CHILEAN MUCKRAKERS:
MAKING INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM IN A POST-AUTHORITARIAN AND NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This research examines investigative journalism performed in a post-authoritarian period, under a neoliberal society, in the Global South, and it traces some changes over 25 years. In particular, the dissertation characterizes muckraking as a sub-field of the journalistic field, discusses its boundaries, as well as its main players and their agendas when producing investigative journalism. The study weighs the influence of political and economic elements in shaping investigative reporting.

The first part of this dissertation examines the boundaries promoting and, at the same time, constraining investigative journalism. Indeed, it shows the specific historical roots of current basic principles organizing, fostering, or hindering an adversarial journalistic performance by analyzing the constitutional foundations of freedom of expression, a negative freedom approach, and the legal status of media. The research also shows the main features of the subfield through its mechanisms of recognition and the capital appreciated and mobilized by its players, both organizations and individuals. Through analyzing the performance of muckraking on television since the 1990s and through the mid-2010s, this research critically reviews rationality as the core principle of public service's journalism. In doing so, I introduce nuances to better understand watchdog-style journalism when intertwined with visual languages in a Latin American journalistic culture.

The research design mixes different methodological techniques (like interviews, archival work, and analysis of agenda) and material (such as administrative records, visual material, and datasets specially designed and collected for the purposes of this research).

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To Gabriela, Ignacio, and Oscar

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PREFACE

I imagined being a journalist since I was in high school, in early 1990s. I remember watching the news reports about the war in Yugoslavia and thinking of becoming a foreign correspondent. I barely even knew what that meant, what sort of practical requirements implied, and I did not figure out what a stringer or a fixer does until many years later. But I was fascinated by the opportunity of seeing by myself complicated events while they unfold, try to make sense of them, and share with others. Today, I am pretty sure the images from Bosnia, Serbia, or Croatia were those produced by *Televisión Nacional*'s news show *Informe Especial* and its on-the-field correspondents, but it might be my memory tricking me while I am writing this dissertation. The footage could have come from agencies' reports aired in the local evening newscasts,[1] instead. I never turned into a foreign correspondent, but the same enchantment with reporting lasts.

Citing Edgar Morin, Umberto Eco points out that "in order to analyze mass culture, you have to secretly enjoy it, you can't talk about the juke box if you resent putting money into it" (Eco, 1994, p. 53). Despite the many times well-deserved criticism journalism triggered and the endless crisis-talk about the current state of affairs in the field, I still enjoy journalism, talking, reading, writing, and (trying to) teaching about it. Indeed, I have felt amazed in so many levels by dozens of *Informe Especial*'s and *Contacto*[2]'s episodes -episodes that I am analyzing in the second part of this dissertation-, and I also have fond memories when I felt shaken or shocked or touched or outraged by rough exposés printed out by periodicals such as *Siete+7* or *Paula* (both already out of print), *The Clinic*, or CIPER.

For multiple reasons, I have met some of the most remarkable journalists in Chile along my career as a journalist, first, and as a media scholar, later, and learn from them. I taught for five years a course on investigative reporting for senior students at the Universidad de Chile and

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[1] *Informe Especial* produced several reports about the conflict in Yugoslavia and its aftermaths during the 1990s: "Yugoslavia," in October 25, 1990, by Santiago Pavlovic; "Yugoslavia," in October 3, 1991, by Alipio Vera; "Guerra en Los Balcanes," in November 26, 1992, by S. Pavlovic; "Yugoslavia," September 16, 1993, by S. Pavlovic; "Sarajevo," in August 10, 1995, and "Croacia," November 9, 1995, by Guillermo Muñoz; "Bosnia," September 12, 1996, by Marcelo Araya; "Kosovo, fin de Yugoslavia," October 9, 1998, by M. Araya; "Kosovo," September 3, 1999, by S. Pavlovic.

[2] *Contacto* was a news television show broadcasted by Canal 13 between 1991 and 2017.

I scratched the syllabus, the rubrics, and the activities in a very “do-it-yourself” kind of way because there was little or no material produced locally on the topic. Some studies have been published in other Latin American countries addressing local watchdog-style journalistic performances.

For several years, I also collaborated with the *Instituto Prensa y Sociedad* (IPYS), a Peruvian-based NGO that has advocated for strengthening investigative journalism since its creation after Fujimori’s coup in 1992. I was involved in IPYS’ project *Banco de Investigaciones Periodísticas*, a bank of journalistic exposés, which main objective was to map and recognize outstanding investigations produced in Latin America. The model was inspired by the Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) attempting to capture the purposes of each work, how the reporters produced it, how much time it required, what type of resources and obstacles implied to produce a high-quality investigative piece in Latin American newsrooms.

I needed to have more and better case studies about watchdog-style journalism performed locally, both in Chile and in Latin America, written in Spanish, and from practitioners familiar to myself’ and my students’ context and background. It has always been inspiring to read about Watergate and the case has been very influential across the continent, but the political and legal frames, the journalistic culture, and the media system that contained such a case are quite different than the Chilean ones. Then, out of the necessity of finding good practices in muckraking that better fit the local history and tradition in journalism, we started to document case studies for teaching purposes by inquiring into goals, methods, and impact in local exposés, at the same time I invited key correspondents to discuss in class about contemporary challenges in using the access to information law, knowing basic tools to produce and manage data when reporting, and developing a method in organizing large investigations for television, digital-native outlets, or books.

I came to the Institute for Communications Research with the purpose of expanding those first amateur steps in knowing more and better about investigative journalism. Although my first thoughts were evidently ambitious, my research has lasted close to what I initially wanted to do and I have sharpened it thanks to the wise guidance of my advisor and my committee members, my professors and fellows, and in conversation with the material itself and my real-life deadlines. But after all, investigative journalism still fascinates me, despite (or because of) the

challenges of an era in which the so-called fake news, the different crisis attributed to journalism (lack of prestige, increasing layoffs and decreasing salaries, financial and institutional sustainability, and volatile audiences), and the particular flavors those features have in the Global South. Examining the history of a specific experience of muckraking, analyzing its features, connecting to its own context, has just opened up more questions in need of exploration.

ENTRANCE

La verdad nunca tuvo un costo tan alto y el poder jamás sintió tanto miedo[3]
Promotional video of “Bala Loca”
Chilean TV series about an investigative journalist, 2016[4]

Whether defined as watchdog, as muckraking, or as the Fourth Estate, investigative journalism has been conceived as an original work produced by one reporter or a whole team, unveiling something that has been purposely kept hidden by some powerful person or institution. The matter exposed must be of public interest and the exposés unfold public outrage and raise social awareness about unknown problems. Watchdog-style journalistic performance could also force firings or resignations of public or private officials involved in wrongdoings. Finally, journalistic exposés could provoke official investigations and, eventually, can push for legal reforms or long-term changes, too. Due to its purposes of providing information to empower citizens, making powerful people and institutions accountable, and contributing to transparency, many authors have highlighted the value of investigative reporting as a critical component of democratic societies. In other words, an adversarial role of journalistic performance is the expected golden rule that reporters must fulfill in liberal democracies (Bennet & Serrin, 2005; Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009; Coronel, 2010; Ettema & Glasser, 1998; Hamilton, 2016; Hardt, 2014; Houston & IRE, 2009; Hunter, 2012).

Nonetheless, the literature addressing this type of journalistic performance has overwhelmingly examined investigative reporting developed within hegemonic journalistic cultures in the Global North. Indeed, such scholarly production is embedded in the professional philosophy of objectivity and empiricism, strongly entangled in mainstream journalism, particularly in the US tradition (Kaplan, 2010; Schudson & Anderson, 2009). Although growing, the scholarly production about Latin American muckraking is rather scarce and most of the material embraces definitions coined within the American history and research on the topic.

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[3] “The truth had never been so costly... and powerful people had never felt such fear.” The translation is mine.
[4] “Bala Loca” is available in Netflix at the time of this writing.

Whether driven by foreign aid or by complex cultural, political, and economic hegemonies and exchanges, Latin America has been under the influence of Watergate-style journalism since the late 1970s, when the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo*, from Bogotá, established its investigative unit, the first one created in a Latin American newsroom (Reyes, 1996; Waisbord, 2000). The Colombian experience has been significant to the development of investigative journalism in the region. Although *El Tiempo*'s office was the first institutionalized effort of producing investigative journalism documented on the continent, it was not the first attempt at producing such type of reporting. Some found the roots in the work of the Argentinian journalist, Rodolfo Walsh, and his *Operación Masacre* published originally in 1957 (Faúndez, 2002; Malharro & López Gijsberts, 1999; Verbitsky, 1998; Walsh, 1957).

Despite this history, there is a lack of theoretical research on the topic. Actually, most of the literature about Latin American investigative journalism is based upon case studies, individual experiences of investigative reporters, and handbooks to improve the performance of the genre in the region (Alves, 2005; Cañizález, 2006; Cárdenas & González, 2006; Fuentes, 2006; Geneteau-Dells, 2001; IPYS-Venezuela, 2010; Martínez, 2004; Reyes, 1996; Salamanca, Sierra, & Huertas, 2014; Santoro, 2004). Historical periodization, specific examples, and main references tend to come from Anglo-American muckraking. "Watergate" as a noun illustrates very well this point (Cárdenas & González, 2006).[5] There have been only few efforts to address watchdog performance under a scholarly frame (Becerra, 2007; Faúndez, 2002; Saldaña & Mourão, 2018; Schmitz Weiss, Higgins Joyce, Saldaña, & Alves, 2017; Waisbord, 2000).

This dissertation examines the experience of one case of muckraking in the Global South: The research historicizes political and legal frames shaping an adversarial type of reporting, analyzes the trajectories of a group of well-known Chilean muckrakers, and particularly dives into the modes of production, visual languages, and the political economy of investigative journalism on television. My research also explores how these features have changed over time.

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[5] Indeed, high-profile corruption scandals in Chile have been labeled with the *gate* suffix: *Carmengate*, named after the street where was located a political party's headquarters that experienced an internal electoral fraud in the late 1980s; *Piñeragate*, named after Sebastián Piñera, who was illegally spied by military personal in the early 1990s when he was a senator; *Pentagate*, named after Penta corporation, involved in massive and illegal funding operations of political campaigns and tax fraud, exposed in 2014; *Milicogate*, corruption and fraud in the Chilean Army, exposed in 2016, to mention a few, are some of the high-profile cases in which media had played a role in exposing political and corporate wrongdoings.

Indeed, the study contextualizes such objects and practices in a relatively long period (between 1990 and 2015), under circumstances driven by the seemingly everlasting shadows of a dictatorship that ruled the country between 1973 and 1990, and navigating the consequences of neoliberal policies articulating society in general, and media and journalism, in particular, since the early 1990s.

Research's purposes and the nature of the objects/subjects under scrutiny

I understand journalism as a specific set of cultural practices, organizations, productions, identities, and artifacts, acknowledging culture as a process and not a collection of things (Hall, cited by Rose, 2016: 2). Culture is constituted by "interworked systems of construable signs" and it actually deploys as a context within which "social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes" can be intelligible, "thickly described," rather than an outcome of measurable causes (Geertz, 2008: 36). Therefore, this project conceives investigative journalism as a set of cultural identities, perceptions, practices, and cultural products embedded in a larger cultural context in the sense Williams, Hall, Geertz, and Martín Barbero, among others, have argued.

Indeed, there is "a universe of diverse and coexisting worlds of journalism" (Hanitzsch, 2007: 371). Based upon the highly heterogeneous and even contested definitions of what "journalism cultures" means, Hanitzsch frames it as a set of ideas, practices of cultural production, and artifacts articulated at three levels. The first one is the cognitive and it addresses *perceptions and interpretations* of news work; that is, what journalism signifies or why an event becomes noticeable. The second dimension is *evaluative*; that is, professional cultures drive worldviews –whether journalism should play a social role, for instance- and occupational ideologies –such as investigative journalism. And finally, journalism cultures crystallize at a *performative level*; that is, "the way journalists do their work" (Hanitzsch, 2007: 369).

My dissertation emphasizes a grounded approach, that is, it is strongly informed by the material in conversation with theories. Admitting that this inductive bottom-up strategy reduces its comparative potential (Hanitzsch, 2007) and that cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete (Geertz, 2008), it rather gains from developing conceptualizations in specific political, economic, and cultural environments. The research's aim is making sense of what historically has happened in the subfield of Chilean investigative journalism and better understand the features of this

particular experience. Doing so, it contributes to expanding a field heavily based upon western literature, theories, and cultural frameworks and expands comparative perspectives that are not fully addressing particular historical experiences, geographical dimensions, or cultural features. By understanding culture as a set of entangled meanings and paying attention to diverse symbolic discourses and material artifacts in their complicated social, political, and economic links, this research advocates for what Geertz calls an interpretive effort in search of meanings rather than an experimental science looking for laws (Geertz, 2008) and for what Martín Barbero defines as a polyphony; that is, a totally new voice built upon -but not obscuring- a plurality of voices (Martín Barbero interviewed by Torres, 2015).

Borrowing the concept of thick description applied to ethnography (Geertz, 2008) and adapting it to this research, I propose a way of inquiring what practitioners, such as journalists, have been doing since the 1990s in Chile, what have been their main topics, their professional roles, their methods of works, the stories they have published or aired, the nature, extension, and role of practices of recognition and consecration, and what have been the critical continuities and discontinuities in the process. Finally, this research is radically historical because history is “a useful guide to understanding the present and the future” (Grossberg, Wartella, & Whitney, 1998). Thus, looking back to specific practices, discourses, and artifacts and the processes and conjunctures they embody, allows us to better understand our present.

As we will see, each chapter develops and intertwines both the material and the relevant theoretical frames to better understand specific dimensions and moments of Chilean investigative journalism production. Therefore, this dissertation shows the complicated narratives about the boundaries of an adversarial journalistic role and media status settled by the legal dictatorship’s scaffolding, how such foundations have endured until now, and how practitioners have contested but at the same time adapted into their performances. Developing a historical approach and relying upon legal documents (Pickard, 2008; Williams, 1977), the research provides some nuances to better understand the practices of contemporary watchdog-style journalism(s) beyond the well-documented experiences in more stable democracies and thicker journalistic fields.

The study conceives investigative journalism as a sub-field of the journalistic field, as previous works have discussed sports journalism or foreign correspondents under a Bourdieuan perspective (1993, 2005). Indeed, this dissertation sheds light into the complex personal

trajectories and professional careers through which reporters became muckrakers. It does so by understanding their paths in connection and opposition to their formal and on-the-ground training, the political and economic conditions contributing to carve their courses, and the media landscape in which they have navigated. Overall, this study characterizes the professionalization of the sub-field of investigative journalism in Chile, examines some key mechanisms of recognition and prestige, and how they have actually operated in drawing the boundaries of the sub-field.

By analyzing the visual narratives of broadcasting muckraking, this research spotlights the prominence of visual language in not only delivering a story and attracting audiences, but as a key component of exposés in a journalistic culture in the Global South (García Canclini, 1992; Martín Barbero & Herlinghaus, 2000; Mujica & Bachmann, 2015a; Salinas, 2015). In doing so, this research contests the emphasis on rationality as the core component of muckraking to fuel public sphere. On the contrary, visual narratives are not only a way to spread content, but it is a fundamental part of the content itself. When paying attention to visual languages, the study also demonstrates a certain gaze in framing public affairs on television and how it has mutated over time.

Just stating that neoliberalism has reshaped media industries and culture globally does not cover the actual mechanisms and procedures through which such organization of the social realm operates and unfolds (Garretón, 2012; Hall, Massey, & Rustin, 2013; Harvey, 2005; Ong, 2006). This research shows how specific policies and concrete practices designed and advanced by economic and financial purposes have been borrowed by media management and applied in producing investigative journalism. In examining such policies and practices, the study shows the consequences in a style of reporting that is time-consuming and drains resources, both contradictory to a rationale of efficiency and profits.

Complicating definitions: Latin American watchdogs

The narratives and the evidence about the status of investigative journalism in Latin America are contradictory. For some, there is an increasing practice of this genre (Alves, 2005; Castillo, 2016; Joyce et al., 2017), while for others, there is a relative decline (Dermota, 2002). These perceptions heavily depend on the chosen type of medium (newspapers, television,

digital), the massiveness of them (mainstream or independent/non-profit), or the period of time analyzed (during or after authoritarian regimes) selected by researchers. Also, perceptions vary whether they address a specific media system, or they are driving comparative approaches. But overall, it also depends on what investigative journalism means locally, whether is integrating or contesting the influence of the US definition.

Indeed, defining investigative reporting in Latin American journalism is as complex as understanding the continental experience as a single community. In fact, looking for a certain kind of reporting on this specific landscape implies to stretch geographical and cultural frontiers that are far from homogeneous. Nonetheless, for analytical purposes, it is feasible to draw an imaginary border containing Latin American muckraking and even sub-regions (Joyce et al., 2017). Indeed, these countries share certain backgrounds, such economic crisis in the 1980s and the 1990s and the consequential foreign debt and adjustment policies, high inequality, poverty, and a skyrocketing corruption that came afterwards. Expressed in local flavors, these features have framed Latin America's entrance to neoliberalism during the 1990s. Violence in different shapes is also a common ground for Latin American societies, but with different patterns. For example, drug trafficking and drug lords' violence –eventually in partnership with local authorities- are rather a familiar experience for Colombian and Mexican media workers, while political state violence was a landmark during dictatorships in South America. Colombian editor, Guillermo Cano, was killed by gunmen in Medellín (Colombia) in the 1980s, as well as occurred to Javier Valdez in Cualiacán (México) in 2017; while reporters Rodolfo Walsh and José Carrasco Tapia were victims of state polices' brutality in Argentina in the 1970s and in Chile in the 1980s, respectively. Although violence was the shared feature of these cases, the contexts, the driven forces, and the journalists as targets vary.

Precisely these Latin American particularities –among others- have challenged the established Anglo-American operationalization of investigative journalism and its main characteristics. The notion of investigative journalism as an original work, that exposes something of public interest that someone wants to maintain secret has colonized discourses about this practice in Latin America and even in Spain (Cañizález, 2006; Chicote, 2006; Geneteau-Dells, 2001; Salamanca et al., 2014). To what extent popular culture and Hollywood movies, such as *All the President's Men* or *Spotlight*, and the real-life cases behind them, have

influenced Latin American journalistic performance is beyond the scope of this research, but they certainly have had played a role in it.

Hegemonic definition and theoretical approaches to frame, understand, and support muckraking also makes invisible local or historical traditions, not because they do not exist, but because they have been conceptually underdeveloped or not even well studied. In comparing the Latin American experience to the Anglo-American, the main difference that comes up is that the first one relies on outcomes and not only on methods, as the latter strongly encourages. The aforementioned political, economic, and security conditions have been recognized as factors influencing conceptualizations of investigative journalism here and there.

Indeed, Latin American watchdogs have experienced not only violence, but also an environment that has lacked accountability, transparency, and access to information. Indeed, while Sweden has a freedom of information act (FOIA) since the 18th Century and the US has its own regulation of this kind since the 1960s, legal bodies guaranteeing access to information are rather novel in Latin America, and so their application and uses, too. Some of them enforce only federal level offices and not local ones; in several countries there are still obstacles to apply it, and even conservative trends are attempting to restrain applicability and scope of transparency regulations. Moreover, in those places where there are FOIAs (México, Argentina, Peru, and Chile, to mention some) there are a few journalists and even a few media pulling it and testing its boundaries and they are facing practical obstacles: there is still a lack of digitized data or trained staff in public offices.

Investigative journalism in Chile

Recent muckraking in Chile has been performed in two different moments and conditions. One has been the courageous practice of reporters during the civic-military dictatorship between 1973 and 1990, mainly in rather oppositional and critical outlets, and the second moment in the post-dictatorial period, since the 1990s. In the first case, in spite of severe legal restrictions and the use of force in a regular basis, trench magazines and newspapers published outstanding exposés that we still use as case studies in schools of journalism (Alves, 2005; Araya, 2007; Bresnahan, 2003; Dermota, 2002; González, 2016; Periodismo-UDP, 2017; Reyes Matta & Richards, 1986; Segovia, 1990). Nonetheless, these outlets didn't survive to the

Chilean political transition and all of them have shut down by the end of the 1990s due to their failure in developing larger audiences or sustainable business models and because they were ignored by advertising (Bresnahan, 2003; Dermota, 2002; Periodismo-UDP, 2017; Tironi & Sunkel, 1993).

In a second moment, after the re-democratization in the early 1990s, investigative journalism found its way in the mainstream media and contemporary muckrakers have unmasked corporate, governmental, and military wrongdoings in books, documentaries, magazines, journalistic television news programs, and online platforms. This dissertation focuses on that moment. Outlets and reporters conducting investigations about human rights violations or criticizing the army officers or former authoritarian agents, for instance, faced criminal charges when the dictatorship was long over (HRW, 1998; Stern, 2010). But by the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century, corporate players gained weight over the military and the Catholic church as powerful forces shaping Chilean muckraking.

An in-depth analysis of Chilean muckraking -largely disregarded in the literature on the topic-, complicates what investigative reporting means and sheds light into larger questions regarding the role of journalism in emerging democracies and under neoliberal frames. This is particularly relevant in the Latin American case due to the uneven reach of the state in emerging democracies (O'Donnell, 2007; O'Donnell, Schmitter, & Whitehead, 1986). The press systems literature, for instance, barely considers transitional media systems (Elchins, 2000; Mellado & Lagos, 2013b; Voltmer, 2013) and democracy appears as some goal to be achieved. Indeed, a large body of research on international political economy observes democracy as a dichotomous variable whether present or not in a given society (Büthe & Milner, 2008; Eichengreen & Leblang, 2008; Jensen, 2003; Kerner, 2009; Simmons & Elchins, 2004). On the contrary, reviewing a democratic regime in a transitional phase complicates dichotomic and/or stable depictions of democracy.

Overall, the watchdog role of journalism has been the exception in daily newspapers, according to a large content analysis of national desk news (Mellado, 2014). There is little or no material about investigative journalism deployed in other mediums, such as television (Fuentes, 2006), and there is little research done in such type of reporting in digital-native news outlets (Skoknic, 2013). Then, this research fills a gap by addressing a journalistic performance

overlooked in the body of literature about Chilean media and journalism studies. Indeed, there is little work exclusively devoted to systematically analyzing exposés or muckrakers. Instead, such journalistic performance (or the lack of) is mentioned as part of larger trends in contemporary Chilean journalism and is mainly devoted to the works delivered by print press, while watchdog-style reporting produced and performed on television has been rather omitted. This dissertation provides the first comprehensive analysis of the two programs that have broadcast in-depth journalism uninterruptedly for decades on Chilean television, *Contacto* (Canal 13, a private network) and *Informe Especial* (Televisión Nacional de Chile, TVN, public network).

Analyzing muckraking in Chile also opens up avenues to better understand such performance under a democratic regime, but it is highly influenced by the political economy forged during the dictatorship (1973-1990). The implications of neoliberal policies in shaping media industries and corporatization of journalism has been widely described in western and hegemonic journalistic cultures, with particular emphasis in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008 (Murdock & Gripsrud, 2015b; Starkman, 2014). My research contributes to better understand the particular ways in which neoliberalism has shaped an adversarial role of the press in a stable but peripheral economy in relationship to global trends. By doing so, this dissertation complicates how research has understood investigative journalism and critically historicizes and contextualizes such practice.

Dissertation's outline

The dissertation is organized in two parts: the first one examines the boundaries containing and shaping a contemporary watchdog-style journalistic performance ("Boundaries"). This first part explores the historical roots of the regulatory frame of Chilean journalism and media (chapter one "Rule") and characterizes investigative journalism as a subfield (chapter two "Club"). The second part of the dissertation analyzes the performance of Chilean muckraking specifically on television between 1990 and 2015 ("Practices"). By analyzing almost a hundred of hours of footage and the conditions of production between 1990 and 2015, chapter three ("Gaze") explores the narratives of muckraking on television, in a particular Latin American journalistic culture, the ethics and aesthetics of investigative stories produced, and how they have shaped a certain cultural vision in a post-authoritarian moment in a neoliberal society. To weigh

the extent and scope of neoliberalism's influence in shaping muckraking on Chilean television, chapter four ("Leakage") carefully follows the money. Indeed, I critically examine the role of business-related players influencing journalistic performance, whether within the networks or from the broader political economy (corporate power). I also explore the process of branding in the increasing marketization of muckraking in a television industry striving for audiences, advertising, and revenues.

Methodological approach and material

This is mixed-methods research within a constructivist and interpretive way of thinking. Indeed, this design mixes qualitative and quantitative tools for complementary purposes because it aims to examine overlapping but different facets of the same phenomenon. In this research, the qualitative and interpretive paradigm is more relevant than quantitative data, though (Greene, 2007; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Valdivia, 2014). Regarding the interpretive and qualitative character of this research, the design was flexible and open to adjustments in an active dialogue with the material available. The corpus of this study consists in a combination of primary and secondary sources, private and public archives, and print and visual material (documents, interviews, visual material, and datasets created for this research, to mention a few). A detailed account of the methodological design, the sources, and the process of producing and analyzing the material is included in Appendix A. Also, I included the sample of *Contacto*'s and *Informe Especial*'s episodes analyzed in-depth in the dissertation, including their titles, the correspondents that produced the stories, and the length-time (Appendix B). Appendix C includes some screenshots of the stories' discussed across the study, particularly in Chapter 3, and finally Appendix D showcases examples of the self-promotional material produced by both programs and discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 1. Rule. A legal genealogy of contemporary Chilean watchdog(s) and media

I devoted considerable space and detail to the debates held by the constituent power in the late 1970s when settling a new Constitution. In doing so, the chapter unravels the traces and foundations of the principles and legal rules under which contemporary watchdog-style journalism has navigated and still negotiates. Due to the nature of the process (appointed by the

dictatorship and under its rule), the range of lobbying, transparency, or openness to build up a pluralistic lawmaking process was little or nonexistent. The larger purposes of a new constitutional order of armoring democracy against democracy's vices also defined the expectations over freedom of expression, journalism, and media.

The research shows that private property, a free market of ideas, and a negative freedom approach are the principles organizing contemporary Chilean public sphere. Such foundations have shaped journalistic practices and media status in contemporary times. Nonetheless, the partisan positions the commissioners in charge of writing down a new constitution concretely embodied, and the political context under which the debate took place molded and even contradicted the principles of private property, a free market of ideas, and a negative freedom in forging journalism and media. For instance, out of political revenge, and contravening private property in funding media, commissioners forbid the access to owning outlets to foreigners by exemplifying through publishers that embraced an incisive journalistic performance previous to the coup of 1973.

Then, although celebrating a free market of ideas and a negative freedom approach, members of the committee that wrote a new constitution in the late 1970s brought into their lawmaking process their partisan experiences and stances in order to define the expectations on journalism and journalists and to condemn a more critical and satirical journalistic performance when drawing the constitutional and legal principles organizing the public sphere. Later, governments, judges, and powerful players, have drawn from such frames to tame adversarial journalism.

Therefore, tracing such processes de-naturalizes the way in which expectations over journalism and highlights the legal scaffolding organizing Chilean media industry have been forged. In other words, by critically analyzing a handful of lawmaking process, we can better understand the journalism(s) and the media we have today. In fact, the current political-legal framework in which Chilean muckraking operates was radically settled in the process of discussing and debating the Constitution of 1980, reinforced and sharpened by a handful of later legal reforms, and lasts until today in defining the scope and performance of an adversarial journalistic role.

Chapter 2. Club. Mapping the field of investigative journalism in Chile

By analyzing muckraking in a Latin American society, this chapter grasps the increasing formalization of investigative journalism as a subfield through formal and on-the-ground training, a small but growing learning community, a set of shared journalistic values and practices, the contested autonomy of the subfield, and a certain common ground about the role watchdog journalism must play in democracy. Overall, the increasing professionalization of the subfield as this chapter shows, makes possible to identify it as such.

Drawing from field theory, muckraking in Chile has grown as a subfield throughout its increasing formalization and professionalization since the early 1990s. However, it is a rather national journalistic subfield, with a few although growing connections with international networks, mainly Latin American ones. For instance, some features to explore the local scope of the subfield is the number of books translated to or reviewed in a foreign language and practitioners recognized by regional or global mechanisms and institutions of prestige. Indeed, just a very few books from a handful of very well-known Chilean practitioners have been translated to or reviewed in English and a very few nationally known correspondents have gained international recognition through awards or as keynote speakers. It is, indeed, a local, relatively small, and tight subfield and, as a club, it reproduces itself.

Under that umbrella, as a small but growing subfield, Chilean investigative journalism has created its own mechanisms of prestige and recognition, its rules of acceptance and entrance to the sub-field, and role models and standards. Chilean watchdog reporting contains (and it is contained by) some practices, rituals, and objects that operate as marks of distinction. In other words, the subfield of investigative journalism has carved some shared values, conceptions of what journalism is or should be, and has struggled over their standards and canon that distinguish muckraking from other types of journalistic practices, styles, and products.

Nonetheless, the boundaries defining the subfield are blurred and its features, semi-autonomous rather than clear-cut and fully independent from other subfields or fields. For instance, the biographical and professional trajectories of investigative journalists are contested and self-conscious paths to forging an identity as muckrakers. Indeed, turning into an investigative journalist comes out of a haphazard combination of circumstances. Even though not

all of them consider themselves muckrakers, their work, their peers, and their representation of the values of the subfield make them so.

Using Bourdieu's ideas, the chapter analyzes journalistic investigations in the form of books as representing the most autonomous performance of the subfield of investigative journalism, symbolizing larger cultural capital and a more independent production. On the contrary, exposés produced for television programs illustrate the heteronomous (or less autonomous) performance of muckraking. Indeed, while a book is exclusively devoted to producing a journalistic piece, investigative journalism in broadcasting lives together and competes not only with the news department, but with reality shows, children programming, or *telenovelas*. Whereas an investigative story in a book reaches a small audience, broadcasting muckraking reaches a larger one. Finally, analyzing investigative journalism on television de-naturalizes the assumptions of independence and rationality as investigative journalism's trademarks when including into the equation forces of the market in a commercialized television industry as well as the melodramatic features of the visual language.

Chapter 3. Gaze. Ethics and aesthetics of Chilean muckraking

By analyzing more than 100 hours of investigative stories broadcasted in Chile since the 1990s, this research complicates the rather narrow notion of watchdog journalism theorized in industrialized nations, within western media systems, and mainstream models of journalism, and de-naturalize the principle of rationality undergirding the understanding of watchdog journalism. In fact, the visual narratives have deployed a repertoire of strategies early on valuing facticity (data visualization and the role of archives in visual depictions), but they have also embraced hybrid languages, fully incorporating drama features, and flirting with reality television, a genre that launched in Chile with huge success in the late 1990s.

Therefore, broadcasting muckraking narratives in a peripheral journalistic culture includes high-quality information honoring the normative expectation of facticity, but also a pool of techniques emphasizing melodramatic features, such as personalization and emotions; deceiving strategies pulling in the audience as the drama unfolds; and elements borrowed from genres such as reality television. Then, data drives watchdog-style journalism, but muckraking

also makes sense of it through storytelling strategies and visual language as a full element of producing such stories.

Chapter 4. Leakage. Investigative journalism in neoliberal times

By examining features of corporate culture and practices to managing journalism, this chapter shows the extent and scope of economic and financial strategies shaping investigative journalism, particularly on broadcasting. I detail policies micromanaging and shrinking budgets, a hierarchical division of labor, flexibilization, and outsourcing to control journalists as workers, and implementing practices of productivity in producing exposés. Regarding the macro level of influence in producing investigative journalism, the research scrutinizes the scope and extent of retaliation from big money when exposed by critical stories. Then, in providing details in which capital has constrained muckraking both at the organizational and the macro levels of influence and exploring the changes over time, the research displays specific ways in which larger phenomena such as the liberalization, corporatization, and re-regulation of media discussed globally have impacted in a given sub-field of investigative reporting in the Global South.

* * *

The current and urgent conversation about how to produce and sustain high-quality journalism seems to colonize concerns among researchers, practitioners, and professors of journalism. A combination of amazement triggered by cheaper technologies, a legitimate concern regarding the scale and impact of old-propaganda techniques refashioned as fake news, and the challenges of reporting phenomena on a global scale through large networks of journalists, obscures the necessity of knowing more and better about unresearched problems in producing investigative journalism.

Additionally, the ongoing and enthusiastic conversation about new and sustainable funding models in journalism has opened windows to a whole area of teaching and researching on entrepreneurial and non-profit journalism, heavily relying on new technologies, as the response to endless layoffs and shrinking budgets. However, such approach omits the historical routes and the structures that have fueled and sustained such order of things.

Therefore, acknowledging the current debates about the role and need of high-quality journalism in our contemporary times, the risks and advantages new technologies imply, and the multiple questions regarding how to fund such journalism, this dissertation rather explores the recent history in developing muckraking in a peripheral journalistic culture. In doing so, I also avoid a certain hype in framing the future of journalism's conversation under a technological determinism (cheaper and more accessible technologies will strengthen journalism) or within an uncontested commercialization of the subfield (more market will provide better journalism). By looking back in time and shedding light into an overlooked journalistic culture, this dissertation contributes to better understand questions to and from muckraking.

PART I

BOUNDARIES

CHAPTER 1: RULE

A legal genealogy of the contemporary Chilean media ecology and its journalism(s)

En 1994 hice la práctica en El Mercurio…
y había una lista de como 20 sinónimos de
"decir, indicar, señalar,"
como comodines, pegada en los computadores…
el editor de espectáculos [de La Tercera]
tenía una foto con [Augusto] Pinochet
¡en el año1995!, una foto en su escritorio[6]
Chilean journalist[7]

The anecdote illustrates how journalistic performance looks like at a post-authoritarian moment in Chile. Although the civic-military dictatorship had already been defeated in a referendum in October 1988, and a wide political coalition had taken office in March 1990 after winning general and free elections a few months earlier, by the mid-1990s the political and cultural traces of the previous regime still prevailed across national newsrooms. As expected, the change of regime from authoritarianism to democracy did not immediately result in a colorful public sphere, and freedom did not occur overnight. Together with the regime's brutality, the constitutional, legal, and institutional scaffolding designed and enforced over 17 years prevented this from happening.

This chapter examines the historical roots of the regulatory frame of Chilean journalism(s) and media landscape, identifies some crucial players in the process, and the extent such historical roots are embedded in expectations about journalism in its critical watchdog-role in the Chilean post-dictatorship. Relying on documents about lawmaking processes, this chapter traces a historical overview of the constitutional and legal frames organizing the Chilean media system with the subsequent analysis of the nature and extent of normative expectations about journalistic performance that transpire from such documents. The current political-legal framework in which Chilean journalism and media now operate was settled in two large time

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[6] "In 1994, I did my professional internship in *El Mercurio*... and there was a list of about 20 synonyms of words such as "say, indicate, point out," as wildcards, taped at the computer... the editor of [*La Tercera*] had had a photo with [Augusto] Pinochet in 1995! a photo on his desk!" It is my own translation.
[7] Interview conducted by the author under the research project Fondecyt #N°1110009 2011-2014, principal researcher Dr. Claudia Mellado, final report.

spans: The first one occurred between 1974 and 1980, when the government enacted a new Constitution that formally guaranteed freedom of expression, created a National Council of Radio and Television[8], and established the requirements for operating broadcasting licenses. The second moment ran between the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, when the *Junta Militar* passed a television bill and the new democratic government changed public television's regulations, sharpening the frame previously designed by the dictatorship in the late 1970s.

There are four lawmaking processes that are crucial to historicize the philosophical and legal roots of what constitutes the status of journalism and media in Chile:[9] First, the history of freedom of expression;[10] second, the history of the television act;[11] third, the history of the public broadcasting act,[12] and finally, Congress' special report about the status of public broadcasting in the aftermath of the dictatorship.[13] A close reading of these four legal documents sheds light into the normative roles that journalists were expected to perform and the nature and extent of Chilean media operations. This chapter emphasizes the constitutional process complemented by the other three documents mentioned. This account contributes to expand previous work by discussing the appeal of the market place of ideas metaphor within Chilean constitutional law scholarship (Ahumada, 2017), the negative freedom frame in inspiring the crucial lawmaking process about media and journalism since the 1990s (Sapiezynska, 2017), and the role of conservative press in influencing the attempts of democratizing dictatorship's constitutional frame (Coddou & Ferreiro, 2016).

Even though any historical approach is narrow and only provides a glimpse into the material, the forces involved, and the outcomes (Marius & Page, 2012), a historical inquiry does open some slits through which to examine certain moments, to snitch into places that otherwise are closed to fresh air, and to identify influential players embodying a certain set of values that later generations have navigated as the given rules of the game. Thus, looking back at specific

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[8] When discussing a new law regulating broadcasting in the late 1980s, the *Junta* dropped the radio from the obligations of the council (BCN, 1989, p. 118)
[9] See the Methodological Appendix.
[10] *Historia de la Ley. Constitución Política de la República de Chile de 1980. Artículo 19, No. 12. Libertad de Expresión* (BCN, 2005). Article 19(2) in the Chilean constitution guarantees freedom of expression and establishes the frame for broadcasting operations.
[11] *Historia de la Ley Nº 18.838. Crea el Consejo Nacional de Televisión* (BCN, 1989).
[12] *Historia de la Ley No 19.132 Crea la Empresa del Estado Televisión Nacional de Chile* (BCN, 1992).
[13] *Informe Comisión Especial Investigadora de la Situación de Televisión Nacional de Chile* (BCN, 1991).

artifacts, such as legal documents produced at particular conjunctures, allows us "to see contemporary relationships, practices, and institutions as historical constructs contingent upon contemporaneous factors instead of simply natural, rational, or functional phenomena" (Pickard, 2008: p. 13). At the end, we can better understand our present by historicizing it.

The chapter provides, first, a historical overview of the impact of the coup d'État of 1973, the civic-military dictatorship that followed, and the political transition to democracy on journalism and media. The second section briefly describes the main features of the lawmaking process under the dictatorship, with particular emphasis in the Constitution approved in 1980. The civic-military dictatorship did produce a certain bureaucracy to formalize its lawmaking functions while the parliament was closed, crafting a sort of work-in-progress style at the beginning of the regime and a more formalized process towards the late 1980s. At the same time, it ruled the country through executive orders, as well. Then, the chapter discusses the main principles shaping freedom of expression, journalism, and media and how they have persisted and shaped the watchdog reporting in Chilean post-dictatorship.

Therefore, by analyzing a set of legal documents as cultural artifacts, this chapter grasps the dynamic interrelations of culture by exploring some elements controlling the field (the dominant ones), analyzing the new (or emergent) characteristics clashing or complementing hegemonic ones, and determining what sort of elements lose importance in defining a certain cultural field, in this case, the watchdog-style journalism and, as a consequence, become residual (Williams, 1977). In that sense, "all processes transpire over time in complex dialectical interplays that are mutually constitutive" (Pickard, 2008: p. 14).

Then, this chapter explores the historical roots framing the Chilean public sphere, journalism, and media. This allows us to identify the main players shaping the debate, the procedures displayed, and the most salient topics in connection with the larger local context that produced it.

Authoritarianism, democracy, and journalism: An overview

"La libertad de expresión siempre fue un tema para El Mercurio*,*
pero la suspensión de actividades de los competidores
[a consecuencia del golpe] no fue una mala noticia, hay que reconocer"[14]
Arturo Fontaine Talavera, *El Mercurio*'s executive director between 1978 and 1982 (Lagos, 2009, p. 60)

In September 1973, a civic-military alliance took power through a military coup, overthrew the left-wing government of Salvador Allende, shuttered Congress, prohibited any political activity, ruled through the martial law, and recasted Chilean society. The authoritarian regime radically shifted the characteristics of the Chilean media ecology and the conditions for performing journalism. After the coup, publishing companies that had been explicit or alleged supporters of Allende's government were shut down, and the newspapers, periodicals, and magazines they published went out of business. Troops burned books in the streets, Air Force planes bombed radio antennas, radio stations were closed or taken over by troops, many printers were confiscated, and military authorities controlled public television. Thousands of journalists and media workers lost their jobs and were tortured, killed, persecuted, or exiled; censorship and self-censorship was a daily-life experience in performing journalism (Carmona, 1997; Colegio de Periodistas, 1990; Comisión Nacional de Prisión Política y Tortura, 2004; Lagos, 2009).

In addition to shaping the public sphere through brutality, the regime and its aides also deployed a combination of constitutional and legal reforms consolidating authoritarian power. In September 1989, just a few months before the dictatorship left office, the regime passed a bill that reformed the television industry by opening the door to commercialization and privatization. As a consequence of such reform, contemporary Chilean broadcasting is completely private, despite its public-service origins in the 1950s (Hurtado, 1989; Munizaga, 1981). Even though public television is mandated to fulfill public obligations, it must also strive for audience shares and advertising investment, just like its competitors. Neither public radio stations nor public print media currently exist in the Chilean media ecology. The broadcasting and media industry legal regulation is weak and is mainly developed within free trade regulations (Bresnahan, 2003).

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[14] "Freedom of expression was always part of *El Mercurio*'s agenda, but the suspension of competitors' activities was not bad news, I have to recognize." The translation is mine.

Indeed, by the early 1980s, commercialization, transnationalization, an expanding concentration of ownership, and geographical production and circulation of media content were the main features of Chilean media industries. In a few years, the civic-military dictatorship reorganized the communication landscape and erased a more competitive media ecology that heavily included partisan, labor, and non-profit press until 1973 (Portales, 1981). Paradoxically, this lack of pluralism and diversity in the journalistic landscape only becomes worse in the wave of democratization. Media ownership, advertising funding, and audience shares have increased their concentration and geographical centralization since the 1990s (Corrales & Sandoval, 2003; Mönckeberg, 2009; Sunkel & Geoffroy, 2001).

Parallel to the rising of an entire commercialized media system in Chile, the neoliberal shift since the 1970s also resulted in the deregulation of higher education in the early 1980s, meaning that founding universities and certifying professional skills became easier and more profitable. For example, while in 1981 there were only 14 universities in the country, by 2015 the number raised up to 60.[15] Along the same lines, the supply of professional training in journalism skyrocketed between the 1980s and the 1990s: While by the early 1980s there were a few programs in journalism in Chile, by the end of the 1990s there were almost 60. By the mid-2010s, it stabilized around 30. As a consequence, in a small country of 17 million people and a relatively small job market, there was an increasing number of certified journalists, who receive low wages in comparison to the incomes of other university professionals, and in some cases, face many obstacles to find a position as a journalist (Corrales, 2006; Délano, Niklander, & Susacasa, 2007; Mellado & Lagos, 2013a).

As the opening quote in this chapter illustrates, the habits and practices of the new democratic era mixed with those under the authoritarian regime. By the end of the 1990s, the authoritarian corset was still in place, articulating the journalistic field. Indeed, almost a decade after defeating the dictatorship by the referendum of 1988, the new, democratic administration implemented some urgent reforms involving the entire Chilean legal frame and its application in all levels of the jurisdiction; however, powerful players, such as politicians, the former dictator himself, the armed forces, and the Catholic Church, among others, deployed several actions in

[15] Universities in Chile certify undergraduate, professional, and graduate grades. Professional institutes and technical training centers provide short-term training.

order to shrink public debate and shut down any progress on expanding freedom of expression disregarding international standards of humans rights (HRW, 1998). At the time with Pinochet detained in London for crimes against humanity, a Chilean reporter received political asylum in the United States due to the hostile criminal prosecution after publishing a critical exposé on the Chilean justice system (Matus, 1999, 2002a, 2002b). Her case illustrated the long shadow authoritarianism projected over the young Chilean democracy and the weak protection of freedom of expression and investigative journalism.

An authoritarian and commercialized public sphere affected journalism throughout the 2000s as well. In fact, the main obstacles for an autonomous journalistic performance were the legal frame and its application, the direct restrictions and threats from political, religious, and military players, and the journalistic culture embedded in the newsrooms that used to privilege taboos, self-censorship, and a respectful –even docile- relationship with the authority. By then, Chilean journalists were struggling to leave behind journalistic practices forged under the dictatorship iron-fist (Cabalin & Lagos, 2009; Dermota, 2002; Otano & Sunkel, 2003), although there were only a restricted set of sources, topics, and representations making their way into the public sphere (Lagos, Cabalin, Checa, & Peña y Lillo, 2012; Lagos, Matus, & Vera, 2005; Rebolledo, 2000; Sapiezynska, 2014).

However, even the hardest conditions did not completely silence watchdog-style journalism. Indeed, journalism has flourished under authoritarian regimes as well (Zelizer, 2012). Even more, authoritarian regimes tolerate a certain level of criticism as an image improvement strategy to sustain their domestic control (Carothers, 2000), and some outlets develop forms of "inertial" or "adaptative" authoritarianism (Hugues, 2006: 12), as was the case of Chilean journalism under the dictatorship and, later, navigating old- and new-brand restrictions while building a new democracy since 1990.

Whereas high-quality journalism develops even in hostile environments, practitioners still normatively embrace the crucial role journalism is expected to play in democracy by providing high-quality information to citizens, keeping authorities and the powerful accountable, and exposing wrongdoings. Indeed, interviewees embraced traditional definitions of investigative journalism by describing it as watchdog-style and in-depth reporting, which is expected to be methodologically strong by deploying solid archival work and an extensive pool of sources as

well as an original piece of work containing unknown information of public interest.[16] The scarce indigenous literature on the topic also reproduces definitions borrowed from the US tradition of muckraking, also contained in handbooks and foreign aid policies (Fuentes, 2006; Reyes, 1996; Santoro, 2004).

There seems to be a significant gap between notions of the journalistic role and role performance, that is, between what journalists embrace as the ideal role of investigative reporting and the actual conditions that have dramatically contained and constrained such performance. Indeed, previous research has showed that such gap is particularly large for the watchdog and civic-oriented roles and also that journalists tend to perform a critical-style of journalism less often than they would like to (Mellado & van Dalen, 2013). Nonetheless, instead of conceiving such dissonance as a gap or as a sign of reporters' vital contradictions between what they say they do and what they actually (can) do, this chapter explores the complex narratives of journalism as a cultural practice, with particular attention to the expectations over watchdog-style reporting in the lawmaking process, and explores how such narratives historically emerged in specific artifacts (the regulatory frame), at particular historical moments in contemporary Chilean history (during the dictatorship).

All the dictator's men: Who forged the legal roots of journalism, media, and public sphere

The Chilean Constitution enacted in 1980 was designed in two moments: The first one, between 1974 and 1980 when a special commission appointed by the dictatorship[17] discussed and provided a first draft; and the second one, from October 1988 to July 1989 when the *Junta Militar* and the political opposition negotiated limited amendments after Pinochet was defeated in a referendum and called for free elections (Fuentes, 2012, 2013). Even though Congress has introduced certain reforms since the 1990s,[18] the spirit and basis of the Constitution has been untouchable. Overall, the Constitution's very root is illegitimate: It was conceived behind closed doors, away from public scrutiny, and it was approved after a fraudulent referendum (Fuentes,

[16] Interviewees E2, E3, E4, E8, E10, E11, E12, E13, E14, E16, E17, E21.
[17] *Decreto Supremo* (executive order) #1,064 that created the Commission to Study a New Political Constitution, best known as Comisión Ortúzar (Ortúzar Commission) after the last name of his president, Enrique Ortúzar, a lawyer that was Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Justice in the early 1960s.
[18] The most significant being in 2005.

2013; IACHR, 1980). To this date, there is an ongoing process to draft a new constitution and overcome its spurious origins.

In 1973, the Junta appointed six male lawyers and a woman to draft a new constitution.[19] In order to be more efficient on the task, the commissioners nominated sub-commissions to study specific aspects that had to be included in the Constitution. As a result, they appointed a group to provide insights and a draft on constitutional guarantees about freedom of expression, journalism, and the status of the media.[20] It is interesting to note that although the so-called Ortúzar Commission created only a handful of sub-committees,[21] one exclusively devoted to media and journalism was considered worthy by itself. It shows the alleged influence media and journalism had in the commissioners' perceptions. Again, only men (11) were appointed,[22] although at some point, they also incorporated a female lawyer. However, only a few of them actively engaged in most of the work.[23]

There is no official record about the sub-committee's work. Consequently, it is not possible to know the schedules, the rules that guided the debate, or whether some of its members resigned or were replaced. Nonetheless, two secondary sources[24] provide a glimpse of the sub-committee's work: The first one is the sub-committee's chair's regular accounts to the Ortúzar Commission, included in the official transcripts, and the second one comes from two reports resulting from the sub-committee's work. One containing the principles that should inspire media regulation, and another one providing a draft to be considered by the Commission. Both sources shed light into the debate within the sub-committee on freedom of expression, media, and journalism.

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[19] The group is well-known as the Ortúzar Commission named after its president's last name, Enrique Ortúzar. The other members were Sergio Diez Urzúa, Jaime Guzmán Errázuriz, Jorge Ovalle, Enrique Evans de la Cuadra, Gustavo Lorca Rojas, Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, and Alicia Romo.

[20] *Subcomisión 3, "Del Estatuto Legal de los Medios de Comunicación Social" (prensa, radio, cine y televisión).*

[21] There were only seven sub-committees producing final reports on specific dimensions that the constitution had to consider.

[22] Miguel Schweitzer was the president of the sub-commission. Later, he became Pinochet's Minister of Foreign Affairs and was also his lawyer when facing criminal charges for crimes against humanity. Original members were Carlos Ashton, Carlos Figueroa, Juan Hamilton, Raúl Hasbún (priest and long-time Canal 13 director; Rolando Molina, Pedro Montero, Luis Muñoz Ahumada, Carlos Paul, Patricio Prieto, and Carlos Sepúlveda. At some point, they incorporated Luz Bulnes.

[23] Schweitzer, as its president, Bulnes, Figueroa, Montero, and Paul were involved the most.

[24] In the legal history of this article, there is only one official transcript of one of the meetings of the sub-commission and it was included as an appendix to the session #409, August 10, 1978 (BCN, 2005).

Both the Ortúzar Commission and the sub-committee about media legal status did not consider public hearings, and Ortúzar reported individually and directly to the *Junta*. In fact, there are almost no traces of academic references and there are few comparative cases, although previous Chilean constitutions[25] were eventually cited by the commissioners. In the case of the sub-committee, we know how they worked only partially. We do know, for instance, that they invited a few guests whose contributions to the Commission ended up being self-referential. Indeed, the sub-committee was constituted by representatives of the National Press Association and some of the guest speakers were part of such guild as well. Therefore, there was an unfair access to lobbying the lawmaking process, as it gave voice only to a few players from the media industry. There were also a handful of guests with a technical background on telecommunications.[26]

In December 1978 and after five years of work, the Ortúzar Commission sent a draft of the Constitution to the Council of the State, constituted by members appointed by Pinochet so as to later get their advice: two former presidents,[27] former armed forces' chiefs, public officials, businessmen, and diplomats, among others. As the Ortúzar Commission and its sub-committee about freedom of expression, journalism, and media status did before, there is no record of special guests, experts' reports, or anybody outside the council lobbying when discussing the Constitution other than two letters written by the main national journalistic and media organizations[28] and one by a professor in constitutional law.[29]

The Council of State made several changes to the original manuscript crafted by the Ortúzar Commission and, by mid-1980, it provided a new draft of the Constitution to the *Junta*, with the hopes of being the final one. Nonetheless, Pinochet appointed a special-task force of military lawyers under the supervision of its Ministry of Justice –who was the dictator's cousin.

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[25] Constitutional regulations of 1811, 1812, and 1814. Constitutions of 1818, 1822, 1823, 1828, and 1925.
[26] Arturo Fontaine Aldunate, by then the director of *El Mercurio*, the main newspaper in the country; Juan Enrique Silva, legal advisor at the public television, who collaborated to write the bill that ruled television by then; Agustín Squella, vice-president of a local television network; Colonel Araos (referred to only by his last name), chair of Electric and Gas facilities; Alberto Vial and Mario Correa, representatives of Gabriela Mistral publishing company, and Ricardo Araya, representing Zig-Zag publishing company (BCN, 2005, pp. 10-11 and 466).
[27] Jorge Alessandri and Gabriel González Videla. Eduardo Frei Montalva declined to join the Council and sustained a very vocal opposition against the regime.
[28] The National Association of the Press (*Asociación Nacional de la Prensa*), the National Association of Journalists (*Colegio Nacional de Periodistas*), and the Chilean Radio Association (*Asociación de Radiodifusoras de Chile*).
[29] Prof. Guillermo Schiessler, Universidad de Chile, Valparaíso.

For two weeks, the group worked in secrecy in permanent consultancy with the *Junta*'s members and made substantial modifications to the draft presented by the Council of the State. Its head, former president Jorge Alessandri, was irritated and felt disrespected. In fact, he resigned from his position as soon as the Constitution was approved (Cavallo, Sepúlveda, & Salazar, 1988).

After the enactment of the Constitution in 1980, the government organized its lawmaking work as follows: Pinochet was the president of the Republic and the Junta was constituted by the second man in charge of the Army, the chiefs of the Navy, the Air Force, and the national police. Each one of them chaired one of the four committees that performed legislative tasks. The lawmaking process under such circumstances started with Pinochet sending a project to one or more commissions. Then, a draft was reviewed by the *Junta* to be finally approved or amended by Pinochet. This was, to some extent, the path to the television reform in 1988 and 1989. The lawmaking process was more formalized than the constitutional debate in the 1970s, which have been organized as it unraveled. Because of that, the range and diversity of players involved in the former seems more technical, but it is in fact even narrower, as the *Junta*'s commissions directly oversaw the whole process.[30]

Consequently, the main players that shaped freedom of expression, the right to be informed, the status of media, and normative expectations on journalism were overwhelmingly white men who had been trained as lawyers. However, a few priests, businessmen, and military officials as well as military personnel helped to work out the details at the end of the process, so they were also important players in legally defining journalism's and media's foundations in the 1970s and 1980s. Additionally, it should be noted that the commissioners initiated their meetings "in the name of God" (BCN, 2005, p. 439) and official letters addressed to Pinochet were signed "God Keeps Your Excellency[31]" (BCN, 2005, p. 94).

The entire process was carried out behind closed doors, under secrecy, out of public scrutiny, and with a strong bureaucratic control from the regime. Indeed, the Commission agreed to restrict public statements to Chilean press as much as possible and to concede a few, very cautious interviews to foreign correspondents in order to restore the truth of what was happening

[30] A letter from the public television's unions and the Supreme Court's president addressed to the *Junta* are the only outsider views incorporated in the process

[31] "Dios Guarde a V.E.," Admiral José T. Merino, Navy's Chief, letter April 19, 1989.

in the country, which implied that there was a misunderstanding of the political long-term project advanced by the regime.

While organizing the future public sphere in democracy and managing their expectations about journalism there is evidence of some contradictions and struggles, too. Indeed, commissioners' concerns around the national recent political experience, the concrete journalistic practices embraced by specific reporters, publishers, and newspapers, and even their own bitter experiences dealing with the press as public figures fueled and mixed conservative, authoritarian, and libertarian principles and a pragmatic decision-making process out of partisan practices and frameworks.

Civil rights according to a regime of terror: *Orden y Patria* and market

Private property, a free market of ideas, and a negative freedom approach are the fundamental principles organizing the Chilean constitutional and legal frame on free speech, journalism, and the media. In its very first meeting, the Ortúzar Commission's members agreed that private property had to be the foundation of public liberties: Economic control, they agreed, is the way to guarantee political control (BCN, 2005, p. 6). Private property protection, then, was tied to making the print industry expropriation-free. In other words, the philosophical and individual right of free speech was strongly tied to the very material artifact of periodicals produced under a capitalist model.

The highly partisan landscape of the 1960s and 1970s strongly shaped a set of mechanisms designed to constrain public liberties. Indeed, the debate on freedom of expression, journalism, and media contains a pragmatic attempt to diminish specific political opponents and radical political action so as to prevent them from regaining any relevance.

Despite the strong discourse supporting the private market as the cornerstone in organizing public liberties, the commissioners agreed on banning Marxist political parties[32] and the media they supported. As the commission's chair stated, "it is evident that if Marxist organizations and, in general, those organizations contrary to democracy and against the rule of law are to be banned, we cannot allow those organizations to own media, because they will use

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[32] Indeed, it ended up as the art. #8 in the Constitution and was eliminated only in 1989 as a political agreement between the dictatorship and the opposition.

their media to destroy democratic principles and the rule of law" (Ortúzar in BCN, 2005, p. 23). In other words, such wide and strong free market of ideas supported by the commissioners was restricted to a certain range of the political spectrum.[33]

Moreover, despite a strong emphasis on a negative freedom in forging the Chilean public sphere by promoting a hands-off state, there are two exceptions[34] to it when discussing freedom of expression. First, at the very beginning of the process of forging a new Constitution, the commissioners and the sub-committee on the topic agreed in guaranteeing the right to be "truthfully, timely and objectively" informed (BCN, 2005, p. 7). However, such interest did not come out as the right to be informed as it has been recently adopted by other media laws across Latin America (Segura & Waisbord, 2016), but out of the moral panic fueled by the heated partisan landscape previous to the military coup. Although the State's Council rejected the right to be informed as soon as its members reviewed the first draft of the Constitution,[35] the debates unfolded within the Ortúzar commission, the sub-committee on freedom of expression, and the State's Council shed light into their conceptions of public sphere.

First, commissioners were disgusted by the satirical journalism that characterized some periodicals in previous years, which mocked political figures on a daily-basis. Therefore, they expected that acknowledging the right to be informed would prevent any attempt to publish hostile opinions or depictions. Such fear was not new among conservative players. Indeed, the right to be informed was included in the Statute of Constitutional Guarantees that Allende signed as a condition to be ratified by the Congress as a president[36] in 1970. Such guarantees included the right to be informed. In other words, when a Socialist coalition had the chance of taking

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[33] Enrique Evans was the only commissioner that disagreed on banning Marxists political parties and organizations by the Constitution and proposed a court should rule such sentence instead.

