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## The Other September 11th: El Mercurio Media Coverage After The Chilean Coup Of 1973

Valeria Andrea Gurr-Ovalle  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas, gurroval@unlv.nevada.edu

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THE OTHER SEPTEMBER 11th:  
*EL MERCURIO* MEDIA COVERAGE AFTER THE CHILEAN COUP OF 1973

By

Valeria A. Gurr-Ovalle

Bachelor in Public Relations, Marketing  
Duoc UC of The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile

2011

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts - Journalism and Media Studies

Hank Greenspun School of Journalism and Media Studies  
Greenspun College of Urban Affairs  
The Graduate College

University of Nevada Las Vegas  
December 2013

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THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

We recommend the thesis prepared under our supervision by

**Valeria A. Gurr-Ovalle**

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Gregory Borchard, Ph.D., Committee Chair

Gary Larson, Ph.D., Committee Member

Julian Kilker, Ph.D., Committee Member

Jorge Galindo, Ph.D., Graduate College Representative

Kathryn Hausbeck Korgan, Ph.D., Interim Dean of the Graduate College

**December 2013**

ABSTRACT

**The Other September 11<sup>th</sup>:**

***El Mercurio* Media Coverage after the Chilean Coup of 1973**

by

Valeria Gurr-Ovalle

Dr. Gregory Borchard, Thesis Committee Chair  
Graduate Coordinator, Hank Greenspun School of Journalism and Media Studies  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This thesis provides an exploratory overview of the role the *El Mercurio* newspaper played along with the military after the Chilean coup of 1973. The study reviews the contents of the newspaper's front pages, including their coverage of the events during the coup. The thesis will show how the paper revisited its coverage each year on the anniversary — September 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> — beginning with the years dominated by the military government, from 1973 through 1990, and continuing through the transition to democracy, from 1991 through 2007. The primary method used in the course of this examination is a content analysis, analyzing how propaganda was used during and after the coup, and to show media bias in favor of the government through the images frames and tone in the headlines used. The findings showed that positive messages and images favorable to the government were used during the dictatorship; however, after the dictatorship ended images of violence surrounded the annual commemoration of the Chilean Coup.

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## DEDICATION

I would like to thank my husband, my mother, my American mother and Kelly Knox for all of their support; for believing that I was capable; and for knowing and understanding I am a dreamer, who came to this country with nothing and I have accomplished my American dream. I would like to thank them for building me up when I had a million doubts; I am truly thankful and grateful forever. I would also like to give an additional thanks to Dr. Gregory Borchard for guiding me through the entire process and giving me the confidence I needed to continue in the program. Thank you as well to Dr. Julian Kilker for helping me to develop the analytical tools for this thesis.

## PREFACE

I chose to study *El Mercurio*'s Media Coverage after the Chilean Coup of 1973 on September 11<sup>th</sup> because this is a subject that is important to me as a Chilean. I want Chileans to understand more about a part of Chile's history that has still not been fully explained after forty years. I also choose this topic because I wanted to know where I came from, in the hope that I might better understand who I am. In my research I learned many things that I did not know about Chilean history; I might have hoped those things would have been taught in school but they were not. Through this study I learned about the ties between *El Mercurio* and the United States; I learned how the CIA collaborated with the powerful people in Chile to overthrow an elected socialist government; and how all of the political conflicts have led to the continued use of propaganda in the media, apart from the positions or postures any individual may take, in those political conflicts. Chileans deserve to know what happened in Chile, the truth without the political posturing and propaganda. *El Mercurio* is generally known as the official newspaper of record. The ex-president of Chile Ricardo Lagos (2000) said, "it is difficult to understand the Chilean history without *El Mercurio*," and if *El Mercurio* was influenced or corrupt, then researchers must take their time to fully study this newspaper; because we cannot simply believe what we have been told. I hope that I have accomplished my goals by uncovering and cataloging some of the propaganda techniques used in times of conflict. This study has expanded my perspective on how things were after the Chilean coup; and I can only hope that I will be able to take this study even further.



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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

*El Mercurio* is the oldest, best known, most influential and popular newspaper in Chile, and for the most affluent Chileans, it is the foremost source of news and information. For those who try to understand the history of Chile without reading *El Mercurio*, it is an almost impossible task. *El Mercurio* is also a very controversial newspaper; it has been known to have conservative tendencies, and according to Peter Kornbluth (2003), documents prove that *El Mercurio* received funds from the United States, namely, the CIA, beginning in the early 1970's, in efforts to overthrow the socialist government of Salvador Allende (p. 6).

The focus of this thesis is on *El Mercurio*'s front page on two particular days — September 11 and 12 — over the course of 35 years. These two days have been selected because both days commemorate the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> in Chile. The starting point for this examination is the historic coup that ousted the democratically elected Allende government that took place on September 11, 1973. The examination continues to show the role played by *El Mercurio* on each of the subsequent anniversaries throughout the military regime of Augusto Pinochet, from 1973 to 1990; the examination also further tests the influence of the conservative leaning paper's face during the transition to democracy, from 1991 to 2007.

*El Mercurio* used CIA funds to disseminate anti-communist propaganda before and during Salvador Allende's socialist government in a campaign designed to influence public opinion against it. Propaganda was also used after Allende was overthrown to

promote the goals of General Augusto Pinochet's regime to justify the coup and to hide the human rights violations that took place during the coup and persisted long after.

During the 17 years of the dictatorship, *El Mercurio* and the *Copesa* group (the media owners) joined to form a duopoly that destroyed both the competence and diversity of the media. As Pinochet's government imposed its neoliberal policies throughout Chile, all of the newspapers opposed to the regime were closed. To this day, the Edwards family, one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in the country, owns what became the *El Mercurio* Group. The family controls, under the same corporate umbrella, four different media companies. This has allowed them to publish newspapers with different names, across the country and to enshrine their conservative viewpoints in a very large cluster of newspapers; the overall effect is one of supposed agreement among apparently diverse voices, but the reality is that these newspapers are all of the same voice, that of the Edwards family.

This study shows through content analysis how propaganda was used after the coup, throughout Pinochet's government and after Pinochet resigned his presidency. For example, from 1973 to 1990 the military government engaged in a campaign to delete Marxist ideals through a process it called image-cleaning (Luis Errázuriz, 2009, p. 143). The content analysis employed in this part of the study will focus specifically on the headlines and on the images shown on *El Mercurio*'s September 11 and 12 front pages those same years. Through this analysis, it should be possible to begin to understand what was meant by image cleaning and the role-played by *El Mercurio* in the attempt to delete Marxist ideals (Peter Kornbluh, 2003, p.49).

A cursory look at the covers under examination reveals that the editors and writers seldom used tone or images in opposition to the government: The word “celebration” was used repeatedly to extol the coup. Pinochet was proclaimed “His Excellency,” and many pictures purport to show large crowds celebrating. The cult of the flag was portrayed as an ever-present expression of nationalism. Members of the armed forces were always presented as national heroes, and other themes were presented that led the reader to believe that the regime was extremely positive and popular. The country as a whole was portrayed as disciplined, orderly, stable, and developing.

This mirage of National Pride was tarnished once Pinochet resigned his presidency. For the first time after seventeen years, *El Mercurio*'s front page on September 11, 1991, featured a picture of college students, violently protesting with “Molotov cocktails.” Images of events comparable to this riot continued to appear in the years that followed; in 23 of the 34 covers studied from the period of the transition, at least one photograph appeared that showed protests that took place at an event that commemorated the Chilean Coup.

The newspaper often announced measures taken by the police to prevent vandalism and the destruction of property. Eventually, *El Mercurio*'s coverage of September 11<sup>th</sup> was not of an anniversary to be “celebrated” but as a tragedy. This exploratory overview of *El Mercurio*'s front pages is a significant study inasmuch as it contributes to a clearer understanding of the role played by the most important newspaper in Chile during the coup and the dictatorship that followed. It also provides a comparative analysis of *El Mercurio*'s media presence during and after Pinochet. While scholars have

noted that *El Mercurio*'s coverage was controlled by Pinochet and the conservative Edwards family (while the latter received funds from the CIA and other foreign interests), they have not shown what was actually happening in Chile at the time. My research shows how *El Mercurio* presented images that the government wanted the public to see, especially on September 11<sup>th</sup> anniversaries.

## **Background**

### *The 1973 Chilean Coup d'état*

On September 11, 1973, the military ruled by General Augusto Pinochet in Chile, destroyed the democratically elected *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity) government of Salvador Allende. Popular Unity was a Chilean political and electoral coalition of parties, movements, and social groups from the political center and left. The coalition was formed in 1969 when the Socialist and Communist parties invited all of the groups or movements with similar beliefs into an alliance. The Popular Unity coalition led by Senator Salvador Allende, won the presidential election in 1970. Allende's longstanding goal had been to lead Chile toward socialist reforms that would benefit the working classes. Three years later, the military regime of Augusto Pinochet took over the country. This resulted in an intense extent of time of social and political disturbance between the conservatives of Chile and the elected socialist president.

The U.S. government played a role in the events leading up to the military takeover of Chile on September 11, 1973. During the 1960s and early 1970s, the U.S. government designed policies to influence political outcomes in Chile and throughout



much of Latin America. The CIA engaged in a variety of covert activities in Chile, for example. Some of the details of the CIA's activities remain classified even today. The Central Agency Report (2007) explained that the U.S. government's goals were rooted in the ideologically driven, anti-communist policies of the time; that is to say, to smear the Marxist-leaning political leaders throughout the Americas, to prevent the rise of a second Cuba. The covert actions consisted primarily of propaganda efforts, including financial support to the major news media outlets. These CIA projects supported ideologically compatible parties and candidates even before the 1964 elections and well after Allende's election in 1970 (p. 3).

The U.S. State Department's Church Report (1975) found that during the presidential election of 1964, the CIA gave financial support to the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) to support their candidate Eduardo Frei Montalva (p. 6). The CIA spent \$3 million on an anti-Communist propaganda campaign in order to control the outcome of the presidential elections of 1964 and thereby, to prevent Chile from becoming a Socialist state. After the elections, the CIA continued to support the Frei government financially, to strengthen the image of the politically conservative right wing, and to reinforce it against communist influence in the country (p. 6-9).

According to the Church report, during the Frei administration, from 1965 to 1969 approximately a half of a million dollars were spent on different covert actions (p. 29). Nonetheless, Allende and his coalition enjoyed increasing popularity in 1970 and the efforts of the "spoiling operations" [sic] against the Popular Union failed; Allende won the election that year (p. 30). After Allende won the election, several other covert

attempts were made to overthrow his government. According to the Church Report, between 1970 and 1973 another \$8 million was spent on clandestine activities (p. 2).

The Church Report also revealed that the CIA's largest monetary contribution to a media outlet, against the Allende government, went to the newspaper *El Mercurio*. The 40 Committee in a "renewal memorandum" authorized: \$700,000 in September and \$300,000 in October of 1971, which U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger personally authorized. In April of 1973 and another \$965,000 were approved (p. 6). These allocations of money were part of the "*El Mercurio* Project" sanctioned by the U.S. government through this interagency Committee. The money given to *El Mercurio* played an important role in mounting the Chilean military coup with the support of the media, demonstrating violations of ethical codes in the type of journalism practiced during the Allende government.

*El Mercurio* (founded in 1827) was the largest and oldest newspaper in Chile it had a Sunday circulation of 340,000 and dominated the Chilean media audience in both size and prestige. *The El Mercurio* Company was and still is the most powerful media network in the country; almost from the beginning, it consisted of not only newspapers but of radio stations, ad agencies and wire services as well (Hudson, 1994, para. 2).

The Chilean Library of Congress (2011) has described the historical period of the Pinochet government: "Initiating the Military Regime (1973–1990): The Governmental Military Junta removed the democratically elected government in September 1973 and assumed public power by closing the congress." The Junta suspended the political parties, declared a state of siege to assumed strict control of the media (Legislative History

section, para. 1). After the coup the independent press vanished, the left wing papers were forced to close immediately. The only papers that continued to publish were the ones that supported the military government. As a result, the media became concentrated into two groups: one controlled by the Edwards family, the owners of *El Mercurio*; and the second, controlled by the *Picó Cañas* family, owners of *La Tercera de la Hora* (Hudson, 1994, para. 3). The coup also led to human rights abuses, as the government detained, disappeared, tortured, and murdered citizens. Many of the victims were part of the Popular Unity. Many people were forced to seek refuge in foreign embassies, or even to flee the country into exile (Legislative History section, para. 1).

The government of Augusto Pinochet can be divided into two distinct periods. The first period from 1973 to 1981 that produced the constitution of 1980 and the second period from 1980 to 1990 (known for the reconstruction of democracy). Repression by the DINA, Pinochet's secret police, dominated the first period. They had the power to detain people who had been declared "threats to the state," under the DINA's exercise of "emergency" powers. During this period Pinochet consolidated his power over the Governmental Military Junta; he assumed power consecutively (or concurrently) as the "Supreme Head of the Nation," "the President" and "The Captain General." At the same time, the Governmental Military Junta reduced the Congress's role to its mere legislative functions, ending duties of the parliamentarians and leaving them under control of the Secretary of the Senate, a position assumed by the Military Junta (Legislative History section, para.2).

In the economic sector, the adoption of the “neo-liberal” economic model by Pinochet was implemented by the “Chicago Boys,” a group of economics students trained at by Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger at the University of Chicago. The U.S. State Department organized the “Chile Project” in the 1950’s to influence Chile’s economy. The objectives of this model were to increase foreign trade, economic “liberalization,” the privatization of State companies and to stabilize inflation. This system helped to slow inflation and to increase trade. It allowed access to a wide number of imported products. Unfortunately, these policies also led to the disappearance of many national industries; when these industries went bankrupt, the unemployment rates increased dramatically (Legislative History section, para. 3).

The second period of the military government began with the introduction of the 1980 Constitution that established a presidential-authoritarian system for eight years. This Constitution provided limited power to the Congress; one-third of the (appointed) Senators; and a series of institutional mechanisms that ensured the military’s influence on future governments. The Constitution also provided for the election of Pinochet to the office of President for eight years; after eight years a plebiscite would be held to ratify a second term—until 1997. Pinochet was not re-elected and left the presidency in 1990 (Legislative History section, para. 4).

### **Thematic Statement**

*El Mercurio* is the oldest and most important newspaper in Chile. Without *El Mercurio*, much of the modern record of Chilean history would not exist; in fact, Chilean

history itself might have been completely different in the absence of *El Mercurio*. The Edwards family has owned and operated the newspaper since 1849 and publishes editions in Santiago, Valparaiso, and nineteen other regions. Since 1990, the Santiago edition is considered the country's paper of record and is the largest news organization in Chile.

*El Mercurio* was one of the few newspapers allowed to continue to operate during the military government of Augusto Pinochet. After the coup of September 11, 1973, overthrew the Socialist government of Salvador Allende, the Pinochet regime silenced many media outlets. Based on CIA documents and the findings of the United States Senate's Church Committee Reports, *El Mercurio* also played an important role in setting the stage for the coup as well. Despite its importance in Chilean history, few formal, academic studies of *El Mercurio*'s role before and during the Pinochet regime exist, even after forty years.

This thesis presents a portrait of the military government and the return to democracy after the Chilean coup of 1973. It traces the differences in the various accounts, using the covers of *El Mercurio*, September 11 and 12, from 1973 to 1990, during the 17 years of the Pinochet dictatorship; and from 1991 to 2007, during the transition to democracy.

The images and headlines from these cover pages were examined using general principles of content analysis. The purpose of this study was to understand more clearly how propaganda was used during the Pinochet government and how the media coverage tone changed during the transition to democracy. This examination of the most influential media outlet in Chile reveals an important part of the history of the country.

## Significance of the Study

It has been forty years since the Chilean coup of 1973. Few studies have examined either *El Mercurio*'s role during the coup, or its support of the military government that followed. Since the Clinton administration, information has been released confirming the paper's lack of objectivity. Unclassified documents have also revealed that the CIA backed *El Mercurio*. It is clear that the newspaper violated the code of ethics adhered to by most journalists. The newspaper had a clear political posture and sought openly to advance its beliefs for financial gain. Public opinion in Chile remains divided to this day. This is due in part, because of *El Mercurio*'s one-sided portrayal of events and because of the subsequent lack of new information about the coup, the military government, and *El Mercurio*'s role in both.

Historians who focus on the events of the coup have conducted most academic studies on the subject of the Chilean press under Pinochet; they have only touched lightly on how the media manipulated the facts and used propaganda as a tool to influence popular perception of those events. Although scholars often mention *El Mercurio* as one of the most influential newspaper in Chile, no one has analyzed its contents in depth. Chilean students produced a documentary film about *El Mercurio*, "El Diario de Agustin" ("Agustin's Newspaper"), which focuses less on media bias and more on politics. In the United States, Peter Korhnbluh in his book, *The El Mercurio File* used CIA documents to examine the role the U.S. government played, working through CIA assets placed at *El Mercurio* and other media outlets, in Chilean politics. This study may be the first content analysis of *El Mercurio*. It contributes to the understanding of the

history of Chilean media according to the facts, rather than through an ideological lens. This study promotes access to information to a new generation willing to form their own opinions, free from ideological prejudices, regarding the Chilean Coup.

### **Literature Review**

This section offers a review of secondary sources considered relevant to an investigation of the 1973 Chilean coup, as portrayed by the media. These authors' works provided the most valuable perspectives regarding the history of the conflict—most importantly, the role played by the newspaper *El Mercurio* during the military regime and the subsequent transition from different points of view. The following overview of the ongoing efforts to collect and organize the information available will help to develop convincing arguments regarding the media's coverage of the 1973 Chilean coup.

Peter Kornbluh (2003) is a senior analyst who directs the Chile Documentation Project at The National Security Archive, a nonprofit research library at George Washington University. He has been notable for uncovering the truth through declassified CIA secret documents and showing the history of the U.S. government's support for the Pinochet regime. Kornbluh, in his academic journal article the "*El Mercurio* File," studied declassified documents. He found that *El Mercurio* was the largest newspaper in Chile at the time; its owner was one of the richest men in Chile. The owner, Augustin Edwards, was also a fundamental player in government circles and enjoyed international influence (p. 14).

Even before Allende was elected, Edwards went to Washington to discuss with the CIA the “timing for possible military action” and “to prevent Allende from taking office” (Kornbluh (2003, p. 14). President Richard Nixon authorized large amounts of funding to the *El Mercurio*, (approximately \$2 million) to oppose an Allende government. In mid-1973, the CIA recognized *El Mercurio* in classified documents as among the most militant opponents pushing for military action against Allende’s government. Well after the coup, the CIA continued to provide funds to the newspaper; the CIA covertly financed operations designed to sway public opinion in favor of the military regime, regardless its brutal tactics and harsh, repressive policies (p. 14). Further investigation into the role played by *El Mercurio* and its owner made a natural starting point for research into this subject, as *El Mercurio* was — and still is — as important to Chile as *The New York Times* has been to the United States.

Victoria Goff, an associate professor in the Communications and History departments at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, has studied the coup and the role the Chilean media played. The results of her study, published in *American Journalism* as “The Solidarity Movement and Its Media: An Alternative Take on the Allende and Pinochet Years,” describe the events of the September 11, 1973 coup, the role played by alternative media during the military regime, and the difficulties she encountered while conducting her research. Goff argues that communications historians have not paid attention to the creation and dissemination of information in Latin American and Chilean solidarity groups that acted as an alternative media in times of repression. She mentions that there have been very few studies on the role of media and communication within a



solidarity movement, relative to the number of studies about the leaders or specific incidents. Her study claimed to be the first study of print solidarity media that focused on coverage of the opposition (p. 97).

Goff's report is relevant to the current exercise because she established media coverage as a neglected field of study and she provided a relevant context. Her research found that solidarity movements had formed in North America even before the coup in 1973, during the Allende campaigns and the elections of 1964 and 1970. These groups gained influence throughout Allende's presidency (1970 to 1973). The Chilean solidarity groups persisted into the Pinochet era (p. 96). "The North American Congress on Latin America" (NACLA) was one of the largest and most influential of the solidarity groups. North American solidarity movements were created to distribute alternative media products, to cover the changes that were happening in Chile after the coup and to show a different perspective than the mainstream U.S. media (Goff, 2007, p. 96).

Even if the solidarity media were not a part of one's focus, this alternative perspective was important because it meant that the military of Chile controlled media and the heavily censored *El Mercurio*, were not the only sources of information circulated either in Chile or in the U.S., during the military government in Chile. This mix of government controlled media and the solidarity media shaped the people's understanding of events in both countries. Goff (2007) explained that alternative media provided by the solidarity movements especially their newsletters, gave to a wide readership a "non-establishment version of U.S. involvement in Chilean affairs before and during Allende's government" (p. 95). The U.S. media reporting on the coup was

incompetent because of a lack of knowledge about Chile. Reports were based on beliefs about Chile or Latin America. This information was derived mostly from *El Mercurio*, which was backed by the CIA; journalists, who worked in Chile at the time, knew not to trust *El Mercurio* (Goff, 2007, p. 101).

Backed by the CIA, *El Mercurio* was the most influential newspaper in Chile; it had a circulation of 350,000; and the CIA spent \$8 million on its campaign against Allende in 1970. *El Mercurio* ran 726 anti-communist articles as a direct result of the CIA's campaign against Allende. The owner of *El Mercurio* denied his involvement with the CIA, even after the CIA released declassified documents under the Clinton administration that incriminated him (p. 110). After the coup, the role and function of the media in Chile changed drastically because of repressive neo-liberal policies that were established throughout the country. *El Mercurio* became even more powerful and influential.

Verónica López (1996), a well-known Chilean journalist from Santiago's Catholic University, has studied the phenomenon. Lopez, also a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, received the Lenka Franulic award for her skill at merging quality journalism with effective financial management. A 1996 study she published contextualizes newspaper content during and after Pinochet. "Chile's Cautious Free Press," examines freedom of the press in Chile and the media's coverage after the military government ended in 1990. Under the right-wing military government of Augusto Pinochet, Lopez writes, the sources of information that survived were those that were able to adapt to the conditions imposed by the military regime. Her research is important because of her finding that

newspapers had for the most part, lost credibility during the coup; print media in general both newspapers and magazines, that published accounts unfavorable to Pinochet's regime were closed, their editors imprisoned and their journalist put on trial (López, 1996, p. 3).

However, *El Mercurio* was and still is the oldest newspaper in Chile; it has managed to survive for over 150 years. *El Mercurio* has continued to represent the views of the conservative, right-wing old-guard; this remained true even after the military regime lost power and its daily readership had fallen to only 58,000 (in a country of over 14 million). The Sunday edition of 150,000 papers now has a higher readership and no competitors; its editorials and Sunday reports are widely read and are very influential throughout the country today (López, 1996, p. 3).

López noted too that large, private, conservative corporations, each colluding with the others, control of all of the media, or they own it outright. Among the elite and the press that served them, Pinochet's regime restored order to society: laborers were at work in factories; students were dutifully in schools (p. 4). The subject of media control is still regarded as "sensitive." The media has not been able to foster a more complete democracy and no one wishes to push the issue any further; so the media (generally) proceed under a kind of self-imposed censorship (p. 6).

As the media became less diverse, the monopoly controlling it became more powerful; and the media in Chile continued to censor itself, even after the dictatorship ended. This next phase in the evolution of Chilean newspaper content has been studied by Rosalind Bresnahan, author of "The Media and the Neoliberal Transition in Chile:

Democratic Promise Unfulfilled” (2003). Bresnahan, coordinating editor of Latin American Perspectives from the Department of Communications Studies, at California State University, San Bernardino, writes about the media in Latin America and specifically in Chile. She lived in Chile from 1969 to 1972 and conducted her research in 1998, 2000, and 2002 (p. 39). The author explained that media diversity in Chile declined during the Pinochet regime because of the neo-liberalist system that overtook the country and facilitated the ownership of media by trans-national corporations. This privatization of media under Pinochet’s dictatorship, led directly to corporate control of the media, which served only the interests of the corporations and of the regime (p. 39). Bresnahan concluded that the decline of media diversity impoverished the public sphere, in that the dominant neoliberal, socially conservative media was not representative of the ideals of the population as a whole (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 46). Furthermore, during the Allende Government, before the Military coup, there were five daily newspapers closely allied to the viewpoints of the “Popular Union,” the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The circulation of these daily papers was reported as 312,000, compared to the 541,000 of the opposition’s neo-liberal newspapers that included *El Mercurio* (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 46).

After the coup, all non-corporate, non-neoliberal newspapers were forced to close; however, Bresnahan writes, there was a clandestine media at work throughout the country during the dictatorship and toward the end of the Pinochet regime, independent papers began to re-appear. These emerging, independent newspapers reclaimed freedom of the press and open discourse. After Pinochet left the presidency in 1990, Augusto Aylwin’s new policies toward these independent newspapers remained indifferent; they struggled

due to a lack of finances. While the government did not move against independent newspapers such as *El Siglo*, *El Fortin Mapocho*, and *Punto Final*, it did nothing to help them either. All of the independent newspapers struggled during the democratic transition; most did not survive (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 47).

Bresnahan's research is very important because it shows how the media in Chile worked and that policies favoring neo-liberalism did not contribute to the expansion of media diversity. *El Mercurio* in an alliance with *Copesa* in 1989 formed a duopoly before Pinochet left office. All of the other newspapers were made a part of the same company: the list included *La Tercera*, *Las Ultimas Noticias*, *La Cuarta*, the influential political magazine *Que Pasa*, and an additional fourteen provincial newspapers (Bresnahan, 2003, p. 48). *El Mercurio- Copesa* once again dominated the national print press as it did before and during the dictatorship.

Eduardo Santa Cruz (1988), a graduate of Chile's Catholic University, provided support for the observations of López and Bresnahan that during Pinochet's military regime, diversity of media was in full decline due to censorship. Santa Cruz, who has also received a Bachelor of Social Sciences at the Latin American Institute of Social Studies (ILADES), in 1996, he became a Senior Fellow and the Director of the Communications and Culture Program at the Center for Social Research, at the ARCIS University in Chile, in his book *The Historical Analysis of Chilean Journalism*, said that the duopoly formed by *El Mercurio* and the *Copesa* Group was supported by the right wing political and business sectors (Santa Cruz, 1988, p. 144). While diversity in the media decreased, monopolies of the media increased; in 1978, *El Mercurio* controlled 77 percent of the

advertising money spent on the media. *La Tercera*, controlled 21 percent of the money spent on advertising, but both papers were under the same ownership. The owners' monopoly created the opportunity for right-wing conservatives to influence the public without a counterbalancing argument. By 1977, media had become big business and the need to control the media had become of an economic concern than a political one. However, as Santa Cruz points out, the economic and political views of those in control were well served (p. 145).

The scholars cited thus far, have written about how the media was controlled in Chile before the coup and during the military regime. However, the relationship between the media and the military government from 1973 to 1990 is still a somewhat neglected topic. While researchers have focused on the leaders of and the incidents leading up to the coup, there are few formal studies that have actually focused on the media as an organizational tool.

