

The different and marginalized: representations of the “other” immigrants in the media. The case of the peruvian, bolivian, and mapuche in the chilean press.¹

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to demonstrate the media’s influence on society, specifically how they contribute to the negative attitudes towards immigrants. This analysis begins with how media influences the rejection of immigrants worldwide in order to note the peculiarities of the Chilean context, particularly its relationships with Bolivians, Peruvians, and Mapuche. The article ends by presenting potential solutions for the recognition and acceptance of intercultural differences.

¹ This work was a product of the project: FONDECYT N° 11070062 “Comunicación intercultural y periodismo intercultural: análisis crítico de la construcción social de la realidad a través de la representación mapuche y peruano-boliviana en las noticias de la prensa diaria de cobertura nacional (Copesa y El Mercurio)”. Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICYT). Ministerio de Educación de Chile. Chief Investigator: Dr. Rodrigo Browne Sartori, Universidad Austral de Chile.

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Key Words: Media, immigration, intercultural, discrimination, information processing

Submission date: 2011-02-15

Acceptance date: 2011-05-09

“La información tropieza con el rostro del otro”
Dominique Wolton

Introduction

Immigration is currently a well-known and much-discussed topic in Chilean politics. Chile possesses a strong stable economy in contrast to other countries in our region; this naturally attracts the unemployed, and the country has seen an increase in immigration. According to figures from the Ministry of Interior (2010), the number of foreigners in Chile is 352,344, representing 2.08% of the total population; approximately 65% reside in the Metropolitan Region. The vast majority of these immigrants are from Latin American countries, especially those that share a common border with Chile. In the middle of this context, we hear about certain “problems” that immigration brings with itself. It has been confirmed many times that immigrants are discriminated in public discourse whether conscientiously or not. Moreover, Chile’s actions toward these immigrants have not always been warm. Therefore, it becomes interesting to reflect on the media’s representations of immigrants and what effects they have on the audience. It is undeniable the power exerted by the media on our image of the “other” immigrant. This power allows them to create determinative

social patterns and values that predominate in society. The news constructs representations of the "other", highlighting their peculiarities and dissimilarities. Immigrants can be both extra-country as well as intra-country, specifically ethnic minorities who are affected by the same negative conditions as foreigners.

Unfortunately, the news (being part of a mediated communication) often lend themselves to invalid situations that echo the political and economic interests of media companies, to the prejudices or neglect by its reporters and to dominant economic powers. Therefore, we can assert that informational texts generate an environment conducive to the spread of negative images of immigrants, particularly those with a culture and traditions different from ours.

The reader must note from the outset that the media function as transmitters of news charged with certain ideologies. The reader must also understand that *"language is not clear, the signs are not innocent, the connotation moves with the denotation, the language presents, but also distorts and hides, sometimes expresses exactly what is thought and sometimes that which is subtle, cynical, and only hinting to the reality."* (Santander, 2009)

The media does not present us with truths; rather, they are reaffirmations of socially shared beliefs. Furthermore, these beliefs are legitimized through their appearance in the journalistic discourse. From this, the negative representations of the immigrant's "otherness" can translate to discriminatory social practices. Even if not explicitly or directly "racist", it is clear that the media undermines the dignity and quality of life of these "other" people.

“Even though everyday racism is often less visible, the consequences for immigrants are not necessarily less serious, as evidenced in the workplace (difficulty achieving or maintaining employment, and advancement) in housing, welfare , treatment of immigrant children in schools and, in general, the behavior of the dominant society that marginalize the immigrant or brand them as problematic.” (Van Dijk, 2003)

This characterization describes a Chilean idiosyncrasy: covert racism. Though not mentioned with the due importance as a societal problem, the fact is that *"from early on in Chile there has been an exaggerated value of "whiteness "and a negative view of Indians and Blacks"* (Larrain, 2001).

Concerning the mainstream press and the treatment given to immigrants, we can say that the immigrants voice is absent in the media. They are invisible as news sources, and their views are misrepresented. Immigrants do not have adequate access to the media or create them independently. This precludes genuine dialogue:

“Undoubtedly, the absence of their own voice determines a one-sided impression of them. The inability of self-representation or confrontation, no doubt, impedes the ability of cultural dialogue between immigrant groups and the dominant society.” (Nash, 2005)

Regarding this last point, van Dijk (2003) notes the low number of immigrant journalists who work in Spanish media. This indirectly influences biased attitudes by the absence of alternative points of view.