[34] Commissioners fully agreed on restricting freedom of expression based upon national security and public order reasons. However, they did not expand or clearly identify how to understand those circumstances. Probably because of the high degree of consensus around them, they seemed "natural" limitations to freedom of expression and out of any debate. Then, this chapter discusses the two that captured more discussion and implied several contradictions, too.

[35] State's Council's session on December 26, 1978 took down people's right to be informed by 14 votes, just one supporting vote, and an abstention. There is no account of any detail about the debate on the topic, if there was one at all (BCN, 2005, p. 478).

[36] None of the three presidential candidates in 1970 obtained the majority of the votes. According to the Constitution of the time, there was no ballotage, but Congress had to ratify who would be the president among the two most voted candidates. Historically, Congress had confirmed the most voted candidate. However, Allende's reformist electoral platform and the coalition of left-parties supporting his candidacy triggered the worst fears in conservative and centrist parties, as well as among corporations, businessmen, and the United States government.

office, reformists and conservative forces were "eager" to guarantee people's rights to be informed, but they were not quite enthusiastic when they were in power. Then, it comes as no surprise that introducing people's right to be informed was later resisted by the very same forces that first supported it in 1970; they argued that such right would imply a heavy burden upon media companies, as it would affect their private property rights. Such reluctance extends until today. The aversion to a critical and satirical journalism weighed more than guaranteeing the social and collective dimensions of freedom of expression. The argument of protecting private property over media companies helped out to dismiss such aspiration, too. Guaranteeing a free market of cultural goods (i.e.: periodicals or books) would assure people's right to be informed, instead.

Second, commissioners strongly promoted disproportionate standards to protect citizens' honor and decency and manifested major concern about what they considered an unleashed journalism: "We must *vehemently*[37] impede a licentious press" (Guzmán in BCN, 2005, p. 227).[38] They encouraged what they called an "appropriate" use of public liberties, implying that honor and an individual's good name restrain freedom of expression. Most of the commissioners supported their views also based on their own bitter experiences with what they considered disrespectful reporters: "I know journalists' ability to harm people" (Ovalle in BCN, 2005, p. 318). They even cited the encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam*, 1964, by Pope Paul VI (Silva Bascuñán in BCN, 2005, p. 128), and pointed out humans as God's creatures to explain the importance of a responsible freedom. For these commissioners, the public sphere had to be fueled by a certain "gentlemanly" attitude so as to encourage a quiet social climate (BCN, 2005, p. 149). Furthermore, the protection of honor precedes the freedom of expression in the Chilean Constitution text. Such textual "order" of rights has effectively shaped criminal and civil courts ruling against freedom of expression and has been in favor of a disproportionate protection to an individual's good name in the dictatorship's aftermath (HRW, 1998).[39]

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[37] Italics are mine.

[38] Jaime Guzman even suggested protecting organizations' privacy.

[39] The commission did not consider suspending any information by a court decision as censorship, but as a legitimate mechanism to protect privacy and honor. Luz Bulnes held a minority vote when the Commission agreed to let criminal courts suspend publications (BCN, 2005, p. 464).

Normative expectations about journalism(s)

When discussing normative expectations of journalism, the spirit of supporting a free market of ideas also clashed with the partisan conditions under which the lawmaking process unfolded. Indeed, commissioners' debates about freedom of expression and media encompasse a certain model of journalism and a certain type of publishers emerged as acceptable, as well; while a critical and satirical style of journalism had to be explicitly banned by both the Constitution and the law. For example, the hostile references to *Clarín* newspaper and its publisher, Darío Sainte Marie, a.k.a. *Volpone*, illustrate how the constituent power was handled under a logic of partisan conflict. "I envision a future of freedom of expression in Chile in which a man like Darío Sainte Marie cannot have a newspaper, because that newspaper would be definitively shut down at the very beginning. We cannot think of any norms that admit media handled by unscrupulous people and in an unscrupulous way, with the right to reply as the citizen's only and precarious defense" (Guzmán in BCN, 2005, p. 234).

Clarín was a commercially successful tabloid published between 1954 and 1973,[40] when it was shut down and its printers and facilities were confiscated by military authorities after the coup. Its main agenda was crime and sports, it firmly endorsed Allende's government, it deployed a more informal language in opposition to legacy media's writing style, and all its hooks, such as headlines, main photographs, covers, and op-eds, heavily relied upon satirical language. Nonetheless, it still embraced a professional approach in news production, as its contemporary competitors did, too (Faure, 2017). Due to a combination of popularity, sharp sarcasm in depicting conservative leaders, and its sympathy to Allende's government, *Clarín* and its publishers, specially Darío Saint Marie, triggered strong criticism from conservative actors. In fact, some of the appointees by the dictatorship to write a new Constitution had been targets of the newspaper's sharp humor.[41]

Hence, Saint Marie and *Clarín* were the opposite model the constituent power wanted to encourage regarding journalism, publishers, and freedom of expression. In that sense, private

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[40] In sales although not in advertising.
[41] To mention a few, Enrique Ortúzar, Commission's Chair, and Jorge Alessandri, former president and Council of State's chair, were two of the recurrent targets of *Clarín* political cartoons and sharp humor. Alessandri, single and with no female partners publicly known, was always referred as The Lady (*La Señora*) by *Clarín*. When Alessandri was president, his government was "Mr. Corales' Circus" (*El Circo del Señor Corales*) and his ministers were the main clowns (*los payasos mayores*) (Bernedo & Porath, 2003; Skoknic, 2008).

property, free market, and the right to found and publish newspapers and media would have so many requirements and such severe sanctions that it would necessarily have discouraged critical and satirical journalistic performances and media not aligned to what these few men conceived as an appropriate way of enjoying freedom of expression. On the contrary, the commissioners praised other media for their harsh criticism against Allende's government, such as *Agricultura* radio station and *El Mercurio* newspaper (BCN, 2005, p. 358, 453).

One of the requirements to own media, the commissioners agreed, was to have been born in Chile,[42] which is a restriction that has been adapted by current Chilean media law as well. It was in fact discussed by the commissioners as a key Constitutional disposition. Saint Marie and, later, Víctor Pey, as *Clarín*'s publishers, were born abroad and, again, the hatred they provoked in the commissioners also played a role in such nationalist and protective disposition regarding media ownership. Going against the principle of free market of ideas and private property as the foundations of public liberties, the commissioners built up restrictions not in an attempt to protect local businesses, but to shield against what was perceived as foreign influences from allegedly radical positions. Not only publishers such as Saint Marie, but press workers in general were perceived as dangerous, including journalists and lynotipe operators: "Their dangerousness is very high, very serious"; they are even more dangerous "than the media owner or manager" (BCN, 2005, p. 430).

The Ortúzar commission established what has been called a "protected democracy."[43] Regarding freedom of expression, the Constitution must inoculate democracy against its own maladies. As commissioner Evans stated, "if we want *to create or contribute*[44] to a new style of journalistic performance…, if we want to give them [journalists] prestige and make journalistic ethics not only a lecture in schools of journalism but a reality in media, and under the risk of being unpopular, it is necessary to have the courage to defend a prior value… [such as] the individual's good name and fame" (BCN, 2005, p. 323). Even more, the State Council's chair, former president Jorge Alessandri, argued that free press, as it was conceived during the French

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[42] Silva Bascuñán was the only commissioner disagreeing with banning foreigners to own media, as he considered globalization, that is, Chile as a host country of asylum seekers, and foreigners who have demonstrated in history a good performance managing media (BCN, 2005, p. 444).
[43] Even the commission's chair, Enrique Ortúzar, stated that "liberal democracy is a failure, so, they need to provide a protective scaffolding" (BCN, 2005, p. 434).
[44] Italics are mine.

Revolution, was outdated, incompatible with public peace, and one of the main factors undermining governance in Chile. Many journalists, Alessandri stated, "heard something and publish something different, because they don't understand or they don't fact-check" (BCN, 2005, p. 476-477).

At some point of the debate, when diving into the specific professional standards of journalism, the Ortúzar commission blurred the boundaries between the political and the legal fields, on the one hand, and the journalistic field, on the other. Indeed, they described journalists' disseminative role as news' professionals whose essential tasks are informing about diverse facts, such as natural disasters, political events, or economic phenomena (BCN, 2005, p. 85, 134, and 284); in turn, they understood journalism as the technique for capturing elements of public interest from events, qualifying them, and sharing them with the community.

The Ortúzar commission went as far as discussing what was an acceptable range of involuntary mistakes in reporting due to the nature of the journalistic cycle and if, how, and who would test sources' reliability (in court, for instance). Under that umbrella, Ovalle suggested that journalists caught lying had to be criminally prosecuted. "Whoever dismisses the truth when informing, is committing a crime," the commissioners argued, "and it must imply expelling the journalist from informative duties because it lacks a basic condition for reporting, such as honesty" (BCN, 2005, p. 135). Evans stated that such standard was disproportionate considering the vertigo of the news cycle under which journalists could make involuntary mistakes. Nonetheless, journalists had to at least be forced to have reliable sources. Therefore, in case of a criminal investigation, a judge could determine whether such sources were trustworthy or not. However, Evans added that it was necessary to evaluate not only if the information was false, but if it was published as such despite knowing it and with the purpose of causing distress. Thus, it was necessary not only to prove the information's falsehood, but to determine that such falsehood was published regardless of being misleading (BCN, 2005, p. 156 and ff. and p. 477). Even more, the Council of State added the chain of responsibility, so, not only a reporter must be criminal prosecuted when publishing an offensive or damaging piece of work, but also the editor, the publisher, and even the media owner (BCN, 2005, pp. 487-488), which lasted for several

years when criminally prosecuting journalists[45]. When distinguishing information from opinion, objectivity appears as information's key feature, implying that information must be fact-driven, objective, and trustworthy (BCN, 2005, p. 135)[46].

Finally, it is noticeable that the principles fueling the right to access public information appear in raw form during the debates over freedom of expression as a constitutional principle, decades before it was actually incorporated as a constitutional right and a whole bill was approved, too. Indeed, when discussing the right to be informed, the commissioners pointed out that it could be widely interpreted as journalists' right to access public information, public officials, and public offices. It is interesting to note that a right that was much later guaranteed by a Constitutional reform (in 2005) and by the law (2009) was strongly resisted when decades earlier it had been tied preferently to journalistic tasks because "journalists… could interpret this right to reach any top secret" (BCN, 2005, p. 173). The potential for citizen empowerment contained in the principle of guaranteeing public access to public information was clearly perceived by the constituent power as a powerful tool for journalists and as such, they declined to admit it.

Media as nuclear weapons: Elite fear to media and legal control over it

As María de la Luz Hurtado points out, television is a set of entangled systems and subsystems of executive and decision-making power. Relying on specific contexts, this grid articulates their components regarding larger cultural, political, and economic projects (Hurtado, 1989). This section inquires into a specific aspect of this net, that is, the legal frame conceived by the civic-military dictatorship in the late 1980s, and the democratic regime in the early 1990s that shaped the current status of the Chilean ecosystem, emphasizing television industry.

The material reveals a profound distrust in mass media among every single player that worked in settling the constitutional and legal foundations of freedom of expression, journalism, and media status. The commission's chair comparing media to nuclear power is revealing: "Just

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[45] As was the case of Matus and *The Black book of the Chliean justice* (1999): Not only she was criminally prosecuted, but her editor and publisher in Planeta Editorial.

[46] Evans and Silva Bascuñán appear to be more moderate regarding restrictions to freedom. Silva criticized some sort of democracy in vitro: "So many precautions and constraints will give the impression that people do not believe in democracy" and Evans warned about practical considerations in keeping track of who says what (BCN, 2005, p. 431-432 and p. 441).

as in a nuclear weapons' factory it is obvious that not everybody could work on it because it would be extraordinarily dangerous, not everybody can work in a newspaper or in media, either. [Media people has the power of] changing just a word that could cause such a commotion in a country or in the world [and] repairing its consequences is very difficult" (Ortúzar in BCN, 2005, p. 143). Even more, media performance must be inspired by high moral standards and oriented towards enlightening youth on principles such as "patriotism, honor, duty, sacrifice, honesty, and solidarity to make Chile a great and prosperous country" (BCN, 2005, p. 406).

Together with such incredible destructive and delicate power, media was considered a dangerous technology and certain groups of people had to be protected against it. For instance, another commissioner pointed out that free access to broadcasting represented risks for children and domestic helpers: Buying a newspaper with the purpose of knowing about a specific political stance is a voluntary act. On the contrary, such voluntary act does not happen "when someone turns on the television for children or when domestic helpers turn on a radio in the house that everybody can hear… there is a penetration in people's subconsciousness by what is seen or heard" (Diez in BCN, 2005, p. 111). This quote also illustrates the class component of the debate, as the commissioner not only highlights an upper-class privilege, such as having domestic helpers, but also compares them to children in their discernment (or lack of).

When debating how to organize Chilean media, particularly television, the discussion and position-taking also reveal the contradictions between a libertarian and a paternalistic approach over media. Such contradiction was quite similar to the one fueling the discussion on principles about freedom of expression and the normative expectations about journalism, as the previous section showed. The sub-committee on media status elaborated an initial report containing the following topics: individual rights and freedom of expression under a state of development, the conceptual evolution of freedom of expression in contemporary doctrine and in the Chilean legal frame, media regulation and different political regimes, the importance of information in the modern world, and freedom of expression and the right to information in situations of political emergency. In the end, the sub-committee proposed a draft and a set of dimensions of media that had to be regulated by the Constitution: media ownership, media control, regulation, private access to media, and funding (BCN, 2005, p. 28 and ff.). The constituents' moral panic about the

perceived corrupt power of media and the pragmatic concern of opening media control to left-wing political organizations in the Constitution, heavily shaped the discussion, too.

Despite some attempts to opening private property in broadcasting when writing a new constitution, the commissioners decided to keep untouched the television system while the country was, in their words, under a national emergency. However, they kept the option that, in the future, a law could regulate the entrance of new, private, companies into the industry, as it actually happened. Finally, the Constitution states that only the State, the universities, and those entities determined by law, can establish, operate, and sustain television networks.[47] The first draft of the Constitution creates a Council of Radio and Television to oversee the "appropriate" functioning of broadcasting, but the Council of State finally dropped the radio out of the Council's control.[48] It is interesting to note that while television was created under a public service frame in Chile, radio was born and developed as a private enterprise.

Some commissioners advocated for regulating broadcasting arguing the public nature of the airwaves, embracing an argument developed under the political economy of communication to address media regulation. Some of the commissioners even cited the MacBride report (Unesco, 1981). However, such concern about regulating broadcasting seems to be inspired by the perceived power of media and how it could damage the social life or national moral values more than based upon the general interest in guaranteeing the collective right of being fairly informed and served by media (BCN, 2005, p. 318, pp. 405-406).

The debate over a new constitution also sheds light upon the connections the constituents made between the expected social role of media and education. Indeed, understanding media as powerful entities over people and community, fueling public debate, and shaping consciences, the committee that conceived the new constitution compared media to education as a tool to forge public opinion and a nation. "Tomorrow," Ortúzar stated, "it might be necessary to have

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[47] Juvenal Hernández, one of the members of the Council of State and chancellor of the Universidad de Chile between 1932 and 1953, strongly disagreed with the principle of universities exploiting networks because, in his opinion, it is not an activity of "serious institutions such as universities" (BCN, 2005, pp. 479 and 481). Hernández conditioned his participation in the Council to excluding another former chancellor of the Universidad de Chile, Juan Gómez Millas, who was actually who promoted and encouraged university television when in charge of the main public university (Cavallo et al., 1988).

[48] Indeed, in early stages of the debate, the constituent power even considered a National Council of Media, but they kept print press out considering it was a total private enterprise, protected by rights to private property, and it should not be under state regulation.

media defending the great values this Constitution will establish" (BCN, 2005, p. 345). Indeed, the scope and extent of the Council of Radio and Television's role about promoting values such as nationalism and unity were also part of the deliberation.

Although postponed, the incorporation of private actors running local networks was central in crafting the new constitution. Indeed, according to the documents analyzed, regulation on broadcasting must encourage equal and pluralistic expression of opinions pursuing common good and citizenship wellbeing, all broadcasting must survive in a free market, and the only factor determining its funding would be networks' quality. In other words, by principle, broadcasting must be private, the State should not allocate subsidies to media because it will undermine competition and free market, and the entrance of private companies would help out to widening new horizons for audiences and communication workers. Every single player and step along the debate regarding broadcasting regulation assumed that free market and the legitime pursuing of profit would imply technological development. At the end, privatization of broadcasting will enrich staff and content and, as a consequence, the public sphere as a whole.

Then, agreeing in who and how television networks should operate and leaving an open door to the entrance of private corporations to the industry in the future, the constituent power also debated over the appropriate corporate governance for networks managed by the state and universities. As the highly-partisan public debate registered before the coup heavily influenced the decisions over how to regulate freedom of expression and journalism, it also shaped the specific features of organizing broadcasting. In fact, university students could not participate in any way in networks' operations, management, or collegiate body of governance, such as the board of directors. This restriction was a response to the process that radically reform higher education in Chile since the late 1960s and under which students gained representation in different levels of decision-making process and collegiate bodies within universities, including the networks under universities' control.

As well as the role of universities in operating networks, the scope and extent of the role of the state in running public broadcasting was also debated under the principle of subsidiarity. In other words, the state must have an active role guaranteeing the freedom of expression and the right to be informed not by providing content, but by developing and extending the public infrastructure of television (BCN, 2005, p. 248). Debating over the scope and extent of

regulation of public advertising investment also exhibits a pragmatic approach in handling the ideological principles of a negative freedom frame as well as the actual political conjuncture and commissioners' partisan stances. At first, guaranteeing an equally distribution of public advertising to Chilean media seemed a good way to allocate resources to support media that could be critical to administrations such as Allende's, but, at a second glance, it would also imply to fund outlets that could be contrary to a government the constituents would rather support, without explicitly mentioning the dictatorship. In other words, the State's advertising portfolio must not be understood as mandatory because the State must allocate its advertising budget in the most efficient way and it also must avoid the obligation to distributing its advertising budget "to newspapers… adverse to a prevailing government" (BCN, 2005, p. 102).

The goal of opening the broadcasting industry to private companies was resumed by the late 1980s, when a new law regulating television was passed by the *Junta* right before to left the government in March 1990. Simultaneously, the dictatorship accelerated a new legal frame for broadcasting, the executives the regime appointed in *Televisión Nacional* (TVN), the public network, also advanced several management decisions that damaged the company's assets, jeopardized its financial sustainability, and affected seriously the network's public credibility. Some even interpreted such mismanagement as a way to force TVN's privatization (BCN, 1990; Moreno, Julio, & María, 2007). Indeed, TVN's financial crisis had its roots in radical changes in its legal status, its role as the regime's mouthpiece, the malpractices including a skyrocketing debt, poor and even corrupt decisions over sales and advertising in exchange for goods or services, a lack of internal control over expenditures, fake contracts, and an unjustified and expensive growth of the staff. Finally, the network sold two of its television frequencies at bottom prices just a few days before the dictatorship left the power in March 1990. Both frequencies were bought by companies that actually turned into the first private networks in Chile, *Megavisión*, first, and *La Red*, later (Mönckeberg, 2009).

Therefore, a combination of *Junta*'s late legal reforms, corporate decisions made by public network's executives, a national and political mood rather friendly towards free market, and an authoritarian institutional scaffolding the dictatorship forged over 17 years in power, settled the public sphere that the new democratic authorities inherited in 1990. As when discussing freedom of expression, journalism, and media in general in the 1970s as this chapter

explains, the boundaries of what television was possible were drawn by such landscape, the very particular conditions and contexts in which the debate took place and the pragmatic calculation over what it is desirable and what is possible.

Final remarks

Expectations over watchdog journalism include an adversarial approach to those in power, the development of investigative skills, the willingness to hold the government, business, and other institutions accountable, and an explicit effort in making visible hidden facts by those in power. Then, it is also expected some basic conditions to perform a muckraking type of reporting, such as freedom of expression, independent media, and a rather professionalized journalism. Then, what are the principles organizing the public sphere and, in particular, regarding journalism, media, and the broadcasting system in contemporary Chilean history? How it ended up being the way it is and who were the key entities and individuals in shaping it? This chapter shows the roots of such frame in the debate over the Constitution crafted under the civic-military dictatorship and sharpened through a handful of other legal documents that were consequences and/or responses to such influential frame.

The constituents of the 1970s insistently remarked they were carrying a historical task in conceiving the Constitution for the time to come. In fact, they were so deeply focused toward the future that they seemed to be in a vacuum, but not under the dictatorship's service. Indeed, while the Ortúzar commission's and the Council of State's members were debating a free market of ideas, a negative freedom approach to it, and private property as the principles organizing freedom of expression in the Constitution, the government for which they were working banned political parties, closed Congress, shut down radio stations, newspapers, and magazines, and enforced a strong censorship.

Throughout the years and after several sessions discussing freedom of expression, media, and journalism, the commissioners based some of their arguments on the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 (BCN, 2005, pp. 31, 81, 468). "There is no democracy if there is no freedom of expression… The mere existence of a totalitarian regime is contradictory to the freedom of expression" (BCN, 2005, p. 142). But under the label of totalitarian regimes and authoritarian leaders, the constituent power considered a narrow set of examples, such as the Soviet Union and

Stalin, Germany and the Nazis, or Cuba and Castro (BCN, 2005, p. 133, 423). Nonetheless, Pinochet's regime was governing under a state of emergency and unleashing harsh violence against any action or critical attitude towards the government. Regarding the journalistic field and the media landscape, by 1977 it became mandatory to have official authorization to publishing any kind of periodicals. Such requirement lasted until the late 1980s (Navarro, 1985; Periodismo-UDP, 2017). A few years later, a new executive order stated that any new periodical circulating without authorization will be confiscated and their owner will receive a fine. Paradoxically, at the same time, the constituent was firmly discussing about guaranteeing in the Constitution that media would not be expropriated under any circumstances.

By analyzing a specific experience of constitutional and legal reform in the context in which was produced allow to find nuances and ideological contradictions. While free market, private property, and entrepreneurial spirit are the organizing principles of the Constitution passed in 1980, the frame forged by then is also suspicious of journalism, fears media, and it is extremely cautious in providing any opportunity to radical or progressive actors in entering the field. Then, the reconfiguration of the media ecology undertaken by force in the aftermath of the coup was consolidated by the constitutional and legal scaffolding deployed by the dictatorship's aides.

A superficial reading of the discussions about freedom of expression, the right to be informed, and the constitutional status of media could mislead an interpretation that commission's members were inspired by some of the scholarly trends on media and communication by that time, such as the one proposed by the work of the Unesco's McBride report. In other words, out of a narrow reading of their interest in give more power to institutions over watching how media functioning, it might seem the commissioners embraced a stronger role of the state in balancing the rules of the game.

On the contrary, the severe constitutional restrictions to freedom of expression, the right to be informed and to access to information and controlling media ownership, rather came out from the strong opposition to policies and political practices inspired by Socialism, Marxism, or even progressive ideologies. It is clear, for example, that banning foreigners to own networks or radio stations came out of the specific role that concrete foreigners had as newspapers' owner during Allende's government. Indeed, the commission explicitly mentions Darío Saint Marie, *El Clarín* newspaper's owner, as a role model to avoid. Therefore, by establishing so many

obstacles of entry to the field and by strict norms protecting honor, privacy, and national security, the Constitution and the norms derived from it would narrow the actual people owning and managing media.

Although celebrating a free market of ideas and a negative freedom approach, constituent power pulled in into their toolkit their actual partisan experiences in defining the expectations on journalism and journalists and condemning a more critical and satirical journalistic performance when drawing the constitutional and legal principles organizing the field. Later, governments, judges, and powerful players, have drawn from such frame a set of practices to contain and constrain adversarial and watchdog journalistic performances. Within such boundaries, a sub-field of muckraking has navigated in a post-authoritarian and neoliberal society.

CHAPTER 2: CLUB

Mapping the field of investigative journalism in Chile

"En Chile, nos conocemos todos los [que ejercemos] periodismo de investigación.
Entonces, te conocen los que te tienen que conocer"
Interviewee[49]

"Above all things, above all awards, bosses are interested in other outlets citing your work.
More than rating, [they are interested] in other networks reporting our work"
Interviewee[50]

"*Every year the same people win, which is very obvious,*
because the good ones don't stop being good a year later"
Jury member of Chilean journalistic award[51]

Towards the end of the civic-military dictatorship and Chilean society was about to celebrate the first democratic elections after almost 17 years of iron-grip control, Patricia Verdugo published her book *Los Zarpazos del Puma* (Verdugo, 1989). "In this classic of the genre," as Francisca Skoknic describes it, Verdugo exposed the "Caravan of Death that resulted when, in October 1973, a military commission traveled from South to North Chile in a Puma helicopter landing in different cities. Most of the victims were supporters of Salvador Allende's government who handed themselves in voluntarily after the September 11 coup d'état, when the new military authorities made a public call to detain them. Despite their compliance with the new regime, seventy-five people were savagely murdered without trial" (Skoknic in Verdugo, 2014, p. 211).

The book was a hit. In a rather small publishing market, *Los Zarpazos*… sold between 100,000 and 150,000 copies, without even counting the estimated 25,000 pirate copies sold on the informal market flourishing in downtown Santiago (Peregil, 2005; Stern, 2010). When Verdugo walked the pedestrian mall streets, "vendors kept shouting *Los zarpazos*! *Los*

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[49] "In Chile, those of us who practice investigative journalism, we know each other. Therefore, those who must know about you, know about you." Interviewee E16.
[50] Interviewee E21.
[51] Interview E9.

zarpazos!," and she did not know "if [she] had written a book or manufactured a cookie" (cited by Stern, 2010, p. 12). A lawsuit filed by one of the militaries mentioned in *Los Zarpazos...* tried unsuccessfully to ban the book, probably boosting its sales and those of pirate copies, too. Even the conservative press "praised the book as 'moving' and lauded the author's unimpeachable knowledge of the facts," though pointing out that Verdugo should have analyzed "the 'political climate that made possible such madness," stressing a common rhetoric at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s emphasizing that the political crisis of the early 1970s had driven the military coup and its cruelty (*El Mercurio*'s review December 3, 1989, cited by Stern, 2010, p. 15).

Los Zarpazos… was not the first book by Verdugo; it was not even her first detailed account unveiling the dictatorship's brutality. Indeed, by the late 1980s, she had already published books on human rights violations that turned into crucial contributions to journalism, contemporary Chilean history, and memory studies (González, 2015; Stern, 2010; Verdugo, 1985, 1986; Verdugo & Orrego, 1980). Although Verdugo is mentioned as a role model by investigative reporters and her work as exemplary of this genre, it is particularly in *Los Zarpazos…* that her work shines the most. "It was a milestone. Verdugo's book came out independently of an outlet, out of her independent work, and it was accepted and read and pirated and readers fondly appreciated it."[52]

When translated to English, *Los Zarpazos…* was also recognized as "a meticulous yet gripping account" and "a fascinating study." And "*although* it is a journalistic account, there is plenty here for political scientists, sociologists, and historians"; it contributes to better understanding dictatorships (Pereira, 2002, p. 158) and is "a *fine and important piece of journalism*[53] which was considered significant enough to be included as evidence by Judge [Juan] Guzmán when he indicted Pinochet for the crimes of the caravan of death in 2001" (Richards, 2002). According to data available through World Cat, copies of the original book and its English translation are spread across public and university libraries in the United States, Australia, Germany, and the United Kingdom, and it is on hold to be released to the public domain by Hathi Trust. In Verdugo's obituary, *The Guardian* points out that *Los Zarpazos…* became "her most influential work--and the most important single example of Chilean

[52] Interviewee E5.
[53] Italics are mine.

investigative journalism to make a difference" (Sugarman, 2008). Because of *Los Zarpazos…* and her whole body of work, the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) presented the LASA Media Award to Verdugo in 2000. The prize aims "to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as breakthrough journalism."[54]

Verdugo's book was not only a bestseller, but it turned into an enduring seller. In 2016, local publisher Catalonia launched a special collection on investigative reporting and human rights named after the author.[55] *Los Zarpazos…* was one of the three books released in their new editions.[56] As a publisher states, "the topics that Patricia Verdugo uncovered must be mandatory to discuss in schools of journalism. Her books are a school in investigative reporting in themselves"[57]. Nonetheless, Verdugo's book was not the only one covering controversial topics published in the late 1980s and early 1990s and it was not the only one awarded or prized by investigative journalists. Indeed, in a span of a few months, another canonical work of Chilean investigative reporting, *La historia oculta del régimen militar* (Cavallo et al., 1988), appeared. Originally a weekly series produced by *La Época* newspaper, the book has several editions, and even historians have recognized its value.[58]

Regardless of the conditions of production or the reasons behind the decision of embracing such a long-term project, muckraking in the form of a book garner cultural value, independence, and a shelf life longer than that of ephemeral newspaper pages or ethereal website clicks. In a country with little or no broadcasting archive at all, the endurance of books we can read and cite once and always overruns the intangible nature of television. Indeed, works such as *El saqueo de los grupos económicos* (Mönckeberg, 2001), whose circulation was massive despite having been ignored by mainstream media reviews; and *La Conjura* (González, 2000), with several editions; prolific authors such as Manuel Salazar (Basso, 2012; Carvallo, 2015), in

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[54] https://lasaweb.org/en/lasa2019/lasa-media-award/
[55] "Biblioteca Patricia Verdugo de Investigación Periodística y Derechos Humanos" (Catalonia, 2016).
[56] Together with *Operación Siglo XX* (with Carmen Hertz) and *Quemados Vivos*.
[57] Interviewee 15.
[58] The series published by *La Época* received the IAPA award in human rights coverage. A new edition by publisher Uqbar was released in 2008, with a new, complete index; previous editions' prologues; and a preface by historian Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt. By 1990, several books addressed torture, as told by a former judge (García Villegas, 1990), the history of human rights violations and the struggle by the Vicariate of Solidarity and others to expose and stop them (E. Ahumada et al., 1989), and an interview book with a controversial socialist leader (Politzer, 1989).

addition to the aforementioned *Los Zarpazos…* and *La Historia Oculta…* and their authors, represent the finest selection of investigative journalism when analyzing the subfield in Chile.

However, a precious object like a book is a scarce cultural good, a result of a restricted scale of production, in the small Chilean market. Therefore, despite their importance regarding the standard and the canon, their enduring nature, and their use of journalistic autonomy in making power accountable, these investigative books still reach a rather reduced, wealthy, and specialized audience, including other journalists, too.

As a long-time publisher in the Chilean branch of a transnational publishing house explains,[59] "a book must be sustainable. It must be profitable. Otherwise, you sink. An investigative story is very costly because you need to fund a journalist [to write a book] and that person needs to make a living... There are very good writers, making very good books, [and the field has accumulated] a know-how." Nonetheless, "there are not many opportunities to promote these types of works. There are no stable book reviews in newspapers, or they rarely uncover critical essays." Even though books by investigative journalists can sell 6,000 or 8,000 copies, turn into long-sellers, or receive several awards, they are still a modest portion of an already small publishing market: "People do not read very much, and more than 80 percent of our sales are in Santiago." "It is an unstable field," recognizes another publisher with experience editing investigative books.[60] "There are topics that we think are worth giving a shot... However, they fall apart…. [Sometimes] there are no journalists that fit [the project] ... You also need to prioritize. There are so many topics and you can't invest too much in producing books because they are costly."

Finally, no matter how successful an investigative book may be and how well recognized its author may become, such a precious object somehow obscures more complicated narratives about the production process. To some extent, books imply a rather restricted range in mainstream print media for publishing critical long-form pieces. In other words, *Los Zarpazos…* turned into a book because there was no newspaper or magazine willing to support the long-term reporting involved or its critical perspective on the role of the armed forces in human rights violations. Muckraking books are also the outcome of financial struggles and personal

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[59] Interviewee E6.
[60] Interviewee E15.

perseverance by authors that, despite eventually working as PRs, being unemployed or combining freelance jobs, end up publishing outstanding pieces of watchdog journalism. In other words, a book as an outcome of investigative reporting represents independence, recognition, and less economic capital, as opposed to more economic capital but comparatively less independence and little recognition by peers or the field. It embodies the opposition between the market and pure elements of a subfield.

(Sub)field, capital, and recognition

Drawing from field theory (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005), this chapter conceptualizes investigative journalism as a subfield due to its increasing formalization since the early 1990s and how it has changed over time. The chapter particularly inquires into the biographical and professional trajectories of practitioners that embody watchdog journalism and the values they appreciate in performing this specific genre of reporting. By doing so, we also identify mechanisms of entrance or acceptance in the subfield, as well as marks of prestige and recognition. When exploring trajectories embodying a serious watchdog style, the research also sheds light on the capital mobilized by the players in the field and the clashes over the canon. In other words, what does it mean to perform investigative journalism and what would be understood as such.

The concept of field allows us to inquire into the complex interplay between larger social and political structures and the schemes of human perception and action. This frame encourages a relational and situated way of thinking and, in doing so, it contributes to dismissing binary ways of inquiring into social phenomena (Benson, 2006; Bourdieu, 1989; Marchetti, 2005; Neveu, 2007). So, the field is the site of actions and reactions in which individual and collective players take positions, deploy their forces, and unfold their struggles as to whether to reform or preserve the rules of the game. The position-taking of the actors in a given field is partly acquired in their very own experience in the social field, too (Bourdieu, 2005).

Players shape and are shaped in the field by their habitus as well by cultivating, mobilizing, and fostering their capital. Habitus is a repertoire of principles that generate and organize practices and representations to navigate our social environment. Such a set of principles is inculcated and cultivated since the very beginning of human beings’ lives and

turned into a second sense or second nature. In other words, individuals embody larger social structures through their habitus as a way to inhabit their places in the social realm.

Previous works on field theory have discussed the journalistic field as a subfield of large-scale production within the broader field of cultural production. Overall, journalism is situated in the larger field of power. Under this umbrella, journalism has been analyzed as a field in different media systems and journalistic cultures (overwhelmingly Western ones), considering different mediums and diverse beats (Benson, 1998; Benson & Neveu, 2005; English, 2015; Murrell, 2015; Schultz, 2007; Vos, Craft, & Ashley, 2012). In Chile, field theory has been mostly applied to the field of education and political science (Brunner, 2008; Joignant, 2012), but Cristian Cabalin explores the connections and struggles between the fields of the media and education in a mediated public policy making process (Cabalin, 2015).

Individuals and institutions forge, cultivate, possess, and deploy their capital, a key feature in the field. There are four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Benson and Neveu (2005) state that economic and cultural capital are the most important measures in society, where economic capital refers to money, property, and assets, and cultural capital is determined by aspects such as education credentials, communication skills, cultural goods, and accumulated knowledge. The journalistic field moves in an arc between pure market elements and a journalistic axis. Independence, autonomy, journalistic principles, and investigative reporting constitute the journalistic axis, whereas market factors include circulation or audience size, advertising revenues, and profit.

Bourdieu's field theory has been criticized for its inability to compare uneven journalistic cultures and also for originating from a modern, liberal, and secular society (Benson, 1998; García-Canclini, 1992; Marlière, 1998). Nonetheless, this framework allows researchers to de-individualize journalistic performance, understanding it as a social phenomenon, and it also contributes to radically contextualizing the analysis of a particular cultural production. Finally, discussing a rather overlooked, peripheral journalistic field in a non-hegemonic media system in the Global South presents the potential of testing the conceptualization of such a framework, exploring the capital mobilized by the players and the complex overlap of both the economic (market) and the cultural (journalistic) poles within the subfield. Methodologically, the field framework encourages reflexive analysis in an iterative and flexible way.

This chapter argues that both muckraking and investigative journalists in Chile after the dictatorship constitute a subfield within the journalistic field, as previous research has discussed regarding sports journalism or foreign correspondents (English, 2015; Murrell, 2015). Indeed, in an increasingly fragmented media environment "structured around an opposition between a generalist pole and a specialized pole," "an important organizing distinction" in a journalistic field "is thematic specialization" (Marchetti, 2005, p. 64). The extent and scope of such specialization must be understood relationally. If so, then investigative journalism is in the specialized pole of the journalistic field. Nonetheless, such a distinction presents a range of complexities, because we can also draw an arc between the specialized extreme of muckraking and commercial interest within the subfield itself. For example, in the autonomous pole of the subfield of investigative journalism, books stand out as the object representing muckraking, whereas the heteronomous pole of the subfield contains stories produced on in-depth television programs.

Relying on 24 semi-structured interviews, datasets especially created for this research, and archival material,[61] this chapter provides an overview of the subfield of Chilean watchdog reporting, its increasing formalization, and the mechanisms and procedures that make it distinct from the rest of the field. From an individual to an ideological levels of analysis (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), this chapter examines first how Chilean reporters turned into muckrakers, it explores their biographical narratives, their formal and on-the-ground training, and their professional trajectories (their *becoming* of investigative journalists). Then, the chapter analyzes the role and characteristics that mentors (the *rock stars* of the subfield) have played in forging muckrakers, and, by identifying their role models, it also examines the features that journalists appreciate the most in performing this critical style of reporting. The third section of the chapter explores the mechanisms of prestige and recognition by discussing the role awards play (*trophy*) in producing and disseminating a pool of exemplary works and practitioners modeling what high-quality and long-form journalism must look like. The last section critically reviews the taken-for-granted relationship between democracy and investigative reporting by exploring the main values practitioners highlight in this watchdog style of journalism (*cornerstone*).

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[61] See Methodological Appendix.

Becoming a muckraker: Training and professional trajectories

Journalistic habitus "implies understanding the journalistic game, and being able to master the rules of that same game" (Schultz, 2007, p. 193). As each player occupies a different position in a given field, each player embodies different habitus to play the game, and his or her position shifts. Therefore, it is possible to imagine forms of journalistic habitus depending on specific genres of reporting, such as investigative reporting. Investigative reporters, then, embody specific positions in that subfield, mobilizing a repertoire of cultural and economic capital.

There are interviewees whose cultural capital facilitated their incorporation, placement, and growth in the field. Indeed, such cultural capital was already part of their experience of growing up in a world full of connections and privileges, including having college-educated parents, being raised abroad or experiencing international travel, attending private schools, and mastering a second language.[62] For example, one of the interviewees had worked for years as a fixer in Chile for foreign media because she had been introduced to a world-class media legacy through her father's connections in Washington. Other interviewees' experiences exemplify the ease of fitting into elite environments and navigating high-profile connections "because of one's personal story," and there is an explicit recognition of experiencing a privileged education from preschool to college.[63]

In other cases, investigative reporters are first-generation college graduates for whom having a professional degree from respected universities has boosted their cultural capital and provided networks that opened up doors later for them as professionals. It was a bumpy road, though. As a former student who had received financial assistance at one of the most exclusive schools of journalism in the capital city puts it, "it was a trauma getting into the college… it was Santiago, the university, wealthy people with so much cultural capital... It was terrible! I look back and I don't know how I survived."[64] Indeed, for some who had gotten a professional degree abroad, the lack of networking cultivated through the college years was noticeable, and it undermined the ease with which they were able to become a part of their professional

[62] Interviewees E2, E8, E10, E14, E22, E14
[63] Interviewees E2, E8, E13.
[64] Interviewee E5.

community.[65] Overall, attending a school of journalism meant social mobility, but also breaking some gender barriers[66], cultivating or expanding existent networks, and also overlapping academia with on-the-ground experiences in becoming a journalist.

Some of the interviewees have professional experience working abroad,[67] some others have reported for Chilean outlets in foreign countries,[68] and a handful of them have developed part of their careers as freelancers or stringers, producing local content and sources for international media crews.[69] For some of the interviewees, the professional experience of either working abroad or producing material for foreign outlets unfolded as a result of having lived abroad, whether when growing up or when pursuing professional training programs overseas. A second language, networks previously cultivated by themselves or their relatives, and word-of-mouth also contributed to getting them into the field.

Political activism appears to be a very relevant, but also complicated, part of becoming an investigative journalist in the late 20th century. Indeed, interviewees report having participated in some sort of partisan organizations. For instance, senior journalists who went to college and entered the job market in the late 1960s and early 1970s were operating amid larger seismic changes in Chilean society, such as an effervescent political and social landscape, a progressive agenda bumped by the government in the 1960s, a socialist government elected for the first time in world history in 1970, and the influence of revolutionary movements that also swayed Chilean society. They were either actively involved or at least witnessed the political upheaval and how relevant it was for their generation. As one of the interviewees highlights, "I was impressed with my classmates [in college]. I admired them for how they fully committed themselves to strong life stances" and actively joined political parties or revolutionary organizations at that time.[70]

As the civic-military dictatorship unfolded through the 1970s and 1980s and the political environment called for greater activism and citizenry, many interviewees report they joined more or less formal public movements, grassroots organizations, political parties, or walkouts protesting the regime, which were part of daily life in downtown Santiago, working-class

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[65] Interviewee E12.
[66] Interviewee E8.
[67] Interviewees E5, E16, and E18.
[68] Interviewees E3, E14.
[69] Interviewees E1, E2, E10.
[70] Interviewee E2.

neighborhoods, and universities since the early 1980s. That experience somehow became key in their embrace of journalism as part of an array of jobs and activities carrying a sense of public service.

As one of the interviewees reports, “I knew my heart was on the left, in opposition [to the dictatorship], that I never had right-wing thoughts. Then, it seemed natural to me to join groups of peers, such as cultural ones; and then… [out of connections I made there], I joined the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* [MIR, revolutionary left movement]. We had a weekly meeting to discuss current affairs and it was there that I came to value journalism, not at school. I started to read trench magazines such as *Cauce*, *Análisis*, and I was fascinated with what could I do as a journalist… Political activism made me follow a path in political journalism and in covering human rights”.[71]

Even though some of the interviewees did not formally join partisan organizations, such as political parties, unions, or grassroots movements, they regularly or eventually participated in walk-outs and other kinds of public manifestations against the dictatorship, for instance, advocating for democracy. In other words, the social and political context motivated a personal commitment and interest in current affairs, national debates, and so forth, whether in the late 1980s or early 1990s.[72]

Political commitment could not be openly deployed by journalists, though, particularly in the 1990s when the national mood encouraged middle-ground and conciliatory stances instead of openly vocal commitments. The broad political climate valuing consensus and avoiding conflict fitted journalistic values of detachment and objectivity, encouraging a disseminative journalistic performance instead of a watchdog or adversarial one. The transition from a civic-military regime to a democratic one did not erase overnight an authoritarian public sphere and political culture carefully shaped for 17 years, as discussed in chapter 1. Discourse cherishing consensus ruled, while heated debates were avoided or tempered. Some skilled and admired journalists were ignored by the field for being associated with explicit or vocal political stances. An interviewee who had worked for a well-known leftist radio station and for a human rights organization’s newsletter erased part of that experience in her resume, for instance. “It was the

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[71] Interviewee E5.
[72] Interviewee E10.

early 1990s and it was very disapproved of to be a sort of red journalist [*un periodista quemado*]; I mean, [journalists such as] Mario Gómez López, Víctor Vio, and the whole world of *Nuevo Mundo* radio station and *Pluma y Pincel magazine* didn't make it through the 1990s [as senior correspondents or editors in mainstream media]."[73]

In fact, for several years, journalists who are now recognized as crucial in the subfield of investigative reporting and strongly associated with covering topics such as human rights violations or with being critical of the elites, such as Mónica González, María Olivia Mönckeberg, Manuel Salazar, or Patricia Verdugo, had barely any place in the Chilean media system. Instead, they navigated positions in corporate communication, as freelancers, or writing books with little or no support. Mainstream media was rather hostile to reporters of their ilk, and they faced some ostracism until finding their way in digital-native news outlets, academia, or writing investigative books.

Although formal professional training has been important for journalists that have made their way into the subfield of investigative reporting, they cherish the on-the-ground experience they got through countless internships. Indeed, entering the job market early while still in school was encouraged by many factors: mentors, crucial political events that hooked them into the journalistic field (1988 referendum), the appealing chance of working with reporters they considered role models ("rock stars"), and the opportunity of joining outlets they had grown up with and admired for the journalism they performed. A couple of radio stations are particularly prized as a hands-on school, and as places in which they found their mentors, the journalists who forged them.

For the interviewees who got into journalism school in the late 1980s, a strong motivation to start reporting was the referendum in October 1988.[74] The civic-military dictatorship's continuity was at stake and, as a consequence, the political opposition took the opportunity to defeat the regime and forced it to call for elections. Despite the authoritarian government still controlled most of the public discourse, there was an active trench-style of journalism, and the process would involve the first political campaign on television. So for the first time, the political opposition would have a relatively strong agency in its messages over mass media (Hirmas,

[73] Interviewee E5.
[74] Interviewees E3, E5, E7, E10, E17.

1993; Simón Salazar, 2018). Overall, the key process was capturing the media agenda and outlets needed to reinforce their news coverage, and they did it by offering internships to journalism students. By the late 1980s, the liberalization of higher education was still an ongoing process and at the time, there were just a handful of private journalism schools that represented a rather restricted port of entry into the field of practitioners.

> *"I volunteered to cover the 1988 referendum… and I worked not only on [the day of the referendum] October 5, but the 4th and the 6th. I wanted an on-the-ground experience".*[75]

> *"As a journalist, [covering the referendum in 1988] was wonderful… I worked the whole night before… I uncovered the mood in working-class neighborhoods. There were clashes, tanks… The polling places [were] taken custody by militaries. [We didn't know] whether voters would be allowed to enter or not".*[76]

Volunteering to cover polls[77] when democracy was just starting over after 17 years of dictatorship was huge for journalists who would later make their paths into the subfield of investigative reporting. Indeed, the first overlap of formal journalistic training and on-the-field experience extended beyond the referendum in 1988. In fact, the divide between the weight each path had (the formal and the on-the-ground trainings) in their trajectories is not clear cut. In other words, when outlets faced a challenging media event, such as the referendum, they fell short of labor for such an endeavor, and a new younger generation of journalists-in-the-making were eager to both have practical experience and be witnesses of one of the most relevant political occasions in contemporary Chilean history.

The radio appears as a relevant medium for the interviewees when discussing the early stages of their careers. In particular, *Nuevo Mundo* radio station, owned by the Chilean Communist party since the late 1980s, turns out to be a key space in which several interviewees made their first tryouts as journalists.[78] At this relatively small outlet, journalism students thirsty to jump into the field and respected and skillful reporters and editors returning to Chile after their

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[75] Interviewee E17.
[76] Interviewee E5.
[77] Interviewee E13.
[78] Interviewees E3, E5, E10.

exile came together into *Nuevo Mundo*. An interviewee whose first on-the-ground experience as a reporter was in that station points out:

> *"There were people coming back from their exile. They were journalists, and [the radio station] was one of the few places in which they could work by then… they were people that had mastered the craft [of doing journalism], that had [professional] experience. It was a place in which you learned"*[79].

Cooperativa radio station was also considered a great real-life training ground because it required producing several stories per day, when newspapers and television used to demand only one or two.[80] *Cooperativa* also has a central place in reporters' memories as they grew up with the station as a role model in its commitment to reporting the truth and embodying the fight for freedom of expression during the dictatorship (Campos, 2016):

> *"I remember we [my family] always tuned in* Cooperativa *[radio station]. I grew up listening to* Cooperativa *at night, during blackouts, on a battery-powered radio, under the bed, because the* pacos *[the militarized national police] threw tear gas. So, I imagined a rather trench-type of journalism. Somehow by then… I wanted to be a journalist and I wanted to work for* Cooperativa*… It was the first place to which I turned to ask for a job [after graduating]"*[81].

Although it would eventually trigger suspicion or be considered unworthy or not challenging enough in comparison to watchdog reporting, this daily news coverage forged long-lasting skills that have been the basics of performing long-form journalism. In reporters' experiences, this feature is especially important because of the lack of specific training on the genre, as long as journalism schools had provided only the traditional and rather static genres of informative, interpretive, and opinion journalism until very recently. "You learned on the road".[82]

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[79] Interviewee E10.
[80] Interviewees E7, E12.
[81] Interviewee E12. Also, interviewee E 7.
[82] Interviewee E2.

> *"Basic training on daily news coverage, in any kind of beat, whether politics or entertainment, is worthy and compels you to strengthen your skills, such as persistence, following leads and clues, cultivating several and diverse sources, overcoming difficulties in finding information or people, and working with archives. All of these are basic characteristics of any investigative journalist, no matter the beat or the topic… The daily requirements of a newspaper, the pressure to find out and suggest stories, the deadlines, and so forth".*[83]

Working for a news agency probably best illustrates the skills that daily news coverage requires. One of the interviewees did his first internship in an international news agency, taking the night shift. He reports his experience as a great on-the-ground training and as a first approach to professionally performing journalism, as international news agencies have handbooks outlining their values and missions, a practice that Chilean outlets have been very reluctant in adopting and enforcing. For this reason, the interviewee treasures his first steps into the journalistic field as "impassioned," and he remembers them with "nostalgia": "I felt I was doing *real* journalism".[84]

Nonetheless, while reporters point out that they appreciate their first steps into all sort of genres, mediums, and cycles of news production, all of them also report some sort of disconformity. When doing so, they describe a pool of strategies to bypass not-so-challenging daily news coverage, negotiating their necessity of making a living, and balancing mainstream media requirements with in-depth journalism. One of the interviewees critically summarizes the process of building his own professional identity to fit his regular workday and, at the same time, curating a portfolio and envisioning a career path by mobilizing his own cultural capital of several years on the field to improve his craft. He states that he regularly identified the boundaries of the outlets in which he worked and what kind of stories and writing styles fit them. When recognizing those boundaries, he was also able to produce and sell other kinds of stories slightly or even totally outside the daily news agenda. In doing so, he found more editors and places welcoming and encouraging a rather more creative style of storytelling. "I figured out I

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[83] Interviewee E10.
[84] Interviewee E1. Italics are mine.

could be more ambitious in my writing." By engaging in this process, reporters not only find their own voices, but also identify the boundaries of the field, the potential ways of escape, and form their own work style as well as their professional identity. "I found my way".[85]

Working for a large network clearly requires negotiations between the company's values and ways of operating in a highly commercialized media system and the professional identity of its reporters, especially those that ended up performing a watchdog journalism. Some journalists have solved that duality by producing and publishing (in blogs, under a pseudonym)[86] their own content they feel would not fit the legacy outlets they were employed by. Some others, have tried to produce distinctive material within their daily work:

> *"I did somehow distinctive interviews, stories… I didn't want to get into a system in which I'd end up doing what I wouldn't like to do. I have always lived a sort of intuitive resistance, like, ok, I am within the system, but I navigate through the edges of it, so to speak… Trying to move the boundaries, at least little by little or from time to time"*.[87]

By the late 2000s, the youngest players entering the field faced a more competitive and diverse media ecology. Indeed, the first digital-based newspaper, *El Mostrador*, appeared in 1999; CIPER published its first stories in 2007, and other networks created television shows that mirrored *Informe Especial* or *Contacto*. Therefore, there were more mediums and, as a consequence, more competition[88]. That seems to have played a role in inspiring younger journalists in my sample to try to skip daily news coverage and apply to this sort of niche journalism right away, straight out of school. While senior correspondents seem to have paved their path as investigative reporters with a series of lucky decisions, cultural and political capital, and a rather narrow field, the junior journalists interviewed express an explicit decision-making process of aiming for outlets or areas devoted to in-depth journalism.[89]

Although the interviewees strongly appreciated their early practical experience on the field while they were attending school and some of them even state that "a journalist makes

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[85] Interviewee E10.
[86] Interviewee E4.
[87] Interviewee E3.
[88] Interviewee E19.
[89] Interviewees E13, E21.

himself on the ground not in the classroom,"[90] formal training was still important to them. Indeed, all of them have not only a degree in journalism, but also graduate studies or professional training, whether in Chile or abroad, mostly in documentary or television screenwriting. Of course, the fact the reporters have pursued specialization illustrates several trends that have unfolded since the 1990s, not just their personal value on education. Indeed, the liberalization of higher education fueled the explosion in enrollment. In the early 1990s, there were a handful of schools offering professional degrees in journalism, but by 2007, the number had skyrocketed. At some point, having a professional degree was not enough anymore, and the job market began to value graduate studies. Improving skills in screenwriting, television editing, documentaries, or filmmaking add value by helping correspondents to distinguish themselves in the subfield. In 2017, just 12 programs of journalism among 30 were teaching at least one course about investigative reporting,[91] and five years ago, the school of journalism at the Universidad de Chile launched the first professional diploma of investigative journalism in the country.

Rock stars: Mentors and role models

In the late 1990s, journalists across Latin America started to join local and international networks oriented to strengthening individual professional skills as well as media performance, particularly investigative proficiency. Although Chilean investigative reporters have participated of these fluxes and influxes of collective learning and sharing and have joined a certain spirit of apprenticeship under this regional umbrella, it seems relatively less institutionalized in Chile compared to other countries in the neighborhood, as Argentina, Colombia or Brazil[92]. Nevertheless, Chilean investigative journalists not only are part of these regional networks, but they have also been pushing to create a local community[93] to share best practices, enhanced investigative standards, and successful cases. A new generation of professionals is building upon the work of senior investigative reporters who crafted and deployed their professional skills

[90] Interviewee E2.
[91] Data gathered by professor Pascale Bonnefoy as part of designing the Diploma in Investigative Journalism at the Universidad de Chile.
[92] The *Foro de Periodismo Argentino* (FOPEA), the *Associação Brasileira de Jornalismo Investigativo* (ABRAJI), and the *Consejo de Redacción* (CdR), all of them created in the 2000s.
[93] I was part of the early efforts to establish a national network of journalists in Chile in the early 2010s.

while facing the worst conditions under the rule of the military dictatorship, between 1973 and March 1990.

This interpretive community (Zelizer, 1993) of investigative journalists with local and regional dimensions navigates between two poles of performance: An independent one and a collective one, which includes mentors, role models, and exemplary practices. As one of the interviewees states, working as a freelance journalist is a way of experiencing professional independence and autonomy.[94] Nonetheless, most of the reporters describe and appreciate the rather collective nature of investigative journalism and in doing so, they not only acknowledge individual role models and mentors they encounter through their training and their careers, but also recognize teams and distinctive ways of producing muckraking. A reporter with experience as a correspondent in legacy media, under the dual pressures of doing daily news coverage while also writing investigative books, illustrates this point very well: "Journalism is not an individual activity. When you do it alone, it is not that good; it is always better as teamwork, discussing what you are doing, if you are doing well or not… At the end, what journalism does is a collective work, even though your ego grows when saying, 'Yeah! That changed because of me.'" Even in her experience as a freelancer, teamwork with a good editor is key: "There are several ways of telling the same story, but very unlikely ways of putting the pieces together."[95] In interviewees' experiences, "investigative journalism works because of teamwork. It never fails." Shared values can also be found among the competitors from which the players learn[96].

While radio appears as a medium through which most of the interviewees cultivated their early skills in journalism, specific reporters and news organizations appear relevant in honing interviewees' investigative craft. One journalist shares the first time she joined *Contacto*'s team meetings shortly after she graduated: "It was like heaven on earth… more than all my courses at school. Could you imagine? Emilio Sutherland, Claudia Godoy, Carola Fuentes, Pilar Rodríguez, Elías [Sánchez], Gustavo Villarrubia… There were all the rock stars, so to speak. It was like WOW!"[97] Learning together is a way to overcome their own limitations, too, as an interviewee that has worked for both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* highlights: "I have been privileged…

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[94] Interviewee E2.
[95] Interviewee E5.
[96] Interviewees E7, E16.
[97] Interviewee E21.

Wherever I went, I was surrounded by very talented people… I am not gifted, but I know how to learn from someone else"[98].

This sense of amazement and this labeling of masters in journalism as "rock stars" is a picture also painted by reporters' accounts about their internships in mediums other than television and earlier than the period under study. One interviewee reports her internship at a current affairs magazine in the late 1980s as "a short experience, but very important, because there were Ascanio [Cavallo], Mauricio Carvallo, Gabriela Meza… only rock stars, and I participated in the daily meetings… and I was still in school!"[99]

The sense of growing up as a team and of being part of something big is also exhibited by interviewees[100] that work or have worked for *Informe Especial*; they acknowledge the show "as a terrific school to better understand the crafting of journalism, particularly in television."[101] As Paulina de Allende-Salazar, one of the main *IE* correspondents, expressed when the show commemorated three decades on air, "I learned how to survive in *Informe Especial*. I learned to investigate, to hold on, to be perseverant… I learned to honor my sources, I have faced criminal prosecution for protecting my sources, and I learned all of that here."

A journalist that occupied several positions on the show in the 2000s points out that he "felt part of a tribe… Obviously, working with Santiago [Pavlovic] was a class, just watching him [doing his job]. Working together with cameramen… I respect them so much. I also learned a lot from my bosses…, as well as from *IE*'s long-time producer… We were all eager to grow up, experiment." Other players and even competitors in the subfield of investigative journalism are also part of that learning community and "it was also a motivation to do things right."[102] Indeed, on the occasion of *IE*'s 30th anniversary, Carola Fuentes, a long-time correspondent and editor for *Contacto*, pointed out that even though she worked for the competition, "year after year, the respect for *IE*'s work is what lasts."

