

Santiago is not Chile: Gaps, practices, and perceptions of media representation in Chilean audiences

Santiago no es Chile: brechas, prácticas y percepciones de la representación medial en las audiencias chilenas

Santiago não é o Chile: brechas, práticas e percepções da representação medial nas audiências chilenas

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ABSTRACT

This article explores audiences' media practices in relation to local identity. In this context, the article analyzes audiences' perceptions through discourses about media representation, as well as their uses. Based on a qualitative approach – that includes research diaries from 36 people in six regions across the country combined with semi-structured interviews – the study revealed a gap between people from the center and the periphery of the country. Audiences define differently what is considered as “local” according to their location in the center or the periphery. Also, audiences who live in the periphery feel misrepresented in the media. Thus, they feel a stereotyped treatment in national media, which focuses on the interests of audiences located in the center of the country.

Keywords: Audiences, media representation, diaries, local identity.

RESUMEN

Este estudio explora las prácticas de apropiación de distintos medios de comunicación por parte de las audiencias y las percepciones de representación a través de sus discursos. A través de una metodología cualitativa -que combinó el registro de diarios de vida con entrevistas en profundidad (N= 36)- este estudio reveló una brecha centro-periferia: las audiencias definen de forma diferente lo “local” según estén en el centro (Santiago) o en la periferia (regiones). A su vez, las audiencias de la periferia se sienten poco representadas y cubiertas de una manera estereotípica por los medios nacionales, los cuales se concentran en las audiencias del centro.

Palabras clave: Audiencias, representación, diarios de vida, identidad local.

RESUMO

Este estudo explora as práticas de apropriação de distintos meios de comunicação por parte das audiências e as percepções de representação através de seus discursos. Através de uma metodologia qualitativa - que combinou o registro de diários de vida com entrevistas em profundidade (N=36) - este estudo revelou uma brecha centro-periferia: as audiências definem de forma diferente o “local” caso estejam no centro (Santiago) ou na periferia (Interior). Ao mesmo tempo, as audiências da periferia sentem-se pouco representadas e cobertas de maneira estereotípica pelos meios nacionais, os quais se concentram nas audiências do centro.

Palavras-chave: Audiências, representação, diários de vida, identidade local.

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INTRODUCTION

Diversity and media representation are generally studied in a unidirectional perspective, “from top to bottom”, where the focus is put on the ownership structure, media content and its consequences on audiences. However, it is necessary to ask ourselves: what do people do with the media? In which ways do the relationships established by the audiences with the media and their geographical context determine evaluations on the content and its role in their daily lives? Audience studies have had a “cultural turn” that has led the focus to not be in the texts that media produce and its impact on the people, but rather in audiences’ everyday relationship with the media, from the point of view of the practices (Martín Barbero, 2001; García Canclini, 1997). The interest in said practices leads to examine the regularity of media use, the motivations that lead people to interact with them and, finally, how people define media, as a shared social construction (Couldry, 2012, pp. 33-35).

One of the key aspects in the appropriation of media content and the re-signification by audiences is related to the geographical context and the construction of local identity (Lindell & Jansson, 2012). Meaning, in which ways do the individuals’ practices in relation to media reinforce or not their local identity?

Through a qualitative methodology based on daily life diaries and in depth interviews, this study explores the practices of appropriation of various means of communication in relation to the construction of the local identity of people. In addition, it addresses perceptions of representation through the audiences’ discourses and uses they give to the media.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

Traditionally, the study of the relationship between media and audience is focused on addressing the first as producers of “texts” that are decoded by the audiences (Hall, 1973; 1980). Now, audience studies have taken a “cultural turn”, where the focus is on understanding how people relate to the media beyond the texts produced (Martín Barbero, 2001; García Canclini, 1997). In this sense, studying the media from “practices” means understanding them “not as text, objects or productive organizations, but observe what people do in relation

to the media and the contexts in which these actions occur” (Couldry, 2012, p. 35).

Media, diversity and representation: a transition from the text towards the practices of audiences

Conventionally, representational studies have focused on analyzing how audiences are represented in the texts that media produce. For example, how media shape the identity of *gender* (Antezana, 2011; Bachmann & Correa 2013; Byerly & Ross, 2006; van Zoonen, 1994), and *race* (Correa, 2010; Hall, 2003; Hooks, 1992) or *social class* (Heider, 2004). Now then, recent studies show that representation is a result of the negotiation between the audiences’ agency (what they say when becoming a news source), the structure of the media system and the role of journalists in the construction of information (Awad, 2014). From the perspective of information production, as the focus is on the texts, the study of media representation addresses *diversity* - which is associated with media ownership and the variety of content and ideologies presented - and the *representativeness* of the diversity of social actors (Napoli, 2001). These dimensions are closely related. For example, ownership concentration reduces the number and type of voices that appear as part of the content of the media. Similarly, the concentration in one physical location of mass media ownership (such as, for example, large cities), also affects the centralization of the thematic media agenda (the news are only those associated with large cities) (Napoli, 2001).