Ignacio Agüero in Chile and Peter Kornbluth in the U.S., among the authors previously discussed, paid close attention to how *El Mercurio* supported the goals of the coup. Kornbluth focused on CIA documents in order to understand the United States' involvement; Agüero focused on those occasions that *El Mercurio* published the wrong information. Agüero (2008) as the director of the film, "El Diario de Agustín documental" ("The Austin Newspaper Documentary") is among the only researchers who have documented in depth *El Mercurio's* involvement in the incidents surrounding the coup and the media's coverage before and after the coup. This documentary film shows how or how often *El Mercurio* lied in its coverage of the Chilean coup. One of the more

notable cases was its reporting of “Operacion Colombo” in which 119 people went missing.

The Chilean National Intelligence Agency (DINA) mounted the operation. People were killed or simply made to disappear in Chile, and the newspaper helped the agency to cover-up its actions by reporting the wrong information about the case. The accounts published in *El Mercurio* were allegedly supported by (what later proved to be) false reports from Brazilian and Argentinean magazines. *El Mercurio* reported that supposed members of Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) had died because of internal fighting or in clashes with security forces in Argentina’s international territory. In another false report, “Beautiful Girl Dies, Murdered,” *El Mercurio* described the death of Martha Urgarte as a crime of passion; the dead woman’s naked body was found, apparently having been abused, after a month of detention by the police; the body was discovered in the sand on the beach at Los Molles. This documentary exposed, perhaps for the first time, that the “news coverage” by *El Mercurio* had been lies told to the public in order to cover-up the excesses of the Pinochet regime. This documentary was made in 2008 and sold to a state broadcast channels that refused to air the show on television. The history of the documentary also demonstrates how further research is still needed. *El Mercurio*’s role in the in coup and the history of Chile has never been fully examined or exposed.

While the authors Kornbluh, Goff, López, Bresnahan, Santa Cruz, and Agüero all agreed the censorship of the media in Chile was unarguable and it has contributed to the creation of a gap of information of the actual events surrounding the dictatorship. The authors Kornbluh and Agüero took it even further, they focused specifically on how *El*

*Mercurio* has played a role in setting up the Chilean coup and supporting the dictatorship. Kornbluh made a compelling case by showing CIA documents to prove the participation of the *El Mercurio* and Agüero showed examples in where the newspaper have contributing to cover up human abuses committed by the military junta.

Finally, all these authors have helped to understand the function of the media in Chile, specifically, how *El Mercurio* might have behaved unethically. At the same time, none of these studies focused on *El Mercurio* — on what techniques were used to shape the public opinion, or what propagandist elements the newspaper used to promote the goals of the dictatorship. The Chilean public needs further contributions from academics and others, in order to recover a long hidden part of the grim realities of Chilean history.



## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative content analysis of a purposive sample of newspaper content. The units analyzed are newspaper headlines and photographs published on the front pages of *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile edition. Content analysis is the study of recorded human communications (Babbie, 2011, p. 357), and a purposive sample is a non-probability sampling, in which the units to be analyzed are chosen according to the researcher's judgment (Babbie, 2011, p. 207). In this case, the September 11 and 12 front pages of *El Mercurio*, each year on the anniversary of the coup, were considered the best samples for the purposes of the study.

#### **Research Questions**

##### *Headlines*

**RQ1:** Did *El Mercurio* continue to support the military regime and/or its figures in its coverage even after the dictatorship ended?

**RQ2:** Which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in its headlines to uphold the dictatorship and what was the tone utilized and how this changed over time?

##### *Photographs*

**RQ3:** Which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in their photographs to uphold the dictatorship and how this changed over time?

**RQ4:** After Pinochet's rule, did the number of photographs in *El Mercurio* that featured violence or anti-government protests increase or decrease?

### **Sampling, Coding, and Units of Analysis**

Seventy covers with 284 headlines and 230 photographs featured in *El Mercurio*'s front pages were identified as appropriate source material for this study. More narrowly, these headlines and photographs came exclusively from the edition of the newspaper in Santiago, Chile's capital. The headlines and photographs spanned from 1973 to 2007, years broadly affected by the Pinochet dictatorship, using September 11 and 12 dates from each year. Two additional subgroups of categories focused on include September 1973 to 1990, the years directly affected by Pinochet's dictatorship, and September 11, 1991, to 2007, the years of the transition to democracy. The newspaper observed the anniversary of the coup every year. A preliminary review of each cover indicated they all had different headlines and photographs, but not all of content was coup related. The headlines and photographs that did not refer to the coup were included because they may have contained indirect propaganda techniques; and those not directly related to the coup may provide a broader context for those that commemorated the coup.

Coding for this study relied on the practice of converting raw data into a standardized form of analysis (Babbie, 2011, p. 361). The images and headlines from the cover pages were examined according to the general principles of a standard content analysis. The coding categories are explained in following paragraphs, and the coding sheet with a complete coding guideless is shown in Appendix I. This content analysis included both manifest and latent content analysis strategies.

Manifest coding of materials (objective) refers to those elements that are physically present and countable; in other words the counting of specific elements or key

words. Latent coding of materials (subjective) allows for an extended interpretive reading of the symbolism. For example, a researcher may review an entire paragraph of an article, in order to make a subjective assessment of the tone of the headline; whether, in this case the tone is favorable to the military regime or unfavorable (Babbie, 2001, p. 363). The total sample group of 284 headlines and 230 photographs were divided between two trained coders. The coders were provided with a detailed code guide that explained the categories and the possible choices within each category. The two coders were college-educated, bilingual English and native Spanish-speakers. The two coders were chosen so the researcher would not influence the results, concerned with the validity of the study. One coder was in charge of coding 100 percent of the study and the second coder, coded 10 percent at random. The numbers for the second coder were drawn from both headlines and photographs.

The units of analysis for this study were the headlines and photographs. The findings drew from the content of the headlines and photographs; these were selected from *El Mercurio*'s front-page articles between 1973 and 2007, on September 11 and 12. (See Appendix II for a complete list of the headlines used in this study as translated into English; to find a complete list of covers with the accompanying photographs see Appendix IV).

### **Data Collection**

The covers from *El Mercurio* are primary sources that were selected from the collection available in The National Library of Chile. These sources were acquired

through the Library's Materials Reproduction Service, in microform. Library officials reviewed a petition and provided an estimate of cost in 2012. Acquiring the materials that were considered necessary for this thesis, including those that were requested from the archives, required more than eight months of coordination with library staffs. Based on Chile's history, September 11 made a natural starting point for the analysis of coverage. Thus first, the covers dated September 11<sup>th</sup> between 1973 and 2007 were requested.

The researcher originally considered reviewing only September 11<sup>th</sup> for the purposes of this study; and only these covers were obtained in 2012. However, after travelling to Chile to review the archives in person; and to obtain better photographs, it became apparent that journalists covered not only the commemoration of September 11 (on that day); but also those on the following day (September 12). A second set of covers was obtained during that trip; and those covers were subsequently integrated into this study. According to The National Library of Chile, most of the materials from before the coup and from left-wing sources were lost in fires (caused by the wide spread practice of burning those kinds of materials during the Pinochet dictatorship).

Various people donated the newspapers that remain in the National Library's collection after the coup. *El Mercurio* was chosen because it was and still is the most important newspaper in the country and many scholars have not analyzed it. Also, this collection remains intact, which provided greater flexibility for the researcher's approach. For these reasons, *El Mercurio* was considered a good starting point. After this investigation, it might be interesting to compare the findings of the study with the opposition's newspapers and any other surviving alternative media.

### **Category Development: Building Grounded Theory**

This study began by building categories using ground theory, an inductive approach to the study of social life. The goal of ground theory is to create a hypothesis or a research question in this case, by constantly comparing one's unfolding observations to each other, following patterns, themes and common categories discovered in the data (Babbie, 2011, p. 327). In this sense, ground theory operates backwards; instead of starting with a hypothesis, it begins with data collection. For the purposes of this study, the research questions were arrived at by reviewing previous observations. The researcher in the course of other investigations gathered these observations and the data from which they were gleaned into the subject matter and subsequent reflection upon the findings of those investigations. These investigations and observations were made in the year prior to the current study.

First, an open coding technique was used to accomplish "the initial classification and labeling of concepts in qualitative data analysis. In open coding, the codes are suggested by the researcher's examinations and questioning of data" (Babbie, 2011, 426). The method used in those reviews was memoing, a coding process that involves writing memos. Memo writing was an important part of conceptualizing the coding, because memoing helped the researcher to describe, identify, and define the concepts (Babbie, 2011, 400). Reviewing the data, line by line to find descriptive events within the sources, generated the memos. This helped to refine ideas and the creation of concepts and frames, to be able to code the data. Also, the memos were used as part of a previous

(unpublished) paper concerning the media coverage of the 1973 Chilean coup and later revised, for use in yet another similarly themed (unpublished) paper.

Another important step in the creation of the concept and frames archive for this investigation was to become deeply familiar with the data. Adobe Photoshop Lightroom database was used to organize all of the data by year. The covers from *El Mercurio* were cropped and then divided into headlines and photographs in the Lightroom database. All of the headlines and photographs were coded by entering keywords into the library section of the program. It was critical to code the material before it was analyzed and before the coding categories were created. These two steps provided a deep understanding of how the material should be coded — a challenge given the lack of previous scholarship on *El Mercurio*.

This study consisted of two sets of analyses of *El Mercurio*'s cover pages: 1) an analysis of the headlines; and, 2) an analysis of the images. Each of these sections were treated separately and used different coding techniques; but the findings from both sections were combined to present an in depth look at the history of the 1973 Chilean coup, through *El Mercurio*'s coverage of the commemoration of September 11<sup>th</sup> over the course of 35 years. This study examines the role played by the most well-known and controversial newspaper in Chile; its goals are to understand more fully how propaganda was used and to present some of the differences in the media coverage of September 11 and 12 from 1973 to 1990 (during the military regime) and from 1991 to 2007 (during the transition to democracy). In building the content analysis approach used to study this process, "Basic Content Analysis" (1990) by Robert Phillip Weber was a useful

reference. Weber wrote that content analysis could be used for many different purposes; one of these is the detection of propaganda (p. 9).

As part of building categories, it was important to do research about the propaganda techniques used in Chile during the dictatorship, in order to understand what was being analyzed. It was also important to understand the nature of propaganda, as well as how the techniques were used. Some common propaganda techniques are name calling; the bandwagon effect (an attempt to persuade people to join in a belief or cause); repetition; the use of emotional “hot-button” words; inciting fear; flag-waving (an appeal to patriotism). During the research and review process, these techniques were easily identified.

Another related study that helped contextualize both the use of content analysis and propaganda techniques was *Manufacturing Consent* by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988). The model explains that in countries where power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals (or a dictatorship) monopolies take control of the media and often institute policies of censorship that serve only the interests of the ruling elite. Their model proposed five filters to recognize the use of propaganda: the ownership of a medium; media funding sources; sourcing; flak; and, anti-communism or creating fear in general. This model, for the purposes of this study, can be used to explain *El Mercurio*'s role in shaping public opinion in Chile and all of the filters can be applied. For the purposes of this study, this model was most useful in understanding the use of anti-communist messages in propaganda efforts designed to provoke fear.

In Chile after the coup, *El Mercurio* used propaganda campaigns designed to silence or at least hide the opposition to and foster a positive image of the military government and thereby, to justify its oppressive policies. *El Mercurio* was the key to starting the discourse that justified the military coup, just as it had been instrumental in campaigning against Allende's government prior to the coup.

This study focuses on censorship by the military government that occurred during the Pinochet dictatorship and how media coverage changed after he left power (Nación, 2004, para. 1). Finally, the examples given above helped to establish the themes within the data; this was essential to the creation of the coding categories used in the qualitative portions of the study, especially in the analysis of latent content within the headlines.

### **Coding Headlines**

The Library Metadata section of Adobe Photoshop Lightroom database was used for organizing, cropping, and labeling the *El Mercurio* headlines and IBM SPSS Statistics version 22 was used to do content analysis; frequency and crosstabs tests were used to analyze or to research questions. This study examines the levels of favorability of the newspaper towards the government. Favorability refers to the general tone manifest in each headline. The favorableness of coverage was evaluated on a 6-point scale; as non-applicable, negative, slightly negative, negative, slightly positive or positive; and each concept explains what was meant in each case (see the headlines coding guide shown in Appendix I).



The coders were given the option of non-applicable when the headline did not refer to any of the concepts proposed by this study. Also, in those cases that were unclear, the coder determined the tone of the headline by reading the text for clues as to the tone of the headline. The headlines were organized by year from 1973 to 2007; each cover has more than one headline; each headline was numbered from 1 to 284. For coding, the headline concepts were created to analyze the tone that *El Mercurio* showed toward the government. Knowing that *El Mercurio* was anti- Allende and pro-dictatorship, the researcher sought to measure the levels of favorability of this newspaper towards the government.

In this study the use of concepts as units of analysis, or as something to be counted was important. In practice there was a higher level of complexity involved than merely counting the words. Concepts involve words that are grouped into clusters of ideas that constitute a part of the variables to be studied. The idea of using concepts as units helped to develop more of the latent content during the analysis. The concepts that were created and used in this study were: Chilean Military, Anniversary of the Coup, Pinochet, Chilean Economy, United States, United States allies, Russia/USSR, Russia/USSR allies, Chilean Democracy, Chilean Dictatorship, Marxism (communism), Repression by the government and Church/ Religious Figures. The list below explains how the concepts were categorized under each tone for the analysis of this study. (A complete description of each concept can be found in the coding guide, for the headlines shown in Appendix I).

## *Tones*

Positive: Among the five coding categories “Positive” was marked by a coder when any of the concepts are referred to in the headline as being good, or constructive. Each concept has its own quality or attribute, thus if the coder recognizes the existence of a particular concept within a headline, the coder must infer as to whether the tone of such is affirmative in a way that expresses support and/or being strongly in favor of that concept. If that is the case, then the coder will mark accordingly.

Slightly Positive: Among the five coding categories, “Slightly Positive” was marked by a coder when any of the concepts are referred to in the headline as being somewhat good, or referred to in a lightly positive manner. Each concept has its own quality or attribute, thus if the coder recognizes the existence of a particular concept within a headline, the coder must infer as to whether the tone of such is somewhat affirmative, or marginally expresses support and/or is more or less in favor of that concept. If that is the case, then the coder will mark accordingly.

Neutral: Among the five coding categories “Neutral,” is marked by a coder when any of the concepts are referred in the headline in an unbiased manner. Each concept has its own quality or attribute, thus if the coder recognizes the existence of a particular concept within a headline, the coder must infer as to whether the tone of such is indifferent to political or social biases, is nonaligned and does not express support nor disapproval for the concept. If that is the case, then the coder will mark accordingly.

Slightly Negative: Among the five coding categories, “Slightly Negative” is marked by a coder when any of the concepts are referred to in the headline as being somewhat pessimistic, or referred to in a lightly gloomy manner. Each concept has its own quality or attribute, thus if the coder recognizes the existence of a particular concept within a headline, the coder must infer as to whether the tone of such is somewhat adverse, or marginally expresses opposition and/or shows an unfavorable tone towards that concept. If that is the case, then the coder will mark accordingly.

Negative: Among the five coding categories “Negative” is marked by a coder when any of the concepts are referred to in the headline as being pessimistic, or referred to in an unfavorable manner. Each concept has its own quality or attribute, thus if the coder recognizes the existence of a particular concept within a headline, the coder must infer as to whether the tone of such is adverse, or expresses opposition and/or shows an unfavorable tone towards that concept. If that is the case, then the coder will mark accordingly.

## **Concepts Used in the Study**

Anniversary of Chilean Coup: The concept of the “Anniversary of the Chilean Coup”

applies to headlines tied to the Chilean Coup, its occurrences, celebrations, abolishment, remembrances, etc. The headline must mention the Anniversary of the coup as a straight reference, or as a mention of its commemoration or remembrance — whether it is in a positive or negative light.

Chilean Economy: The concept of “Chilean Economy” is applied to headlines that relate

to the economy in Chile, the country’s financial situation, its international treaties and trade, and governmental figures, such as some members of cabinet, who were in charge or heading Chile’s economy. The headlines must either mention the Chilean economy directly or refer to it by naming other activities and establishments related to the economy in Chile. Common features of these headlines include international or national organizations such as Chile’s Central Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank.

Chilean Military: The concept of “Chilean military” applies to headlines that are tied in

some way to the Chilean Military, its members, its actions, and its governmental affiliates. The headline must mention the military as a whole or refer to a public and or political figure that is part of the military, or is strongly associated with it and its governmental dealings.

Church/Religious Figures: The concept of “Church/Religious Figures” is related to Chile

and its religious scenario based on its political scheme. It is mostly related to Catholicism and the role the Catholic Church played during the 1973-2007 period.

Therefore, when the headline refers to Church/Religious figures, it must refer to it in a straightforward fashion and/or also mention likewise concepts such as the celebration of mass and prayer or religious figures like the pope or cardinals.

Democracy: The concept of “Democracy” refers to headlines referring to democracy in Chile and is related to the liberal sense of the definition of democracy. Therefore, when the headline refers to democracy it must refer to free and fair elections and/or an open market economy. The headlines must mention democracy in a straightforward fashion, or do so through suggesting concepts of elections, governmental checks, and balances, or power of people.

Dictatorship: The concept of “Dictatorship” refers to dictatorship in Chile and is related to an overbearing and controlling type of government. Therefore, when the headline refers to dictatorship, it must refer to it in a straightforward fashion and/or also mention likewise concepts such as authoritarianism, totalitarianism, tyranny or autocratic governance and or public figures (international or national) that are related to such.

Marxism (communism): The concept of “Marxism” is related to Chile and its political scenario and refers to the political left. The concept is connected to the rule of the proletariat, state ownership of entities and sectors of the economy and especially, the government of Salvador Allende. Therefore, when the headline refers to Marxism, it must refer to it in a straightforward fashion and/or also mention likewise concepts such as socialism, Leninism, totalitarianism and or public figures (international or national) that are in connection to such.

Pinochet: The concept of “Pinochet” applies to headlines that mention Augusto Pinochet as a leader of the Chilean Government, the leader of the Chilean Armed forces and the previous leader of the country (Chile). The headline must mention Pinochet either by name or by the use of the phrase “His Excellency.” A headline must refer to Pinochet, his command, and or his governance to belong to the concept.

Repression by Government: The concept of repression by government is related to Chile and the political and cultural context of the era. It is related to oppression and suppression by government. Therefore, when the headline refers to repression by government, it must refer to it in a straightforward fashion and/or also mention likewise concepts such as governmental control and restraint.

Russia/USSR Allies: The concept of “Russia/USSR Allies” is applied to headlines that relate to the countries that are politically or militarily aligned with Russia/USSR. The headlines must mention allies to Russia/USSR such as Cuba or Poland in a straightforward fashion or refer to any type of political, economic, or sociological occurrence related to a Russia/USSR-ally nation. In addition to that, the headline could also contain descriptions of acts performed by well-known politicians, scientists, and even artists who are nationals of countries that are Russia/USSR allied.

Russia/USSR: The concept of Russia/USSR is applied to headlines that relate to Russia/USSR and its politics, especially in cases when such politics, affect Chile and the Chilean political sphere. The headlines must mention Russia/USSR in a

straightforward fashion or refer to any type of Russian/USSR political, economic, or sociological occurrence. In addition to that, the headline could also contain descriptions of acts performed by well-known Russian/USSR politicians, scientists, and even artists.

United States Allies: The concept of “United States Allies” is directly related to that of “United States” and is applied to headlines that relate to the countries that are politically or militarily aligned with it. The headlines may also refer to any type of political, economic, or sociological occurrence related to a U.S.-allied nation. In addition, the headline could also contain descriptions of acts performed by well-known politicians, scientists, and even artists who are nationals of countries that are American allied.

United States: This category applied to headlines tied to the United States and its politics, especially in cases when such politics affect Chile and the Chilean political sphere. The headlines must mention the United States in a straightforward fashion or refer to any type of American political, economic, or sociological occurrence. In addition to that, the headline could also contain descriptions of acts performed by well-known American politicians, scientists, and even artists.

### **Coding Photographs**

The Library Metadata section of Adobe Photoshop Lightroom database was used for organizing, cropping, and labeling the *El Mercurio* photographs. IBM SPSS Statistics version 22 was used to do content analysis. Two tests were conducted: a Frequency and a

Crosstab test, to answer the research questions (for a complete statistical analysis of the Frequency and the Crosstab see Appendix II). Nominal variables: N/A, yes and no were used to identify the frames of the study. Also, open-ended questions were used to identify other possible frames. When questions started with “If,” the coders had the choice to use N/A (Non-applicable). Also, when a question was an open-ended question the respondent also had the choice of N/A (Non- Applicable or not available).

This study used content analysis to investigate the frames used on *El Mercurio*'s front-page photographs. The photographs were organized by year, from 1973 to 2007; each cover had more than one picture; each picture was numbered from 1 to 284 and coded by its frames. The purpose of this part of the study was to establish how the photographs were used to frame the dictatorship and the transition to the democracy (the political period that followed).

“Coding means attaching a set of descriptive labels (or categories) to the images” (Gillian Rose, 2012, p. 90). Glaser and Strauss (1967: 101f) proposed the possibility of coding data with the goal of testing research questions that have been generated by prior theory; the codes are proposed by the theory in form of variables (Babbie, 2011, p. 397). The frames in this cases work as variables. Category frames were developed relative to the theoretical concerns, in this case how the propaganda techniques were used in the photographs during the dictatorship and after. Obviously, the categories created were more interpretive than objective.

The examination of the photographs used in this study included the use of content analysis using framing theory. Framing theory states that the media drives the public's



attention to established topics; the media determines public opinion about various issues through the journalists' choice of topics. Framing theory focuses on how and in what context, content is chosen (University of Twente, Para. 3).

Framing theory is derived from Agenda Setting theory. More things happen than those that are reported as news; some topics are selected for presentation and some are not. However, the way the news is delivered is as important as the frame chosen by the journalists. Thus, the frame is also the mechanism that media gatekeepers use in order to show the news that they want to cover. Frames are abstract concepts used to shape the social context. Frames affect the public's notion of what the news is and which news is important. Framing theory holds that the audience is not only told what to think but how think about it (University of Twente, Para.3).

Entman (1993) said that the process of framing news implies two aspects; selection and salience. Selection means that journalists direct the attention to some aspects of reality in their coverage and by doing so they are omitting other aspects. Therefore, frames are not only the items or issues that were included but also those that were left out (Diana Von Biseck, 2008, p. 9). Salient means making the news or photographs more striking and significant for the audiences. Entman said that by putting emphasis on some aspects of the information they present and not others, journalists are raising their salience. He defined the nature of framing as "sizing," which amplifies or reduces the elements that show reality, making them more or less salient but also puts emphasis on some elements more than others do (Von Biseck, 2008, p. 11).

William Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld (1993) explained the significance of how frames are arranged regarding social movements relative to times of conflict as based on relationships. They argued that movements required more media than the status quo, and for this reason, media control can determine the success of a social movement (Von Biseck, 2008, p. 12). Movements require media for three reasons: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement. The media plays an important role in the success of a social movement because the media decides what to print, what sources to use, and how to frame the issues (Von Biseck, 2008, p. 12).

During times of conflict, framing theory argues that news coverage can influence public opinion by supporting specific definitions and the interpretation of political issues. “By selecting some aspects of war reality — such as military success — and ignoring other aspects — such as anti-war-protest — the media constrains audience interpretations” (Von Biseck, 2008, p. 22). For example, the knowledge gained by presenting or viewing photographs of the Chilean coup had an impact on Chilean’s understanding of and ability to learn about the conflict, which affected their attitudes toward the coup. Throughout the course of a conflict, the news coverage tends to show what is evident in the relationship between the media and the government or the political elite (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005, p. 405). The Chilean coup is an example of how military and government policies limited news reporting.

According to Lully Rodriguez and Daniela Dimitrova (2011) in framing theory, most studies are concerned with the examination of media texts and that visual images are to some extent, still unexplored. Rodriguez and Dimitrova proposed four levels of

visual framing analysis when doing visual research; visuals as denotative systems, visuals as stylistic semiotic systems, visuals as connotative systems and visuals as ideological representations. Visuals elements of a photograph, as ideological representations are the most pertinent for the purposes of this study. To study frames at this level, Panofsky (1970) said to find the hidden principles that disclose the basic attitudes of a nation, period, class, or a religious or philosophical persecution. In this approach, the symbols and the stylistic attributes of a photograph are closely related to a logical understanding that gives the “why,” behind whatever is portrayed and being analyzed (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 57).

Scholars have noted that those in search of frames as ideological representations look for answers to questions about access and ideology (Lulu Rodriguez & Daniela Dimitrova, 2011, p. 57). In other words, which group’s interests are being served by these representations? Which patterns predominate? These questions are not only concerned with the political or economic issues but also with how the images are used as tools to shape the public’s awareness and historical perception (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 58). The frames to code the photographs were created using this approach.

The categories of this content analysis were chosen to describe both objective (e.g. date of the publication, placement on the page, presence of a caption with the image) and subjective elements (e.g. frames). (A complete coding guide and coding sheet is shown in Appendix I.)

Content was chosen as the main element in a photograph; however, in some cases, more than one frame will fit one photograph; in those cases, the other frames were not

excluded. Also in those cases that were not clear the coder read the caption, headline and even the text to get cues about what was shown in the picture. This might have occurred, for example, with images of people who could not be identified unless the coder knew or read their names. Since no previous study of *El Mercurio* existed, frames were created according to the theoretical concerns, in order to identify the propaganda techniques used in the newspaper. Some of the frames were given the names of familiar propaganda techniques to help the reader to identify them. The coding standards for the theme frames used in coding the photographs depend on the following definitions of frames. (For further clarification on how each question used each frame, see the photographs coding guide shown in Appendix I.)

### **Frames**

*Anti-Government Activity (not protest related)*: This frame refers to cases in which activities against the government were shown in the picture, but had nothing to do with protest or direct violence against the government. This frame is related to acts of underground activity against the Chilean activities such as covert action by rebels/insurgents. For example, photos that contain espionage activities such as the hiding of weapons to be used against the government should be marked as anti-government activity that is not protest related.

*Anti-Government Protests*: This frame emphasized the opposition to the dictatorship in Chile or abroad, as people in either violent or peaceful protests expressed it.

*Bandwagon:* This frame reinforced the idea that people should and could join the victorious side. This frame consisted largely of crowds celebrating, showing their patriotism by raising or waving the Chilean flag or other patriotic symbols. The presence of more than two people was considered necessary to imply a crowd. This frame also included people celebrating the Chilean Independence Day by dressing in traditional costumes.

*Military Figures of Power:* The focus of this frame was to show the strength of the army and to demonstrate the good that the army did in the country; it usually consisted of photographs that showed army personnel or officers being rewarded for their performances; or the display of new equipment possessed or recently purchased by the army. This frame included Pinochet as a central figure, only when he was surrounded by military figures.

*Other Categories:* This frame is provided for photographs that were not found in the other categories; it includes images of sporting and entertainment, as well as natural disasters.

*Pinochet as a Hero:* This frame emphasized Pinochet as a man who was admired for his courage, fighting for the good of the nation; having saved the country from the evil influences of fascism or socialism, by giving back to the poor. This frame includes images of Pinochet standing alone or with other civilians; but does not include him shown with military figures.

*Police Violence:* This frame emphasized the presence of the police who were shown either in conflict with identified criminals, working a crime scene, or as wounded heroes.