Indeed, out of nostalgia and admiration, *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* were role models and attractive shows to join when growing up or graduating from journalism. As *IE*'s reporters

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[98] Interviewee E12.
[99] Interviewee E5.
[100] Interviewees E14, E17, E18, E19, E23.
[101] Interviewee E14.
[102] Interviewee 19.

pointed out on the occasion of the show's 30th anniversary, they have fond memories of watching the show when growing up and feeling honored to join it when they became journalists: Alejandro Meneses remembers *IE*'s crew "reporting in the working-class neighborhood where I grew up, with their cameras, and I saw them with wonder" and Consuelo Saavedra, who was a news anchor for TVN and collaborated a few times with *Informe*…, felt honored when she integrated the crew. The fact that some of their senior correspondents taught courses about television or investigative reporting inspired younger interviewees to follow their masters' path in the 2000s, the decade described by some interviewees as *Contacto*'s golden age.[103]

Gringo influence

The US tradition in journalism appears as very influential among Chilean investigative journalists' discourse. Indeed, the *gringo* reputation in the field can be traced in a shared repertoire of values attributed to US journalism (such as order and reliability) and actual practices (such as the existence and use of FOIA); formal training in the US; and mentors and role models. Indeed, both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, for instance, depicted groundbreaking scientific development as geographically confined to the United States, suggesting that worthy research was institutionally possible exclusively in American universities and think tanks, and that it should be the standard with which to compare societies considered underdeveloped. *Informe Especial*'s stories also fostered an agenda on sexual liberation when exploring non-traditional gender roles in societies depicted as more open, such as the American one. Although tracing the American cultural significance in the Chilean field of journalism is beyond the scope of this research, it is interesting to note some hints of it in the particular subfield of muckraking.

There is a set of shared values attributed to US culture and, in particular, to a sort of American way of working in journalism. One of the interviewees that grew up in the United States explicitly highlights that some features coming out of that cultural experience have counted a lot in her career, like "a *gringo* kind of order, of being on time, and being reliable. It has been very important."[104] Also, certain processes and strategies of prestige and recognition, such as organizing awards and publishing edited collections including best pieces published

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[103] Interviewees E4, E20, E18, E21.
[104] Interviewee E2.

every year, have been explicitly inspired by US awards, such as the Pulitzer, and particular objects, such as the *Writer's Digest Handbook of Magazine Article Writing*, as two long-time members of the jury in the *Premio Periodismo de Excelencia* acknowledge: "*gringos* have been doing that [awards] since long ago"; "I don't need to tell you how important the *gringo* standard is in talking about good journalism. I mean, it is not a *cliché*, there are other standards [meaning, superior standards]."[105] Still others point out that the American noir novel and writers such as Chandler or Hammer have somehow inspired the way they structure their writing, define the characters of their stories, or set the mood of their scenes[106].

Working or studying in the US appears to be a significant, vital experience to the interviewees themselves, but also to others, who also value how colleagues trained in the US can transfer what they learned to the rest of the team. One of the interviewees that worked and studied in the US reports being "amazed by the history of muckrakers, by Watergate, and by the existence and use of FOIA by reporters." Indeed, when mentioning mentors, some have indicated appreciating their working experience for US correspondents and media outlets forged by "the *gringa*'s school [of journalism]."[107] Prestigious US awards have also contributed to paving or reinforcing Chilean journalists' work and trajectories. Indeed, the Columbia School of Journalism's "Maria Moors Cabot" has been awarded to 11 Chilean reporters, editors, and publishers since the 1940s.[108] Two of the most admired investigative journalists recognized by the interviewees, Mónica González and Patricia Verdugo, received the award in 2001 and 1993, respectively[109]. González and María Olivia Mönckerberg are also recipients of the "Louis Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism" from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, in 1988 and 1984 respectively.[110]

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[105] Interviewees E9, E11.
[106] Interviewee E10.
[107] Interviewee E2, E18.
[108] Publishers and editors that actively contributed to undermining democracy and to heated public debate in the 1960s and the 1970s and that actively supported the civic-military dictatorship later (Lagos, 2009) were also recognized by the Maria Moors Cabot prize at some point. Agustín Edwards, publisher of *El Mercurio*, received the award twice (in 1940 and 1960), and his long-time managing editor, René Silva Espejo, was awarded in 1957.
[109] The organizers do not transcribe or publish the winner's speeches, so González's and Verdugo's are not available; nor is the jury's decision in giving them the gold medals. Lauren Meregildo-Santos, Program Coordinator, Professional Prizes, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Personal Communication, September 13, 2018.
[110] See https://nieman.harvard.edu/awards/louis-lyons-award/.

Some key players that contributed to the subfield got their MA in Communication and/or Journalism, and some of them were even sponsored by Fulbright while studying in the US, such as Lydia Bendersky and Carmen Gloria López, both founders of *Contacto*. López's know-how is mentioned as having been inspiring in shaping *Contacto*'s work since the late 1990s,[111] as has the work of the founder, general producer, and host of the program for more than a decade, Mercedes Ducci, who obtained her MA in Communication from the New York Institute of Technology in the 1980s, "was at the forefront, so to speak. She was a visionary in Chile… she came back from the United States where she got an MA in communication and she had a *gringo* model of organizing production, more modern than the standard in Chile was."[112]

Although this chapter does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of every single journalist trained in the US that has influenced the subfield of investigative journalism in Chile, it attempts to provide a general overview of how appreciated having some sort of connection to the US tradition in journalism is, or, at least, what the image of it is in inspiring teams and individuals in a local subfield.

Finally, exploring this influence also sheds light on larger, global trends shaping local performances of muckraking. Indeed, as a way to overcome hostile scenarios in the practice of journalism, such as weak professionalization, post-authoritarian periods, heavily commercialized media systems, or the aftermath of the global economic crisis, the non-profit model of journalism has gained momentum as an alternative strategy to encourage independent reporting. In that sense, journalistic, developmental, and philanthropic agendas have converged into a trend of founding and financially backing independent media and investigative reporting, at the same time that encouraging a discourse of innovative journalism (Coates-Nee & Wulfemeyer, 2009; Mioli & Nafría, 2017). Keeping pace with these global trends, the *Centro de Investigación Periodística* (Center for Investigative Journalism, CIPER) has embraced the model of non-profit journalism, adapted it to specific conditions in the Chilean media ecology, and turned it into an inspiration not only in Chile but across the continent, too.

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[111] Interviewees E8, E12.
[112] Interviewee E13.

The CIPER factor

Immediately upon its launch in 2007, the *Centro de Investigación Periodística* (Center for Investigative Journalism, CIPER) clearly emerged as a very influential model in the subfield of muckraking, as an ideal way of performing investigative journalism, which reporters see both as a role model and as a mark of distinction. Since its inception, the Center had developed non-profit journalism with an emphasis on topics of public interest. Its work has been rewarded domestically and abroad and several of its investigations have influenced national news agenda in different ways. CIPER is a non-profit journalism organization and its funding comes from a combination of support from Copesa, one of the largest media companies in Chile; philanthropic organizations, such as The Open Society or Ford foundations, covering basic operations; grants financing specific investigative projects or training programs; and individual donations[113] (CIPER, 2018; González, 2011; Skoknic, 2013).

CIPER is strongly recognized as a trendsetter for the impact of its work, the development of new tools and the testing of local regulations for watchdog and fact-based journalism, and its establishment of a learning community that really came up with a systematic method for full-time, high-quality investigative reporting. Some of their current or former editors and reporters, such as Pedro Ramírez and Francisca Skoknic, are mentioned as role models by some of the interviewees[114], and its founder and director, Mónica González, embodies muckraking. Indeed, key scoops she exposed in the 1980s, such as the obscenely lavish Pinochet mansion (González, 2016), as well as more contemporary investigations published as a book (González, 2000), have become indelible marks on the subfield of investigative journalism in Chile,[115] and as keynote speaker for the Colombian-based *Fundación para el Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano* (FNPI)'s workshop across Latin America, she has become a respected voice for reporters across the continent, too.

Regarding the impact of CIPER, a long-time jury for the *Premio Periodismo de Excelencia* reports that CIPER's appearance "was huge and we noticed it immediately" [116] when they published a story about corruption in the Chilean government and a larger, international

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[113] See https://ciperchile.cl/donaciones/
[114] Interviewees E4, E7, E14, E15.
[115] Interviewees E1, E5, E15.
[116] Interviewee E11.

corporation involved on it.[117] The articles received international recognition,[118] the government had to revoke an expensive requisition, and CIPER came under the public focus and captured media attention. This story boosted the medium's online traffic, made the site more known, and alerted the team to the impact their investigations could trigger (Skoknic, 2013). A few months earlier, a story about Pinochet's personal library[119] had become the first Chilean reportage granted an award by the FNPI. Despite its rather timid beginning, CIPER gained recognition in a year or so.

Interviewees attribute to CIPER, too, leadership in performing a document-based journalism, adopted slowly by television.[120] Indeed, one of the earlier stories[121] published by CIPER its first year heavily relied on public documents that were analyzed in a systemic and non-anecdotal way and were available to download from its website. This was a totally novel feature in Chilean journalism and stressed the scattered and weak regulation of access to public information. Indeed, an integrated access to information bill, a sort of equivalent to FOIA, was passed only in 2009, two years after CIPER's early document-based work. Together with lawyers, activists, and civil rights organizations, CIPER and other investigative reporters have tested the boundaries of this regulation and in many cases contributed to expanding them, solidifying its principles, and obligating public institutions to enforce transparency and accountability in their actions. In that sense, the access to information law appears to be another element that has contributed to boosting the subfield of investigative journalism in Chile, and CIPER's reporters have championed its use.

Last but not least, CIPER became a player in the industry when it started to be capable of hiring reporters from mainstream outlets, including from high-profile television shows devoted

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[117] "Registro Civil I: Graves irregularidades en millonaria licitación," Ciper.cl, March 17, 2008. Available at http://ciperchile.cl/2008/03/17/graves-irregularidades-en-millonaria-licitacion-del-registro-civil/ [retrieved in July 10, 2016] and "Registro Civil II: María Isabel Moya, la mujer que sabe demasiado," Ciper.cl, March 27, 2008. Available at http://ciperchile.cl/2008/03/27/registro-civil-maria-isabel-moya-la-mujer-que-sabe-demasiado/ [retrieved in July 10, 2016].
[118] Finalist of the Award to the Best Investigative Journalistic Story about Corruption (*Premio a la Mejor Investigación Periodística de un caso de Corrupción*).
[119] "Viaje al fondo de la biblioteca de Pinochet," by Cristóbal Peña, December 6, 2007. Available at https://ciperchile.cl/2007/12/06/exclusivo-viaje-al-fondo-de-la-biblioteca-de-pinochet/. Retrieved in February 27, 2019.
[120] Interviewee E21.
[121] "El recorte que mató al Transantiago," by Pedro Ramírez and Sebastián Minay, November 4, 2007. Available at https://ciperchile.cl/2007/11/04/el-recorte-que-mato-al-transantiago/, retrieved in February 27, 2019.

to in-depth journalism. Indeed, *Contacto*'s researchers, as Gustavo Villarrubia and Paulette Desormeaux, worked at CIPER for several years; well-known broadcasting editors, such as Pilar Rodríguez, were hired at some point by the Center; and journalists that had earned previous recognition as freelancers, such as Cristóbal Peña, were integrated into CIPER's team for a while and gained huge appreciation in the subfield. In doing so, the Center has transformed from being an outsider into an important player with strong cultural and professional capital, but a rather fragile economic autonomy. Indeed, as for other similar digital-based outlets in the continent, financial sustainability remains a critical factor in the non-profit model of journalism: most of the centers are heavily dependent on international donors, and a very small portion of their budget comes from commercial strategies or fees. The foundation-funding model does not seem very realistic (McChesney and Nichols cited by Browne, 2010: 890), and going "to rich people periodically asking for money is not a real business model" (Requejo-Alemán & Lugo-Ocando, 2014: 523).

Regarding CIPER's agenda and reporters, in its first ten years, the online-based outlet published 705 stories labeled as investigations. When discounting unidentified or institutional bylines (such as CIPER) and stories published as a consequence of CIPER's international collaboration with Latin American reporters and media organizations, as well as global networks of journalists boosted by the Center's closeness to the International Center for Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), 57 correspondents published 579 stories under the label of "investigations" between 2007 and 2017.

In ten years, there have been striking differences regarding the gender of investigative reporters. At first sight, the bylines in stories published by CIPER show a similar proportion of female and male writers. Indeed, between 2007 and 2017, 27 women and 30 men published reports as solo or first authors. Nonetheless, when noting how many stories have been produced by men and women, the imbalance is appalling: Only a third of the reports published by CIPER have been written by female correspondents. Additionally, male reporters have had better chances to publish more stories. Indeed, the two female authors that have published the most in the period analyzed are CIPER's founder and director, Mónica González, and the long-time editor, Francisca Skoknic. They published 34 and 32 stories, respectively, as solo or first author. On the contrary, more male reporters have published around 40 or more stories. In fact, Pedro

Ramírez, long-time CIPER editor, and Alberto Arellano, are solo or first author for 54 stories each, Juan Pablo Figueroa published 59 stories in eight years reporting for CIPER, and Cristóbal Peña and Gustavo Villarrubia published around 40 reports each when working for the site.

Female reporters do not last as long in the non-profit news site as male correspondents; the roles of maternity leave and gender disparity in Chilean workplaces; female bylines appearing largely as second or third authors, or their greater leadership in other genres, such as interviews, are all elements that could explain the disparity between female and male correspondents in producing high-quality journalism, in particular in CIPER investigations.

Motivated by its 10th anniversary in 2017, CIPER launched a fundraising campaign focused on capturing more individual donors to widen their funding base. High-profile public figures from culture, sports, media, and politics endorsed the campaign and appeared in support of the online-based news outlet. With slogans like "CIPER is yours," "I am a CIPER fan," and "if you are a truth-seeker, you are a CIPER fan," the campaign showcased their autonomy, capital and prestige as a contributor to the unveiling of wrongdoings and the strengthening of Chilean journalism and democracy (*El Desconcierto*, 2017; *El Dínamo*, 2017).[122] In doing so, the online-based news site was attempting to cultivate and expand its funding sources beyond corporations (Copesa) and philanthropists and, in doing so, also extend its reader base.

In 2010, CIPER published its first annual book of most notable articles of the year, synthetizing in a single object its canon. The Center has continued publishing these yearly edited collections in partnership with a local publisher, Catalonia, and the school of journalism at the Universidad Diego Portales.[123] As one of the publishers involved in the process states, CIPER's books always sell out and tend to have more than one edition of 3,000 copies each. This is impressive, considering that "it is an expensive book."[124]

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[122] #SoyCiperista. See for instance https://vimeo.com/242668126. #SúmateACiper #Campaña2018. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d1CEcBonHOY

[123] Catalonia and the School of Journalism at the Universidad Diego Portales (UDP) have a partnership in editing (school's faculty members) and publishing (Catalonia) investigative books sponsored by the school or by its faculty members themselves. The *Colección Tal Cual* has published several books. "We started very humble and the commercial success has a slow curve, but the collection has a good performance both financially and critically. All those books have sold out. The agreement works as a joint venture where the professors in journalism take most of the responsibility of investigating, writing, and editin, the books, and later, Catalonia does some final editing and supports the whole process of publishing." Interviewee E5.

[124] Interviewee E15. Indeed, the Kindle version of *Lo mejor de Ciper 3*" costs $17. The publisher sells the paperback for around $30.

The *Centro de Investigación Periodística* is part of a handful of digital-native news organizations, mediums that have sprouted up across the continent since 1998, when *El Faro* appeared as an exclusive online medium in El Salvador (Harlow & Salaverría, 2016). The challenges derived from a lack of sustainability, a sort of niche journalism, and donors' hidden agenda as flags in non-profit journalism model, such as CIPER's, and these features certainly have implications on how to socially expand the influence of Latin American muckraking and contribute to the agenda-building process.

Trophy: The role of awards in building prestige and recognition in muckraking

"To exist in a field is to differentiate oneself" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 37). To do so, there are specific mechanisms to reproduce social conditions. Such differentiation is driven by a set of mechanisms, procedures, and players producing a certain economy of cultural goods by establishing what is worthy, how to consume certain cultural products, and for what purposes. We classify our cultural production, circulation, and consumption by cultivating a taste, and that taste labels not only the object and practice as prized, but also those who label them as such (Bourdieu, 1984).

Some of the mechanisms that contribute to establishing the boundaries of a given field are prestige and recognition, in which awards play a central role in terms of providing symbolic capital. Indeed, awards are usually marks setting the boundaries of what is considered good or bad in a given field; they provide clues about who establishes these boundaries (the jury, peer recognition, i.e.), as well as the standards for fitting into the field and who is included/excluded from it. Like museums and universities, journalism awards also play a role as a mechanism of recognition, consecration, and cultural reproduction (Volz, 2013), and they particularly contribute to illuminating the global dimensions of cultural capital and the specific but blurred borders of a given field, too (Casanova, 2004).

In Chile, there are a few awards celebrating journalism and journalists, the oldest being the National Award in Journalism (*Premio Nacional de Periodismo*). The national government launched this prize in 1953 as part of the Ministry of Education's efforts to recognize and celebrate intellectuals and scientists that had made great contributions in fostering knowledge to the country. The National Award in Journalism is delivered every two years and aims to honor

lifetime achievements in the field. It is meant to be a top-down recognition, and the jury's members are a combination of appointees from the government, national public universities, and social science academies' representatives. The prize includes a one-time payment as well as a lifetime pension. Due to the positions the institutions delivering the award occupy in the fields of politics, culture, and journalism, the National Award has traditionally sparked some controversy regarding the recipients. This is particularly true when recognizing journalists that had an explicit commitment with the dictatorship as editors or publishers working for media companies that operated as mouthpieces of the regime.

Between 1991 and 2017, 14 journalists received the National Award in Journalism, and only five of them were women.[125] Beyond the jury's press release, the public ceremonies, and the buzz provoked by the award, whether the recipient deserved it or not, there is little official information available to explore the rationale behind the decision as to who receives it. Indeed, when asked for the documents supporting the jury's final decision between 1991 and 2017, as well as the documents produced by each decision-making process and other applicants' files, the Ministry of Education denied the request for public information.[126]

The ministry argued that they are not required to hold any documents for more than five years after they were created and because of that, they have no obligation to search for nor provide such documentation. For newer cases, the ministry cited the private nature of awardees' applications and as such, claimed that the ministry is not obligated to disclose reserved information. Finally, as long as the recipients are publicly known, the Ministry states that it is under no obligation to provide any further information on the decision-making process.[127] Even though there are outstanding journalists and writers that have clearly contributed to the field of journalism, a jury comprised of five appointees from the government and academia decide without much public scrutiny who should receive an award that provides life-long funding.

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[125] Raquel Correa (1991), Pilar Vergara (1993), Patricia Verdugo (1997), Faride Zerán (2007), and María Olivia Mönckeberg (2009). The male journalists awarded are Julio Martínez (1995), Guillermo Blanco (1999), Tito Castillo (2001), Héctor Olave (2003), Juan Pablo Cárdenas (2005), Sergio Campos (2011), Alipio Vera (2013), Abraham Santibáñez (2015), and Alberto Gamboa (2017)

[126] Request for information filed on August 12, 2018.

[127] Ministry of Education's response received by email, October 23, 2018. Outside of some official pictures of the most recent ceremonies and the formal executive orders indicating the name and the years of each awardee, the ministry provides little information about the jury's rationale behind their decisions. Overall, the main argument is that all of the recipients have "an outstanding trajectory," with a few more details in a very few later cases.

Beyond the National Award of Journalism, there are a few local institutions awarding prizes that highlight remarkable journalism and media coverage of often undeveloped or stereotyped topics. Indeed, a few schools of journalism in partnership with NGOs, non-profit organizations advocating for human rights, gender equality, poverty, and social justice have joined efforts in studying media representation and recognizing exemplary stories as a way to improve media coverage and journalistic standards in addressing certain topics.[128] There are also a few journalistic awards backed up by corporate power, too,[129] illustrating the entangled relationships between politics, corporate power, and the journalistic field.

Therefore, when the School of Journalism at the private Jesuit Universidad Alberto Hurtado launched the Award for Journalism of Excellence (*Premio de Periodismo de Excelencia*, PPE) in 2003, little by little it gained high esteem in the field. Although the PPE is not the only prize recognizing journalistic works in Chile, it is the only one delivered by peers and honoring pieces of work and not professional trajectories or specific topics, and it is sponsored by a higher education institution, not by a corporation. Additionally, it has lasted more than 15 years, accumulating a large body of work. All these features emphasize the professional approach of the award, which is something prized by the jury:

> *The early idea was that the award was delivered by peers, prizing the work and the author, not the professional trajectory, as others do, including the National Award of Journalism… On the contrary, this was something strictly professional, so to speak, even technical, but in its better meaning, as the Aristotelian* tekné. *In other words, it is about*

[128] Since 1963, the National Association of Women Journalists grants the Lenka Franulic Award, named after a remarkable female reporter who gained recognition in the 1950s. *Pobre el que no cambia de mirada* is an award granted by a pool of foundations on charity and social justice, launched in the mid-2000s. Since the late 2000s, the School of Journalism at the private Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez recognizes exemplary broadcasting journalism. Since the mid-2000s, the National Association of Press, grouping all newspapers, magazines, and print periodicals in Chile, grants an award to the best photography published by regional outlets, and since the early 2010s recognizes the best magazines, *Premio Nacional de Revistas* MAG, as a way to boost the magazine industry in the country. Since 2015, the Museum of Memory and Human Rights has highlighted remarkable pieces and professionals in covering human rights.

[129] Between 1979 and 2012, the local branch of Coca Cola Co., *Embotelladora Andina*, granted an annual award to outstanding journalists. Beginning in the early 1990s and continuing for more than a decade, the trade *Asociación Chilena de Seguridad* (ACHS), a foundation oriented to social support and health provision to affiliated workers gave out the Carmen Puelma Award, named after a former ACHS PR. Despite its corporate support, professional organizations, such as the National Association of Journalists and the National Association of Women Journalists backed the prize, too. Since 2009, Entel and the Universidad Católica de Milán (Italy) have recognized journalism covering the environment and sustainable development.

> *the craft, well-crafted journalism, and the members of the jury… we felt so privileged, hanging out with remarkable professionals… after we met, I used to have the feeling that I had learned so much.*[130]

Organizing the contest, writing the call for applications, putting together the award ceremony, and editing and publishing the book with the best pieces was a hands-on sort of project supported by a rather small team. Even in the first versions of the award, the organizers had to promote it by actively calling editors, advising journalists to submit their pieces, identifying good articles, and spreading the word by mouth.[131] But quickly, the award became very well-known and appreciated by journalists, editors, and scholars. In fact, in its second year, in 2004, the jury received and reviewed 503 pieces, three times what they had gotten the previous year, and by 2005, the number of pieces participating had reached more than 700 (Vial, 2004). This increased the workload significantly, but it still relied upon mostly volunteer and unpaid labor and on a small team of collaborators under the umbrella of the school of journalism at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado.[132]

Launching the award and publishing an edited collection of the exemplary works was conceived as part of the same project, and the *Writer's Digest Handbook of Magazine Article Writing* was the explicit model followed, as one of the founders and a long-time member of the jury acknowledges: “That was the exact model. I thought ‘I want to edit this book, and it will be cool!’ Thinking about the book blew our minds… and this is it!”[133] It was something new in Chile, and there had been little if any material published in Spanish to teach journalism, highlights the same interviewee. It was also about envisioning the canon and discussing the standards. Then, deliberating about the award forced the jury to discuss the profession itself and define scoop, reportage, chronicle (*crónica*)[134], and what makes an interview or an op-ed the best in its category.

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[130] Interview E11.
[131] Interviewees E5, E9, E10, E11.
[132] Interviewees E5, E9, E10, E11.
[133] Interviewee E9.
[134] “*Crónica* is a very contested and slippery genre and it defies neat definition. There is a wide range of authors and works that are labeled as crónica (chronicle).” Interviewee E11.

A close and interpretive reading of the stories recognized by the PPE, the edited collections containing the best pieces of journalism, and the books' prefaces framing what journalism in Chile should be, sheds light on the mechanisms of distinction and on the boundaries of Chilean investigative journalism. The journalists' acceptance speeches are also valuable material because their discourse mobilized perceptions and normative expectations about journalistic practice in Chile.

The material engenders a conception of journalism as a mission "to reveal the abysses and the most secret lights of men," closest to the highest peaks of art and far from prosaic everyday life (Martínez cited by Vial, 2003, p. 9). Under that frame, journalism needs *cultores*, that is, cultivators of journalism, a frame that clearly emerged when a public campaign deployed in 2007 was contested,[135] emphasizing the countless obstacles in the job market due to an oversupply of certified journalists. The award highlights the distance between *cultores,* or some sort of high-skilled workers, and the mundane, material, conditions of practicing journalism: "Good journalists don't choose this practice by doing the math on their bank accounts, engaging in the entertainment business, or as tools of power. Journalists behind this award understand their work as a public service, as a challenge to turn information into knowledge, to make intelligible what is complex, investigating carefully, honestly, and bias free, what citizenship has the right to know" (Vial, 2007, p. 9). In other words, there is no "vocation without passion and nobody could call himself or herself a journalist if he or she does not feel that symbiotic relationship in his or her guts" (Vial, 2004, pp. 9-10).

Between 2003 and 2015, the contest awarded 71 articles; 24 of them correspond to the first award and reportage's categories. Since 2013, the award has also recognized television stories. The award overwhelmingly recognizes male journalists and national outlets edited in the capital: 50 of the stories (out of 71) were written by a man as a first or exclusive author, and only one story was featured in a non-capital-based outlet. In fact, the award falls short on identifying

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[135] "No seas un periodista frustrado" (Don't be a frustrated journalist), a public campaign of the National Association of Journalists. "Colegio profesional presentó campaña *No seas un periodista frustrado*," *El Mostrador*, December 18th, 2007. Available at http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2007/12/18/colegio-profesional-presento-campana-no-seas-un-periodista-frustrado/ [retrieved in June 12th, 2016]. Vargas, P. "Aquí hay vacantes," *Capital* magazine, April 18, 2008. Available at http://www.capital.cl/poder/2008/04/16/180439-aqui-hay-vacantes [retrieved in June 12th, 2016], "No seas un periodista frustrado," Universia.cl, December 18th, 2007. Available at http://noticias.universia.cl/vida-universitaria/noticia/2007/12/18/315284/no-seas-periodista-frustrado.html [retrieved in June 12th, 2016].

and acknowledging regional diversity in performing journalism, partly due to uneven quality, but also because players (reporters, editors, outlets) performing journalism outside of the capital city do not submit their pieces.

The outlets delivering this high-quality form of journalism best suit long-form reporting, like magazines, weekly journals, or newspaper supplements. Indeed, the award recognized only a few articles published in daily newspapers. As a long-term member of the jury states, "It makes sense that most of the awarded pieces were published by *Paula* magazine, *The Clinic*, *Qué Pasa* magazine, CIPER, obviously, *Sábado* [*El Mercurio*'s supplement], and *Fibra*, pieces that take longer to produce and publish."[136] As another correspondent with a long career points out, periodicals, supplements, and magazines are more welcoming to in-depth journalism, as they "foster better writing, more sources, more interpretive clues".[137] Thus, meaningful stories seem to be behind the front pages and do not always fuel the headlines. In other words, there are "articles that were worthy because they talked to us, *besides the turmoil and the speed of the news cycle*[138]" (Vial, 2003, p. 9). It seems that good journalism takes place behind the scenes, hosting a sort of "second line of journalistic work: one about intimate stories that can also touch social dimensions included in daily coverage" (Vial, 2006, p. 6).

Nonetheless, the fact that most of the stories awarded for best reportage or best investigation by the PPE have been published in magazines seems ironic now that several of them have disappeared (such as *Fibra* magazine), reduced circulation, or turned into lighter versions of themselves. The case of *Paula* is illustrative. This groundbreaking magazine published by and for the Chilean modern woman raised in the 1960s disappeared in 2018, fired almost its entire staff, and turned into an exclusively digital news site, loosening its ability to produce high-quality journalism, and focusing instead on covering lifestyle and fashion (Matus, 2018).[139]

Since its appearance in 2007, the non-profit online-based outlet CIPER had received six awards for the best feature article of the year. The prizes contribute to solidifying the field and its

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[136] Interviewee E11.
[137] Interviewee E8.
[138] Italics are mine.
[139] Other styles of magazines that hosted some coverage of current affairs and interviews besides fashion also shut down. After 42 years and more than 1,000 issues, *Cosas* magazine announced its closure on its own website (http://cosas.com/revista-cosas-dice-adios/) (L. Cárdenas, 2019; Herrero, 2018; Publimetro, 2018).

key players. As one of the founders and a long-time member of the jury puts it,[140] "every year the same people win,[141] which is very obvious, because the good ones don't stop being good at their job the next year."

Reading the introduction of each book, the profile of each author, and the short making-off for each story included, we can explore the canon, the standards, and what should be taken into account in order to recognize what is high-quality journalism, considering features like "something original on its form" or "creativity in approaching reality." The jury also recognizes the "quality of the narrative," what could be considered a "scoop," and which pieces combine both emotion and information.

The tensions between journalistic values are at the core of the award's history. Indeed, the balance between the power of a scoop, the exposure of wrongdoings affecting public interests, and the weight of style in a piece of journalism is an unsolved conundrum, as juries, awardees, and investigative journalists acknowledge. Some have described as the tension between investigative journalism and leaks:[142] "I understand that the scoop is politically important, but that doesn't have anything to do with high-quality journalism… the scoop is circumstantial [but] for most of them [the jury], the consequences of a piece were very important. On the contrary, journalism must demonstrate "an ethical, rigorous, smart, and good reporting" and deploy "a logic, rigorous, argumentative structure".[143]

A journalist that has been a jury member for the PPE and has also received the award herself states that awards such as PPE and FNPI "have the footprint [of recognizing] good writing. Sometimes, to emphasize beautiful writing and an amazing story, journalism has focused on freak stories… like the journalistic version of *Cien años de soledad*[144]. It is OK if journalism sometimes plays that role of exposing you to some stories… but it has a public responsibility... Some other times, the trend follows political crisis and [awards] tend to recognize big scoops, the journalistic exposé, even though it is poorly written, but it has data, big

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[140] Interviewee E9.
[141] Although it is an overstatement, it captures the idea that an award solidifies what is already considered worthy, reinforces the standards, and crystallizes the main players in a given field; that is, who is in and who is out.
[142] Interviewee E12.
[143] Interviewee E9.
[144] Referring to Gabriel García Márquez's book *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, a cornerstone of Latin American "magic realism."

infographics, that people do not read. In some other cases, the only value is that [journalism] was in the right place at the right time, but it is not an investigation or even well written, but it is the scoop of the time… of course I like a piece that has these three pillars, but you are not so lucky to always have all of them at the same time."[145]

Indeed, as a journalist that has previously been a recipient of the award and a part of the jury at other times, he points out that there are at least two major ways of understanding high-quality journalism that sometimes dovetail and sometimes compete and clash. Investigative journalism is one of the ways. The stories produced are relatively long-term and depict political issues or corruption; they are exposés. In contrast, there are pieces emphasizing storytelling that are not necessarily exposés, although they could be considered social issues or social critique, covering topics such as crimes or human drama. "I feel that those two venues clash over how to value journalism".[146]

Despite the struggles over what must be valued in journalism, the award is also perceived as a way of packaging the Chilean agenda into just one book. "The award itself, the edited collection with the best works, and even the process of reading and evaluating the submissions by the jury, felt like a sort of balance of the year in terms of media agenda, scoops, political relevance, and influence," and the edited collection "is a good synthesis of the political and social history in Chile," to be considered not only by journalists or professors in journalism, but by historians and social scientists. "It is a fine selection, first-class journalism."[147] Nonetheless, it lacks gender diversity and pieces published in local news companies, and the recognition of some authors and outlets overshadowing others gives some hints of the narrowness of such fine selection and first-class journalism.

Mechanisms of recognition, such as awards, also contribute to the appreciation of outlets and styles of journalism otherwise considered outsiders. This is the case with *The Clinic*. The magazine came out at the end of the 1990s as a free satirical rag (*pasquín*) in the aftermath of Augusto Pinochet's detention by the London police in October 1998 on charges of crimes against humanity. Until then, Pinochet had not faced any court and was enjoying complete impunity for his responsibility as former dictator. Indeed, he was in London on a trip as lifetime senator with a

[145] Interviewee E5.
[146] Interviewee E10.
[147] Interviewee E11.

diplomat passport, and the democratic government of Eduardo Frei Montalva was shielding him from facing trial abroad after his detention. This was dynamite for the Chilean political elite that had a high opinion of what they considered a peaceful and exemplary transition to democracy after the civic-military dictatorship (Gerdtzen & Pérez, 2000). *The Clinic*, borrowing the font from the logo of the clinic where Pinochet had been hospitalized after a surgery, and in a satirical style and format, was launched with no other expectation than providing a incisive reading of current affairs.

Little by little, *The Clinic* grew in pages, staff, and impact, and the pamphlet turned into a periodical, a news website, and has recently celebrated its 20th anniversary publishing without interruption. Keeping its caustic sense of humor to the cover, a few pages, and some specific columns, it has also expanded its critical coverage of current affairs, not without criticism. Its satirical portrayal of public figures or scandals, particularly on its covers, has sometimes been accomplished by mobilizing *machista*, misogynist, or homophobic discourse and jokes. That approach has sparked a vein of criticism from the perspective of gender, as Chilean society has turned into a more welcoming culture for gender diversity compared to the late 1990s when the periodical was born (Alonso, 2005; Watts & Franklin, 2013).

However, conservative groups have been largely disgusted by *The Clinic*'s explicit representations of sexuality or its corrosive humor when portraying politicians, businessmen, and priests on its frontpage. When *The Clinic* started to be considered part of the mainstream instead of an outsider, the conservative rage increased. The magazine's recognition by the professional field through mechanisms such as the PPE illustrates the tension surrounding what makes up the canon in journalism.

Indeed, between 2003 and 2015, *The Clinic* was awarded eight times by the PPE in different categories,[148] and on a couple of occasions, it received the highest prize of the year. As one of the long-time members of the jury points out, the award "began to highlight *The Clinic*'s journalism, which was a pamphlet, and suddenly it started to do good journalism and it was recognized."[149] In that sense, the PPE sparked a trend of appreciating *The Clinic*'s style of reporting and writing and, in turn, of accepting the magazine's journalism. Therefore, when *The*

[148] *The Clinic*'s op-pieces have been awarded three times (2005, 2013, 2015)
[149] Interviewee E11.

Clinic stopped being an outsider and became part of mainstream journalism, it turned into a menace to more conservative ways of thinking in journalism, too.

After the PPE recognized a story by *The Clinic* as the best journalistic piece published in 2013, a group of lawyers filed with the Archdiocese of Santiago a formal complaint against the priest Fernando Montes, by then chancellor of the Jesuit Universidad Alberto Hurtado, sponsor of the award through its school of journalism. The assumption was that Montes had control (or lack of it) in valuing what they considered a low form of journalism, offensive to Christian principles, and mocking sacred things. The awarded piece that sparked the conservative reaction depicted a real-life, local version of the French movie *Amour* (Haneke, 2012): An elder, Hugo, killed his seriously ill wife, Teresa, and then killed himself because he was getting very sick and he would not be able to take care of her anymore (Rojas, 2013). This sort of romantic euthanasia awarded by a Jesuit university was outside of the Catholic handbook, according to the complaint, but overall, the reward effectively encouraged the journalism embraced by *The Clinic* and represented the challenge facing what they considered the moral leadership of the Chilean Catholic church (Pizarro, 2014; Rodríguez & Blanco, 2014). A sort of epistolary war unfolded for a few days in some national newspapers between well-known journalists and scholars who had been part of the jury on one side, and the accusers and their supporters, on the other. While the former defended the autonomy of the award and the high standards the PPE encouraged, the complainants insisted on the blasphemy of exalting the satirical journalism of *The Clinic*.

Although the complaint was dismissed over and over at several ecclesiastical levels (Rodríguez, 2018), the controversy illustrates the not-so-subterranean struggles around what is considered high-quality journalism and the mechanisms for moving from being an outsider into mainstream media. In mobilizing solidarity between peers and the subfield, *The Clinic* represents a journalistic performance consolidated and formally recognized, and it supports the players who have a say in it, such as the members of the jury.

Cornerstone: Role of investigative journalism

A large body of literature links journalism and democracy as being two sides of the same coin, arguing that public-service driven reporting contributes to strengthening the way in which societies can better organize themselves and citizens can fully achieve their potential.

Nevertheless, it is a problematic relationship for practical and theoretical reasons. Indeed, as Zelizer points out (2012), journalism has flourished even under authoritarian regimes. Even more, authoritarian regimes tolerate a certain level of criticism as a face-saving strategy and to sustain their domestic control (Carothers, 2000), and some outlets develop forms of "inertial" or "adaptative" authoritarianism (Hugues, 2006: 12). This was the case of Chile under a civic-military dictatorship between 1973 and 1990 when, in spite of severe legal restrictions and the use of force on a regular basis, trench magazines and newspapers published high-quality exposés, although these trench outlets didn't survive the Chilean political transition.

Nonetheless, when asked, interviewees highlight the social role of journalism and, as such, they conceive of it as a cornerstone of democracy. The missionary frame of understanding journalism, as highlighted by the PPE award books, matches the interviewees' understanding of the subfield. As one of the interviewees puts it when referring to her crew, "we all agreed we had a mission;"[150] a mission of seeking the truth: "My grandmother always cursed journalists because they lied [during the dictatorship]. She used to say '*mijo,* you must be a journalist to tell the truth'"[151]. Journalism must be a tool for seeking and unveiling truths.[152]

Then, missionary muckraking seeking the truth aims to serve "the people, not ourselves"[153], and despite "the obstacles [in performing journalism], seeing on screen your work that probably helped some people is priceless."[154] For some, journalism must embrace the broad frame of human rights in practicing it.[155] As a mission, that is, an selfless practice, it adopts the form of "a service, not a power," meaning watchdog reporting not only must expose wrongdoings, but it also "must suggest ways of making things right."[156] The material encourages journalistic performance, helping out the communities it serves, and to do so, it must cultivate first-hand contact with people. As one of the interviewees puts it, *hay que dejar los pies en la calle* [you have to put your boots on the ground]"[157] and make a program "for the people."[158]

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[150] Interviewee E21.
[151] Interviewee E12.
[152] Interviewees E3, E5, E22.
[153] Interviewee E14.
[154] Interviewee E12.
[155] Interviewee E14.
[156] Interviewee E19.
[157] Interviewee E3.
[158] Interviewee E1.

Body metaphors such as “journalism with muscles,” muckraking that “oxygenates, rejuvenates, energizes, and stimulates” democracy, and a robust investigative journalism demonstrating “the health of society[159]” illustrate very widespread values in traditional literature on the topic. Indeed, such metaphors attempt to represents the social obligations of journalism in making power accountable, acting as a counterbalance, and, overall, performing a critical role in democracy. Such roles and performances are so crucial in democracy, according to the interviewees’ perceptions, because they fuel citizens with high-quality information to participate in the public sphere and in their public lives. In the end, citizens can make better decisions when well-informed.

Finally, the material also encourages a sense of responsibility in cultivating your own skills, a self-awareness of having the privilege of accessing places, sources, and documents that other people can’t, and the obsession to contribute to making complex and overwhelming phenomena apprehensible to large audiences[160]. As a long-time TVN *Informe Especial* correspondent puts it, “my entire career, my main goal as a journalist has been to make people understand.”[161]

Overall, interviewees conceive of investigative reporting as a method made valuable by its impact and defined by its purposes. Their definitions of what is or should be watchdog journalism also relies upon exemplary works, as the discussion about journalistic awards proves, and storytelling, as the next chapter will discuss in depth regarding stories for television.

Autonomy

The field of journalism is conceived of as a rather heteronomous one because it is intertwined with players from adjacent fields, such as politics and economics, and the subfield of investigative reporting is not immune to blurred boundaries or struggles over identity, power, and recognition. While the political economy of muckraking will be discussed later in this research[162], this section explores the struggles but also the friendly interconnections between investigative journalists and law enforcement agents, such as the police, district attorneys, and

[159] Interviewees E3, E19, E22, E23.
[160] Interviewees E4, E14.
[161] Interviewee E1.
[162] See chapter 4 “Leakage.”

the courts. In particular, the flirtation between journalism and law enforcement agencies appears in journalists' informal and on-the-ground training, in their crafting of certain methods and skills, and in the convergence of the roles of detectives and hounds in performing journalism in general, and investigative reporting, in particular.

One of the interviewees did a summer internship as an apprentice at a law firm even before enrolling in journalism school. He performed a clerical job, picking up and dropping off legal documents in local courts. There was no glamor in his daily tasks as support staff: "I didn't learn the most interesting or deep parts of the law, but I learned how to navigate bureaucracy [of the justice system]; I knew the intricacies of the courts."[163] Role models and hands-on mentors from the subfield of court correspondents also appear as having been very important in interviewees' early careers.[164]

Working as a court correspondent provided decisive on-the-ground training. Indeed, justice correspondents gained relevance and reputation during the 1990s. Previously, the court beat had been considered part of the crime-beat package, and it was not very well respected by the field or by the audience. Nonetheless, high-profile criminal cases in human rights and corporate disputes began to escalate from the bottom line of the justice system to the court of appeals and even the Supreme Court. This catapulted court cases from the crime pages to the front pages. Then, as long as crucial investigations were unfolding, media assigned court correspondents independently from the crime beat. That shift served as a platform that helped to pave a trajectory. As one of the interviewees puts it, "I started to publish scoops."[165]

Covering court also cultivated valuable skills in reporting in a pre-internet and pre-TV cable era: "I learned how to investigate as a court correspondent… I am a very methodical person in my work. I made fiches… I must have created more than fifty fiches, one for each court case I covered. I still have them. I had a fiche for each case in court, indicating who the plaintiff's attorney was, who the defendant's lawyer was, how the case was labeled by media, the actual case's title, its development… So, when I reported, I had my fiches and all the historical data [of the case I was reporting about]."[166]

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[163] Interviewee E10.
[164] Interviewees E5, E7, E12.
[165] Interviewee E5.
[166] Interviewee E7.

Working together as journalists and judges or as journalists and police agents exemplifies the blurred boundaries of the subfield, and how porous it is in connection to the agendas of some other fields. These symbiotic sort of working relations between correspondents and the justice system serve the purposes of not only produce the scoop, but also the goals of some progressive judge to advance critical criminal cases, for instance. As a long-time court correspondent, and later as a journalist serving as reporter and editor both at *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* shares, "there were judges that were willing to leak information and allow the press to unleash pressure to expose cases that otherwise would have been kept hidden. We [journalists and judges] cultivated a certain complicity in breaking the secrets of the investigation and releasing certain information to fuel the field at the beginning of the democracy [in the early 1990s]."[167]

In that same vein, "a certain type of journalism pushed or encouraged by media and top executives to collaborate with the police" deployed practices jeopardizing the autonomy of the subfield, such as releasing non-edited tapes amid criminal investigations and jeopardizing sources' confidentiality.[168] Many times, correspondents, DAs, and police agents worked hand in hand on the ground, making it difficult to identify the boundaries of the investigative journalistic field and the law enforcement agencies. As a long-time investigative television journalist states:

> *"There was a time in which we worked closely with the police… I remember I followed people in a police car, videotaping with an agent friend in the front seat. After a long time waiting on drug dealers' cases, your videotaped material was helpful for the district attorney, although they didn't even know [the material was ours] … You directly called [the officer] you knew; if he had any tip, he took you. We worked together, because it was a win-win relationship… sometimes district attorneys trusted more what a journalistic crew could've done than the police… the attorney called you with a tip and told you, "I have this story, I give you the address, names, you videotape, and it is yours, but I only ask you to wait until I get there. His interest was in having the videotaped evidence and checking the lead, and it was a win-win… We had no problem with [collaborating with the police] as long as it could contribute to justice."*[169]

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[167] Interviewee E7.
[168] Interviewee E4.
[169] Interviewee 21.

Final remarks

In 1997, I was an undergraduate student at the school of journalism at the Universidad de Chile. The school was seriously damaged by the policies of the dictatorship dismantling social sciences, public universities, and critical thinking. Coming out of the dictatorship in the early 1990s, the school (and the university) was underfunded and understaffed. Consequently, its quality was seriously undermined. By the mid-1990s because of students' mobilization, the oldest school of journalism in the country was restructured, attracted high-profile practitioners to teach, and engaged in an institutional effort to boost its quality and influence. Then, as a consequence of the broad attempt to hire respected journalists, Patricia Verdugo became my professor for the mandatory course of reportage.

When I stepped into the old-fashioned and poorly equipped computer lab at the beginning of the school year in April 1997, Verdugo was in front of us, small in stature but enormous in her prestige. Despite her importance in Chilean journalism, I remember her as a warm person, with a sweet but firm voice and bright eyes. By then, she was well-known and respected for *Los Zarpazos…* and her whole body of work touching on tough topics. However, the very first homework she assigned to us was reporting and writing about our own stories and our families. She was clear in stating that there is no way to understand our present and look into our future without exploring and knowing the many unpleasant times in the past.

Scavenging our personal biographies was not intended to be a cheap, inner psychological soliloquy on ourselves. She asked us to dive into family photographs and letters, interview our relatives, and read documents. Verdugo asked us to report on our lives. Of course, she was sensitive to a task that was tough for many of us and was flexible, in consequence, about understanding the hesitance of some of the students to dig deeper into parts of their families' stories, unknown fathers, or tough childhoods. Nonetheless, it is a homework assignment that I still fondly appreciate. Indeed, when I started to teach journalistic writing courses myself, it was the very first task I assigned to my students, not because I pretended to be as good as Verdugo, but as a way to honor her and because I am still convinced of what she taught us: There is no way we can report and write about our present and the future, if we do not thoughtfully inquire into our own roots.

Under that umbrella, inquiring into the contemporary history of the subfield of investigative journalism also allows us to better understand what it means to perform watchdog journalism, how it has been conceived of and crafted by its practitioners, and the ways in which the players in the subfield have built up some shared values, a common but contested ground, and a learning (and imagined) community.

This chapter conceives of and discusses investigative journalism as a subfield of Chilean journalism, with its own mechanisms of recognition and consecration that draw its boundaries, identify the main players, role models, or *rock stars*. Chilean watchdog journalism contains (and it is contained by) some practices, rituals, and objects that operate as marks of distinction. In other words, some shared values, conceptions of what journalism is or should be, and struggles over their standards and canon, which distinguish muckraking performance from other types of reporting and other journalistic practices, styles, and products.

Nonetheless, the process and requirements of defining what watchdog journalism is and should be dynamic. The boundaries defining the subfield are blurred and its features, semi-autonomous rather than clear-cut or fully independent from other subfields and fields. For instance, the biographical and professional trajectories of investigative journalists are contested and self-conscious paths to forging an identity as muckrakers. Indeed, turning into an investigative journalist comes out of a haphazard combination of circumstances: being in the right place at the right time; specific pieces of their work being turned into iconic representations of what an investigation is and should be; having influential mentors and role models to inspire or contribute to their training, and developing a certain pool of skills through their cultural capital or through college as a means of social mobility.

In other words, neither their original training, their entrance into the job market, nor even the methods that most of them have crafted on-the-go explain separately the path to incarnating investigative journalism, but all of that together. Even though not all of them consider themselves muckrakers, their work, their peers, and their representation of the values of the subfield make them so. It is, also, a small, tight subfield. And the club reproduces itself.

The subfield of watchdog reporting relies upon its capacity to distinguish itself from other genres and styles and the capital mobilized by its players. By analyzing investigative journalism in a Latin American society, this chapter grasps its increasing formalization as a subfield through

formal and on-the-ground training, a small but growing learning community, a set of shared journalistic values and practices, the contested autonomy of the subfield, and a certain common ground about the role watchdog journalism must play in democracy.

As the chapter discusses, books appear in the purest form of journalism, that is, as the most autonomous object and practice embodying investigative journalism. On the contrary, muckraking produced in television emerges as the more heteronomous expression of the subfield: While a book is exclusively devoted to produce a journalistic piece, investigative journalism in broadcasting lives together and competes not only with the news department, but with reality shows, children programming, or *telenovelas*.

Therefore, in the second part, the dissertation dives deeper in the production, practices, and languages deployed by investigative journalism produced in television between 1990 and 2015. There is little or no research addressing the particular forms and contents of this journalistic performance for television. Also, due to the visual language encouraging emotions in the audience, producing investigative journalism on TV defies the principles of rationality so strongly tied to conceptualizations about the practice, and its massiveness opens up challenging conditions of production regarding commercial pressures and economic requirements for performing watchdog-style reporting on television. Then, the next chapters examine in detail investigative journalism in Chilean television in a post-authoritarian and neoliberal context.

PART II

PRACTICES

CHAPTER 3: GAZE

Ethics and aesthetics of Chilean muckraking: *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*

"*Seguiremos haciendo Contacto con los temas que estremecen y cambian a nuestro país*"[170]
Iván Valenzuela, *Contacto*'s ad, 2010.

"*Entramos donde nadie se atreve a entrar*
Investigamos lo que algunos no quieren que se investigue"[171]
Informe Especial's ad, 2003

"Lo que está hecho para ser leído
tiene diferencias radicales
con lo que está hecho para ser contado"
Martín Barbero paraphrasing W. Benjamin

In this chapter, I attempt to de-naturalize the principle of rationality underlying the dyad watchdog and democracy. Indeed, this principle fuels the basic premise of journalism's role in feeding a public sphere with high-quality information that, hopefully, will encourage citizens' engagement in public life. This conceptualization of investigative journalism has also been influential in the rest of the world through foreign aid supporting journalistic projects (CIMA, 2007; Kumar, 2000; Lublinski et al., 2016; Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). However, this rational assumption is blind to the narratives mobilizing emotions and carrying symbolic power, mediated by television, digital storytelling, and other innovative forms of reporting (Mioli & Nafría, 2017).

Indeed, alternative narratives are crucial to better understand media production and consumption in Latin America (García Canclini, 1992, 2014; Martín Barbero, 1987; Martín Barbero & Muñoz, 1992). Moreover, narratives highlighting personal stories, dramatic music, and emotions instead of plain facts have been crucial in Latin American news production (Mujica & Bachmann, 2015b), including muckraking stories. However, using *melodrama* could also exacerbate the form instead of the substance of the reporting, particularly sustained by ratings in highly commercialized media systems (Arriagada & Navia, 2013; Hugues, 2006).

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[170] "We will continue making *Contact* with those topics that shake and change our country." The translation is mine.
[171] "We break into places nobody else dares to. We investigate what some people want to keep secret." The translation is mine.

Melodrama has been crucial in paving and building such a narrative of the emotion in Latin America. Indeed, it is a centerpiece articulating past and present, modernity and tradition, and identities and oral/written languages to vast populations in the region. As Martín Barbero points out, melodrama has been a mediation strategy that has negotiated the modern and the pre-modern realities and expectations that coexist, but at the same time collapse in Latin America (Martín Barbero, 1987; Martín Barbero & Herlinghaus, 2000; Martín Barbero & Muñoz, 1992). As Salinas argues, melodrama is "a cultural expression that allows us [Latin Americans] to represent, communicate, and produce ourselves in a daily experience of mass culture" (Salinas, 2015: 21).

Formally, melodrama is the universe of redundancy and exacerbation (Monsiváis, 2000) and the rhetoric of excess (Fuenzalida, Corro, & Mujica, 2009). As Mujica and Bachmann (2013) state, the main melodramatic features are: "archetypical characters that represent the struggle of good versus evil, pathetic enunciation and pain's visual representation, the inclusion of rhetorical figures of excess, music aimed at increasing the audience's emotional attachment, and focalization on the personal and on characters' domestic struggles" (1801). Under that umbrella, *telenovelas* are probably the most well-known cultural artifacts locally produced but internationally spread, one of the few carrying worldwide influence from the Global South (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990). However, the melodramatic language expresses itself not only in television, but in a wide array of cultural products and experiences, such as music (bolero or rancheras), cinema (the Argentine, Mexican, and Brazilian cinemas contributed to developing the idea of Nation), or literature (*literatura de cordel*, in Brazil). Then, melodrama is a recurring way of narrating ourselves (*narrar-nos*) (Salinas, 2015).

"We owe everything to melodrama," states Monsiváis. "Its massive catharsis and emotional discharge suitable for the general public organizes their understanding of reality. In melodrama, the powerlessness and the heroic aspiration of a collectivity which has no public outlets are combined" (cited in Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990: 7). Indeed, melodrama represents the syncretic formation of popular culture and mass culture in Latin America and also "simultaneously reaches two powerful stimuli of the public: sense of humor and sense of pain" (Monsiváis, 2000: 66). Through this particular genre, Latin Americans have been able to navigate vital contradictions between expectations and actual experiences of modernity.

Melodrama has been very influential in entertainment (Acosta-Alzuru, 2007; de la Peza, 1998; Fuenzalida et al., 2009; Martín Barbero & Muñoz, 1992; Salinas, 2015). Nonetheless, research has also found melodramatic features in Chilean newscasts. Indeed, "in a context of increasing commercialization, Chilean broadcasters tended toward the homogenization of their coverage and news treatment… There was more reporting of personal stories over public/abstract issues…, and there was an increase in the delivery of information about emotions by both sources and journalists" (Mujica & Bachmann, 2015a: 221). Indeed, by looking at features such as personalization and emotionalization, since the early 2010s, Chilean newscasts have steadily incorporated melodramatic forms of storytelling. Nonetheless, Chilean newscasts' editors have been reluctant to acknowledge the influence of melodrama in their storytelling style and have portrayed it rather under negative terms (Mujica & Bachmann, 2015b).

Therefore, an increasing interest in carefully developing the structures of television storytelling applied in news production sooner or later also impacted shows such as *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. In fact, some interviewees[172] credit a former executive producer in *Contacto*, Carmen Gloria López, for providing a dramatic structure to the programs' stories since the 2000s. As she wrote, drama features can improve viewers' attention, their memory retrieval, and their ability to better understand television news. López argued, newscasts must organize news stories around events interrelated to each other and including major players, causes and consequences, status quo, conflict, and changes. In consequence, if information is more likely to be remembered by viewers if they are shocked and touched by it, journalists must find the way to involve their audience into their plotlines. In other words, López argued, the more a story triggers empathy, the most likely it will be understood and remembered (López, 2001).

Capturing audiences is not only good for improving levels of memory retrieval, but also for rating purposes. If a television long-story follows a dramatic structure of beginning, conflict, climax, and resolution, it is more likely that audiences will engage with the reportage. In fact, dramatic structure allows certain suspense, fundamental to informative discourse (Martín-Barbero, 2002: see especially p. 89). Mujica uses the metaphor of an electrocardiogram to represent the dramatic arc developed by *telenovelas*, but it is helpful, too, to better understand the interest of journalistic programs to cultivate better ways of storytelling. Indeed, as an

[172] Interviewees E12 and E13.

electrocardiogram, the dramatic arc implies peaks and depressions, accelerations and slowing downs of a story's motion. The shows' hosts and their reporters also contribute to increase suspense and the dramatic arc in the reports through several strategies. For example, reports' opening scenes correspond to a 2-3 minutes trailer-style;[173] when introducing the story, hosts warn the audience about the shocking images they are about to see;[174] and right before going to commercials, in-studio hosts or reporters' VO, or short clips including spectacular images (like police raids in criminal investigations) ,[175] or announce the next segment as revealing new and spectacular information.[176] Finally, correspondents are special guests in other networks' programs, increasing suspense, not only for self-promotion, but also for hooking audience and fueling a melodramatic narrative.

Therefore, considering investigative journalism only as a form of rational discourse and ignoring melodramatic features in television production reduces the scope for analyzing Latin American muckraking. In fact, it could imply overlooking distinctive features that are tailored to local languages and sensitivities and not only to straightforward, neat, definitions. This specific way of framing Latin American investigative journalism expands on what Ettema and Glasser (1998) conceptualize as the "moral conscience" role of US muckraking or what Protess et al. have defined as journalism of outrage (Protess et al., 1991). The Latin American version of muckraking is entangled in intricate layers of *cultura popular* and modernity(ies), where popular culture and mass culture must be understood as complex interconnected dimensions of Latin American modernity's paradoxes (Lagos, 2018; Martín-Barbero, 1983; Sunkel, 2008). In other words, *lo popular* is the way in which cultural traditions exist, despite of or due to the hegemonic

[173] See, for instance, "Trata de blancas," in June 1, 2003; "El gran montaje," June 17, 2003; "Contaminados," August 4, 2009, all of them in *Contacto*.
[174] "You need to be prepared to watch the story we present tonight…. it will be difficult to accept that what you are about to see and hear is the truth… I have particular experience reporting conflicts, wars, massacres, historic events of death and destruction, but I believe that I have never faced something as sinister as what we're about to watch," *Informe Especial*'s host and correspondent when introducing "El Cuartel del Horror," August 13, 2007.
[175] See, for instance, "El gran engaño," in *Contacto*, August 14, 2007.
[176] "When we come back, why Chile has turned into a paradise for pedophiles," "Chile, paraíso de pedófilos" in *Contacto*, July 2, 2002; "Will they continue scamming? "Servicios técnicos, el reality del engaño," in *Contacto*, August 15, 2006. The material reviewed is not available (in networks' archives or online repositories) as it was originally broadcasted. That is, not all reports include their commercial cuts. So, in consequence, there are only a handful of examples where the hosts' interventions of hooking the audiences before going to commercials are included in the video.

culture; and melodrama is the cultural matrix validating anachronistic narratives (Martín Barbero & Muñoz, 1992).

To understand the disarticulations and re-articulations of modernity/modernities and identities in Latin America, television has been key (Martín Barbero & Muñoz, 1992; Monsiváis, 2000). By the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, Fuenzalida and Hermosilla (Fuenzalida, 1990, 1991; Fuenzalida & Hermosilla, 1991) conducted several key researches on television reception, specifically focusing on rural and working-class audiences. Their work was informed by frameworks such as communication applied to education, media literacy, and communication and development. Under that umbrella, they highlight how crucial *narrativas populares* in *Informe Especial* were and the extent it was appreciated by working class and rural audiences as an educational and informative tool that contributes to open windows to the world. Indeed, as one of the interviewees explains his early interest in visual language when studying journalism, "I felt that television was a better tool to produce more complex content."[177]

Therefore, this chapter inquires into the visual narratives of the specific genre of investigative reporting and to what extent it has been informed by both melodramatic and rational features. Accordingly, what are the narratives of broadcasting muckraking in a particular Latin American journalistic culture? What are the ethics and aesthetics of muckraking stories? And how have they shaped a certain cultural vision in post-dictatorial Chile? I explored investigative television shows (*Contacto* and *Informe Especial*) aired on Chilean networks (*Canal 13* and *Television Nacional de Chile*) to answer these questions.