It is understood that the situation of immigrants is never simple; rather, it is complex and packed with difficulty. They come from different cultures and our society requires them to assimilate fully into our culture, which includes adapting and changing their customs and language, to be moderately accepted. Moreover, for "integration into our society," immigrants must lose their roots. In other words, in order to exist, we force them to disappear.

According to data from the 2002 census, only 4.6% of the Chilean population (692,192) recognizes themselves as indigenous. Of these, about 87% belong to the Mapuche people. Although many of its physical features are preserved, its cultural legacy in the population of Chile has been gradually disappearing. Sadly, it is common to hear many individuals refuse to be Mapuche or to have "Indian blood running through his veins."

This idea may relate to cultural imperialism, which Said (2002) dubbed "Orientalism". This concept poses that people "barbaric" or "different" must conform to the guidelines of Western culture as the only way to escape their lack of "development." Adaptation occurs through a *"finished acculturation "[that] is the reduction to unity and to cultural uniformity by deculturation"* (Mattelart, 2006: 79). Only in the case of immigrants is it not necessary to go abroad in order to conquer a foreign people. Instead, they come to our country, and here we force them to adopt our customs and culture, and thus they become conquered.

The immigrants leave their place of origin because of political, social, and mainly economic difficulties. They see our country as a new horizon, which allows them to develop and contribute to the improvement of their conditions. Unfortunately, they must deal with a society full of prejudice against them. Clearly, we are not referring

to all foreigners who come to our land. Recent estimates by the Ministry of Interior of Chile, in December 2009, show that immigrants who are in Chile are primarily from Peru (130,859), Argentina (60,597) and Bolivia (24,116). However, there are obvious differences between the image we have of an Argentinean, American, or European, compared to Peruvians or Bolivians. This leaves us with two categories of immigrants: one “preferable” and the other not. This classification refers to what we explained before, Peruvians and Bolivians (and Mapuche - intra-country) are forced to migrate for economic reasons, and this is perceived as competition for jobs. However, this threat is more imagined than real, and is created by the representations of the media:

Often we are told of the problems posed by immigration ... The economic insecurity of the weakest sectors with the fewest resources in a more competitive society, the increasing risk of exclusion for these same sectors, the various symptoms of distress concerning identity and meaning, the need to adapt the nation-state and the old citizenry to the new times ... these issues were not created by the immigrants. They are our problems. Merely the presence of immigrants associates the problems with color and ethnicity and causes the consequences to be noticed. (Torres, 2002).

This duality is also observed in cases of indigenous peoples who migrate within the country, as is the case of the Mapuche. The media presents two images of Mapuche: "good" and "bad / other". Discrimination is voiced to the extent that, in certain circumstances, there is a kind of Mapuche who can be accepted by the Chilean society: the Mapuche who has shed and rejected his cultural baggage:

The good ones are "Accepted Indians," those who have assimilated and integrated into the national society and do not claim a right to maintain their identity or commitment to their people. On the other hand, the "bad ones" are the "uncivilized", those groups who ally themselves to "extremists", and who live in communities that are associated with "indigenous violence" (Millaman, 2008: 34).

The "others" have been the "scapegoat" for the negligence and lack of ability and action of our own governments. Our problems as a society have always been present and are not the fault of these new players.

The undesirable: poor and strangers

Regarding conflicts with "undesirable" immigrants, the Chilean situation poses two different cases: the immigrants inside (Mapuche) and outside (Peru, Bolivia). In both cases, the problem *appears* to be purely cultural, but we have noted the significance of our economic situation's dismissive attitude. They suffer a double marginalization: they are "poor" and "strangers."

Within the media's presentation of immigrants, we find that they face two specific problems: the problems they experience and the problems they produce (Rodrigo Alsina, 2003). And these needy immigrants are often transformed into exploited workers. If, at this time, reconciliation seems difficult between "us" and the "others", socioeconomic inequality is another factor that further complicates this relationship, and removes, from the national public agenda, the issues of internal differences within the country.