*Religious Figures:* This frame emphasized the presence of religious figures that showed allegiance to or sympathies for the military regime and the overthrow of the Allende government. However, the frame also involves pictures of foreign notables who agreed with the Pinochet regime. Religious figures were usually shown at events commemorating the September 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary; Pinochet was often shown as part of those ceremonies.

*Right-Wing vs. Left-Wing Politics:* This frame placed emphasis on the political leaders by showing them at events, or as political candidates.

*Soviet/Russian and Allies:* This frame refers to mentions and presence of the Soviet/Russian and/or allies in *El Mercurio*. Showing Soviet/Russian government figures or government leaders of allied nations depicts such presence. For example, images that show Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders should be noticed as having the presence of Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders.

*United States and Allies:* This frame refers to the presence of United States in the newspaper; by showing government figures from the United States or by covering the events they attended. Also, some images showed American leaders either sympathizing with Chilean government officials or making allusions to or statements about the Chilean economy.

## CHAPTER 3

### FINDINGS

This thesis studied the media coverage of *El Mercurio*'s front page on two particular days — September 11 and 12 — over the course of 35 years. These two days were chosen because both days commemorate the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> in Chile. The goal of this thesis was to be able to respond to the research questions; these were first: Did *El Mercurio* continue to support the military regime and/or its figures in its coverage even after the dictatorship ended?

Second, which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in their headlines to uphold the dictatorship and what tone was used? Third, which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in its photographs to uphold the dictatorship and to suppress information about government oppression? Fourth, to see if after Pinochet's rule, did the number of photographs in *El Mercurio* that featured violence increase or decrease?

The goal of this study was to reveal the propaganda techniques and themes that were recurrent during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy two important political periods of the Chilean history. As previously discussed, this study used IBM SPSS Statistics version 22 to analyze the data collected. Two tests were conducted to respond the research questions developed: A frequency that revealed which concepts or frames were constantly repeated in the newspaper; and a crosstab analysis that could determine whether the coverage changed over time and if so, how. The headlines and photographs were reviewed separately. However, some research questions used both headlines and photographs.

## **Analysis of Headlines**

**RQ1.** Did *El Mercurio* continue to support the Chilean military and its leaders, in its coverage even after the dictatorship ended?

Two variables were considered in order to analyze this research question: First the Chilean military; and second Augusto Pinochet, the commander-in-chief of the Chilean army from 1973 to 1998. Also, the percentages explained below, were not rounded. This approach was used to avoid confusing the reader, thus the findings reported, look the same as the frequencies or crosstabs test in Appendix II.

In the study, coders were asked to identify the tone of the “Chilean Military” on a six-point scale from negative to positive and non-applicable; in the SPSS this variable was labeled the “ChileanMili7” variable. This ordinal variable implies an order; but the scale scores have no absolute value. Value was given only by the order assigned to it. However, the only way to interpret the scores in this case, is in a relative sense; the study suggests that the higher the score, the higher the favorability or negatively of the tone in the headline (David Vaus, 2011, p. 131). First, the descriptive was used to summarize the counts and percentages of the variables that were related to the research question, with the goal of determining the tone of the headlines in relation to the Chilean military.

The ChileanMili7 variable included 44 headlines as shown in table 1 (here the percentages and values shown, are listed from the highest percentage to the lowest percentage). The variable measured 72.7 percent, representing 32 headlines as positive; followed by 9.1 percent, representing 4 headlines as negative; 6.8 percent, representing



3 headlines as neutral; 6.8 percent as slightly positive; 4.5 percent, representing 2 headlines as slightly negative; and 84.5 representing 240 percent, that were non-applicable, because they were not related to the Chilean Military concept (thus, the respondent had the choice to mark them as non-applicable). The overall tone of the newspaper was favorable to the Chilean military.

The total number of headlines found related to the Chilean military was 15.5 percent, out of the 284 total number of headlines analyzed in this study. In other words out of 284 headlines, 32 of the 44 headlines under the Chilean military concept, were found to have a positive tone toward the military. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.) The median was 5.0000, which represents an average value in the middle in the data set; the mode was 5.00, the most frequent occurring attribute in our data set, in this case is a positive result.

TABLE 1: Frequency distribution of Chilean military variable

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Negative	4	1.4	9.1	9.1
	Slightly Negative	2	.7	4.5	13.6
	Neutral	3	1.1	6.8	20.5
	Slightly Positive	3	1.1	6.8	27.3
	Positive	32	11.3	72.7	100.0
	Total	44	15.5	100.0	
Missing	N/A	240	84.5		
Total		284	100.0		

Second crosstab analysis was conducted in order to understand whether *El Mercurio* continued its support for the Chilean Military after the dictatorship ended. The cross-tabulation analysis is often used to show whether two variables are related to each other (David Vaus, 2011, p.287). The independent variable (the cause) in this case was time, represented by the variable labeled “DictorTrans3” to represent the two political periods: The dictatorship (1973-1990); or the transition to democracy (1991-2007) that were of interest in this study and compared with the dependent (effect) variable called “ChileanMili7” created to identify any significant differences over time with respect to the “Chilean Military7” tone evident in *El Mercurio*. &

The crosstab measured 81.3 percent, representing 26 coded as positive headlines out of the 32 headlines during the dictatorship and 18.8 percent, representing 6 coded as positive headlines out of the 12 headlines during the transition to democracy; meaning that the frequency of the Chilean Military headlines decreased during the second period. A Chi-Square was performed to determine if the distribution of the Chilean Military headlines, between the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. If the calculated chi-square value is less than the 0.05 value, it is significant. If the value is greater than that value, it is not significant.

The result was  $p = .018$  thus it is significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, it may be concluded that the number of headlines in relationship to the military, that were found having a positive tone decreased after the dictatorship ended. (The complete Crosstab test is shown on Appendix II.)

A second variable in the study was Pinochet; the coder was asked to identify the

Pinochet variable tone on a six-point scale from negative to positive and non-applicable; this variable was named in the SPSS as the “Pinochet9” variable. The name of this ordinal variable also implies order, as did the previous variable. First, a frequency was conducted to summarize the count and percentages of the variables that were related to the research question with the goal of determining the tone of the headlines in relationship to Pinochet.

The “Pinochet9” variable measured 56 headlines as shown in table 2 (here the percentages and values shown, are listed from the highest percentage to the lowest percentage). Also, the headlines that were not found in this test for this specific case, were excluded by the IBM SPSS statistic program automatically.

For example no slightly positive or negatives were found, thus the program did not count them. The frequency measured 94.6 percent, representing 53 headlines as positive; followed by 3.6 percent, representing 2 headlines as a slightly negative; 1.8 percent representing one headline as neutral; and 80.3 percent representing 228 headlines that were non-applicable because they weren’t related to the Pinochet concept and the respondent had the choice to mark them as non-applicable.

The total number of headlines found that were related to Pinochet represented 19.7 percent of the 284 headlines that were coded in this part of the study. The overall tone of the newspaper was favorable towards Pinochet by 94.6 percent; this represents 18.7 percent out of 19.7 of the total number of headlines that were coded, as related to Pinochet. In other words, there were 284 headlines; 53 headlines out of 56 headlines (94.6 percent) are 18.7 percent of the total number of (284) headlines in the study; and

these were found to have a positive tone toward the military. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II). The median was 5.0000, this represents an average value in the middle in the data set; and the mode was 5.00, the most frequently occurring attribute in the data set and in this case it represents a positive finding

TABLE 2: Frequency distribution of the Pinochet variable

Pinochet (Pinochet9)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Slightly Negative	2	.7	3.6	3.6
	Neutral	1	.4	1.8	5.4
	Positive	53	18.7	94.6	100.0
	Total	56	19.7	100.0	
Missing	N/A	228	80.3		
Total		284	100.0		

A second crosstab analysis was conducted to understand whether *El Mercurio* continued to support Pinochet after the dictatorship had ended. The independent variable (the cause) in this case was time; characterized by the variable labeled “DictorTrans3,” it embodies the two political periods of the Dictatorship (1973-1990) or the Transition to democracy (1991-2007) that were of interest in this study and the dependent (effect) variable called “Pinochet9” that aims to identify any significant differences over time with respect to the “Pinochet” tone.

The crosstab test measured 88.7 percent, representing 47 headlines coded as

positive during the dictatorship; and 11.3 percent, representing six headlines coded as positive out of the 9 headlines, during the transition to democracy.

This means that the frequency of the Pinochet headlines decreased during the second period. A Chi-Square test was performed to determine the distribution of the Pinochet headlines between the dictatorship and transition to democracy. If the calculated chi-square value is less than the 0 .05 value, it was significant. If the value is greater than that value, it was not significant. The result was  $p = .000$  thus it was very significant.

The relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, the number of headlines in relationship to the Pinochet variable could be to have a positive tone, decreased after the dictatorship ended (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.) Finally, both of the variables tested “ChileanMili7” and “Pinochet9” were found positive as shown in chart 1; however, after the dictatorship ended the percentages of positive headlines decreased during the transition to democracy as shown in chart 2.

CHART 1.

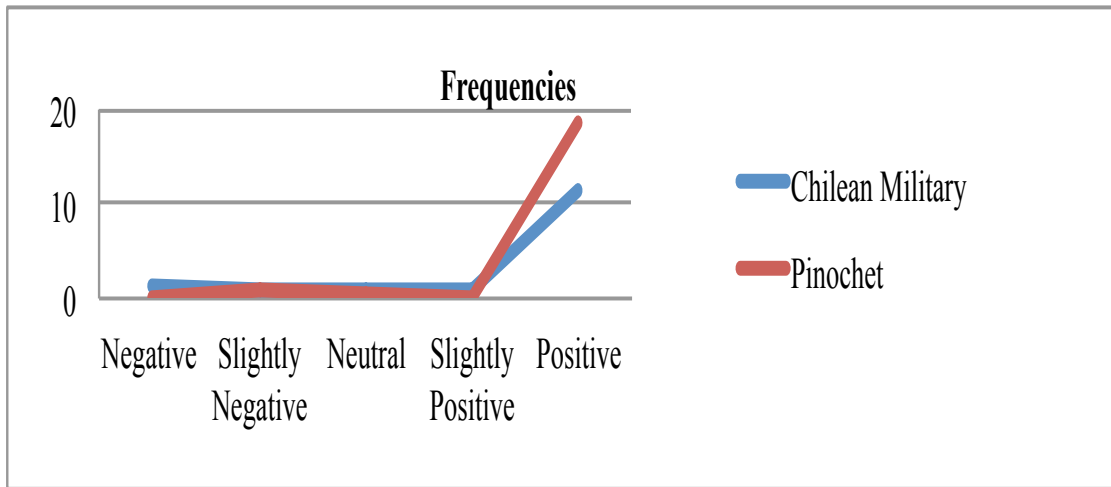
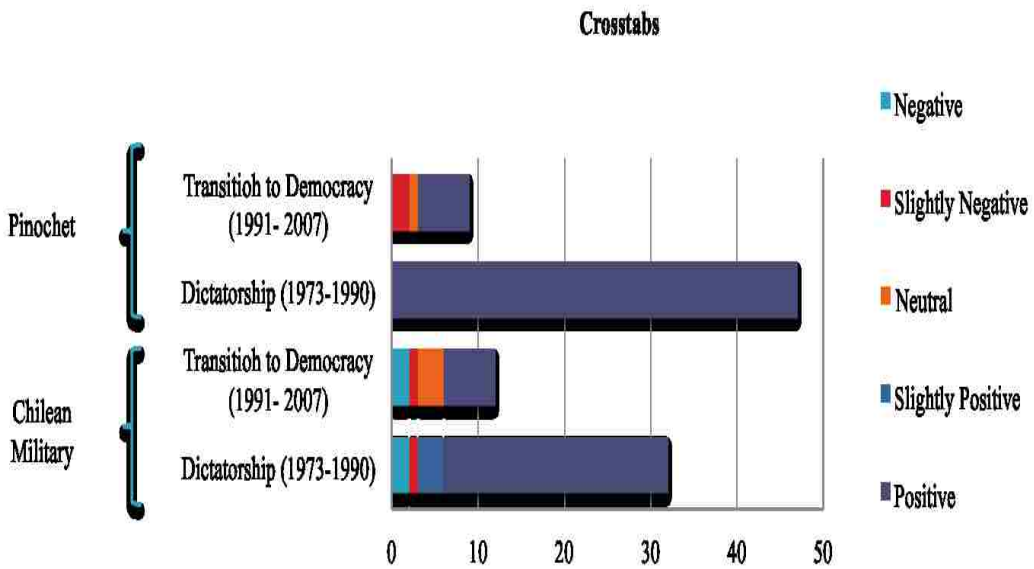


CHART 2.



**RQ2.** Which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in their headlines to uphold the dictatorship and what was the tone utilized and how this changed over time?

To analyze this second research question, 13 concepts were coded into 22 variables; of the variables that were coded, only variables in the top ten percent of the results were discussed. Also, the percentages explained below will not be rounded; the intention of this is to not confuse the reader, thus the results remain exactly the same as they appear in the frequencies or crosstabs recorded in Appendix II.

A frequency analysis and crosstabs test were conducted in order to code the presence and the distribution of the concepts during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy, to understand which propaganda techniques used by *El Mercurio*. The variables results in the frequency are shown from the highest to the lowest percentages of the total number of coded headlines.

The “Pinochet9” (Pinochet) variable measured 56 headlines as shown in table 2. This was 19.7 percent out of 100 percent of the entire study. This variable was the one that measured the highest in number of headlines related to Pinochet. As previously mentioned in Table 2, the tone toward Pinochet was extremely positive in *El Mercurio*; 94.6 percent of the headlines, or 53 headlines, were coded as positive; this is 18.7 percent of the total study (284 headlines). (The frequency is shown on Appendix II.)

The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .000$  it was very significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, it could be argued that positive messages toward Pinochet was one of the main propaganda techniques, used by the paper during the dictatorship; however, the number of positive headlines decreased during the

transition to democracy period. (The complete Crosstab test is shown on Appendix II.)

The “ChileanEconomy10” (Chilean economy) variable measured a total 52 headlines as shown in table 3. This is 18.3 percent of 100 percent of the entire study. This variable measured the second largest number of headlines related to the Chilean economy. The “ChileanEconomy10” variable measured 36.5 percent, representing 19 headlines as positive; and 36.5 percent, representing 19 headlines as slightly positive. This means that the majority of the headlines were favorable toward the Chilean economy (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 3: Frequency distribution of the Chilean economy variable

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Negative	3	1.1	5.8	5.8
	Slightly Negative	9	3.2	17.3	23.1
	Neutral	2	.7	3.8	26.9
	Slightly Positive	19	6.7	36.5	63.5
	Positive	19	6.7	36.5	100.0
	Total	52	18.3	100.0	
Missing	N/A	232	81.7		
Total		284	100.0		

Also, the Chilean economy positive headlines went from 100 percent, representing 19 headlines during the dictatorship; to 0.0 percent representing 0 headlines, during the transition to democracy; and Chilean economy slightly positive, from 73.7 percent,



representing 14 headlines during the dictatorship; to 26.3 percent, representing 5 headlines during the transition to democracy; this means that the favorable headlines, that mentioned the Chilean economy decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .000$  it was strongly significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, it might be argued that the paper often treated the Chilean economy with a positive tone during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown on Appendix II.)

The “AniverCoup8” (Anniversary of the coup) variable were found in the headlines measured a total of 46 headlines as shown in table 4. This is 16.2 percent of all headlines. This variable was the third highest percentage in the number of headlines; meaning more headlines were found related to the anniversary of the coup. The “AniverCoup8” measured 78.3 percent, which represented 36 headlines coded as positive among the headlines found related to the anniversary; and this was 12.7 of the entire study. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 4: Frequency distribution of the anniversary of the coup variable

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Negative	4	1.4	8.7	8.7
	Slightly Negative	4	1.4	8.7	17.4
	Neutral	2	.7	4.3	21.7
	Positive	36	12.7	78.3	100.0
	Total	46	16.2	100.0	
Missing	N/A	238	83.8		
Total		284	100.0		

Also, of the anniversary of the coup positive headlines, 75 percent represented 27 headlines during the dictatorship, to 25 percent representing 9 headlines, during the transition to democracy; this means that the positive headlines that mentioned the anniversary of the coup decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .001$  it was significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, the higher percentage of headlines that mentioned the anniversary of the coup were positive in their tone during the dictatorship (The complete crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

The “ChileanMili7” (Chilean military) variable measured 44 headlines as it was shown before in Table 1. This was 15.5 percent of 100 percent of the entire study of headlines. This variable was the fourth highest percentage in the number of headlines; this means that headlines were found related to the Chilean military. The “ChileanMili7” measured 72.7 percent, which represented 32 headlines coded as positive among the headlines found related to the Chilean military; and this is 11.3 of

the entire study. (For the frequency, see Appendix II.)

Also, the Chilean military positive headlines ranged from 81.3 percent, representing 26 headlines during the dictatorship; to 18.8 percent, representing 6 headlines during the transition to democracy; this means that the positive headlines that mentioned the Chilean military, decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .018$ , it was significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, the higher percentage of headlines that mentioned the Chilean military were positive during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.) Thus, it could be argued the Chilean military; with a positive tone was one of techniques used by the paper during the dictatorship.

The “UnitedStates11” (United States) variable measured 32 headlines this is 11.3 percent of 100 percent of the entire study of headlines as shown in table 5. This variable was the fifth highest percentage in the number of headlines; this means that headlines were found that mentioned or related to The United States. The “UnitedStates11” measured 46.9 percent, which represents 15 headlines coded as positive among the headlines found related to The United States; and this is 5.3 of the entire study. This was closely followed by 40.6 percent, representing 13 headlines as neutral; and this was 4.6 out of the entire study. Still, the positive headlines were the highest percentage. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 5: Frequency distribution of the United States variable

United States (UnitedStates11)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Slightly Negative	2	.7	6.3	6.3
	Neutral	13	4.6	40.6	46.9
	Slightly Positive	2	.7	6.3	53.1
	Positive	15	5.3	46.9	100.0
	Total	32	11.3	100.0	
Missing	N/A	252	88.7		
Total		284	100.0		

Also, The United States positive headlines ranged from 46.7 percent, representing 7 headlines during the dictatorship, to 53.3 percent, representing 8 headlines during the transition to democracy; this means that the positive headlines that mentioned The United States, slightly increased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .644$  it was not significant; the relationship among the categories was not significant. Thus, the changes in the distribution among the categories were not significant. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.) However, it could be argued that the presence of The United States variable in the newspaper remained steady among both positive and neutral tones, during both terms without significant affect attached to the number of times; meaning either the decrease or increase was not significant.

Finally, of all of the variables tested “Pinochet9,” “ChileanEconomy10,” “AniverCoup8,” “ChileanMili7,” and “UnitedStates11” represented the highest

percentages found in the study of headlines, respectively. Also, of the variables coded these showed the largest percentages in the positive category as shown in chart 3. In four out of the five instances, after the dictatorship ended the percentages of positive headlines decreased, during the transition to democracy as shown in chart 4. The “UnitedStates11” variable was the only one found to be non- significant in relationship to the number of headlines that increased or decreased during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy.

CHART 3.

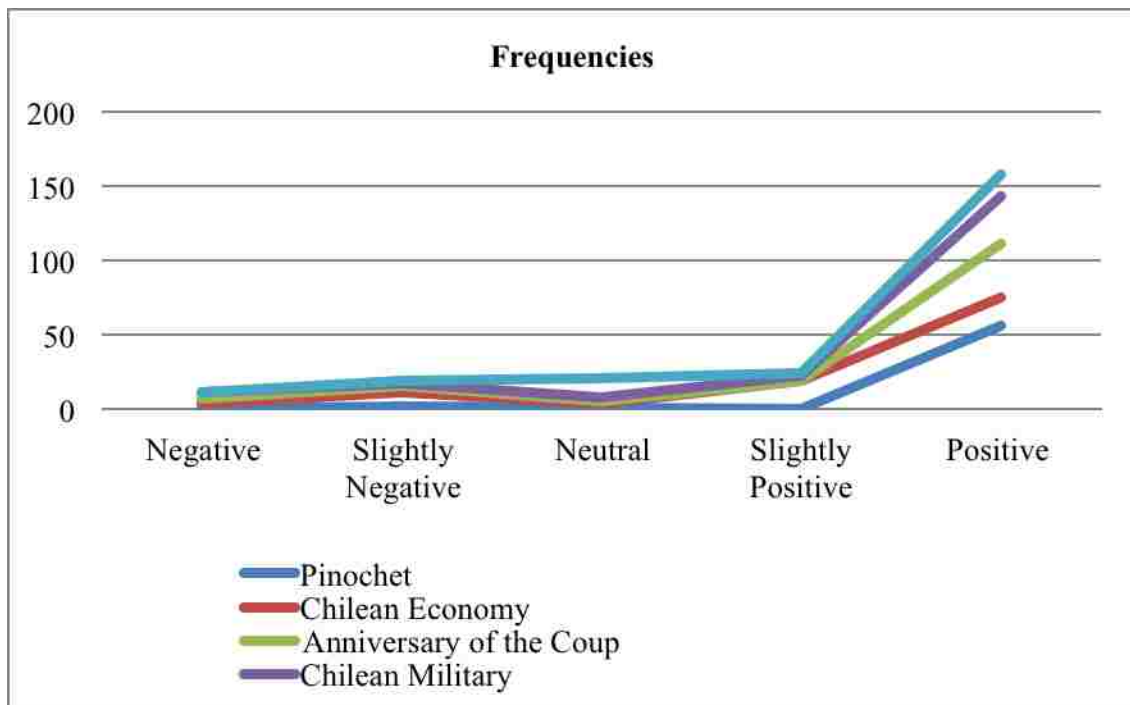
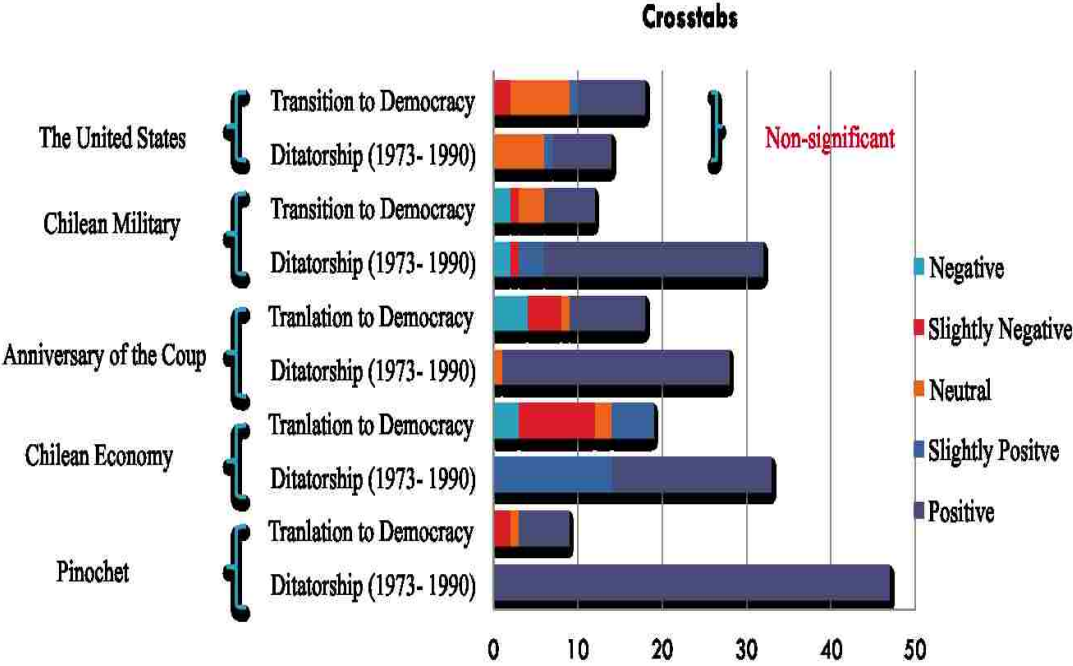


CHART 4.



### **Analysis of Photographs**

**RQ3.** Which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use in their photographs to support the dictatorship and how did these change over time?

To analyze this research question, 11 frames were created. The frames served as the variables; 37 questions were asked to find out which variables were recurrent themes. Of those variables coded only the top ten percent of the results coded, as “yes” were discussed. Those items coded as no or non-applicable were not explained because the goal was to find which frames were used repeatedly in *El Mercurio*.

The variables will be shown in order from the highest to the lowest percentages, only in specific cases when one question is a part of another question, will they be shown together or one beneath the other. Also, the percentages that are explained below are not rounded so that the findings remain look exactly the same as in the frequencies or crosstabs tests shown in Appendix II. A frequency and a crosstab test were conducted, to code the frames or variables that where constantly repeated in the newspaper and to learn how they were allocated during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy, to understand, which propaganda techniques did *El Mercurio* use. In the study the coder was asked to identify the frames of the photographs on a nominal scale from yes/no and in certain, cases non-applicable was also available.

In the frequency test, the “Bandwagoncrowd18” (Bandwagon frame) variable measured a total of 21.7 percent; this represented 50 pictures coded as “yes,” of 100 percent of the entire study of photographs (230 photographs) as shown in table 6. This variable was the highest percentage in the number of photographs; this means that more

photographs than any others were coded as bandwagon. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 6: Frequency distribution of the “Bandwagoncrowd18” variable

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	50	21.7	21.7	21.7
	No	180	78.3	78.3	100.0
Total		230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test, the “Bandwagoncrowd18” photographs ranged from 74 percent, representing 37 photographs during the dictatorship; to 26 percent, representing 13 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the photographs that were coded “yes” indicated that there was a decrease in the bandwagon variable frame during the second term.

