that there was a wide variety of media that had their vision and political preference very clear. Its covers and headlines in the written press did not hide anything, but rather strongly showed to which coalition it belonged as was demonstrated in this investigation with the collection of covers of some newspapers of the time. In addition, Salvador Allende never censored anything

¹⁵³ World Press Freedom Index 2019 by RSF in Chile <https://rsf.org/en/chile>

according to the journalists declares. Although opposition newspapers such as *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, financed by the United States to attack Allende, were very rude with the image of the president and even calling him many times *good for wine*, they never suffered reprisals from the government of Unidad Popular.

That is why the journalists who worked at that time as Ernesto Carmona, Víctor Mandujano and Guillermo Torres say that press freedom in Chile existed and was at the time of the presidency of Salvador Allende. However, Santiago Pavlovic and Bernardo de la Maza who also began their careers at the same time counter saying that Allende used on the state channel 7 TVN for doing propaganda and advertise in his favor as a way to counteract the attacks of the opposition press. Although there was freedom of the press in comparison to the periods that followed, the interference of politics made it not so transparent. Political interests can get contaminated information and that was the case of the press in the time of Allende.

Already the coup d'etat occurred on September 11, 1973, everything changed and Pinochet turned Chile into a gray country with its censures and killings. The first thing he did was close the opposition media and persecute journalists. Many of them were forced to leave the country as was the case of Carmona, Torres, Sepúlveda and Mandujano, while Pavlovic and de la Maza decided to continue practicing journalism obeying all kinds of requirement in order to save their lives and continue to support their families. . "What I did at that time was not journalism," says Pavlovic, while de la Maza confess that "there were the most terrible years of my life". Dictatorship in Chile would be in this case those authorities who took advantage of this climate of fear and tension, organizing themselves to eliminate all kinds of freedom of expression and opinion, giving full step to the development of censorship and the elimination of public liberties, especially those of the human.

In this age concepts such as censorship and self-censorship emerged, however, there were many other journalists who, despite the risk, continued to carry out their work with the objective of *bringing democracy* to the country, as

indicated by Clara Pérez, as well as other journalists of the time such as Cristián Cabalín, Lucía Sepúlveda, Sergio Campos and Manuel Cabieses, each facing the dictatorship from different media.

However, not all respondents were saved from being arrested by the dictatorship and then transferred to the concentration camps. Today they are great professionals who are in force to tell their experience and inspire the new generations to do not forget the true journalistic spirit.

After the Referendum in 1989 in which citizens should vote if they want Pinochet to continue to power or not, the *no* finally won and democracy returned to Chile. Already in the 90s, everything presaged that Chile would change and that the best times for the world of the press would come. However, although the situation improved in terms of democracy, new obstacles arose for the journalistic exercise. National and international companies came to the country to buy TV channels and radio station, in addition to the already existing El Mercurio and La Tercera as conglomerates of the written press. These concentrations of the press together with the publicity make the journalistic work complex. Journalists of all media can no longer report or investigate any subject freely because there are interests involved from the big brands or from same owners who also own other business lines such as banks, pharmacies, multi-stores, mining, and vineyards, among others.

Here the orders come from the headquarters as directors, going through the editors and then to journalist. This is demonstrated in the study by the Institute of Communication and Image of the University of Chile (ICEI) exposed in this research that concludes that “(Since 1990) there are more subtle and sophisticated mechanisms of pressure and censorship; calls by phone, the work of corporate communications agencies, the need for publicity and self-financing have led the media and journalists to adopt positions of vulnerability to external agents in the news construction”. Freedom of expression must be protected from abuse, from monopolies and especially from power. It should help people to denounce and be able to organize and defend equity, ethics, transparency and truth.

Cabieses had expressed it very clearly by saying that *“the so-called press freedom defended by the businessmen of the news serves only their interests and in the end we are aware that such freedom will not be fully achieved as long as national and foreign financial groups and sectors of landowners keep much of their communications under their control of masses of Chile”*. Media in the hands of the large Corporations run the risk of losing their surveillance capacity in the face of issues such as corporate corruption, monopolies and other market deviations. If care is not taken, a situation could arise where, although the State's censorship is limited, it is well could be replaced by a new *market censorship*.