Informe Especial has aired on public television (TVN) since 1984, when military authorities ran the broadcasting during the dictatorship, and then later was launched in 1991 by Canal 13, a network owned by the Universidad Católica and the Chilean Catholic Church, but since 2010 is an asset of the largest corporation in the country, Quiñenco holding. Both shows produce and air long-form journalism or journalistic reportages, addressing current affairs, historical events updated by new insights or perspectives, and could develop topics such as science, culture, politics, or economics (Montenegro, Oyanedel, Vallejos, De La Paz, & Aliste, 2010). These shows are imprinted in news production and in a nonfiction reading contract. That is, they are expected to refer to facts, real events, and actual people; overall, "making television

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[177] Interviewee E7. Also, interviewee E12.

news… a matter of putting reality together" (Schlesinger, cited by Creeber, 2015, p. 127). The scripts, the hosts' opening and closing remarks, and their self-promotion material reinforce the goal of informing, expanding knowledge, and connecting audiences to new and amazing phenomena.

Both programs have been considered by their own networks, their audiences, the critics, and the field of journalism as the networks' key features. That is, the shows represent the editorial identity of their companies, "testing the whole network's editorial frame, so to speak" and its production has been regularly under a strong scrutiny, supervised by not only their editors, "but the networks' news director and executive director" and, in some cases, their attorneys.[178] However, for historical reasons (the conditions under which they were created), economic circumstances (pressure to gain rating and capture advertising), or changes in news production, investigative stories have not necessarily been always the main feature of both programs.[179]

Indeed, the most covered topics in *Contacto*'s and *Informe Especial*'s agenda are miscellaneous and crime. Under the category of "miscellaneous" there is an assorted pool of reports depicting celebrities (television hosts' and sports players' lifestyles), unclassifiable topics (such as UFO, piercing and tattoos, , and pets), with a heavy personalization of broader topics, such as drug addictions, but through soft-stories depicting celebrities after rehab. Outstanding and barrier-breaking women in different fields are also portrayed as empowered individuals, instead of addressing structural problems or collective strategies to overcome discrimination and misogyny. Most of *Contacto*'s agenda fits into the "Miscellaneous" category.

Although crime rates in Chile are low in comparison to the rest of Latin America and several other regions in the world (Dalby & Carranza, 2019), crime is one of the most important beats in news coverage and it has been usually framed under very sensationalist and melodramatic styles. In particular, media coverage includes a wide range of crimes (homicide, assault, robbery, and burglary) and emphasizes spectacular homicides and serial killers, as well. So, crime is an appealing topic for audiences and very influential in the political agenda (Guzmán & Ramos, 2000). For both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, "Crime" is a very important

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[178] Interviewees E7, E12, and E19.
[179] To see the detail of both shows' agendas, see the Methodological Appendix.

topic and stories about it are rather cheap to produce and always perform well in terms of rating (González Itomi, 2013).[180] *Informe Especial* has produced 70 stories (out of 464 reports on domestic issues) and *Contacto*, 66 (out of 476 stories on domestic issues) between 1990 and 2015.

By exploring the types of narratives these shows have produced and how such reports have been framed, my aim is to analyze the grammar of Chilean investigative journalism in post-dictatorship television. By grammar, I mean the formal elements structuring muckraking stories on television (shots, camera movements, and sound, among others marks that editing makes sense of), how they have experienced changes over time, and what those shifts say about broader cultural and political trends in journalism and media.

It is important to note that this type of long-form of broadcasting journalism develops stories that are time-consuming and labor-intensive. So, the final product screened overcomes several obstacles since the inception of an idea to transforming it into a 40- or 50-minutes report. Consequently, muckraking production on television is comparatively under more editorial control than daily TV news. Despite the well-documented bureaucracy involved in airing any journalistic content (Gans, 2004; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006; Tuchman, 1978), the pipeline these types of stories go through involves more checkpoints. Therefore, the final product of *Contacto* or *Informe Especial* are more likely to follow a more extensive production process and to be under more scrutiny than a 50-second story aired on the evening newscast.

Some of the milestones and outcomes from a rather comprehensive process of television muckraking include evaluating the story's viability, pitching it, deciding budget, allocating expenditures, and traveling to on-site locations, and a rather more formalized way of reporting the progress while in production. In other words, these stories tend to be weighed by various individuals engaged in the whole chain of production. In some cases, the stories are also reviewed by the network's attorney. In that sense, every single piece of an investigative report on television is more likely to respond to a certain rationale rather than to a random selection of footage, an improvised script written under the rush of daily coverage, or a live coverage more likely to entail unexpected on-camera decisions.

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[180] Interviewees E7, E16, E20, and E21.

Relying on key episodes, I have carried out a close reading of the narratives of investigative reports broadcasted by *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* between 1990 and 2015.[181] These stories correspond to what Cottle calls "thick journalism" that are "exceptional" on television "because they subvert current programming trends and also because they are of outstanding quality (Cottle, 2005, p. 110). Indeed, the episodes analyzed here constitute a sample of works exposing wrongdoings and addressing complex social problems usually undeveloped on television, while at the same time they are products driven by commercial goals of gaining audiences and advertising. These intersections complicate the narratives that result in a mix of melodramatic styles and documentary features.[182]

Therefore, borrowing analytical tools from film and television studies to analyze Chilean investigative journalism in post-dictatorship television, I pay attention to how the stories that were produced and broadcasted by *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* for 25 years ingrain a distinctive narrative, how these television shows framed and developed a certain muckraking storytelling in broadcasting, and how those narratives and ways of telling stories changed over the time. Under that umbrella, I have closely analyzed 93 stories, 55 broadcasted by *Informe Especial* between 1990 and 2015, and 38 aired by *Contacto* between 1992 and 2015, with a total of almost 100 hours of footage. On average, the stories included in my analysis are 60 minutes long and a few of them are a series of two episodes honoring the relevance of the topic and/or the findings. I also watched other episodes of both shows to get a general sense of their main frames, their styles, their editorial emphasis, the role of hosts and reporters on-site, and the changes these elements experienced during the timeframe under study.[183]

I analyze the visual grammar of the investigative journalism carried by both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* in three wide dimensions: the role and visual representation of evidence

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[181] It is a purposive and not a representative sample. I include stories that reported on domestic/national topics, triggered peer recognition, produced public impact, and are fully available. For more details about the sampling, see the Methodological Appendix.

[182] For some, documentaries and in-depth stories on television are different. Under that umbrella, the long-TV report would have an "informative character about recent events" and it would be programmed as a series, such as a weekly program (Fuenzalida et al., 2009: 243), like *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* I am examining in this research. Distinctions between documentary and journalism has also relied upon the weight personal expression holds in comparison to facticity (Craft, 2018). Also, some literature group reportages and documentaries as a single category when analyzing this production programmed by Chilean free-to-air television (Whittle & Núñez, 2017).

[183] For a detailed account of the material, the sample, the media archival work I conducted, and the methodological process of visual analysis, see the Methodological Appendix.

(data and archives); what I call the muckraking gaze, that is, the way these shows have framed their public issues, and finally the drama features incorporated in the televisual narratives of investigative reports.

Data, documents, and archival material are at the core of long-form of journalism, such as thick or in-depth journalism, investigative reporting, or reportages. All of them rely upon extensive and specialized sources. Thus, the visual (re)production of documents of a different nature constitutes a key dimension to better understand the narratives of broadcasting muckraking. Indeed, the extent and nature of not only quoting, but representing archival material, depends on the length of the reports and varies across time. The sophistication of visual narratives and the post-production tools available and developed throughout time have contributed to the increase of the presence of archival material and to smoothly embedding it in stories. Incorporation and representation of archival material have also critically served to depict time and space in investigative reporting.

Both shows have also cultivated a certain perspective, or a muckraking gaze, when producing and displaying their points of view on exposing topics of public interest. By identifying their shots, the angles of their cameras, some *mise-en-scene*, and the way they have plotted their stories, it is possible to closely examine the way in which broadcasting muckraking has portrayed the world in which we live and how we look at it, and any changes these trends have experienced since the early 1990s. In the end, looking carefully at the ways in which *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* have punctuated their visual narratives, we are able to scrutinize not only what, but how both shows have framed current affairs in the post-dictatorship.

Investigative journalism relies upon the assumptions of rationality. Nonetheless, by analyzing broadcasted muckraking I dispute the philosophy of the Enlightenment and modernity inspiring journalism. Indeed, drama features blended into the supposedly rational narrative of investigative journalism are more and more important in the stories analyzed. Some of the most outstanding reports of the period covered by this study include increasingly visual techniques borrowed from drama or reality television, for instance, blurring the boundaries between rationality and emotion.

Role and visual representation of evidence: Data and archives

The (re)production of the evidence in the broadcasting muckraking in Chile after the dictatorship has relied upon the extent and range of strategies towards including data visualization in the reports. Indeed, the first attempts of visualizing data appeared long before data-driven journalism became a trending topic in the field, that is, more than twenty years before the explosion of the big data leaking phenomenon (i.e., WikiLeaks, the Snowden case, or the stories exposed by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, ICIJ, such as the Panama Papers). In other words, early traces of representing data in *Contacto* and *IE* can be tracked back to 1991, evoking objectivity and detachment on reporting. These clues correspond to the increasing efforts not only to illustrate but also to (re)produce the *exposés*' evidence. Both programs have developed different strategies to include numbers and statistics, at first, and later, to produce refined portrayals of data driven by visual representations that are not neutral.

In fact, during the 1990s and until the early 2000s, *Contacto* and *IE* have incorporated data basically under three main frames: typing critical information on the screen with an illustrative footage in the background depicting the topic or problem; creating elementary charts based upon official or scholarly sources, and finally, videotaping someone's else visualization, such as maps and charts included in official reports.

By the 2000s, both programs exhibited more sophisticated ways of visualizing data, fully utilizing the visual narrative features. Probably one of the most refined and powerful visualization of data in the sample analyzed was deployed in "Contaminados," a report aired by *Contacto* in 2009, about thousands of people poisoned by heavy metals because the public housings in which they lived were built over an old chemical dump site. The story revealed the long-term consequences of lead and arsenic exposure on people suffering rare diseases or developing illnesses at higher rates than the national average, the corporate responsibilities in it, the lack of action from public officials to prevent contamination, and the neglect involved in appropriate diagnose and treatment of the affected population. Relying upon an extensive and long-term on-site reporting, the television team built up trust with their local sources and the inhabitants affected, which allowed the reporters to collect and make sense of medical conditions among them and where they were physically spread through the territory contaminated.

"Contaminados" relies upon printed maps depicting the particular place where the story takes place and how it looked back in the 1980s, before the public housings were built. From this point, the TV crew took the audience to talk to the actual people living there, most of them middle-age women and men. The reporter and the researcher are in front of a laptop taking notes while interviewees, one by one, are shown describing their health conditions along with their children's, how long they or their children have been sick, and exhibiting their medical records to the reporters. The mid shots focus on the people as they sit in front of the reporters. It evokes a doctor's office and a doctor-patient relationship. Some of the interviewees get emotional, as the music accompanying the shots is cued. Each interview fades out into the next one. The reporter's VO points out that the symptoms and medical conditions affecting inhabitants of three nearby public housings are extremely likely.

The television crew took soil samples to test for heavy metals and sent them out to a very well-known laboratory to conduct the analysis. The results for arsenic and lead are illustrated in a test tube, showing the numbers on it. Relying upon hundreds of lab test results requested by the affected families or conducted by local universities, the television team identifies the exact location of people suffering medical conditions driven by heavy metal exposure. Helped by an aerial map deployed on a table, the reporter and researcher put red and yellow pins on the exact addresses of the people exposed to pollution by heavy metals. On the one hand, red pins represent individuals suffering health conditions typically linked to lead contamination. On the other hand, yellow pins show those suffering medical conditions consistently related to arsenic. Extreme close-ups framing the reporter's hands prinking the pins show how, little by little, block by block, red and yellow pins spread through the map coloring the real-life cases of poisoning by heavy metals. "The result," says the reporter's VO, "is impressive… A true map of shame." The footage speaks for itself. In the end, reports such as "Contaminados" not only air data supporting the report's claims, but they also visually deploy the traces of producing the data itself.

Figure #1: Visualization in “Contaminados”, *Contacto*, August 11, 2009. Screenshot from the report.

By reconstructing the path that data visualization has followed since the early 1990s in televised investigative journalism, I introduce nuances into the current pervasive discourse celebrating data driven journalism as the brand-new centerpiece of any attempt to rescue journalism from *infoentertainment* and commercialism. Although contemporary tools, such as software and collaborative platforms online, allow for the storage, management, analysis, and sharing of enormous amounts of data measured in terabytes (as in the case of the Panama Papers), the consciousness about how important a data-based report was developed throughout the 1990s, grew during the 2000s and became cardinal by the 2010s in both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. Data, then, carry not only the power of evidence, but embed and visually represent facticity itself, a core value in investigative reporting.

After the Clinton administration released thousands of documents about the Central of Intelligence Agency (CIA)’s intervention in Chile in the 1960s and 1970s, *IE* broadcasted a two-part series in November 2000 depicting in detail the covert activities of the agency in the country. Indeed, the CIA funded political parties, military members, unions and guilds, and participated in the assassination of Rene Schneider, commander in chief of the army killed in 1974 by local far-right extremists with funding and guns provided by the US Embassy in Chile. By its very nature, *Informe Especial* heavily relies upon archives and its host and veteran correspondent, Santiago Pavlovic, explicitly acknowledged it when introducing the report:

> *We have collected background information* [Pavlovic looks towards the camera and puts his hand upon a pile of documents and books], *interviewed those responsible for processing the declassified documents of the CIA, and read dozens of books and reports published in the United States about the incredible clandestine operations of the North*

> *American agency… We have reconstructed a tremendous and illuminating history that especially you, young Chileans, who did not live those years of iron-fist rule, those years of confrontation and national division, must know* [pointing out towards the camera, showing empathy]. *We travel to Washington and Havana to find out how the CIA operated and to also unravel the knot, the secret plot, of the US intervention in Chile.*

The report on the CIA involvement in contemporary Chilean politics is a straightforward example of a story triggered by and relying upon extensive documentation, archival footage, and first-hand accounts of written reports. However, there are several cases in which archives contribute to building up a whole story, and they connect the past and present, times and places in complex ways, collapsing chronological accounts and perspectives. Eventually, some of the archives deployed in the stories analyzed are articulated in a very simple and informative way: archival footage to illustrate a historical event, newspapers clippings about a case that suddenly gained new public attention, or official documents containing information upon which the visual narrative relies, such as court cases. Nonetheless, across the sample analyzed here, the (re)production of the evidence and its visual record (unveiling what is hidden) depends upon citing and visualizing archives.

Indeed, together with data visualization, citing, producing, and reproducing archives are part of the repertoire of facticity deployed by broadcasting investigative journalism. Therefore, this section addresses the physical and symbolic representation of archives and their role in organizing visual evidence in investigative stories on television. I pay attention to three main roles archives have played in the visual narratives of investigative journalism in Chile: first, I analyze the archives' volume and weight embodying its historical relevance and the facticity supporting a report; second, I unfold archives as representing the organization behind a story and, in doing so, how archives are key to highlighting rationality; and finally, I explore archives as a key component to compressing time and blurring boundaries between private and public spheres.

The report "Falsos exonerados" (*Contacto*, 2011) is an appealing example of the role the physical and symbolic depiction of archives acquired throughout the sample and the period of time under investigation. The story unveiled several malfunctions in the national program

compensating and supporting Chileans that were illegally and unfairly fired during the civic-military dictatorship motivated by political causes. Specifically, the television crew requested[184] and analyzed 1,000 cases to check whether the beneficiaries fit the legal requirements to be considered for having lost their jobs for political motifs and, as consequence, qualified to receive lifelong financial support. As the reporter's VO points out: "Until now, nobody has investigated the information kept in these thousands of folders. They correspond to the data of 275,000 people that have requested to be compensated for being fired during the dictatorship" as a form of political harassment.

The footage includes an extreme wide shot of a warehouse, probably the National Archives, in which we see several rows of shelves filled with yellow folders. The camera pans throughout the building and give us a sense of the dimension of the documents stored. Then, a full shot of the correspondent walking through one of the alleys formed between two shelves filled with folders, walking towards the camera, looking one side and another, also allows the audience to size the documents and weigh their historical relevance. The shot follows the reporter through one of the shelves while he is walking; then, a mid-shot of his face behind the shelf depicts him physically navigating the archives. A full shot frames the reporter from his back while he is looking up, but he cannot see the top of the shelves. This is what history's height and weight look like. A wide shot from above depicts the reporter flipping through the pages of documents he holds in his hands, standing up in the middle of the archive. In a following set of scenes, at night, the reporter and two researchers appear in an office, photocopying, flipping through documents' pages, opening boxes, and discussing a file they find. By visually depicting the volume of the archives, and not only mentioning the documents and data on the report, this report symbolically provides evidence of facticity through the process. Also, by partially unveiling the process of producing the story, the report introduces the audience to the investigation's development, giving a sense of transparency in the journalistic performance. It is interesting to note that the reports produced in the early 1990s, archives, such

[184] Requests through the access of information law.

as court documents or medical records, are visually represented by rather static images and big piles of folders and paper in old or outdated offices.[185]

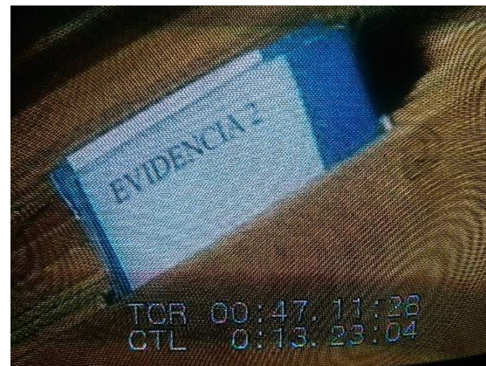
Figures #2 and #3: Archives in "Falsos exonerados políticos", *Contacto*, October 10, 2011. Screenshots from the report.

Thus, investigative journalism not only digs into endless piles of documents and allows the audience to sneak into official buildings, but it organizes and gives rationality to that visual experience, too. For instance, in August 2006, *IE* broadcasted a two-part series about the death of former President Eduardo Frei Montalva in 1982 who, by that time, has turned into a very vocal critic of the regime. When he died, his daughter, Carmen Frei, consistently accused the civic-military dictatorship of having assassinated Frei by poisoning him while he was recovering from surgery in the Army Hospital. She was not taken seriously for decades even among her own political comrades.[186]

IE's story digs deeply into the available evidence, interviewing former secret police agents, physicians that were involved in the health care of the former president, archival material, official documents that were included in the ongoing criminal investigation, such as former president's medical records, and family films and photographs. The report visualizes the criminal investigation "for strategical purposes… it was our way of protecting ourselves on an extremely sensitive issue… the murder of a former president of the republic, a magnicide, which until today a lot of the people still deny... So, we had to protect ourselves and we had to strictly

[185] Such as court documents in "Tucapel Jiménez" in 1991 and "Justicia para pobres," 1995, both aired by *IE*, and "Justicia en Chile," 1992, broadcasted by *Contacto*, and medical records in "Salud para pobres," 1991, produced by *IE*.
[186] Indeed, the criminal investigation concluded that Frei Montalva was assassinated by poisoning (González, 2018).

rely on what the judge had determined by then."[187] The editing and the visual representation of the report as an investigation explicitly echo an official criminal inquiry. Indeed, the report is visually organized by folders labeled "Evidence #1," "Evidence #2," and so on, and it also depicts a hand pinning "Evidence" labels on a cork board filled with newspapers clippings about the case, as well as shelves loaded with hanging file folders labeled as "Evidence" and "Frei case." These remarks articulate the storytelling style of the report.



Figures #4 and #5: Private and family visual archive and folders, "La muerte de Frei Montalva", *Informe Especial*, August 2006. Screenshots from the report.

The story on Frei's death is also interesting in the way family films and photographs function as visual markers of temporality and Frei's public and private spheres' indicators. When doing so, one of the punctuations the visual narrative uses is the footage and sound portraying an 8 or a 16 mm. projector running film and zooming into Frei's personal footage. By doing so, Frei's private profile breaks the present time of the report's narrative about the investigation of the former president's death, but also his political role in Chilean contemporary history by bringing into the conversation his most intimate and rather unknown sphere.

A functioning machine portraying and evoking the old technology of photography and projecting is also included in another story produced by *IE*. In 2004, the program broadcasted a report unveiling new information about a high-profile case of a 6-year-old killed in 1979[188]. A

[187] Interviewee E22.
[188] "El caso Anfruns", *Informe Especial*, 2004.

carousel slide projector takes the audience to the past, evoking the emotional collective memory shared by millions of Chileans that back then followed the media coverage of the case as a national tragedy. So, an extreme close-up depicts the carousel changing one slide after another and, in between, we see a newspaper's cover turned into a slide, as well as the family's letters and photographs. We see the machine functioning, but we also hear the sound the rotary tray makes when changing a slide. The visual representation of archives in the report not only portrays the time passing and evokes a certain nostalgia,[189] but it also makes noticeable the traces of the journalistic investigation itself.[190]

Indeed, the correspondent's VO unfolds the investigative process by physically and visually diving into the network's archives: suspense music introduces a dark, wide shot of an archive, fading-in a wide shot of one of the alleys formed between two shelves storing reels. "This is how our investigation begins: in the network's basement," states the reporter's VO while the footage depicts a close-up of an unknown hand un-shelving a reel and, then, presents actual footage of the film. The correspondent's VO points out the technological changes that carried out practical challenges in producing the investigation: "It was precisely in 1979 when film was replaced by videotapes and the network coverage of the Anfruns case was available in both formats," explains the reporter's VO while an extreme close up frames the tapes' labels, showing the case's name and the record date typed on them. By punctuating the reels, the videotapes, and the labels in TVN's archives, the report introduces the archival footage of witnesses and places where the events unfolded.

Thus, archives have played three main roles in visual narratives of investigative journalism during a post-authoritarian moment: first, depictions of archives' volume and weight have served to emphasize the historical relevance and the facticity carried out by the reports. In that sense, archives play an evidential role. Second, archives are also crucial in representing the rationale behind a report. Indeed, when marking the step-by-step process of producing a story,

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[189] The power of the carousel slide projector in depicting nostalgia and deploying cultural marks on social changes has been addressed by the role the carousel played in Mad Men's episode "The Wheel" (season one, episode 13). As the main male character, Don Draper, pitches the artifact to his client, Kodak, "It's called a carousel. It lets us travel the way a child travels, around and around and back home again to a place where we know we are loved" … "A deeper bond with the product. Nostalgia. It's delicate, but potent."
[190] The carousel slide projector's sound was also part of the visual repertoire to visually collapse time and space in "Carrizal" (*IE*, 2006).

the visual depictions of archives contribute to partially unveil each report's, show's, and reporter's methods. Finally, as a key component of visual narratives in Chilean muckraking, archives contribute to better represent and understand the increasing blurring boundaries between private and public spheres when setting in motion official documents, family photos and films, or historical footage.

Archives as part of the repertoire of facticity embraced by these reports have a slightly dissimilar development over the time under study. Indeed, the use and relevance of archives in *Contacto*'s and *Informe Especial*'s reports was contemporary to larger trends that favored a relatively more extensive collection, restoration, and availability of some media archives. Indeed, the Bicentennial of Chilean Independence in 2010 and the increasing interest in cultivating cultural heritage; the strengthening of the Chilean visual public institutions that allocated funds to restore, catalog, and digitize archives, and the fields of history and aesthetics that started to acknowledge media archives as legitimate, historical, sources (Fuenzalida et al., 2009) are crucial trends that contribute to better understand the increasing visual relevance of archives in Chilean television muckraking.

The role data and archives have as key components in investigative stories in a post-authoritarian period also contributes to grasp broader processes about memory and restoration, management, and access to archives that gained track during the 1990s and especially during the 2000s. The lawmaking process and the administrative adjustments the 2009's Access of Information Law required also triggered public debate, professional and scholarly work on the topic, and more public awareness about the relevance of archiving, data, and public access to it. It also brought together professionals trained in very unlikely fields, such as journalists, scientists, public officers, and activists, and not only librarians.

The growing weight of archives and their visual treatment in *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* also responded to the professional interest of the programs' correspondents and researchers in improving their visual storytelling skills. Such interest found its way both individually and collectively. In the first case, several editors, journalists, producers, or researchers joined domestic or international graduate or professional programs in screenplay writing and documentary filmmaking. In the latter, the teams more or less systematically screened local and foreign documentaries or television investigative stories and invited well-

known Spanish and US television journalists and screenwriters to Chile to train the crew.[191] Finally, some of the interviewees also acknowledge the influence of CIPER on the field by its intensive use of FOIA in reporting[192] since its launching as an online investigative site in 2007.

Framing public issues: The muckraking gaze

Representation of data and archival evidence has been crucial in producing investigative stories in Chilean television since the 1990s. Both elements have contributed to building up a repertoire of facticity carried out by broadcasting muckraking. This section complicates this repertoire by carefully looking at the narrative and storytelling strategies and ingredients fueling investigative journalism beyond pure facticity and rationality. Indeed, investigative journalism has been conceptualized as a genre of reporting that heavily relies upon facts, aims to produce and provide high-quality information to citizens so better-informed people can thoroughly engage in public affairs, which strengthens democracies. Nonetheless, languages fostering emotions, such as the visual one, not only spreads facts (how many citizens have been affected by corporate fraud or who is responsible for diverting public funding to top personal banking accounts, for instance), but deploys a full array of images and sound, triggering outrage, nostalgia, or pity. Thanks to post-production tools, footage can be mixed, repeated, framed, or accelerated, and visual narratives weigh as much as the script or the data in it.

Therefore, this section aims to explore what I call the muckraking gaze. That is, the particular way watchdog journalism in television has framed current affairs. This section inquires into the point(s) of view of investigative journalism produced by Chilean television in a post-authoritarian period, how television shows have curated a specific way of framing and seeing public affairs, and the visual repertoire to produce such perspectives and frames. The pieces that build up such perspective(s) include the camera, its frames, the speed of the visual storytelling, and some post-production techniques, as well as whether and how this(these) perspective(s) has(have) changed over time.

To explore the ways and tools that have contributed to shaping the muckraking gaze, the analysis concentrates on human rights stories broadcasted by both programs. Human rights

[191] Interviewees E7, E12, E13, E18, and E21.
[192] Interviewees E11 and E21.

stories were chosen because there are several stories on the topic during the time, and they were produced by both shows; there are differences regarding the weight and narratives deployed by both shows, and because stories about human rights face the visual challenge of representing the unspeakable.

62 domestic stories (out of 948, 6.5% of the whole domestic agenda combining stories broadcasted by the two shows) address human rights issues, but it has been much more important on *Informe Especial*'s agenda than on *Contacto*'s. Regarding the sample of investigative reports carefully analyzed in this chapter, 25 stories (out of 93, almost 27% of the whole sample) are about human rights and again, they are key in *Informe Especial*'s agenda, but not so much in *Contacto*'s. Nonetheless, investigative stories about human rights have been steadily present in both shows and during the entire period under study. Finally, in the aftermath of a civic-military dictatorship, "human rights" has had a high profile, involving different players, shaping agendas, and influencing legal reforms and public policies. The determined action of victims and human rights organizations in pursuing justice in criminal courts have also fueled the Chilean public sphere.

Therefore, by following several stories about human rights,[193] this section inquires into the camera, its frames, and the speed of the visual storytelling, and by doing so, how this perspective has shaped the way by which Chileans have grappled with a visual story of political violence, human rights violations, and authoritarianism.

Human rights had a different weight and frame for *Informe Especial*'s and *Contacto*'s agendas. Indeed, most of the stories on the topic included in this research's sample were broadcasted by *Informe Especial* (21 out of 25) and the show framed this theme under the principles of truth, compensation, and justice. Its efforts on covering this topic start very early in the 1990s and were consistent with the broader programming that public television fostered after the dictatorship.[194] The editorial frame of portraying the state's brutality triggered criticism from

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[193] "El exilio" (1990), "La Tortura" (1991), "Abuso de autoridad" (1995), "Policía y Derechos Humanos" (2001), "Detenidos Desaparecidos del Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez" (2003), "Golpe al corazón del Frente" (2008), "El cuartel del horror" (2008), all of them produced by *Informe Especial*, and "Operación Albania: El gran montaje" (2003), broadcasted by *Contacto*.

[194] Simultaneously in its efforts of addressing the social, political, and cultural human consequences of dictatorship in its news production, in particular in *Informe Especial*, TVN also depicted authoritarianism, human rights violations, and democracy in their drama productions very early in the 1990s. The first attempt was the telenovela *Volver a empezar* (1991) that explicitly addressed the experiences of Chileans returning to the country after their

the far-right and dictatorship's supporters that manipulated the program's name, calling it *Infamia Especial* (special infamy) instead of *Informe Especial* (special report) and some of its correspondents received threatening phone calls. Nonetheless, "for us, uncovering those topics was extremely important," said the founder and veteran *IE* correspondent, Santiago Pavlovic ("30 años de Informe Especial," 2013). A former *IE* reporter states that "they [*IE*'s crew] believed they were indebted" to the Chilean public and as a public television program, they felt they must honor victims' memory[195]. The urgency was more than understandable considering the role television played during the dictatorship, serving as the dictatorship's mouthpiece, ignoring atrocities, and contributing to the official propaganda (Antezana, 2015a; Fuenzalida, 1989; Lira, 1987).

News coverage on human rights violations and the dictatorship has been stable since the 1990s. During the 40th anniversary of the military coup in 2013, TVN aired more news shows on the topic than all Chilean networks together (Antezana, 2015b). Indeed, Pavlovic pointed out that other Chilean networks took longer to adopt a similar path. He was right: although *Contacto* aired stories about political violence in the early 1990s,[196] they depicted only high-profile victims, the stories were framed as criminal and legal cases, and deployed an informative journalistic performance rather than a watchdog one. Even more, *Contacto*'s depictions on human rights violations emphasized a human frame focused on individual mourning, obliterating systemic repression, and fostering a Catholic approach of forgiveness.[197]

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exiles and trying to repair social relationships broken by the dictatorship. The story commercially failed (barely reached 15 points of rating) but the topics were later successfully developed by other *telenovelas* more metaphorically through authoritarian characters, revenge plotlines, social healing frames, and depictions of marginalized groups and the discrimination they faced (Fuenzalida et al., 2009; Santa Cruz, 2003). In 2013, due to the 40th anniversary of the military coup, TVN also produced and aired drama television series based on true events of the period (Antezana, 2015b).

[195] Interviewee E1.

[196] *Contacto*'s episode aired on July 8, 1992, about Michael Townley, a US citizen that worked as an agent for the Chilean secret police during the 1970s, is missing from both Canal 13's media archive and Universidad Católica's library. Only its metadata is available in the network's archive, and I rely on that description. A report about the so-called Berríos Case, aired on June 23, 1993, and it addresses the kidnapping and killing of a former Chilean secret police agent that was committed by his own army comrades in order to silence him, and "A bomb in a suitcase" (*La bomba en un maletín*), aired on December 8, 1993, is about an attack against a prominent Chilean politician living in exile in Italy, an attack orchestrated by the dictatorship's secret police. These are the scarce reports on political-based crimes committed under the civic-military dictatorship produced by *Contacto* in the early 1990s.

[197] "Camino al encuentro," *Contacto*, November 8, 1998. This title, which contains Catholic connotations, roughly translates to "The Way to the Encounter." The final remarks are delivered by Monsignor Francisco Javier Errázuriz, by then Santiago's Archbishop.

On the contrary, in the early 1990s, *IE*'s stories about human rights violations by the civic-military dictatorship tend to deploy shots denoting proximity and promoting empathy toward the interviewees and plots emphasizing personal experiences and first-hand witnesses[198]. The camera is tempered and simple to emphasize the importance of the witnesses' statements. Then, survivors and victims' relatives for the time gained symbolic representation of their mourning and pain on prime television. For instance, *IE*'s story about torture in 1991 depicts seven women victims of political prison and torture, topics that were largely taboo. Indeed, these issues had been systematically denied by the civic-military dictatorship and its officials as well as by the press supporting the regime. Moreover, torture had been also silenced by the victims having a hard time putting themselves together after such traumatic experiences.

The camera of the story about torture follows these women running errands in their neighborhoods, walking into their houses, preparing tea in their kitchens, while the reporter's VO provides facts about each woman's identity, the circumstances under which each one was detained, and the illegal centers where they were kept captive by the dictatorship's secret police. Then, the camera frames each woman through a close-up or an extreme close-up, for several minutes, silent, no music or any sound other than women's voices, sighs, and tears. We heard the reporter's voice out of the frame. Each shot is rather dark. The camera sustains its close-up or its extreme close-up even when these women have a hard time continuing to talk and try to escape from the camera's view; they look for something in their pockets or in their purses in order to cool down the anguish, the distress, the feeling of carefully exposing their inner pains. The camera stays with them as long as we need to see them, closely. There is no choice other than to empathize with them. The camera takes the audience into an empty house[199] and the footage scrutinizing every room while we hear one of the female VO providing details of her detention and torture in the exact same location the camera is in.

Reports about police brutality aired in 1995 and 2001,[200] and they represent a visual transition from that traditional narrative to another rather influenced by drama features

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[198] See, for instance, "Detenidos Desaparecidos" (1990), "El exilio" (1990), "La Tortura" (1991).
[199] A building that operates as a secret prison.
[200] "Abuso de autoridad" (1995), "Policía y Derechos Humanos" (2001), both produced by the same correspondent, Mirna Schindler. Also, her report about guerrillas kidnapped, tortured, and disappeared by the dictatorship sharps this path: "Detenidos Desaparecidos del Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez" (2003), all of them produced by *IE*.

emphasizing personalization and emotions. In fact, the narratives became increasingly more frantic, accelerated, accompanied by rock music, close-ups and extreme close-ups, the camera following the victims, and drama features, such as representations.

For instance, in 2008, *IE* unveiled details about the life and death of Cecilia Magni[201], or Commander *Tamara*, a guerrilla that in the 1980s joined, first, the Chilean Communist Party and, later, its army, the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, FMPR) and participated in several armed actions against the dictatorship, including the attempt of magnicide against Pinochet in 1986. The report includes Magni's mother's and sisters' testimonies speaking publicly for the first time about their memories on *Tamara*'s life in a wealthy family, the circumstances in which she was captured, tortured, and killed, and the long legal process attempting to expose the policemen responsible for her death. The report includes family photographs, personal letters, archival footage, and on-site reporting, as well as her comrades' testimonies. The story also uses dramatization to represent the circumstances that ended up with *Tamara* and her partner, commander *Rodrigo* (Raul Pellegrin, also known as *José Miguel*) being chased and killed under torture by the Chilean police.

In that path, the camera in *Golpe al corazón del Frente* is quiet, intimate, and empathic, emphasizing the personalization of the story as a dramatic resource of its storytelling, especially when depicting Cecilia's family life. Under that umbrella, the shots are rather traditional: Magni's mother and sisters are interviewed in the family home, a large, wealthy, estate. Mid-shots, close-ups, and extreme close-ups framed the visual relationship with the family. The victim's intimate story is represented by family photos and personal letters, by her mother's and sisters' testimonies, and a camera sneaking into the bedrooms where the family keeps their most precious treasures, such as boxes filled with family memories.

On the contrary, Magni's public life is framed under frantic shots, denotating the stress of a persecution. Her political action was also geographically located: Los Queñes, a rural village about 215 kilometers south of the capital. Indeed, astonishing aerial and ground shots portray the country side surrounding the village, the rivers, and the forest in the mountains where the guerrilla hid back then. By doing so, the landscape turned into a scenario where the tragedy unfolded. On October 21st, 1988, after the guerrilla commanded by *Tamara* and *Rodrigo* attacked

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[201] "Golpe al corazón del Frente", *Informe Especial*, July 7, 2008.

a police station in Los Queñes to take police's armament and a policeman that resisted rebels' action ended up dead, secret police agents sent from Santiago headquarters deployed a manhunt in the village's surroundings, captured and tortured *Tamara* and *Rodrigo* to death, and threw their bodies in the river. The regime's propaganda disguised the illegal executions as accidental drownings.

The story recreates the guerrilla walking out of the woods into the village at night, and later running back into the woods, with zoom-ins on a woman. The camera frames the group's back, follows the escape, and takes the audience into the rush. The dramatic representation of the events intertwines with a wide repertoire of facticity, such as archival footage, newspapers' headlines and front pages, interviews, and on-site reporting, which articulate the non-fiction nature of the story told. The audience time-travels through editing resources, such as contact sheets, visually denotating the time passing.

Figures #6 and #7: Contact sheets, "Golpe al corazón del Frente", *Informe Especial*, July 7, 2008. Screenshots from the report.

As in the case of *Tamara* and *Rodrigo*, captured and tortured to death, the regime and the press dismissed any accusation of state brutality as accidents or as casualties due to crossfires between the police and rebels. The propaganda was even worse in cases in which guerrilla members assassinated by the regime were involved. As the so-called *Operación Albania* case demonstrates, there were not such confrontations, but plain kidnappings and illegal executions conducted by secret police agents. Indeed, 12 high leaders of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front were kidnapped and killed in cold blood between June 15 and 16 in 1987.

Following the criminal investigation's findings, *Contacto* portrays one by one the wrongdoings committed by the dictatorship's forces and visually illustrates the personal lives of

individuals that joined the armed resistance against the regime, the long-process of mourning among their relatives, and the pursuit of justice by human rights lawyers. The report's camera takes the audience to the same venues where the events took place, accompanied by survivors and witnesses. Therefore, anyone watching the report could wear the victims' and witnesses' shoes. The tone is set by the introduction that includes a mourning type of music, black and white portraits of women and men framed by mid-shots or close-ups, archival footage in slow motion, newspapers' headlines, suspenseful music, and zoom-ins of court documents, reinforced by the reporter's VO:

> *Some of them* [the victims] *were caught on the street. Others, in their security houses, and most of them were kidnapped and executed. It was told that Rodriguistas fell in combat. Fake witnesses' names were spread. Little by little, the set-up has been unveiled and what actually happened in one of the harshest episodes of the 1980s [has been revealed].*[202]

The reporter's VO points out that they are about to air for the first time, details contained in the criminal investigation, including witnesses that have not talked publicly before. The screen fades into full black and the report's title appears in white, capital letters, resulting in a great visual impact. This slide accompanied by short, dramatic music is repeated throughout the report as subheadings indicating each one of the places (streets or addresses) where leftists were kidnapped and/or killed. Indeed, in addition to the extensive archival work and the richness of the sources included, one of the visual strategies mobilized by this report is taking the survivors and witnesses to the places where the events occurred and, in some cases, overlapping the sites' footage where they stand up remembering the events they witnessed with archival footage of the same street, house, or building.

For example, one of the victims was killed a few meters from his mother's house. Full and mid shots frame the woman standing up and pointing out the very spot where her son was killed and then, the frame fades out in archival footage. The next kidnapping of a leftist occurred that night is remembered and recreated with one of the witnesses, a neighbor of his. A mid shot of her in the middle of an intersection of two streets in a residential neighborhood overlaps with

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[202] "Operación Albania: El Gran Montaje", *Contacto*, June 17, 2003

the archival footage of the police operative in the afterwards of the execution in the 1980s. She points out the very spot in which the shot dead man lied in the street, narrates the massive presence of policemen afterwards, and how she wanted to collaborate with her testimony but, instead, she was unfairly detained. The third site was a *Rodriguista*'s security house. By that time, there were several militants living underground and a young woman with her toddler were the façade of the hideout. The television team takes two survivors to the house and depicts how their daily life worked, who else was hidden in there, what happened the night the agents spotted the place, and how they survived. Accompanied by the former *frentistas*, the reporter ran into the neighbors and asked their memories of that night's raids. It is important to note that the report on the so-called *Operación Albania* occurred on the same network and the same show that in 1998 portrayed human rights violations under a very conservative frame encouraging forgiveness and forgetting instead of justice and compensation.

In 2010, *IE* broadcasted an explosive story exposing an influential Catholic priest of having sexually and psychologically abused of several young men in one of the wealthiest parishes in Santiago, *El Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, in El Bosque neighborhood. Indeed, five adult men that joined the parish at different points in the 1980s and 1990s incriminated Father Fernando Karadima, the parish priest and the spiritual guide of many Chilean upper-class families. Karadima had also been key in encouraging priestly vocations. Moreover, bishops across the country were trained under Karadima's mentoring. Unlike several reports on pedophilia and child molesters relying upon the intensive use of hidden cameras, as the next section will detail, the camera on Karadima's exposé recovered the slow pace of stories about torture and human rights violations broadcasted by *IE* in the early 1990s: a rather traditional shooting, including extreme close-ups and zoom-ins to the victims and witnesses, shots in slow or normal motion, a camera that stays with the victims telling their stories of several years of being abused. The main sound the audience hears comes from their voices, their tears, their emotions when sharing their deepest pains. Although the report on the Karadima abuses slightly distances itself from the corpus reporting on human rights violations, its pace, frame, and victims' place in the storytelling site echoes corpus and tradition, though.

In sum, by analyzing a handful of stories addressing human rights violations broadcasted since the 1990s, this section sheds light on the visual repertoire of storytelling deployed by

investigative journalism in Chilean television. In particular, there are differences in the relevance these topics had in both shows' agendas, the ways in which they visually and editorially framed the topics, and the set of techniques the shows mobilized, such as traditional footage and shots, victims at the core of the stories, an increasing personalization by visually blurring the boundaries between public and private spheres, and the progressive acceleration of storytelling's editing styles, contemporary to the influence of videoclips.

Hidden cameras, muckraking, and surveillance

Since the 1980s, hidden cameras started to become a familiar visual technique and practice in Chilean communications. Indeed, television programs import or produced segments videotaping pranks for entertainment purposes[203] and public video recording also became a standard when wiring big cities for surveillance purposes. Indeed, the Santiago municipality installed the first CCTV for public security purposes in 1994 and, later, several other municipalities along the country followed the same path. The security business skyrocketed (Guzmán & Ramos, 2000), opening the market for all sort of technological devices such as tiny cameras and microphones that are easy to hide.

Meanwhile, the repertoire of broadcasting muckraking steadily incorporated tiny electronic devices to capture sound and images, including hidden cameras, videotaping from inside a car, and also relying on surveillance cameras spread across the city. The deployment of these tools and their uses can be traced back to the mid-1990s in both programs. In fact, their crews were aware of the intersection between public and private surveillance and its applications in investigative reporting. One report on deceiving practices on food labeling exposed in the early 2000s by *Informe Especial* explicitly pointed out these interplays:

> *Have you ever had doubts about the quality of your food?... We turned that doubt into a journalistic investigation that lasted almost six months. You know that surveillance systems and hidden cameras follow customers while they walk through supermarkets'*

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[203] *Sábados Gigantes*, aired by Canal 13 network for more than 50 years, was the show that probably first imported and adapted the genre in Chile in its segment "La Cámara indiscreta". In the early 1990s, TVN aired "Luz, cámara y usted," an entertainment program showing funny hidden cameras produced both abroad and in Chile, and in 2002, "La Gran Sorpresa," in TVN, obtained also some popularity.

alleys. They monitor and detect thieves. The purpose of these surveillance systems and hidden cameras is to keep an eye on buyers' good behavior. We wanted to check if there is reciprocity and if the retailers are always, absolutely, fair [zoom out to the host]. *For weeks, our tiny cameras entered into more than 30 stores of the most important and powerful supermarket chains in the country. We verified reprehensible practices not favoring consumers. Journalist Paulina de Allende-Salazar and a crew of cameramen investigated the labeling of meats, cheeses, and other food products. They identified wrongdoings and they showed them to supermarket supervisors. So, for the first time on Chilean television, a deep exploration to see whether many fresh products are as fresh and safe as we, the consumers, believe*[204]

Since the 1990s, relying on surveillance cameras for reporting, hiding recording devices, and videotaping interviewees without their consent or without notifying them, became increasingly relevant in broadcasting journalism narratives. Thus, in addition to the previously mentioned, "El pecado de la carne," I analyze reports[205] that have embraced these practices and technologies in their repertoire of investigative journalism. In particular, they have contributed to the muckraking gaze under three narratives: A plotline addressing a citizen's/consumer's rights' perspective, another one stressing the position of "wearing someone else's shoes," and finally, by personalizing public issues. This repertoire has contributed to cultivate a voyeur approach to public issues, voyeurism contemporary to the entertainment programming and the growth of reality TV since the early 2000s. So, the use and relevance of surveillance cameras, hidden videotaping and recording, and wearing tiny recording machines contribute to better understand the way television has cultivated a certain voyeur muckraking gaze, and how it has been shaped throughout the time frame under study.

Under that umbrella, deceiving methods, such as camouflaged videotaping and recording, stalking *exposés*' targets, and pretending to be anyone else other than a reporter have shaped the

[204] Santiago Pavlovic, *Informe Especial*'s host, "El pecado de la carne," September 30, 2004.
[205] "La Pedofilia" (1997), "El nido neonazi" (2005), and "Lupa a la Cámara de Diputados" (2009), by *IE*; "Prostitución Infantil" (1998), "Quesos millonarios" (2006), "El gran engaño" (2007), "Los Angeles del Charlie" (2009), by *Contacto*.

narratives about, for instance, pedophiles.[206] Indeed, a voyeur perspective reinforces (and is reinforced by) a topic that is by nature illegal and develops underground. Both *IE* and especially *Contacto* have incorporated child abuse in their agendas[207]. Indeed, in November 1997, *IE* broadcasted *Pedofilia*, a report including several open sources and interviewees, but also dramatic representations of abuses, illustrating victims' testimonies. The story also includes footage of the reporter talking to two young men inside a car, at night, videotaping them without their consent. The footage comes from hidden, tiny cameras, mostly obtained at night, and the shots depict rather odd angles, all features that emphasize the underground and illegal nature of a pedophile. By visually framing topics about vulnerable children, especially sexual abuse, surveillance and hidden cameras emphasize the invisibility of human beings that are already socially and publicly invisible. Later, more reports would enhance this frame.

When looking at the reports' titles and basic description, *Contacto*'s agenda often addressed problems affecting children and teenagers, such as reformatories, homeless and abused minors, child labor, children of divorced parents, and medical conditions affecting minors, such as autism or attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder. Then, children and teenagers that were sexually exploited was part of the pool of topics involving minors in *Contacto*'s agenda, in particular in the 1990s. In 1998, the program broadcasted a 30-minute story about boys and girls who were sexually abused, mainly on downtown Santiago. To do so, the show heavily relied on surveillance cameras.

One particular plot depicts what the reporter's VO alleges is a male teenager having sex with an adult man in a public park in downtown Santiago. However, it is an extreme wide shot captured through a surveillance camera; so, the reporter's VO must make sense of what the audience is watching. The report has plenty of shots like that, all of them captured through the surveillance system spread across the downtown. The crew also videotaped from inside a moving car, at night, mid shots of unidentified boys and girls offering small services on the streets (polishing shoes, helping to parking cars, or selling flowers in touristic neighborhoods). The

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[206] It is interesting to note that both shows, but especially *Contacto*, regularly produced stories about children and youth at the same time that *telenovelas* increasingly represented youth and included young protagonists with more and more agency since the 1990s, in particular in Canal 13's productions ("Ámame," TVN, 1993; Canal 13 produced "Amor a Domicilio," 1995; "Adrenalina," 1996; "Cerro Alegre," 1999; "Playa Salvaje," 1997, and "Marparaíso," 1999).
[207] "Pedofilia", *Informe Especial*, 1997, and "Chile, paraíso de pedófilos", *Contacto*, 2002.

reporter's VO, however, points out that those children tend to accept sexual advances from adults in exchange for money or goods.

Figure #8: Footage from video surveillance on downtown Santiago, "Sexual abuse", *Contacto*, 1998. Screenshot from the report.

Although the shots captured by the city's surveillance camera system and the network crew's camera at night do not provide high quality footage, they attempt to reinforce what official sources state about how pervasive prostitution could be among homeless children. In both previously mentioned examples, uncovering infantile sexual exploitation, the plots relying upon the hidden cameras' captions overrun the rest of the sources and, in the end, critically shape the reports' tone and what the viewers watch. Nonetheless, by the early 2000s, the footage quality would have slightly improved and the topic of the sexual abuse of children and teenagers would still be relevant for television muckraking, especially in *Contacto*'s agenda. Deceiving methods haven been crucial to develop that pool of topics.

Indeed, "Chile, paraíso de pedófilos" (*Contacto*, 2002) is mentioned as one of the peaks of investigative reporting in Chilean television during that period[208]. The reporter's VO and the footage opening the report set the tone of the narrative: "It's midnight in Isla Negra [a beach]," says the reporter's VO. "We have come here following a man who drove his van from Santiago. We are certain that he brought two children, and we are certain that they are not his. The man is dangerous: he is a pedophile... he is believed to have abused at least ten children. In the world of pedophiles, his nickname is Zacarach. We have spent months investigating his steps and videotaping his movements in public places, but we had never seen him in such a suspicious

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[208] Interviewees E13, E18, E21, and E23.

position until now: Alone with children, locked in this cabin on the beach. Our camera tries to capture what may be going on behind those windows," while the camera sneaks up to the windows from outside the cabin.

The reporter's VO is informative, but not the footage. Overall, the images are messy, of poor quality, at night, and several of them are constantly moving probably because they were captured through a handy-cam. The perspective is built upon low angle shots and oblique angles, emphasizing the oddity and abnormality of the whole story exposed.

The report implied seven months of investigation that began when the Chilean police arrested and accused a US citizen of producing child pornography. Among the evidence found, the man kept photographs of Chilean children that he shared on global online communities of pedophiles. Following that lead, we see the reporter immersing herself in online communities of child molesters [mid shot of the reporter in front of a desktop computer, a close-up of a browser, typing in a Yahoo! Group, highlighted text, and another scene where the camera videotaped from the office's window the reporter on the computer terminal, excerpts of messages shared in the online community the reporter infiltrated, zoom-ins to the chat room, highlighted by suspenseful music]. These online communities not only shared their experiences, but child pornography material [blurred photos from the internet]. In fact, the television crew found a Chilean-based network, *Paidós*, and located five of its members [footage of five folders, with five names, on the computer screen], followed them [close-up of the reporter videotaping from inside the van, in a public space hidden behind a fence, footage from a certain distance from the guy the crew is following], and produced evidence of the men's involvement in the alleged events ["this is the first day chasing him with a hidden camera"]. For instance, one of them, a.k.a. Zakarach, was a school bus driver. The report also exposed how the police have previously failed to act.

The police ended up capturing the people exposed the same day the report was aired in what was described as the largest network of Chilean pedophiles dismantled ever[209]. Although the report relies upon several open sources, such as private lawyers specialized in child abuse, victims' parents, NGOs working on children rights, and lawmakers, the main plot articulating the story is the television crew pursuing and videotaping Zacarach and the other four members of the *Paidós* network of child molesters. Indeed, they were lured in chat rooms, videotaped during

[209] A few years later, the men were found guilty and went to jail.

their daily life activities, and they were finally publicly exposed on prime time as well as denounced to the police. The episode gained a lot of public attention, media coverage, and contributed to raise awareness about the lack of regulation to criminally prosecute pedophiles.

Figures #9 and #10: Hidden cameras, "Chile: Paraíso de pedófilos", *Contacto*, July 2, 2002.
Screenshots from the report

Undercover practices and techniques have also been heavily used when adopting the citizen/consumer rights' viewpoint, wearing someone else's shoes (turning into a small investor or a donor, for instance), and encouraging the personalization of stories to approach larger and structural phenomena. Indeed, the shows have spotted public officials neglecting their duties, as was the case of an *IE* exposé about national deputies and their reluctance to do their work[210], one of the reports that more powerfully embraced the citizen perspective. By then, the freedom of information act was brand new, and there were few legal obligations that lawmakers had to comply with regarding transparency and accountability. *Informe Especial* explicitly stressed the new legislation and supported its project by representing the public's interest. Indeed, as *IE*'s host points out when presenting the report:

> *Public institutions are required by the transparency law*[211] *to provide information to whoever requests it… The Chamber of Deputies is not the exception. Lawmakers are also under the citizens' spotlight because what happens in the chamber is open access. This is*

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[210] *Lupa a la cámara de diputados*, 2009. That same year, *Contacto* produced a story that also checked up on the deputies' work, which also included the committees. However, due to external pressures both from the chamber of deputies as well from the Catholic Church, that by then still owned the network, the report was never broadcasted (Saleh, 2009).

[211] Like the US Freedom of Information Act, FOIA.

why we wear the voters' shoes to see how the representatives work. For eight months we observed what happened in the chamber, in the representatives' districts, within the congressional committees, and we analyzed in detail what the chamber publicly reports"

Nonetheless, visually representing a rather boring pile of reports indicating lawmakers' attendance, their speeches, and their participation in key lawmaking processes implies a challenge. So, the *IE* crew carefully watches over the detailed movements of the deputies by locating one of their cameras right outside the Congress parking entrance, videotaping the lawmakers driving in and out the location where they should be working. The narratives' punctuations include mid shots, close-ups, and extreme close-ups, as well as zoom-ins and zoom-outs, evoking the sense of surveilling the representatives, making them accountable. Under that umbrella, the report documents several lawmakers entering the parliament, electronically marking their attendance, and leaving the building right away. The zoom-ins clearly identify the deputies' faces and their vehicles' plates. Therefore, eight months of reporting and a stack of documents obtained through the access to information law took life and a list of faceless names and written dates turned into flesh-and-blood people neglecting their official duties.

Framing journalists as impersonating someone else's interests was also massively developed when representing the weakest part in an unbalanced relationship of power, normally mediated by commercial or capitalist exchange (pretending to be someone affected by a pyramid fraud, a potential beneficiary of non-profit legal services or health care, or a small donor). Since the mid-1990s, frauds cheating public trust were unveiled by broadcasting muckraking with high impact. Some of the cases analyzed gained wide media attention and public outrage, as well as triggered criminal investigations that ended up with people convicted. Scams exposed by the programs included nonprofit organizations receiving donations that they never actually spent in funding the programs they promoted,[212] businesses branded as miraculous,[213] or corporations deceiving consumers.[214]

One of the stories produced by *Contacto* that deploys several undercover techniques synthetized the consumer perspective. In 2007, the show demonstrated that a philanthropic

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[212] *El gran engaño*, 2007, and *Lucrando con el dolor*, 2008, both produced by *Contacto*.
[213] *Quesos millonarios*, 2006, and *Jeneusse, el negocio de la juventud*, 2014, by *Contacto*.
[214] *El pecado de la carne*, 2004, and *La pesadilla de la casa propia*, 2008, by *IE*.

foundation (*Corporación del Niño Agredido*) was a façade hiding the illegal way by which the founder got rich instead of providing legal, medical, or social support to abused children, as the organization claimed[215]. The allegedly non-profit organization collected donations that never actually funded any of its promised services to abused children.

The report unfolds a repertoire combining traditional reporting and undercover techniques, including immersion journalism and the use of hidden recording devices. Unpacking such repertoire illustrates the making of the someone else's viewpoint on prime time, and how it has contributed to building up the muckraking gaze I am arguing in this chapter. Following an anonymous leak received by mail, the story demonstrated the fraud of a foundation that allegedly supported abused children. The reporters' team used a pool of methods in checking the original anonymous leak. While producing information and footage by traditional and opened journalistic practices, the team also deployed several covert tactics[216] to unfold the fraud and obtained visual evidence of it.

There are at least three deceiving methods triggering empathy by adopting someone else's point of view in this report. First, one of *Contacto*'s researcher pretended to be an applicant for a job position at the foundation, audiotaped her visit to the organization's offices, and she drew a sketch of the place afterwards to share with her colleagues. Second, pretending to be a potential beneficiary, a team member carrying a tiny camera asked for legal advice or medical attention, as it was promoted in the foundation brochures and website, confirming that those services were not provided by the foundation. Finally, the reporter's VO points out, "we've become donors in order to follow the check we gave to the foundation." Through a hidden camera, the audience is in the position of the person who is meeting the donations' collector. The footage is framed with blurred boundaries, accompanied by suspenseful music. A hidden camera placed in the neighborhood follows people entering the house in slow motion and includes suspenseful music, while the reporter's VO explains that "A significant amount of the money is

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[215] "El Gran Engaño", *Contacto*, 2007.

[216] Part of the team disguised their journalistic interest in the foundation as they were covering non-profit organizations supporting endangered children and, in doing so, they gained open interviews with the president and staff members. The crew also mounted a surveillance spot in front of the foundation's main office from where they carefully and systematically followed the patterns of children visiting the house and the daily apparent staff's workload (or lack of it). *Contacto*'s journalists also included the voluntarily help of some donors that agreed to be videotaped while receiving phone calls from the foundation or meeting foundation staff members in public places, contributing to obtaining more information from the organization's modus operandi.

believed to have been given to a non-profit foundation, [but] it actually goes to a private company addressed to The Castle [the foundation's headquarters], with a couple of staff members with criminal records for fraud and around twenty fake physicians in its call center."

Figures #11 and #12: Hidden cameras and someone else's shoes position: "Lupa a la Cámara de Diputados", *Informe Especial*, June 3, 2009, and "Quesos millonarios", *Contacto*, July 25, 2006. Screenshots from the reports.

When visually depicting the step-by-step of becoming a collaborator/donator/victim, journalist immersion operates as a didactic tool to disentangle fraud that is intricate and challenging to explain and, at the same time, as a strategy, provokes "sameness" and empathy. Indeed, when walking into the foundation's offices and documenting the process of becoming a donor, the audience can wear the victims' shoes which also appeals to a large audience: the episode obtained more than 20 points of rating.[217] By watching in a first-camera hand, we feel empathy for their outrage and disappointment. What the scenes lose in HD, they gained in personalization and sympathy.