The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .002$  it was significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, higher percentage of photographs coded as Bandwagon appeared during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

The “BandwagonAlliance21” variable is related to the bandwagon frame and to the previous question. In this case, however, the coder was asked to focus on whether the crowd demonstrated its allegiance to the Chilean government. This variable



measured 89.8 percent; this represented 44 pictures coded as “yes” or 19.1 percent of the entire study as shown in table 7. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 7: Frequency distribution of the “BandwagonAlliance21” variable

If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government (BandwagonAlliance21)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	44	19.1	89.8	89.8
	No	5	2.2	10.2	100.0
	Total	49	21.3	100.0	
Missing	N/A	181	78.7		
Total		230	100.0		

In the crosstabs test, the “Bandwagoncrowd21” photographs ranged from 81.8 percent, representing 36 photographs during the dictatorship to 18.2 percent, representing 8 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that among the photographs that were coded “yes” the bandwagon effect that shows an allegiance to the Chilean government decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .034$  it was significant. Thus, the relationship among the categories was significant and higher percentage of photographs coded as Bandwagon in allegiance to the Chilean government appeared during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

In the “Militaryfig8” (Military Figures frame) variable the frequency measured a total of 21.3 percent, this represents 49 pictures coded as “yes,” of the 100 percent of the entire study of photographs as shown in table 8. This variable was the second highest percentage in the number of photographs; this means photographs that were coded within the military figures frame. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 8: Frequency distribution of the “Militaryfig8” variable

Existence of military figures of power (Militaryfig8)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	49	21.3	21.3	21.3
No	181	78.7	78.7	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “Militaryfig8” photographs ranged from 83.7 percent, representing 41 photographs during the dictatorship, to 16.3 percent, representing 8 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that among the photographs that were coded as “yes” there is a military figure of power frame that decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .000$  it was strongly significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus the higher percentage of photographs coded with as Military figures of power frame appeared during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

The “Pinochet9” variable is also related to the Military Figures of Power frame and to the previous question. In this case, however, the coder was asked specifically to look for the presence of Pinochet as a central figure among the Military Figures of Power Frame. This variable measured 20.0 percent that represented 46 pictures coded as “yes,” of the 100 percent of the entire study as shown in table 9. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 9: Frequency distribution of the “Pinochet9” variable

Pinochet included among the military figures of power (Pinochet9)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	46	20.0	20.0	20.0
No	184	80.0	80.0	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “Pinochet9” photographs ranged from 84.8 percent representing 39 photographs during the dictatorship, to 15.2 percent, representing 7 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that among the photographs that were coded as “yes” that the presence of Pinochet as a central figure among the Military Figures of Power Frame, decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p=.000$  it was strongly significant. The relationship among the categories

was significant. Thus, the higher percentage of photographs coded with Pinochet as a central figure among the Military Figures of Power Frame appeared during the dictatorship. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

The “Pinochethero10” variable is a related to the Military Figures of Power frame, Pinochet as a heron frame and to the previous question. In this case, however, the coder was asked specifically to see if Pinochet was shown as a hero. This variable measured 59.2 percent, this represented 29 pictures, coded as “yes,” this was 12.6 percent of the 100 percent of entire study as shown in table 10. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 10: Frequency distribution of the “Pinochethero10” variable

If so, Pinochet shown as hero (Pinochethero10)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	12.6	59.2	59.2
	No	20	8.7	40.8	100.0
	Total	49	21.3	100.0	
Missing	N/A	181	78.7		
	Total	230	100.0		

In the crosstabs test the “Pinocheherot10” photographs ranged from 79.3 percent, representing 23 photographs during the dictatorship, to 20.7 percent, representing 6 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the photographs that

were coded as “yes” in which Pinochet is shown as a hero among the Military Figures of Power Frame, decreased during the second term. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .613$  this was not significant. The relationship among the categories was not significant. Even where, there were a higher percentage of photographs coded as Pinochet as hero that appeared during the dictatorship and the number decreased during the transition in comparison with the other categories this relationship was not significant. When the chi-square is less than .05, there is not a significant relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Thus, the relationship among the variables was not substantial. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

In the “ReligiousFig13” (Religious Figures frame) variable the frequency measured a total of 12.2 percent; this represented 28 pictures coded as “yes,” of the 100 percent of the entire study of photographs as shown in table 11. This is the third highest variable percentage among the photographs that were coded as belonging to the religious figures frame. (For the frequency, see Appendix II.)

TABLE 11: Frequency distribution of the “ReligiousFig13” variable

Religious figures depicted in photo (ReligiousFig13)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	28	12.2	12.2	12.2
No	202	87.8	87.8	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “ReligiousFig13” photographs ranged from 60.7 percent, representing 17 photographs during the dictatorship, to 39.3 percent, representing 11 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the photographs that were coded as “yes,” or as religious decreased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .470$  this was not significant; the relationship among the categories was significant.

Even when, there were a higher percentage of photographs coded as religious figures that appeared during the dictatorship and the number decreased during the transition in comparison with the other categories, this relationship wasn’t significant. When the chi-square is less than .05, there is not a significant relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Thus, the relationship among the variables was not substantial. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

In the “Rightwing11” (Right-Wing versus Left- Wing Political frame) variable, the question looked to determine if right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders were depicted in the photograph. The frequency measured 11.7 percent; this represented 27 pictures coded as “yes,” of the 100 percent of the entire study of

photographs as shown in table 12. This is the fourth largest variable percentage among the photographs. This means that photographs were found under this frame depicted Right- wing political leaders. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 12: Frequency distribution of the “Rightwing11” variable

Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted (Rightwing11)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	27	11.7	11.7	11.7
	No	203	88.3	88.3	100.0
	Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “Rightwing11” photographs ranged from 55.6 percent, representing 15 photographs during the dictatorship, to 44.4 percent, representing 12 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the photographs that were coded as “yes” with right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted in the photographs, decreased during the second term.

The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .893$  this was not significant; the relationship among the categories was not significant. Thus, even when, a greater percentage of photographs coded with right-wing political leaders appeared during the dictatorship and the number decreased during the transition. In comparison with the other categories, this relationship wasn’t significant. When the chi-square is less than .05,

there is not a significant relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Thus, the relationship among the categories was not substantial. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

In the “Antigovprotest23” (Anti-government Protest frame) variable measured 10 percent; this represented 23 pictures coded as “yes,” of all numbers of photographs as shown in table 13. This variable was the fifth largest percentage among the photographs that were coded as belonging to the Antigovernment Protest frame. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 13: Frequency distribution of the “Antigovprotest23” variable

Anti-government protests depicted (Antigovprotest23)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	10.0	10.0	10.0
	No	207	90.0	90.0	100.0
	Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “Antigovprotest23” photographs ranged from 4.3 percent, representing one photograph during the dictatorship, to 95.7 percent, representing 22 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the photographs that were coded “yes” and that showed antigovernment protests in the photograph, increased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .000$  this was strongly significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, the greater percentage of photographs coded with Military figures of power frame



increased during the transition to democracy. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

Finally, all of the variables tested “Bandwagoncrowd18,” “BandwagoncrowdAlliance21,” “Militaryfig8,” “Pinocet9,” “Pinocheherot10,” “ReligiousFig13,” “Rightwing11,” “Antigovprotest23,” were found to have the largest percentage among the 11 frames as shown in chart 5. Also, this corresponded to five frames that were found to be the most recurrent techniques used by *El Mercurio*: “the Bandwagon” frame, “Military Figures of Power” frame, “Religious Figures” frame, “Right- Wing versus Left Wing political leaders” frame and the “Anti-government Protest” frame.

In four of eight the variables after the dictatorship ended, the percentages of the numbers of photographs coded decreased during the transition to democracy as shown in chart 6. These were: “Bandwagoncrowd18,” “BandwagoncrowdAlliance21,” “Militaryfig8,” “Pinochet9.” One variable increased during the transition to democracy; this was the “Antigovprotest23” variable. The other three variables were coded as not having a significant relationship; these were Pinocheherot10,” “ReligiousFig13,” “Rightwing11.”

CHART 5.

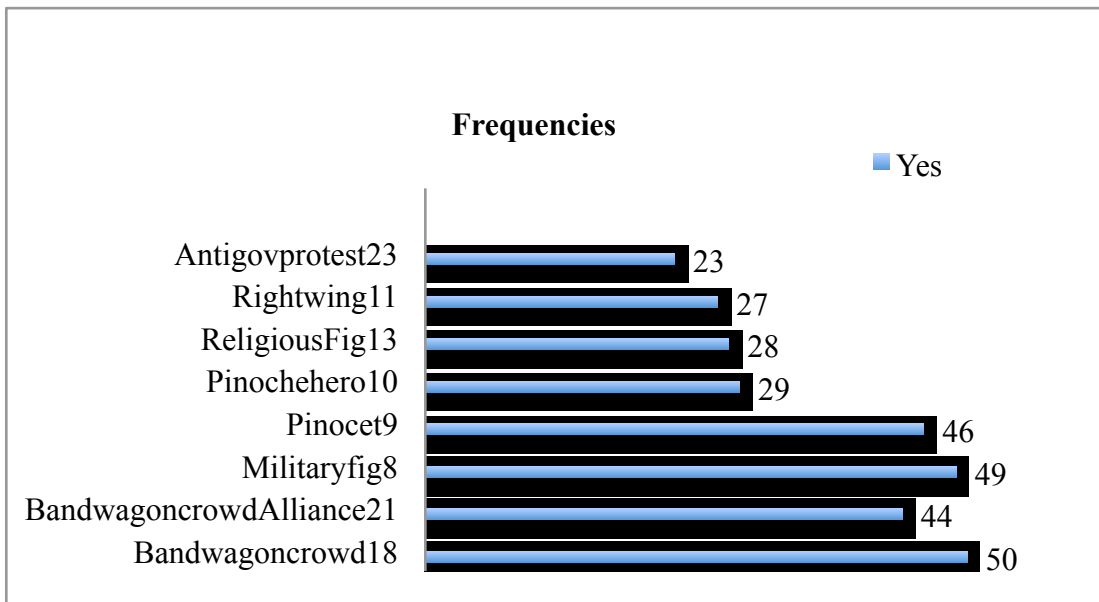
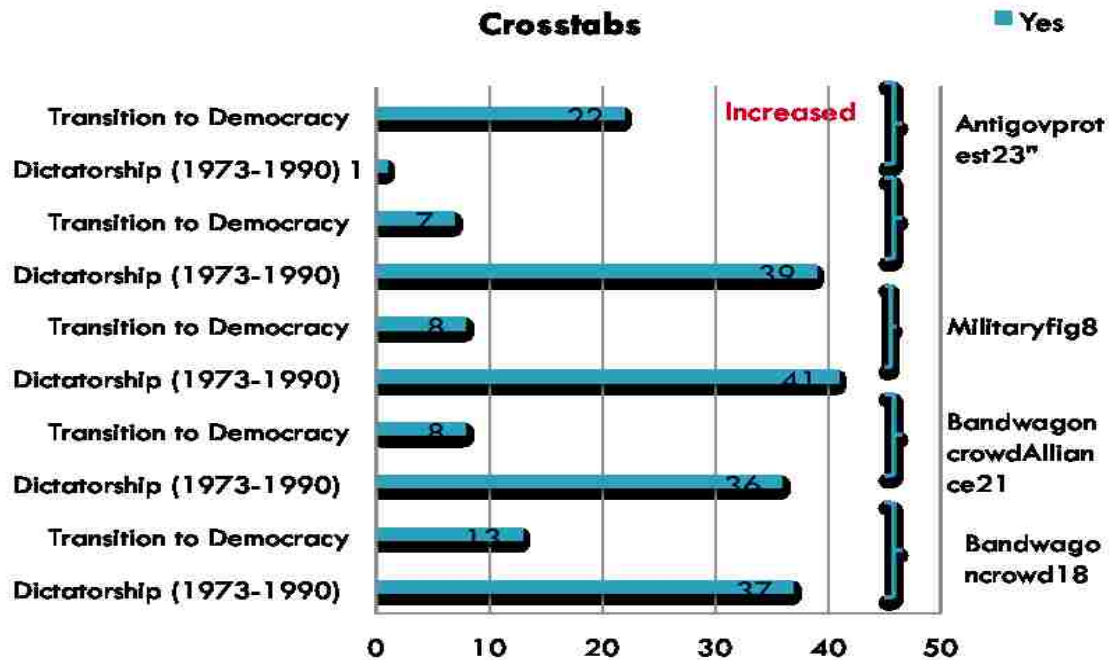


CHART 6.



**RQ4.** After Pinochet's rule, did the number of photographs in *El Mercurio* that featured violence or antigovernment protests increase or decrease?

To analyze this research question it was necessary to consider only the variables that were deemed to have a direct relationship to this specific research question: First, the Anti- government Protest frame; and second, the Police Violence frame. The percentages explained below were not rounded so as not confuse the reader. Therefore, the findings look the same as they appear in the frequencies or crosstabs test in Appendix II.

In the "Antigovprotest23" (Anti-Government Protest frame) variable measured 10 percent, represented by 23 pictures coded "yes" of 100 percent of the entire study as it was also shown in Table 13 (The frequency is shown in Appendix II). The crosstabs test for the "Antigovprotest23" photographs ranged from 4.3 percent, which represented one photograph during the dictatorship, to 95.7 percent, represented by 22 photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that the number of photographs that were coded "yes" showed anti-government protests, increased during the second term. In the Chi-Square test measured  $p = .000$  this was strongly significant; the relationship among the categories was significant. Thus, images of anti-government protests increased after Pinochet left the presidential seat.

Similarly, in relationship to the same frame, the coder was asked to explain whether the protesters shown in the picture were depicted as students. This was measured with the variable "studentsprotesters24." This variable measured 52.4 percent coded as " yes," which was represented by 11 photographs, or 4.8 percent of the entire

study as shown in table 14. However, in the chi-square test  $p = .329$  this was not significant; the relationship between the categories was not significant. Thus, an increase or decrease in categories that represented students as protesters was not relevant either.

TABLE 14: Frequency distribution of the “studentsprotesters24” variable

If so, are students shown as protesters (studentsprotesters24)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	4.8	52.4	52.4
	No	10	4.3	47.6	100.0
	Total	21	9.1	100.0	
Missing	N/A	209	90.9		
	Total	230	100.0		

Also, in relationship to the same frame, a third variable was measured. The coder was asked if the student’s protesters portrayed as rebels or insurgents. The “studentsrebelsinsurgents25” variable measured 91.7 percent coded “yes,” this was represented by 11 photographs, or 4.8 percent of the entire study as shown in table 15. However, in the chi -square test  $p = .753$ ; this is not significant; the relationship between the categories was not meaningful. Thus, an increase or decrease in categories that represented students as rebels/ insurgents was not relevant either.

TABLE 15: Frequency distribution of the “studentsrebelsinsurgents25” variable

If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents (studentsrebelsinsurgents25)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	4.8	91.7	91.7
No	1	.4	8.3	100.0
Total	12	5.2	100.0	
Missing	218	94.8		
Total	230	100.0		

The second variable analyzed was the “PoliceViolence15” (Police Violence frame) variable. The frequency measured 4.8 percent, represented by 11 pictures coded as “yes,” of the 100 percent of the photographs as shown in table 16. (The frequency is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 16: Frequency distribution of the “PoliceViolence15” variable

Police Violence shown in photo (PoliceViolence15)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	4.8	4.8	4.8
No	219	95.2	95.2	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

In the crosstabs test the “PoliceViolence15” photographs ranged from 25 percent, representing one photograph during the dictatorship, to 75 percent, representing three

photographs during the transition to democracy; this means that among the photographs that were coded as “yes” police violence shown in the photographs increased during the second term. The Chi-Square test measured  $p = .429$  this was not significant; the relationship between the categories was not meaningful. Thus, an increase or decrease in categories that represented the police violence was not relevant either. When the chi-square is less than .05, no significant relationship exists between the independent and dependent variables. Thus, the relationship between the variables was not substantial. (The complete Crosstab test is shown in Appendix II.)

Finally, of the four variables tested; “Antigovprotest23,” “studentsprotesters24,” “studentsrebelsinsurgents25” and “PoliceViolence15,” as shown in chart 7. Only one, the anti-government protests variable, showed that the relationships among the categories were significant. This variable revealed that photographs depicting anti-government protests increased during the transition to democracy after Pinochet left the presidency as shown in chart 8.

CHART 7.

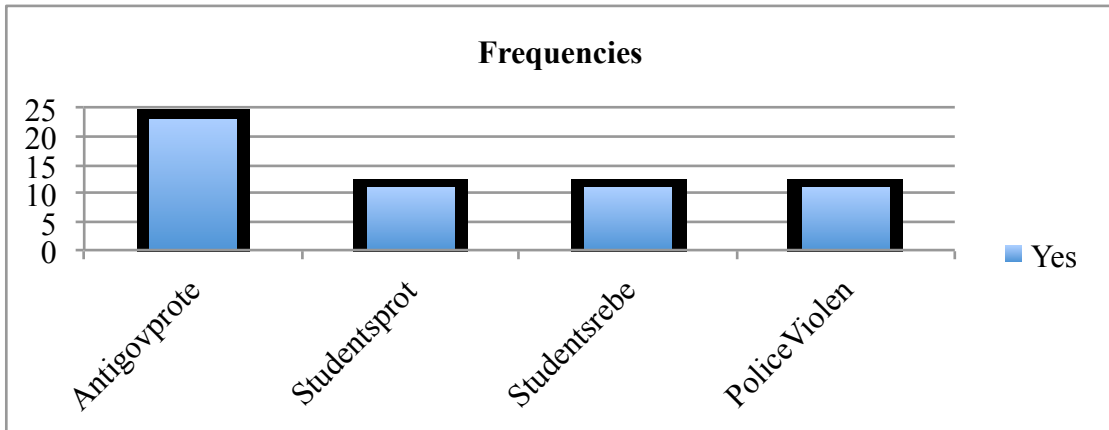
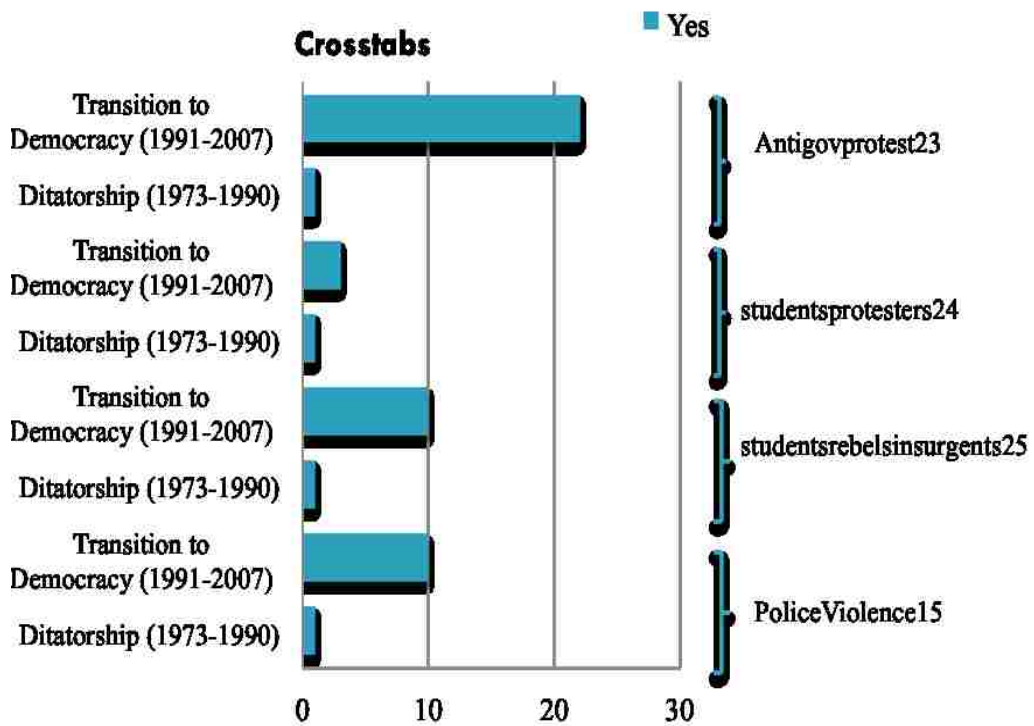


CHART 8.



## **Reliability**

As mentioned in the methods section of this study, the judgment of two coders who were college-educated, bilingual English and native Spanish-speakers with knowledge of South American politics, were compared to determine inter-reliability. Further, the crosstabs Kappa test reliability was measured variable by variable; only the variables that were used to answer the four research questions are mentioned here below.

Cohen's Kappa analysis establishes the level of agreement between two variables. It is usually named the Kappa test for inter-rater agreement because it is often used to compare the results of two rates. The Kappa statistic calculates the degree of agreement between the variables exceeding the expected result, by chance alone. "It has a maximum of 1 when agreement is perfect and 0 when agreement is not better than chance, and negative values when agreement is worse than chance" (Analyze-it, 2003, para.1.)

Landis & Koch (1977) proposed the following as ideals for the strength of agreement for kappa coefficient (K): 0 is considered poor, .01 to .20 is slight, .21 to .40 fair, .41 to .60 is moderate, .61 to .80 is substantial and from .81 to 1 outstanding. This corresponds to "value" in the following tables. When  $K > .70$  the conclusion is that the inter-reliability is satisfactory; and when  $K < .70$  the conclusion is that the inter-rater reliability is not satisfactory (Analyze-it, 2003, para.1.)

### *Headlines*

The levels of agreement represented in Table 17 are results from the data



provided by each coder and each variable in the study of the headlines. The variables were: “DictorTrans3,” “ChileanMili7,” “AniverCoup8,” “Pinochet9,” “ChileanEconomy10.” The values were used to report the reliability of the headlines concepts in the Cohen’s Kappa analysis. Also, the variable “UnitedStates11,” mentioned earlier in this chapter (in the headlines research questions analysis) was not considered in the Cohen’s Kappa analysis; because the number of valid answers given by the second coder was not large enough to compare this variable with the first coder’s responses. This meant that there were more non- applicable responses found (-1) than valid responses; in this case these ranged from negative to positive (1 to 5). This happened, based on chance; the second coder randomly picked the numbers for inter-coder reliability.

The levels of agreement that were observed between variables in the headlines were considered reliable because K equals more than .70 in all the cases, as shown in table X 17 below. In one case, with the variable labeled “AniverCoup8” the value of  $K = .757$  was considered substantial. In all of the other variables,  $K > .81$  this was considered an outstanding level of agreement (The complete Cohen’s Kappa analysis is shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 17. Kappa test results

Reliability			
Inter-rater headlines			
Variables	N	Value	Approx. Sig
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) (DictorTrans3)	28	1	.000
Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)	8	1	.000
Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)	14	.757	.000
Pinochet (Pinochet9)	13	1	.000
Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)	10	1	.002

### *Photographs*

The levels of agreement represented in Table X. are the results of the data provided by each coder and each variable in the study of the photographs. The variables were: “DicTrans7,” “Militaryfig8,” “Pinocet9,” “Rightwing11,” “Rightwing11,” “ReligiousFig13,” “PoliceViolence15,” “Bandwagoncrowd18,” “Antigovprotest23.” The values were used to report the reliability of photograph frames in the Cohen’s Kappa analysis.

The variables “BandwagoncrowdAlliance21,” “studentsprotesters24,” “studentsrebelsinsurgents25” mentioned earlier in this chapter (in the photographs research questions analysis) were not considered in the Cohen’s Kappa analysis, because the number of the valid answers given by the second coder was not large enough to compare them with the first coder’s responses. This meant that there were

more non- applicable responses (-1) than valid responses; in this case, the responses were yes, or no (1 or 2). This happened based on chance the second coder randomly picked the numbers for inter-coder reliability.

The levels of agreement observed between the variables in the photographs were considered reliable because K equals more than .70 in all the following cases. Also, only one case of the variable labeled “ReligiousFig13,” the value of K = .781, this meant that in all the other variables  $K > .81$ , which is considered an outstanding level of agreement (The complete Cohen’s Kappa analysis shown in Appendix II.)

TABLE 18. Kappa test results

Reliability			
Inter-rater photographs			
Variables	N	Value	Approx. Sig.
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991 2007) (DicTrans7)	23	1	.000
Existence of military figures of power (Militaryfig8)	23	1	.000
Pinochet included among the military figures of power (Pinocet9)	23	1	.000
If so, Pinochet shown as hero (Pinocheherot10)	10	1	.002
Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted (Rightwing11)	23	.832	.000
Religious figures depicted in photo (ReligiousFig13)	23	.781	.000
Police Violence shown in photo (PoliceViolence15)	23	1	.000
Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)	23	.913	.000
Anti-government protests depicted (Antigovprotest23)	23	.862	.000

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

#### **Headlines Results**

In this study of headlines, 13 concepts were analyzed in order to respond to two research questions. The purpose of research question number one was to understand if *El Mercurio* continued to support the Chilean military regime and its leaders after the dictatorship ended. The response to this research question was framed around two variables that were studied “ChileanMili7 and “Pinochet9.” These variables correspond to the Chilean Military and Pinochet concept, respectively. The Chilean Military represented 15.5 percent and The Pinochet Variable represented 19.7 percent of the total number of headlines coded.

As previously mentioned, both of the variables tested were found to have the largest percentages coded as positive, among the categories. This meant that the highest percentages of the “ChileanMili7” variable, which represented 72.7 %, and the “Pinochet9” variable, which represented 94.6% were coded as positive.

In order for a coder to mark the Chilean Military concept as positive, a headline had to mention the Chilean military as democratic; or to have portrayed the Chilean military as synonymous with order, progress, security, and wellness; or to have imputed any positive connotations toward it. For example, the headlines that described how the country was economically stronger because of the Chilean Military governance, or how the Chilean Military had improved housing for less privileged families.

For the coder to have marked the Pinochet concept as positive, a headline had to

mention Pinochet in a positive manner, by always referring to him as “Excellency,” or to claim that Pinochet was the “savior of the country,” or as a man who was admired for his courage doing what he did for the country. However, after the dictatorship had ended the percentages of both “ChileanMili7 and “Pinochet9,” variables coded as positive decreased during the transition to democracy. Thus, the response to the first research question was no, that *El Mercurio* did not continue to support the Chilean military regimen or its leaders after the dictatorship ended. (The Chilean Military and Pinochet concepts, when coded as positive were explained in research question number one, thus they won’t be mentioned below.)

To continue with this study of headlines, in research question number two the goal was to understand which propaganda techniques were used by *El Mercurio* in its headlines, to uphold the dictatorship. What was the tone of those headlines and how did this tone change over time? In order to frame a response to this research question, the researcher only considered the variables that were coded; and of these, only the top ten percent and above will be discussed. Also, the results of the variable frequency are shown from the highest to the lowest percentages of the total number of coded headlines.

As previously stated, there were five variables that were found to have the largest percentages of the headlines studied. These variables were: First, the “Pinochet9” variable that represented 19.7 percent of the headlines mentioning Pinochet; and of those, 94.6 percent were coded as positive, this represented the largest percentage among the categories. Second, the “ChileanEconomy10” variable represented a total of 18.7 percent of the headlines mentioning the Chilean economy; and of those 36.5 percent this

represented the highest percentage among the categories. Third, the “AniverCoup8” variable that represented 16.2 percent of those headlines that mentioned the anniversary of the coup; and of those 78.3 percent were coded as positive, this represented the highest percentage among the categories. Forth, the “ChileanMili7” variable represented a total of 15.5 percent of headlines that mentioned the Chilean Military; and of those 72.7 percent were coded as positive, that represented the highest percentage among the categories. Fifth the “UnitedStates11” variable, a total of 11.3 percent of headlines that mentioned The United States and of those 46.9 percent were coded as positive, that represented the highest percentage among the categories. These variables referred to the Chilean Military, the Anniversary of the Coup, Pinochet, Chilean Economy, and United States concepts, respectively. The coder marked the Anniversary of the Chilean coup concept as a positive headline if it favorably commemorated the anniversary of the coup. These headlines referred to September 11th as a day of celebration. The headlines that used the word "celebration" for example, in reference to the anniversary of the overthrow of Allende's government were marked as “positive.”

The coder marked the Chilean Economy concept as positive if the headline mentioned the Chilean economy in a positive manner. The headline had to mention the strengths of the Chilean economy; or argue that the economy had improved because of the relationship between the government and the military regime. For example, those headlines that discussed political and military figures in association with recent economic advances, compared to the economy during Allende's presidency. The coder marked the United States concept as positive if the headlines mentioned the United States in a

positive manner, or if it praised a U.S. political figure. These were considered positive headlines. Those headlines that claimed that the United States was or could be a role model for Chile were considered positive as well. Headlines that described the U.S. and Chile as working together, against socialist influences; or those headlines that praised the U.S. government and its key figures were positive. Specifically, those headlines that mentioned how the United States supported the government policies of the military regime were coded as positive.