Through the beliefs of the media (which present these immigrants as malevolent, conflictive, criminal, delinquent, and ultimately as a threat), a social and economic control is maintained that benefits the ruling classes through cheap manual labor. These stereotypes and prejudices, towards the poor migrant, make it easy to blame them for the problems that arise in our society. This becomes easier than investigating what our own shortcomings are and addressing them. *"All this contributes to the sensational fantasy of unity and belonging, maintaining the myth that if it wasn't for them, we would be better off."* (Wagman, 2006)

At this point, we can posit that the media not only act as transmitters or builders of stereotypes concerning immigrants, but also, are part of a process of mediated communication between "us" and "them". They substitute our own experiences for that of the "other" immigrants, which constitutes our only source of information about them. This has been magnified in recent decades with the emergence of new technologies and processes of globalization:

The increasing interdependence, of the various regions of the world, makes us increasingly dependent on information in order to make important decisions. The sources of this information include a mass of informative speeches, narratives, arguments, and documentaries on countries and regions, about which we have no or very little direct cultural knowledge (Ford, 2004).

Given these problems, we face a new challenge in tackling intercultural situations: it is not just to know or integrate the 'other', "but to reconstruct their image (i.e. *undo the media's construction in order to open a space, which is truly social*) "(Aguado, 2003: 27). It becomes imperative for a true dialogue among all stakeholders, intercultural and intersocietal. Moreover and primarily, as the host society, we must understand that the immigrants' reality goes beyond the simplistic discriminating discourses of the traditional media.

The importance of context

While playing a crucial role in the transmission processes of ideologies, we must not forget that the media are not solely responsible for the current negative representation we have of Peruvians, Bolivians, and Mapuche. A historical context unites and divides these cultures within Chilean society. The media's discourse is not isolated; it complies with stigmas that have been passed down for centuries, stigmas that have been used by the ruling classes for their convenience.

Van Dijk (2003) refers to the historical context of racist attitudes toward immigrants in Spain, noting that there are historical processes that may explain current xenophobic attitudes towards different ethnic groups. We find that many of the roots of discrimination have been present since the historical context of colonialism, imperialism, and armed encounters. To review our case as Latin Americans, it is obvious when the cycle of oppression began, the "discovery" of America by Christopher Columbus. This event, according to Van Dijk's own words, formed the foundation of racism in our continent.

Bearing in mind that history plays a crucial role for understanding the formation of the "other race" and the marginalized, we must also provide evidence of the processes that are significant milestones contributing to the negative image associated with Mapuche, Peruvians, and Bolivians. Here we can speak of: a) the War of Arauco (from approximately 1550 until the subsequent "pacification" of the Araucania in the second half of the nineteenth century) when the Spanish government and later the Chilean attempted to annex Mapuche territories to their domains, and b) the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), which Chile, Peru, and Bolivia fought for the control of nitrate (which also highlights the secret pact of protection that these two Andean nations signed). Both are key data that support, validate, and recreate the media's images of the "other"; they present a reality where prejudices and stereotypes are assumed to be true, and we very seldom find in the media conclusions, about discrimination, beyond the superficial and the here and now. Therefore, one can conclude that what is shown is obviously a mutilated reality.

Referring to news that is historically invisible, and how journalists are complicit in its delivery, Rodrigo Alsina claims:

Immigration is usually represented as if it were a snapshot with no historical or sociological perspective. They (the media) often forget the links to the past ... and it represents an otherness disconnected from our history. Considering that they (the immigrants) are the "others", they are not part of our history. This is a gross example of historical amnesia (Rodrigo Alsina, 2003).

Daily doses of discrimination: information processing of the differences

Currently, we participate in and observe cultural and economic wars in which thousands are symbolically annihilated through platforms such as the media (Sierra, 2003). The information, we receive from them, influences our behaviors and discriminatory attitudes towards the "other" immigrant and often triggers hate crimes.