Then, investigative journalism in television has displayed a rich repertoire of revealing techniques, including hidden recording devices and immersive journalism, shaping a voyeur muckraking gaze and cultivating a "someone else's shoes" perspective, pretending to be a citizen, a consumer, a donor, or a small investor affected by a scam. These trends have contributed to blur boundaries between drama and news genres. In fact, the incorporation of

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[217] Other reports have displayed strategies and techniques such as the one developed by "El Gran Engaño." In 2006, *Contacto* exposed what was called the "magic cheese scam" ("Quesos millonarios"), a product that was meant to be used as one of the supplies for make-up products. The story portrays a pyramid scheme fraud lead by a French businesswoman, and a Chilean-based small company (Fermex) that affected at least 6,000 in Chile. "Frenchwoman behind Chile 'magic cheese' scam jailed for three years," *The Guardian*, July 7, 2015.

revealing techniques in reporting production must be understood in parallel to the broad trend of cultivating these techniques on television in general, including the successful launching of reality television in the late 1990s, and the increasing relevance of surveillance policies in crime-fighting. Therefore, advancing in the 1990s, entering into the 2000s, and living in the 2010s, relying on surveillance cameras for reporting, hidden recording devices, and videotaping interviewees without their consent became more relevant in broadcasting journalism narratives.

Dramatic journalism

Some of the most notable reports of the period, in both programs, progressively develop visual narratives relying on drama features, such as recreations, feature films clips, and drawings especially created for a story. As one former correspondent with vast experience in both *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* puts it, "it is as if you make a movie, but about a real event. I considered all the dramatic elements; so, the report had dramatic overtones and a basic outline [*escaleta*]. The *escaleta* allows you… to dramatically build the story to engage the audience."[218] Indeed, resources borrowed from the visual languages typical of drama to expand the possibilities of telling the unspeakable, such as torture or children abuse, and representing the past (Rancière, 2010, and Steiner, 1994, cited in Antezana, 2015).

In particular, I analyze two main features borrowed from drama storytelling and deployed in the investigative stories: recreating real events and artistically depicting them. Indeed, both reenacting and artistically depicting events are strategies that collapse time and space and, by doing so, allow to represent the past. Then, a dramatization, a drawing, or images produced through CGI, replaces a lack of archival footage and solve the representation of unbearable, unspeakable experiences, such as torture. But these drama features also set a wider range of rules to develop visual stories and stress the boundaries of features of movies and reportages. In fact, they also allow to sharpen stories with a high dose of action and tragedy[219]. Then, these visual

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[218] Interviewee E7.

[219] For instance, the report about the clandestine operation organized by the Chilean Communist Party to enter weapons in 1986 ("Carrizal," *IE*, 2006). Through a dramatic representation, the first scenes of the report depict secret police agents unveiling the operation and detaining the men involved in the undercover operation. The enactment includes actors, the actual place in which the events unfolded, suspenseful music, and visual filters coloring the images. The correspondent's VO describes the events in the present tense. As the story progresses, it repeats the drama features (filters, music, representation) of the different stages of the operation. The correspondent's VO actually cites the *telenovela* as a reference in his reportage, emphasizing the dramatic nature of

features coming from drama genres intertwined into news production contributes to expand the comprehension of the hybridization of genres in television (Fuenzalida et al., 2009).

Figure #13: Dramatization, "Carrizal, la historia", Informe Especial, June 28, 2006. Screenshot from the report.

The strategy of dramatically representing true events include a complete *mise-en-scene* reenacted by staff other than journalists, in scenarios that could be similar but not necessarily the same in which the true events unfolded and is videotaped and broadcasted as a part of an investigative piece. Witnesses' testimonies, court documents, or other types of sources are typically used to support facticity. The script punctuates the trustworthiness of a *mise-en-scene* that would otherwise be part of an entertainment program. In other words, dramatic representation of true events under the frame of a news television sets the conditions of reading under which viewers understand the story as true.[220] As Eco points out:

> things are as they are not by chance or nature but because someone has arranged them, created the *mise-en-scene*, for the purpose of the shot… the viewer… with a measure of critical awareness knows he has to watch out not only for how something is filmed but for how reality (manufactured or selected) has been *prepared*[221] in advance of the filming: *mise-en-scene* is already language, discourse… even the live broadcast presupposed choices, acts of manipulation (Eco, 1994: 103-104).

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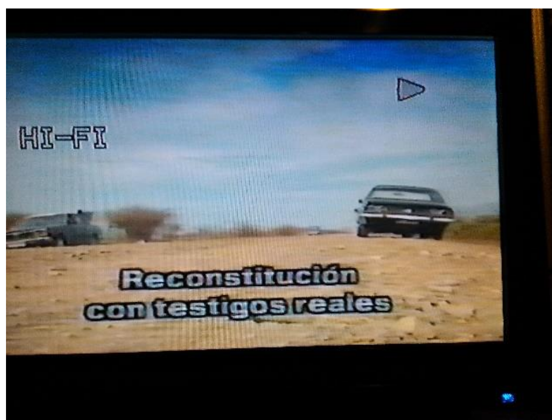
the events the report is unfolding: "Como en una teleserie, empieza la construcción de la leyenda," that is, "the legend begins, just like in a *telenovela*." "Marcha Mortal" (*IE*, July 20, 2005) depicts the events that ended with 44 young conscripts of the Chilean army and a sergeant dead in a training campaign in high-mountain. The plotline detailing how the events unraveled were dramatically represented by redoing the same path the victims followed the night they died.

[220] See, for instance, "Tortura en Chile," 1991; "Tucapel Jiménez," 1991; "Juan Alsina," 1994; "Pedofilia," 1998; "El caso Anfruns," 2004; "La muerte de Eduardo Frei," 2006; "El cuartel del horror," 2007; "Golpe al Corazón del Frente," 2008, and "Infierno en la Torre," 2011, all of them produced by *IE*.

[221] Italics in the original.

One of the reports including hybrid forms of dramatizing true events includes the show's crew taking the story's key players, such as witnesses or survivors, to the real place where the events the report is talking about unfolded, as it the case of the story on the murder of a high-profile union leader killed by secret police agents in 1982.[222] Indeed, *IE*'s report takes crime scene eyewitnesses to the actual places where the facts unfolded, reenacting what they saw and what they did the day the political leader was found shot dead, encouraging a first-person type of experience.

Indeed, in the reenactment, the audience is embedded in a first-hand point of view, just like the witnesses, by a mid-shot taken from the inside of a truck they drove when passing by the crime scene. That view depicts the rural route, two cars, and a few men around, figuring out how the crime scene looked back then. Then, another key scene is the reenacting of the witness who found the dead body inside the car. One mid-shot depicts the man from the inside of the cab, through the window from the driver's side, from the dead body's point of view, if that was possible. Although actual eyewitness accounts and citing official documents drive the facticity of the events reported, the cars and the victim, among other elements, are dramatic features and deployed the *mise-en-scene* to visually depict the crime scene and its timeline. The audience wears the witnesses' and victim's shoes.



Figures #14 and #15: Dramatization with real witnesses "Tucapel Jiménez", *Informe Especial*, November 7, 1991. Screenshots from the report.

[222] "Tucapel Jiménez," *Informe Especial*, 1991.

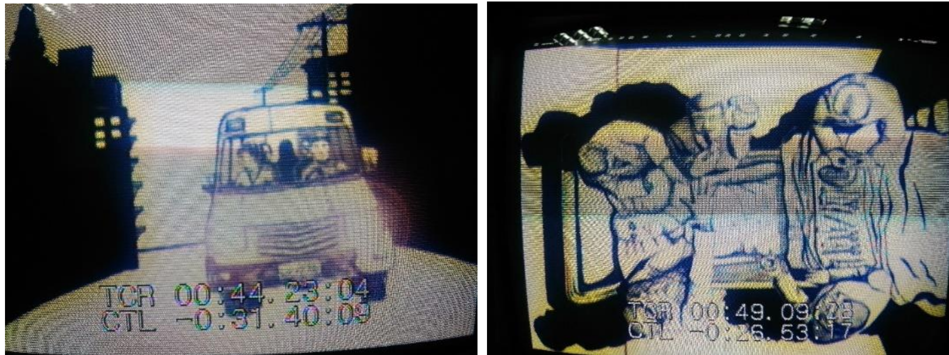
Probably one of the most outstanding examples of drama features included in broadcasting muckraking in Chile since the 1990s is the two-part series about the death of the former president, Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970) who by the early 1980s was the leader of the opposition to the civic-military dictatorship[223]. Frei Montalva was actually killed[224], and he did not pass away due to complications from a surgery in the Military Hospital in 1982 as it was first reported. Frei Montalva underwent a routine surgery but after being discharged, he suffered unusual infections and had to be operated on again. He never recovered from the second surgery and after several agonizing days, he died. The whole process was full of irregularities, including his medical team losing control over the procedures, secret police agents paying several visits to the hospital during those days, and an external medical team conducting an autopsy without the family's consent or knowledge.

Thus, when illustrating the timeline that ended in Frei's death, the report includes a series of black-and-white sketches and hand-drawings, specially made for the report in order to narrate the irregular autopsy. In the drawings, the former president lays down in his hospital bed surrounded by unidentified people, as the reporter's VO goes on explaining. A next drawing depicts an ambulance from the front with five unidentified people inside, driving through the night (the vehicle has its lights on). Then, the sketch frames the scene of the autopsy from above, depicting Frei laying down in his bed, his eyes closed, and five people around his bed, manipulating surgical instruments on a table. A later drawing depicts a nude torso and somebody's hands performing an incision from the breastbone down. Combined the sketches and the reporter's VO, we understand it is Frei's autopsy. When explaining that a judge ordered the exhumation of Frei's corpse to conduct lab tests looking for traces of poison or other clues of third parties responsible for his death, a drawing depicts the scene. Indeed, we see two people covering their mouths, one of them wearing gloves, a surgical mask, and a surgical cap opening up a coffin with a skeleton in it[225].

Representing past or unbearable events by setting up a whole scene including places, past times, and witnesses or somebody impersonating them are techniques that blur the boundaries of

[223] "La muerte de Frei Montalva," *Informe Especial*, 2006.
[224] As the criminal investigation concluded.
[225] See Appendix C.

what could be considered journalism and what not. Indeed, both shows have produced and broadcasted stories partially or totally including not only immersive journalism or hidden recording devices, but also the elaboration of a trap to catch hustlers.



Figures #16 and #17: Drawings, "La muerte de Frei Montalva", *Informe Especial*, August 30, 2006. Screenshots from the report.

Drama features in investigative journalism: Muckraking or reality TV

Investigative journalism techniques cultivated in Chilean television since the 1990s flow through a continuum in which one end represents those elements depicting facticity, such as data visualization and archives, and the other end includes practices and technologies borrowed from drama. The continuum is not a straightforward line or a progressive sequence denotating some sort of linear progress or development, but it is helpful for analytical purposes. Indeed, the continuum organizing investigative journalism techniques deployed since the 1990s on Chilean television is messier and resembles rather a maze with several paths, ways in and ways out. Then, as the analytical opposition to elements evoking facticity, such as data and archives, in this section I discuss features largely associated with reality television programming but included in television muckraking, too. Features that, following Eco, echo simulacrum, that is, stage "a repertoire of strategies and tactics typical of dramatizations but deployed in order to produce an effect of truth or realism" (Eco, 1994b).

I consider three cases displaying strategies that stress investigative journalism, and blur genres such as news, reality television, and entertainment. By analyzing three reports that have produced stories heavily relying upon techniques and features borrowed from reality television, these cases shed light on the extent these narrative strategies have been deployed in broadcasting investigative journalism and the centrality it has adopted in the whole narrative.

Almost at the end of its 10th season in 1994, *Informe Especial* broadcasted an hour-long episode about corruption in Chile. Combining traditional reporting and a whole set up for trapping cheaters, a very unusual practice in the news at that time, the story includes several cases illustrating structural wrongdoings committed by local authorities and national government officials, involving both public officers and independent professionals such as physicians. Indeed, a phenomenon often associated with using public resources and positions of power for obtaining private benefits is framed as a systemic problem. The report's thesis is that small-scale efforts to avoid legal or social responsibilities (such as not paying taxes or cheating on an exam at school) are symptoms of a larger and pervasive cultural acceptance of leveraging power that escalate to the highest public and private positions.

One of the key plotlines depicts the work of so-called "vultures," that is, funeral home workers, whose job is to surround hospitals, emergency rooms, and mortuaries to scavenge for new, potential, "clients" as a way of make a living. Their job is to identify the relatives of dying patients and sell them their funeral services. These "vultures" are delivering their services to people that are experiencing distressing circumstances and could be vulnerable to making irrational decisions. The plotline mentions a full array of services for which the "vultures" are the most visible but that also involve white-collar workers, such as physicians being paid for assistance they actually never performed and certificates they signed on demand. In order to trace the chain of practices and people involved in them to produce visual evidence, *Informe Especial*'s crew rented and furnished an empty office and turned it into a mortuary. "This is the only way to prove it," the *IE* reporter's VO says. Therefore, the network's staff wired the fake funeral home and set up a TV switch behind one of the office's walls. While the reporter's VO describes what they did, we can see the behind-the-scenes of mounting the set. One of the *IE*'s producers will play the role of a grieving daughter of an inexistent dead father. A "vulture" calls a physician he knows beforehand in order to get a death certificate without needing to follow all the legal procedures required in case of a sudden at-home death. Charging a fee, the M.D. signs the official document stating he examined the patient and identified the death causes but without actually doing the job. The dead man's relatives skip the mandatory procedures involved in a sudden death out of medical supervision, and the doctor gets paid for just doing the paperwork.

The hidden camera videotaped an unidentified M.D. walking in the fake funeral home, greeting the "vulture" and the fake daughter in mourning, asking what he can do to help, and what his fees are. The producer turned to the grieving daughter, who provides "details" of the circumstances of her father's death. On a zoom-in, an extreme close-up shot depicts the physician completing a form while the reporter's VO points out he is signing the death certificate. The next zoom-in and an extreme close-up frame the "vulture" taking and folding some bills from the desk drawer and paying the M.D., capturing in slow motion the consecration of the defrauding. Then, a full shot follows the unidentified physician walking out and taking his car with the blurred car's license plate into a very busy city avenue.

In 2006, twelve years after *IE* set up a funeral home to expose dishonest practices carried out by several players in the mortuary business, *Contacto*'s crew developed and sharpened a similar *mise-on-scene*. In this case, the program exposed several small- and mid-size firms cheating on their maintenance and repair services of house appliances. The report's title speaks for itself: "Servicios Técnicos: El reality del engaño" (Technical services: the *reality* of deception), explicitly appealing to the genre of *reality TV* inaugurated in Chile only three years before by the same network, Canal 13, with enormous success regarding the audience it attracted and the social and cultural impact it provoked (Barrientos & Lagos, 2010). When producing this episode, *Contacto*'s team leased a house, furnished it, and hid cameras and microphones in the entrance and inside the house, mainly in the kitchen and the laundry room's ceilings. The crew also set up a television switch in one of the house's rooms in which the reporters, producers, and a technical advisor (a certified engineer) followed the footage in-real time. The advisor cracked some appliances on purpose beforehand, provoking simple defects that would be easy to repair for any well-trained technician (disconnecting a light inside the refrigerator, taking off a small piece in the washing machine's door, or unplugging a wire inside the dishwasher, for example).

Meanwhile, the reporters consulted the national office of consumers' records and identified the shops most criticized by customers in providing repair and maintenance services. Once the house/studio was ready, one of the crew members, a woman pretending to be a housewife, called all the shops the team had identified beforehand, asking them to fix one of the appliances previously damaged by the TV crew's advisor. More than 20 companies offering these services responded to their calls. Then, the surveillance cameras hidden in the kitchen and

laundry room's ceiling documented several bad practices: technicians that could not figure out what was wrong, who ended up faking the repairs; technicians that actually realized what was malfunctioning but they made up another defect, more expensive to repair; technicians that did not provide the receipt for the services they charged as the tax law requires;[226] workers that replaced a broken piece with a used one but charged as if it were new brand; and companies denying any corporate responsibilities and blamed their technicians as the tricksters. The report also mentions the services and companies that performed as expected.

The episode's introduction not only points out the questions from the customers' point of view (*How well trained are these technicians for repairing our malfunctioning appliances? Are we fairly charged for their services? Are these services bait and switch?*), but it also highlighted journalism's power to go beyond their role of embodying a regular consumer. The following introduction excerpt from the episode not only *talks* about that power, but fully *displays* it:

> *How to know if they* [the technicians] *are not lying? For a regular consumer, it is impossible. Not for us* [mid-shot and close-up of the editing table and its operator]. *With the best technology available, in a regular home, we videotaped those men's maintenance services: Whether they identify the problem, if they repair it properly, if they actually change the pieces they charge for, or whether they dupe us with malfunctions that do not actually exist* [footage of a man on the television switch that shows a close-up of the editing table's screen in which we can see the footage he is editing]. *Our cameras and microphones recorded every single detail. Pay attention: What you are about to watch, you have never witnessed before in such detail. Our investigation is full of incredible surprises.*

The report explicitly shows the traces of the set-up of the house/studio. In specific, the report includes footage in fast motion showing network's technicians working on the ceiling, installing wires, and manipulating tools, evoking frantic activity. The setting-up footage also includes close-ups of small screens on the television switch labeled as *kitchen/laundry room*, identifying the house's wired rooms. For each appliance purposely damaged by the engineer, the

[226] The consequences of it is twofold: when not providing a receipt, the firm is avoiding paying taxes and the client does not have proof to ask for a refund in the case of receiving a poor done maintenance job.

footage shows and documents the process of provoking the malfunction. For every technician that visited the house to look at the refrigerator or the washing machine, the report includes the footage captured through hidden cameras and how it fades into the screen on the TV switch in the editing room.

All the shots captured by the hidden cameras in the kitchen's ceiling, carry a slightly high camera angle, a perspective framing the subject as vulnerable and powerless, which is accentuated by the shot speed and the music. The audience oversees the house/studio's main entrance from the point of view of somebody who is looking through the window on the second floor. Under that perspective, the viewer observes whoever is entering the property, listens to what they talk about to each other and to the housewife in the kitchen or the laundry room, and how they conduct themselves when working, away from any supervision. Indeed, one scene shows a man caught, first, rapidly discovering the problem in one of the appliances. Nevertheless, he left the malfunction as it was, made up a new problem when explaining it to the customer, and charged an expensive fee. The whole scene ridicules the man: the audience saw him in slow motion washing his hands and fixing his hair while Barry White's song *Never, never gonna give you up* plays in the background, depicting him as a hustler.

The technicians speak freely when they are out of the housewife's sight, without noticing they are being videotaped… Until one of the series of men working on kitchen appliances keeps his head up, looking around: "Where is the camera?," he says. "I am looking for a hidden camera," he points out a few minutes later in the footage, while he continues working on repairing the dishwasher. "Here it is," he says. "The microphone!" A middle shot taken from his back shows him jumping, trying unsuccessfully to take something down.

Figures #18 and #19: Reality TV and journalism, "Servicios técnicos: El reality del engaño", *Contacto*, August 15, 2006. Scfreenshots from the report.

This *reality television* sort of investigative journalism is fully deployed on May 27, 2009, when *IE* launched its 25th season broadcasting a story that identified and exposed adult men willing to contact girls through the internet, delivering hypersexualized messages in chat rooms, exposing their genitals through their webcams, and willing even to meet underage girls face-to-face, without risking any criminal consequence. To do so, the television crew developed three strategies: they created a 13-year-old girl persona, they set up an apartment/studio where they caught men stalking girls, and they confronted and exposing them on camera.

The audience follows the process of transformation through a frantic montage. The 13-year-old girl character was played by two different women. First, the television crew disguised one of its female reporters as a teenager. Indeed, with designers', photographers', and make-up artists' aid, they created the character "Antonia." As Antonia, they signed up profiles in several social media platforms and even some real-life female teenagers advised the reporter on how adolescents tend to write on the internet to be more convincing in her online communications as one of them. The reporter feed Antonia's online life with photos previously taken by the team and they even decorated what supposedly was her room in which she navigates the internet. As soon as this fictional character, Antonia, went online, the report explains, she was contacted by men. The second woman who played "Antonia" was an actress recruited by the program.[227] Her role was to show up when the men that the reporter previously met online asked to meet her personally.

Men used hypersexualized language in chat rooms, streamed obscene behavior through webcams, and asked the alleged girl to show them her private parts, even when she explicitly stated she was 13-years-old. All the men's writings and streamings were videotaped by *IE* cameras. When contacting "Antonia" in chat rooms, every man asked to meet her in person. So, the female reporter pretending to be a teenager arranged a meeting in what she said was her apartment and while her "mom" was not at home. Accompanied by electronic music, a fast motion wide shot depicts the setting up and wiring of Antonia's apartment, including the editing

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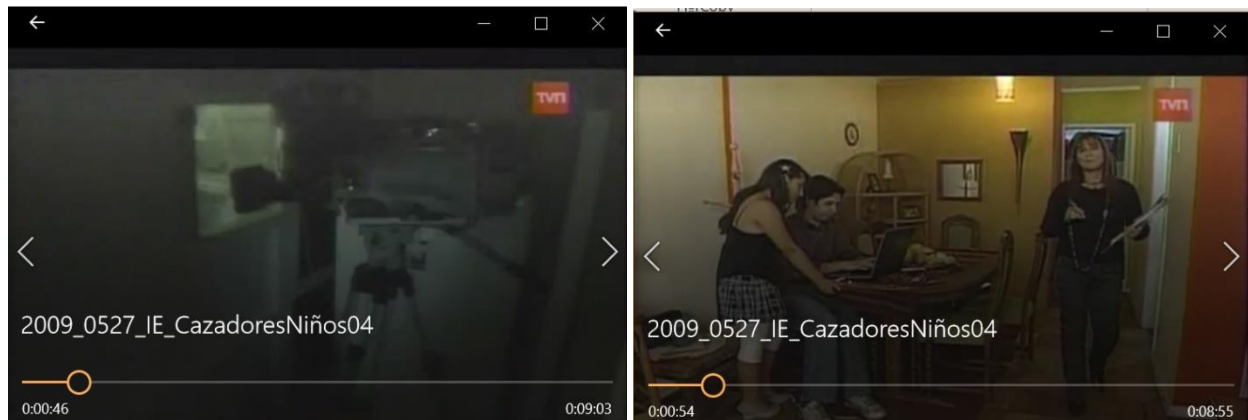
[227] This was not the first time nor the last that journalistic television shows hired professional actors for playing a given role in the plot of an exposé. Several reports, especially some produced by *IE* in the early 1990s included dramatic representations of events that occurred way back in time, where no archival footage was available, or were so violent or terrible that they were thought to be better delivered by dramatic representations. In this case, the impersonation is a piece of a repertoire of tricks to (re)produce the evidence, the visual traces of the exposé.

table in one of the bedrooms where the crew is videotaping, waiting for their prey. Walking towards the camera, the reporter explains how they have installed three hidden cameras. The trap is ready: the apartment/studio, the actress/girl, the five *IE* team members videotaping undercover, and the man willing to visit a girl when she is at home, alone. The time to deliver the ambush has come.



Figures #20 and #21: Reality TV and journalism, "Cazamos a los cazadores de menores", *Informe Especial*, May 27, 2009. Screenshots from the report.

The footage captured through one of the hidden cameras shows the man walking into the apartment, greeting the actress/girl with a kiss on her cheek. Both appear to be talking in the living room, the man sitting in a chair and the actress/girl, first standing in front of him and then sitting on the couch. When speaking to the actress/girl, we can also read what he says in closed caption. The reporter's VO describes the situation as "tense" while the footage depicts the man getting closer to the actress/girl stating: "I'm not gonna do anything. I'm very sweet and affectionate." The actress/girl just giggles and the reporter's VO highlights that "everybody is alert" while the audience sees the footage of the hidden cameras, and the videotaping time, accompanied by suspenseful music.

The man has repeatedly attempted to kiss and touch the actress/girl and the reporter's VO states that the man whispers obscenities in actress/girl's ear. "This is the moment to confront him," says the reporter's VO. The actress/girl walks out of the scene by responding to her phone ringing and the reporter walks in and the scene goes as follows:

> *Good afternoon, sir. I'd like to know why you came to this place* [the footage comes both from the hidden tiny cameras as well as the professional Betacam hidden behind a wall].

"Let's sit down," says the reporter, "let's talk" [the reporter is in a chair that is slightly higher than the chair the man is sitting in. She looks down from above, while he looks up at her]. The man babbles and says his father is a police officer, and he is only helping the police out to spot child abusers. At that moment the interviewer/judge discloses that she is a reporter, she works for IE, and they have on videotape his hypersexualized messages and exhibitionist videos from the chat room. So, the reporter shoots: *"Do you chat with underage girls very often? Do you consider showing your genitals to a girl something normal? Do you think it is normal to ask an underage girl for oral sex?"* The man, trapped, tries unsuccessfully to explain himself, insisting he is helping the police. But the reporter shuts him down and points out that *"you are not a police officer, you are not an undercover agent, and you could be jeopardizing children's mental health and safety." The man affirms he didn't want to hurt her, but he had had very bad moments and states he needs love. The reporter asks him to leave the apartment. Then, the reporter's VO states that if the actress/girl would actually have been a teenager alone at home, the news would be a tragic one* [a slow-motion full shot zooms in on the man walking out the building and going down the street, which includes suspenseful music].

The report also includes the expert's voice (a psychiatrist), who points out the lack of regulation (bites from a congressman) and talks about internet safety with the targeted audience (parents and teenagers in a conference room talking about internet habits). Nonetheless, the fake teen character chatting online and accepting a meeting with the men at her fake home is the main plotline of the story.

The mortuary/studio laid the foundation for the report about corruption in 1994 by *Informe Especial*, the house/studio set up for exposing bad practices of maintenance and repair services in *Contacto*'s season 2006, and the setting up of an apartment/studio and a whole character supposedly living there by *IE* in 2009 are not the only reports during the period studied that developed deceiving strategies and created not only a trap and an ambush, but also fictional characters.[228] However, each one introduces some nuances: both the house/studio of the repairing

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[228] Just to mention a few: In "Operación Alí Babá" (June 15, 2004), *Contacto*'s crew pretends to be informal vendors in downtown Santiago and exposes crime and the 48 most wanted burglars operating in the zone. For several months, they identified and followed thieves and smugglers and videotaped their illegal actions. In "El

services and the apartment/studio chasing the child molesters constitute the main plotlines of the reports, while the mortuary/studio set up by *IE* in 1994 is rather a hook to the narrative and holds similar weight with the rest of the traditional reporting conducted by the crew. In any case, these stories were very welcomed by the audiences, and they had the impact expected from investigative journalism. They particularly generate deliberative and individual impacts (Hamilton, 2016; Protess et al., 1991), and they provoked great social outrage and intense media coverage (deliberative) and impacted specific people, as was the case of technicians fired due to their deceiving repairing practices[229] (individual). In the case of the story exposing children molesters, it contributed to substantive changes, such as projects that later change the law.[230] However, the scandal outweighs long-term impact.

Final remarks

Facticity, voyeurism, and docudrama: The muckraking gaze in post-authoritarian Chilean television

The conceptualization of investigative journalism has strongly relied upon principles of rationality and the philosophy of objectivity. Muckraking has also been conceived as a key player in democratic public life. However, this framework ignores narratives mobilizing emotions, such as those of television, digital storytelling, and other innovative forms of reporting. Then, a perspective emphasizing facticity and rationality behind investigative

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Volcán en lucha" (October 4, 2005), *Contacto*'s crew lives for several months in El Volcán, a low-income public housing in a poor neighborhood in Santiago. As one of the team members remembers: "We lied a lot over there. We pretended to be someone else. We videotaped people that helped us a lot… [Before recording] we searched a lot to locate the most dangerous street to show reality…. We got there, we managed to get in, the neighbors donated us furniture, power, water. We did not show their identities, but we still lied… We invaded their privacy and they were poor people, they were not criminals. We videotaped a lot of crimes," interviewee E20. In "Miedo en las poblaciónes capitalinas" (May 2, 2012), *IE*'s correspondent, Santiago Pavlovic, pretends to be an old man in a wheelchair and spends some time living in low-income neighborhoods in Santiago where there are high-rates of crime, poverty, and drug trafficking. Palovic and one of the program's cameramen blended among the daily-life of the neighborhoods and gained the trust of the neighbors. The report "Chequeo al sistema previsional chileno" (May 27, 2012), *IE* tested health companies' corporate policies that discriminated against their beneficiaries by age and sex. Combined with traditional reporting practices, the crew also created a persona that did not qualify for private health coverage (a retired old man, a woman in reproductive age, a woman in reproductive age and her 1 y/o baby) and videotaped with hidden cameras companies' staff rejecting the persona from purchasing a private health plan.

[229] Interviewee E20.

[230] "Periodista de *Informe Especial* denunció 'doble personalidad' de ciberacosadores," radio *Cooperativa*, May 28, 2009.

journalism falls short in acknowledging investigative traditions developed in other visual and journalistic cultures.

By watching and analyzing more than 100 hours of investigative stories broadcasted in Chile since the 1990s, this research complicates the rather narrow notion of watchdog journalism theorized in industrialized nations, within western media systems, and prized mainstream models of journalism. In particular, the visual narratives have deployed a repertoire of strategies early on, that value facticity (data visualization and the role of archives in visual depictions), but they have also embraced hybrid languages, fully incorporating drama features, and flirting with reality television, a genre that launched in Chile with huge success in the late 1990s. Therefore, broadcasting muckraking narratives in a non-hegemonic journalistic culture includes high-quality information honoring the normative expectation of facticity, but also a pool of techniques emphasizing melodramatic features, such as personalization and emotions through close-ups, extreme close-ups, and music denotating suspense, emotion, or action; deceiving strategies taking the viewers as the drama unfolds; and elements borrowed from genres such as reality television.

These trends reflect the whole television production in Chile during the period under study and not only news. Indeed, by the end of the 1990s, the *melodrama* as a language expanded, contaminating and hybridizing other genres. In particular, the expression of this hybridization can be traced in docu-dramas, docu-reality, and in drama series (Fuenzalida et al., 2009). In the case of the area of entertainment, there were not just *telenovelas* locally produced, but also docudramas, sitcoms, and television series.

In fact, both networks -*Televisión Nacional* and *Canal 13*- produced other shows coming out from trends previously coined whether by *Contacto* or by *Informe Especial* but that stressed drama features, such as representing high-profile criminals (*Mea Culpa*, TVN) or cold cases (*Enigma*, TVN), setting up traps to expose a full array of hustlers (*En su propia trampa*, Canal 13), and wearing consumers' shoes (*Esto no tiene nombre*, TVN). These few examples that were conceived under the umbrella of *Informe Especial*'s and *Contacto*'s agendas and by teams grouped under both shows demonstrate that audiences favored these hybrid visual narratives bridging news and drama, reality television and facticity, and public interest and private spheres.

As one of the interviews points out, “All these investigative journalistic shows[231] were being jeopardized on television as they did not exhibit good ratings. And the [TV business] model works by advertising revenues and not by [other types of] impact. Therefore, the chance that networks support [these type of shows] was a new narrative,”[232] and melodramatic elements sharpen even more narratives and aesthetics such as those discussed in this chapter. In that context, *Misión Encubierta* broke out. The show fully deployed drama features, a non-identified reporter, a narrator voice over unfolding the story, and an intensive use of revealing techniques, among other characteristics of drama narratives. It is the next level of melodrama, as it is behind-the-scenes: the same producers, reporters, and researchers responsible for some of the most shinning success in *Contacto* created *Misión Encubierta*. It is produced via outsourcing, and it is broadcasted by *Mega*. The program was one of the top five most watched shows on Chilean television in 2017, while *Contacto* was cancelled indefinitely, without not even a “thank you note” to the fired team.

[231] She is not only referring to *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, but also to *En la mira* and *Aquí en vivo* (broadcasted by *Chilevisión* and *Mega*, respectively, but cancelled in 2018, just like *Contacto*).
[232] Interviewee E17.

CHAPTER 4: LEAKAGE

Investigative reporting in neoliberal times

"Para hacer un buen periodismo [es vital] el respeto por los recursos humanos, el respeto por nuestros propios colegas, tiempo de descanso, de investigación, sueldos dignos, condiciones de trabajo que permitan hacer un trabajo más profundo"
Interviewee[233]

"A few intrepid journalists do an impressive job of unmasking, but the media more generally seems to find itself thinking within the groove of the prevailing neoliberal orthodoxies"
(Hall, Massey, & Rustin, 2013: p. 15)

On November 24th, 2018, *Informe Especial* was awarded with the *Copihue de Oro*[234] as the best journalistic show on Chilean television. More than three decades after launching its first episode in 1984, *Informe…* is still valued by its viewers. Indeed, the *Copihue…* award goes to television shows, hosts, and series voted on by the audience.[235] In other words, this award highlights what the people value the most on Chilean television, and the longest running program providing in-depth broadcasting journalism is one of them.

The veteran reporter and one of the founders of the show, Santiago Pavlovic, accepted the award on behalf of the whole team. Unusually tall by Chilean standards[236], Pavlovic also holds a well-deserved reputation of a courageous foreign correspondent, which is accentuated by a pirate-style patch over his left eye. The patch covers the consequences of an accident that he had during his childhood and not in one of the dozens of wars he has reported on for *Informe*

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[233] "In order to perform good journalism, it is vital to take care of human resources, respect for journalists, rest time, decent salaries and working conditions, to encourage investigations," interviewee E7. My own translation.

[234] The *copihue* is the national flower and the award has been organized since 2005 by the tabloid *La Cuarta* to celebrate the best programming on Chilean television. *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* have been regularly nominated as the best journalistic program. *Contacto* has been awarded twice (2006 and 2013) and *IE*, three times, including in 2018. In spite of the mix of scamming methods and heavily relying on deceptive strategies to expose hustlers, the hybrid journalistic-docudrama-reality television show, *En su propia trampa* (Canal 13) has been recognized as the best journalistic show seven times. Its host, Emilio Sutherland, has been a *Contacto* correspondent for several years, too.

[235] The recognition from critics is the award given by the national association of journalists covering entertainment (*Asociación de Periodistas de Espectáculos*, APES) and the peer recognition is the Altazor award.

[236] Almost 7 foot.

Especial all over the world since the 1980s. However, he is probably the person who best embodies a fearless reporter in Chilean consciousness. His colleagues describe Pavlovic as "a chemically pure journalist. His devotion to his work is almost monastic"[237] and somebody with "an enormous capacity for work"[238].

So, Pavlovic's stage presence is outstanding. During his acceptance speech, he spoke out about the crisis that public broadcasting was going through at that same moment he and his team were being acknowledged as the leading journalistic show on Chilean television. "We are standing up in the middle of a sort of collapse of our network that is having a lot of problems because of several boards of directors' decisions. But here we are. We are standing and defending ourselves. We want to do *true*[239] journalism," he said, triggering an ovation from the crowded theatre. Entertainment is important, he stated, but so is providing information and critical thinking. "When criticizing the military, here we are. When criticizing the police, here we are. When reporting on the Chilean health system's failures, here we are," pointed out Pavlovic, thanking Chileans for supporting *Informe Especial*, and the team of reporters, producers, editors, and cameramen that air the show every week.

Pavlovic's statement about defending public television referred to the economic losses suffered by the network over the past years, massive layoffs, the consecutive crisis in corporate governance, and a highly debated capitalization approved by Congress in 2018. Indeed, only a few days before Pavlovic's speech, TVN fired around 100 of its employees, and it was not even the first layoff at the network in 2018. Things have not been much better at the higher levels of the company: less than a week after Pavlovic criticized TVN's administrations, the president of the board of directors, Francisco Orrego, resigned arguing that his hands were tied to make any significant changes inside the company. Again, it was not the first or the worse impasse that TVN's corporate governance has faced. In July 2018, the members of the board requested Orrego's resignation after he leaked information about high salaries that triggered public outrage and an inquiry from a committee of deputies the same year (Arellano, 2018; Cámara de Diputados de Chile, 2018). Nonetheless, those are just a few examples of the multiple faces of a crisis that seems permanent.

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[237] Rafael Cavada, interview in "Mentiras Verdaderas," *La Red*, June 15, 2016.
[238] Alipio Vera, interview in "Mentiras Verdaderas," *La Red*, July 2, 2017.
[239] Italics are mine.

These examples demonstrate the several frontlines where the Chilean television industry -and not exclusively public broadcasting- has been struggling under a never-ending transforming environment. A journalist that had a long professional trajectory in both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* sharply synthetizes the state of this structural and multifaceted scenario: Chilean networks "are subject to several simultaneous crises… On the one hand, TV cable offers diverse and higher quality content. On the other hand, the industry is so small and so competitive that the profit margins are so low and, consequently, the quality is also poor. Media also face a crisis of credibility related to media ownership… There is the crisis linked to the emergence of social media. Today, the most shared content on the internet are videos. If you watch television news today, they reproduce videos circulating on social media. The result is finally that there is no investigative journalism in Chilean media".[240]

In particular, there have been shifts at every level in the hierarchical model described by Shoemaker and Reese (2014) in which the Chilean television industry and culture, and investigative journalism within it, have been operating since the 1990s. Roughly, at the macro-level, the political system changed from a civic-military dictatorship into a procedural democracy (Christians et al., 2009; Garretón, 2012; Strömbäck, 2005) and the market is at the core of organizing the whole social structure (Valdés, 1989). In both social system's dimensions, democratic governments that took office after the dictatorship in 1990 and afterwards addressed authoritarianism, neoliberalism, and dictatorship's heritage under a pragmatic frame and introduced reforms in consequence (Boeninger, 1997; Garretón, 2012). As a public officer acknowledged in 1994, "the changes in communications are governed today by a preeminently economic or commercial logic, beyond their social contribution" (Tironi, "Introduction," Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 1994, p. 8. See also Tironi & Sunkel, 1993).

Some of the most relevant shifts at the level of social institutions since the 1990s include the explosion of professional training in journalism due to the liberalization of the higher education sector, new and more players entering the media field due to the re-regulation, and the changes in audiences' volume, characteristics, and habits of media consumption. Indeed, the changes in technologies and the consequent shifts in audiences' habits include navigating multiple platforms, such as streaming or recorded; through different devices, such as DVDs,

[240] Interviewee E7.

computers, or mobile phones; deploying flexible habits, such as binge watching or rather loyal, daily-base, style of viewing TV, and mobilizing transmedia strategies of consumption, including cinema, television, and social media.[241] These techno-cultural shifts have affected the meso level of the television industry, too. More broadcasters, non-unidirectional channels of delivering visual content, and audiences' flexible habits have also mapped the advertising industry and its patterns of resources allocation and, consequently, affected the funding of a highly commercialized Chilean media television system and culture.

By examining the production process of investigative stories in both *Contacto* and *Informe Especial*, I explore a repertoire of tools and practices through which it is possible to unfold neoliberalism's forces shaping the field of journalism, particularly in muckraking. During the period under study, the discourse about the crisis of Chilean television has been pervasive, with particular force since the 2010s, fueled by media accounts, industry stakeholders, and top executives explaining cutoffs and massive layoffs. Therefore, by carefully analyzing a relatively long term of adjustments in producing long-form or investigative journalism in Chilean broadcasting, this chapter also complicates such "crisis talks" that have been documented elsewhere (Ashley, 2018; Tay & Turner, 2010). Indeed, Chilean television was born underfunded, and it has experienced crisis after crisis since its origins in the late 1950s as experimental projects developed by local universities. On the contrary, stability seems to be a rather scarce feature in Chilean broadcasting history (Fuenzalida, 1984; Hurtado, 1989; Munizaga, 1981; Portales, 1986).

Therefore, shrinking budgets, announcing massive layoffs, heavy outsourcing, and stronger controls over productivity are systematic management practices in a highly commercialized media system rather than episodic, unexpected, or exceptional measures. Indeed, corporate power has increased its control over Chilean television not only because big national and foreign corporations have bought networks that were originally conceived as part of higher

[241] "¿Por qué en mi jardín?" was a series of 16 episodes produced by *La Ventana* cine and broadcasted by TVN. Inspired by the "Not in My Backyard Phenomenon" (NIMBY), a colloquialism signifying one's opposition to the locating of something considered undesirable in one's neighborhood. Each episode told the story of a community facing a megaproject of infrastructure. The production put together different stakeholders, the independent producer, broadcasting, and a non-profit organization advocating for strengthening citizenship and public accountability and supported it with public funding. The project also heavily relied upon social media, purposefully triggering conversation on Twitter at the same time each episode was broadcasted.

education's extension, but also due to the legal and economic retaliations against reports exposing companies' malpractices. During the time frame under study, big money has also fully deployed its power through the rising of professional management and its project to articulate content production, including the news. In fact, policies driven by the human resources' frame have been efficient and effective in controlling labor and colonizing journalistic practices. Investigative journalism has not been exempted from it. Branding and commodification have contributed to also reinforce the commercial emphasis in producing muckraking, too. Overall, the crisis tale on media is not so much about unpredictable events, but part of the companies' toolkit of handling business as usual (Bakan, 2004). Corporate practices can better be understood under the umbrella of the neoliberal project in Chile under the dictatorship and its pragmatic reforms undertaken by democratic administrations since 1990.

Indeed, despite the small size of the Chilean economy and its rather relative weight globally, several accounts acknowledge that the country was at the forefront of the worldwide neoliberal project since the mid-1970s (Ffrench-Davis, 2010; Garretón, 2012; Hall et al., 2013; Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007; McChesney, 1999; Paley, 2001; Stiglitz, 2002). Indeed, the authoritarian regime that ruled the country between 1973 and 1990 not only radically applied neoclassical economics, but also turned this idea into "the founding philosophy of a new society" (Valdés, 1989, p. 35). Even more, Chile has been a warm laboratory for the most classic economic trends since the 1950s, when the Chilean government hired the so-called Klein-Saks mission to analyze the national economy and suggest adjustments. Certainly, the Klein-Saks report established the roots of the neoliberal project that comes later (Narbona, 2014). With particular flavors through the action of local political forces, such as farmers, landlords, or traditional oligarchy, neoliberalism has shaped Chilean society for decades.

Broadly speaking, neoliberalism is "a theory of political economy practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within and institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (Harvey, 2007). It erodes democracy by weakening the role of the State, encouraging a hierarchical social organization, and subordinating political and social spheres to economics (Garretón, 2012). The core of this

process is condensed in the "Washington Consensus." Coined in 1989, the phrase describes the top-ten public policies that financial and lending international institutions based in the US considered as the landmarks of economic reforms and encouraged to develop and reinforce globally. These key policies include fiscal discipline, trade liberalization, liberalization of foreign investment, privatization, and deregulation, among others (Williamson, 2009). The "Washington Consensus," then, became the representation of neoliberal policies and the US hegemony in fostering them (Dreher & Jensen, 2007; Fleck & Kilby, 2006).

The political and economic implications for Chilean media and culture have been a re-regulation of the field, a progressive liberalization and privatization of the market, and an increasing openness to foreign investment. These movements have entailed not only the local presence of foreign media and telecommunications firms, such as the Mexican Televisa and Claro (Slim), the Spanish Prisa and Telefónica, and the US Warner-Turner, but also the progressive involvement of national capital coming from banking, retail, and mining into the Chilean media corporations, consolidating its position in the large tail of the endless expansion of global and regional capitalism. The role the neo-liberalization of higher education has played in increasing the number of trained journalists and devaluing certification (Cabalin, 2015; Cabalin & Lagos, 2012) and, finally, the critical role of muckraking in simultaneously criticizing and strengthening capitalism are key phenomena to make sense of investigative journalism in its complex context. Therefore, the intricacies of regulatory frames, political discourses, and economic structures that shape media, communication, culture, and information landscapes are simultaneously framed by their actual deployment under neoliberalism.

The complexities entangled in the corporate culture of investment banking, work-place models, and organizational values of financial capitalism, as well as its cultural and economic dimensions, obscure the blue-collar, manufacturing, work underneath. However, this material work is blurred by fancy discourses and images about "creative work," "innovation," and "economy of knowledge." Despite the idealized notion of professional journalism as a high-tech entrepreneur (supposedly) freed from the constraints of the traditional mass media, those workers are under conditions that industrial workers of the past will recognize (Mosco, 2011b). In fact, due to the technologies and their ability to break time and space, news production occurs under a

24/7 cycle (Fuentes Muñoz, 2010). Hence, the so-called creative work is intensely based on mechanical production, as much as during *Taylorism* and *Fordism* moments.

Particularly, contemporary journalism is shaped by the concentration and the corporatization of the news –including an endless pressure for profits-, the trivialization of the content, a business frame to manage media and journalism, and strong advertising and public relations (PR) industries at the core of capitalism. Indeed, advertising and PR industries have increased the number of job positions, bolstered their expenditures, become pervasive, and they have also sophisticated their corporate promotional strategies, merging them with journalism through "advertorials," "information subsidies," or "advocacy advertising" (Cottle, 2003; Davis, 2002; Martín-Guart & Fernández Cavia, 2014; McManus, 1994; Nelson & Park, 2014). The structural conditions of market-based journalism, such as 24/7 news cycles, a heavy dependence on highly organized sources, budget restrictions, an increasing demand for news stories, and the emergence and consolidation of news aggregators make it increasingly difficult to distinguish journalism from PR.

Therefore, in a post-authoritarian regime, investigative journalism simultaneously performs both as a regulatory and a transgressive roles in a neoliberal society. By doing so, investigative journalism contributes (either unconsciously or consciously) to produce, provide, and spread public, valuable information at the same time it serves hegemony. The watchdog role of journalism would operate as a controlled leakage, as the tolerated transparency that neoliberalism allows to survive and expand itself. By exploring investigative journalism performances, products, and languages, this chapter's aim is inquiring into the many forms neoliberalism(s) has(have) adopted in a post-authoritarian society, such as the Chilean one. In other words, neoliberalism is not exclusively a global force shaping public policies and national technologies in dependent societies, but it also draws diverse, situated strategies where it is adopted and re-signified. It is what Ong calls neoliberalism as an exception and exceptions to neoliberalism (Ong, 2006). This chapter problematizes the assumption that muckraking is the most neutral and constraint-free form of journalism.

To weigh the extent and scope of neoliberalism's influence in shaping the watchdog-style journalism on Chilean television, I carefully explore the material and economic conditions shaping it. Indeed, I critically examine the role of business-related players influencing

journalistic performance whether within the networks or from the field of economics (corporate power). I also explain key processes in the increasing marketization of muckraking (branding and commodification). Relying on interviews, trade publications, corporate documents, collective contracts, self-promotional material, and selected court cases, among other sources, this chapter reviews the changes of these elements during the period under study.

Corporate power

This section explores both the organizational and external dimensions in which economic power has deployed its influence in shaping television muckraking. At the organizational level, I scrutinize management trends in television affecting three key ingredients in the production process when making broadcasting muckraking: how much it costs (budget), who is working on it (labor), and how resources are allocated (productivity). Regarding the macro level of influence in broadcasting investigative reporting, I discuss critical stories that triggered retaliations when *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* exposed big money and the backyard of economic growth.

Management trends

The modernization of larger corporations, the transformation of Chile into an attractive place to do business and the consequent increase in foreign investment, the shifts in the audiences' habits, and the reorganization of the media have shaped newsrooms, too. In that environment, media management acquired a greater weight in editorial projects in Chilean media. Particularly, marketing has been included as a new tool for developing new journalistic strategies and media content, based on targeting new consumers and responding to audiences' interests in a very granular way. For some investigative journalists and editors, during the last 25 years or so, they have lost power in front of managers and marketing specialists.

Precisely, as the market became the cornerstone of society and politics turned into "pure" technic, the media became business, audiences turned into clients, and public sphere was colonized by market forces. The arriving of national and international businessmen and companies, especially in television, pushed to increase profits. One of the tools deployed in this context is professional management where authoritarianism and a culture of fear are key features in a hierarchical organizational culture in Chile (Pérez Arrau, Eades, & Wilson, 2012).

Elsewhere, management practices encouraged by neoliberal order have greatly shaped newsrooms and newsmaking. Media executives have adapted their outlets "in the name of better marketing, more efficient management, and improvement of the bottom line" (Underwood, 1993, p. 23). The features of this style of leading news production include the intensive use of marketing strategies, as surveys, budget plans, and management training (Gandy, 1982; McChesney, 1999; McManus, 1994; Nichols & McChesney, 2013). Management policies and practices have also molded newsrooms in public broadcasting driven by efficiency and entrepreneurialism as fetishisms (Born, 2004). In Latin America, national special features, privatization, re-regulation, and ownership concentration have impacted Latin American journalism, regarding aspects such quality, diversity, professionalization, and the ability to engage in deep reporting and investigation.

Considering the continuous economic growth between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, and the consequences of the growth and transformation of a middle class, a new managerial tribe landed in Chilean media outlets. Then, these new management executives focused on audiences and markets instead of citizens or the public sphere, they borrowed managerial frames and tools from other economic areas, such as retail, and developed departments of studies within the media outlets in order to understand new audiences, improve ratings, and overall, capture advertising.

There is little literature analyzing larger management media trends in Chile, and most of it addresses case studies (Bofill, 1993; Ríos, 1996; Santibáñez & Luengo, 1993). Trade publications[242] and media industry leaders' public speeches[243] also provide traces of management policies molding newsrooms and of the linguistic colonization of the economic mindsets in journalistic production since the 1990s. In that sense, media companies have radically restructured their outlets attempting to seduce a burgeoning aspirational middle-class, with a higher power of consumption (Ríos, 1996), and framing beats appealing to top executives, corporations, and businessmen, a growing class during the 1990s alongside the country's economic growth (Bofill, 1993). Media's upgrade heavily relied upon tools such as surveys,

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[242] The National Association of the Press magazine (*Asociación Nacional de la Prensa*, ANP). The oldest issue available online is the 36th, published in October 2008. Then, I reviewed 15 issues (the last one I reviewed was the 48th issue, published in December 2014).
[243] Former presidents of the National Association of the Press (ANP). The ANP groups more than 50 Chilean newspapers and magazines and was founded in 1951 with the purpose to defend and strengthen the press industry.

focus groups, and tests, under a frame inspired by an economic ethos, such as segmentation strategies, market considerations, and selling stories, to mention a few (Santibáñez & Luengo, 1993).

The way we talk about media and newsmaking is not neutral. As Massey (2013) states, "the vocabulary we use to talk about the economy in particular, has been crucial to the establishment of neoliberal hegemony" (p. 4). In Chile, since the 1990s, a vocabulary fostered by management and human resources frames have colonized media companies' policies and practices. Concepts such as "brand," "market position," "competition frame," "measurement," "impact," "costs and benefits," "innovation," "project," "creativity," "business models," "product," "clients," "opportunities," "profit," and "leadership," among others. Foreign best practices, overwhelmingly from the American media industry have been very influential in inspiring changes in media management.[244] "This vocabulary of costumer, consumer, choice, markets, and self-interest moulds both our conception of ourselves and our understanding of and relationship to the world." This vocabulary implies not pure descriptions, "but powerful means by which new subjectivities are constructed and enforced" (Massey, 2013, p. 5).

Human resources management strongly began to influence the Chilean television industry at the end of the 2000s[245]. This change took place by creating new departments and job positions, such as human resources, as well as developing and deploying performance indicators associated with incentive mechanisms. Likewise, some executives who were incorporated into the media came from the retail industry, as the profiles of managers of Chilean networks illustrate. Their training (as engineers or MBAs) and their career paths provide some clues about the relevance that management gained in Chilean media, particularly since the late 2000s and early 2010s.[246]

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[244] See, for instance, the ANP magazine, training programs supporting media managers visiting Spain and the United States, and public speeches delivered by media companies' leaders. Carlos Schaerer, ANP's president (2000-2004). "Masiva concurrencia registró la Cena Anual de la Prensa," *La Tercera*, August 31, 2003; Guillermo Turner, ANP's president (2008-2010), "En cena anual de la Asociación Nacional de la Prensa: Pérez Yoma resalta papel de los medios escritos," *La Segunda*, June 27, 2008, and Álvaro Caviedes' speech, June 22, 2010, ANP's president (2010-2014). As a subdirector of corporate research in Copesa, Ricardo Avello said that "a newspaper is a product that has to satisfy the public, but the people who know what the people want are management, not journalists" (León-Dermota, 2003, p. 107).

[245] According to a former head of the department of studies of one of the Chilean networks for ten years. Personal communication, September 28, 2014.

[246] See, for instance, Luis Eduardo Marchant, Human Resources manager at TVN (2012-2017). His professional training is in economics and human resources management, and he attended a program for top executives at the Business School of the University of Michigan in the United States (2014). Marchant's previous job was at

However, there are other traces that provide evidence about the increasing importance of management in articulating content production both in TVN and Canal 13, such as collective contracts[247] and the highly, cryptic, technical language they deploy. Indeed, human capital is at the forefront of management in Chilean television industry. For instance, TVN has adopted this perspective at least since the early 2010s and embraced human capital as the main framework to organize and evaluate its workers performance in order "to contribute to create value" to the company (TVN, 2012, 2014, p. 6). Nonetheless, media workers are skeptical of the tools derived from this approach. As Rodrigo Cid, a journalist and president of one of TVN's unions, points out: "Newsroom staff do not believe in performance evaluation systems that the human resources area has been enforcing. As long as this policy does not acknowledge the merits of well-evaluated staff, including serious incentive policies, and guaranteeing training to whose do not perform as well, we will not be available to filling out [human resources department] forms." These policies, Cid says, are just thought to support layoffs.[248]

Indeed, the theory of human capital coined by economists at the University of Chicago in the 1960s has been criticized for conceiving education and training under an economistic, fragmented, and instrumental emphasis, valuing its impacts on the productive process of workers and, in the end, meaning to contribute to corporate growth. In other words, education conceived as human capital is an investment (Cabalin, 2015; Robeyns, 2006). Then, the management dogma is meant to articulate language, procedures, and measurements in media production for the sake of the corporation's growth.

This section analyzes how management catechism has played out in broadcasting investigative journalism. Therefore, it critically explores the main trends regarding funding, labor, and productivity policies introduced and developed during the period under study, how

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Cencosud, the largest retail company in Chile and one of the most important in South America. Likewise, Andrés Sateler, Manager of Marketing at Canal 13 (2014-2016) has a degree in management and previously worked for Cencosud, like Marchant, but also for Falabella, another big Chilean retailer. Macarena Uranga, Human Resources Manager at Canal 13 (2013-2018) has training in psychology and worked in human resources in the service industry previous to her appointment at Canal 13. Although this is rather anecdotal and scattered evidence about the influence of retailers in media management in Chile due to the lack of research on the topic (Pérez Arrau et al., 2012), it still provides a sense of the trend.

[247] M.A. Gonzalo Durán, economist and researcher, Fundación SOL, provided access to seven collective contracts from the four national networks signed between 2010 and 2015.

[248] Personal communication, email May 11, 2015.

they have mutated and the resistances they have triggered, and how they have affected the whole cycle of producing long-form journalism in Chilean television.

Budget

This segment explores how expensive is to produce an episode of *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. In other words, to what extent networks have been willing to invest (or spend, depending on the point of view) when producing reports that are time- and labor-consuming and intensively drain material resources. For instance, developing a single *Contacto* episode in the 2000s required an estimate of $CL24 million and by the end of that decade, it would reach $CL60 million.[249] A journalist who worked in the 1990s and the 2000s not only in *Contacto* but also in higher positions within Canal 13, illustrates that sort of golden age for the network: "The budget was super generous. Everything was very relaxed, and it was a carefree environment" in comparison to the management policies introduced later. But for about 20 years, during the 1990s and 2000s, "We did not worry much about the economic results. It mattered because we needed to attract audiences if you wanted to keep the program running. But we were totally free from the [network's] commercial area: they never made requests… that was a privilege because that gave us freedom to explore complex issues."[250] By that time, the whole Chilean television production experienced a generous budget[251] and the Chilean audiovisual sector in general, a technological development, which included better sound, introducing devices allowing more mobility (such as crane, dolly, and steady cam), and more and better post-production resources and services (Fuenzalida et al., 2009).

However, this golden age that *Contacto* enjoyed during the 1990s and the early 2000s started soon to be affected. Indeed, the previous well-funded production processes shrank little by little along with the decrease in advertising revenues in the whole television industry, and

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[249] Interviewees E12, E16, and E20.
[250] Interviewee E13.
[251] In the 1990s the areas of drama production on Canal 13 but especially on TVN were growing thanks to technical improvements that allowed location shootings, and generous budgets made it possible to film some scenes for local *telenovelas* abroad. Indeed, *telenovelas* by the 1990s and even during some part of the 2000s were the most important shows in the networks' programming. Their success or failure affected the rest of the evening and prime-time programs, including evening newscasts (Santa Cruz, 2003). Drama production was widening their locations, portraying exotic places both in Chile (Eastern Island, Chiloé archipelago, and the Atacama Desert, for instance) and abroad (Santa Marta, Colombia; Paris, France; Athens, Greece, or Rio do Janeiro, Brazil).

there were systematic cutoffs that hit harder in the decade of the 2010s. At the very micro level, the symptoms of this trend appeared in the policies over budget. Indeed, each episode has a cost center, breaking down each item involved in producing one episode. To do so, each item and resource used by the show is valued when utilized in producing a specific report or episode, including staff's salaries, mobile phones, cameras and computers, as well as international tickets, for instance. This inflates the total cost because it counts both one-time expenditures, such as traveling, and constant ones, such as salaries. "In a season airing 30 reports, we don't use 30 cameras," a long-time *Contacto* correspondent and editor illustrates.[252] By 2016, each episode effectively cost $CL2 million and the program was understaffed.[253] By the 2000s, *Contacto*'s team had 8 cameramen, 6 vehicles, and 10 correspondents, while by 2016 there were only 3 cameramen, 2 vehicles, and five correspondents.[254]

Despite the lack of corporate information publicly available on budgets and the rather imprecise numbers provided by key informants, there are several dimensions to estimate as proxy for the changes in both shows' budgets. The decreasing proportion of stories produced abroad[255] provides an approximate picture of *IE* and *Contacto*'s funding and how it changed since the 1990s.