Several authors have characterized the Chilean media system on two levels. The first relates to the centrality acquired by the concentration of economic and political power in a few organizations. Thus, the national media would move at the level of “ideological monopoly”, while international conglomerates with a presence in the country would operate as an entertainment industry, attempting against the diversity of ideas (Del Valley, 2006). The second level is associated with the centralization that exists in terms of geography - mainly in the Metropolitan Region - of media outlets (Sunkel & Geoffrey, 2001). This characterization reflects existing definitions in relation to pluralism in the media system. The concentration of media ownership in Chile gives an account of the low levels of external pluralism (greater

ownership diversity implies more external pluralism in a media system). Likewise, the concentration and homogeneity that affects the Chilean media system is also seen in their informative agendas (what is understood as internal pluralism). Valenzuela and Arriagada (2009; 2011) compared the agendas of television news and print media between the years 2000 and 2005. The levels of correlation between the agendas of television and newspapers reached values of 0.83; meaning, the consensus among the thematic agendas of newspapers and television in that period exceeded 80%. Similarly, the media give priority to issues related to the Government above the interests of the citizens.

The consequences of homogeneity- both in media ownership as well as in the issues presented - can affect the functioning of the democratic system. The democratic theory assumes certain degrees of diversity in information flows and the guidelines of the media (Dahl, 1989). The variety of the information circulating in the public sphere allows citizenship to delve into the complexities of the social and political reality. Without pluralism and quality information that media present, effective participation in public affairs and the control of the authorities by citizens becomes extremely difficult (Shah, Rojas & Cho, 2009).

The discussion about representation in the Chilean media system moves between two poles. Firstly, there is a normative vision, associated with the democratic theory to give an account of the importance of a diverse media system that provides information flows for political decision-making (Dahl, 1989; Del Valle, 2006). Secondly, there is a descriptive view of the media role as political and economic actors in modern democracies (Napoli & Gillis, 2006; Tironi & Sunkel, 1993). Little is known, on the other hand, regarding the definitions and assessments that *people* elaborate about pluralism and representation in the media.

Interest in the practices of people in relation to the media focuses on four dimensions (Couldry, 2012, pp. 33-35). First of all, on the regularity of media use. Secondly, in the definitions of media that people make as a shared social construction. Thirdly, on the motivations that lead people to interact with the media. Fourthly, in the expectations associated with the use of media.

While the approach from the perspective of the practices focuses on what they do with media audiences and in what contexts, the representation approach concentrates on the producers of those texts and in the ideologies transmitted by them that shape the identity of individuals. If from the “practices” perspective the interest is in a vertical view, “from bottom to top”, meaning, what people do with the media to, from there, deal with how they feel represented in the contents seen in the media according to the contexts that relate to them; the representation approach view is “from top to bottom”, i.e., how the texts produced in the media impact audiences. From the practices, the representation can be studied through the perceptions of the audiences in relation to what they do with the media and their content; but, above all, regarding how they evaluate the way in which media produced this content (news, information, images, identities) and the consequences of these in the local identity of audiences.

Mass media and construction of local identity

There are two perspectives that explore the relationship between media and definitions of belonging of people in local and global communities. First, the critical view gives account of a homogenization of information flows that circulate mainly through the media. This as a result of the economic transformations associated with the concentration of the media and the emergence of large media conglomerates (Hardt & Negri, 2005; Herman & Chomsky, 2010). From this perspective, through the content provided, the media operate as agents of cultural domination. The second vision, on the other hand, while it assumes the importance of the structural conditions of the processes of globalization, which specifically affect the processes of communication, focuses “on local conditions under which the media products are assumed” (Thompson, 1998, p. 230). This “localist” vision focuses on specific conditions through which people appropriate the content of media (Morley, 2001). Similarly, it also puts emphasis on the different media – traditional and digital – that allow people to orient themselves in local or global communities. This approach, moreover, puts the focus on how media are oriented to local contexts. The argument behind this principle is that a greater local orientation of the

media meets its democratic responsibilities, providing information of interest to diverse communities (Yan & Napoli, 2006). These ties with the community that the media creates promote political and civic participation. In addition, it contributes to preserve the values of the communities (McLeod et al., 1996).