On the other hand, in four out of the five instances, after the dictatorship ended the percentages of positive headlines decreased during the transition to democracy. The one exception was the “UnitedStates11” variable, the only one coded as non- significant among the categories. Thus, in answer to the research question, it could be said that the most apparent propaganda techniques were used regarding the Chilean Military, Anniversary of the Coup, Pinochet, Chilean Economy, and United States concepts. Also of the variables coded, all showed the largest percentages among those categories coded as positive. In four of the five cases, after the dictatorship ended the percentages of positive headlines decreased during the transition to democracy. The “UnitedStates11” was the only variable coded as non- significant in relationship to the number of headlines that increased or decreased during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy.



## Photographs Results

In the study of the photographs, 11 frames were analyzed to respond to the two research questions. In research question number three the purpose was to recognize which propaganda techniques *El Mercurio* used in their photographs in support of the dictatorship and how this changed over time. In order to respond to this research question, eight variables were tested.

The “Bandwagoncrowd18,” “BandwagoncrowdAlliance21” variables corresponded to the *Bandwagon* frame. The “Militaryfig8 ” variable corresponded to the Military Figures of Power frame. The “Pinocet9,” “Pinocheherot10” variables corresponded to the *Pinochet as a Hero* frame. The “ReligiousFig13” variables corresponded to the *Religious Figures* frame. The “Rightwing11” variable corresponded to the *Right-Wing vs. Left-Wing Politics* frame and the “Antigovprotest23” variable, corresponded to the *Anti-Government Protests* frame.

Out of all of the variables studied, five frames were found to be the most recurrent techniques used by *El Mercurio*. The five frames found to be the most recurrent techniques used by *El Mercurio* were: the Bandwagon frame, the Military Figures of Power frame, the Religious Figures frame, the Right- Wing versus Left Wing political leaders frame and the Anti-government Protest frame.

The most apparent propaganda techniques were given here from the highest to the lowest percentage were: the “Bandwagoncrowd18” variable, that represented 21.7 percent coded as yes; “the “Militaryfig8” variable that represented 21.3 percent coded as yes; the “Pinocet9” variable that represented 20 percent coded as yes; the

“BandwagoncrowdAlliance21” variable that represented 19.1 percent coded as yes; the “Pinocheherot10” variable that represented 12.6 percent coded as yes; the “ReligiousFig13” variable that represented 12.2 percent coded as yes; the “Rightwing11” variable that represented 11.7 percent coded as yes; and the “Antigovprotest23” variable that represented 10% coded as yes. Further, of the five frames found in *El Mercurio* as the most frequently used propaganda techniques, the “Bandwagoncrowd18” and “Militaryfig8” variables scored over 20 percent, representing the bandwagon and military figures of power, frames.

On the other hand, the following results were noted when trying to understand if the propaganda techniques continued to be used after the dictatorship ended. Out of the eight variables studied, five were significant. While four revealed that after the dictatorship ended, the percentages of the numbers of photographs coded decreased during the transition to democracy. These variables were “Bandwagoncrowd18,” “BandwagoncrowdAlliance21,” “Militaryfig8,” “Pinochet9.” The “Antigovprotest23” variable showed the opposite result and instead, increased during the transition to democracy.

To continue with the study of photographs, in research question number four the goal was to determine whether after Pinochet’s rule, the number of photographs in *El Mercurio* that featured violence or antigovernment protests increased or decreased. In order to respond to this research question four variables were studied: “Antigovprotest23,” “studentsprotesters24,” “studentsrebelsinsurgents25.” These variables corresponded to the Anti- government Protest,” “PoliceViolence15” and to “the

Police Violence” frames. The Anti-Government frame emphasized the opposition to the dictatorship in Chile or abroad, as people in either violent or peaceful protests expressed it. The Police Violence frame emphasized the presence of the police; they were shown either in conflict with someone identified as a criminal, working a crime scene or depicted as wounded heroes.

The “Antigovprotest23” variable that represented 10 percent of the total number of photographs coded as “yes,” there are anti-government protests depicted in the picture.” This variable also had two subcategories represented by “studentsprotesters24,” to determine if there were students shown as protesters; and the “studentsrebelsinsurgents25” to determine if these students were depicted as rebels. In the “studentsprotesters24” variable 52.4 percent, was coded as “yes,” there were students shown as protesters that represented 4.8 % of the whole study. In the “studentsrebelsinsurgents25,” variable measured at 91.7 percent coded “yes,” that represented 4.8 percent of the whole study. Thus, it could be argued that students were portrayed as rebels in the antigovernment protest photographs. In the “PoliceViolence15” variable that represented 4.8 percent of the total number of photographs coded as “yes” there was police violence shown in the photo. When trying to understand if violence increased or decreased after the dictatorship ended, out of the five variables tested, the only variable that was shown to be significant was represented by the “Antigovprotest23” variable. This variable showed that photographs depicting anti-government protests increased during the transition to democracy after Pinochet left the presidency. The “Antigovprotest23” variable, which represented 10 percent out of the total number of

photographs coded, as “yes” there was an anti-government protest in the picture, was 95.7 percent during the transition to democracy. Thus, in response to the research question, it could be concluded that the anti-government protests increased during the transition to democracy.

Finally, the main purpose of this study was to understand how the photographs were used to frame the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. Framing theory was used to create frames according to theoretical concerns; these concerns included identifying the various propaganda techniques used by *El Mercurio*. As mentioned above, in the discussion of framing theory (pages 33 to 36) during times of conflict a frame can be used to create a distortion of reality or to evade some aspects of conflict, while highlighting others, like a government’s objectives and successes, for example. Framing theory “is more of a process of interpretation, it is... the process of creating event, or signifying from the vast pool of daily occurrences, what is important... framing decides which of the day’s many happenings will be awarded significance” (as cited previously, John Harrington, 1998). Thus, based on this theory it could be said that *El Mercurio*’s commemorations of the Chilean coup of 1973, avoided showing the opposition, the protests, the human rights abuses or the conflicts that took place; instead it showed crowds celebrating using the bandwagon technique; it presented the military figures as heroes who were honored; it depicted religious figures who supported the military; and the political figures of the right, during the dictatorship; but after the dictatorship ended, images of anti-government protests replaced all of the other “positive” images that had previously reinforced the government, its figure heads or policies.

## Discussion

As Kornbluh (2003) revealed, *El Mercurio* had received funds from the CIA since 1960, while also paying editors and reporters to write articles; and additional funds to pay for other expenses. The newspaper played an important role to set the stage for the overthrow of the Socialist, democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. “The CIA used *El Mercurio* as a key outlet for massive propaganda ... [and] ... continues [its] strong opposition to the regime” (p.91). On the other hand, the information that best explained how the propaganda was supposed to function during the dictatorship was contained in The Documents of Fear (*Documentos del Miedo*). These top secret, confidential documents were written after the coup, they became widely known in 2002. The first document was written on November 19, 1973, and the second in March of 1974.

Officials from within the military regime feared the loss of public support and the renewal of left wing opposition parties. They outlined strategies to retain control of public opinion soon after the coup. The Department of Psychology’s Human Relations Division that was a part of the General Secretary of the Government (Nación, 2004, para.2) generated these documents. Those who wrote the report had acted under the direction of the psychologist Hernán Tuane Escaff, an adviser for the Chilean Military Junta. The documents explained the objectives and methods for a comprehensive propaganda campaign after the coup. Both documents had a plan for psychological penetration designed to destroy Marxist sympathies. The strategies included equating the idea of Marxism to violence, scarcity, scandal, distress and the danger of death. The military junta on the other hand, would be associated with therapeutic ideas or remedial

actions: wellness, problem solving, progress, and nationalism. The documents advocated the use of short phrases, simple language and the repetition of photographs, slogans and texts (Nación, 2004, para.3). The Documents of Fear are important to an understanding or at least a comparison of them to the results found in this study; they are not however a meticulous study of media of *El Mercurio*.

Ignacio Agüero (2008), in the Agustin's Newspaper documentary seen for the first time in Chile on November 20 focused specifically on *El Mercurio*'s coverage relating to human rights violations and it exposed specific lies told by the newspaper in their coverage to hide the human rights abuses committed by the dictatorship (Claudia Lagos, 2009, p. 9). Additionally, these observations are made more coherent when one considers that Chile was ruled by a dictatorship that controlled the media. The media during the dictatorship was known for a strict censorship of the press; the insertion of the free market during the Pinochet government helped in the concentration of the media, by establishing a duopoly in the country formed by *El Mercurio* and the *Copesa* Group. This left as a result the hegemony of a single voice, that of the political right and silenced all other voices (Lidia Baltra, 2012, p. 44). Most of the media at the time, limited themselves to publishing only what the government released as its official version of the news of the day (Paulette Dougnac Quintana, 2012 p. 325).

No other study has specifically focused on which specific propaganda techniques were used by the newspaper during the dictatorship, or focused on trying to understand whether *El Mercurio*'s continued to support Pinochet and the Chilean coup after Pinochet left office. This study has attempted to explain these questions; this is the first study that

focused specifically on the propaganda techniques. It was important to gather a large sample of data in order to understand the media coverage of the September 11<sup>th</sup> commemorations; and to thereby help document for future researchers a part of Chilean history that has not been examined before. The study also focused on how the Chilean media functioned in times of conflict.

Furthermore, while analyzing content is always difficult, it was made even more challenging because there were no other studies about the propaganda techniques used by *El Mercurio* during the dictatorship. Some of the issues confronted when analyzing the data included trying to isolate concepts. Even though this study used a coding guide with specific instructions regarding each concept and what it meant, the people who served as coders had pre-existing ideas of what the words meant. A control cannot be designed to exclude the coders' prior knowledge or interpretations from consideration in the findings.

In the study of the headlines, the concept of "repression by the government" created confusion. By definition, repression can mean either an act of repressing or a state of being repressed. The goal of the headlines study was to discover the tone of the headlines through the concepts that were used; thus when describing the concept of "repression" the idea was to discover whether the newspaper used "repression" positively or negatively.

The Concept was developed for the study based on the idea that repression is always negative in real life; but for the purposes of the study, the concept was related to how repression was portrayed. For example, if a headline remembered September 11th as a celebration and referred to the protestors as terrorists, the celebration should have been

marked as “positive.” This was considered positive because it was favorable to the government.

In this case, for the headline to be considered negative it needed to mention the persecution of the opponents of the dictatorship, acts of political repression, acts of terror by the armed forces, the police, government or civilians in the service of the DINA (English: National Intelligence Directorate). These were considered negative because the headlines were not favorable to the government.

The repression-negative concept was developed for headlines that made reference to the exiles or to missing people; but there were no mentions of these. There were no mentions of torture by the government either. However, it would have been easier to code these separately and not by their tone, as people who disappeared, exiles, home raids, and prisoners just to see if there were any mentions of it in the newspaper and to avoid possible misunderstandings.

The repression concept should have been coded as anti-government protest, just as it was in the photographs. There were many headlines identifying protests as terrorist events; even if these could have been considered repressive, this would have been too confusing for the coder to understand. Also, the newspaper never openly opposed the dictatorship or spoke out against government repression. However, in many instances, the anti-government protestors were described as terrorists; therefore, it would have been easier to code them simply as “anti-government protest.”

Other possible considerations included the coding sheet design. It would have been better to consider only a coding sheet designed to answer the research questions.



Coding both the concepts and the frames through the questions was deemed very important. However, other questions like the placement of headlines or photos on the page were also considered; when it was asked if the headlines or the photographs appeared above or below the fold, this factor was not considered as relevant because they were not related to the research questions. A similar situation arose when it was asked if the headline or the photograph was considered prominent, or if the photos had captions. These types of questions were coded but these were left unanswered in the findings of this thesis and as possible subjects for later research, after this study has determined which propaganda techniques were used in *El Mercurio*.

### **Suggestions for Further Research**

It could be argued that the celebration of the military coup changed over time, and was eventually remembered as a day of violence. This may be because it was the reality of what happened; after Pinochet left, there were violent protests. Perhaps the newspaper (or its owners) could not accept the fact that the dictatorship was not in charge anymore. Thus, the portrayal of the anniversary of the coup as a night of violent protests was simply a new propaganda technique used by those loyal to the dictatorship. However, this is a new question that surfaced during this study, and therefore, further research is needed on that specific point.

Other interesting discoveries included a number of articles and photographs that in most cases did not use name of the author and photographer. This question arose after analyzing the data. John Dinges, who was a *Washington Post* special correspondent in

Chile at the time, said that the journalists from *El Mercurio* were honest journalists but that they were also scared. Many journalists knew what was happening; they were not writing about it because they were afraid of losing their jobs, or of institutional punishment. Thus, journalists grew accustomed to censoring themselves during the dictatorship (Vilches, Harries & Dougnac 2007, p.75). It might be argued that reporters were scared to put their names on the stories they wrote; or just as likely, that the newspaper simply did not allow them to use their names as a way to protect them. This question needs further research.

This study helped to determine which propaganda techniques were used most often and how these changed over time. It might be interesting to redo the analysis focusing only on the most used propaganda techniques reporting in the findings of this report. To repeat a more condensed analysis of these findings but also to take into account the placement of the headlines and photographs; these were variables already coded but that were not used in the final report. The next study might also include the various angles from which the photographs were taken; this element would also help to ensure validity of the study.

Finally, concerning the media's coverage of the coup, this study was performed based on what was available; the media was not allowed to cover the day after the Chilean coup so there is no record of September 12, 1973 in any newspaper, including *El Mercurio*. Also, as mentioned above (on page 22) during the dictatorship the Chilean military burned leftist books and newspapers, with the intention of purging their beliefs (Luis Errázuriz, 2009 p.148). Thus, there may be a larger story to be told, we can never

know based on a record that does not exist. However future studies could compare the findings of this study with other sources that do still remain. A study of the alternative media (the media that was not official but that emerged after the coup, during the dictatorship due to censorship that included letters, magazines, radio et cetera) would be interesting to analyze and compare to the current study. It is clear that alternative media sources existed and that their efforts were suppressed. These sources were well organized at the time as Victoria Goff (2007) exposed in her research, published as “The Solidarity Movement and Its Media: An Alternative Take on the Allende and Pinochet Years.” Goff argued that researchers and historians have not paid attention to the alternative media, nor to the solidarity groups that operated as an alternative media during the Pinochet regime.

Even though alternative media was not the focus, this study it is critical to understand that the heavily censored media in Chile was not just limited to *El Mercurio* and the *Copesa* group. A comparison of the coverage by *El Mercurio* and alternative media sources, of the anniversaries of the coup, would be important to form a complete understanding of the events as they happened and how people reacted to them. The purpose of this study was to analyze how the September 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary as represented by *El Mercurio*; an alternative view was also available. The underlying question of this study involved the deeper question about *El Mercurio*'s representations of actions taken by people during the transition to the democracy and if these representations were fair and accurate or misleading and to recover more of the story and the legacy of the Chilean coup.

## Contribution to Scholarship

Future scholarship might benefit from this study due to its focus on *El Mercurio*, the most important Chilean newspaper. It is important for scholars and researchers to know how the newspaper functioned in times of conflict. Specifically the current study has discussed the principal propaganda techniques that were used in *El Mercurio*; how the newspaper's tone toward the government was at times extremely favorable; and how this favorable tone changed significantly after the dictatorship ended.

The use of framing theory,

Other researchers should note too, how violent the remembrances of the coup became after Pinochet left the presidential seat. *El Mercurio* clearly supported the goals of the dictatorship and avoided mentioning government repression during the dictatorship. This is also the first investigation about the Chilean Coup on September 11<sup>th</sup> to expose information about the news coverage, on a date that is historically important to most Chileans. It is imperative to have studies of this kind and to realize that there is not enough research that has been done about *El Mercurio* or other media in Chile.

This subject is slowly becoming known. This study explains how the media can be used to influence public opinion especially as more people begin to rely on mass media for news and information. The media is a powerful tool and *El Mercurio* was used to portray reality the way its owners wanted the world to be, for those who had few other sources of information. It is hoped that this study can change people's misconceptions about what happened on September 11<sup>th</sup> and helps them to form their own opinions.

### **Relationships of Headlines and Photographs in *El Mercurio*'s Propaganda**

Finally, it is interesting to compare both the study of the headlines and of the photographs in order to understand the relationships between the two groups. This comparison demonstrates which propaganda techniques were used the most. This study found headlines that showed positive concepts of Pinochet, the Chilean economy, the anniversary of the coup, the Chilean military and The United States that were used in *El Mercurio* (See Appendix I, for complete coding guide for concepts coded as positive.)

The study of the photographs revealed that the frames most used, as propaganda techniques were bandwagon, military figures, Pinochet as hero, religious figures, political figures of the right wing and the anti-government protests. However, an analysis of the headlines and photographs showed that most of them decreased in number or frequency, after the dictatorship ended. The exception was depictions of the anti-government protests; pictures of anti-government protests increased during the transition to democracy. It is interesting to note that the military figures or Chilean military and the Pinochet or Pinochet as a hero, appeared in both in the headlines and the photographs. The headlines used the title "Excellency," and mentioned him as a savior of the country, while portraying him as a hero in the photographs. Pinochet was shown giving to the poor, or being acclaimed by a crowd of people; he was also portrayed standing alone as a "true" hero (See Appendix IV for A Sample of photographs.)

In the headlines coded as positive under "Chilean military" the headlines refer to members of the military as martyrs who saved the country; the photographs show depictions of army personnel or officers being rewarded for their performance by other

military figures. The headlines with “positive” messages about the Chilean economy mentioned the strength the economy, supported in the photographs by political leaders of the right wing and The United States; the headlines were perhaps intended to demonstrate to the public that these leaders and U.S. officials supported the dictatorship. The study of the headlines of the anniversary of the coup and of the photographs the bandwagon appeared together, implying that one way to remember the Chilean coup was through a celebration; thus reinforcing the idea that people should join the “victorious” side, those who demonstrated their patriotism by raising or waving the Chilean flag amid a crowd of people. Also, the anniversary of the coup was shown in the photographs as a celebration held by religious figures who were commemorating the September 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary alongside military leaders. Most religious figures depicted in *El Mercurio* were Catholic priests, Cardinals as well as the Pope, in order to show how the Catholic Church’s religious figures were sympathetic to the military regime and supported the overthrow of the Allende government. In reference to those people on the other side (e.g., those who were exiled, murdered or tortured) they were not featured prominently in the newspaper; none made it into either the headlines or photographs.

On the other hand, the images featured in *El Mercurio* on September 11<sup>th</sup> to commemorate the Chilean coup changed drastically. After Pinochet left the presidency when the dictatorship ended after 17 years, for the first time *El Mercurio*’s front page on September 12, 1990, featured pictures of the first anti-government protest; and on September 11, 1991, the first violent anti-government protest appeared. These images continued steadily during the years that followed. The anti-government protests were 10

percent of the total number of headlines, that represented 23 photographs; of these 95.7 percent, or 22 photographs appeared during the transition to democracy. It is interesting to note all of the photographs that showed anti-government protest on *El Mercurio*'s front page were featured during the country's transition to democracy. This is because the first picture that showed people protesting appeared during the last year before Pinochet left office in 1990. While 10 percent may not seem a very significant percentage, it is, considering that all of the pictures appeared during the second period of *El Mercurio*'s 34 cover pages, at least one picture appeared on each of 23 covers that remembered the coup violently.

While all of the other techniques used to support the goals of the dictatorship had ceased, the violent protests appeared. Also, it could be argued that the reasons for this might be that it was a new propaganda technique used by the newspaper; this means that *El Mercurio* wanted to show an aggressive crowd of people protesting after Pinochet left, to show how the country was destabilized without the army and Pinochet in power. *El Mercurio*'s interests were with his government and not with the one that followed during the transition. Or after being censored for many years, people went out into the streets to protest the human rights abuses committed during the dictatorship, both of these are cases are interesting and further research is needed.

This study indicates that most of the propaganda that the newspaper used was intended to send positive messages in its headlines about Pinochet, the Chilean economy, the anniversary of the coup reinforced by right wing political leaders, church figures, and the United States. *El Mercurio* produced propaganda with images that showed large

crowds of people celebrating, religious masses and commemorations of the military figures. The anniversary of the coup stopped being remembered with images of large crowds that celebrated Pinochet and the military figures. After the Pinochet's dictatorship ended, these techniques disappeared; and instead the paper featured photographs of anti-government protests. Eventually, *El Mercurio*'s coverage of September 11th was not of an anniversary to be "celebrated," it was portrayed as a day of violence.



APPENDIX I

**Coding Sheet (Headlines)**

1. Number of headline (highlighter): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Issue date: \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_
3. Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007): D  
TD
4. Number in issue (pen): \_\_\_\_\_
5. Above or below fold: A B
6. Headline prominent on cover: Y N
7. Chilean Military  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
8. Anniversary of coup  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
9. Pinochet  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
10. Chilean Economy  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
11. United States  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
12. United States Allies  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
13. If ally/allies, which country/countries: \_\_\_\_\_
14. Russia/USSR  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
15. Russia/USSR allies  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive
16. If ally/allies, which country/countries: \_\_\_\_\_
17. Chilean democracy  
NA Negative Slightly Negative Neutral Slightly Positive Positive

<b>18.</b>	Chilean dictatorship				
NA	Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive
<b>19.</b>	Marxism (communism)				
NA	Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive
<b>20.</b>	Repression by government				
NA	Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive
<b>21.</b>	Church/Religious Figures				
NA	Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive
<b>22.</b>	Headline Related to non-political:				
NA	Sports	Entertainment	Weather	Vandalism	International

### Coding Sheet (Photographs)

1. Number of photograph (highlighter): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Issue date: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_
3. Number in issue (pen): \_\_\_\_\_
4. Above or below fold: A B
5. Photo prominent on cover: Y N
6. Photo has a caption: Y N
7. Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007): D TD
8. Existence of military figures of power: Y N
9. Pinochet included among the military figures of power: Y N
10. If so, Pinochet shown as hero: Y N NA
11. Are there any right wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted? Y  
N
12. Are there any left-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted? Y  
N
13. Religious figures depicted in photo: Y N
14. If so, do such figures show alliance to the Chilean government? Y N  
NA
15. Police Violence shown in photo: Y N
16. If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted? Y N NA
17. If so, is there a dominant police figure depicted as hero? Y N NA
18. Bandwagon crowd depicted: Y N
19. Is there a single prominent figure among crowd: Y N
20. If so, is it a religious or political figure? R P NA
21. If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance  
to Chilean government? Y N NA
22. Anti-government activity (not protest-related) depicted in photo: Y N
23. Anti-government protests depicted: Y N

24. If so, are students shown as protesters? Y N NA
25. If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents? Y N NA
26. If Anti-government protest was depicted, was it held in Chile? Y N NA
27. If not, in Chile, where was it held? \_\_\_\_\_
28. Presence of American and or allies political leaders: Y N
29. If so, who? \_\_\_\_\_
30. If so, does the photo depict American leader in activity related to Chile or the Chilean government? Y N NA
31. If so, does the photo depict American political leader in a positive manner? Y N NA
32. Presence of Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leaders in photo? Y N
33. If so, who? \_\_\_\_\_
34. If so, does the photo depict Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leader in activity related to Chile or the Chilean government? Y N NA
35. If so, does the photo depict Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leader in a positive manner? Y N NA
36. Picture is sports, entertainment, or weather related: Y N
37. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Coding Guide (Headlines)**

1. Number of headline (highlighter): This is the total number of headlines starting from 1 to 284. The number is noted in either yellow or pink highlighter.
2. Issue date: This marks the date that the newspaper was published. Given that two day out of every year are studied, the coder must mark the full date when each headline from each issue was published. The date must be marked in the following form: month/day/year.
3. Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007): This category signals the two main periods studied. These two periods (each lasting for 17 years) refer to the Chilean military dictatorship that took place from 1973 to 1990; and the transition to democracy in Chilean society that followed from 1991 to 2007. The coder must look at the date the issue was published and note the period, according to the year.
4. Number in issue (pen): This is the number of the headline per issue. Each issue had a number of headlines on its cover. In order to keep record of each headline coded, the headlines from each issue were numbered from left to right, hand written in pen.
5. Above or below the fold: This category indicates the location of the headline on the cover of each issue of the newspaper. When folded, each issue showed headlines on the top and the bottom. Some of the headlines were completely above the fold and others completely below the fold. When headlines are located between the top and bottom halves of the fold, they are to be recorded according

to the amount of space occupied, on either half. For instance, if a headline is located in the middle of the fold but is mostly above it, it must be classified as above the fold.

6. **Headline prominence on cover:** This category indicates the significance of the headline on each cover, of each issue of the newspaper. Larger, more visible headlines with bold letters usually placed above the fold, with the text below them, should be regarded as prominent. Smaller, less visible headlines that do not contain text beneath them, should be marked as not prominent.

### **Tones Descriptions**

Coder can use the text as cues for classification, when the tone is unclear. The headlines must to be coded using a six-point scale when they are related to a specific concept. When there are no clear associations, the respondent must to mark the headline N/A (Non-applicable or not available).

#### 7. **Chilean Military**

N/A (non-applicable): This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the Chilean military. For example, if the headline does not mention the Chilean military or its member's actions, the coder must mark it "N/A."

Negative: This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as a negative, it must direct negative connotations toward the Chilean Military. If the headline refers to the Chilean military as

authoritarian, totalitarian or violent; or if it uses any words that have a negative connotation, it must be coded as negative. For example, headlines that mention members of the regime who were linked to the enforcement of a curfew, or who acted to censor the media, must be recorded by the coder as negative.

**Slightly Negative:** This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from negative headlines, it must only have a slight of criticism of the Chilean military. This means a straightforward opinion that disagreed with a particular action made by the Chilean military; a statement that did not use strong negative language or harsh words in reference to the Chilean military. For example if the author did not use the word authoritarian in reference to the Chilean military, the coder must mark it slightly negative.

**Neutral:** This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as a neutral it must mention facts about the military regime but not express approval or disapproval. In addition, those headlines that discussed the regime but did not criticize or praise the military figures; or those that gave both negative and positive accounts. For example, an article might discuss how the military committed human rights violations but at the same time presented positive changes in the country. The coder must mark these as neutral.

Slightly Positive: This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines, it must only show slight agreement with the Chilean military. For example, the author simply mentioned her or his approval for the Chilean military but did not use words with positive connotations or praise the actions or individuals. The coder must mark these as slightly positive.

Positive: This category refers to the **Chilean Military** concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it must mention the Chilean military as democratic; or portray the regime as synonymous with order, progress, security, wellness, or impute any positive connotations toward it. For example, headlines that described how the country is economically stronger because of the Chilean Military governance, or how the Chilean Military has improved housing for less privileged families, the coder must mark as positive.

#### 8. Anniversary of the Chilean Coup

NA (non-applicable): This question refers to **the Anniversary of the Chilean coup** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the anniversary of the coup. For example, if the headline does not mention any of the commemorations or acts of violence on September 11th, the coder must mark it accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to **the Anniversary of the Chilean coup** concept. For a headline to be coded as negative it must mention the coup using



words with negative connotations: for example, as a tragedy in Chilean history. The headline should express strong disagreement with the events that occurred that day. Examples might include a headline that mentions the devastation and sadness surrounding the events on the anniversary of the coup; or one that accuses the Chilean army of human rights abuses during the September 11<sup>th</sup> coup or during a later commemorative event. The coder must mark these accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to the **Anniversary of the Chilean coup** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines, it must only have a slight of disapproval of the anniversary of the Chilean coup. An opinion showing disagreement with the remembrance of the coup but that did not use strongly negative or harsh words in reference to the September 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary, is slightly negative. For example if the author mentions the anniversary of the Chilean coup as a day of reflection for the Chileans; the coder must mark it accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to the Anniversary of **the Anniversary of the Chilean** coup concept. For a headline to be coded as a neutral, it must state the facts about the anniversary of the coup, without expressing approval or disapproval. For example, some headlines may treat both sides equally; they may mention the events that commemorate the coup and the sacrifices of both parties, those on the right and on the left, the coder must

mark these accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This question refers to **the Anniversary of the Chilean coup** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from a positive headline, it must only show slight approval for the anniversary of the coup. For example, the author mentions the anniversary of the Chilean coup and the events taking place, the number of people who attended the event but did not use words with positive connotations (like the word celebration). The coder must mark the headline accordingly.