Since the 1980s, *Informe Especial*'s agenda heavily developed international topics by sending special correspondents to the field. The show particularly covered countless international conflicts and wars.[256] *IE*'s international coverage served two purposes: 1) avoiding censorship while the dictatorship still ran the country by opening up the news agenda to problems and conflicts occurring somewhere else, and 2) addressing topics that echoed what was happening in Chile, such as poverty, police brutality, and a lack of freedom (Morales, 2005; Schindler, 1992). The formula was not new: *APSI* magazine had already tried that tactic since the late 1970s (Araya, 2007). Sometimes Chilean censors within TVN and in the government could decode the

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[252] Interviewee E12.
[253] Interviewee E12.
[254] Interviewee E16.
[255] Although *IE* and *Contacto*'s coverage on foreign affairs are out of the scope of this research, the extent of its relevance in the period enlightens the whole process of funding and production in both shows and how it has changed over time.
[256] For example, between 1984 and 1985, the two first years on air, IE produced stories in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Spain, the Berlin Wall, Margaret Thatcher's government, hunger in Ethiopia, apartheid in South Africa, or the conflict between Israel and Palestine, to mention a few.

trick and stopped stories from being published or aired. Nonetheless, depicting dictators governing somewhere else or other countries' secret police brutality reverberated Pinochet's regime. For *IE* correspondents, the purpose of showing war devastation was also to sensitize Chilean audiences about the importance of solving social conflicts through pacific and democratic methods.[257]

So, between 1990 and 2015, *Informe Especial* broadcasted 258 stories (out of 733[258]) produced abroad. Nonetheless, although the program still includes in its agenda international production of high-profile stories, the proportion of reports produced abroad has declined. Indeed, until 1997, domestic and foreign affairs had similar weight in *Informe Especial*'s agenda but by the end of the 1990s, it slightly decreased. In 1997, *IE* broadcasted 11 international-based stories (out of 22), and in 1998, 11 (out of 34). By 2005, *IE* produced only four reports abroad (out of 19) and by 2015, the shift was definitely downsizing *IE*'s foreign affairs coverage considering only three reportages produced abroad in the whole season (out of 42 stories). As a former *IE* member points out, "I didn't get bored of covering conflicts, but networks stopped doing it…. One day, audiences were not interested in them anymore. Last year, Santiago [Pavlovic] produced a report on children in Gaza[259] and it reached 4 points [of rating], 4 points!"[260]

Meanwhile, in the first half of the 1990s, every dimension of *Contacto* was an explicit editorial statement about its purpose of opening Chileans' eyes and minds to global affairs and scientific explorations in a pre-Internet and pre-TV cable era. The name itself means connecting people and the editorial approach, the promotional material,[261] the program's agenda, and even its graphic look embodied that purpose. Therefore, in the 1990s, *Contacto* seemed to be a very

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[257] Santiago Pavlovic in "Mentiras Verdaderas, *La Red*, June 15, 2016, and Alipio Vera in "Mentiras Verdaderas, *La Red*, July 2, 2017.
[258] In just 1% of the cases, I was unable to identify and code the reports covering foreign or domestic topics. For more details regarding the coding process, see the Methodological appendix.
[259] "Crímenes de guerra, la voz de los niños," November 3, 2014. It obtained 5.87 points of rating (and not 4), according to Kantar Ibope Media, the company that officially measures television audiences. Nonetheless, it is still a very poor result for a story that is very expensive and a production risk. Indeed, the other three reports produced abroad by *IE* during the 2014 season marked between 5 and 8 points, while none of those aired in 2015 reached more than 7 points of rating. On the contrary, ten years before, a report on Cuba and Fidel Castro obtained almost 18 points.
[260] Rafael Cavada in "Vértigo," *Canal 13*, April 15, 2016.
[261] "Una invitación irresistible para hacer Contacto con el mundo de hoy" (An irresistible invitation to make contact with today's world), *Contacto*'s ad, *El Mercurio*, August 4, 1991.

well-funded program, capable of traveling around the world looking for groundbreaking science developed elsewhere.[262] However, a former show producer explains[263] that the air tickets were obtained in exchange for airline product-placement.[264] Indeed, each international report's introduction in the early 1990s included the image of an airplane ticket and the logo of the airline (Varig, Iberia, LAN Chile, for instance). In order to get the most out of those international tickets, *Contacto*'s crew produced a variety of stories on each trip under a magazine-style frame. The material was saved and broadcasted in different episodes.[265]

Nonetheless, identifying how many stories *Contacto* produced abroad is slightly more difficult than estimating *IE*'s production abroad. This is partially due to an incomplete record of *Contacto*'s archive and missing metadata on it, making it impossible to code 172 stories whether as domestic or foreign.[266] In consequence, there are only some seasons fully coded whether their reports are foreign or domestic. However, we can still have a rough idea of the decreasing production of reports produced abroad in *Contacto*'s history. In fact, between 1991 and 2015, the show aired 217 stories reported abroad. Unlikely *Informe Especial,* that at least still cover high-profile international conflicts, *Contacto* exhibits a poorer agenda regarding foreign affairs lately. Indeed, there are whole sessions exclusively devoted to domestic topics. For example, in 1991, *Contacto* produced 39 stories (out of 47) abroad, while in 2000, only 14 (out of 42). Even more, since the mid-2000s, foreign topics barely have any weight in *Contacto*'s agenda: there were no reports produced internationally in 2004, 2005, 2007, 2010, or 2012 seasons.[267]

Then, by producing foreign stories, particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s, both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* echoed one of the key roles of television in Latin America in

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[262] "Biósfera," September 11, 1991; "Parkinson," July 8, 1992; "Transplante riñón," "Drogas inteligentes," "Vacuna contra el Sida," July 22, 1992; "La huella digital del future," August 12, 1992; "Origen del universe," November 11, 1992; "Banco del Semen," June 16, 1993, "Experimentos con humanos," August 2, 1994; "Criogenia," August 17, 1994; "Piratería biológica," September 11, 1996, to mention a few.
[263] Interviewee E13.
[264] The policy in *Informe Especial* was different, as one of the show's founders, Santiago Pavlovic, states. "Since the beginning, we had the idea of not accepting airlines or embassies paying for our tickets," interview in "Mentiras Verdaderas," *La Red*, June 15, 2016.
[265] For example, in a single visit to Spain, the crew reported on banking security policies, on Spanish feminism, and interviewed singers Amaya and Miguel Bosé, for instance, very popular in Chile and Latin America. *Contacto*, 1991 season.
[266] See Methodological Appendix.
[267] As in the case of *IE* described above, recent *Contacto*'s reports on foreign stories also obtained poor ratings. One of the few reports covering foreign affairs at the end of the 2000s addressed violence in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, and obtained 11.79 points. "Ciudad Juárez: En la frontera del miedo," July 28, 2009.

bringing the global village to larger audiences' living rooms. Indeed, the access to and uses of technologies (such as the internet and paid TV) and devices (such as mobile phones and computers) have not quite skyrocketed in the continent or in Chile and present inequalities regarding age, class, and geography (metropolitan centers vs. country side) still matters (Becerra, 2015; Mastrini & Becerra, 2009). Although since the 1970s, telecommunication industries have spread and grown across Latin America (Mattelart & Schmucler, 1982), large populations still experienced them as a phenomenon happening somewhere else and enjoyed by someone else. Consequently, free-air television has reigned for decades as the main infrastructure and medium for delivering glimpses of what was going on beyond the Cordillera de Los Andes and the Ocean Pacific in a pre-internet and pre-TV cable era in Chile.[268]

Indeed, television in Latin America has connected audiences to the world and familiarized it with diversity. In doing so, "television destroys the fortress of cultural isolation" (Monsiváis, 2000: 213). As one of the correspondents interviewed illustrates, the late 1980s and the 1990s were "a period when there was practically no TV cable, there was no internet. Then, these correspondents went to Kazakhstan for a month and brought back several stories, and everything was new! You put a camera on any street in San Francisco and ten gays passing by, and it was huge because the audience was impressed."[269] As an early critic highlighted in the mid-1980s, audiences appreciate these well-organized reports because they stay updated about what is happening around and what would be the consequences in the future (Schindler, 1992). Nonetheless, in the 2010s, the role of opening windows to lifestyles, historical process, or global issues was not at the core of long-form journalism in Chilean television anymore, although *Informe Especial* still tries to cover at least high-profile conflicts, such as the civil war in Syria, the invasion of Iraq, or the conflict in Ukraine.[270]

The decline of international stories in *Informe Especial* and especially in *Contacto* could be the result of several reasons, such as the opportunity to cover domestic stories that were out of

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[268] The first official data about television cable subscribers is from 1993: by that year, there were 279,234 subscribers in a country with a population of almost 14 million. By 2000, there were not even 700,000 television cable subscribers (more than 15 million population). By 2000, there were only 585,793 internet connections in the whole country. In other words, Chilean broadcasting in the 1990s lived in a rather internet- and TV cable- free environment.

[269] Interviewee E3.

[270] "Siria, lágrimas de sangre," September 1st, 2013; "Kuwait," October 24, 1991; "Irak," September 3, 1992; "Guerra en Irak," April 22, 2003, and "Ucrania: Bitácora de una Guerra," October 6, 2014.

the public discussion due to previous censorship while under an authoritarian regime and, later, due to the constrains of a young democracy. It also could imply the shows' response to audiences more connected and invested in a local news agenda. By the 2010s, Chilean evening newscasts were also overwhelmingly oriented towards domestic topics, and foreign news were often included in television news due to a Chilean involved in it (Porath & Mujica, 2011; Porath, Mujica, & Maldonado, 2009). Finally, this trend is also contemporary to the massive shut down of larger mainstream media's foreign offices around the world (Murrell, 2015). No matter which one of these phenomena has more explanatory power in understanding the evident shrinking of the foreign agenda in *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, the decline is one of the symptoms of a more restricted budget in producing in-depth journalism in Chilean television, too.

Labor

Concerns around precarious labor conditions in the Chilean media system are not new. Media worker strikes, and massive layoffs have gained visibility since the late 2000s and media trade union leaders have actively denounced precarization and advocated for improving legal regulation and media corporate practices.[271] Media unions' leaders have pointed out[272] that the main problems in Chilean media labor include low wages (Délano et al., 2007; Mellado & Lagos, 2013a), harassment against unions and several obstacles to unionize, multitasking, overwhelming workdays, and unpaid overtime. However, temporary contracts, outsourcing, weak unions, and frozen salaries are not features exclusive to Chilean journalism, but they are driven by the international division of labor in the communication sectors (Maxwell, 2016; Mosco, 2011a). Even more, labor has steadily deteriorated worldwide, worsening since the 2008 crisis. Today, having a job is no guarantee to escape from poverty (ILO, 2014). Nevertheless,

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[271] In 2010, several media unions joined the 1st Congress of Media and Visual Arts' Workers (Primer Congreso de Trabajadores de las Comunicaciones y las Artes Visuales). One of the main topics was labor rights within the Chilean media system ("Trabajadores de la TV debatieron sobre abusos laborales," 2010). In November 2014, union leaders from 13 Latin American countries joined a conference about Media, Globalization, and Democracy in Santiago de Chile (Sánchez, 2014). I am grateful to Natalia Sánchez, from ICEI's PR office, for sharing the audios of the conference. See also Tonelli (2011), Trafilaf (2014), Lagos (2013), Martínez (2014). After massive layoffs in the Chilean media industry in 2018, the president of the national association of journalists, Margarita Pastene, denounced massive and systematic layoffs as a way to soften public criticism (Pastene, 2018).

[272] Hearings at the labor committee in the Chamber of Deputies (*Acta Comisión de Trabajo y Previsión Social*, 2014; Gutiérrez, 2014). I am grateful to Javiera Olivares, 2014's president of the national guild of journalists, and Claudio Salinas, president of Iberoamericana Radio Chile's union, for sharing their speeches.

these worldwide trends for communication workers have local flavors depending on the political culture, the regulatory frame, local unions' strength, or national corporate cultures, for instance.

The neoliberal program designed by the civic-military dictatorship since the late 1970s diminished labor rights. The shock policies applied by the regime, and the consequent impact in employment, poverty, and on inequality only worsened workers' conditions (Agacino, 2003; Ffrench-Davis, 2010; Gammage, Alburquerque, & Durán, 2014; Harvey, 2003; Klein, 2007). Indeed, the dictatorship ferociously repressed labor unions and its leaders, suspended their power, softening labor rights, forbidding unionization, and/or co-opting it by appointing pro-dictatorship leaders. A higher decentralized collective bargaining (corporate, not by branch nor national); a weak right to strike (employers can replace workers); an organizational parallelism (employers can negotiate individually), and a de-politization of unions were the principles organizing labor[273] (Narbona, 2014).

Democratic authorities introduced some reforms addressing these problems,[274] and the official discourse optimistically stated that "labor unions have grown stronger, workers' rights are fully respected, and the increased dialogue between labor, business, and government has resulted in a more balanced national labor policy."[275] Nonetheless, the worker-employer relationship remained solidly unbalanced and business-friendly since the 1990s (Barrett, 2001). According to official data from the Bureau of Labor, unionization rates between 1990 and 2015 floated between 11% and 16%. Only after a comprehensive labor reform passed in 2017, workers' participation in their unions raised up to 20%.

Since the 1990s, the media environment shifted, too, affecting media labor. Indeed, radio and especially television expanded to further territories, reaching viewers that for the first time had access to more than one network in their communities.[276] Audiences also acquired more power, mainly through the people meter; media and journalists moved towards specialization, and content production and consumption increasingly became more segmented. Consequently,

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[273] In 2002, labor regulation grouped all bills referring to labor through the *Decreto con Fuerza de Ley* (D.F.L., a sort of executive order) #1. July 31st, 2002. Available at http://www.dt.gob.cl/legislacion/1611/articles-95516_recurso_1.pdf [retrieved on March 30, 2015].

[274] One of the most relevant was creating independent and stronger labor courts in 2008.

[275] "Labor relations," Embassy of Chile, Washington D.C., no dated. Available at http://www.chile-usa.org/laborrelations.htm [retrieved on March 28, 2015].

[276] TVN was by then the only network with a larger geographical presence. Even big- and medium-size cities have access to just one network in their area.

the advertising industry and their practices mutated. Communications also gained growing economic importance and national and foreign companies joined networks' ownership. Overall, commercialism was communications' driven force. By 1994, private players launched new networks, *Megavisión* (or *Mega*) and *La Red*, introducing some competition to a rather stable television industry. These whole set of changes also implied new corporate policies and practices that by the 2010s colonized the way of doing television and affected journalism work.

For instance, by the mid-1990s, *Mega* did not hire their correspondents. It used to contract them part time or temporarily to cover specific, high-profile stories. Since then, it is possible to trace several signs of the precarization of the labor market and the influence of private companies introducing flexible relationships with their employees and their contractors. As one of the interviewees explains, he resigned from his job at a radio station to uncover a high-profile trial[277] (Sims, 1995) for *Mega* under a temporary contract with the compromise that he would be fully contracted afterwards. However, it did not happen and after the trial's resolution, he found himself unemployed. In other words, the network hired the reporter's professional capital because he had previously been a court correspondent very well versed and sourced in that beat, used him while he was needed, and disposed of him after he accomplished the network's goal of competitively producing news without investing in training personal. In *La Red*, the other new private metropolitan network, things were not that different and news production relied upon a very small team, some of them working part-time, and performing several functions as editor, host, and reporter, too.[278] As other interviewees point out, this practice was not an exception but the way in which the new, private newsrooms were conceived.[279]

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[277] Interviewee E7.
[278] Interviewee E3.
[279] In print media, this trend also appears at the end of the 1990s when companies owning several outlets merged their newsrooms and forced editors and journalists to write and produce stories for more than one medium. For instance, *El Mercurio* has the larger chain of newspapers spread along the country. In some big cities, *El Mercurio*'s local newspaper has been the only one locally edited. The company also launched a national chain of radio stations put on air with the same newsroom that published the local paper. Copesa did the same when creating its evening newspaper, *La Hora*, merging it with *La Tercera*'s staff. In the 2010s, the trend was hegemonic and most of newsrooms in a convergent media landscape were serving more than one outlet in their companies.

The nature of media work (24/7) is fertile ground to disregard basic labor rights' standards. Informality in contracts and disregarding workday regulations[280] are common practices within Chilean networks, openly infringing labor regulations. These policies are so massive that they are obviously part of the networks' corporate culture and not just neglect or mistakes. To ignore workday workers' rights, the most common practices include massively applying an exception to workday regulations,[281] extensively outsourcing tasks that are fundamental to networks' daily operations, and forcing high-salary workers, such as news anchors, to be hired through external companies instead of incorporating them as full-time workers.

Indeed, by the end of the 2000s and the early 2010s, almost a third of workers at *Mega* did not have a regular contract, including 36 cameramen (out of 75) and 31 journalists (out of 66) (Cornejo Moraga, 2010). All networks have hundreds of blue- and white-collar workers performing crucial tasks in the network's operation, under the network's staff supervision, and complying with schedules although contracted through outsourced companies (Cornejo Moraga, 2010; D.T., 2010a, 2010b; Sau Sierralta, 2010). In other words, these outsourced workers fill job positions that legally require a formal contract.[282] Another twisted strategy to overlook regular contracts in broadcasting is contracting the best paid TV workers, such as anchormen and women and entertainment show hosts, through outsourcing. Indeed, although they perform daily tasks as any other worker under a regular contract, companies hired their labor formally as consultants through external companies, under civil contracts, and not under the labor law requirements (Ramos & Guzmán, 2013). This formula allows well-paid anchors and television hosts to skip paying taxes[283] but, overall, lose their labor rights, since they cannot join unions. The companies also avoid paying any social security obligations and retirement packages as long as employees are not legally their workers, even though these employees perform the daily tasks

[280] Chilean regulation determines a 45-hour cap per week as full-time, and companies are obligated to hire employees under formal contracts if they are working under the company's formal supervision. Companies are also required to comply with work schedules and ought to deliver specific tasks.
[281] Those employees with management responsibilities and without superior control -as managers and high executives- are excluded from the company's legal obligation of respecting a 45-hour cap. However, the media companies massively apply this exception, turning it into the norm.
[282] Interview with a former journalist and producer of *Canal 13*. Personal communication, May 10, 2017 (a).
[283] Corporate taxes for service companies are smaller than taxes for high-income individuals.

of a broadcaster. News anchors' skyrocketing salaries also mark the internal division of labor in their networks and keep the rest of the workers' salaries flat.

Television companies have a pool of policies oriented towards ignoring workday legal limits, too, increasing their staff's workloads and avoiding paying overtime. As an official document of the national organization of publishers states, "A journalist is still a journalist after his workday" (ANP & UAH, 2013, p. 6), glamorizing journalists' never-ending workload. Under that frame, corporations exempt their workers from punching-in and punching-out. The tool most widely used to enforce this policy in every network has been noting it in their workers' individual contracts. This practice can be wrongly understood as a way of encouraging a work-family balance, for example. Nonetheless, it rather results in weakening working conditions within television production. Indeed, by the end of the 2000s and the early 2010s, there were hundreds of networks' staff without a regular work day: dozens and dozens of *Mega*'s staff; more than 200 workers in *Chilevisión*; almost 200 employees in *TVN*'s newsroom, and two-thirds of *Canal 13*'s workers, even though they were developing tasks and roles that must be covered by a regular workday according to the labor law (Cornejo Moraga, 2010; D.T., 2010a, 2010b; Sau Sierralta, 2010).

All networks were fined by the Office of Labor, and they were forced to make changes to comply with the law. Some of them introduced vague and flamboyant statements in their collective contracts, as *Canal 13* did in its 2015-2017 contract (Canal 13-SA, 2014a). Indeed, the corporate policy[284] regulating workday hours considers, then, paying a one-time bonus when staff work overtime due to "extraordinary situations." However, the list of such extraordinary events is extensive and includes situations that are not, indeed, unusual in Chilean news production[285]. Other networks incorporated similar commitments to respect legal workday hour limits, though not as detailed as *Canal 13*'s policy. However, reporters that agreed to punch-in and punch-out were not assigned to extensive news coverage that are still produced for a 24/7 news cycle and give reporters more professional visibility. In addition, those who were very

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[284] "Política general sobre jornada laboral en Canal 13 s.a. para trabajadores sin sujeción horaria," demonstrating the widely-used practice of large workloads and unpaid overtime.

[285] Like earthquakes, natural disasters, or high-profile sports events. Since 2005, for instance, Chile has suffered several earthquakes above 7 points on the Richter scale, a tsunami in 2010, floods in 2015, two volcano eruptions in 2015, to mention a few.

active in advocating for improving labor conditions, including union members, were fired, and staff under health leave due to stress were urged to resign.[286]

Although television shows devoted to long-form journalism could have eventually found a way to protect their work from commercialism in news production, this trend has been so pervasively cultivated that it ended up influencing the way investigative stories were produced. Indeed, despite the fact that correspondents in *Contacto* and *IE* embody qualities highly appreciated in the field, such as several years of experience, high-quality training, well-sourced, cultural capital (like a second language), and peer and social recognition, too, they did not necessarily fit into management trends emphasizing profits, cut-offs, and ratings. They can eventually be more valuable than regular reporters covering daily news (contributing to building networks' brands and prestige, for example), but in the end, they are also vulnerable to larger economic trends in the industry.

Indeed, even though reporters and producers can find a way to develop investigative stories, the television industry "works as a company, and as a fucking company, not a family business. That is, you have to fight [for your work], and they only offer you more [money] when you've got a call from next door.[287] Then, you announce 'you know? I'm leaving because they called me from next door', then they say 'Don't! Wait! Let's talk.' But why didn't you call me before and tell me I'm valuable? That's how TV works... And what you get are dissatisfied people who move from one network to another for 100 or 200 *lucas*!,"[288] pointing out that the salary expectations are so low in the industry that any slight improvement is eventually attractive under not so challenging or supportive working environments.[289] In fact, regardless of contracts that workers and companies agree upon on an individual basis, there have not been wage increases in the 2010s. In fact, all networks have adjusted salaries just according to the national inflation, and they included several flexible components, such as special bonus (Canal 13-SA, 2014a; Canal 13-SpA, 2011; Chilevisión, 2014; Mega, 2014; TVN, 2012, 2014).

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[286] Interviews with *Canal 13*'s former reporters for online and news programming. Personal communications by email and voicemail, May 10, 2015(a); May 10, 2015(b); May 17, 2015.
[287] He refers to the competition, another network.
[288] "Lucas" is a colloquial expression for "thousands Chilean pesos." By 2018, $100,000 Chilean pesos are roughly US$144.
[289] Interviewee E16.

Investigative teams also rely upon cheap labor, such as interns completing their graduation requirements from schools of journalism. Usually, internships are not paid or paid under minimum wage understanding that students in their last year of journalism are training to gain professional experience in real-life media work. However, they are not only mentored by their editors or supervisors, but they actually perform professional tasks at low or no cost for the company. Networks also try to extend this inexpensive labor relationship as long as they can, and as long as junior journalists accept it. One of the interviewees explains that after her internship in one of the TV shows in the mid-2000s, the producer called her and asked to keep working for them but as an extension of her internship and not under a full contract. "I told him that if he wanted me to stay, he would have to hire me" and pay an actual salary, "it seemed like a matter of dignity and justice." The interviewee remembers feeling "a brutal lack of respect"[290]. Networks promise their interns to pay a professional standard rate if they graduate, but as long as interns work under a 24/7 cycle, they usually take longer to graduate. In the meantime, they are still paid as interns instead of certified reporters and networks.

Although main correspondents in charge of a report spend countless hours in each of their stories, researchers and interns also heavily contribute with their cheaper labor to on-the-field and relatively more risky tasks, such as going undercover, wearing spy cameras, or spending more time reporting in not-so-safe neighborhoods. Some of the interviewees that worked as researchers or interns when they joined *IE* or *Contacto* teams express that they embraced a spirit of adventure, were risk-seeking, were willing to work 24/7, and explored an unknown and fascinating world of performing investigative journalism. "I knew how to arm and disarm spy cameras. I've learned how to do that," points out a journalist that worked as a researcher by the end of the 2000s in *Contacto.*[291] This spirit also is highlighted by interviewees that worked in higher job positions. However, all the interviewees in one sense or another expressed how personally demanding and physically exhausting it was to work under such circumstances, how some ended up moving up within the same network, moving to another job, or abandoning investigative journalism temporarily or definitely.

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[290] Interviewee E4.
[291] Interviewee E20.

This 24/7 style of undercover, investigative, highly-demanding reporting influenced the whole cycle of production and the staff involved, as several interviewees describe. "I am a workaholic, and I could work from 8 a.m. to midnight," a former researcher that joined *Contacto* right out of the school of journalism says. Indeed, by the time she became part of the team, she was a single and childless woman, with no big obligations other than her work. "The only thing I had was this job… I did not respect lunch hours [of the cameramen I was working with] and my whole life revolved around the network."[292] After working for months as an undercover researcher, doing on-site reporting in a low-income neighborhood with problems of gang violence, drug trafficking, and a rather stateless environment, another journalist also looked for other job opportunities. Despite the excitement of her undercover performance, "I was tired".[293]

Although interviewees value an environment where correspondents mentor their assistants,[294] investigative journalism relies upon a hierarchical structure of production. Indeed, interns and inexperienced journalists fueled the pipeline of the division of labor in *Contacto* in which the correspondents were responsible for the whole product, assembled the story, developed and wrote the screenplay, interviewed officials and open sources, and coordinated the daily work with his or her assistants. These assistants or researchers, usually juniors, hit the streets and did the rougher tasks, such as undercover reporting, and performed several tasks, such as "supporting the investigation, searching for data, collecting information from media clippings, visiting the library, talking to many people… it was a very different model [of reporting] from the newsroom-informative style."[295] As former researchers point out, "the report was not mine"[296], "main correspondents earn four times more than a researcher,"[297] and researchers have a narrow range of power in deciding the agenda.[298] In other words, if becoming a main correspondent and appearing on screen was not appealing as a career path for researchers, there was not much of a future in this division of labor. Nonetheless, interviewees valued their experiences whether in *IE* or *Contacto* as teamwork and one of a kind.

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[292] Interviewee E4.
[293] Interviewee E20.
[294] Interviewees E4, E20, and E21.
[295] Interviewee E7.
[296] Interviewee E20.
[297] Interviewee E4.
[298] Interviewee E21.

Productivity

By the mid-1990s, news production in Chilean television implied complying goals of production (a minimum number of stories produced and aired per month or per week, for example). At some point, management policies introduced bonuses as tools for encouraging maximizing resources and downsizing expenditures. These policies affected *Informe Especial*'s and *Contacto*'s production, too. By the late 1990s, TVN started to pay each *IE* correspondent a bonus if they produced more than three stories per season. The system was "a bit perverse… You did your minimum of reports -three-, and if you did more stories, they paid you an extra bonus that was quite high."[299] A bit later, by the mid-2000s, new management policies deployed at *Canal 13* introduced several changes in the way budgets were assigned and the performance of each team was evaluated in terms of productivity, including both ratings results and bonuses.[300] Such a system eventually stimulates the production of lighter and easier-to-produce topics,[301] in spite of digging deeper. By the early 2000s, airing an outstanding story that exposed something unknown, involving public interest, and triggering great impact was not enough anymore. "I feel that every day I navigate in a very conflictive world in which I should match the newsmaking process to the values of journalism. [But] it doesn't matter how great a story is if it doesn't get good ratings, too. It is a very vulnerable world."[302]

The requirements for increasing productivity implied longer seasons and more episodes with a team and a budget that was shrinking due to cutoffs and outsourcing. Indeed, by looking at the rate of stories produced per correspondent, per season, in *Informe Especial*, there are some clues that better illustrate this system of incentives and high pressure for more productivity and how they triggered some changes along the period under study. For instance, in 1990 five correspondents produced 5.6 stories in a four-month season. Five years later, *IE* had more correspondents (eight), but a longer season (four-and-a-half months) and each one produced a

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[299] Interviewee E7.
[300] Interviewee E18.
[301] However, soft and/or easier-to-produce topics were part of *Contacto*'s agenda in the 1990s. Interviews with pianists, painters, singers, television hosts, writers, actors, or inspiring people that overcome life difficulties were part of the uplifting show's agenda trying to highlight positive role models and individual paths of achievement. Some of them also fit to upper-class audience's interests or tastes.
[302] Interviewee E3.

similar number of reports (5.4 stories). In the decade of the 1990s, each episode aired two or more reports, but by 2000, *IE* went into one-single, one-hour long, report per episode. So, the rate of correspondents/stories shifted. Therefore, in 2000, 10 correspondents produced 2.8 episodes in a longer season of five months. In comparison to the ten previous years, it is expected that management could have seen it as a waste of resources. However, reports were longer and that year there was at least one special issue[303] and a two-series story that required mobilizing a lot of resources in Chile and abroad.[304] Five years later, in 2005, the one-single report per episode was the rule at *IE*. By then, a smaller team of six correspondents produced 3.1 reports each, as they did in 2010. Finally, by 2015, although *IE*'s nine correspondents could be considered a high number of senior journalists devoted to a single television show, that year *IE*'s season lasted seven months and produced 41 stories in 26 episodes. On average, each main correspondent produced 4.5 stories that season.

On the other hand, the data available about correspondents in *Contacto* in the 1990s is more incomplete when compared to *IE*´s and the nature of the show, a sort of television magazine,[305] makes it not only difficult to calculate the correspondent/#stories rate, but also the seasons produces during the 2000s and the 2010s are unparalleled. Nonetheless, by the early 2000s, seven to eight of *Contacto*'s correspondents produced 14 to 19 single-stories per episode during four-to-five-month seasons. In 2005, eight correspondents produced 14 stories in a four-month season. That is, on average, each correspondent produced barely two reports that season.[306] By 2015 and 2016, a smaller team produced longer seasons and twice the number of stories than were produced in the early 2000s.

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[303] Special story: "Caso Pinochet: El regreso," March 2, 2000.
[304] Such as the one explaining the long intervention of the CIA in contemporary Chilean politics: "La CIA en Chile," November 14 and 21, 2000.
[305] Indeed, in 1991, four correspondents (including the host who was also the producer) working for *Contacto* produced 47 stories in 12 episodes during a three-month season. Then, on average, each correspondent produced 11 stories. The trend is similar in 1995: four correspondents produced 79 stories aired in 19 episodes during a longer season that lasted seven months. However, they were short stories, interviews, short clips, and in-studio guests.
[306] *Contacto*'s 2005 season was unusual. The show produced two special episodes before the beginning of the season in August: in January 13, 2005, the "caso Lavandero" broadcasted an explosive story exposing a national senator, a very prominent political figure with presidential aspirations, of sexual abuse of minors. Indeed, the senator ended up convicted and served several years in jail. On March 13 and 14, the program aired a two-parts series "Tras la huella de Paul Schafer" I and II. After more than a year of investigation, *Contacto*'s team found and expose the most wanted fugitive in Chilean police history that had been running away from justice for several years when *Contacto*'s reporters finally found his hide-out in Argentina. Relying on immersive reporting, hidden cameras, and documents-

Ratings became another metric to evaluate long-form journalism and increasingly gained critical weight for producing both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. Capturing large audiences not only put heavy pressure on news production, but at the same time, shielded some reporters from doing controversial topics within mainstream television. As one of the interviewees explains, "I've always had that little touch of luck in my favor. I can be annoying… but I obtain ratings, which is what matters to them anyway. I have always played in that field; that is, if I had not performed well [in terms of ratings], I would have survived a shorter period of time in this environment. [I live here] always with that duality of love and hate, respect but care."[307]

A full array of hybrid genres deployed since the late 1990s and by the 2000s have colonized television production. The influence of hybridity in news production can be traced not only through the narratives and the techniques borrowed from drama, as chapter 3 discusses, but also through the change in the competition long-form journalism started to face, making differentiation much more difficult. Therefore, when television genres exploded and reality television, docudramas, and all sort of hybrid content became very influential, networks' pressure for skyrocketing ratings in both *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* became something more and more pervasive by the mid-2000s and by the early 2010s, it was very tough.[308] It was not news competing with news anymore, but it turned into long-form journalism against law enforcement on prime time through reality television cameras embedded in police patrols,[309] instead.

To explore the timing and scope of introducing corporate policies of productivity affecting television muckraking performance, I detail two dimensions that were key in developing high-impact stories and were affected by the management practices deployed during the period of study. The first one is the place both shows had had within their larger network's organizational and bureaucratic structures and the second one is the method of producing long-form broadcasting journalism since the 1990s. In other words, this section inquires into both the

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based investigation, *Contacto* found the man accused of child abuse, tax fraud, human rights violations, and theleader of an enclosed community in the country side of Chile in a small town, *Colonia Dignidad*.

[307] Interviewee E3.

[308] Interviewees E3, E7, E18, E19, E20, and E21.

[309] For instance, "133, Atrapados por la realidad" (emulating "Cops"), was a television show aired by Mega between 2007 and 2012 in which television cameras followed daily police operations dealing with domestic violence, burglaries, and even searches for lost people (Fucatel, 2009; Vega, 2011).

organizational and the routine levels of influences (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Indeed, an organization "creates, modifies, produces, and distributes content to many receivers," and its influence can be traced by features such as ownership, policies, bureaucratic structure, and economic viability, to mention a few (p. 130), while routines are "those patterned, repeated practices, forms, and rules that media workers use to do their jobs" (p. 165). The field of media routines is rich in inquiring into the process through which an event makes the front page (Boczkowski, 2010; Gans, 2004; Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017; Tuchman, 1978; Usher, 2014). At the end, the changes in both the organizational affiliation of the shows within the company and the forces contributing or undermining *IE* and *Contacto*'s methods of reporting shed light on the political economy of producing muckraking on Chilean television.

The place each show occupied in the whole organizational structure within each network have influenced the modes of production which are, also, slightly different between each show and along the time under study. Indeed, while *Informe Especial* was conceived and launched within the newsroom and under the head of press services in public broadcasting in the mid-1980s, *Contacto* was created and lasted for most of its history under the area of production in Canal 13, out of the buzz of the news daily coverage. While *IE* has organizationally depended on the newsroom since its inception, the plans to move *Contacto* from the Production Area to Canal 13's news division was a strong rumor by the end of the 2000s and a fact by the early 2010s.

Informe Especial's affiliation to TVN's news division has implied that the show has a sense of news urgency. Indeed, the program not only has developed investigations demanding several months of reporting, production, and post-production, but it responds to news events as well. Foreign coverage is a good example of this: indeed, *IE* has provided a timely, on-site coverage of the Soviet Perestroika and the aftermaths of the end of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the guerrillas in Center America, and the war in the Balkans as soon as they began. On September 13, 2001, *Informe Especial* aired a special report on 9/11 and over the next two months, it provided special, on-site coverage from Afghanistan. Nationally, *Informe Especial* tends to immediately attend to ongoing or recent news events and by doing so, the show has a say in both daily coverage and in-depth journalism.[310]

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[310] For instance, in May 2005, 45 army conscripts who died in a blizzard during their training in the high mountain due to the command's negligence to protect them. They got fresh footage right after, and the team went back a few months later to see the consequences of the event. "La marcha mortal," *Informe Especial*, July 20, 2005. Covering

As one of the interviewees that has worked for both shows, *Contacto*'s affiliation to *Canal 13*'s area of production, and not news division, contributed "to generate a method that requires organization for requesting cameras. While in *IE* correspondents tended to have a cameraman available because it was part of the newsroom's daily operations, in *Contacto* you needed to request a camera in advance. Then, you needed to plan ahead, to generate a method to organize your investigation."[311] *Contacto*'s affiliation to the area of production also implied a specific and increasingly well-trained cameramen "We had to have our own cameramen, so, what we'd done in the program was kept confidential. Our own cameramen allowed us to conduct more difficult investigations and avoid leaks."[312]

By the 2010s, *Contacto* finally was integrated under the newsroom's umbrella and both shows were moved from prime time, independent shows, to be included in the evening newscasts,[313] shortening the reports and extending the seasons. While in 2018 *Contacto* was cancelled, *Informe Especial* returned to be a single-report per episode programmed on prime time, weekly. The relative shrinking of *Contacto*'s capacity of producing high-profile stories by the mid-2010s responded more to the economics of the television industry and Canal 13, in particular, rather than to an editorial decision of reviving *Contacto*'s magazine-style of the early 1990s, though.[314]

When *Canal 13* blended *Contacto* into its news division, the show's conditions of production dramatically changed, affecting the scope of the show and the type of investigations the team could actually conduct, if they could investigate at all. As one of the former members of the show explains, getting absorbed into the newsroom implied "a lack of resources, the best journalists could no longer be hired, or journalists must also contribute to daily reporting. There was much less time for investigations and [stories] were quickly dismissed if they didn't work

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ongoing events or problems is still part of *Informe Especial*'s agenda. Despite the fact that 2018's season is out of the scope of this research, it is important to note that the show still covers current, highly-visible affairs. See, for instance, "Quintero, el plan que no funcionó," October 31, 2018.

[311] Interviewee E7.

[312] Interviewee E13.

[313] Alipio Vera ensures that due the increasing pressure for obtaining high ratings, TVN's authorities have usually been tempted to request that *Informe Especial* correspondents contribute to news daily coverage. Alipio Vera in "Mentiras Verdaderas, *La Red*, July 2, 2017.

[314] Although interviewees and other sources frame *Contacto*'s merge into Canal 13's news division as eroding the nature of the show, it was rather a sort of coming back to the program's roots in early 1990s. In fact, in its beginning, *Contacto* was a sort of TV magazine airing several short stories, interviews, and even in-studio guests.

[on early stages], the pressure for developing reports that would perform well in terms of ratings increased, and there was a wide use of hidden cameras without questioning it very much."[315] Under that umbrella, by the end of the 2000s, *Contacto* was under the newsroom's responsibility, with a smaller team, a more restricted budget, and under heavy pressure for gaining higher ratings.[316]

Together with the changes in *Contacto* and *Informe Especial*'s organizational affiliation, editors, reporters, and producers moved within their networks, implying some pros, such as having *Contacto* or *Informe Especial* alumni that knew the nature of the shows' work well and could back them up while serving in upper levels of the networks' management. But it also carried some cons, such as weakening any chance of forming stable teams. Indeed, when producers, reporters, or editors in *Contacto* moved up in the organizational hierarchy within the network, they turned into sort of godfathers and godmothers of the show. Reporters and editors express they felt backed up. On the other hand, this moving up of some key *Contacto* editors and producers[317] implied a progressive dismantling of the crew, the method, and the practices of reporting. In other words, what *Contacto* gained in having its alum in upper positions in the network's chain of command that backed the program up, it also lost by weakening a consolidated group. The heavy workload, the high sense of responsibility, the huge pressure due to covering highly-sensitive topics, and the stress derived from this type of work, also compelled *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* members to leave temporarily or permanently, contributing to disassembling the team. This weakness became more profound while funding shrunk and *Contacto's* affiliation organizationally moved from the area of production to the news division.

The next dimension that is relevant to better understand the pressures to improve productivity in long-form journalism on television is the processes and methods deployed. Indeed, unfolding the process of producing stories for *IE* or *Contacto* since the 1990s implies at least three main dimensions: the time invested, the process of setting the agenda (searching and identifying a short list of topics to produce each season) and the reports (tracing different steps and stakeholders within the team and the network, teamwork styles, and specific ways of reporting progresses), and the evaluation afterwards.

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[315] Interviewee E7.
[316] Interviewee E17.
[317] Such as its founder, Mercedes Ducci, and editor Patricio Hernández, to mention a few.

The time invested by the crew to investigate and produce long-form broadcasting journalism seemed to be relatively more generous during the 1990s and particularly during the 2000s than in the late 2000s and 2010s, according to interviews and the production itself. For instance, the time invested in producing shots capturing wrongdoings on-camera and the number of sources interviewed depict the time available to investigate. As a former *Contacto* researcher illustrates, "there was no sort of synthesizing the material, so to speak. We recorded a *gazillion* tapes. Although we produced one-hour reports, it was crazy anyway [recording so many tapes]. Everything could work! We could wait hours for a drug transaction to happen in front of the camera… We could wait a whole year for the right shot."[318] Another correspondent points out that "for any story, I talked to a lot of people. I interviewed them several times because I liked having several interviews from the same sources… I even over-investigated… but it was a very rich time for me."[319] The habit of consulting the most delicate stories with the network's lawyer also demonstrates a relatively large period of production in *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, as several reporters and editors that have worked at both shows mention.

Although in the early 1990s, *IE* correspondents spent on average no more than a month dedicated to developing a story[320], the time invested in producing reports get longer and longer. Therefore, some of *Contacto* and *Informe Especial*'s investigations have taken from six to nine months to produce. "It was like a pregnancy."[321] This was clearly the case of stories that have the most impact. For instance, during the 1990s and the 2000s, both shows have invested even more than a year in the most complicated stories, such as *Townley: Confesiones de un asesino* (*Informe Especial*, 1993) and *Tras la huella de Paul Schafer* (Contacto, 2005) with enduring impact.

Based on the interviews and the corpus of reports analyzed, among other material, it is possible to identify the processes and methods involved in producing investigative stories, the key elements entangled in them, and how they have changed since the 1990s. The teamwork style, the leader in charge (the editor), a formalized and shared method of work, and how stable and highly-specialized a team is are some of the traces relevant in producing long-form

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[318] Interviewee E21.
[319] Interviewee E7.
[320] Alipio Vera in "Mentiras Verdaderas, *La Red*, July 2, 2017.
[321] Interviewee E22.

journalism since the 1990s in Chilean broadcasting. By exploring the behind-the-scenes of long-form broadcasting journalism, I also examine eventual differences between the two shows' practices. In other words, if there is a distinctive way of reporting by *Informe Especial* or by *Contacto*.

The attributes of journalistic production that have defined routines in both *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* have navigated the organizational features earlier analyzed in this chapter. Indeed, the place both shows have occupied in the larger organizational charts, how that place has changed, and the role their leaders (editors) have deployed within their broader context have intertwined the programs' routines. Therefore, how well-sourced, highly-specialized, and stable an investigative team is has been in constant negotiation and tension within the organization they are part of. Both levels of organizations and routines "stress that media content is produced in an organizational and bureaucratic setting, but the more macro organizational focus shows the points at which routines run counter to organizational logic, and it reveals internal tensions not indicated by an emphasis solely on routines or individuals" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 135).

During the 2000s, both shows put together a more conscious, organized, and team-style of working compared to a rather individual way of investigation or a more intuitive process that was clearly the dominant pattern during the 1990s in both shows. Indeed, relying on the corpus of reports analyzed and the interviews conducted, by the 2000s both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* put together more compact teams, with slight differences in the way and time it happened, the characteristics they have, and the methods they embraced.

In the case of *IE*, sometimes it has functioned under a more individualistic process of production, in which the editor juggles several single projects. At other times, it has looked like a permanent workshop. Indeed, a more cohesive teamwork style of producing and reporting matches to the periods in which there has been a team exclusively devoted to the show, while the seasons characterized by a rather more individual approach to journalistic production rely upon a team where members also work on other shows in the network. Under a more solo way of production, correspondent teams worked directly with "the editor, a producer, a researcher and/or a cameraman… and some interns, too. It's very precarious… it's super respectable [what the TV show does] because they do things, move people, generate agendas… It's beautiful, and I

think it is very idealist, too."[322] A correspondent who joined IE at the end of the 1990s and worked there for several seasons illustrates this rather solo way of producing stories: "I had a hard time disciplining: each journalist focused on her research, she had several months, she proposed some topics. There was no investigative method: each correspondent had her own. It was very challenging for me, let's say, the first two years forming the discipline to find out topics and to produce evidence for television."[323]

By the mid-2000s, *Informe Especial*'s team started to pay systematic attention to larger social changes and expectations in Chile, reviewing data, statistics, surveys, and so on. The team purposely discussed how to better produce visual stories, "after all, investigative journalism was a television show," as a former *IE*'s correspondent and editor points out.[324] The correspondents dived into the topics, documents, and spent time talking to the sources that could fuel the stories; as a result, each report was produced following a step-by-step process. So, the idea was always to start filming, which is the most expensive part of the operation, when there was a basis for it and when the purpose of producing the story was clear. That process sort of better organized the management of the program. "There were seven stages: what was necessary for each stage, what clearance we needed for filming at each one of the stages, understanding that we built one floor at the time… There were more heads thinking…, [what resulted in] more exquisite stories and of much better quality."[325] As long as *IE* was strengthening, "I would say that we consolidated a method, a way of approaching an investigation in a more organized manner, with a greater predictability, so to speak. But at the beginning it was more intuitive… A well-organized way of working is very good, but you must never, never, ever forget that a hunch is at the core [of investigative journalism], the ability to recognize when a great story is in front of you."[326]

The teamwork system in *IE* was slightly different than the one at *Contacto*, where there is a researcher for each report that was done by one of the main correspondents. "*IE*'s system… has been fueled by newsroom culture. That is, all *IE*'s correspondents have been daily-based

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[322] Interviewee E3. Alipio Vera, one of *IE*'s founders and correspondent until 1995, explains that "when preparing each season, we made a list of topics, and we distributed who would produce it. I didn't necessarily report on the topics I suggested." Alipio Vera in "Mentiras Verdaderas," *La Red*, July 2, 2017. See also Marcelo Araya (cited by Morales, 2005, p. 23).
[323] Interviewee E7.
[324] Interviewee E19.
[325] Interviewee E19.
[326] Interviewee E22.

reporters before. Then, each one relied on their own method [to investigate]. Indeed, *Contacto* developed a method of conducting their investigations that is valued by people who worked on the show, as well as for other sources. As current and former reporters and editors describe it, during the 2000s,[327] every single story had a research report before conducting any filming. The 40-to-50-page report was a proposal and must include a storyline, the story's purposes and frame, the investigation's contribution, the documentary and first-hand sources required, the report's obstacles and viability, and the main characters and their development throughout the story. The report was developed by a researcher and a correspondent. Interviewees qualify this method as one of a kind.[328] Indeed, this report has a follow-up that every researcher and correspondent must complete with the accomplishments while the investigation progressed (*Plantilla Informes de Investigación*, n.d.).

Nonetheless, the rather wide range for spending in producing long-form and investigative journalism started to suffer from corporate practices. Under that umbrella, management policies developed since the 1990s emphasized rapid productivity and cheaper stories rather than quality-driven journalism. This move shaped and shrank the scope of the investigations these shows were able to develop. These changes are observable on different levels, at unlikely moments during the period analyzed, and can be traced through different memories the reporters share. For example, the detailed process and documents informing *Contacto*'s investigations progressively vanished under the increasing pressure for better economic performance, the organizational changes within the network, and the gradual dismantling of a rather stable team that produced the show through the 2000s. Consequently, by the end of that decade the practice of researching and producing a report supporting each investigation lost weight and little by little, disappeared. *IE* also went through a similar process under which a well-assembled team dissolved because some of its members filled other positions within the network or even in other companies; the shows started to outsource some stories, and the learning-community weakened.

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[327] Interviewees acknowledge the influence of Patricio Hernández, who became *Contacto*'s general editor in the early 2000s, for introducing a more systematic method of producing investigations and pushing for high-impact stories. He partnered with Pilar Rodríguez, who was *Contacto*'s journalistic editor between 1998 and 2007. Between 2007 and 2010, she was general editor of long-form journalism at TVN. In 2012, she returned to Canal 13 as general editor of long-form journalism, too, and lasted there a couple more years.
[328] Interviewees E7, E12, E14, E16, E17, and E18.

Outsourcing is not new in Chilean television. In the early 1990s, TVN developed an explicit policy of producing content with independent producers because it was cheaper for the network, who was recently freed from the dictatorship's censorship, was broke, and lacked audience trust, to relay upon outside professional expertise. This was an effective strategy to diversify the network's content and foster pluralism, as legally required. By outsourcing part of its production, public television also contributed to strengthening the local visual industry (Fuenzalida et al., 2009). However, by the 2010s, the trend externalizing the risk and the cost of producing long-form journalism also reached *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. For instance, between 2012 and 2015, *Informe Especial* aired nine stories produced through outsourcing by *La Ventana*[329]. By that time, *Contacto* also started to hire external journalists under short-term contracts to produce specific stories.[330]

Parallel to the trend of outsourcing the production of some investigative stories, teams were no longer exclusive to *Contacto* or *Informe Especial* but shared with other programs, undermining both shows' ability to determine their own agenda and to count with a specialized and compact team. Indeed, there were network's prominent hosts that eventually and sporadically produced *Informe Especial*'s stories. These were the cases of Mauricio Bustamante, Amaro Gómez-Pablos, Mónica Pérez, and Consuelo Saavedra who have produced reports for *Informe Especial* while they were TVN's morning and evening newscast hosts. On the other hand, long-standing senior correspondents become hosts on other shows born out of topics initially developed by *Informe Especial* or *Contacto*. For example, Paulina de Allende-Salazar was the host of *Esto no tiene nombre* for several years, a show exposing corporate abuses that resulted from *IE*'s coverage of consumers' rights, while Emilio Sutherland was the host of *En su propia trampa*, a mix of docudrama and reality show exposing hustlers of different sorts that is also a sub-product of similar stories produced by *Contacto*.

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[329] See http://www.laventanacine.com/proyectos/page/6/. Carola Fuentes, one of the most recognized *Contacto* correspondents during the 2000s, is one of *La Ventana*'s partners. *La Ventana* has also produced other content for TVN's news division, such as the series of documentaries about food and health ("¿Qué comes?"), about environment and social conflicts ("¿Por qué en mi jardín?"), and outstanding Chileans making contributions around the world ("10 chilenos que están cambiando el mundo").
[330] Interviewee E12.

Big money and retaliation

By the mid-1990s, the press echoed the celebratory discourse about Chilean development and how successful the country has been in overcoming extreme poverty and bolstering modernity. Indeed, they labeled Chile as the "Latin American jaguar," emulating the economic growth of South Asian countries or "Asian tigers" (Korowin, 2010; Moulián, 1997; Relea, 1998). Indeed, official data shows that between 1990 and 2000, the GDP per capita jumped from $2,393 to almost $5,000, economy steadily grew on an average of 5 percent per year, and poverty decreased. While almost 40 percent of the population lived under poverty in 1990, this number shrank to 20 percent in 2000. Hunger practically disappeared, and some larger social trends similar to those experienced by richer countries, such as the decreasing birth rate and the massification of higher education, occurred. The expansion of the middle-class motivated newspapers and magazines to redesign their editorial and business models to captivate audiences at their biggest capacity of purchasing in history. Along that path, some newspapers even asked their reporters and photojournalists to avoid depicting homeless, poor people, and poverty in general (Guzmán, 2005).

Out of that mood, *Contacto* produced a congratulatory piece on the economic transformations lead by a handful of economists trained in the University of Chicago that lead key positions under the dictatorial government as ministries in the executive branch[331]. Relying upon archival footage, personal photographs, key interviewees, and street-surveys/interviews with the general public, the report uncritically portrays the Chicago boys' story and the economic reforms they pushed after the military coup in 1973 and how this group of economists have shaped the Chilean economy. Only one moderate economist interviewed in the report points out that some political decisions made by the Chicago boys faced some academic criticism or triggered social outrage. Footage from inside the stock market, construction projects all over Santiago, and an image of modernity and consumption in the capital evokes the economic growth the report celebrates. The report wraps in a nutshell the rather individualistic and entrepreneurial approach of social improvement aligned with its editorial frame celebrating individual success. Indeed, *Contacto* emphasized stories of women and men beating adversity, whether drug addictions, criminal convictions, or illness, a frame particularly strong during the

[331] "Chile, el nacimiento del Jaguar: 10 años de crecimiento," November 2, 1994.

1990s.[332] The show, produced by a Catholic network owned by the Universidad Católica, also highlights the risks of modernization under a sort of moral panic approach when depicting AIDS, infidelity, children and adolescents at social risk, or ethical challenges triggered by groundbreaking scientific research. It seems that modernity carried not only the promise of individual success, but its own demons, too.

Nonetheless, in spite of celebratory discourses around economic growth and modernization, by 1990, four out of ten Chileans still lived in poverty by strict economic indicators such as income and subsidies. Millions barely made it to the end of each month, were not covered under social programs supporting struggling families, and lived under extremely precarious material conditions. In 1990, the first year of democratic government after the civic-military dictatorship, *Informe Especial* aired a 48-minute report on poverty. *IE* correspondent Alipio Vera visited several shanty towns, underfunded schools, fishermen villages, and coal miners' hamlets across the country. He interviewed grassroots leaders, men surviving with informal and risky jobs, living on river banks and under bridges, as well as women dealing with the winter while living in houses made of material scraps from dumpsters. The camera depicts mud roads, households without any comfort, and toddlers inappropriately dressed for cold weather. Vera talks face-to-face to people with only a few years of schooling, without social security, and deploying strategies of survival in cities and in rural villages.

Despite the report including government representatives and economists' perspectives, as well as official data, the main plotline illustrates flesh and blood people struggling with scarce opportunities and a lack of access to minimum material conditions of living. Therefore, beyond academic conceptualizations and public policies on the topic, Vera highlights what is behind the cold data: "These are the images of extreme poverty... It is the evidence of injustice, inequality, and neglect that millions of compatriots suffer." Vera points out when opening the story: "Just open your eyes and look around ... a dark belt of misery overshadows the lives of thousands of fellow citizens." His claim is about visibility and recognition. The misery is visually overwhelming, and Vera is empathetic; he is physically and morally there, in the mud, at night heating a can of food in a bonfire in an abandoned lot, and inside shanty towns. The two-shots

[332] Except by a report in the mid-2000s which critically address the shortcomings of a high-profile government plan designed and deployed to the poorest citizens to help them overcome their condition. "Programa Puente: Fin de la extrema pobreza," June 19, 2007.

depict both reporter and interviewees as equal, sharing a symbolic and a human place where the correspondent takes the audience in. Where *Contacto* saw an opportunity for personal growth under the successful discourse about modernity and development under an uncontested discourse about economic development, *Informe Especial* explored structural forces shaping everyday people and prevalent ways of organizing Chilean society during the 1990s.

Nonetheless, in a story broadcasted in 2012, *Informe Especial* portrayed the richest men (yes, no women) in the country. Under a frame mixing curiosity and outrage, the report depicts the wealthiest Chileans, their lifestyles, their businesses and their wealth's roots, as well as their contributions to funding political campaigns and philanthropy. The story also provides some historical clues about Chilean oligarchy and how it has changed over time. Relying on data about income and inequality, the story depicts the abysmal differences between the wealthiest and the poorest. Although the correspondent points out some critical questions about inequality and poverty, the wealthiest men portrayed in the story have voice, body, and context, while the poorest are faceless and are represented through cold, statistical data. On the contrary, businessmen are portrayed as entrepreneurs and as self-made men, even though they acknowledge their privileged social origins.

The discourse about economic success matched the triumphal accounts of the Chilean political transition designed and advanced by the democratic governments, with particular emphasis during the 1990s. In fact, the few critical voices warning about the model's fissures were ridiculed and accused of undermining a highly sophisticated political and economic process of consensus, negotiation, and pragmatic decision-making under an institutional frame inherited from the civic-military dictatorship. Under that climate, Chilean investigative journalism has navigated between loyal-facilitator and watchdog roles (Mellado & Lagos, 2014), dealing with a political field sensitive to critical media coverage in which the armed forces and the Catholic Church held great influence.

Indeed, the Catholic Church's power has been hegemonic among the traditional elite and during the 1990s and through the 2000s overshadowed the attempts of journalism's criticism. The entangled relations between the political, economic, and cultural fields are embodied through private schools, several Catholic universities, and the influence of its most conservative branches, such as the Opus Dei and the Legion of Christ. More progressive public figures were

also indebted to the role the Chilean Catholic Church played under the dictatorship in protecting the regime's victims, advocating for them, and even helping them out in obtaining political asylum abroad.

After the dictatorship, the armed forces overpowered the Chilean public sphere through their direct political action, protected by an authoritarian and outdated legal frame (CPJ, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000; HRW, 1998). Therefore, stories criticizing the political field tended to receive direct, non-subtle, retaliation whether through public criticism, direct political action, or criminal prosecution. Journalists and media performing a watchdog role were charged by military prosecutors with defamation and incitation to sedition when covering fraud committed by armed forces members, army phone-tapping scandals, human rights violations, or allegedly disclosing military secrets. Under criminal law, judges prohibited books, confiscated magazines or newspapers, and delayed television news stories. Police sources shut down investigative journalists after reports exposed police brutality or abuses.

These trends have affected both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*'s production, too. For example, the president himself asked to reschedule a highly-publicized report produced by *Informe Especial* about a former secret police's agent[333], precisely arguing it could disrupt the political climate of consensus, unleashing a hot debate on public television independence from the executive branch. An *IE* story about police brutality was rescheduled by alleged political pressures, too (Bofill, 1995) and in 2001, a two-series report on the CIA involvement in Chilean contemporary politics provoked a corporate crisis within TVN. Indeed, the head of the news division and the director of the station clashed over the story, which divided the board of directors and motivated TVN's authorities to delay another TVN program on the disappeared.[334] Although political constraints were relatively more powerful during the 1990s than later, they still had direct influence over in-depth journalism through the 2000s: Canal 13 suspended a *Contacto* report exposing Congress' malpractices after Catholic lawmakers lobbied through the archbishop (Valenzuela & Palma, 2009) and a story exposing the mismanagement in public

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[333] "Townley: Confesiones de un asesino," August 16, 1993. The investigation was originally scheduled on August 5, 1993. By that time, the case of the president asking the network to suspend and reschedule the story was widely covered by the press. See, for instance, "Jefe de Estado discrepa de la opinión de periodistas de Televisión Nacional" (1993). Reports on human rights have also analyzed the case (HRW, 1998).
[334] *El Mirador*, another journalistic show produced by TVN, planned a report on human rights on November 23, but it was finally broadcasted on December 14 that same year.

subsidies to victims of political violence was largely delayed by the network (Saleh, 2011)[335]. These are just a few examples among many other cases in which the political field and the subfield of investigative journalism disputed their boundaries through the actual production of shows such as *Contacto* and *Informe Especial*.