Lindell and Jansson (2012), in a study conducted in Sweden, suggest that the mediation processes – understood as the appropriation of media content and re-signification by the audiences – are the most significant in terms of portraying regional and local identity rather than promoting cosmopolitan views. In a context of mass communication technologies – such as cell phones and connection to broadband – in what ways do the practices of people in relation to the media reinforce or not their geographic identity? Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2004) pose that media content becomes a frame of reference so that people place themselves in relation to others in certain communities. This is consistent with the role given by the people to different technologies – such as cell phones and Internet access – when it comes to interacting with media content, as well as their definitions of local and global (Slater & Ariztía, 2009).

These conceptual frameworks allow addressing the relationship between everyday practices of people – where the media may have an important role – and the construction of their own definitions of what is local, national and global. In the same way, it is possible to take the great tales about the role of the media and contrast them with the experiences and everyday definitions of people in different geographical locations, in the sense of how represented they feel by the content circulating there. Thus, an approach from practices – that is, from what people do with the media and their assessments regarding how represented they feel in the content produced – allows exploring in an interconnected way the role played by the media in the process of construction of the identity of people in a given geographical space.

METHODS

Qualitative research on audiences and media consumption considered the processes through which the form, content and consumer context deal and interact with each other (Lindlof, 1991). Most of

the studies on this subject have used participating observations (Lull, 1988) or qualitative interviews, either individual or in groups (Buckingham, 2000; Consejo Nacional de Televisión [National Council of Television] (CNTV), 2012; Gray, 1992; Morley, 1986). While these methods have been useful to understand the context and significance of the interaction between media and people, all are structured by the presence of the researcher. To avoid such a situation, this study combined journal entries with in-depth interviews (semi-structured) after the entry.

Journal and interviews' records

Although the methodology of journal entries has been used in social science in time use surveys or to monitor drug use (Elliott, 1997; Thiele, Laireiter & Baumann, 2002), there are few studies on media that have applied it (Couldry, Livingstone & Markham, 2009). Although this method has some problems, such as the possible abandonment of participants and the arbitrariness of assigning greater relative importance to one event over another, as well as the possibility that the subject would display only an image of itself, it also has several advantages for studying the incorporation of media to the daily routine and the insights that people make of them. First, it allows registering experiences in a systematic way, in addition to collect thoughts, perceptions and impressions without the investigator present. This reduces to some extent the imbalances of power between interviewer and interviewee and opens the possibility of more open and free processes of reflection, without the inherent structure an interview has (Couldry et al., 2009). In addition, this method allows monitoring reflections through time, with individuals evaluating and forming a critical judgment on their own practices. At the same time, researchers can obtain observations close to the time events occur without them being not distorted by memory problems. Finally, this approach generates information on the environment and context of consumption, i.e., the period of life the individual is living, their activities and thoughts (Couldry et al., 2009).

In this study, the entries in daily life journals were accompanied with interviews afterwards. The interviews allowed deepening the ideas written in the journal and to talk about the thinking and experience

of the participants during the posting in the journal. Specifically, the methodological work had a phase of selection of participants and another one of data collection, which are detailed below.

Selection of participants

Based on three national and random audiences' surveys conducted between 2010 to 2012¹, the selection of participants for this study was carried out after a profile identification of media consumption, realized by a cluster analysis applied to the data given by the polls. This approach allowed to build four groups, considering the following variables: frequency in the consumption of broadcast television, radio, cable TV, print and digital media. The following profiles have been identified:

- i) The **profile of consumption 1** was characterized by having lower than average consumption in almost all media, except television. In socio-demographic terms, it had greater ratio women, people older than 60 and belonging to the socioeconomic levels D-E, compared to the rest of the group.
- ii) The **profile of consumption 2** was characterized by a consumption of *online* media and printed magazines. It also presented a rather low consumption of radio. This group is characterized by being composed of mostly men, with a high predominance of socio-economic strata ABC1 and C2, and composed in a 50% of people under 30 years old.
- iii) The **profile of consumption 3** was characterized by a very high level of consumption of printed newspapers and radio. It also stood out due to its zero consumption of news on the Internet. This segment had a greater proportion of people of C3 socioeconomic stratum, between 40 and 59 years old.
- iv) The **profile of consumption 4** presents high levels of television consumption, both free-to-air as well as paid television, and a significantly lower use level in all media. It is also characterized by being mostly female, concentrated in greater proportion to adults between 40 and 49 years of age.