Positive: This question refers to **the Anniversary of the Chilean coup** concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it must favorably remember the anniversary of the coup. These headlines might refer to September 11th as a day of celebration. For example, a headline that uses the word celebration to remember the overthrow of Allende on the anniversary must be marked Positive, by the coder.

#### 9. Pinochet

NA (non-applicable): This question **refers to the Pinochet** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not refer to Pinochet, or to any actions taken by him. For example, a headline that did not comment on Pinochet's at all nor make any allusion to him. The coder must mark these headlines accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to the **Pinochet** concept. For headlines to be coded as negative, they must mention Pinochet an absolute ruler, a despot or

dictator; someone who behaved in an authoritarian manner. For example, those headlines that mentioned Pinochet as a bad president or as a villain who hurt the county or its people, the coder must mark these accordingly.

**Slightly Negative:** This question refers to the **Pinochet** concept. For a headline to be coded as a slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative, a headline must only show slight disapproval of the Pinochet government's decisions. A straightforward opinion that shows disagreement with Pinochet's actions or governance but did not use negative or harsh words is slightly negative. For example those headlines that mentioned how Pinochet's social reform might affect the citizens, must be marked accordingly by the coder.

**Neutral:** This question refers to the **Pinochet** concept. For headlines to be coded as neutral it must talk about Pinochet's actions or the situations that he was involved in, yet neither criticize nor praise him. For example, a headline that mentions Pinochet's actions but does not use words or a tone that betrays the newspaper's opinion; the coder must mark the headline accordingly.

**Slightly Positive:** This category refers to the **Pinochet** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines, it must only show slight agreement with Pinochet's actions or government. For example, the author simply mentions how Pinochet's social and economic reforms could be beneficial to the citizens; the coder

must mark these as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to the **Pinochet** concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it needs to mention Pinochet in a positive manner; to claim, for example that Pinochet was the savior of the country, or as man who is admired for his courage for what he did for the country. When a headline calls Pinochet the savior of his country, the coder must mark it accordingly.

#### 10. Chilean Economy

NA: This question refers to **the Chilean economy** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the Chilean economy; it must not mention Pinochet or any of his actions. For example, a headline that does not comment on the Chilean Economy at all, the coder must mark it not applicable.

Negative: This question refers to **the Chilean Economy** concept. For headlines to be coded as negative it must mention the Chilean economy in a negative manner; for example, to claim that the Chilean economy has declined or not increased during either the military regime or the government that followed. Headlines that suggest that the military regime was incapable of fixing the economy after the Allende presidency are negative. Similar headlines that claim that the economy became worse after the military regime took power, the coder must also mark as negative.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **the Chilean Economy** concept. For a

headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines, it must only be slightly disapproving of Chilean economic growth. A straightforward opinion that disputes the issue of growth in the Chilean Economy during Pinochet's regime or during the following presidential term but that does not use harsh words or blame anyone. For example, those headlines that mention how a decline in the Chilean economy could affect Chileans, the coder must mark as slightly negative.

Neutral: This question refers to **the Chilean Economy concept**. For a headline to be coded as neutral, it must describe changes in the economy but without making any connection to the military government. For example headlines that mention improvements or failures of the economy, without mentioning a connection to specific government policies, the coder must mark as neutral.

Slightly Positive: This category refers to the **Chilean Economy** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines it must only show slight agreement with the idea that the Chilean economy grew during the Pinochet regime or the following presidential term but it must not use words to praise anyone. For example, the author simply mentions how increased growth in the Chilean economy could have beneficial results for the people of Chile; the coder must mark these as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to the **Chilean Economy** concept. For headlines to be coded as positive it must mention the Chilean economy in a positive manner. The headline must show the strengths of the Chilean economy; or those who argued that the economy had improved as a result of the relationship between the government and the military regime. For example, headlines that discuss political and military figures in association with recent economic advances compared to the economy during Allende's presidency.

#### 11. United States

NA: This question refers to **The United States** concept. For a headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the United States; it must not mention the U. S. at all. The coder must mark these headlines accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to **The United States** concept. For a headline to be coded as negative it must mention the United States in a negative manner. Headlines that criticize U.S. political figures are also considered negative headlines. Headlines that mention The United States in opposition to the Chilean government are negative. Headlines claiming that the United States had possibly interfered with or acted against the Chilean government are considered negative. Headlines that point to U.S. intervention in Chile's political processes are also negative. For example, headlines mentioning how the United States did not like the military

regime or that it criticized the Chilean Government. The coder must mark these as negative.

**Slightly Negative:** This question refers to **The United States** concept. For a headline to be coded as a slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines must only be slightly disapproving of the United States. This means that the headline shows disagreement with the United States' actions or political leaders but does not use harsh words or blame anyone. The coder must mark these accordingly.

**Neutral:** This question refers to **The United States** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral, it needs to mention facts about the United States but not show approval or disapproval of the United States or of its political figures. Also, headlines that mention the United States but without any mention of its relationship to the Chilean Government are neutral. For example, headlines that mention the United States without citing any political ties, or any connection to the Chilean Government, the coder must mark accordingly.

**Slightly Positive:** This category refers to **The United States** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines, it must only show slight approval of the United States in its actions towards the Chilean government but must not use effusive words. For example, the author simply mentions how the United States (or a U.S. official) acted; the coder must mark these as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to **The United States** concept. For headlines to be coded as a positive it must mention the United States in a positive manner; or praise a U.S. political figure; these are also considered positive headlines. Those headlines that claim that the United States is or could be a role model for Chile are positive as well. Headlines, that describe the U.S. and Chile as working together against socialist influences; or those headlines that praise the U.S. government and its key figures are positive. Specifically, those headlines that mention how the United States agreed with the government policies of the military regime must be coded as positive. For example, a headline that suggests U.S. support for the policies of Pinochet's military government must be marked as positive by the coder.

#### 12. United States Allies:

NA: This question refers to **The United States Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not mention the United States' allies at all. For example a headline that did not note any of the United States' allies, the coder must mark accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to the United States Allies concept. For a headline to be coded as negative it must mention the presence of United States' allies in a negative manner. Also, headlines that show disagreement by any of the United States' allies with the Chilean Government must be marked negative. For example, headlines that show that Japan criticized



the Chilean government should be marked as negative, United States allies and the coder should note this accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **The United States Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as a slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only present slight disapproval of the United States allies; it might show some disagreement with the United States ally's actions or political leaders but not use harsh words towards them. The headline must express slight disagreement with the United States ally's actions or statements made by them regarding the Chilean government. For example, a headline that says that Japan is considering how the Chilean government's actions might affect its citizens should be marked as slightly negative by the coder.

Neutral: This question refers to **The United States Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about the United States' allies but neither approve nor disapprove of them. Also, headlines that mention the United States' allies but without any mention of their support or neglect of the Chilean Government are neutral. For example, a headline that mentions the United States' allies with any political ties to, or any connection with the Chilean Government, coder should be noted accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This category refers to **The United States Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the

positive headlines, it must only show slight agreement with the United States allies' and or its actions toward the Chilean government. For example, if the author simply mentions how Japan thought that the Chilean government's actions could be beneficial to the Chilean citizens; the coder must mark this headline as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to **The United States Allies** concept. For headlines to be coded as positive it must mention the presence of the United States' allies in a positive manner. For example, headlines that show Japan praising the Chilean government should be marked as showing the presence of United States allies as positive and the coder should note this accordingly.

13. If ally/allies, which country/countries:

This question refers to **The United States Allies** concept. This question, however, asks for the specific country identified as an American ally. Once again, the coder must use cues from the text and photographs to obtain this information if it is not clear in the headline and note it accordingly.

14. Russia/USSR

NA: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the All Russia/ USSR allies; it must not mention it at all. For example a headline that did not note any of the Russia/ USSR allies, the coder must mark it NA, accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For a headline to be coded as negative it must mention the presence of Russia/ USSR in a negative manner or its political influence in Chile must be portrayed negatively. For example, headlines that mention Russia/ USSR, that describe the model of communism as a harmful influence or as detrimental to the Chilean economy, the coder must mark as negative.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only slightly disapprove of Russia/ USSR's government or political leaders and actions. The headline may express an opinion showing a slight disagreement with Russia/ USSR but does not use strong negative words in the reference to Russia or the USSR. For example those headlines that claim that the government of Russia/USSR could have an unhelpful influence on Chile, the coder must mark accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about Russia but neither approve nor disapprove. For example mentioning life in Russia without using either a negative or positive tone, the coder must mark this headline accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This category refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the

positive headlines it must only show slight agreement with Russia/ USSR's actions and/or its influence on the Chilean government. For example, headlines stating that a Russia/ USSR association with the Chilean government could be favorable to the Chilean citizens; the coder must mark these as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR** concept. For headlines to be coded as a positive it needs to portray Russia as a positive influence on Chile; or use words with positive connotations that describe Russia in a positive way. For example, headlines that mention how good the Russian economy is, or how stable the country is, and how their political influence is favorable to Chileans; the coder must mark these as positive.

#### 15. Russia/USSR allies

NA: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the Russia/ USSR allies, and must not mention them at all. For example a headline that did not name a specific Russia/ USSR ally, the coder must mark as NA accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as a negative it must mention the presence of Russia/ USSR allies in a negative manner. Or it must show the Russia/ USSR allies in disagreement with the Chilean Government. For example, headlines that show Cuba criticizing the Chilean government should be

marked as “negative --Russia/ USSR allies,” the coder should note this headline accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as a slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only show slight of disapproval for the Russia/ USSR allies; or it might show some slight disagreement with the Russia/ USSR ally’s actions or its political leaders but not use harsh words towards them. Also these headlines may only express slight disagreement from the Russia/ USSR allies toward the Chilean government. For example, headlines that show Cuba considering whether the Chilean government’s actions might have an effect on the Chilean economy; the coder should note that accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about the Russia/ USSR allies but not approve or disapprove of them. Also, headlines that mention all or any of the Russia/ USSR allies but without any mention of their support for or neglect of the Chilean Government are neutral. For example, headlines mentioning all Russia/ USSR allies with any political ties, or any connection to the Chilean Government, the coder should note this accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This category refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the

positive headlines, it must only show slight agreement with any of the Russia/ USSR allies and/or its actions toward the Chilean government. For example, if the author simply mentions how Cuba thought that the Chilean government's actions could be beneficial to Chilean citizens; the coder must mark the headline as slightly positive.

Positive: This question refers to **The Russia/ USSR Allies** concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it must mention the presence of Russia/ USSR allies in a positive manner. For example, headlines that show Cuba praising the Chilean government should be marked as positive Russia/ USSR allies, the coder should note it accordingly.

16. If ally/allies, which country/countries

This question refers to **The Russia/USSR Allies** concept. This question, however, asks for the specific country of the Russia/USSR allies. Once again, the coder must use cues from the texts and photographs to obtain this information if it is not clear in the headline and note the country accordingly.

17. Democracy

NA: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to the Chilean democracy and must not mention it at all. For example a headline that does not mention the Chilean democracy, the coder must mark accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as a negative it must mention the Chilean democracy in negative manner. Headlines that claim that the Chilean government is not democratic because people don't have the freedom of speech or that the laws and social conditions are discriminatory are negative. Headlines that state how other countries regard the Chilean government as anti-democratic are also negative.

For example, headlines complaining about how people are not able to give their opinions on television or in any media source, the coder should note these accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only reveal a slight disapproval of the Chilean democracy. Headlines that mention aspects of the Chilean democracy that could be improved but that do not attack the Chilean democracy directly, for example. The coder should mark these accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about the Chilean democracy but neither approve nor disapprove of it. If an author is just defining something about the Chilean government and she or he is not editorializing that democracy is good or bad, the headline is neutral. For example, headlines that mention the word democracy but do not allude to

the government as negative or positive; the coder should note these accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines it must only demonstrate slight approval of the Chilean democracy. Headlines that mention some aspect of the Chilean democracy that is strong but without praising the Chilean democracy are slightly positive; the coder should note these accordingly.

Positive: This question refers to the **Chilean democracy** concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it must mention the Chilean democracy in a positive manner. Headlines must claim that the Chilean government is democratic, because people have the freedom of speech, fair laws and equal social conditions. The democracy must be referred to as a government of the people. This can be also be represented by headlines that mention how other countries have said that the Chilean government was an example of democracy. The coder should note these accordingly.

#### 18. Chilean Dictatorship

NA: For a headline to be non-applicable to the question related to **Chilean Dictatorship**, the headline must not mention or be related to dictatorship in Chile. This means that a headline must have nothing to do with the concept of a dictatorship for the coder to mark it as “NA.”



Negative: For a headline to be marked as negative in relation to **Chilean**

**Dictatorship**, the coder must not only identify the concept of Chilean dictatorship in the body of the headline, but also, notice the tone of the headline as being extremely damning to such concept. A headline that is negative towards the concept of Chilean Dictatorship identifies the military junta as a dictatorial and fascist regime, criticizing it heavily and/or suggesting strong disapproval. Thus, a coder must find a headline to be strongly negative and damaging in its description of dictatorship for such to be marked as “Negative.”

Slightly Negative: For a headline to be marked as slightly negative in relation to

**Chilean Dictatorship**, the coder must not only identify the concept of Chilean dictatorship in the body of the headline, but also, find that the headline is pessimistic towards such concept. A headline that is slightly negative towards Chilean Dictatorship contains the suggestion of letdown from the Chilean dictatorship, but does not ascertain such fact. Thus, for a headline to be marked as being “Slightly Negative” towards the concept of Chilean Dictatorship, it must suggest negativity or pessimism rather than outright stating negativity towards the regime.

Neutral: For a headline to be marked as neutral in relation to **Chilean**

**Dictatorship**, the coder must identify the concept of Chilean dictatorship in the body of the headline, but must notice the tone in which the concept is referred to. It is important for the coder to distinguish the existence of

the concept in the body of the headline but at the same time notice if the tone is neutral (not negative or positive on any manner). Thus, for a coder to mark a headline as “Neutral,” the headline must show no bias towards the concept and its tone must be impartial to whether it is negative or positive.

**Slightly Positive:** For a headline to be marked as slightly positive in relation to Chilean Dictatorship, the coder must not only identify the concept of **Chilean Dictatorship** in the body of the headline, but also, find that the headline is optimistic and approving towards such concept. A headline that is slightly positive towards Chilean Dictatorship contains the suggestion of approving the Chilean dictatorship, but does not ascertain such fact. Thus, for a headline to be marked as being “Slightly positive” towards the concept of Chilean Dictatorship, it must suggest positively or optimistically rather than outright stating positivity towards the regime.

**Positive:** For a headline to be marked as positive in relation to **Chilean Dictatorship**, the coder must not only identify the concept of Chilean Dictatorship in the body of the headline, but also, notice the tone of the headline as being extremely favorable to such concept. A headline that is positive towards the concept of Chilean Dictatorship identifies the military junta as a democratic and as freeing the people to provide them a better life, praising it heavily and/or stating strong approval. Thus, a coder must

find a headline to be strongly positive in its description of dictatorship for such to be marked as “Positive.”

19. Marxism (communism)

NA: This question refers to **Marxism (communism)** concept. For a headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to Marxism (communism), it must not mention it at all. For example a headline that did not reference Marxism (communism). The coder must mark the headline accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to the **Marxism (communism)** concept. For a headlines to be coded as negative it must mention Marxism (communism) in a negative manner. Marxism is as a synonym for Communism, and associated with violence, scarcity, scandal, distress and danger of death or with any other negative connotation. For example, those headlines that mention Marxism as a threat to the Chilean government (society or way of life) are negative and must be marked accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to the **Marxism (communism)** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must show only a slight disapproval of Marxism (communism) but not attack Marxist ideals. For example, if the author merely suggests a disagreement with Marxist ideals by discussing how communism functioned in other countries but does not say that the same could occur in Chile, the coder should mark the headline as slightly

negative.

Neutral: This question refers to the **Marxism (communism)** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about Marxism (communism). Headlines that refer to Marxism but do not express approval or disapproval are neutral. Those headlines that represent agreement with some of the political views of Marxism but disagreement with others are neutral. For example, headlines that mention both the pros and cons of Marxism. Or a headline that simply refers to Marxism as a political or historical idea, apart from any specific agenda is regarded as neutral. The coder should note these accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This question refers to the **Marxism (communism)** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only show slight approval of Marxism (communism) but not express praise or admiration for the Marxist ideals. For example, the author suggests approval with Marxist ideals by talking about how communism has functioned in other countries but does not say that it would be successful if the same political doctrine were established in Chile. The coder should note this accordingly.

Positive: This question refers to the Marxism (communism) concept. For a headline to be coded as positive it must mention **Marxism (communism)** in a positive way. If Marxism is associated with happiness, progress, equal rights, or given any other positive connotation then it is positive. An

example of this would be a headline that described Marxism as a positive political view; as popular ideology that benefits all the people; or is described in some other way in support of Marxist ideals.

## 20. Repression by the Government

NA: This question refers to **Repression by the Government** concept. For a headline to be coded as a non-applicable, the headline must not refer to political repression by the Chilean government; no mention of it at all. For example a headline that did not note government repression; the coder must mark as NA.

Negative: This question refers to **The Repression by The Government** concept. For a headline to be coded as negative it must refer to repression in a negative manner. Headlines that mention acts of abuse are negative. This may also refer to headlines that name or commemorate those who were killed or who disappeared during the dictatorship. For example: The persecution of opponents to the dictatorship, acts of political repression, acts of terror by the armed forces, police, government or civilians in the service of the DINA (English: National Intelligence Directorate). The coder must mark these accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **The Repression by The Government** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only show slight disapproval of repression by the government but not condemn its actions.

For example, a headline that mentions some act of torture by the government but goes no further by asking for justice or by accusing the government of the incident; instead it just provides the facts. The coder should mark this accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to **The Repression by The Government** concept.

For a headline to be coded as negative it must mention that repression occurred during the dictatorship but does not make a statement of approval or disapproval about the abuses committed. This could be used for example when a headline mentions the memorial events organized every September 11th, both by those commemorating the military coup and those who are remembering the families of the people who were killed or who went missing. The coder must mark these accordingly.

Slightly Positive: This question refers to **The Repression by The Government** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines it must only show slight approval of the repression by the government but not praise its actions. For example, a headline that mentions some act of torture by the government but does not celebrate the action. The coder should mark these headlines accordingly.

Positive: This question refers to **The Repression by The Government** concept.

For a headline to be coded as positive it must mention the repression in a positive way. The headlines that referred to widespread political repression, throughout the country as “freedom” must be noted as positive.

Headlines that described the persecution of political opponents (by the dictatorship) as heroic; as if persecution could be a positive force that might overturn the ideals of communism, must be marked as positive. For example, those headlines that remembered September 11th as a celebration and name as terrorists, the people who protested against the celebrations must be marked as positive by the coder.

## 21. Church/Religious Figures

NA: This question refers to **The Church/ Religious Figures** concept. For a headline to be coded as non-applicable, the headline must not be related to church and religious figures, at all. For example a headline that did not mention a church or church members, the coder must mark accordingly.

Negative: This question refers to the **Church/ Religious Figures** concept. For a headline to be coded as a negative it must mention the Church or religious figures in a negative manner. If the headline refers to the church as an organization with political ties to the government; or if members of the church or church authorities, who were supporters of the military regime or of the subsequent government are named, then the headline is negative. For example, a Cardinal or a priest praising the actions of the junta; the coder must mark the headline accordingly.

Slightly Negative: This question refers to **The Church/ Religious** concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly negative and to differentiate it from the negative headlines it must only show slight disapproval of the church or

religious figures; this could include showing some form of political ties to the Chilean government but not praising the government. For example, a headline that mentions a mass attended by a government figure. The coder should mark the headline accordingly.

Neutral: This question refers to **The Church/ Religious** concept. For a headline to be coded as neutral it must mention facts about church authorities or church members, but neither approve nor disapprove. For example, a headline might announce a church event or other social activities without ties to the government. The coder should mark these headlines as neutral.

Slightly Positive: This question refers to the Church/ religious concept. For a headline to be coded as slightly positive and to differentiate it from the positive headlines, it must only show slight agreement with the Church or religious figures and/or the actions of the Chilean government. For example, a Cardinal giving his opinions about the actions of the government but without political intentions is slightly positive. The coder should mark these headlines accordingly.

Positive: This question refers to The **Church/ Religious** concept. For a headlines to be coded as positive it must mention the Church or its religious figures in a positive manner, this means referring to the church as an organization without political ties to the government; or claiming that the church was not supporting military figures or government policies. For example, a Cardinal who helped the community and did not give his opinion or use



his influence on behalf of the government is positive. The coder should mark these headlines accordingly.

## 22. Related to non-political

This question also relates to the **Related to non-political** concepts. This question helps to identify and exclude content that is not important to the purpose of this study. Headlines that refer only to sports, entertainment, weather, vandalism, International, and N/A (non-applicable) are identified, the coder should note these accordingly.

## **Coding Guide (Photographs)**

Coder can use captions and text as cues for classification. When questions start with “If,” respondent had the choice of using N/A (Non-applicable or not available). When question is an open/ended question respondent has also the choice of N/A (Non-Applicable or not available).

1. Number (highlighter): This is the total number of photographs starting from 1 to 230. The number is noted in either yellow or pink highlighter.

2. Issue date: This marks the date that the newspaper was published. Given that two days out of each year are studied, coder must mark the full date when each photo of each issue was published. The date must be marked in the following form: month/day/year.

3. Number in Issue (pen): This is the number of the photograph per issue. Each issue had a number of photographs on its cover. In order to keep record of each photograph coded, photos from each issue were numbered from left to right with pen.

4. Above or below the fold: This category signaled the location of the photograph on the cover of each issue of the newspaper. When folded, each issue showed pictures on the top and the bottom. Some of the photos were completely above the fold and others completely below the fold. When photos are located in between the top and bottom half of the fold, they are to be recorded in accordance to the space occupied in either half. For instance, if a photograph is located in the middle of the fold, but it lies mostly above it, it must be classified as being above the fold.

5. Photo prominent on cover: This category relates to the significance of the photo

on each cover of each issue of the newspaper. Bigger, more visible photographs with captions should be noted as prominent, while smaller, less visible photos that do not contain captions should be marked as not prominent.

6. Photo has a caption: Although the above category gave a hint as to whether photos have captions or not, this category ensures the recording of this and enables the coder to find which frames are more salient. If there is a caption, or a caption is missing, coder should note of that in this question.

7. Dictatorship (1973-1990)/Transition (1991-2007) periods: This category signals the two main periods studied. These two periods (each lasting for 17 years) refer to the Chilean military dictatorship, which took place from 1973 to 1990; and the transition to democracy in Chilean society, which followed from 1991 to 2007. Coder must look at the date in which the issue was published and note the period according to the year.

### **Frame Descriptions**

The following are descriptions of the existence of certain frames. In order to find out which frames were depicted in the newspaper, questions within categories were created. Such questions allowed the coder to find out which frame the photo fit in and categorize it accordingly. Below are the questions asked on the coding sheet. Following each question or group or questions there is a description of the frame, an explanation of its meaning, and its relationship to the study.

8. Existence of military figures of power: This question pertains to the **Military**

**Figures of Power** frame, which focuses on the strength of the Chilean military and its junta. The photos in this category show the prominence of the military in Chile, mainly consisting of depictions of army personnel or officers being rewarded for their performances, the display of new equipment possessed or recently purchased by the military. This frame can include or exclude Pinochet as a central figure, when surrounded by other military figures. If the photo depicts military figures of power as described above, coder must note so accordingly.

9. Pinochet included among the military figures: This question pertains to the **Military Figures of Power** frame, which focuses on the strength of the Chilean military and its junta. However, in this case, the question specifically looks for the presence of Pinochet as a central figure of power in Chile. Since he was the leader of the military junta, he is always depicted as a part of the **Military Figures of Power** frame. If the photo contains Pinochet, coder must note so accordingly.

10. If so, Pinochet shown as a hero: This question pertains to the Pinochet shown as Hero frame. This frame emphasizes Pinochet as a man who was admired for his courage and who ardently fought for the good of the nation. Pictures of Pinochet as a hero depict him as having saved the country from the evil influences of communism and/or socialism. Portrayals of Pinochet as a hero are shown by pictures of him giving aid to the poor, standing happily in front of a crowd, or raising his hand above in triumph (usually standing outside of La Casa de la Moneda, Chile's presidential residence). If the photo shows Pinochet as a hero (using the above guidelines), coder must note so accordingly.

11. Are there any right wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted: This question refers to the **Right-Wing versus Left-Wing Political Leaders** frame. This frame placed emphasis on the political leaders by showing them at different events, or as political candidates. Coder should recognize right wing political leaders either by the image, or by the name in the caption and/or legible text of each article. If the photo shows a right wing political leader, coder must note so accordingly.

12. Are there any left wing Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted: This question refers to the **Right-Wing versus Left-Wing Political Leaders** frame. This frame placed emphasis on the political leaders by showing them at different events, or as political candidates. Coder should recognize left wing political leaders either by the image, or by the name in the caption and/or legible text of each article. If the photo shows a left wing political leader, coder must note so accordingly.

13. Religious figures depicted in the photo: This question refers to the **Religious Figures** frame. This frame emphasizes the presence of religious figures that showed allegiance to or sympathies for the military regime and the overthrow of the Allende government. Also, anything related to the church, such as cathedrals, crucifixes, monuments etcetera. However, the frame also involves pictures of foreign notables who agreed with the Pinochet regime. Religious figures were usually shown at events commemorating the September 11 anniversary. Most religious figures depicted in *El Mercurio* include Catholic priests, cardinals as well as the Catholic pope. If the photo shows a religious figure, coder must note so accordingly.

14. If so, do such figures show alliance to the Chilean government: This question

refers to the Religious Figures frame. Also, anything related to the church, such as cathedrals, crucifixes, monuments etcetera, that are in alliance towards government. However, in this case, instead of noting for mere presence, coder should look for obvious signs that the religious figure is in alignment with the politics of the Chilean government. For example, if a priest is shown in a picture during the celebration of the anniversary of the military coup, the coder should note that the religious figure is in alliance with the Chilean government. Thus, if the photo shows a religious figure in alliance with the Chilean government, coder must note so accordingly.

15. Police Violence shown in photo: This question refers to the **Police Violence** frame. This frame emphasizes the presence of the police force in Chile. Photos that depict police violence show police in conflict with someone identified as a criminal, working a crime scene, or battling insurgents/protesters. Photographs may also include depictions of police officers as wounded heroes. If the photo contains police violence as described above, coder must note so accordingly.