The weakening of the journalistic culture, together with the weak unionization among journalists and the saturation of the labor market in this profession, would mean that journalists would not be able to resist external pressures and would frequently self-censor themselves

21st century and technology also plays a leading role in this area through the use of social networks. In Chile, no one is imprisoned for posting something on Twitter or Facebook, which guarantees full freedom of expression in cyberspace. However, and answering one of the questions raised for this investigation about whether freedom of expression should have limits,

Well, in this case it should be yes for the existence of hate speech and fake news that international authorities make a call on governments to seek control mechanisms in cyberspace. While it is enriching that Chileans have found in social networks a place to discuss all issues, the limit is in the offense. The great challenge is to establish channels to improve and manage well the comments that netizens express.

Rayén Araya, Carla Massai, Soledad Abarca, Daniel Inostroza and Marcela Jiménez are journalists who are currently practicing journalism in different media and most do precisely in digital media. When interviewed by this research they ensure that the traditional media in Chile are in descent for multiple reasons: they agree that they do not care about their audience and do

not consider their interests as well; they do not try to create a faithful audience; they been able to update themselves to properly use social networks neither.

That is why they agree that Chileans have found in social networks what they do not find in traditional media, which is to find the contents of their interests and space for debate and exchange of opinion to know what the rest says.

The written media are in the cape falls worldwide and that crisis came to Chile several years ago confirmed by the latest Chilean Cadem research, which indicates that Chileans are no longer informing themselves mostly of the written press, but rather use them in mostly social networks to do it. And this thesis proved it by comparing the number of followers each media has on Twitter and Facebook with the number of newspapers they dispatch per day. In some cases the difference even has 47 times more followers than daily newspapers.

The 15 interviewees show a deep interest in improving the situation. They want a better informed Chilean society and that is why they are very critical when analyzing the current situation in the country. Many of them have negative diagnoses regarding the future of journalism in Chile. The concentration of the media and the powerful owners in economic terms behind makes seeing a difficult task to eradicate. Apparently the problem would be the survival and maintenance of any means of communication that not dependent 100% of publicity. The non-existence of a business model that helps subsist the media would be one of the main causes of the press freedom crisis in Chile and probably in the rest of the world.

But they also point out that there can be hope if the media begin to do things well in terms of informational content, for example, using digital tools in a more creative and striking way.

Undoubtedly there is much to improve and do in the world of journalism in Chile, but it is indisputable to ensure that in Chile there is press freedom, there is freedom of expression and democracy works supporting all these rights. It just have to keep working and putting this topic in the forefront again and again to guarantee that Chilean citizens have complete information and that journalists can have full press freedom as well.

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APPENDIX 1

CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent of Interviewees for the study titled: Media And Democracy: The Past, Present and the Future of Press Freedom in Chile by Dennisse Flores, Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey.

Instructions: *It is requested to please read the following statements carefully in order to indicate your preferences. By signing this form, you will agree with the written terms and your voluntary participation in the project. Please feel free to ask if you have any queries regarding the consent form or the study.*

Rights & Responsibilities

I'm aware that:

- This interview is conducted by an independent postgraduate researcher for the study: **Media And Democracy: The Past, Present and the Future of Press Freedom.**
- I have right to request for full anonymity and omitting of all identifying information from the notes and drafts.
- I can refuse to answer any question, or terminate my participation at any time.
- I can ask the researcher questions regarding this study.
- I take full responsibility of any social, psychological or legal risk associated with my participation in this study.
- There will be no monetary compensation for my participation in this study.

Permissions

- I **[do/ do not]** allow the researcher to use my name and position in the final study.
- I **[do/do not]** allow the researcher to mention my organizational affiliation in the final study.
- I **[do/ do not]** allow the researcher to utilize data collected by my interview in later studies.
- I **[do/ do not]** allow the researcher to use my photographs in the final study.
- I **[do/ do not]** allow the researcher to share recorded transcript of my interview other than this study.

This consent form has been provided to me before my interview. I read it carefully, indicated my preferences and found it ethically appropriate.