Thus a stratification of the participants was developed, according to the identified profiles of consumption and diversity in the media use in six

regions in Chile (Antofagasta, Coquimbo, Valparaíso, Metropolitan, Maule and Bio Bio), where the polls were executed. These regions were grouped into three macro areas (North, Centre and South). We selected a sample of 36 cases, 12 for each macro area. In this way, participants were distributed in the following manner:

- North macro area: Antofagasta (8 participants) and Coquimbo (4 participants).
- Centre macro area: Santiago (8 participants) and Valparaíso (4 participants).
- South macro area: Talca (4 participants) and Concepción (8 participants).

Data collection

Data was collected through journal entries and in-depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted after registration of entries. The entry-registration period of the diaries was between March 17 and June 10, 2014. A total of 1,445 reports with an average of 41 entries per person were collected, meaning participants wrote in the journals for approximately a month and ten days. The interviews were conducted between May 17 and June 20².

To choose the participants in the study a selection questionnaire was used, which allowed determining if a person complied or not with the profiles of media use described above. Once the subjects were selected and contacted, they underwent an induction where: i) the methodology for the registration of journal entries was explained, and ii) the importance of recording the journal for the success of the study and the relevance of their voices and reflections was pressed.

Participants were offered several methods of posting and recording entries in the journal. For example, some did so through notebooks that were completed by hand, recording their activities, thoughts and perceptions. Others, however, opted to do so *online* through an email to which only the researchers of the project had access. The participants were given a monetary compensation for participating in the study after the journal registration and interviews.

In the journal entries, participants had to cover the following topics: i) media and programs consumed and time consumption, ii) platforms used (print media, radio, television, computer, phone, social networks), iii)

content they were exposed to, iv) their judgments about the diversity of content and treatment of local affairs, v) identification with the content and their perceptions of representation. Specifically, their assessments on diversity, representation and identification were asked in general as to not bias the response of the participants at this stage of data collection and to explore what people understand about these concepts and how they “deal” with them on their everyday consumption practices. During the registration period, participants were contacted to clarify doubts and motivate them to stay involved³.

At the end of the journal registration period, participants were interviewed at their homes or in public places such as cafes and restaurants⁴. These interviews were aimed to deepen into the recorded entries of the journals, analyzing together the specific experiences and reflections on the method of registration and the events that occurred during that period, to reflect on the patterns that give meaning to the consumption of each participant and conclusions the subjects of study had.

Both daily records in the journals and the interviews were analyzed textually through theme codes with NVivo software.

For purposes of the analysis and dissemination of the results, only the name of the participants, age and the consumption profile is included.

RESULTS

MEDIA USE AND LOCAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION PRACTICES

The definitions of what is a local media change according to the context. When participants from different regions speak of local media they refer to newspapers, channels and regional or city radios. On the other hand, when Santiago residents speak of local media for more information, they refer to newsletters or web pages of the commune or municipality. This difference shows that the concept of what is ‘local’ is defined regarding to the center of the country [Santiago, Metropolitan Area]. Therefore when living in the center region, what is “local” turns “immediate” in terms of geography, and more “domestic” in content (for example, training workshops offers).

Analysis of life journals and interviews revealed the relevance of local media in cities of regions, particularly in Antofagasta and Concepción, two places with a strong regional identity.

In Antofagasta, three television channels and two newspapers (*La Estrella del Norte* [The Northern Star] and *El Mercurio de Antofagasta* [Antofagasta’s El Mercurio]), plus a series of radios, are named as sources of news information. National channels are a source of “company” during the day, mostly to the housewives, with morning shows, showbiz programs, telenovelas and soap operas at night.

For example, Anthony (43 years, profile 4) is a miner and works in 7 by 7 shifts, i.e. 7 days at Chuquicamata [the mine] and 7 days of rest in Antofagasta; he has two children, one in elementary school and another one in kindergarten. He says he practically only consumes local or regional radios and appreciates the increased supply of local television channels that currently exist, because it can supplement them with the offer of national channels.

Here we had *Telenorte*, which was weak, the channel had few resources. Now it’s super different; we have here three television channels, one has regional coverage and works for CNN. So then they also show CNN news. The national channels are there (...) so now we have much more TV range to see than before.

Gunnar (43 years, profile 3), industrial mechanical from Antofagasta, also expresses a preference for the regional channels.