According to several studies related to the topic of media, culture, and immigrants, we see definite patterns in the treatment of information towards them. They are categorized as conflictive, problematic, and violent. They are conceptualized as delinquent, and perceived as criminal, which includes being associated with illegal drugs. They are considered a threat to the economic stability of our employees, and treated in mass as a horde or pest. Other descriptions ascribed to such foreigners are barbaric and uncivilized, highlighting the instability and conditions of their countries of origin. These assessments impair their collective image and contribute to their not being welcomed. Such scenarios are not unique to one country; it is a pattern that is repeated worldwide and is directly related to the way the media and society treat lower-class immigrants.

In this sense, Nash (2005) points out that this emphasis on the inferior traits of the immigrant, focusing for example on their apparent ignorance or "lack of culture", will lower their public image, and the consequence is that we will fall back into the

classical discourse of colonial civilization versus barbarism. This would be one of the main obstacles to human cultural diversity.

Van Dijk (1997) explains that in relation to minorities and the media we can observe the following: a) they are given little attention, unless it is associated with ethnic / immigrant issues of violence, illegality, crime, or “strange” attitudes and behaviors, b) minorities are rarely agents or primary sources, unless they are suspected or accused of a negative act, c) the issues, they (the “others”) are associated with, is essentially negative, and d) journalists are representatives of a dominant group that express, validate, and re-produce the dominant ideologies of their own class and ethnicity.

We are facing the reality that the media considers the immigrants a threat to our integrity and our culture. Although the discriminatory treatment is seldom explicit, still the images are created by the news, but implicitly and indirectly.

In the case of Chile, it is not just discrimination against immigrants, as seen in European countries like Spain, Holland, and France. The example of the Mapuche culture is interesting to address since on the one hand, immigrants are a kind of intra-country (from rural areas in the south to the big cities), but also and most terrible (which is repeated in all American countries) is that those who practice racism are of mixed race themselves, with the priority always given to the color of the skin. Therefore, we see the roots, of these ethnic and cultural conflicts, in the discovery, conquest, and colonization of our continent:

Ethnic relations in Chile are defined in terms of relations between a European majority (descendants of Spanish immigrants, Italians, Germans, etc.) and the Mapuche ... With the current immigration from Peru and Bolivia, racism against these minorities has increased (based on data found using the Google search engine; in August 2002 there were over 700 websites that documented racism against Peruvian and Bolivian minorities in Chile) (van Dijk, 2003).

In this sense, the relationship between the "other" immigrants and the Chilean people, within the media, is seen as conflictive. The press has been acting as a scale, always leaning towards the side of the dominant voices, whether representatives of the Chilean politics, or the economic powers. It is a problem that revolves around (at least) three points: culture, politics, and economics. Such is the case of the Mapuche in Chile:

One of the biggest problems is the discrimination the Mapuche are subjected to by society in general and the Government in particular, who does not recognize them as a people but just as an "ethnicity."

The "official" press also discriminates them by constantly highlighting the negative aspects and criminalizing their struggles in defense of their rights, especially the right to regain their land; however, when they are repressed, this completely minimizes the situation (De la Fuente, 2008).

Examples in Chilean newspapers with national coverage

When following the ideas in this investigation, it may not be sufficient to theorize, but rather to display with specific examples, in what ways the media takes part (both explicitly and implicitly) in this discrimination of immigrants (inside and outside the country).

To this end, we present the summary results of the investigation "Critical Discourse Analysis" (CDA) of Mapuche, Peruvian, and Bolivian intercultural representations in the daily news of newspapers that have national coverage: the case of the newspapers "El Mercurio" from Santiago and "La Tercera", during the months of June, July and August 2008, which used van Dijk's postulates as its analytical basis, regarding the presence of ideologies and racism in the discourse of the media. These papers were chosen for their broad national coverage and great run. In addition, both publications are directed toward the upper strata of Chilean society, therefore it is understood that they reach the most influential people, both politically and economically.

In this regard, we find the following numerical data regarding the presence in the newspapers.

Table 1

EL MERCURIO	Perú-Bolivia	Mapuche
June	6	6
July	8	6
August	6	8
Total	20	20
LA TERCERA	Perú-Bolivia	Mapuche
June	6	2
July	6	0
August	6	7
Total	18	9

We can see that from the total news items being analyzed, there is a larger number that refers to the highland cultures of Peru and Bolivia (38 notes). In the same vein, we find that the numbers in both papers are relatively similar: 20 news articles in "El Mercurio" and 18 in "La Tercera".