Tightened by Catholic chastity belt, the media also echoed a rather conservative political discourse regarding the secularization of society, sexual freedom, and the role of women. *IE*'s team, for example, produced several versions of a report about priests and nuns abandoning their religious life but the crew's efforts were unsuccessful in broadcasting the piece[336]. *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* correspondents had a hard time opening avenues to produce and broadcast stories challenging Catholic perspectives on sexuality or depicting non-binary approaches to gender[337]. Although successful in obtaining high ratings, reports on prostitution were always challenging to sell to top executives in TVN or depicted under a moral frame, as was the case in *Contacto*. Both shows also produced reports about faith, Satanism, or well-known Catholic leaders -stories that are far from ideals of facticity or the watchdog role of reporting- as a way to please a rather conservative cultural field that in-depth journalism was part of. Nonetheless, religion's power has faded since the 2010s, in part because of the increasing critical coverage of sexual abuse scandals by priests and the negligence of Catholic authorities in handling the accusations, and also in part due to the fact that the Universidad Católica finally sold its share in Canal 13 to Andrónico Luksic (Cádiz, 2014). Overall, up to the early 2000s, the subfield of muckraking negotiated its boundaries with the political field in which armed forces and the Catholic Church were particularly influential in Chilean public sphere.

Therefore, the normalization of political and democratic life and congratulatory discourses about economic growth and modernization hegemonized the political agenda during the 1990s, obscuring the weight economic power has in shaping watchdog journalism. Indeed, between 1990/1991 and 2015, *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* produced 75 reports (28 and 47,

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[335] "Pensiones bajo sospecha: Falsos exonerados politicos," *Contacto*, October 4, 2011.

[336] A new version of the same topic was broadcasted only at the end of the 1990s: "El llamado de Dios," *Informe Especial*, November 13, 1997.

[337] Several interviewees mention a story about lesbians in Chile that was produced and edited by *Contacto* correspondents but was never broadcasted. Also, the show has framed homosexuality under a biologist perspective, as a risky practice in the age of AIDS, and as part of a foreign rather than a domestic agenda. See, for instance, "Homosexuales, ¿nacen o se hacen?," *Contacto*, September 2, 1992; "Bisexuales y SIDA: Peligroso doble juego," *Contacto*, June 9, 1993.

respectively) exposing some form of fraud, corruption, conflict of interests, or the lack of protection of consumers, but only five of them were broadcasted during the 1990s (two by *IE* and 3 by *Contacto*). The shift of both shows' agendas since the 2000s to incorporate such topics suggests a sharper focus towards the interplays between political and economic powers. Nonetheless, this trend could respond to several reasons, such as the relative normalization of political and democratic life, the increasing relevance of domestic and international corporations due to the liberalization of the market, the flow of foreign investment, the relevance of consumers as audience, and the increase of conglomeration, to mention a few. The fissures in the economic model regarding its sharp inequality and the explosion of discontent among students, feminists, or indigenous populations, for instance, could have also played a role in shaping in-depth journalism interests towards the economic field, its players, and the consequences of its malfunctioning. But in any case, these topics gained some place in *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*'s agendas.

The more critical the reports on the economic field, the more noticeable the limitations, too. Indeed, through the 2000s and especially during the 2010s, economic constraints to investigative journalism were fierce as long as shows such as *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* embrace stories about consumers rights, corporate fraud, or conflicts of interests. In a highly commercialized media system, with scarce and rather indirect public funding, networks depend almost exclusively on advertising; advertising coming from big- or mid-size corporations that these shows try to target.

Although there is no conclusive research that directly links corporate pressures, media ownership, and/or economics to the content produced by Chilean media, some studies document perceptions among media practitioners, cases exposing close ties between money and media, and regulations privileging market forces over public interests. By consolidating a huge power of influence, lobby, and a rather small elite where public and private interests are blurred, the power of big money in in-depth journalism has adopted different faces and strategies, whether subtle or direct.

The main legal reforms undertaken by the dictatorship before 1990 and by the democratic governments since then, consecrate the market as the driving force articulating the public sphere (Ahumada, 2017; Del Valle, 2016; Sapiezynska, 2017), with a few and weak mechanisms of

counterbalance, most of them through anti-monopoly laws; that is, always under a commercial frame. Then, as long as big money has an overwhelming power in Latin American societies, methods for measuring journalistic independence, free press, and professional autonomy fall short (Sapiezynska & Lagos, 2016). Therefore, the colonization of media and journalistic practices by corporate power must be understood rather as a captured liberal media system. This framework highlights the extent and mechanisms through which ruling elites and media corporations cultivate close-knit relations that constantly challenge the watchdog role of journalism (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014).

In fact, Chilean journalists report the highest levels of economic influences in their work among journalists from 18 countries (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011). Reporters, editors, and media managers agree on the acritical coverage of economics that overrepresents business and corporate's interests. Both tabloid and legacy media "use their overwhelming power to restrict rather than enrich the marketplace of ideas" (León-Dermota, 2003, p. 124). All the big private enterprises in health, the retirement funds, private and vouchers schools, and labor are covered matching big corporations' interests, the same companies with ties to the media through their board of directors or sister companies. When corporate power has been portrayed by media as a consequence of malpractices, it has been softly framed (Checa, Lagos, Peña y Lillo, & Cabalin, 2012; Lagos, Cabalin, Checa, & Peña y Lillo, 2012).

Investigative reporters perceive that corporate power has enormous weight in shaping their work as long as it has set foot in media companies and market forces have a central role in Chilean society as a whole. "Existing pressures come from corporations and economic interests, which fund newspapers, radio stations, networks… It is enormous, fierce, growing. It is disturbing because journalists do not know how to face it. I know it from my own experience because I have suffered it directly. It is not subtle."[338]

For instance, in the 1990s, consumers' rights became a very important topic not only for the media agenda, but for policy making, too. Indeed, media embraced their audiences as consumers more than citizens and offered a wide range of tips and services to have better

[338] Interviewee E18.

experiences in buying goods or services, from education to holidays.[339] Adopting the consumer's point of view was only matter of time for *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* correspondents.

Although there are a few stories uncovering consumers' rights in both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* during the 1990s,[340] the topic explodes and became a mandatory part of their agendas in the 2000s unveiling malpractices in food industry, real estate businesses, and beauty products, to mention some examples,[341] and they performed better than good in terms of audiences. As Canal 13 stated in court, *Contacto* "has focused mainly on informing facts that are important to society," for example, "in the field of consumers' rights," contributing to making authorities accountable, raising awareness among consumers of their rights, and trying "to balance the asymmetries of information between suppliers and consumers."[342] For journalists, it was very interesting to expose big companies. "That was an interesting break… Nobody was going after their sponsors at that time… and we had a huge argument to go on air."[343] The move was not trouble-free in a totally commercialized media ecology funded by advertising. Nonetheless, networks created new shows exclusively devoted to consumers' rights in buying goods or hiring services, confronting corporations, and making lawmakers accountable for fixing the holes in regulations that allowed companies to take advantage of their customers. "It turns

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[339] In 1998, the newspaper *El Metropolitano* was branded as the first outlet oriented to providing service journalism. *La Hora*, *Las Ultimas Noticias*, and *La Cuarta* launched specialized beats covering consumers' concerns as well as providing advice in a wide range of experiences of consumption. The trend evoked the advice provided by lawyers, physicians, or social workers on magazine- and entertainment-style of television programs since the 1980s that, at the same time, were inspired by the phone-lines available at radio stations devoted to listening to their audiences' concerns. The idea is not new: since its inception, Chilean newspapers offered services to their readers, such as traditional classifieds (Santa Cruz, 2005, 2010, 2013).

[340] "Alimentos contaminados," October 7, 1993, by *Informe Especial*, 1993, and "Empresas de crédito automotriz," July 7, 1993, by *Contacto*.

[341] "El pecado de la carne," 2004; "Mecánica impopular," June 21, 2006; "Códigos Rojos," August 16, 2006; "Ese Auto… me Mata," July 2, 2007; "Muéstreme su Cocina," July 16, 2007; "Amor Sucio," June 2, 2008; "La Pesadilla de la Casa Propia," August 18, 2008; "Trago *a quina*," July 8, 2009; "¿Por qué se cayeron los edificios?," July 28, 2010; "Come y calla," October 6, 2010, and "El cliente incógnito," August 29, 2011, by *IE*. In the other hand, in the same period under study, *Contacto* produced "Servicios técnicos, el reality del engaño," August 15, 2006; "Arrendatarios morosos," October 3, 2006; "Vendo mi joyita: Compraventa automóviles usados," June 26, 2007; "Pesadilla en cuotas," July 17, 2007; "Inyecciones estéticas: Peligrosa obsesión," August 21, 2007; "Vacaciones inolvidables," October 2, 2007; "¿Fórmula mortal?," September 30, 2008; "welcome to Chile," July 7, 2009; "Alarmas domésticas. ¿Le cuido su casa?," June 7, 2011; "Estafas telefónicas, radiografía del engaño," July 2, 2013; "Alimentos saludables, ¿gato por liebre?," July 9, 2013; "Seguridad a prueba (autos chocados)," October 28, 2014; "El negocio de la Juventud (Jeunesse)," November 17, 2014, and "¿Son caros los remedios en Chile?," June 28, 2015.

[342] Canal 13 contesta demanda. "Deoleo S.A y otro con Canal13 S.A.," Rol : 3069-2014, 28ª Juzgado Civil de Santiago (p. 4).

[343] Interviewee E3.

out that the companies were *fucking* you, we were overwhelmed by consumers' complaints, what finally turned into a program in itself."[344] This is how *Esto no tiene nombre* was born, and TVN branded it as one of a kind (TVN, 2007), incarnating the network's public role.[345]

Esto no tiene nombre meant that the economic power was constantly being investigated for abusing powerless consumers and "neither [people] inside nor outside [the network] loved us, except the audience"[346]. In fact, by 2015, the network was facing three lawsuits filed by companies exposed by the show on consumers' rights (TVN, 2015). Under constant cut offs and a team exhausted by trying to keep it alive, the TV show exposing companies' abuses of consumers was finally shut down. Indeed, in July 2015, the public broadcasting fired more than 50 of its workers, including most of the *Esto no tiene nombre*'s crew that produced the show for more than ten years. Meanwhile, by the 2010s, *Informe Especial* has diminished the number of reports on consumers' rights, corruption, and conflicts of interests, although it included a few stories on labor and inequality.

Meanwhile, Canal 13's corporate government experienced several changes and experiments since the late 1990s, including a different structure, new positions, radical changes in corporate identity and branding, and editorial experimentation affecting its whole programming, including *Contacto*. The nature and extent of such changes intensified in the 2010s when the Universidad Católica sold its share in the network to one of the richest men in the country, Andrónico Luksic. By 2012, *Contacto*'s crew and some new authorities at the network saw the ongoing transformations as an opportunity to revitalize the show. As a long-time correspondent and editor of the show remembers, the company realized that "the brand *Contacto* was more powerful than the *Canal 13* one and, as consequence, audience's loyalty [to *Contacto*] was also stronger" and the network tried to reinforce the brand *Contacto*.[347] Together with the network's department of studies, *Contacto*'s team developed a proposal for the 2013 season that "connected with our audience, denouncing the abuses people suffered by the powerful, so to speak, trying to align the show's goals with audience's expectations of

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[344] Interviewee E3.
[345] "Para TVN 'Esto No Tiene Nombre' es la esencia de su misión pública," Mónica Pérez interviewed in ADN. March 7, 2012, available in http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/sociedad/monica-perez-para-tvn-esto-no-tiene-nombre-es-la-esencia-de-su-mision-publica/20120307/nota/1650854.aspx (retrieved in February 15, 2019).
[346] Interviewee E3.
[347] Interviewee E7.

information… So, they were asking for a bold, serious, investigative program on which they could feel their interests were well represented."[348] According to the interviews, the proposal was approved by the network's top authorities.

However, it lasted for just one year. The 2013 season broadcasted only nine stories but most of them covered a range of corporate power affecting consumers, such as the quality of the food industry and its products, the lack of control over telecom companies that allowed scams, big money in politics, and the mismanagement and misuse of public housing subsidies. The reports were warmly received by the audience, obtaining an average rating of 20 points, far better than *Contacto*'s performance the five previous years and much better than the seasons to come. Despite the fact that the show's agenda matched audiences' interests, big money -that happen to be also the main advertisers on television- was rather angry. This renewed agenda triggered retaliation from powerful corporations and some of them filled lawsuits against the network asking for compensations with so many zeros on them that they would jeopardize Canal 13's survival.

Indeed, by 2015, Canal 13 was dealing with four civil lawsuits caused by *Contacto*'s stories covering consumers' rights for CL$49,276,100,729, where the two most expensive cases were filled by food companies where products' safety was critically exposed in a 2013's report[349] (Canal 13-SA, 2014b, 2015). By the end of 2015, the four lawsuits were still in court. As a result, the network had to estimate these lawsuits in their annual financial report as a loss as long as the demands were pending, affecting the company's overall economic performance year after year.

The report that triggered corporate outrage critically addressed food industry practices regarding deceiving advertising, confusing food labeling, and inconsistencies between what companies promoted about their products and what independent laboratories found in several brands of olive oil, yoghurt, bread, and organic vegetables. The investigative story is straightforward: it compares ads for these products heavily consumed by the Chileans with the nutrition facts included on their labels. The program hired independent and respected national laboratories to test the products. Then, the report identifies the lack of the public authority's inspection, an outdated regulation, confusing food labels, and exposed several products that did

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[348] Interviewee E7.
[349] "Alimentos saludables, ¿gato por liebre?," *Contacto*, July 9, 2013. The title can be roughly translated as "Healthy food, bait and switch?"

not match with their labels. Food intake, reliable information available for consumers, and corporate practices within the food industry have become crucial topics in Chilean public health as long as the country ranks among the top three countries worldwide with highest rates of obesity, among both children and adults. The story obtained 20 points of rating at 11 p.m. on a weekday, something rare by the 2010s for any non-fiction programming.

Although appreciated by the audiences, the story was received as a declaration of war by the industry. Indeed, behind the products questioned in the report were some of the most important Chilean corporations, valuable brands, big advertisers, and capitalist power in the country. Some of the companies exposed are local branches of international corporations, such as Danone, a French dairy product company, and Cencosud, one of the biggest retailers in Chile and in other South American countries, such as Argentina and Brazil. Both Cencosud (olive oil) and Danone (yoghurt), as well as Ideal S.A.[350] (bread), and Deoleo S.A. y Velarde Hermanos S.A. (olive oil) sued Canal 13, asking for more than $100 million dollars combined as compensation. The companies argued direct economic loses produced by the report and by the whole cycle of news and entertainment programming covering the aftermath of the original story and claimed compensatory and punitive damages.

By mid-2014, Canal 13 reached an out-of-court settlement with both Danone and Cencosud, so the food giants dismissed their civil lawsuits filed against the network in 2013. As part of the agreement with Cencosud, Canal 13's evening news' anchorwoman read a public statement in which the network indicated that they "had no intention of questioning the quality of such oils or any other product of the brand or affect the reputation or the company's good name" when mentioning Cencosud's olive oil, Jumbo, in the report "Gato por liebre." Canal 13 also "regrets any discomfort that this situation could unnecessarily have generated to the company" and it acknowledged that they could have granted "better communication conditions" and "greater diffusion to the abundant information that Jumbo [Cencosud] provided attesting the quality of its olive oil."[351] The watchdog turned into a lapdog.

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[350] Ideal S.A. is the Chilean branch of Bimbo, a global corporation with branches in 32 countries, having almost $15 billion per year in sales and more than 100 brands. See https://grupobimbo.com/en.
[351] "Declaración," Canal 13 and Cencosud Retail S.A., July 1, 2014. It was also published as a paid ad in *La Tercera*, July 2, 2014.

Both the out-of-court settlements and the public statement broadcasted on the main network's newscast sparked public outrage in social media (Bravo, 2014; The Clinic.cl, 2014). Canal 13's back off also fueled the other two accusers' arguments and undermined the network position in court. Indeed, both plaintiffs pointed out that when apologizing to Cencosud, Canal 13 must extend its excuses to the other food corporations exposed in *Contacto*'s report and the courts agreed with the accusers.[352] Although the amount of compensation was significantly reduced by the court, it still states that *Contacto*'s report was negligent and as a consequence, it directly provoked economic loses to the companies and their brands[353]. Nonetheless, although these big companies claimed being seriously harmed by the *exposé*, at the same time their brands increased their traffic online precisely as a consequence of the story (Illanes, 2013). After all, there is no such thing as bad publicity.

"Gato por liebre" and the lawsuits it triggered had seismic consequences in both *Contacto* and Canal 13. Indeed, the network's president resigned because the board did not support him in defending *Contacto*'s work[354] and the head of the news division and *Contacto*'s editor also left. Indeed, the editor paid frequent visits to Canal 13's executives dealing with pressures and complaints when producing and broadcasting the 2013 season[355], illustrating the increasingly direct corporate control over in-depth journalistic production. Even if the report actually made mistakes in what it said or how it was produced, the corporate retaliation was disproportionate.

Commodification and personalization of truth: Branding investigative journalism

Both *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* are two shows that have endured decades on Chilean television. Therefore, they have had the opportunity to highlight their longevity on screen as a mark of quality. By analyzing their slogans, their corporate design, their self-promotional material, their social media communities, and the special programming[356]

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[352] At the completion of this dissertation, Canal 13 was still disputing these cases in court.
[353] Sentencia, "Deoleo S.A y otro con Canal13 S.A.," Rol: 3069-2014, 28ª Juzgado Civil de Santiago (p. 4), August 19, 2016; Resolución Duodécima Sala de la Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago, December 6, 2017; Sentencia, "Ideal S.A. con Canal 13 S.A.," Rol: 15.785-2014, 22° Juzgado Civil de Santiago; Resolución Tercera Sala de la Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago, March 9, 2018.
[354] The lack of support for *Contacto*'s crew and its work was well illustrated by the public argument the correspondent that produced the report "Gato por liebre" had with a Canal 13 entertainment host that also endorsed one of the yoghurts criticized in the story (The Clinic, 2013a, 2013b).
[355] Interviewees E7 and E14.
[356] See Methodological Appendix.

commemorating their anniversaries, this section problematizes how and to what extent in-depth journalism in television has turned into a critical dimension of corporate identity in a branding era. A brand is a name or symbol and constitutes an asset that represent a product or a service and aims to generate a difference in a given market. Its differentiation must captivate consumers (or, in this case under study, the audience), their memory, and their emotional attachment. In our contemporary world, branding goes beyond business models and extends to our cultural and social dimensions (Banet-Weiser, 2012; Einstein, 2012; Klein, 2005).

While there is a growing body of research addressing the personal branding of journalists through their strategies in social media (Brems, Temmerman, Graham, & Broersma, 2017; de Albuquerque, 2005; Olausson, 2018), this section rather analyzes visual material during a pre-Internet and pre-social media period of time emphasizing organizational instead of individual levels. Also, this research highlights a specific dimension of building reputation through branding in-depth journalism. An analysis of the whole policies deployed by networks to cultivate their corporate identities is beyond the scope of this research. Then, this section analyzes the self-celebratory practices in molding and reinforcing investigative journalism's identity, the journalistic values emphasized and mobilized to differentiating, and the nature and extent of personalization in branding investigative reporting.

Journalistic values such as truth, reality, and professionalism have been key in shaping *Informe Especial*'s identity. When promoting the 1993 season, *IE*'s newspaper ads were self-celebratory of its role: "10 years of truth."[357] Indeed, "impact" and "reality" have been key concepts in branding *Informe Especial* since the 1990s, as the shows' slogans suggest. Indeed, TVN and *IE* in particular have placed themselves as a window to reality (*IE*'s crew *brings*[358] to you "the most impactful stories" and "Welcome to reality" [359]), but at the same time warning the audience how shocking experiencing the truth could be, though ("Television that is impactful," "Realities that are impactful," or "Reality surpasses fiction"[360]). In the 2010s, journalism is branded as a corporate value and not only as an exclusive *IE* feature.[361]

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[357] "Informe Especial: Diez años de verdad." Ad published in *La Tercera*, August 18, 1993.
[358] Italics are mine.
[359] *IE*'s slogans 1996 and 2001.
[360] TVN's slogan, 1991; *IE*'s slogans 2008 to 2011; 1996, 2001, and 2002.
[361] "Journalism is TVN," TVN's slogan between 2013 and 2015.

Since very early in the 1990s, *Informe Especial*'s ads depict its on-site correspondents by including report footage to illustrate the show's and its crew's commitment to do the dirty work. The early personalization of journalism depicts journalists as celebrities. Indeed, it highlights the reporters' authorship and, in particular, a rather continuous visual depiction of Santiago Pavlovic as embodying the show, the brand, and the journalistic values of truth, impact, and realities as the show's slogans suggest. Little by little, Paulina de Allende-Salazar also embodies *IE*'s values in the material analyzed. Personalization as celebrity and proximity as key features of *IE*'s brand reach a peak in 2003 when an *IE* team covered the military intervention and the fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. It was the only Chilean press crew on-site. Consequently, TVN framed crewmembers as heroes, as extraordinary people, and incarnating risk-taking journalism, 24/7, and manhood reporting.

A full-page ad[362] included a pixeled photo -as it was taken from live footage-, depicting an explosion as the ad's background. In the middle, there are three ID-style photos of TVN's correspondents Rafael Cavada and Santiago Pavlovic and *IE*'s cameraman, Alejandro Leal. This is interesting, because cameramen are usually faceless for the audience in news production, including in-depth journalism, beyond the credits running at the end of each episode.[363] The three of them are wearing attire associated with foreign correspondents, such as multi-pocket waistcoat sleeveless jackets. In capital, white, bold letters, the ad's text covers almost a third of the upper section of the page: "They are already *at home*, on Tuesday they will be in *your home,*"[364] evoking closeness. *IE*'s crew sacrifice themselves when covering dangerous events to provide the public with information. Nonetheless, the danger is over, and the duty was done: They performed public service journalism, and now they are back home. Two days later, the ad promoting that night's story on Iraq depicts Cavada, Pavlovic (in the middle, in front of the three men), and Leal in a mid-shot, looking towards the camera. The photo is pixeled as it was taken

[362] *Informe Especial*'s ad, *La Tercera*, April 20, 2003.
[363] An exception to cameramen's invisibility is the report "Corresponsales de guerra en la mira de la noticia," August 27, 1999. When covering the war in Kosovo, *IE*'s cameramen, Abner Machuca, was seriously shot in his head, and he needed to be evacuated and received medical care in Europe and then, in Chile. After recovering, he is still an *IE* producer.
[364] "Ya están en *casa*, el martes estarán en *su casa*." Italics are mine.

from live footage. In capital, white, bold font, the ad states that "To speak about reality, you *have* to live it,"[365] emphasizing the experience of being a reporter.

Figures #22 and #23: *Informe Especial*, new season, Irak coverage, 2003.

The personalization as celebrities of investigative journalism advanced in 2003 when promoting *IE* correspondents' work covering Iraq, which was supported by the full deployment of visual narratives and digital tools that have been available since 2010. Indeed, the team's professional photos from 2010 depict *Informe Especial*'s team dressed up in black or dark, formal suits. Pavlovic, as the embodiment of the show's history and purposes, appears at the center of promotional photos and clips. For instance, the short video promoting the 2010 season depicts the reporters together, at night, outside of TVN's facilities, crossing their arms across their chest, looking rather serious or brave, under a full shot, the camera pans in a semi-circle. The clip closes showing the correspondents looking towards the camera and Pavlovic saying: "*Informe Especial*: Realities that are impactful." One by one, the MTV-type of clip visually introduces each reporter, standing up, staring at the camera. The background is dark, but we can see their full names in white or light blue capital letters, computer screen-type font. The clip

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[365] "Para hablar de realidad, *tienes* que vivirla," *Informe Especial*'s ad, *La Tercera*, April 22, 2003. Italics are mine.

shows each reporter in action (following a source on the street, shooting questions at them, footage of some of their well-recognized stories). The promotional clip for 2011 follows a similar path, depicting each *IE* reporters in a car, on the street, on their mobile phones, mixing them with their stories. Pavlovic, again, as *IE*'s face, who closes the clip stating: "*Informe Especial*: Realities that are impactful."

Informe Especial's values of truth, impact, reality, and professionalism are symbolically represented in a very descriptive way during the 1990s and, later, through more sophisticated but simpler visual compositions. Indeed, the early ads include story footage and a paragraph describing each episode's report. These ads responded to a rather written than a visual culture. Nonetheless, by the 2000s, *Informe Especial*'s ads mostly rely upon a single, powerful image, a short, shocking slogan, and the show's name as the trademark and guarantee of quality. Indeed, steadily, *IE*'s promotional material became neater, with less graphic elements on them, highlighting professionalism, impact, and reality. In other words, since the late 1990s, ads became rather pieces especially designed to branding truth and attaching *IE* to it. Indeed, by 1995, *IE's* brand appears more carefully crafted, ads depict reporters more professionally, both men and women wearing professional attire as if truth wears suits, and photos are now taken in studio for promotional purposes. It is not just the correspondents on-site anymore, in the mud, providing information of public interest that was the visual depictions during the 1990s.

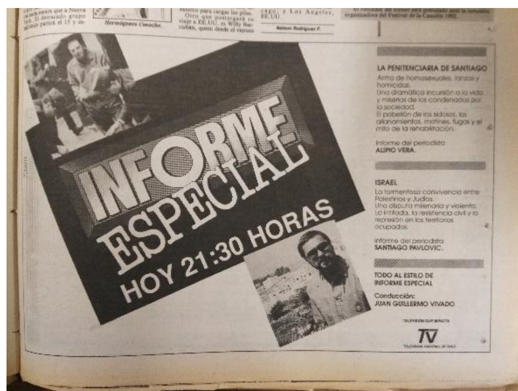

Figure #24: August 29, 1991, ad in *La Tercera*

Figure #25: May 21, 2009, ad in La Tercera

The visual image crafted since the mid-2000s fully deploys a more symbolic composition highlighting the role of *Informe Especial* exposing wrongdoings by developing impactful stories about reality. In other words, delivering the truth. The *IE* logo is at the center of the composition

or in a very prominent place of it, breaking a glass that covers the whole ad. By cracking the window, *Informe Especial* unveils what is beneath (human trafficking, crime, or the lack of control over food preparation). The ads also illustrate each story's topic symbolically rather than descriptively, suggesting the granular scope of their reports as well as the action of unveiling them.[366] Under this style of promotion, there is hardly any text, and report abstracts just disappeared, appealing to visual languages and readers' emotions instead of a viewer engagement through facticity.

There are several strategies of self-promotion in *Informe Especial* that are particularly relevant since the 2010s, when it created its Facebook and Twitter accounts. *IE* correspondents also participated in the whole news cycle promoting their stories when visiting other TVN programs, at different blocks of programming, and oriented towards diverse audiences.[367] In 2010, *Informe Especial* created their social media accounts.[368] As a strategy to cultivate and engage their online community, TVN launched "Informe Especial interactivo" in *IE*'s Facebook page, an online-only programming, in which *IE* correspondents unveiled the production process and took questions from online followers. The proximity was enhanced by the set of the online program by exhibiting the traces of the television making-process that are normally hidden from the viewers, such as the technical staff operating the switch. All these strategies came into the picture of toolkits of packaging, promoting, and put into circulation in-depth and investigative journalism beyond the reports and the show itself.

TVN brands *Informe Especial* by marking the time-passing and its survival in a rather changing visual landscape as a trademark of quality implying a sense of growing up and a serious, historical trajectory. As one of its founder states, *Informe Especial* is part of TVN's public mission of "pluralism, objectivity, and autonomy" and represents "serious and responsible journalism that dares to explore in-depth events, political conflicts, social phenomena, human stories, that are shaping Chilean society and the contemporary world" (Pavlovic, 2014).

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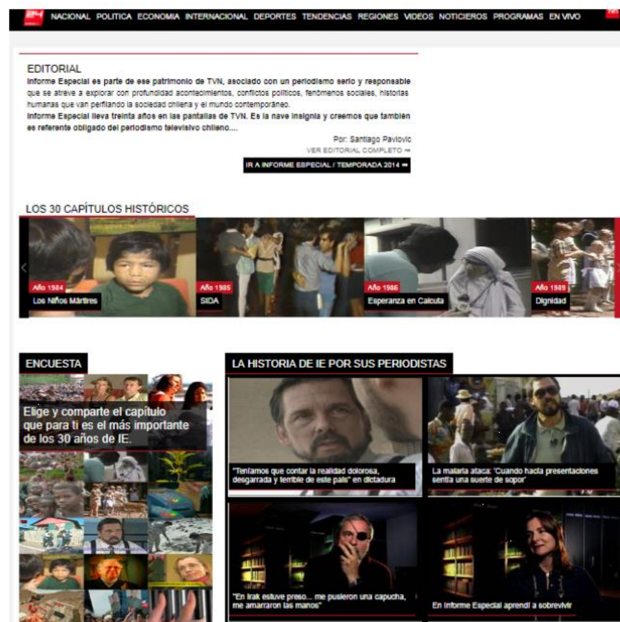
[366] *Informe Especial*'s ads printed in *La Tercera* in 2005, 2006, and 2007 include the logo breaking the window to unveil a story. The concept of representing *IE* breaking barriers to reveal the truth shifted to pixeled graphic compositions (2008) and a paper ripped off and, as through the tear, we can see what was hidden (2009). A 2013 ad published in social media emphasizes *IE*'s role by transforming it in a sort of Batman light.

[367] When promoting the week's new report, *IE*'s correspondents were interviewed at least on the morning show and the evening newscasts.

[368] https://www.facebook.com/iespecial/: More than 25,000 people follow it; @iespecial has 85,000 followers; https://www.instagram.com/iespecial/, it has 1,005 followers. Data by October 24, 2018.

This effort in branding the time passing as a mark of identity is not that strong in the 1990s as it is in the 2010s. When celebrating its 10th or 23rd anniversary, *Informe Especial* published print ads highlighting its time on air when announcing the new season, but not planning special episodes, though.[369] On the contrary, TVN produced a special program to congratulate the show's 30th anniversary in 2013, including a special website, short clips celebrating the most relevant reports produced by the show, interviews with current and past hosts, correspondents, producers, and cameramen, and a whole press campaign. Overall, TVN celebrates *IE*'s three decades on air as the most reliable television show when doing in-depth and investigative journalism, as an asset in TVN's public mission, and as a crucial player in revealing and explaining current affairs. In that opportunity, the network also called the audience to vote for the reports that had impacted the viewers the most.



Figure# 26: Screenshot of website created for the 30th anniversary of Informe Especial in 2013.

TVN produced a special episode of *El Informante*, another network's show, to praise *Informe Especial*'s history, work, and contribution to Chilean journalism in its 30th anniversary.[370] *El Informante* is a daily, late night show, on hard news under a more analytical

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[369] "*Informe Especial*: 10 años de verdad," ad, *La Tercera*, August 19, 1993. "23 años descubriendo realidades que impactan," ad, *La Tercera*, May 25, 2007.
[370] September 24, 2014.

frame. By producing a special episode of its anniversary, *Informe Especial* is branded as news and worthy of being included in the current affairs' agenda as a sort of advertorial content. The one-hour long special *El Informante* episode not only mobilizes a celebratory rhetoric around *IE*'s history and contribution to Chilean journalism and television by gathering past and current team members and showing excerpts from some of the most important and valued stories produced by *Informe Especial* since 1984, but it also unveiled the behind the scenes, how the reports have been produced, and extra journalistic features involved in producing a show like *IE*, particularly the extent and seriousness of the risks undertaken by the correspondents, producers, and cameramen reporting on-site. By doing so, the network aimed to bring viewers into the special event, at least partially.

The clip introducing the special programming pre-produced and pre-packaged archival footage of some of the most outstanding stories aired by *IE*, organized by a male VO highlighting the time passing as valuable in journalism, the role in revealing shocking facts, and the sustained effort in being an eye-opener to Chilean audiences: "From dictatorship to democracy; from the 1980s to now, *Informe Especial*: going through realities"… "Realities that are impactful"… "Revealing a profound Chile"… "With the voices of those who are the news" … "30 years investigating the events that are impactful" … "30 years of performing journalism with the facts that are impactful" … *El Informante*'s host, Juan Manuel Astorga, also contributes to set the tone of the celebration:

> *There is no doubt that* Informe Especial *is not one, but rather THE most serious, respected, trustworthy, and responsible program in Chilean television. During its three decades, it has practically covered all conflicts in Africa, in the Middle East, in Europe,* [and] *in Latin America. It has inquired into complex issues, such as crime, poverty, drug trafficking,* [and] *corruption. It has addressed child abuse. It has investigated violence… and inequality. In many opportunities,* IE*'s team has taken risks with the sole purpose of providing information…* [showing] *those realities that impact, as its slogan says; realities that… we did not know.* Informe Especial *is turning 30 and we want to use this platform of* El Informante*… to discuss this 30-year history… and talk to [those] who are behind these iconic reports. How they prepare, what are the risks they take, what are the*

obstacles [encountered] from politicians and from others [fields] *they have faced over these decades.*

Together with the special content celebrating *Informe Especial*'s three decades, the self-promotional material produced since the 2010s, particularly the clips announcing every new episode, turned into a sort of trailer including suspense and an editing enhancing raw footage, echoing truth, reality, and risk-taking. Most of them, also, erasing marks -such as the VO- of their inscription in the genre of news and evoking rather a live coverage. Clips promoting *IE*'s stories are not just an informative visual representation pointing out the topic and the correspondent that produced it anymore, but a whole visual hook. Among the promotional clips analyzed in this research, the trailer style of material is a rule by 2014, which avoids VOs and includes shocking images, strong interviewees' statements and questions, and editing tools driving suspense, such as slow or fast motion, frantic montage, or images captured through hidden cameras, as if it were unedited footage.[371]

By 2015, the social media campaign announcing *IE*'s new season relied upon the most recognizable correspondents as well as TVN's news anchormen and women producing special reports for the show, such as Mónica Pérez and Consuelo Saavedra. Indeed, the promotional material highlights a red filter, evoking the show's main brand color, ID-style photos of the reporters, and short, powerful slogans about the program's social role, what journalism is, and *Informe Especial's* commitment to journalism and truth. The short sentences emphasizing the valuable role of journalism and the show's word play with the ephemeral nature of social media and online content. "Knowing a topic in-depth needs more than 140 characters," "An in-depth

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[371] Some of the promotional clips edited as trailers or teasers include the one that shows the physical transformation of the correspondent to an elderly person that went undercover to poor and dangerous neighborhoods to document the daily life there, "Sobrevivir en los ghettos capitalinos," May 7, 2012, and the detention of an *IE* correspondent when covering the conflict in Ukraine, "Ucrania: Bitácora de una guerra¨, October 6, 2014. Relying upon the footage obtained through hidden cameras and the process of applying make-up, the editing of the "Sobrevivir…" trailer provide bites, glimpses, using slow motion, extreme close-ups, and music emphasizing the suspense. In the case of the clip promoting the story on Ukraine, the camera is frantic because the footage is taken during the correspondent's detention. Other trailer-style promotional clips are the ones announcing the reports "Karadima," April 2010; "La Ola," August 8, 2010; "Osama bin Laden," May 23, 2011; "Isapres," May 27, 2012; "Inmigrantes," June 10, 2012; "Crímenes de Guerra. La voz de los niños," November 3, 2014; "Profesores, ¿a quién le importan?," November 24, 2014; "¿Quiénes financian a los politicos?," December 1, 2014; "Niños en hogares," December 8, 2014; "Los hijos invisibles de la dictadura," December 15, 2014, and "Relaves mineros," December 29, 2014.

report will be a trending topic your whole life," "A powerful report empowers you," or "Reading the headlines does not seem enough to us," are some examples.

Figures #27 and #28: Promotional material, *Informe Especial*, 2015

Although ads announcing *Informe Especial*'s episodes had more text in the 1990s by including each report's abstract, it was even shorter than the text deployed in *Contacto*'s ads during the same decade. Indeed, the printed promotional material published by Canal 13 to promote each *Contacto* new season and weekly stories editorially framed not only the specific reports produced, but the network, the show, and journalism's roles and editorial stance by the turn of the century. Indeed, a quarter-of-a-page ad announcing the brand-new show about to be launched in 1991 stated that *Contacto* aims to be "An irresistible invitation to making Contact [*Contacto*] with today's world." The editorial-type of ad states:

> *"The world today is a real global laboratory, where ideas, art, scientific discoveries, technological improvements, fashion, or financial movement are multidimensional and involve every single human being, without distinction. Wherever we live, today we are all responsible, and we make decisions together about our planet's fate."*[372]

[372] *Contacto*'s ad, *El Mercurio*, August 4, 1991.

Figure #29: August 4, 1991, ad in El Mercurio

In the early 1990s *Contacto*'s identity revolves around the concept of making contact, connecting people, places, and stories not only in Chile but around the world, collapsing timelines and geographies. Indeed, by that time, the show's introduction was a collage including a calendar, a map, stamped passports, and footage of the show's correspondents in well-recognized spots around the world. The emphasis on "making contact" and opening up Chileans' minds is explicit at the end of the first season,[373] closing with footage from the Voyager spacecraft launched by the NASA in 1977. A male VO indicates that the space journey implies that "if there are unknown cultures, *it is crucial to make Contact*"[374]. In her closing remarks, *Contacto*'s host points out that the Voyager's images and sounds were intended "to move you [the viewer] and, then, put you in touch with all those people and realities that you are interested in and find the point where they connect with your life," promoting a conversation. Indeed, by the early 1990, *Contacto*'s studio emulated a cozy home's living room.

Nonetheless, connecting people as a core value in *Contacto* is framed under an individualistic rather than a communitarian or social frame, as it is noted in its ads: "Como

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[373] October 23, 1991.
[374] Italics are mine.

siempre, lo mejor es para *usted*"[375] or "Haga contacto aquí.[376] It is important to note that this narrative about making contact embraced by *Contacto* is contemporary to the hegemonic narrative about reconciliation and social healing in the aftermath of the civic-military dictatorship in the 1990s. The plain, cool, blue-and-black studio just furnished with a desk, a computer, and screens as the background, echoing objectivity, would come later.[377] The personal and individual way of making connections persists during the period of study. Indeed, this sort of participatory journalistic performance brings individual viewers into the narrative in branding *Contacto*, as its promotional material releases in the 2010s shows. Short clips announcing new seasons in 2011 and 2012 appeal to a single, unidentified viewer instead of the community or massive audiences, and depict *Contacto* correspondents in a solo journalistic performance:[378]

> *En Contacto contigo, escuchamos… En Contacto contigo, descubrimos… En Contacto contigo, investigamos a fondo… Investigamos para que tu verdad esté en Contacto*[379].

When announcing its 2012 season, *Contacto*'s short clip depicts the show correspondents face to face on a single base with unidentified persons, simulating an interview situation. Each unknown individual and reporter say a short sentence evoking *Contacto*'s assumed role and journalistic values:

> *Me importa que se descubra la verdad…. Me importa lo que hay más allá de los hechos… Me importa cuando una noticia la investigan a fondo… Me importa que se sepan las cosas… Y a tí, ¿qué es lo que de verdad te importa?*[380]

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[375] "As always, the best is for you." The English pronoun *you*, is both plural and singular, while *usted* is the Spanish pronoun for the second person singular.
[376] "Make contact here." I keep the original sentence because the imperative sentence in English could be plural or singular, while "Haga contacto aquí" is a Spanish imperative sentence strictly appealing to the second person singular.
[377] By the 2001 and 2002 seasons, the changes in *Contacto*'s studio decoration and graphics were more evident, making the transition clear from a frame emphasizing contact, conversation, and social bonds to one that is watchdog-centered.
[378] *Contacto* correspondents appear separately, meeting sources and receiving envelops or recording devices on top roofs, in cabs, or in parking lots.
[379] I keep the original paragraph because the Spanish pronoun *contigo* is of a second person singular, while *with you* is either singular or plural. "In contact with you, we listen ... In contact with you, we discover ... In contact with you, we investigate thoroughly ... We investigate to include your truth in *Contacto*," *Contacto*'s promotional clip, 2011.
[380] "It matters to me that the truth is discovered ... It matters to me what is beyond the facts ... It matters to me when a story is thoroughly investigated ... It matters to me that they [journalists] know things... And you, what do you really care about?" *Contacto*'s promotional clip, 2012.

Figure #30: Screenshot from *Contacto*'s promotional video announcing new season in 2012

While the identity around emphasizing and enabling contact and connections is prevalent during the 1990s, *Contacto*'s identity devoted to scooping, exposing wrongdoings, and embracing watchdog journalism emerges rather in the early 2000s, as we can trace through the show's slogans. Indeed, the show slogans during the 1990s stress the role of "inviting," "getting in touch," opening up viewers' eyes to the world, "making contact," and connecting with people and stories around the world in what they call "*Contacto*'s way," without expanding further.[381] But since the early 2000s, Canal 13 brands *Contacto* as its watchdog main show by emphasizing its willingness to investigate what nobody else does and only the truth could stop them from performing watchdog-style reporting. However, by the 2010s, it seems the show softened its branding by revisiting its previous identity of connecting and making sense of complex, multidimensional, phenomena[382]. The promotional clip announcing the 2010 season recovered the emphasis in connecting audiences to unexplored events:

We contact unknown worlds. We contact with stories that move. We contact with truths that tear apart. We contact with what we do not want to see. And we will continue to

[381] "An irresistible invitation to get in touch with today's world" and "Get in touch with today's world," slogan in 1991; "A shocking world," slogan in 1992; "Because there is nothing more moving than real life," "Contact: Real life," and "*Contacto*: Impact with reality," slogans in 1993; "*Contacto*'s way," slogan in 1994 and 1997; "Life according to *Contacto*'s way," slogan in 1995; "Make contact here," slogan in 1996, and "Make contact with people, facts, and emotions that leave a mark," slogan in 1999.
[382] "What nobody dares to touch," slogan in 2002 and 2005; "Only the truth stops us," slogan in 2009; "Because nothing is as simple as it seems," Slogan in 2008; "To get to the bottom [of things], you have to make contact," slogan in 2010; "We investigate so that people make contact," slogan in 2011; "All the faces of the news," slogan in 2012, and "Because reality has many faces, this 2014 we are going to make contact," slogan in 2014.

contact with the issues that shake and change our country. To get to the bottom [of things], you must to make Contact[383]

During the first decade on air, *Contacto*'s brand identity through their printed ads is built upon photographs from its story footage, showing its correspondents on-site reporting, and textually informing about the topics covered and the style preferred (*Contacto's* way). At first, self-promotional material included more text, responding to a rather illustrative function and a written culture, while since the 2000s, *Contacto*'s brand identity is driven by a rather visual culture representing journalistic and editorial values. The show also created its social media presence through Facebook and Twitter.[384] Therefore, at the end of the 20th century, *Contacto*'s ads explicitly wrote down the values mobilizing their work, like in-depth journalism, investigation, analysis, and human stories.[385] Nonetheless, values such as those are later symbolically embedded in graphic pieces emphasizing *Contacto*'s explosive work unraveled in the early 2000s. The printed ad announcing its 2005 season[386] fully illustrated this point: a photo montage of a grenade[387] composed by reports' titles broadcasted by the show with tremendous impact[388] in the previous years, stating in white, bold font: "We will keep detonating shocking facts"[389] and "What nobody dares to address,"[390] implying that only *Contacto* unveils hidden wrongdoings, no matter how costly or how many obstacles their journalist must overcome.[391]

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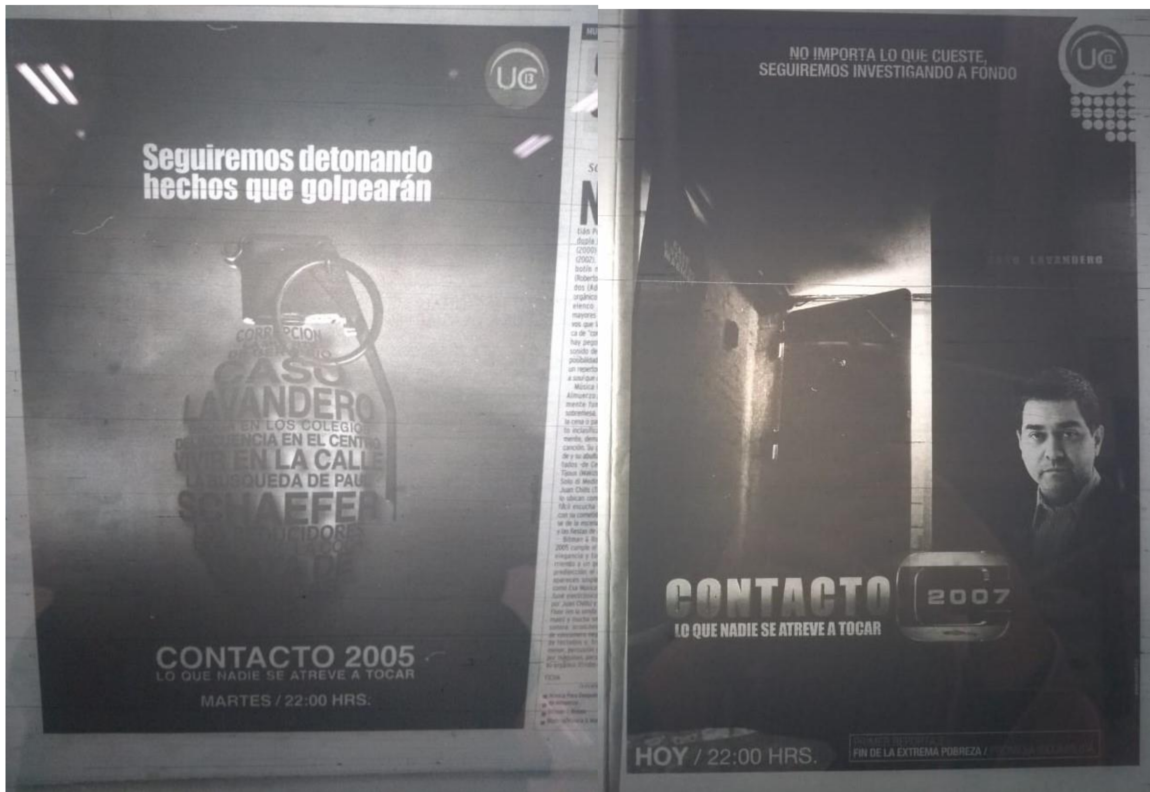
[383] *Contacto*'s promotional clip, 2010.
[384] Created in June 2011, https://www.facebook.com/contacto13/, almost 35,000 people follow it; created in November 2010, Contacto's Twitter account @Contacto_C13 has more than 35,000 followers. Data by October 24, 2018.
[385] *Contacto*'s ads, *El Mercurio*, July 12, 1998 and May 6, 2001.
[386] *El Mercurio*, August 7, 13, 14 ,15, and 16, 2005.
[387] The show uses the metaphor of opening a closed door, too, to cultivate its identity as a barrier-breaker. See ads 2007.
[388] Such as "Especial: Caso Lavandero," January 13, 2005; "Especial: Tras la huella de Paul Schafer," March 13 and 14, 2005.
[389] "Seguiremos detonando hechos que golpearán."
[390] "Lo que nadie se atreve a tocar."
[391] "It doesn't matter what barriers stand in the way. We will keep investigating in depth," *Contacto*'s ad, *La Tercera*, July 9, 2006; and "We will keep investigating deeply, at any cost," *Contacto*'s ad, *La Tercera*, June 17 and 19, 2007.



Figures #31: “We will keep detonating shocking facts”, ad announcing *Contacto* a new season in 2005, August 13, 2005, in *La Tercera*, June 17, 2005.
Figure #32: “We will keep investigating deeply, at any cost”, ad announcing a new season in 2007 season, *La Tercera*, June 19, 2007.

Regarding the habit of resuming and reviewing the reports and interviews produced at the end of each season, the larger number of reports repeated, and the way in which the show framed its 20th anniversary, *Contacto* appears relatively more self-referent than what this section discusses earlier in regard to *Informe Especial*. Indeed, *Contacto* repeated 18 reports, produced two special anniversary episodes (10th and 20th anniversaries), and a special one celebrating Canal 13’s 50th anniversary. While the show celebrated its first decade on air by only producing a short segment included in a regular episode,[392] when turning 20, the show devoted a whole episode exclusively to celebrate itself, selecting what the program considers the 13 most “revealing investigative reports”[393] produced during the 2000s[394], and unveiling the making-

[392] June 27, 2000.
[393] Host’s emphasis, Iván Valenzuela.
[394] “Armas Clandestinas,” September 27, 2005; “Los Ángeles del Charly,” June 9, 2009; “El Volcán en Lucha,” October 4, 2005; “El Gran Engaño, la Corporación del Niño Agredido,” August 14, 2007; “Escándalo en la ruta,”

process behind the reports, and their impact. The special episode aimed "to show how journalists worked on these reports" and each report includes the host's VO explaining the origins of the report ("we received an email," "we had a complaint"…), a short clip summarizing the original report, an interview to the correspondent that produced it, bites from some key players on each topic (a prosecutor, a lawyer, witnesses…), and archival media footage that illustrate the consequences or impact that each report triggered.

Final remarks

2017 was the last year that Canal 13 produced and broadcasted *Contacto*. Although the network has relied upon the program when building up the alleged network's contribution to Chilean public debate (Canal 13-SA, 2014b, 2015), the show faded out from its programming without not even a PR note. It was not possible to trace any sign of alarm of journalists regretting the shutting down of a valuable space or an official announcement from the network itself, thanking the crew, praising its contribution to the network and the subfield, or providing any explanation of why it was cancelled. *Contacto*'s online life echoes a ghost: the official website is frozen in the 2017 season, the Facebook page contains Canal 13's newscasts stories, and its Twitter account shares a few old reports. In every cutoff or restructuration, *Contacto* loses correspondents, producers, editors, or researchers. By September 2018, Canal 13 also fired the show's last editor.[395] Steadily, *Contacto* faded out amid the political economy of producing in-depth journalism in a peripheral media culture.

This chapter complicates the "crisis talk" under which media managers have framed layoffs and downsized budgets and analyzes a repertoire of tools and practices unfolded by economic forces and neoliberal practices that have shaped the watchdog-style journalism since the 1990s. Media management policies have purposely increased the control over costs and labor. Also, tracing the changes on the shows' organizational status and their modes of production illustrates the way in which productivity has also shaped critical forms of journalism

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August 16, 2005; "Millonaria estafa de los quesos," July 26, 2006; "Tras la huella de Paul Schäfer," March 13 & 14, 2005; "Servicios técnicos, el reality del engaño," August 14, 2006; "Operación Alí Babá," Junio 15, 2004; "Contaminados," August 4, 2009; "Fin de la Extrema Pobreza, el Programa Puente," June 17, 2007; "Chile, paraíso de pedófilos," July 2, 2002; "Medicamentos, oscuros secretos," October 14, 2008.

[395] Personal communication, November 2, 2018.

that requires larger financial support and corporate back up to unfold their role. Therefore, the crisis in media and journalism does not respond to unexpected circumstances but are part of a large toolkit to maximize profits and contribute to producing investigative journalism constrained in its scope and nature, but useful in terms of building corporate identity and value. Indeed, the material analyzed indicates that investigative journalism on television has claimed reform and not structural or systemic changes. In other words, when exposing wrongdoings, it has advocated to fix them instead of advance larger or radical changes. The nature of television might also shrink the scope this style of reporting could reach.

When in-depth journalism has advanced a critical agenda in covering the lack of protection of consumers, corporate scams, or the backyard of economic growth, big money has unleashed its power. Indeed, in analyzing the forces shaping investigative reporting coming from the macro level of influence upon media, this chapter discusses specific practices of retaliation and the chilling effects that networks and their teams faced since the 1990s. Sooner or later, the networks have backed off. As players of the large Chilean economic and political elite, TVN and, especially, Canal 13 since it was bought by Quiñenco corporation, are part of an entangled and complicate network of private interests. When covering poverty or economic inequality, corporate power also finds out how to tighten the nature and scope of the criticism by a combination of subtle and explicit practices.

Then, in a post-authoritarian regime and under a neoliberal economic arrangement, muckraking performs at the same time as a regulatory mechanism and as a transgression. By doing so, investigative reporting contributes to producing and sharing public and valuable information, but at the same time by enhancing hegemony. As this chapter inquires, the watchdog role of journalism operates as a controlled leakage, as a tolerated transparency that neoliberalism allows to survive and expand itself. In the long history of Chilean broadcasting, the more than two decades that *Contacto* survived represents the frontier that commercial television, corporate power, and economic players were willing to tolerate.

EXIT

Final remarks

By analyzing investigative journalism in the Global South, this research contributes to widening the conversation about the importance and actual conditions in which watchdog-style journalism performs. Indeed, my dissertation examines Chilean muckraking, emphasizing visual format, and explores a relatively long-span of time. In doing so, the study brings new insights to the global conversation about the need of producing, spreading, and supporting high-quality journalism, investigative reporting, or fact-driven content in an era of post-truth, fake news, and digital social media. Nonetheless, journalism, mass media research, and propaganda were born and grew up quite hand to hand. Then, as this research shows, although valued by the public, by practitioners, or by mechanisms of prestige and recognition, investigative journalism is prevented by the regulatory framework, avoided by elites, and punished by corporate power both from inside commercial media and through companies exposed. Contrary what seems to be a very large, public role, it is confined to a narrow space.

As chapter 1 shows, the constitutional framework under which Chilean watchdog-style journalism is performed, celebrates private property, a free market of ideas, and a negative freedom approach. Simultaneously, the committee appointed to write down a new Constitution was also suspicious of an incisive journalism, was afraid of the media, and it was extremely cautious in providing any opportunity for radical or progressive players in entering the field. By carefully examining the debate over the scope and extent of the Chilean public sphere forged when writing down a new constitution, I demonstrate that key players combined their principles and their own partisan experiences facing the press in framing the normative expectations on journalism, particularly in its adversarial performance.

Then, the reconfiguration of the media ecology undertaken by force in the aftermath of the coup in 1973 was consolidated by the constitutional and legal scaffolding deployed by the dictatorship's aides, later, and extended its influence until now. Indeed, since 1990, once the country recovered a democratic regime, governments, judges, and powerful players, have drawn from such frame a set of practices to contain and constrain a watchdog journalistic performance.

From a Bordieuan approach, chapter 2 understands investigative journalism as a subfield within the journalistic field. As the research shows, the specialization and formalization of such interpretive community includes a growing supply of certification due to the explosion of schools of journalism in the 1990s, a combination of formal and on-the-ground training, cultural capital (such as a second language, the experience of growing up or studying abroad), the emergence of local role models and exemplary works inspiring younger generations of muckrakers, and a certain consolidation of the mechanisms of prestige and recognition through awards, have drawn certain boundaries of the subfield. The chapter also exposes the values attributed to a *gringo*-style of journalism, such as order, punctuality, and reliability, as well as some practices and objects borrowed from such tradition, like awards and edited collections of best reportages. Studying and working in the US media also appears as valuable to practitioners.

Nonetheless, the study also shows the porous boundaries of the field through the struggles over its autonomy (or lack of) by exploring the embedding and even interchangeable roles muckrakers and law enforcement agencies and agents have built up. Indeed, out of a combination of shared values and goals, contingents to certain conjunctures, such symbiotic relationships between journalists and judges or journalists and the police facilitate scoops, but also advance critical criminal cases, cold for years or neglected by the system as a whole. Nonetheless, such closeness also raises questions regarding journalistic autonomy and the weight that scandal plays into the narratives of watchdog-style journalism, in particular, on television.

Within the subfield of investigative journalism, books stand out as the medium symbolizing muckraking autonomy, whereas on the other side, investigative stories produced and aired on television stand out as the heteronomous manifestation of muckraking. Chapter 3 shows the challenges of producing investigative stories on Chilean television. Then, by analyzing more than 100 hours of exposés broadcasted since 1990, my research complicates the narrow notion of watchdog-style journalism theorized in industrialized nations, in western media systems, and developed by hegemonic journalistic cultures. Chapter 3 shows the repertoire deployed by investigative journalism in Chilean television, including, in one hand, elements depicting facticity, such as data visualization and archives, and in the other one, practices and technologies borrowed from drama and reality television. Then, highlighting narratives and formal elements mobilizing emotions strongly embedded in investigative journalism on

television complicates definitions of muckraking heavily relying upon principles of rationality and the philosophy of objectivity.

Chapter 4 questions the “crisis talk” under which media management has framed layoffs and downsized budgets. On the contrary, my research explains such crisis talk as part of the large toolkit to maximizing profits, controlling costs and labor in a highly commercialized media landscape. Indeed, the research demonstrates a set of policies and practices unfolded by corporate forces and neoliberal policies shaping and shrinking watchdog-style journalism, both at the organizational level (within networks) and at the macro level of influence (from the economic power). The research describes concrete management trends in television allocated in budgets, workers, and productivity, through which control an adversarial watchdog role of journalism, and it also provides details of mechanisms of retaliations unleashed when contesting critical exposés. Corporate power, then, minimizes and contains the nature and scope of investigative journalism.

While constraining an adversarial journalistic performance, corporate power enhances its identity by personalizing their correspondents as well as branding their programming producing in-depth journalism. Chapter 4 shows that truth, impact, reality, and professionalism have been the key journalistic values in shaping *Informe Especial*’s identity, while *Contacto*’s has built its brand, first, by enhancing values such as making connections and opening up some windows to knowing more and better the outside world, and later, by highlighting its role in scooping, exposing wrongdoings, and embracing an adversarial journalistic performance.