16. If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted: This question refers to the **Police Violence** frame. While in the previous question the sole focus was to note the presence of violence and police involvement in such, this question focuses on whether the photo shows a single police figure attacking, using force, or being attacked. If the photo contains a dominant forceful police figure, then coder must mark so accordingly.

17. If so, is the dominant police figure depicted as a hero: This question refers to the **Police Violence** frame. Photographs may contain depictions of police officers as wounded heroes, or being commemorated for valor or good actions in favor of the

government. If the photo contains a dominant forceful police figure depicted as a hero, then coder must mark so accordingly.

18. Bandwagon crown depicted: This question refers to the **Bandwagon** frame. This frame reinforces the idea that people should and could join the “victorious side.” This frame consists largely of crowds celebrating and showing their patriotism by raising or waving the Chilean flag or other patriotic symbols. For example, this category may include groups of people celebrating the Chilean Independence Day by dressing in traditional costumes. The presence of more than three people is considered necessary to imply a crowd, yet such crowd must be composed of civilians, not only of military and/or political leaders. If the photo contains a bandwagon crowd, then coder must mark so accordingly.

19. Is there a single prominent figure among the crowd: This question refers to the **Bandwagon** frame. Unlike the previous question, which looked only for the presence of bandwagon crowds, this question focuses on dominant figures among such crowds. Some pictures will depict crowds gathering for a speech, in which case the speechmaker becomes the prominent figure of such photograph. If the photo contains a single prominent figure among the crowd, then coder must mark so accordingly.

20. If so, is it a religious or political figure: This question refers to the **Bandwagon** frame. Unlike the previous question, which focused on the presence of a single dominant figure among the bandwagon crowd, this question focused on who that dominant figure is. The photo and its caption should allow for clues as to whether the dominant figure is of religious or political tendencies. Thus, if the dominant figure in the

bandwagon crowd is a religious or political figure, the coder must note so accordingly.

21. If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show an alliance to the Chilean government: This question refers to the **Bandwagon** frame. In this case, however, must focus not only on the definition of crowd (see explanation of question 18), but instead, to focus on whether such crowd is in allegiance to the Chilean government. Coder must use queues such as the caption and/or legible text for guidance. Thus, if the photo shows that the bandwagon crowd is in allegiance to the Chilean government, coder must note so accordingly.

22. Anti-government activity (not protest related) depicted in photo: This question refers to the **Anti-government activity (not protest related)** frame. This frame refers to cases in which activities against the government were shown in the picture, but had nothing to do with protest or direct violence against the government. This frame is related to acts of underground activity against the Chilean activities such as covert action by rebels/insurgents. For example, photos that contain espionage activities such as the hiding of weapons to be used against the government should be marked as anti-government activity that is not protest related. Coder should use cues in the captions and/or legible text to identify accordingly. If the photo shows anti-government activity that is not protest related, then coder should note so accordingly.

23. Anti-government protests depicted: This question refers to the **Anti-government Protests** frame. This frame emphasizes the opposition and dissatisfaction with the military dictatorship in Chile. Such opposition is displayed in violent and/or peaceful forms of protests. If the photo shows anti-government protests, then coder



should note so accordingly.

24. If so, are students shown as protesters: This question refers to the **Anti-government Protests** frame. However, unlike the previous question, which only looked for the existence of anti-government protests, this question searches for a specific type of protester: students. Usually depicted as young, university-aged protesters, students are identifiable in the photos by their sole image in the photos, and with cues in the photo captions, or legible text. If the photo shows students as protesters, then coder should note so accordingly.

25. If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents: This question refers to the **Anti-government Protests** frame. However, this question solely refers to the way that student protesters are portrayed in the newspaper photographs. If the picture depicts them as rebels who have cause a protest, then coder should mark so appropriately. Thus, if the photo contains students being depicted as rebels/insurgents, then coder should note so accordingly.

26. If anti-government protest was depicted, was it held in Chile: This question refers to the **Anti-government Protests** frame. Yet, in this question, the focus is solely on the location of the protest as to whether it took place in Chile or not. Coder should take cues from the captions and/or legible text to identify the location of the protest and note this information accordingly.

27. If not in Chile, where was it held: This question refers to the **Anti-government Protests** frame. This question, however, asks for the specific location (country) of the protest if it took place outside of Chile. Once again, the coder must use

cues from the caption and/or legible text to obtain this information and note it accordingly.

28. Presence of American Political leaders and/or allies: This question refers to the **United States and Allies** frame. This frame refers to mentions and presence of the U.S. in *El Mercurio*. Showing American government figures or government leaders of U.S. allied nations depicts such presence. For example, images that show U.S. President should be marked as having the presence of American leaders. Thus, if the picture shows the presence of American leaders, coder should note so accordingly.

29. If so, who: This question refers to the **United States and Allies** frame. Yet, this question focuses on which American political leader/s were depicted in the photographs. Using the image as well as clues from the caption and or legible text, coder should note the names of such political figures accordingly and accurately from left to right.

30. If so, does the photo depict the American political leader in an activity related to Chile or the Chilean government: This question refers to the **United States and Allies** frame. However, this question focuses on how the American political leader was depicted in the photograph and whether or not he/she/they showed alliance to the Chilean government. Coder must use captions and or other legible text for cues as to the depiction of such leaders. For example, if an American leader is depicted speaking on the Chilean economy, he or she should be marked as an American leader in an activity related to Chile or the Chilean government. Thus, if the photo shows American political leaders in an activity related to the Chile or the Chilean government, then coder must note so

accordingly.

31. If so, does the photo depict American political leader in a positive manner:

This question refers to the **United States and Allies** frame. In this question, however, the focus is not on the activity performed by the American political leader, but rather on how he or she is portrayed in the newspaper. The coder must use cues in the caption and or other legible text to decipher if the American political leader is being depicted in a positive or negative manner by the newspaper. Thus, if the American political leader in the photograph is shown in a positive manner, then the coder must note so accordingly.

32. Presence of Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leaders in photo: This

question refers to the **Soviet/Russian and Allies** frame. This frame refers to mentions and presence of the Soviet/Russian and/or allies in *El Mercurio*. Showing Soviet/Russian government figures or government leaders of allied nations depicts such presence. Also includes activity related to soviet/ Russian and allies. For example, images that show Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders should be marked as having the presence of Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders. Thus, if the picture shows the presence of Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders, coder should note so accordingly.

33. If so, who: This question refers to the **Soviet/Russian and Allies** frame. Yet,

this question focuses on which Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders were depicted in the photographs. Using the image as well as cues from the caption and or legible text, coder should note the names or the country of such political figures, accordingly and accurately from left to right.

34. If so, does the photo depict the Soviet/Russian and/or ally leader in an activity

related to Chile or the Chilean government: This question refers to the **Soviet/Russian and Allies** frame. However, this question focuses on how the Soviet/Russian and/or ally leader was depicted in the photograph and whether or not he/she/they showed alliance to the Chilean government. Coder must use captions and or other legible text for cues as to the depiction of such leaders. For example, if a Soviet/Russian and/or ally leader is depicted speaking on the Chilean economy, he or she should be marked as a Soviet/Russian and/or ally leader in an activity related to Chile or the Chilean government. Thus, if the photo shows Soviet/Russian and/or ally leaders in an activity related to the Chile or the Chilean government, then coder must note so accordingly.

35. If so, does the photo depict Soviet/Russian and/or ally leader in a positive manner: This question refers to the **Soviet/Russian and Allies** frame. In this question, however, the focus is not on the activity performed by the Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leader, but rather on how he or she is portrayed in the newspaper. The coder must use cues in the caption and or other legible text to decipher is the Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leader is being depicted in a positive or negative manner by the newspaper. Thus, if the Soviet/Russian and/or ally political leader in the photograph is shown in a positive manner, then the coder must note so accordingly.

36. Picture is sports, entertainment, or weather related: This question relates to the **Other Frames** frame. This category includes photos of sporting and entertainment events as well as natural disasters, or any other weather related news. If a photo contains imaged described above, then coder should note so accordingly.

37. Other: This open-ended question also relates to the **Other Frames** frame.

However, this question allows for the description of photographs that were not found in any of the above categories. Thus, if there is a photograph that cannot be coded in any of the above categories and is irrelevant to any of the prior 36 questions, the coder must mark and describe it accordingly.

APPENDIX II

**Headlines Analysis: Frequencies, Crosstabs and Chi-Square Tests**

Chilean Military Concept:

TABLE 1: Frequencies

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Negative	4	1.4	9.1	9.1
	Slightly Negative	2	.7	4.5	13.6
	Neutral	3	1.1	6.8	20.5
	Slightly Positive	3	1.1	6.8	27.3
	Positive	32	11.3	72.7	100.0
	Total	44	15.5	100.0	
Missing	N/A	240	84.5		
Total		284	100.0		

TABLE 1.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Chilean Military	44	15.5%	240	84.5%	284	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* Chilean Military

Cross tabulation

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)			Chilean Military					Total
			Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictators	Count	2	1	0	3	26	32
	hip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	6.3%	3.1%	0.0%	9.4%	81.3%	100.0%
		% Within Chilean Military	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%	81.3%	72.7%
	Transition to Democracy	Count	2	1	3	0	6	12
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	16.7%	8.3%	25.0%	0.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% Within Chilean Military	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%	18.8%	27.3%
Total		Count	4	2	3	3	32	44
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	9.1%	4.5%	6.8%	6.8%	72.7%	100.0%
		% Within Chilean Military	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 1.2: Chi-Square Tests

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.859 <sup>a</sup>	4	.018
Likelihood Ratio	12.361	4	.015
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.787	1	.029
N of Valid Cases	44		

a. 8 cells (80.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

Pinochet Concept:

TABLE 2: Frequencies

Pinochet (Pinochet9)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Slightly Negative	2	.7	3.6	3.6
	Neutral	1	.4	1.8	5.4
	Positive	53	18.7	94.6	100.0
	Total	56	19.7	100.0	
Missing	N/A	228	80.3		
Total		284	100.0		

TABLE 2.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Pinochet (Pinochet9)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Pinochet	56	19.7%	228	80.3%	284	100.0%



Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* Pinochet Cross  
tabulation

Pinochet (Pinochet9)			Pinochet			Total
			Slightly Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictatorship	Count	0	0	47	47
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% Within Pinochet	0.0%	0.0%	88.7%	83.9%
Transition to Democracy		Count	2	1	6	9
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%	100.0%
		% Within Pinochet	100.0%	100.0%	11.3%	16.1%
Total		Count	2	1	53	56
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	3.6%	1.8%	94.6%	100.0%
		% Within Pinochet	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 2.2: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.553 <sup>a</sup>	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	11.940	2	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.738	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	56		

a. 4 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .16.

Chilean Economy Concept:

TABLE 3: Frequencies

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Negative	3	1.1	5.8	5.8
	Slightly Negative	9	3.2	17.3	23.1
	Neutral	2	.7	3.8	26.9
	Slightly Positive	19	6.7	36.5	63.5
	Positive	19	6.7	36.5	100.0
	Total	52	18.3	100.0	
Missing	N/A	232	81.7		
Total		284	100.0		

TABLE 3.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Chilean Economy	52	18.3%	232	81.7%	284	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* Chilean Economy

Cross tabulation

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)			Chilean Economy					Total
			Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictators	Count	0	0	0	14	19	33
	hip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%
Transition to Democracy (1991-2007)	Count	Count	0	9	2	5	0	19
	hip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	73.7%	100.0%	63.5%
	Count	Count	3	9	2	5	0	19
	hip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	15.8%	47.4%	10.5%	26.3%	0.0%	100.0%

	% Within Chilean Economy	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	26.3%	0.0%	36.5%
Total	Count	3	9	2	19	19	52
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	5.8%	17.3%	3.8%	36.5%	36.5%	100.0%
	% Within Chilean Economy	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 3.2: Chi-Square Tests

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.111 <sup>a</sup>	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	46.370	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	33.106	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	52		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .73.

Anniversary of The Coup Concept:

TABLE 4: Frequencies

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Negative	4	1.4	8.7	8.7
Slightly Negative	4	1.4	8.7	17.4
Neutral	2	.7	4.3	21.7
Positive	36	12.7	78.3	100.0
Total	46	16.2	100.0	
Missing N/A	238	83.8		
Total	284	100.0		

TABLE 4.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Anniversary of the coup	46	16.2%	238	83.8%	284	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* Anniversary of the coup Cross tabulation

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)			Anniversary of the coup				Total
			Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictatorship	Count % Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 3.6%	27 96.4%	28 100.0%
	Anniversary of the coup	% Within Anniversary of the coup	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	75.0%	60.9%
Transition to Democracy	Count % Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	4 22.2%	4 22.2%	1 5.6%	9 50.0%	18 100.0%	

	% Within Anniversary of the coup	100.0%	100.0%	50.0%	25.0%	39.1%
Total	Count	4	4	2	36	46
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	8.7%	8.7%	4.3%	78.3%	100.0%
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 4.2: Chi-Square Tests

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.562 <sup>a</sup>	3	.001
Likelihood Ratio	18.317	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.634	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	46		

a. 6 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .78.

The United States Concept:

TABLE 5: Frequencies

United States (UnitedStates11)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Slightly Negative	2	.7	6.3	6.3
Neutral	13	4.6	40.6	46.9
Slightly Positive	2	.7	6.3	53.1
Positive	15	5.3	46.9	100.0
Total	32	11.3	100.0	
Missing N/A	252	88.7		
Total	284	100.0		

TABLE 5.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

United States (UnitedStates11)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * United States	32	11.3%	252	88.7%	284	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* United States

Cross tabulation

United States (UnitedStates11)			United States				Total
			Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictators	Count	0	6	1	7	14
	hip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	42.9%	7.1%	50.0%	100.0%
Transition to democracy (1991-2007)		% Within United States	0.0%	46.2%	50.0%	46.7%	43.8%
	Transition to Democracy	Count	2	7	1	8	18
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	11.1%	38.9%	5.6%	44.4%	100.0%
		% Within United States	100.0%	53.8%	50.0%	53.3%	56.3%
Total	Count		2	13	2	15	32

% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	6.3%	40.6%	6.3%	46.9%	100.0%
% Within United States	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 5.2: Chi-Square Tests

United States (UnitedStates11)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.670 <sup>a</sup>	3	.644
Likelihood Ratio	2.415	3	.491
Linear-by-Linear Association	.386	1	.535
N of Valid Cases	32		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .88.

### Photographs Analysis: Frequencies, Crosstabs and Chi-Square Tests

Bandwagon Frame:

TABLE 6: Frequencies

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	50	21.7	21.7	21.7
No	180	78.3	78.3	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	



TABLE 6.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Bandwagon crowd depicted	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Bandwagon crowd depicted Cross tabulation

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)			Bandwagon crowd depicted		Total
			Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorship	Count	37	88	125
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	29.6%	70.4%	100.0%
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	74.0%	48.9%	54.3%
Total	Transition to Democracy	Count	13	92	105
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	12.4%	87.6%	100.0%
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	26.0%	51.1%	45.7%
		Count	50	180	230
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	21.7%	78.3%	100.0%
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 6.2: Chi-Square Tests

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.945 <sup>a</sup>	1	.002		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	8.959	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	10.357	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.902	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 22.83.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

TABLE 7: Frequencies

Bandwagon Frame:

If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government (BandwagonAlliance21)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	44	19.1	89.8	89.8
No	5	2.2	10.2	100.0
Total	49	21.3	100.0	
Missing N/A	181	78.7		
Total	230	100.0		

TABLE 7.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

(BandwagonAlliance21)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government	49	21.3%	181	78.7%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government

Cross tabulation

(BandwagonAlliance21)			If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government		Total
			Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorship	Count	36	2	38
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	94.7%	5.3%	100.0%
		% Within If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government	81.8%	40.0%	77.6%
	Transition to Democracy	Count	8	3	11
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%

	% Within If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government	18.2%	60.0%	22.4%
Total	Count	44	5	49
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy ( 1991-2007)	89.8%	10.2%	100.0%
	% Within If there is a bandwagon crowd effect depicted, does the crowd show alliance to Chilean government	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 7.2: Chi-Square Tests

(BandwagonAlliance21)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.510 <sub>a</sub>	1	.034		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	2.428	1	.119		
Likelihood Ratio	3.734	1	.053		
Fisher's Exact Test				.068	.068
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.418	1	.036		
N of Valid Cases	49				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.12.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Military Figures of Power Frame:

TABLE 8: Frequencies

Existence of military figures of power (Militaryfig8)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	49	21.3	21.3	21.3
No	181	78.7	78.7	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 8.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Existence of military figures of power (Militaryfig8)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Existence of military figures of power	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Existence of military figures of power\* Cross tabulation

	(Militaryfig8)	Existence of military figures of power		Total	
		Yes	No		
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorship	Count	41	84	125
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	32.8%	67.2%	100.0%

	% Within Existence of military figures of power	83.7%	46.4%	54.3%
Transition to Democracy	Count	8	97	105
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	7.6%	92.4%	100.0%
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	16.3%	53.6%	45.7%
Total	Count	49	181	230
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 8.2: Chi-Square Tests

(Militaryfig8)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.582 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	20.106	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	23.507	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.488	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 22.37.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Pinochet as a Hero Frame:

TABLE 9: Frequencies

Pinochet included among the military figures of power (Pinochet9)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	46	20.0	20.0	20.0
No	184	80.0	80.0	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 9.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

(Pinochet9)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Pinochet included among the military figures of power	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Pinochet included among the military figures of power Cross tabulation

(Pinochet9)	Pinochet included among the military figures of power		Total
	Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	39 31.2%	86 68.8%	125 100.0%

	% Within Pinochet included among the military figures of power	84.8%	46.7%	54.3%
Transition to Democracy	Count	7	98	105
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%
	% Within Pinochet included among the military figures of power	15.2%	53.3%	45.7%
Total	Count	46	184	230
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	% Within Pinochet included among the military figures of power	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 9.2: Chi-Square Tests

(Pinochet9)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.467 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	19.961	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	23.577	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.373	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.00.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table



Pinochet as a Hero Frame:

TABLE 10: Frequencies

If so, Pinochet shown as hero (Pinochethero19)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	29	12.6	59.2	59.2
No	20	8.7	40.8	100.0
Total	49	21.3	100.0	
Missing N/A	181	78.7		
Total	230	100.0		

TABLE 10.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

If so, Pinochet shown as hero (Pinochethero19)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * If so, Pinochet shown as hero	49	21.3%	181	78.7%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* If so, Pinochet shown as hero Cross tabulation

	(Pinochethero19)	If so, Pinochet shown as hero		Total
		Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictatorship Count % Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	23 57.5%	17 42.5%	40 100.0%

	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	79.3%	85.0%	81.6%
Transition to Democracy	Count % Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) % Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	6 66.7%	3 33.3%	9 100.0 %
Total	Count % Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) % Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	29 59.2%	20 40.8%	49 100.0 %

TABLE 10.2: Chi-Square Tests

(Pinochethero19)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.256 <sup>a</sup>	1	.613		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.017	1	.896		
Likelihood Ratio	.260	1	.610		
Fisher's Exact Test				.720	.455
Linear-by-Linear Association	.250	1	.617		
N of Valid Cases	49				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.67.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Religious Figures Frame:

TABLE 11: Frequencies

Religious figures depicted in photo (ReligiousFig13)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	28	12.2	12.2	12.2
No	202	87.8	87.8	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 11.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

(ReligiousFig13)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Religious figures depicted in photo	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Religious figures depicted in photo Cross tabulation

(ReligiousFig13)			Religious figures depicted in photo		Total
			Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorship	Count	17	108	125
	Count	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	13.6%	86.4%	100.0%
	Count	% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	60.7%	53.5%	54.3%

Transition to Democracy	Count	11	94	105
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	10.5%	89.5%	100.0%
	% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	39.3%	46.5%	45.7%
Total	Count	28	202	230
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	12.2%	87.8%	100.0%
	% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 11.2: Chi-Square Tests

(ReligiousFig13)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.521 <sup>a</sup>	1	.470		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.270	1	.604		
Likelihood Ratio	.525	1	.469		
Fisher's Exact Test				.546	.303
Linear-by-Linear Association	.519	1	.471		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.78.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Right Wing vs. Left-Wing Politics Frame:

TABLE 12: Frequencies

Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted (Rightwing11)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	27	11.7	11.7	11.7

No	203	88.3	88.3	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 12.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Are there any right-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders (Rightwing11)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Are there any right-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Are there any right-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted Cross tabulation

			Are there any right-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted		Total
			Yes	No	
(Rightwing11)					
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorship	Count	15	110	125
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	12.0%	88.0%	100.0%
Transition		% Within Are there any right-wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	55.6%	54.2%	54.3%
		Count	12	93	105

	to Democracy	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	11.4%	88.6%	100.0%
		% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	44.4%	45.8%	45.7%
Total		Count	27	203	230
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	11.7%	88.3%	100.0%
		% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 12.2: Chi-Square Tests

(Rightwing11)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.018 <sup>a</sup>	1	.893		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.018	1	.893		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.530
Linear-by-Linear Association	.018	1	.894		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.33.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Anti-Government Protests Frame:

TABLE 13: Frequencies

Anti-government protests depicted (Antigovprotest23)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	23	10.0	10.0	10.0
No	207	90.0	90.0	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 13.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Anti-government protests depicted (Antigovprotest23)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Anti-government protests depicted	230	100.0%	0	0.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Anti-government protests depicted Cross tabulation

(Antigovprotest23)	Anti-government protests depicted		Total
	Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	1 0.8%	124 99.2%	125 100.0%

	% Within Anti-government protests depicted	4.3%	59.9%	54.3%
Transition to Democracy	Count	22	83	105
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	21.0%	79.0%	100.0%
	% Within Anti-government protests depicted	95.7%	40.1%	45.7%
Total	Count	23	207	230
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
	% Within Anti-government protests depicted	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 13.2: Chi-Square Tests

(Antigovprotest23)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.750 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	23.560	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	30.091	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.638	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	230				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.50.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table



Anti-Government Protests Frame:

TABLE 14: Frequencies

If so, are students shown as protesters (studentsprotesters24)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	4.8	52.4	52.4
No	10	4.3	47.6	100.0
Total	21	9.1	100.0	
Missing N/A	209	90.9		
Total	230	100.0		

TABLE 14.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

If so, are students shown as protesters (studentsprotesters24)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * If so, are students shown as protesters	21	9.1%	209	90.9%	230	100.0%
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents	12	5.2%	218	94.8%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* If so, are students shown as protesters

(studentsprotesters24)	If so, are students shown as protesters		Total
	Yes	No	
Dictatorship Dictatorship Count	1	0	1

(1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0 %
	% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	9.1%	0.0%	4.8%
Transition to Democracy	Count	10	10	20
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	50.0%	50.0%	100.0 %
	% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	90.9%	100.0%	95.2%
Total	Count	11	10	21
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	52.4%	47.6%	100.0 %
	% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %

TABLE 14.2: Chi-Square Tests

(studentsprotesters2 4)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi- Square	.955 <sup>a</sup>	1	.329		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	1.339	1	.247		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.524
Linear-by-Linear Association	.909	1	.340		
N of Valid Cases	21				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .48.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Anti-Government Protests Frame:

TABLE 15: Frequency

If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents (studentsrebelsinsurgents25)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	4.8	91.7	91.7
	No	1	.4	8.3	100.0
	Total	12	5.2	100.0	
Missing	N/A	218	94.8		
	Total	230	100.0		

TABLE 15.1: Crosstabs

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents

(studentsrebelsinsurgents25)			If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents		Total
			Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Dictatorsh	Count	1	0	1
	ip	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents	9.1%	0.0%	8.3%
Transition to Democrac y	Transition	Count	10	1	11
	to	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
	Democrac y	% Within If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents	90.9%	100.0 %	91.7%
Total			11	1	12

% Within Dictatorship ( 1973-1990) or Transition to democracy ( 1991-2007)	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
% Within If so, are students depicted as rebels/insurgents	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 15.2: Chi-Square Tests

(studentsrebelsinsurgents25)	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.099 <sup>a</sup>	1	.753		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.182	1	.670		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.917
Linear-by-Linear Association	.091	1	.763		
N of Valid Cases	12				

a. 3 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .08.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Police Violence Frame:

TABLE 16: Frequencies

Police Violence shown in photo (PoliceViolence15)	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	4.8	4.8	4.8
No	219	95.2	95.2	100.0
Total	230	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 16.1: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

Police Violence shown in photo (PoliceViolence15)	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted?	10	4.3%	220	95.7%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted? Cross tabulation

(PoliceViolence15)			If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted?		Total
			Yes	No	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictatorship	Count	1	3	4
	p	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
Transition to Democracy		% Within If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted?	25.0%	50.0%	40.0%
		Count	3	3	6
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

	% Within If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted?	75.0 %	50.0%	60.0 %
Total	Count	4	6	10
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	40.0 %	60.0%	100.0 %
	% Within If so, is there a dominant forceful police figure depicted?	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %

TABLE 16.2: Chi-Square Tests

(PoliceViolence15 )	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.625 <sup>a</sup>	1	.429		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.017	1	.895		
Likelihood Ratio	.644	1	.422		
Fisher's Exact Test				.571	.452
Linear-by-Linear Association	.563	1	.453		
N of Valid Cases	10				

a. 4 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.60.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

**Reliability: Kappa Test Results, Headlines**

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) (DictorTrans3):

TABLE 17: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) * Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	28	9.9%	256	90.1%	284	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) \* Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007) Cross tabulation

			Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)		Total
			Dictatorship	Transition to democracy	
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	Dictatorship	Count	17	0	17
		Expected Count	10.3	6.7	17.0
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	0.0%	60.7%
Transition to Democracy	Transition to Democracy	Count	0	11	11
		Expected Count	6.7	4.3	11.0
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	100.0%	39.3%
Total	Count	17	11	28
	Expected Count	17.0	11.0	28.0
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	60.7%	39.3%	100.0%
	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	1.000	.000	5.292	.000
N of Valid Cases	28			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Chilean Military (ChileanMili7):

TABLE 18: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Chilean Military * Chilean Military	8	2.8%	276	97.2%	284	100.0%

Chilean Military \* Chilean Military Cross tabulation

	Chilean Military			Total
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Chilean <u>Negative</u> Count	1	0	0	1



Military	Expected Count	.1	.3	.6	1.0	
	% Within					
	Chilean	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Military					
	% Within					
	Chilean	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	
	Military					
	Neutral	Count	0	2	0	2
	Expected Count	.3	.5	1.3	2.0	
	% Within					
	Chilean	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Military					
% Within						
Chilean	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	25.0%		
Military						
Positive	Count	0	0	5	5	
Expected Count	.6	1.3	3.1	5.0		
% Within						
Chilean	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Military						
% Within						
Chilean	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	62.5%		
Military						
Total	Count	1	2	5	8	
Expected Count	1.0	2.0	5.0	8.0		
% Within						
Chilean	12.5%	25.0%	62.5%	100.0%		
Military						
% Within						
Chilean	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
Military						

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement N of Valid Cases	Kappa 1.000	.000	3.699	.000

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Anniversary of the coup (AniverCoup8):

TABLE 19: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Anniversary of the coup *	14	4.9%	270	95.1%	284	100.0%
Anniversary of the coup						

Anniversary of the coup \* Anniversary of the coup Cross tabulation

		Anniversary of the coup					Total
		Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Positive	
Anniversary of the coup	Neg Count	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.4	.1	.1	.1	1.1	2.0
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%
Slightly Negative	Count	1	1	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.4	.1	.1	.1	1.1	2.0
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Anniversary of the coup	33.3%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%
Neutral	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Expected Count	.2	.1	.1	.1	.6	1.0

	% Within Anniversary of the coup	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%
Positive	Count	0	0	0	1	8	9
	Expected Count	1.9	.6	.6	.6	5.1	9.0
	% within Anniversary of the coup	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	64.3%
Total	Count	3	1	1	1	8	14
	Expected Count	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	8.0	14.0
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	21.4%	7.1%	7.1%	7.1%	57.1%	100.0%
	% Within Anniversary of the coup	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

#### Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.	
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.757	.147	4.714	.000
N of Valid Cases		14			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Pinochet (Pinochet9):

TABLE 20: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Pinochet *	13	4.6%	271	95.4%	284	100.0%
Pinochet						

Pinochet \* Pinochet Cross tabulation

			Pinochet		Total
			Neutral	Positive	
Pinochet Neutral	Count		1	0	1
	Expected Count		.1	.9	1.0
	% Within Pinochet		100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% Within Pinochet		100.0%	0.0%	7.7%
Positive	Count		0	12	12
	Expected Count		.9	11.1	12.0
	% Within Pinochet		0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% Within Pinochet		0.0%	100.0%	92.3%
Total	Count		1	12	13
	Expected Count		1.0	12.0	13.0
	% Within Pinochet		7.7%	92.3%	100.0%
	% Within Pinochet		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.