Nonetheless, there is a significant imbalance in the number of briefs that talk about the Mapuche culture, with only 9 in "La Tercera", including one month (July) in which the Mapuche presence is nonexistent. On the other hand, in "El Mercurio" there is a relative balance between news regarding Mapuche and highland cultures, which is distributed in similar numbers within the three months of analysis. While it can be deduced that there is a clear predisposition against the Mapuche in the "El Mercurio" newspaper, being that this is a recurring theme in the news being delivered, it is also true that "La Tercera" is not exempt from negatively conveying the Mapuche in their news. Although the Mapuche appear less on the pages of their publications, when they are named, it is just to relate harmful and violent facts, which are recurring themes in "El Mercurio". The fact of ignoring them for a whole month, keeping them far from the news arena, is also a way of discriminating them and silencing their voices.

In general, we can say that prejudice and stereotypes are not present explicitly or directly (there are some exceptions) in the studied news. The vast majority of them are in the areas of implicit or indirect local meanings, thus, no direct discriminatory words are presented in the two newspapers. It is necessary to clarify that many news stories have common historical, cultural and social roots, and that is why there is a contextual pattern that is constantly repeated in all the news related to similar topics.

a) Peru and Bolivia

In the specific case of these two countries, we see similar patterns repeated in the news. We have ideological schemes in which their representatives are portrayed as historical and natural enemies of Chile. Both countries are also described as drug producers and traffickers, home of vice and criminals.

- *"Peruvian hid drugs in flutes and handicrafts"* (Figure 1, El Mercurio, July 9th, 2008).

"According to Washington, Bolivia is the third largest cocaine producer in the world after Colombia and Peru, but it is the only country where the cocaine growers have gained political power after Morales took office in 2006" (La Tercera, July 26th 2008).



Fig. 1

Evo Morales busca reelegirse con nueva Constitución en Bolivia

Los bolivianos votarán el próximo 7 de diciembre por una nueva Carta Magna que ha enfrentado al mandatario con las regiones del oriente del país.



Fig. 2

Bolivia is described as an unstable country in the midst of a political and social crisis, with a narcissistic dictatorial leader, unable to get the country out of this situation of oppression (it is stressed that this is because of his socialist and indigenous ideas). We also see that Evo Morales is constantly compared to Hugo Chávez, President of Venezuela, whose friendship and economic cooperation is put into question due to the known “radical” ideas of the latter.

- “ *Evo says he will strengthen socialism in Bolivia* ”, “ *The President also encouraged the crowd to chant „Fatherland or Death” slogan of the Cuban revolution of 1959*”. (El Mercurio, August 3rd, 2008).

- “ *Evo Morales is seeking re-election with a new constitution in Bolivia* ”, “ *Bolivian President Evo Morales said his government is based on a strong personality and the socialist project that he wants to establish in Bolivia is linked to his persona*”. (Figure 2, La Tercera , August 30th, 2008).

- “*Since taking office, Morales has ruled in tension with the military, whose discontent would be increasing. Something similar is happening to his main ally: Hugo Chávez*”. (La Tercera, July 13th, 2008).

Bolivians, on the other hand, are considered to be very poor, violent, irrational, and uneducated people.

- “*The government and the opposition blamed each other for legal irregularities and are fixed on their own position even further, preventing any hint of dialogue. And the*

political crisis in which Bolivia has been involved in for months deepens without there being any near way out". (El Mercurio, June 3rd, 2008).

-“ Just two years ago, Savina Cuéllar learned to read and write in Spanish, language that this quechua woman still speaks with some difficulty ", " An even more striking leap if you consider that just up to last week she made a humble living selling used clothing in a popular market ". (El Mercurio, July 1st, 2008).

-“ The so-called „Bolivian Taliban" caused global impact last year, after the disclosed images of its members slaughtering a dog and saying that every government detractor would suffer the same fate". (Figure 3, La Tercera, August 17th 2008).



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Peru, in turn, is presented as a country without stability (which Peruvian immigrants come to look for in Chile), whose relationship with our country is extremely stressed

after the Peruvian government submitted a maritime boundary claim before The Hague Tribunal.