[I listen to] only local radios. I’m very local in that sense. I don’t much like the centralism that exist towards Santiago, I prefer to listen to radios here, both in what is music in what is news. And at lunchtime I read the newspaper. I also read only local newspapers *El Mercurio* and *La Estrella*, either of the two that is available.

Ximena (40 years, profile 3) expresses this preference when writing her routine in the journal of April 7: “I start my routine with the FM PLUS with Harold Rivas. I like this program because it speaks of what happens in the region, I like it because if anything happens I will immediately know it unlike the stations from Santiago, which care very little for the regions”. Later in the interview, she reflects and appreciates the larger plurality of local media: “Before it angered me a little [that the central news were as centralized], but now I feel that no, I have the option of viewing local too; we have here several channels and there are two that are good”.

The higher offer and high consumption of local media in Antofagasta has implied the creation of a clear

local news agenda, which manifested itself in almost all the journals and was delved into in the interviews. The issues that filled the agenda were the poor maintenance of the landfill La Chimba, and a case of hit-and-run of a drunk driver that has motivated to learn and discuss the need for passing the law Emilia, which seeks to increase the penalties for drunk drivers who cause deaths or serious injury. The third theme that emerged consistently in the interviews was the controversy over the health effects the installation in the city of the “Galpón” [shed], a storage center of copper concentrate from the Sierra Gorda mine, may have

Ximena (40 years, profile 3) explains what are the themes that appear in local media that concern the citizens of Antofagasta. She has even called the radio to express her opinions and participated in marches to protest. Her testimony shows how the connection and identification with the local issues encourage political and civic participation.

For example, the issue of waste, the subject that recently a girl was run over and... it was like a very notorious super theme here in Antofagasta. A drunk kid, runs over; so I just called to give my opinion that it is enough, when is something going to change? And in fact a march was done and I participated in the march. I am involved, but... I do not organize marches, or anything. If the march is there, I go. The other issue, for example, is the subject of the shed [Galpón], which is something I have kind of been very involved. There is a shed that is behind the Antofagasta clinic, it is in the port, they made it with the purpose of collecting concentrated copper powder; so that will generate a horrible pollution, because it is next to the sea.

In Concepción regional channels are also important, but the radio Bío Bío is key in news consumption, regardless of the age and gender of the person.

Soledad (40 years, profile 4), housewife from Concepción, almost does not listen to radio, but said that when there are any news, she tunes to channel 9: “When something happens, I go *altiro* [straightway] to Channel 9; it is called Canal 9 Regional [Regional Channel 9], which is seen at number 5 in my cable. I watch there, I hear of things, accidents, for example.”

Ana María (49 years, profile 3), on the other hand, says that the radio is key in her daily routine: “At night when I go to bed and in the morning when I’m getting up, I’m listening to Bío Bío. It is that is more informed [station], more up-to-date information.”

Ricardo (25 years, profile 3), newlywed, from Concepción, points out: “[Regarding reading newspapers] to be honest I just read the covers more than the newspapers. When news catches my attention, because it has to do with me, I buy the newspaper. The other thing is biobio.cl, the Bio Bío radio. There I see and read what some say about education or work, or artisan fishing, that has a lot to do with me due to my dad”.

In Valparaíso-Viña, which also has a strong local identity, residents say that, perhaps because of its proximity to Santiago, local media, such as UCV Television and UCV Radio, do not satisfy the need for local information and are strongly centralist. Therefore, they join the perspective of national channels and do not contribute to the plurality of content in the region.

Ana María (45 years, profile 4), who mainly watches television, when asked if she considers sufficient the local information they receive, answered:

No. From this region, no, they tell you very little. I would personally like the newscast to be entirely local and the fifteen minutes that they dedicate to us to be dedicated to Santiago.

In Santiago, meanwhile, its inhabitants have a different approach and local media definition: they are geographically more delimited. Meaning, they define them as the media to learn of their immediate environment and not the city in which they live, as do people residing in regions.

For example, Aurora (56 years, profile 3) is informed of what happens in the municipality Macul-Peñalolén through the newspaper of the commune and the notice board of the public hospital. This type of media provides information on the workshops that the municipality offers, such as swimming or free dance lessons. Juan, a sales executive of a private insurance company (“isapre”), says that he does not inform himself regularly of the local news, but “only if needed to” he will enter the website of the municipality of Puente Alto to find out if they are giving support for house repairs. Besides municipal newsletters and web pages, people use interpersonal channels, such as neighborhood committees or groups, to find out what happens in their immediate environment. Marisol, a 45-year-old embroiderer, mother of three children (the oldest in University and a pair of twins in school), ensures that she uses the artisans’ association she is in to find out what is happening in her area. Valeria, 30 years, points out that she is informed through her neighbors and friends

with whom he shares hobbies, such as dog-walking, or friends working in the municipality of Providencia.