Participant's Sign: _____
Participant's Name: _____
Organizational Affiliation: _____

Researcher's Sign:
Participant's Position:
Date:

Thank you for cooperation.

Queries, comments, complaints and requests can be directed to:

Researcher: Dennisse Flores, +90-531-941-9206, Email: dflores@hacettepe.edu.tr
Advisor: Prof.Dr. Emek Çaylı Rahte, +90-312-297-6230, Email: emekcayli@gmail.com

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Questions

Name:

Profession:

Organizational affiliation:

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about your trajectory as a journalist. When and where did you work?
2. How was working under Dictatorship?
3. What happened to you as a journalist when democracy came?
4. In which way was there censorship at that time in your media?
5. What is Concertación (new coalition for Democracy) afraid for? Why are they afraid of the press?
6. Media was important for ending Dictatorship?
7. Will journalists always be the harmed in all dictatorships and transitions to Democracy?
8. Do you miss that opposition journalism of the 70s and 80s?
9. How would you evaluate Free Press today?
10. How should be the ideal scenario of Free Press?
11. How do you evaluate the quality of the media today?

APPENDIX 3. ETHICS COMMISSION FORM



T.C.
HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Rektörlük



Sayı : 35853172-300
Konu : Dennisse Andrea FLORES CONEJEROS Hk.

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 24.05.2019 tarihli ve 12908312-300/00000607240 sayılı yazınız.

Enstitünüz İletişim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Tezli Yüksek Lisans programı öğrencilerinden Dennisse Andrea Flores CONEJEROS'un Doç. Dr. Emek Çaylı RAHTE danışmanlığında hazırladığı "Medya ve Demokrasi: Şili'de Basın Özgürlüğünün Dünü, Bugünü ve Geleceği / Media and Democracy: The Past, Present and the Future of Press Freedom in Chile" başlıklı tez çalışması Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun 11 Haziran 2019 tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini saygılarımla rica ederim.

e-İmzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Rahime Meral NOHUTCU
Rektör Yardımcısı

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Adresi: www.hacettepe.edu.tr

Duygu Didem İLFRİ



APPENDIX 4. ORIGINALITY REPORT



HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Communication Sciences DEPARTMENT

Date: 13/9/2019

Thesis Title: Media and Democracy: The past, Present and the Future of Press Freedom in Chile

According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 13/9/2019 for the total of 175 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 17%.

Filtering options applied:

1. Approval and Declaration sections excluded
2. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
3. Quotes excluded
4. Quotes included
5. Match size up to 5 words excluded

I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature

Name Surname: Dennisse Andrea Flores Conzera 13.9.2019
Student No: N15122278
Department: Communication Sciences
Program: Communication Sciences

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Dr. Dr. Ernek Geyli Rahte
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İletişim Bilimleri ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 13.9.2019

Tez Başlığı : Medya ve Demokrasi : Sili'de Basın Özgürlüğünün Din,
Dünyası ve Geleceği

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 175 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 13.9.2019 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 'tür.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:

- 1- Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2- Kaynakça hariç
- 3- Alıntılar hariç
- 4- Alıntılar dâhil
- 5- 5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.


Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı: Dennis Andres Flores Conejeros 13.9.2019


Öğrenci No: N15122278

Anabilim Dalı: İletişim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı

Programı: İletişim

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.



Dr. Dr. Emek Gaylı Rahte
(Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Personal Information

Name/Surname : Dennisse Andrea Flores Conejeros
Date of Birth and Place : 16th February, 1985. Santiago, Chile.

Education

Bachelor Degree : Journalist in Universidad de las Américas.
Santiago, Chile.
Master : Communication Sciences in Hacettepe
University. Ankara, Turkey.
Foreign Language : Spanish, English and Turkish.

Job Experiences

2015 : Journalist of the Ministry of General Secretary
of Government of Chile.
2009 - 2014 : Journalist of the website Terra TV.
2011 - 2014 : Community Manager of TV programmes.

Connections

E-Mail Address : dennisseflores@gmail.com

Defense Date : 19th August, 2019.