Measure of Agreement	Kappa	1.000	.000	3.606	.000
N of Valid Cases		13			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Chilean Economy (ChileanEconomy10):

TABLE 21: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Chilean Economy * Chilean Economy	10	3.5%	274	96.5%	284	100.0%

Chilean Economy \* Chilean Economy Cross tabulation

			Chilean Economy		Total
			Slightly Positive	Positive	
Chilean Economy	Slightly Positive	Count	3	0	3
		Expected Count	.9	2.1	3.0
		% Within Chilean Economy	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within Chilean Economy	100.0%	0.0%	30.0%
	Positive	Count	0	7	7
		Expected Count	2.1	4.9	7.0
		% Within Chilean Economy	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% Within Chilean Economy	0.0%	100.0%	70.0%
Total		Count	3	7	10
		Expected Count	3.0	7.0	10.0
		% Within Chilean Economy	30.0%	70.0%	100.0%

% Within Chilean Economy	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
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Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	1.000	.000	3.162	.002
N of Valid Cases		10			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Reliability: Kappa Test Results, Photographs**

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007 (DictorTrans3):

TABLE 22: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) * Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) \* Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007) Cross tabulation

	Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Total
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		Dictatorship	Transition to Democracy		
Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991- 2007)	Di	Count	16	0	16
	cta	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	tor	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	0.0%	69.6%
	shi	% Of Total	69.6%	0.0%	69.6%
Transition to Democracy (1991- 2007)	p	Count	0	7	7
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	0.0%	100.0%	30.4%
		% Of Total	0.0%	30.4%	30.4%
Total	Tr	Count	16	7	23
	ans	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	69.6%	30.4%	100.0%
	itio	% Within Dictatorship (1973-1990) or Transition to democracy (1991-2007)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	n	% Of Total	69.6%	30.4%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	1.000	.000	4.796	.000
N of Valid Cases	23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Existence of military figures of power (Militaryfig8):

TABLE 23: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Existence of military figures of power * Existence of military figures of power	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Existence of military figures of power \* Existence of military figures of power Cross tabulation

	Ye s	Count % Within Existence of military figures of power	Existence of military figures of power		Total
			Yes	No	
Existence of military figures of power	Ye s	Count % Within Existence of military figures of power	11 100.0%	0 0.0%	11 100.0%



	% Within Existence of military figures of power	100.0%	0.0%	47.8%
	% Of Total	47.8%	0.0%	47.8%
No	Count	0	12	12
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	0.0%	100.0%	52.2%
	% Of Total	0.0%	52.2%	52.2%
Total	Count	11	12	23
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	47.8%	52.2%	100.0%
	% Within Existence of military figures of power	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% Of Total	47.8%	52.2%	100.0%

#### Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	1.000	.000	4.796	.000
N of Valid Cases	23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Pinochet included among the military figures of power (Pinocet9):

TABLE 24: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Pinochet included among the military figures of power * Pinochet included among the military figures of power	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Pinochet included among the military figures of power \* Pinochet included among the military figures of power Cross tabulation

			Pinochet included among the military figures of power		Total
			Yes	No	
Pinochet included among the military figures of power	Yes	Count	10	0	10
		Expected Count	4.3	5.7	10.0
		% Of Total	43.5%	0.0%	43.5%
	No	Count	0	13	13
		Expected Count	5.7	7.3	13.0
		% Of Total	0.0%	56.5%	56.5%
Total	Count	10	13	23	
	Expected Count	10.0	13.0	23.0	
	% Of Total	43.5%	56.5%	100.0%	

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
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Measure of Agreement	Kappa	1.000	.000	4.796	.000
N of Valid Cases		23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

If so, Pinochet shown as hero (Pinocheherot10):

TABLE 25: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
If so, Pinochet shown as hero *	10	4.3%	220	95.7%	230	100.0%
If so, Pinochet shown as hero						

If so, Pinochet shown as hero \* If so, Pinochet shown as hero Cross tabulation

			If so, Pinochet shown as hero		Total
			Yes	No	
If so, Pinochet shown as hero	Yes	Count	6	0	6
		Expected Count	3.6	2.4	6.0
	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero		100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
			100.0%	0.0%	60.0%
No	No	Count	0	4	4
		Expected Count	2.4	1.6	4.0
	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero		0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	0.0%	100.0%	40.0%
Total	Count	6	4	10
	Expected Count	6.0	4.0	10.0
	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	% Within If so, Pinochet shown as hero	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	1.000	.000	3.162	.002
N of Valid Cases	10			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted (Rightwing11):

TABLE 26: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non- military political leaders depicted * Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non- military political leaders depicted	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted \* Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted Cross tabulation

			Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted		Total
			Yes	No	
Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	Yes	Count	3	1	4
		Expected Count	.5	3.5	4.0
		% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	0	19	19
		Expected Count	2.5	16.5	19.0
		% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	3	20	23	
	Expected Count	3.0	20.0	23.0	
	% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	13.0%	87.0%	100.0%	

% Within Are there any right- wing, Chilean, non-military political leaders depicted	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
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Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Kappa Agreement	.832	.162	4.048	.000
N of Valid Cases	23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Religious figures depicted in photo (ReligiousFig13):

TABLE 27: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Religious figures depicted in photo * Religious figures depicted in photo	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Religious figures depicted in photo \* Religious figures depicted in photo Cross  
tabulation

			Religious figures depicted in photo			Total
			-1.00	Yes	No	
Religious figures depicted in photo	Yes	Count	0	2	0	2
		Expected Count	.1	.2	1.7	2.0
		% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	1	0	20	21
		Expected Count	.9	1.8	18.3	21.0
		% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	4.8%	0.0%	95.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	2	20	23
		Expected Count	1.0	2.0	20.0	23.0
		% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	4.3%	8.7%	87.0%	100.0%
		% Within Religious figures depicted in photo	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.781	.206	4.498	.000
N of Valid Cases		23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Police Violence shown in photo (PoliceViolence15):

TABLE 28: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Police Violence shown in photo * Police Violence shown in photo	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Police Violence shown in photo \* Police Violence shown in photo Cross tabulation

			Police Violence shown in photo		Total
			Yes	No	
Police Violence shown in photo	Yes	Count	3	0	3
		% Within Police Violence shown in photo	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within Police Violence shown in photo	100.0%	0.0%	13.0%
	No	Count	0	20	20
		% Within Police Violence shown in photo	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% Within Police Violence shown in photo	0.0%	100.0%	87.0%
Total	Count	3	20	23	
	% Within Police Violence shown in photo	13.0%	87.0%	100.0%	
	% Within Police Violence shown in photo	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	



Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	1.000	.000	4.796	.000
N of Valid Cases	23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Bandwagon crowd depicted (Bandwagoncrowd18):

TABLE 29: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Bandwagon crowd depicted? * Bandwagon crowd depicted	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Bandwagon crowd depicted? \* Bandwagon crowd depicted cross tabulation

			Bandwagon crowd depicted		Total
			Yes	No	
Bandwagon crowd depicted?	Yes	Count	11	0	11
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted?	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	91.7%	0.0%	47.8%
	No	Count	1	11	12
		% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted?	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%

	% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	8.3%	100.0%	52.2%
Total	Count	12	11	23
	% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted?	52.2%	47.8%	100.0%
	% Within Bandwagon crowd depicted	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement Kappa	.913	.085	4.396	.000
N of Valid Cases	23			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Anti-government protests depicted (Antigovprotest23):

TABLE 30: Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Anti government protests depicted * If so, are students shown as protesters	23	10.0%	207	90.0%	230	100.0%

Anti government protests depicted \* If so, are students shown as protesters Cross tabulation

	If so, are students shown as protesters	Total
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			Yes	No	
Anti government protests depicted	Yes	Count	4	0	4
		Expected Count	.9	3.1	4.0
		% Within Anti government protests depicted	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	80.0%	0.0%	17.4%
	No	Count	1	18	19
		Expected Count	4.1	14.9	19.0
		% Within Anti government protests depicted	5.3%	94.7%	100.0%
		% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	20.0%	100.0%	82.6%
Total	Count	5	18	23	
	Expected Count	5.0	18.0	23.0	
	% Within Anti government protests depicted	21.7%	78.3%	100.0%	
	% Within If so, are students shown as protesters	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

### APPENDIX III

#### **Units of Analysis: List of Headlines Used In the Study**

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1973 (Santiago ed.), “Multiple Guild Command was Formed in Santiago,” “A Trucker was Killed in *Parral*,” “Youth March Takes Place Today,” “In *Bio Bio* the National Holidays Will be Abolished,” “Urgency Should Have Excesses Process,” “*Magallanes* Without Military Parade.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 13, 1973 (Santiago ed.), “Military Junta Controls the Country,” “General Augusto Pinochet Presides over Government,” “Allende Died,” “Supreme Court President Stated “ “Complacency of Judicial Power.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1974 (Santiago ed.), “How the Armed Forces Came to The Actions of 11,” “Sacrifice and Effort for a Better Destiny,” “Chile Responds to the Word: The Civility Celebrates the September 11,” “Solemn Ceremony at *Diego Portales*,” “Operation in *Maipú*.” “Traveled to Caracas O. Letelier,” “The Curfew Delays.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1974 (Santiago ed.), “Crowd under the Rain: Chile Answered To the World,” “Shivering Support, “Estimate of Informing Agencies”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1975 (Santiago ed.), “Second Anniversary of the Historic Announcement: Chile Celebrates the 11,” Chile will Insist Venue Change, Final: Jaime Fillol will be not Traveling to Sweden,” “750 Million Aid to failing Economy Argentina.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1975 (Santiago ed.), “Alight the Eternal Flame of Freedom,” “Gigantic Concentration,” “Announcements of President Pinochet.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1976 (Santiago ed.), “Santiago March along Bernardo O’Higgins Avenue: Chile celebrates the third Anniversary of military coup,” “Chileans Shouldn’t Forget the Past,” “Hijackers Commandeered Two Planes,” “176 People Died when Two Jets Collided in Mid-flight,” “Death of Mao had Little Impact on Russian Press,” “Spain Elections Before June.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1976 (Santiago ed.), “On Third Anniversary of Government,” “Gigantic Citizen Support,” “Three Constitutional Records Enacted.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1977 (Santiago ed.), “On the Fourth Anniversary of the Government: Message with Emphasis on Social Programs,” “His Excellency Gives Away 500 Houses, *Zanjon* Will No Longer Be The Hostel of Poverty,” “During the 2nd World War From 1500-3000 Million Chilean pesos contributed Chile to U.S.,” “Spanish Monarchs Visited Guatemala.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1977 (Santiago ed.), “In This Edition Request: The Supplement “Chile and el Mercurio In 150 Years” “Television Show, Today at 9:30 p.m. Channel 7 Recounts the History of Chile’s First Newspaper.” “President Pinochet In His Fourth Message: Content Not Subject To Unmotivated Changes,” “This Government Does Not Harder, Nor Softens,” “Forest hills: *Gmo. Villas*, Champion,” “*Polla Gol*: 9 Winners.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1978 (Santiago ed.), “His Excellency Speaks to the Country: Report on the Progress of the Country,” “*Ñublense* Defeated Also *Colo Colo*,” “Nicaragua: Intense Fighting in Managua and León,” 126 Contest: Only One

Winner On The Lottery!” “The Chilean Economy Experienced a Strong Recovery.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1978 (Santiago ed.), “President Defines Transition Period,” “Property Titles Given To *Mapuches*,” “Optimisms Surrounds Negotiations,” “Martial Law in Two Nicaraguan Cities.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1979 (Santiago ed.), “His Excellency Spoke to the Country: Six Years Meets the Military Government,” “Boycott First Reports,” “They State in The USA: Cuba is a Russian Spy Center,” “The New York Times, Analyzes The Chilean Economy,” “Funeral Taleghani: Massive demonstration of Duel in Iran.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1979 (Santiago ed.), “Message of President Pinochet: National Reconstruction Ends: The Modernizing Government Begins,” “The President Is Very Well Inspired.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1980 (Santiago ed.), “President Pinochet Will not be a Candidate in 1989,” “Plebiscite: Today 6,753,656 People Will Vote,” “72 Million Dollars for the Agricultural Development,” “China: Zhao Ziyang, New Prime Minister.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1980 (Santiago ed.), “Last Official Report Constitution Approved: Yes: 67.54% (3,943,068 Votes) — No: 29.62% (1,729,018 Votes),” “Last night in Santiago: Multitudinous Support to The Government.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1981 (Santiago ed.), “His Excellency Will Speak to the Country Today,” “\$200 Million Will Be Invested in Regions,” “One Dead and Two Wounded in a Bank Assault,” “Pope Manifested interest Completing the

Mediation,” “Southern Conflict: Approach of Argentina,” “The USSR Built Village under a Glass Dome.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1981 (Santiago ed.), “His Excellency Reiterated Absolute Rejection to Communism and Terrorism,” Monsignor Gilmore in Thanksgiving Mass: Armed Forces Saved Chile,” “Reactions to the words of His Excellency; Unanimous Recognition of the Labor and Progress Achieved by the Country,” “Another Ayatollah Killed In Iran.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1982 (Santiago ed.), “Ninth Anniversary of The Military Coup: His Excellency Gives an Account of the Running of the Country,” “President Pinochet: Confidence that Problems will be Overcome,” “To Facilitate Mediation: Ideas of Samore Were Accepted by Chile and Argentina,” “Bolivia in Mora,” “The Military junta From Argentina was Reconstituted.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1983 (Santiago ed.), “President Pinochet: Government Interprets the Majority,” “Evaluation of a Decade: Head of State with *El Mercurio*,” “In Populations: Two Dead, Wounded And Vandalism,” “The Central Bank Ordered: \$8,073 Million For The Transport Sector,” “Accurate Alliance: It Is Not A Final Break.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1983 (Santiago Ed.), “President Pinochet in Message To The Country: Confidence On Recuperation,” “Opinion Of Union Leaders: Message Was Realistic And Frank,” “Bolivia: Entrepreneurs Ask For Immediate Solutions.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1984 (Santiago ed.),” For Radio and TV: President Pinochet Speaks Today to the Country,” ”Interior Ministry Requirement: Command Action against the Protest,” “Minister Escobar Said: In November Will Start the Negotiation,” “Shots to A Deputy in the Argentine Congress,” “In North Sea: Damaged Helmet with Cargo Ship Sunk Nuclear.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1984 (Santiago Ed.),” His Excellency Reiterated The Character Of National Government: Armed Forces Will Comply With The Constitutional Itinerary,” “Minister *Jarpa*: The Opposition Must Define Itself: Debate Or Confrontation,” “Greetings To Latin America From Montreal: Pope Asked Other Priests To Abstain Themselves From Politics,” “In The White House: Reagan Confirmed Meeting With Gromyko.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1985 (Santiago ed.), “Twelve Years: Celebrate Anniversary of September 11,” “The Military Justice Is Competent Committed the Fiscal Said,” “By Dubious Constitutionality: The military junta returned University Discipline Project,” “Two Guards Killed: Daughter of President of El Salvador Was Kidnapped,” “Fire & Looting: Devastation in Birmingham.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1985 (Santiago ed.), “President Pinochet Announced: Sending Of Project Of Electoral Registry,” “In Pascua And *Sala* And *Gomez*: Sovereignty Expanded Around Islands,” “North American Satellite Crossed Tail Of Comet,” “Starting At 8:25 P.M.; Light Out Affected The Central Zone.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1986 (Santiago ed.), “11:30 am: His Excellency Directs a Message to the Nation,” ”Repudiation Attack Pinochet Episcopate,” “Between January and



July: Industrial Production Grew by 6.2%,” “At 11:30 am: His Excellency Directs His Message to the Nation,” “Dramatic Story Of the Official Wounded in the Ambush,” “Meeting In The White House: Reagan And Sarney Rejected the Trade Protectionism.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1986 (Santiago Ed.), “President Pinochet: Communism Pretended Terrorist Layover,” “Agreement On Readjustments For Public Sector And Retirees,” “Tunnel Found With Explosives Under Way To Volcano,” “Europe Coordinates Antiterrorist War,” “Three French Priests Expelled Yesterday.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 11, 1987 (Santiago ed.), “In Act 11: Projections Announces Pinochet to Modernize the Country,” “Rector Federici Said: The Measures are Painful but Inevitable,” “In the U.S. Fernández Larios Was Released,” “In His Second Voyage to That Country: John Paul II Came to Visit Nine U.S. Cities.”

*El Mercurio*, Sept. 12, 1987 (Santiago Ed.), “General Pinochet Stated: Candidate Must Give Guarantee Of Stability,” “Two Policemen Were Killed With Vietnamese Bomb,” “Prosecutor Torres Silva Investigates: Five Extremists Linked To The Attempt And Kidnapping,” “In The United States: Fernandez Larios Renounced To Witness Protection.”

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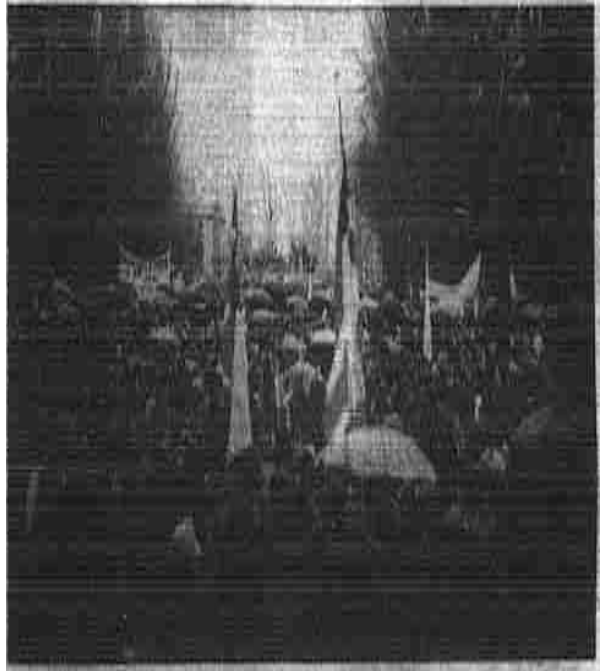
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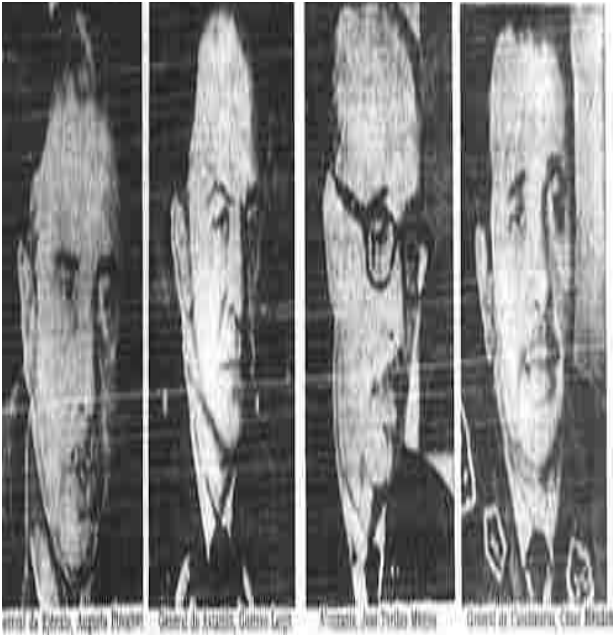
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APPENDIX IV: Featured Photographs

**Bandwagon Frame Examples**



### Military Figures of Power Frame Examples



General de España, Augusto Pinochet — General de España, Carlos Leizaola — Almirante, Juan Pardo — General de España, César Arias



**Pinochet as a Hero Frame Example**

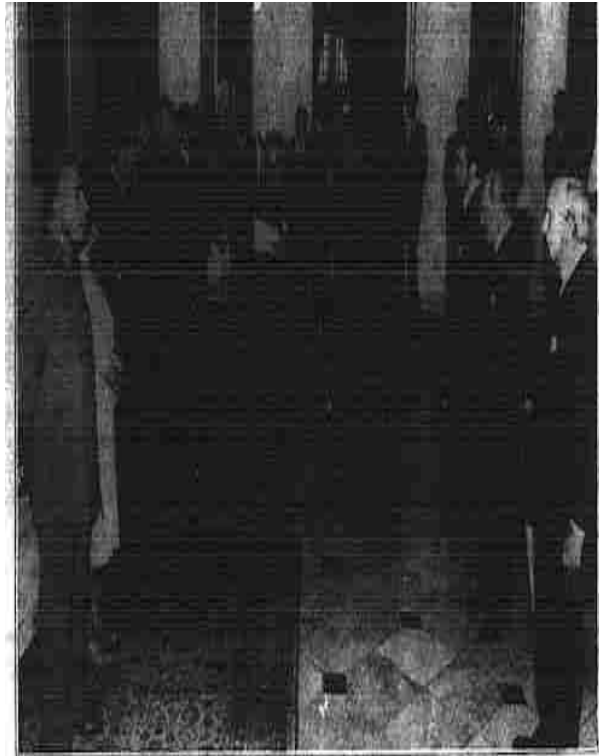
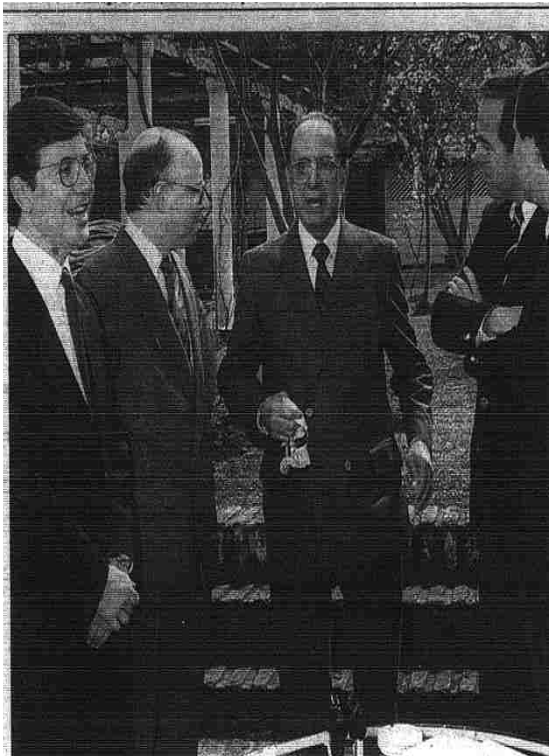


Religious Figures Frame Examples

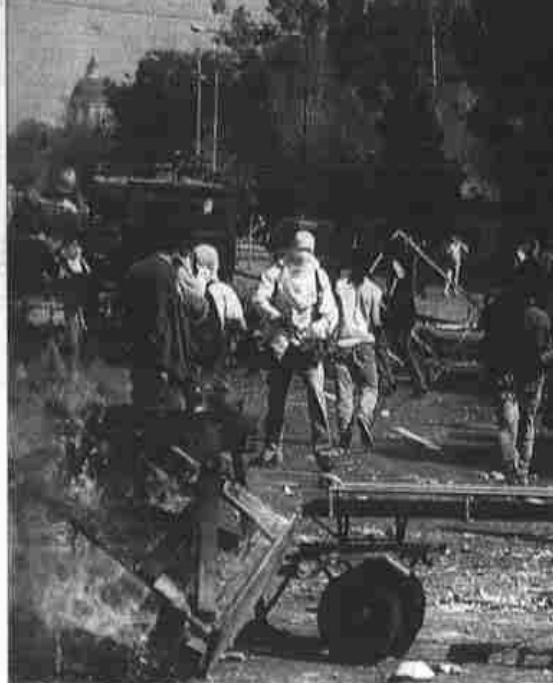




**Right Wing Political Leader Frame Examples**



**Anti-Government Protest Frame Example**





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## CURRICULUM VITAE

Valeria Gurr-Ovalle

1852 Mount Carmel, Las Vegas 89123

Phone: 702-351-3448/ Valovalld@gmail.com

### EDUCATION

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Journalism and Media Studies, Master of Arts (2013)

- Thesis: *The Other September 11<sup>th</sup>: El Mercurio Media Coverage After The Chilean Coup of 1973*
- Committee: Chair, Gregory Borchard, Ph.D.; Julian Kilker, Ph.D.; Gary W. Larson, Ph.D.; Jorge Galindo, Ph.D.

University Department *Obrero Campesino* (Duoc UC ) of The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Concepción, Chile, Bachelor of Arts, Public Relations, Marketing.

### PRESENTATIONS

Gurr-Ovalle, V. “*El Mercurio Media Coverage after the Chilean Coup of 1973.*”

Presented at the Annual Far West Popular Culture/American Culture Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, 2013.

———. “The Other September 11th: *El Mercurio Media Coverage after the Chilean Coup of 1973.*” Presented at the Fourth Annual Greenspun College of Urban Affairs Graduate Research Symposium, 2013.

### PUBLICATIONS

*Virtual Rebel*, The Independent Website of the Hank Greenspun of Journalism and Media Studies University of Nevada, Las Vegas

- Gurr-Ovalle, V. “*La UNLV Muestra Arte Ecléctica*,” *February 11, 2013.*
- ———. “*Subasta de periodistas Latinos fue un éxito*” *February 11, 2013.*

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

*Virtual Rebel*, Spanish section editor, February 2013 to present, Las Vegas, Nevada

- Editor of the new Spanish section for the Virtual Rebel website
- Collaborate with other Spanish-speaking journalism students to create web content
- Created a Spanish section to help students build a bilingual portfolio

Univision Television, Intern, February to May 2013, Las Vegas, Nevada

- Helped with the creation of the “bucket” to produce daily news
- Wrote stories in Spanish for the news show that went live at 6 pm daily
- Operated the teleprompter during the shows

Associated Press Photographer, News Media, May 2013, Las Vegas, NV

- Helped to set up equipment previous to the Mayweather vs Guerrero fight
- Helped running memory cards back and forth between the photographer
- Assisted with the remote control to take pictures from above