- *"Beware, for Chile- who purchase US\$ 1,000 million, and us (to them) US \$ 300 million- if it gets angry, could say at any time, ' if you do not want to sell to me, I will not buy the US\$ 1,000 million from you and I will return to you the 100 thousand Peruvians to whom I have given residence".* (Figure 4, La Tercera, June 7th, 2008).

b) Mapuche

The Mapuche people are presented only in contexts of violence. They are shown in police and judicial news, and are described as terrorists, violent, thieves, fugitives from the law and enemies of the Chilean State. In this sense, we see that newspapers are *"Maximizing the wickedness of the offender [Mapuche] and minimizing the social responsibility of the State in a possible formation / re-education / resocialization"* (Palencia, 2008).

In the case studies, the Mapuche are conceived as separate from the society. They are not portrayed as "normal" Chileans, and in some practical issues, they are definitely not considered fellow patriots.

- *"Mapuches shoot against the police to resist raid in search of the violent "*. (Figure 5, El Mercurio, and August 25th, 2008).

-“Mapuches resist police who recovered stolen timber”; "Troops of the uniformed police were attacked with sticks and stones by a group of about thirty indigenous commoners". (Figure 6, El Mercurio, June 11th, 2008).

-“ Shocking story of Eduardo Luchsinger after the attack which reduced the facilities of Fundo Santa Rosa to ashes ", " They beat me and pointed a submachine gun at me". (El Mercurio, August 18th, 2008).



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

The Mapuche are also being linked to international separatist groups (such as ETA), and subversive leftist groups in Chile.

-“He is linked to the Basque terrorist group ETA, and he even made several visits to Spain, where he attended meetings related to that organization ". (El Mercurio, July 3rd, 2008).

-“Assaults involving millions linked to radical Mapuche groups are revealed ", " An explosive mix between former rebels and common criminals in the planning and

execution of assaults committed in recent years, and which would provide logistical support in the so-called indigenous conflict to active Mapuche radical groups in the south, detected by Investigations". (Figure 7, La Tercera, August 2nd, 2008).

In the same vein, all the news emphasize that the Mapuche figure is analogous to that of a criminal. They are described as criminals and as such, we must pursue them and fear them.

- *"Pérez Yoma: "they are criminals and we will persecute and imprison them".*
(Figure 8, El Mercurio, August 27th, 2008).

- *"It has been revealed that 10 fugitives are hiding in the Temucuicui Mapuche community", "The crimes for which the fugitives are wanted for are: fire, attacks against the authority, threats, injury, robbery with intimidation, and escape from prison".* (La Tercera, August 26th, 2008).

In general, we can see that the other studied cultures are nullified by newspaper articles, as they have a great ideological charge. The "other" is suppressed by prejudice and stereotypes that appear in the news structures, and are, in turn, transferred, maintained and recreated by the newspaper readers, whom in this case are the most influential people in Chilean society. In this way, their pages reflect a convenient worldview, which attracts the dominant economic and political interests of the country, who continue to expand their discriminatory and discrediting speech until transforming it into a social reality.

It is easily noticeable that the construction is made strongly from the issuer's point of view, with no regard for what happens to "the other" or the actual problems they may have. The only thing that matters is to "sell", and if that means having to use a construction that involves removing all of the bad things from the issuer and promote only what is good and doing the opposite with "the others", there is no question about it, and this is what is definitely being done (Browne and Inzunza, 2010).

Searching the intercultural Encounter

In order to have a good relationship with immigrants there must be a joint effort of both the host society, as well as the newcomers. The host society should promote welcoming policies, and keep in mind that integration is not an easy or immediate

process, since there will always be differences between human beings, even within the same group or community.

Immigration brings out a contradiction that is difficult to combine: the immigrant's point of view and that of the host society. The former want rights, recognition, and dignity. And when they respect the laws of society, they deserve all this. The host society wants control, respect for rights and integration, without modification of their cultural fabric, their uses and customs, which is also perfectly understandable. This is a work in pairs, a dialectical relationship, which can reveal to be very complex (Nair, 2002).