El análisis develó que los relatos sobre representación de las audiencias en los medios se construyen en torno a dos temas: representación geográfica e identificación temático-emocional.

PERCEPTIONS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDIA

The analysis unveiled that the reports on representation of audiences in media are built around two themes: geographical representation and thematic-emotional identification.

Geographical representation

Geographical representation refers to the levels of representation of the periphery in respect to the center, specifically how audiences from the periphery (meaning regions) feel underrepresented, and often, stereotyped, in the contents and discourses produced and distributed by the center (Santiago) for the rest of the country.

This idea emerged in many regional interviews, but it was most relevant in Antofagasta, Valparaíso and Concepción - places with a major local identity - and among those who used and relied more on local media, such as television, radio and newspaper, and less on the national.

Ana Maria (49 years, profile 3), seller at a mini-market in Concepción, also speaks of the centrality of Santiago in the national news: "It is always more Santiago, of the subways, this or that, and very little talk of all the regions in general. It has always been focused that Santiago is Chile".

In Antofagasta, the discourse about lack of representation in their area and the rest of the country in the national media was deeply rooted. At the same time, in the testimonies emerged not only the lack of representation, but also misrepresentation, with a coverage built on the basis of stereotypes.

Gunnar (43 years, profile 3), industrial mechanic from Antofagasta that works with heavy machinery, listens to local radio and reads newspapers of the city, such as *El Mercurio de Antofagasta* and *La Estrella del Norte*.

One sees the news... of nine o'clock or noon... I think 90 or 95 percent are mainly news from Santiago, they have nothing else. And if it is something from outside, from the regions, it is because an old guy stabbed a lady, a femicide, a rape.

Ximena (40 years, profile 3) is married to a coal miner, has three children, and is actively involved in the neighborhood council and the Mormon Church. Her medial diet is strongly local and points to the same issue.

The newscasts are very repetitive and, incredibly, centralists. Suddenly they show news so banal, but from Santiago, even though more important things happen here. I think it's almost a regional newscast, but of the Metropolitan Region. They are not a newscast for the country.

Several participants blame stereotyped coverage to the centralized media ownership and production. According to them, if people who don't know local realities produce the information in Santiago, they will not understand it and it will simplify it.

Ximena elaborates at length on stereotypes affecting Antofagasta as a mining town with high levels of Colombian immigration, and which the media reproduces because they don't understand the local reality.

They showed in the national news, on Channel 13, that here in Antofagasta we were full of Colombians as if it were something cool, [but] it is not cool, and it isn't entertaining. And I'm not xenophobic and I'm not racist, but we are really full, we are saturated; is it not entertaining, at all.

Maria (58 years, profile 3), housewife who lives in Antofagasta, summarizes stereotyped coverage in the following manner:

For example, it is said that all of Antofagasta are miners, but that is usually not the case, and also that the city is very expensive, but it really isn't, because many people are not mining and there are also poor people in the hills. People who say it is are not from here.

The testimony of Maria explicitly linked the lack of representation and stereotypes with the centralized production of the contents of the media, away from local realities. "Sometimes it is people who are not living the situation... They may come from Santiago, or from other sides". Ximena delves into the point: "They do not inform well the regional news when they come, they try to tell a little about the city, but do not represent finally what the people think, at all".

This discourse on how little and bad the representation of the regions is compared to the center is more obvious when noted that it is absent in most of the testimonies of the participants of Santiago. And not only is it non-existent in the journals of the participants, but when asked about their perceptions of representation, most of the time responded to alluding to the topics that the media cover or the emotional connection with those who appear in them, mainly on television, but not to the idea that some might not feel represented due to living in the geographical periphery. On the contrary, the testimony of Valeria, an architect,

and 30-year-old actress who lives in the commune of Providencia in Santiago, confirms Santiago's media relevance. Regarding the question of how the media represent their locality, she says: "A lot. I think that Providencia is super important to media, very much so, it is like the visible face of the city".

Thematic-emotional identification

Thematic-emotional identification refers to the level of representation and identification that audiences feel with the type of topics and issues that the media covers and the way in which they cover them, and the emotional connection with the subject or social actors who have a voice in the media. The identification with the themes and voices appearing in the media has an emotional component.

Analysis of the journals and interviews showed that participants achieved greater development and reflection on the content of the media when they felt a greater identification with the subject and perceived that this could affect them in their daily lives or made them think about their own reality and decisions they had taken.

Raquel (60 years, profile 1) is a housewife and grandmother. She says that the media should address human problems with which the citizens have greater identification; for example, how the price of electricity and water has gone up.

In the same line, Ana María, from Concepción (49 years, profile 3), says she feels represented when they touch women's issues, such as femicide and salary parity: "[I feel represented] in all those who talk of benefits for women, like the need to equalize salaries, so one is there, equal, on a par with men, where there is more talk about women. We were left aside. The femicides, what a terrible shame..."

Olivia (59 years, profile 1) lives in Santiago, is a housewife devoted to taking care of her 81-year-old mother and her grandson. On Sunday, April 6, she went out all day with her family and, upon arrival, saw the central newscast of Chilevisión, where it was reported that ten seniors had died in a fire in a nursing home in Paillaco. Regarding this, she reflects in her journal:

I live with two older adults, my 81-year-old mother and my 85-year-old aunt. It socks us to see such a terrible misfortune. They could not rescue them because they were under lock and key... It is for this and many reasons that I could not send my mom and my aunt to a nursing home. The seniors are often attacked and receive bad treatment in those places.

A note about recycling that she saw in the Mega Channel at lunchtime made Soledad (40 years, profile 4),

housewife with three children, from Concepción, wonder about the possibilities of applying what they learned to the reality of her home. In her journal she wrote:

At lunchtime I was struck very much by the news about the enormous amount of cell phones that are in Chile and the amount that Chileans recycled, mostly in Santiago [where] there were many recycling points. Talking with my husband, we realized that in the house there are ten mobile phones, of which we only use two and the other eight that we have had over the years, are obsolete and unused.

Valeria (30 years, profile 2) is explicit in the need to find an emotional identification with the issue to have her interest triggered. When asked about with what she feels more or less represented, she says:

Depends on the news, it depends on how I'm touched by it. For example, if there is a demonstration near my house, I'm going to want to learn from that. If there is any law that has to do with sexual diversity, I will be prone to read that story instead of another. If internationally a dictator is being punished, I will also be interested in reading that.

Marcela (45 years, profile 1), who lives with her daughter and grandchildren in Coquimbo, says she watches a lot of celebrity gossip shows because it communicates emotions to her allowing her to give value to her own life. "I know I'm going to laugh my ass off from the personal life of each one of them, and you realize at the time that your life is not so tragic, that your life is not as crappy as their life."

Besides the themes, a highlighted aspect at the moment of assessing the levels of representation in the media was identification with the journalists, newscasters and sources that appear in them. Virtually all the participants said that they preferred journalists and newscasters who opined about the events and guided in the interpretation of the news. The study revealed that it is no longer valued the position of neutrality to an event. In this sense, they felt most identified and emotionally connected with those who revealed their preferences.

Cecilia (49 years, profile 1), widow with a 14-year-old daughter who lives with her parents, consumes quite a lot of showbiz media and openly declares that she likes it because "it's entertaining... and the hosts of the express their opinion".

Margarita Hancke tiene mucha opinión, es muy culta, sabe muchos temas. O sea, es una mujer preparada. Y la Pamela Jiles es como ella... Me gusta mucho ese programa [Vigilantes de La Red], porque han hablado mucho de muchos temas de Hidroaysén, del caso Larrain, del Johnny Herrera... Han

cubierto bien los temas porque han expresado su opinión, y es la opinión que yo quiero expresar y no puedo. Me siento yo reflejada ahí sentada opinando, que yo no puedo hacerlo pero ellos lo hacen por mí... A veces a mí me gusta hablar un tema y yo digo "no, yo no estoy de acuerdo porque así, así". Y ellos son así, por eso me siento identificada con ellos. Y lo veo bastante, me encanta el programa.

Finally, several participants refer to the representation of their ideology in the media. Regardless of what they think, they feel that their ideas are not there. For example, several middle-aged people agreed that they considered the visions of the media very liberal, compared to their own. Thus, Lidia (58 years, profile 1), housewife from Talca, said that she did not feel represented "because I have other ideas. Suddenly, for example in the channel they were talking about homosexuals, and it is not because of being homophobic, but there are issues that if they do uncover it like that, what are we going to turn into in this world?" Ana Luisa (45 years, profile 4) affirms that there is much "debauchery". "Of 100 per cent, 20 per cent of media coverage accommodates me".