A joint work of acceptance and respect is needed, in order to create a new space together. In simple terms: we are different, but we find common elements: a space of intersection. For Nair (2002), in pursuit of an intercultural dialogue, we cannot continue to see the "other" immigrant only as "labor force" or an "instrument from which to extract a benefit". It is necessary that the host society is able to understand that immigrants are, above all, human beings, and that they (just like them) have a history, culture, and dreams of their own. And they should not be afraid to open up to them. For their part, immigrants must also give a little and accept and respect the culture and identity of the host society. In this way communication is achieved: the "double opening".

Some streams are much bolder when looking for a correct dialogue between different parties, and propose going beyond sharing common themes; those that propose a new way: the cultural mix. The racial mix is an approach that breaks down dualisms; its proposal is to recognize cultural difference and accept it: take advantage of the wealth

and the many possibilities it represents. From the encounter between those who are different, something new arises and through that intersection, the actors are also changing what they used to be, leaving their prejudices behind. This "something new" we know as "between." The "between" is not interior to any of the actors, but something external to them, a sort of gap between being and nonbeing, between absence and presence, oscillating between states of different identities and different subjects.

Moreover, it deconstructs the notions of inner and outer elements, moving their boundaries or turning them into floating boundaries. Racial mix finds its dynamic in this porosity where identity is naturally turned into a movable boundary, without any loss of texture when moving from one territory (ontological, cultural, linguistic, etc.) to another, from one form to another, from one belonging to another (Laplantine and Nouss, 2007).

When it comes to racial mixing, we are not only talking about a mixture, but of billions of them; infinite racial mixes, impossible to categorize, and through them we are offered the experience of re-knowing the different. But in the proposal of racial mixing there is no dominator or domineer party: being mestizo seeks to set aside these constructions, to be open to new things: start to think of communication as a way to know the difference, not controlling it. *"He does not look at you from head to toe, with an attitude of authority, but rather embraces transformation through the encounter with others."* (Laplantine and Nouss, 2007).

Under similar guidelines, several authors concerned about the presence of cultural conflicts in the delivery of information by the media, propose what has been developing as Intercultural Journalism. Through this position, which is related to ethics and codes of ethics of the profession, the journalist might reveal the alternative realities, hidden by the authority speech, contributing to building a more transparent, fair and participatory society: "we turn to an ethical approach when we speak about intercultural journalism, in order to eliminate any discrimination based on gender, culture or religion from the journalism practice "(Israel Garzón, 2001).

Thus, the proposal for the situations of exclusion is to begin to perceive the "other" as an equal, regarding social rights and with equal dignity as valid subjects, dialogue participants and news source. But at the same time, for them to have a chance to preserve their customs, their uniqueness, their specificity: their difference. Because, *"rather than understanding difference as isolation, it is about understanding communication as a subjectivist experience for difference and equality"* (Grimson, 2001).

Conclusions

The media often become important limitations to understand and experience who we identify as the "other" immigrant. It is necessary to detach ourselves from our previous constructions and molds in order to appreciate them as valid human beings and social producers. Only by putting aside all prejudices and stereotypes that are

produced and maintained by the press, can we reach contact, real communication on equal conditions, remembering that everyone is also the "other" of some "us", as determined by the context.

With regard to the media and the work of journalists, the task is similar: in order to reach a better way of living between the actors and social entities, it is necessary for all cultural voices to be presented and validated by the media. This way, we allow ourselves to be permeated by all their wealth. It is important to remember that we must inform (and form) for all. The media reach various social strata and groups with immediacy, and not just a particular elite. As communicators, we should be lead by a very simple rule: putting ourselves in the "other's" place, looking, experiencing the world from their coordinates. Putting ourselves on their skin for a moment, carrying their cultural and social burden: putting ourselves in the position of the "other" immigrant (extra-and intra-country); discriminated against, silenced, devalued, in a land that perceives him as a threat.

It is essential to understand the richness of the various cultural manifestations and value of those groups who have been displaced for years in our societies:

The world is like a garden, I heard later. Each culture is a delicate flower that must be cared for (energized) so it won't wither, so that it does not disappear. (...) And while the blue flowers are our favorite ones, what would it be of a garden with blue flowers only? It is diversity that gives the bright colors to a garden (Chihuilaf, 2004).

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