Other participants - in general younger - also say they do not feel represented by the ideas of the media, but because they seem very conservative.

Valeria (30 years, profile 2), who is described as being more liberal and center-left, says: "The media do not represent me politically, in nothing, nothing at all. It has happened very few times, but I usually read the newspaper and it is like... fuck. I used to get angry before, but now I have the possibility of having a scenario where I can express my vision of life."

Arthur (23 years, profile 2), university student from Talca, takes a more moderate view. He feels represented by some media, such as radio *Cooperativa* and online newspapers like *El mostrador* and *El Ciudadano*, and not by others handled by people with greater economic power, such as *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*. Therefore, he believes that a media "ecology" is required to form an opinion.

I think that the media manipulate information according to the public opinion they want to create in the people. When people seek various media to inform themselves, and from those various media they get different points of view, you realize that every media does whatever they like, but it gives you the opportunity to take all those media and create an opinion. Now, if you ask me, very few times I share what media say, very few times, especially on issues like reform, gay marriage, current issues.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study the relationship between the practices of people in relation to the media was addressed, and how they build their local identity through such practices. In addition, perceptions of representation of the audiences were analyzed through their discourses and media uses in different contexts.

Analysis of the journals and interviews showed that the practices of people in relation to the media are constructed from their local identity. However, the definition of what a local medium is changes depending on the context. For audiences from regions, a local media is one of massive character produced in the region; for the center (Santiago), local identity has to do with a construction that is more micro, of neighborhood and community. This difference shows that the concept of what is "local" is defined in relation to the center of the country. Therefore, when someone lives in the center, what is "local" is identified with the immediate in terms of geography.

Regarding representation, the gap that exists is given between the content consumed by the people and the place where they are produced. There is a feeling of exclusion from the themes and approaches presented by the media, mainly expressed by people in the regions, who are on the periphery of the medial production. They feel they are not taken into account as audiences by media that, in their majority, are in the center of the country (Santiago). We can say, after the analysis of the discourses collected from the voices of the audiences, that the media reproduce and reinforce the little identification of the audiences from regions with the media content consumed. The result of this is a series of stereotypes associated to an audience far from the centers where information is produced, meaning they are "excluded others". Now, the feeling of exclusion from the study participants translates into a greater appreciation of the regional media. It is the case of radios, for example, in cities of the South and North of the country, where the coverage of local realities is highly valued by the audiences of the respective places.

The everyday practices of appropriation of media situate the people in different levels of communities and help define what is local (Lindell & Jansson, 2012; Thompson, 1998). In turn, these practices are related to the structural conditions of ownership and central content production of the media. Peripheral audiences perceive the centralized nature that they have in our country - especially in terms of geography (Sunkel & Geoffrey, 2001) - and how this affects the under-

representation and simplified, negative coverage of the regional reality.

The focus on the practices allows to delve into topics such as what people do with the media, in what contexts, and how to evaluate the way in which the content consumed represent their interests as audiences (Couldry, 2012). Future

studies should complement these results with an analysis of the practices of production of information in local and national media. This, in order to compare the discourses and practices of audiences, with the contents, discourses and practices of those who produce media content in different geographical locations.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Primer Estudio Nacional sobre Lectoría de Medios, 2010" [First National Media Readership Survey, 2010]; "Estudio Regional sobre Lectorías de Medios Escritos y Audiencia de Radios, 2011" [Regional Study on Readerships of Written Media and Radio Audiences, 2011]; "Estudio sobre Lectoría de Medios Escritos y Digitales, 2012". [Readership Survey on Digital and Written Media, 2012]. Available at: www.cip.udp.cl
2. Data collection was supported by the research firm Feedback Consultores [Feedback Consultants], who was responsible for the selection of participants, organizing and following log diaries and conducting interviews with the team of researchers. For more information, check www.diariosdevida.udp.cl
3. Four replacements were made during registration of journals, because people were not giving information relevant to the objectives of the project. The replacements were done in Antofagasta (two cases), Coquimbo (one case) and Santiago (one case). Replacements met the same media consumption profile and lived in the same city. The replacements were carried out between April 3 and April 14 of 2014.
4. Of the 36 informants who recorded daily journals, 35 interviews were used in the study. The one interview that presented problems due to the interviewee's lack of time corresponds to one of the informants from the north macro area (Antofagasta- Coquimbo).

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