Contributions

Chilean muckraking has been largely disregarded in the English-language literature on the topic. Therefore, a careful analysis of contemporary watchdog journalism in such context complicates conceptualizations coined in the Global North. Such analysis also sheds light into larger questions regarding the role of journalism in emerging democracies and under neoliberalism. This is particularly relevant in the Latin American case due to the uneven reach of the state in emerging democracies.

My research contributes to the studies of the political economy of journalism by enriching the empirical evidence of the crisis talk in media and journalism. Indeed, my research

demonstrates that insisting in such crisis tales depicts as unpredictable a set of corporate and management policies and practices that have been in place for more than a decade, constraining an adversarial role of journalism. Indeed, such repertoire has fueled and exacerbated a 24/7 cycle of news production, promoting both mass and niche consumptions, and generating a new crisis justifying massive and permanent layoffs and more vulnerability for media workers. Watchdog-style reporting also softens or sharpens in dialogue to the economic and corporate conditions of a given context (Baran & Sweezy, 1966; Harvey, 2003; Klein, 2007; Murdock & Gripsrud, 2015a; Starkman, 2014). The policies and practices unfolded by corporate power in Chilean media news ecology is consistent with frameworks highlighting the dependence of commercial media on advertising revenues (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, 1999; Murdock & Gripsrud, 2015a). By unveiling a pool of concrete practices tshrough which a highly commercialized media landscape allows and also controls certain levels of leakage through an incisive journalistic performance also contributes to better understand how journalism is part of hegemony. As Artz, Macek, & Cloud (2006) argues, journalism demonstrates how norms and practices meet the needs and values of social formation. Journalistic values conform to the time and space requirements of "the business cycle, advertising requirements, and corporate profits" (p. 38-39).

My research about investigative journalism in contemporary Chile also contribsutes to the field of journalism studies by illustrating a journalistic culture on the Global South and its system of beliefs defining "appropriate practices and values of news professionals, news media, and news systems" (Nerone, 2012: 447), with particular emphasis on investigative journalism. This dissertation also expands previous research about master-practitioners and exemplary works (Ettema & Glasser, 1998; Protess et al., 1991) by pulling into the body of work on muckraking new names and new works developed in Spanish and in a Latin American journalistic culture. By bringing to the light a set of visual narratives, storytelling strategies, and melodramatic forms in appealing not only to audiences' rationality, but to their emotions, too, I enrich studies that have previously demonstrated the moral component in investigative journalism and scandal as an important element framing public issues in other contexts (Campbell, 1987; Chalaby, 2004). This dissertation also enlarges the understanding of Latin American muckrakers' history and performance by analyzing in deep the case of Chile, not considered by previous works (Becerra, 2007; Cárdenas & González, 2006; Waisbord, 2000) and contributes to understand the

limitations of exporting models from the United States or from Europe, because of the differences in the contexts, historically, politically, and economically speaking. Nonetheless, my work also explores the weight that the US tradition and conceptualization of muckraking has in the local subfield, at the same time it traces indigenous particularities and influences.

This research also fills a gap by addressing a journalistic performance overlooked in the body of literature about Chilean media and journalism studies. The work exclusively devoted to systematically analyze investigative reporting is limited. Instead, such journalistic performance (or the lack of) is mentioned as part of larger trends in contemporary Chilean journalism and is mainly devoted to exposés produced by print press. In fact, watchdog-style reporting produced and performed on television has been rather omitted. Then, this research provides a first comprehensive analysis of the two programs that have broadcasted in-depth journalism uninterruptedly for decades on Chilean television, *Contacto* (Canal 13, a private network) and *Informe Especial* (Televisión Nacional de Chile, TVN, public network). By doing so, this dissertation complicates how research has understood investigative journalism and critically historicizes and contextualizes such practice.

Once translated to Spanish, my dissertation will contribute to highlighting indigenous experiences of performing watchdog journalism for not only expanding the research on the topic addressing other periods of time, different mediums, or specific correspondents and topics, but for teaching purposes. Indeed, relying upon a body of works overlooked until now, it is possible to nurture programs of study in both undergraduate and graduate levels in journalism, as well as short-term training efforts oriented towards on-the-ground practitioners. Making visible a corpus of work, a group of practitioners, and a certain pool of practices in performing investigative reporting in a peripheral journalistic culture, allows to better understand the roots and contemporary trends in such context, identify more precisely their challenges -those coming from the local subfield itself and those out of larger regional or global phenomena-, and as a consequence, thinking in situated strategies to address such challenges.

Further research

"... if you write books on mass communication you have to accept that they are provisional. And that they may be up-to-date and then outdated in the space of a single morning"
Umberto Eco (1994: 56).

The first time I envisioned this project, it was extremely ambitious. I aimed to explore and analyze several formats that are considered watchdog journalism. Sincerely enthusiastic about reading and watching once more key works and authors that have enriched my career as a journalist, first, and as a media scholar and professor of journalism, later, I originally considered books and documentaries, print reportages, television and digital stories to include in my study. From the beginning, I have no doubts about addressing a relatively long span of time after the end of the dictatorship and during the political transition. A historical period of time that had also experienced neoliberalism in organizing all social spheres.

Soon, it became obvious the titanic enterprise that such goals would imply. However, I have not abandoned my conviction that exploring this rich and overlooked material is worthy and indispensable. Worthy, because there is so little written about our contemporary (and not so contemporary, too) examples of watchdog style of journalism. Nonetheless, by focusing on a handful expressions of this type of reporting in a long period of time, I also navigated by the blurred boundaries of the field.

Indeed, by discussing mechanisms and objects of prestige and recognition, such as awards and books, my research also sneaks into practices and objects different but adjacent, such as the field of publishing and publishers, exploring the intersections between investigative journalism, long-sellers, and the hybridization of formats such as essays and reportages. When paying attention to the formal storytelling narratives deployed by long-form journalistic television shows, I also explore the contested ways in which television language connects to journalistic values, traditionally conceived as deriving from rationality rather than emotions. It is also indispensable to better understand the extent of the intertwining of journalistic, political, and economic fields. As long as the research in the topic is rather scarce in Latin America, this study highlights a situated way to try to make sense of a practice that has been inspired by the US model, discourses, and expectations. Thus, although the US tradition has been very influential in

the subfield, it is mandatory, too, to understand the local forces shaping the specific conditions under which investigative journalists performed their job.

I envision eight broad paths opened by this dissertation to develop further research. The first one is expanding the critical analysis of the process and discourses supporting the regulatory framework affecting a watchdog-role of journalism. Until now, there is some research done regarding the role of the constituent power and a few bills directly linked to the media and reporting, such as the press law, the set of television reforms, or punishments included in the criminal law regarding freedom of expression and opinion. Nonetheless, as long as private enterprise, a free market of ideas, and a negative freedom approach are the fundamental principles organizing the public sphere, there are other sets of regulations in the area of economics or competition that have a say in regulating the public sphere. Further research must explore the nature and extent of expectations, nature, and scope of an adversarial journalistic role crafted in regulatory frames.

Regarding investigative journalism as a subfield, a second area to develop further research must address a comprehensive analysis of non-profit journalism. Indeed, non-profit journalism or public service journalism has become synonymous of investigative reporting in contemporary times. To overcome hostile scenarios in journalism practice, such as a weak professionalization, post-authoritarian periods, heavily commercialized media systems, or the afterwards of the global economic crisis, the non-profit model of journalism has gained momentum as an alternative strategy to encourage independent reporting. In that sense, journalistic, developmental, and philanthropic agendas have converged into a trend of founding and financially backing independent media and investigative reporting. This tendency also matches with the discourse encouraging innovative journalism (Coates-Nee & Wulfemeyer, 2009; Mioli & Nafría, 2017). However, eventually this funding model is producing niche mediums, a more elitist reporting, or a sort of "boutique" journalism, highly focused on public policies, and strongly oriented to policy-makers instead of larger audiences. Then, there is still more research to conduct regarding projects such as CIPER, even more as it is considered a contemporary role model for the subfield and because it would help to better understand this sort of model in Latin American countries, where it has sprouted (*Elfaro.net*, El Salvador; *Plaza Pública*, Guatemala; *La Silla Vacía*, Colombia, and *Ojo Público*, Perú, to mention a few).

A third area of further research must conceive and explore the body of work produced by broadcasting muckrakers in a long span of time. Indeed, books and printed stories can be traced, reproduced, and collected. However, reports aired on television are rather ephemeral, given the lack of access to archives or even non-existent media archives, as this research demonstrates. The collective nature of producing stories for television complicates the effort of analyzing television correspondents' works. However, regarding the material here analyzed, further research must consider analyzing the body of work of specific correspondents recognized by the subfield as "rock stars" in producing high-quality journalism, their methods, their topics of specialization, their role as mentors or key figures inspiring younger generations, and the overall impact of their work.

Precisely due to the collective nature of producing news report for television, a fourth area to encouraging new studies must explore the role of media workers other than correspondents in producing high-quality journalism, exposés, and investigations. I am particularly thinking about cameramen: Their training, their on-the-field specialization, the invisibility of their labor, and the particular contributions in forging narratives. When introducing more sophisticated technologies of post-production, further research could also examine the role of workers in video editing and digital tools applied to investigative stories.

A fifth area of inquiry must explore the connections, differences, and similitudes between investigative journalism produced for television and documentaries. The field of documentary films can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s to the school known as the *Nuevo Cine Chileno* (New Chilean Cinema). Such wave had a high emphasis in the social role of filmmaking and, as part of it, it fueled a rich production on documentary films (Salinas & Stange, 2008). As a heteronomous form of content production, television is considered far away of the highly social and political committed field of documentary filmmaking and is fueled by commercialization. As such, high-quality journalism on television and its aesthetic value has been overlooked and analyzed disconnected from other visual productions, such as documentaries.

As the research shows, broadcasting muckraking has deployed different technologies for producing exposés. This research presents the opportunity to continuing exploring both the depictions and deployments of technology in conceiving and producing investigative journalism as a sixth path to further inquiry. This includes, for instance, the uses of surveillance

technologies (drones, smaller hidden cameras), data-driven journalism, or visualization narratives and tools on muckraking. The nature and extent of introducing such technologies and the role in shaping narratives, modes of production, the agenda, are just some of the questions new studies could embrace.

Seven, further research must examine Chilean muckraking under a perspective of gender. Indeed, such path of inquiry must analyze gender at the organizational level of journalistic production, exploring the role of women and men in producing muckraking in the whole chain of responsibilities, including both journalistic as well as technical staff. Further studies must also analyze gender representations in exposés. As long as investigative journalism embraces longer periods of production, relatively more funding, and highly specialized correspondents, it will be interesting to determine the extent gender stereotypes are still prevalent on in-depth journalism or whether better trained and experienced journalists, more time and resources in production, and a critical stance to explore social problems contribute to address less stereotypical frames based on gender. Even more, new studies should contribute to better understand the ways in which watchdog journalism frames key topics regarding gender, such as domestic violence, abortion, sexuality, and prostitution.

Finally, this research opens up questions to better understand the political economy of global muckraking and its flows and counterflows. As an object, a practice, and a value spread through colonization, first, and industrialization, later, journalism carried the political project of liberalism and the economic plan of capitalism (A. Mattelart, 2000; Nerone, 2012). Investigative reporting does not escape such global and historical circumstances. Indeed, since the wave of democratization in the late 1980s and the 1990s, the international aid community has invested millions of dollars in supporting media development as part of larger programs for enhancing accountability, the rule of law, and democratic institutions across the world (Browne, 2010; Kumar, 2000, 2006; Lublinski et al., 2016; Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). In Latin America in particular, the Open Society and the Knight foundations –among other foreign players- have been crucial in supporting professional associations and training (Knight) and online-based centers of non-profit journalism (OSF). Such support combined with training abroad appears as a fruitful area of research to better understand the nature and extent of the influence in conceptualizing and practicing investigative journalism and, at the same time, will recognize the

indigenous adaptations of such references. As this study has shown, imported references and frames inspire at the same time that are adapted by local investigative performances informed by local regulatory and historical frames, the material conditions of practicing muckraking, and languages that speak both to the mind and the heart.

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APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

This is a mixed-methods research within a constructivist and interpretive way of thinking and the design mixes different and even divergent methodological techniques and material. Indeed, MMR "combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts, or language into a single study" (Johnson & Onwue, 2004). The fundamental principle of mixing methods is that researchers should collect multiple types of data using different strategies, approaches, and methods in such a way that the blend's outcomes will have complementary strengths driven by the research purposes, the problems addressed, and the research questions.

The characteristics of mixing methods are methodological eclecticism, a pluralistic paradigm encouraging different stances, a cyclical and iterative approach to the research, an emphasis on diversity at all stages of the process, methodological decisions driven by research questions and purposes, and a set of basic designs specific to mixing methods research (regarding what, when, and how methods and results are mixed) (Greene, 2007; Johnson & Onwue, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). There is no such thing as a recipe or a formula prescribing the best way to designing and mixing methods, but rather it is a craft combining theoretical, epistemological, and practical, available, resources. In other words, making methodological decisions is a way of organizing and making sense of an inquiry, addressing diverse philosophical frameworks that are impure by nature.

Therefore, under the mixing-methods research's umbrella, this design mixes qualitative and quantitative tools for complementary purposes because it aims to examine overlapping but different facets of a same phenomenon. Consequently, mixing methods for complementary purposes is like seeing an object/subject through glasses of different colors, sizes, and focus. In this research, the qualitative and interpretive paradigm is more relevant than quantitative data, though. Regarding the interpretive and qualitative character of this research, the integrated design was flexible and open to adjustments in an active dialogue with the material available.

The corpus of this study consists in a combination of primary and secondary sources, private and public archives, and print and visual material, to mention a few. This appendix provides an overview of these materials, how I produced them, and the strategies of analysis. Additionally, I highlight some obstacles I encountered searching the archives (such as nonexistent, inaccessible,

or expensive material), and some strategies I deployed to overcome difficulties in getting or producing material for my research.

Material and sources

There are five main types of material: 1. Documents, including legal, regulatory, and administrative records, as well as corporate and trade reports; 2. Interviews conducted and transcribed for analysis; 3. Visual material, including investigative reports printed and broadcasted and self-promotional material; 4. Datasets specially designed and collected for the purposes of this research, and 5. Material produced by different players in the field of journalism in Chile, such as public speeches; reports, and newspapers' clipping.

Documents

Legal archives

In Chile, the entire lawmaking process of any bill is built upon the official print records of all the sessions in which it was discussed, including dates, participants, the debate's transcriptions, the first draft submitted and, finally, the approved bill. The archive is filed in the Library of the Congress (*Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional*) and it is available both physically and digitally. There are four particular lawmaking processes that are crucial to historicize the roots of what constitutes the status of broadcasting and journalism in Chile: 1. The history of freedom of expression as consecrated by the Constitution;[396] 2. The history of the television act;[397] 3. The history of the public broadcasting act,[398] and 4. The Congress' special report about the situation of

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[396] *Historia de la Ley. Constitución Política de la República de Chile de 1980. Artículo 19, No. 12. Libertad de Expresión* (BCN, 2005). The article 19(2) in the Chilean constitution guarantees the freedom of expression and establishes the frame for broadcasting operations. It is a 709 pages' document including the discussions of a special commission appointed by the dictatorship to discuss the freedom of expression and opinion rights and the legal status of media. It corresponds to 25 meetings conducted between September 26, 1973 and September 7, 1978; the official records of four meetings of the Council of State between December 26, 1978 to January 16, 1979, and the text of the article finally enacted. The Council of State was created by the *Junta Militar* in 1976 to advice the "President," particularly in constitutional and legal reforms

[397] *Historia de la Ley Nº 18.838. Crea el Consejo Nacional de Televisión* (BCN, 1989). A post-dictatorship television framework was discussed and designed between January 1988 and September 1989. It is a 266 pages' document discussing the character of television, the role of the state in regulating it, and the players that could participate in the industry. It was approved by the "legislative" power of the *Junta*, the bureaucratic organization the dictatorship had to enacting legal reforms.

[398] *Historia de la Ley No 19.132 Crea la Empresa del Estado Televisión Nacional de Chile* (BCN, 1992). For more than a year and a half, the Chilean Congress discussed and finally passed a new regulatory framework for the public

the public broadcasting in the dictatorship's aftermath[399] (BCN, 1989, 1991, 1992, 2005). I retrieved all of them and are the base for the historical background, but also feed data (discourses, i.e.) relevant for other sections of the dissertation. I particularly paid attention to explore the legal discourses and players defining the boundaries of Chilean media operations and the normative roles that journalists were expected to perform, with emphasis in the constituent power complemented by the other handful of lawmaking processes. I analyzed thematically the material, considering the debates about freedom of expression under a negative freedom frame, the free market of ideas, and the legal status of media, particularly, broadcasting.

Court cases

Based on previous media clippings about high-profile *exposés* that triggered civil lawsuits against the networks, I identified corporations involved, dates, and general information about the legal processes. Then, I retrieved all the documentation available from the official digital records of the court system[400], searching in civil courts, in the Appeals Court of Santiago, and in the Chilean Supreme Court. I used keywords looking for cases in which the networks *Televisión Nacional de Chile* and *Canal 13* were involved in any lawsuit regarding their shows *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*, respectively. Then, I searched by the names of the companies that sued the networks in highly publicized cases. For example, I searched using the keywords: "Canal 13," "Cencosud," "Deoleo," "Ideal," "Danone," all the companies that filed a lawsuit against Canal 13 in 2014. In using this approach, I tried to minimize the risk of missing information on these key court cases.

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broadcasting –*Televisión Nacional*, TVN- as a response to an investigation elaborated by the Chamber of Deputies in the early 1990. The bill defines what public television means in a new democratic regime. The lawmaking process does not only include the congressmen voices, but also other stakeholders, as well as several technical, legal, and comparative reports that contributed to politically and economically frame the boundaries and the mixed character of the national public television in Chile in a post-authoritarian period.

[399] *Informe Comisión Especial Investigadora de la Situación de Televisión Nacional de Chile* (BCN, 1991). In April 1990, the Chilean Chamber of Deputies appointed an official commission to investigate the situation of the public broadcasting, *Televisión Nacional de Chile* (TVN), its funding crisis, and the reasons for it. Its conclusions and suggestions were critical to define the type of public television Chile has since then (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 1994). The commission interviewed key informants, such as former executives as well as the new broadcasting authorities appointed by the democratic government, unions, advertisers, and contractors. The report includes a close reading of the accounting documentation, among several other materials that are valuable for analyzing the political and economic boundaries of public broadcasting role, goals, and operations.

[400] http://www.pjud.cl/consulta-unificada-de-causas

The system does not provide one single document containing the whole case, including the original lawsuit and its closure by a sentence or for any other reasons (like out-of-court agreements). However, missing or not available original documents are cited as long the case progresses in court. For example, in the lawsuits filed against Canal 13 in response to the report "Alimentos saludables, ¿gato por liebre?"[401], I retrieved all documents but those indicating simple, bureaucratic, proceedings from the parts or the court. I read the original lawsuit, if it is available, and the response. I also read the experts' reports written by specialists hired by both parties, and the final legal decision available (in the civil court that hear the case, the Appeals Court, or the Supreme Court, if so). The final resolution usually contains the facts, the main arguments, the dates, any data provided by any of the parties in dispute, and so on.

Complaints filed against investigative reports

The National Council of Television (*Consejo Nacional de Televisión*, CNTV) is the public office regulating what the law defines as a "correct functioning" of both air-free and paid television. Therefore, the CNTV receives complaints against specific programs whether by mail, personally in its office located in Santiago, the country's capital, or filling a form available on the CNTV's official website. The process produces several documents that are relevant for this research: The accusations filed by individuals, the discussions in the board of the CNTV deciding whether to fine a TV station or dismiss the allegations, and the final report resuming the case.

Some topics and methods performed by television news programs are eventually controversial and tend to attract public criticism, triggering debates regarding their ethics and aesthetics. Therefore, the complaints filed against these TV shows condense some of the expectations about what television journalism should or shouldn't be, opening up a window to the public circulation of these programs and their content, and shedding light on broader discourses about media, television, and investigative journalism.

By the end of 2017, the CNTV's website made available only the TV shows that received most complaints per year, since 2011: *Informe Especial* registered complaints for four episodes on 2015 and *Contacto*, for two episodes broadcasted in 2015. As long as the CNTV's official webpage publishes only the programs that received more complaints in a given year, it is barely a snapshot.

[401] See chapter 4.

Therefore, I filed out a freedom of information request to the CNTV on November 10, 2017 asking for all the complaints filed out against *Informe Especial* since 1990 and *Contacto* since 1991 (the first year the TV show was aired). I particularly asked for the total number of complaints received by the CNTV in the period, by program, by year, including the episode's title and the dates it was broadcasted. I also requested whether the CNTV fined the networks or dismissed the complaints. I asked any official document produced as a consequence of the complaints, such as final reports. As a response, I received four from the CNTV emails on December 5, 2017, containing four zip files labeled as:

Contacto_1__2006_al_2017_

Contacto_2__A00_15_1493_Canal_13_07.06.2015_

"Contacto_3__A00_15_1785_Canal_13_07.06.2015_

"Informe_Especial__2003_al_2017_

These folders contained 24 documents on specific episodes produced by *Informe Especial* covering 14 years (2003 to 2017), and 15 documents regarding complaints on specific episodes broadcasted by *Contacto* between 2006 and 2017. When insisting on having access to previous years' reports, CNTV responded that the office does not have information about these programs before 2003. The material was confusing and not well organized. So, in some cases there were just one file including all the steps and documents since a citizen filed out a complaint and the CNTV's board voted based on the technical report prepared by its professional staff. Nonetheless, in other cases, I received several files (.pdf and .doc) pertaining to a same complaint. I read every single document until I sorted out what documents were part of which complaint.

Corporate documents

I reviewed yearly corporate reports about television, in general, and published by the broadcasters included in this research. This material contributes to identify broad features in Chilean television industry as well as specific development strategies from the networks during the period analyzed in the study. I retrieved yearly corporate reports from Canal 13's and TVN's official websites, as well as from the the *Comisión para el Mercado Financiero* (the Financial Market Commission, CMF, previously called *Superintendencia de Valores y Senguros*, SVS), the

official Chilean body that performs similar functions than the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in the U.S. Even though Chilean networks are not companies open to the stock market, they are legally obligated to report to the CMF.

For those years that corporate reports were not available through the networks' or the CMF's websites, I filed out a freedom of information request to the CMF. Indeed, on September 12, 2018, I requested for every single corporate and financial report of both networks, for every year since 1990 and until 2015, the regulatory body holds. On October 12, 2018, the CMF responded to my request indicating they generated a CD that I can pick up any time at their offices, previous payment of the reproduction fees involved. Until now, the institution has not responded to my requests whether I can send somebody on my behalf to pick it up or not. Then, I have partial corporate documents from both TVN and Canal 13.

Trade magazines and specific data produced by and for the television industry were also considered, such as historical television ratings. Once I decided the sample of stories aired by *Informe Especial* and *Contacto* to analyze in deep, I requested the episodes' ratings for academic purposes[402] in January 5, 2018. In March 3, 2018, they sent by email a spreadsheet in Excel format including the rating per household and individual between 2005 and 2015. The reason to exclude ratings from 2004 and earlier is that they changed the methodology in 2005 and, as a consequence, they are not comparable[403]. For early in the 2000s, newspapers tended to publish the most watched shows in Chilean television per week. Then, I have partial data from that account as long as *Informe Especial*'s or *Contacto*'s episodes did perform among the top 10 programs in a given week.

Semi-structured interviews

Journalists are portrayed as "professional witnesses" and "memory agents" (Kaiser, 2014); and as primary tellers and instant historians. Journalism has been also conceived as a first draft of history (Barbie Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014). Therefore, reporters are considered as first witnesses of historical changes and simultaneously, as eyewitnesses of their own professional

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[402] Kantar Media, the company running research in television audiences, requested an official letter signed by my advisor explicitly indicating that I need the data for research purposes. Camilo Tejo, a staff member at Kantar Ibope Media, personal communication, March and August 2017.
[403] Camilo Tejo, personal communications, March 5, 2018.

culture, embedded in organizational, historical, and ideological conjunctures. Entangled in those interconnections, journalists turn into subjects of research interest.

Since Max Weber delivered his inaugural speech about the importance of the press at the First Congress of Sociologists in Frankfurt in 1910, journalists have been studied from different perspectives and utilizing several methodologies (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), such as life stories, biographies, and autobiographical accounts. In fact, journalism schools have recurrently used this type of material as part of the history of the field (Abrams, 1979; Barnhurst & Nerone, 2009). Several institutions are engaged in building oral archives[404] as a way of highlighting the importance of journalists as a subject of inquiry. In fact, journalism "not only participates in commemorations of external events. It also commemorates itself" (Olick, 2014) and the voices of these journalists configure a collective memory, about the profession itself and within larger social and political frames (Barbie Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014).

Particularly, oral history's methods, such as in-depth and semi-structured interviews, have been a key method of inquiring into individual level of professional performance (personal beliefs, own perceptions and evaluations of practices, for instance), routines and organizational levels, highly influenced by the bureaucratic approach of newsmaking (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978), and ideological or broadly social dimensions (as the field theory have been applied in journalism studies). Therefore, reporters' narratives have been fundamental mobilizing the inquiry in journalism and how journalists are key meaning-makers. This past-present relationship is what I

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[404] Some archives about oral history in journalism: "Newspaper Journalists Oral History Program," Department of Journalism, Penn State University, available at http://comm.psu.edu/research/centers/newspaper-journalists-oral-history-program [retrieved in October 19, 2015]; The National Press Club Oral Histories, available at https://www.press.org/archives/oral-histories, [retrieved in October 19, 2015]; "Herstory, 34 female journalists, 34 stories," Donald Reynolds Journalism Institute, available at http://www.rjionline.org/news/rji-fellows-oral-history-website-shares-stories-challenges-and-inspirations-female-journalists [retrieved in October 19, 2015]; "Women in journalism," The Washington Press Club Foundation, available at http://wpcf.org/women-in-journalism/ [retrieved in October 15, 2015]; The Columbia Center for Oral History (CCOH)," University of Columbia, available at http://library.columbia.edu/locations/ccoh.html. Among many different subjects and topics, the CCOH host oral history of radio pioneers (http://oralhistoryportal.cul.columbia.edu/document.php?id=ldpd_4072581), women journalists (http://oralhistoryportal.cul.columbia.edu/document.php?id=ldpd_4073684), black journalists (http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view_collection.php?coll_id=1039), and several journalism lectures. The Australia's living archive also host an oral history archive, with journalists' testimonies, as well (http://www.nfsa.gov.au/blog/2015/03/23/oral-history-journalists/). Riptide: http://www.digitalriptide.org/ triggered some debate and critics due to its partiality in who was considered as witnesses of the changes in journalism. For the reaction, see Goldenberg, 2013.

am looking for by navigating through the journalists' narratives about their professions and how it is related to broader phenomena.

Interviews provide access –at least partially- to an insider knowledge, a specific skill, or a worldview (Lofland et al., cited by Babbie, 2013). Some of the strengths of interviewing are its flexibility as a methodological tool, its iterative nature, and consequently, its possibility of enriching "the continuous process of research" because questioning/interviewing can be redesigned throughout a whole project (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, cited in Babbie, 2013).

Interviewing journalists and editors as key informants serves three main purposes: First, explore their narratives about their own professional performance (their perceptions about their practices or how professionals narrate its operations via their own discourses). Second, partially access to places (newsrooms), and periods of time (10, 20 or 30 years ago) otherwise inaccessible to the researcher, and finally, identify facts and data that contribute to triangulate specific information this research examines when analyzing materials different than interviews.

The narratives and accounts of key informants –such as journalists- bring up epistemological and methodological problems in the vein of an interpretive and critical perspective. For example, interviewing in social sciences has triggered questions about power relations between researcher and interviewees, the prejudices that eventually can be hidden in this interaction, and the asymmetrical relationship between both sides. However, this research rather raises questions about the similarity between interviewer and interviewees. Both sides share a background and have a common language and engage in a mutual process of reflection. As Plesner points out, interviewing sideways is much more a co-construction of knowledge: "Our familiarity with each other's professional language made the borders of interviewer's and interviewee's contributions blurred, and the 'problem of dialogue' and 'the problem of power' came to appear impertinent" (Plesner, 2011). I consider interviewing peers as a meaning-making occasion (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

Under this methodological umbrella, I conducted semi-structured interviews with Chilean investigative journalists that fit at least one of the following criteria: He or she has been either a finalist of a journalistic prize or has been a recipient of an award in journalism; he or she teaches or has taught an investigative journalism course in one or more schools of journalism in the country or abroad; and/or he or she has published/produced one or more books/documentaries recognized

as a piece of investigative reporting (e.g. cited as required material in courses of journalism). The design was open to conducting interviews online or by phone, too. The interviews took one hour or so and were audio-recorded with the journalists' permission[405].

The questionnaire addressed three main topics: 1) How investigative reporters became journalists; 2) What type of jobs they had had, and 3) What does mean investigative journalism, what is/should be its role in a democracy, and who else they recognize as investigative reporters, or they admire as journalists. The questionnaire has been slightly modified to conduct interviews with jury members of journalistic awards and publishers of investigative' books in Chile. Thus, I explored the history of the award, its procedures, goals, and standards; and finally, the origins and objectives of non-fiction and investigative journalism's collections and its results (volume of copies, success and critics, circulation, and audiences' reception, for instance).

I conducted 17 face-to-face semi-structured interviews (12 investigative journalists, two publishers, and two juries of a journalistic award)[406], totalizing more than 15 hours of recorded interviews. During 2018, I conducted seven more interviews with investigative journalists with heavy experience in television and, particularly, in *Contacto* and *Informe Especial*. The interviews were conducted by phone or Skype. Finally, I also conducted some interviews with key informant, such as reporters, producers, or staff from different local networks, media unions' leaders, and current or former executives from Canal 13 and TVN inquiring into specific details or process discussed in the dissertation, such as collective bargaining, human resources policies, or strikes.

Visual material

Following Rose's reading of a critical visual methodology, there are four sites to look at: "the site(s) of the production of an image, the site of the image itself, the site(s) of its circulation, and the site(s) where it is seen by various audiences" and three modalities to address images, that is, in their technological dimension (analogue for digital, for example), regarding the image's composition, and the social relations surrounding images and shaping their use and see (Rose, 2016: 24-25). This proposal emphasizes the sites of the images themselves and their production,

[405] When meeting for the interview, I provided hard copies of a consent form with information about the study and the contact information of the researcher and my advisor. My IRB was approved by the Human Subject Review Committee of the Institute of Communications Research (ICR) in July 2016.
[406] Fieldwork Santiago de Chile, June and July 2016.

highlighting the social modalities of visuality, acknowledging "the plethora of ways in which the visual is part of social life" (Rose, 2016: 4).

Therefore, the visual material presents at least two challenges: The first one is the polysemic character of images and, because of that, the extent their meanings are slippery and multiple, too. And in that sense, paraphrasing Rose, any point of entrance to analyze images is arbitrary and make sense only including their larger contexts into the picture. The second challenge that visual material represents in this research project is the technological, social, political, and economic variations that have shaped visual production, visual circulation, and visual consumption. In other words, watching television or reading ads on a newspaper in the early 1990s, in a pre-Internet and a pre-people meter era, implied different features than watching television in a period in which university television disappeared and corporations took over their control, such as the 2010s and advertising gained online life.

There are three main types of visual material considered in this research: 1. Investigative reports, both printed and broadcasted; 2. Self-promotional material, and 3. Digital sites of production and circulation.

I reviewed and analyzed the two main TV shows considered as in–depth/investigative in Chilean broadcasting: *Informe Especial* and *Contacto*. The first one has been aired by the public television (TVN) since 1984, when military authorities ran the station during the dictatorship, and the latter was launched in 1991 by Canal 13, a TV station owned by the Catholic University and the Chilean Catholic Church but currently part of the largest corporation in the country, *Quiñenco* Corporation, with business interests in banking and mining, too.

This research represents several challenges regarding the access and even the existence of visual material. Only the stories more recently broadcasted by *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* are available in their websites. There is no a national neither local archives containing television content in Chile. In fact, not even the broadcasters have full records of all their material[407], public

[407] For example, the first TV show that produce a watchdog style of reporting was *La historia secreta de las grandes noticias* (The secret stories behind the news), aired by Canal 13 between 1965 and 1966. Indeed, it was cancelled precisely because the Catholic University, owner of the station, censored a story, and most of the staff resigned in protesting. However, there are only secondary accounts of the program because Canal 13 does not have copies of it. According to Ivonne de Laire, the supervisor of Canal 13's archive, back by that time, and probably due to budget constraints, programs were not recorded or archived, and tapes were probably reused. A similar experience regarding non-existent archival was highlighted by Sergio Campos, the historical host of the *Diario de Cooperativa*, the main radio news program since the 1970s and a key voice in reporting topics and problems rather manipulated or

television charges a fee for each hour using its media archive (not even asking for a copy)[408], and the National Council of Television records a rather narrow span of time and not every type of TV programming, and it holds them in their archives just for a short period of time. Online repositories, such as YouTube, Vimeo, and Real Player, have been very important crafting an archive of historical content produced by these two programs in the early 1990s and 2000s.

I have explored the topics addressed by both programs and how their agendas have changed throughout the time (between 1990 and 2015) by creating a spreadsheet indicating dates, episodes' title, authors, topics, and whether corresponds to foreign or national coverage. To distinguishing foreign and national, I considered an event domestic when it occurs in the country of issue without foreign participation, and a foreign event when it occurs in another country without reference to Chile (Porath & Mujica, 2011). To identify stories, I filled out this spreadsheet by consulting the Canal 13's and TVN's media archive[409]; the news clipping from the Government's Press Office (*Secretaría de Comunicaciones,* SECOM*, Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno*, Chilean government)[410], the shows' official websites, and secondary sources, such as the television schedules and paid ads published in newspapers (*La Tercera*, *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Cuarta*, *La Época*, and *El Mercurio*[411]), and the bibliographic metadata from the Universidad Católica's library's catalogue, what Mihelj and Huxtable (2018) call "paratexts." To classify stories' topics, I relied in tags and keywords originally assigned to each item in the library catalog or archive consulted. Those titles obtained from other sources, such as internal reports or newspapers' clippings, I pulled out the topic from reading reports' titles and abstracts, and I finally compared them to the topics and categories used by Hamilton when analyzing stories submitted to the Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) award (Hamilton, 2016, p. 59 and ff.).

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hidden by the authoritarian regime. In the book presentation of his autobiography *La voz de la radio está llamando* in June 2016, he also explained how tapes were used over and over again and just because digital technologies, the radio station recently started to build up an archive.

[408] $70 plus taxes for an hour of viewing on site, according to the estimate provided by the digital development's area, *Televisión Nacional de Chile* (TVN). Personal communication, April 2017.

[409] Fieldworks in June and July, 2016 and in May and June, 2018.

[410] A SECOM's employee gave me access to the government clipping.

[411] I reviewed *La Tercera* newspaper between June 7, 1984 and December 17, 1999, because it provided the most complete overview of television programming, in general, and included self-promotional material. I also reviewed *Las Últimas Noticias* and *La Cuarta*, between 1984 and 1999, and *La Época*, between 1987 and 1998. I reviewed *El Mercurio* between 1991 and December.

I analyzed the visual grammar of investigative journalism in Chilean television in a purposive sample based on the following criterion adapted from previous research (Carson, 2014; Hamilton, 2016; Protess et al., 1991): 1. The story reported on domestic/national topics; 2. The story might/might not be an exclusive of the show; 3. The story triggered peer recognition (mentioned by key informants[412] or has been awarded, for example); 4. The story produced public impact; and finally, 5. the report is fully available (in media archive, library, online repositories, or personal collections). I try to include at least one story per season, for each television show. Among other features, I have paid close attention to the visual narratives mobilized by the investigations, how they have changed throughout time, and the overcome obstacles the stories faced. At first, I adapted a visual analysis form created by Dr. Lorena Antezana to analyze TV news[413]. However, due to the time-constraints on accessing media archives in my two fieldworks, I should simplify and synthetize the form and I took notes on what the reporter's voice said, what are the main features of the editing, the role of music, and the types of shots on building up the stories, among other key features[414].

Between 1990 and 2015, *Informe Especial* aired 733 stories, 466 of them addressed domestic issues, 258, foreign topics. In 9 cases, I was unable to code whether the story covered national or foreign affairs. Between 1991 and 2015, *Contacto* aired 871 stories, without counting the stories aired twice or repeated. Considering the data available (stories' abstracts, for instance), I was able to code 484 reports addressing domestic topics.

Thus, combined, *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* have aired 956 stories addressing domestic topics between 1990 (1991 for *Contacto*) and 2015. In the case of *Contacto*, there were at least eight stories that I thought originally to analyze in deep, but there were not available in any library. All these unavailable stories correspond to material produced early in the 1990s. The sample finally contains 93 stories, 55 produced by *Informe Especial* and 38, by *Contacto*, representing almost 100 hours of footage.

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[412] Every investigative reporter or editor that work or has worked in one or the two TV shows I am analyzing have responded to the question: "Por favor, nombra uno o más reportajes que consideras son ejemplos de periodismo de investigación en Chile, ya sean tuyos, del(de los) programa(s) en el(los) que has trabajado, o de otros" (Please, mention one or more stories you consider as a good example of investigative journalism in Chile, rather yours or other's).
[413] Personal communication, April 25, 2018.
[414] See Chapter 3.

After identifying whether a report addresses foreign or domestic affairs, I classified domestic stories under the following categories based upon previous research, considering the content of the reports themselves in order to be sensitive to the local media agenda, and identifying opportunities for further research (abortion, for instance):

Abortion	Homosexuality; lesbianism; transgender
Accidents; car accidents	Human Rights
AIDS	Indigenous people
Animal abuse	Migrants
Children	Military
Children abuse	Miscellaneous
Consumers rights	Natural disasters
Corporate fraud	Prisons
Corruption	Religion
Courts	Sexual Abuse; Sexual harassment
Crime	Sexuality
Culture	Social problems
Dirvorce	Social problems-poverty
Economics	Social problems-shanty towns/"inner cities"
Education	Social security-AFP
Environment	Technology; Hackers
Health	Transport; Urban Planning
Health-adictions	Youth
History-Chile	

The following table shows the ten most covered topics by both programs. There are nuances if we analyze each show separately. For instance, most of the topics produced by *Contacto* fits into the category of "miscellaneous," while "crime" is the most important in *Informe Especial* during the period under study.

Topic	Informe Especial	Topic	Contacto
Crime	70	Miscellaneous	83
Human Rights	49	Crime	66
Health	31	Corruption	29
Miscellaneous	31	Economics	29
Social problems	29	Social problems	29
Chilean history	26	Culture	26
Child abuse; sex abuse; sexual harassment	23	Health	20
Economics	17	Childhood; Youth	18
Environment	15	Consumers rights	17
Sexuality	15	Accidents; car accidents	14
Consumers rights	14	Health-addictions	14
Corruption	14	Social problems-poverty	14
Childhood; Youth	12	Child abuse; sex abuse; sexual harassment	13
Religion	11	Human Rights	13
Education	10	Chilean history	11
Health-illness	10	Jails	11

Human Rights is the second most covered topic in *Informe Especial* in the period under study (49 stories out of 464 reports on domestic issues broadcasted between 1990 and 2015). On the contrary, human rights weights less in *Contacto*'s agenda (13 stories out of 476 stories on domestic issues broadcasted between 1991 and 2015).

Regarding the sample of 93 stories deeply analyzed in this research, the weight of each topic slightly change in comparison to the whole agenda of both shows. Indeed, due to the study´s goals, as well as the criteria described above to purposely define the sample of reports to analyze carefully, there are topics that fall out of the corpus here considered and other that could seem overrepresented in comparison to the whole agenda of the period under study. *Human Rights* and *Corruption* are the two most relevant topics in the sample. As the following table shows, there are differences between both shows and the weight they give to some topics over others.

Topics' Sample	Total	IE	Contacto
Child abuse	4	2	2
Consumers rights	6	3	3
Corporate Fraud	6	0	6
Corruption	11	5	6
Courts	3	2	1
Crime	3	2	1
Economics	4	2	2
Environment	6	1	5
Health	4	3	1
History-Chile	9	7	2
Human Rights	25	21	4
Indigenous People	1	0	1
Military	1	1	0
Poverty	3	2	1
Prisons	3	2	1
Sexual Abuse	2	2	0
Social problems	1	0	1
Youth	1	0	1

When reviewing newspapers for creating the dataset with information on *Informe Especial*'s and *Contacto*'s agendas, I gathered self-promotional material published for both shows, particularly the television schedule included in newspapers with details about weekly's episodes' shows and ads announcing every new season, special coverage, high-profile stories, and regular episodes. I reviewed *La Tercera* newspaper, *Las Últimas Noticias*, *La Cuarta*, *La Época*, and *El Mercurio*. I also reviewed the official Facebook's and Twitter's accounts of both *Contacto* and *Informe Especial* since 2010 when they were created. The special episodes that both shows programmed when celebrating 20 years (*Contacto*) and 30 years (*Informe Especial*) and visual material harvested online also contribute to build up the self-promotional material.

Datasets

I also reviewed larger trends about the main topics covered by investigative journalism in print and the more relevant players of the field, (outlets, journalists/teams). To do so, I particularly analyzed a Chilean journalistic award[415]. I created a dataset about the award including the year in which awarded stories were published, in which category they were recognized, the full title, their authors and gender, which outlet and beat published the story, and the type of media (online, newspaper, magazine). The data considers the awarded and the finalist stories for each year, between 2003 and 2016, in print and television categories. I concentrated the analysis on reports that were awarded in the category of reportage and the main prize. Every year, the award organizers publish a book editing the best articles. The books' introductions are a statement on journalism, and they have also been considered for this research, as well as the recipients' speeches and the videotaped ceremonies of the award.

Other sources

The research considered a wide variety of sources about journalism in Chile, such as public speeches (about journalism, lectures, or interviews, for instance); reports (about grants, for example), newspapers' clipping (press coverage of high-impact muckraking, i.e.), and books that contribute to better analyze the field of Chilean investigative journalism in the post-dictatorship.

[415] The Award for Journalism of Excellence (*Premio de Periodismo de Excelencia*, PPE), a prize launched in 2003 by the School of Journalism of the Jesuit University "Alberto Hurtado" oriented to emphasize high-quality in journalism.

APPENDIX B: *INFORME ESPECIAL* AND *CONTACTO* - SAMPLE

INFORME ESPECIAL				
Year	**MM/DD**	**Title**	**Correspondent**	**Mins.**
1990	08/23	Cárcel de menores	Carlos Pinto	45
1990	09/27	La pobreza	Alipio Vera	48
1990	10/04	El exilio	Santiago Pavlovic	47
1990	10/25	Detenidos Desaparecidos	Guillermo Muñoz	65
1991	10/03	La tortura en Chile	Santiago Pavlovic	51
1991	10/10	El caso Letelier	Marcelo Araya	60
1991	11/07	Tucapel Jiménez	Guillermo Muñoz	51
1991	11/21	La salud de los pobres	Alipio Vera	56
1991	11/28	Confesiones del cubano José Dionisio Suárez	Marcelo Araya	36
1992	09/24	PDI/La lucha contra el crimen	Patricia Verdugo	37
1992	11/05	La justicia en Chile	Santiago Pavlovic	65
1992	11/19	Negligencias médicas	Guillermo Muñoz	58
1993	08/16	Townley: Confesiones de un asesino	Marcelo Araya	106
1993	09/09	Veinte años del Golpe" Parte 1/ Parte 2	Santiago Pavlovic	136
1993	10/07	Alimentos contaminados	Guillermo Muñoz	40
1994	12/15	Corrupción	Guillermo Muñoz	67
1994	12/22	Colonia Dignidad	Marcelo Araya	70
1995	11/23	El abuso de autoridad	Mirna Schindler	37
1996	08/08	La pobreza en Chile	Santiago Pavlovic	38
1996	10/10	Cárceles de Chile	Mirna Schindler	27
1997	11/20	La pedofilia	Claudio Mendoza	44
1998	11/20	El año que vivimos en peligro	Santiago Pavlovic	96
2000	11/14	La CIA en Chile	Pavlovic, Valenzuela, Gerdtzen	84
2000	11/21	La CIA en Chile	S.Pavlovic, C.Fariña	85
2001	06/07	Caravana de la Muerte	Santiago Pavlovic	120
2001	08/16	Policía y Derechos Humanos	Mirna Schindler	62
2002	05/30	El gran escape	Carolina Trejo	65
2002	07/18	Crimen por orden superior	Raúl Gamboni	78
2003	06/17	Detenidos Desaparecidos del FPMR	Mirna Schindler	65
2003	07/29	Cuando Chile cambió de golpe (Serie)	Gerdtzen; de Allende-Salazar	103
2004	07/27	El secreto del caso Anfruns	Isabel Rodríguez	60
2004	09/30	El pecado de la carne	Paulina de Allende-Salazar	47
2005	07/13	El nido neonazi	Mauro Lombardi	40
2005	07/20	La marcha mortal	Santiago Pavlovic	60
2006	06/07	La fortuna de Pinochet	Isabel Rodríguez	70
2006	06/14	Autopsia al Servicio Médico Legal	Mirna Schindler	62
2006	06/28	Carrizal, la historia	Santiago Pavlovic	63
2006	08/23	La Muerte de Eduardo Frei: Una conspiración secreta	Mirna Schindler	94
2006	08/30	La Muerte de Eduardo Frei: Capítulo Final	Mirna Schindler	87
2007	08/13	Caso Conferencia: el Cuartel del Horror	Santiago Pavlovic	62
2008	07/07	Golpe al corazón del Frente	Mirna Schindler	60
2008	08/18	La Pesadilla de la Casa Propia	Paulina de Allende Salazar	69

2009	05/27	Cazamos a los cazadores de menores	Paulina de Allende-Salazar	56
2009	06/03	Lupa a la Cámara de Diputados	Angela Robledo	71
2010	04/26	Investigación Caso Karadima	Paulina de Allende-Salazar	67
2011	03/30	Infierno en la Torre (especial)	Santiago Pavlovic	52
2011	08/15	El dilema de HidroAysén	Santiago Pavlovic	59
2012	05/27	Chequeo al sistema previsional chileno	Paulina de Allende-Salazar	59
2012	11/06	Chile en cuotas.	Carola Fuentes	56
2013	09/15	Los niños de Paul Shafer	Santiago Pavlovic	51
2013	11/03	Médicos y laboratorios. Relaciones peligrosas	Carola Fuentes	64
2014	12/22	Acosadores con uniforme	Santiago Pavlovic	54
2015	09/09	Los montajes de la dictadura militar	Raul Gamboni	51
2015	10/07	La desigualdad y el trabajo en Chile	Carola Fuentes	44
2015	12/09	Milicogate: corrupción en el Ejército	Santiago Pavlovic	42

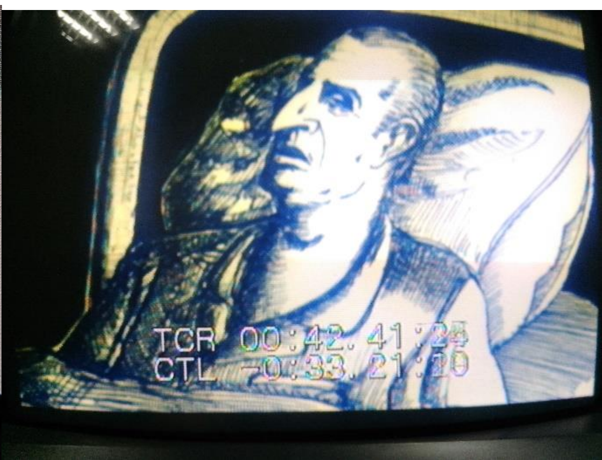
CONTACTO				
Year	MM/DD	Title	Correspondent	Mins.
1992	07/15	Cárcel de Puente Alto, delincuencia infantil	Patricia Bazán	20
1994	11/02	Chile, el nacimiento del Jaguar	Claudio Gárate	28
1995	06/08	La justicia de los pobres	Claudio Garate	22
1995	08/10	Detenciones por sospecha	Patricia Bazán	15
1996	08/07	Bosque Nativo	Andrés Chávez	27
1996	08/21	La fiebre del agua	Claudio Garate	22
1997	09/24	Plomo: Veneno en su casa	Andrés Chávez	58
1998	08/19	Tensión en tierra mapuche	Andrés Chávez	47
1999	11/23	Asbesto	Claudia Godoy	34
2002	07/02	Chile, paraíso de pedófilos	Carola Fuentes	88
2003	06/17	Operación Albania. El gran montaje	Claudio Mendoza	80
2003	07/01	Trata de Blancas	Carola Fuentes	90
2003	08/26	Antesala 11 septiembre	Claudia Godoy	58
2003	09/02	Antesala 11 septiembre	Claudia Godoy	79
2004	09/07	Cortina de Humo (Tabacaleras)	Carola Fuentes	77
2005	03/13	Especial: Tras la huella de Paul Schafer I	Carola Fuentes	74
2005	03/14	Especial: Tras la huella de Paul Schafer II	Carola Fuentes	65
2005	11/01	El escándalo Inverlink	Isabel Miquel	73
2006	07/25	Quesos millonarios	Emilio Sutherland	77
2006	08/15	Servicios técnicos, el reality del engaño	Claudio Mendoza	85
2007	06/19	Programa Puente: Fin de la extrema pobreza	Elías Sánchez	81
2007	08/14	El gran engaño. Corporación del niño agredido	Emilio Sutherland	77
2008	07/15	Lucrando con el dolor	Emilio Sutherland	97
2008	10/14	Medicamentos oscuros secretos	Emilio Sutherland	89
2009	06/09	Los Ángeles del Charlie	Elías Sánchez	96
2009	08/04	Contaminados	Elías Sánchez	92
2010	08/10	Escándalo en la V Región	I.Miquel & A.Toro	88
2011	07/05	Irregularidades en fundos de F.J.Errázuriz	Emilio Sutherland	0
2011	10/04	Falsos exonerados políticos	Juan Francisco Riumalló	47
2012	05/07	Nanas, ¿por qué yo no?	Juan Francisco Riumalló	33
2013	07/02	Estafas telefónicas, radiografía del engaño	Elías Sánchez	50

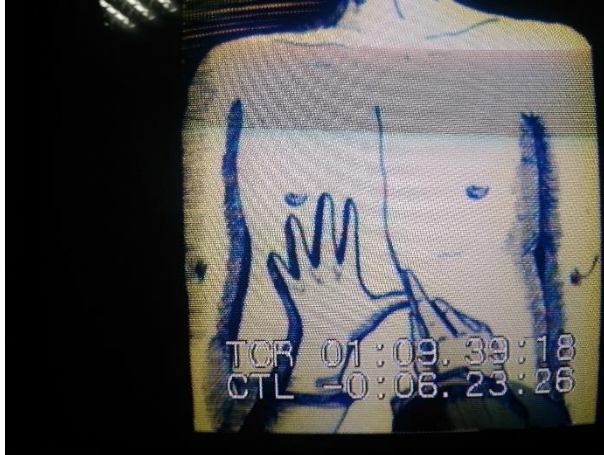
2013	07/09	Alimentos saludables, ¿gato por liebre?	Juan Francisco Riumalló	54
2013	08/20	Remate de casas. Los dueños del negocio	Emilio Sutherland	56
2014	09/23	Los secretos del Transantiago-Coimas	Sánchez, Guerra, Messenet	54
2014	11/11	Cárcel de militares. De Cordillera a Pta.Peuco	Jorge Hans	46
2015	06/07	Doctores fantasmas	Patricio Nunes	24
2015	11/09	Las platas perdidas de la educación	Rodrigo Sepúlveda	28
2015	12/20	Corrupción en la Junaeb	Emilio Sutherland	29

APPENDIX C:

INFORME ESPECIAL AND *CONTACTO* – ADDITIONAL SCREENSHOTS

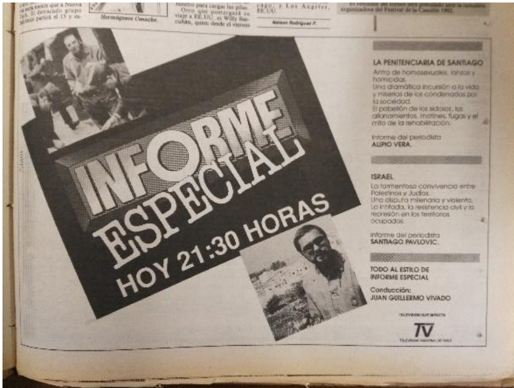
Court archives in “Justicia para pobres,” *Contacto*, June 8, 1995, and “La Justicia en Chile,” *Informe Especia*l, November 5, 1992.





Drawings, “La muerte de Frei Montalva,” *Informe Especial*, August 30, 2006.

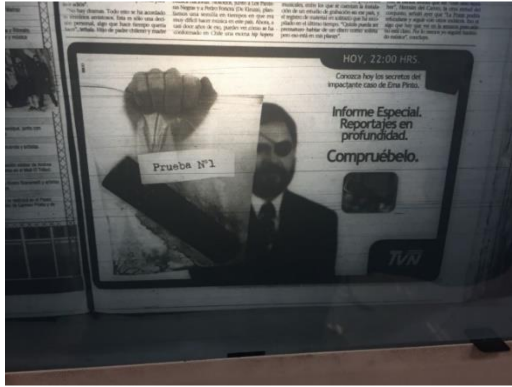
APPENDIX D: PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL



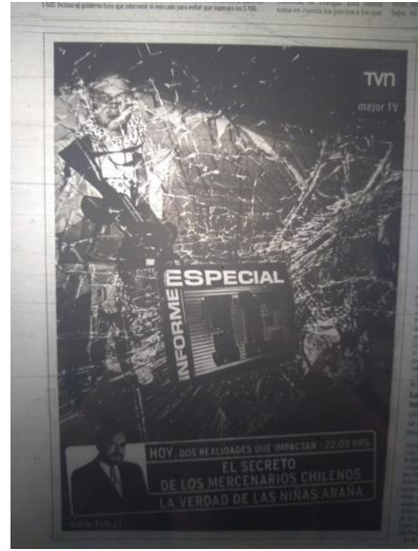
August 29, 1991, ad in *La Tercera* November 5, 1992, ad in *La Tercera*

August 19, 1993, ad in *La Tercera* August 24, 1995, ad in *La Tercera*

August 1, 1996, ad in *La Tercera* August 27, 1999, ad in *Las Últimas Noticias*



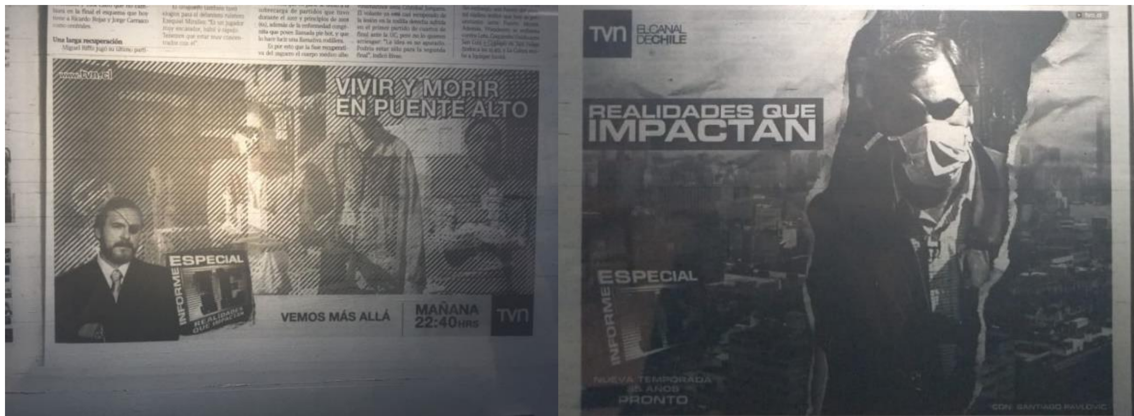
June 21, 2000, ad in *La Tercera*



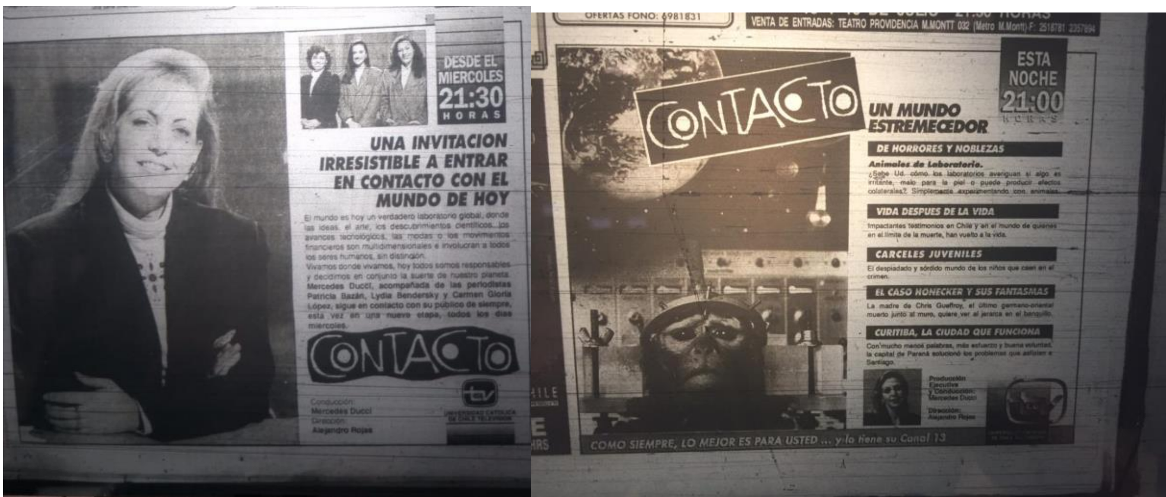
October 19, 2005, ad in *La Tercera*

June 2, 2006, ad in *La Tercera*

May 28, 2007, ad in *La Tercera*

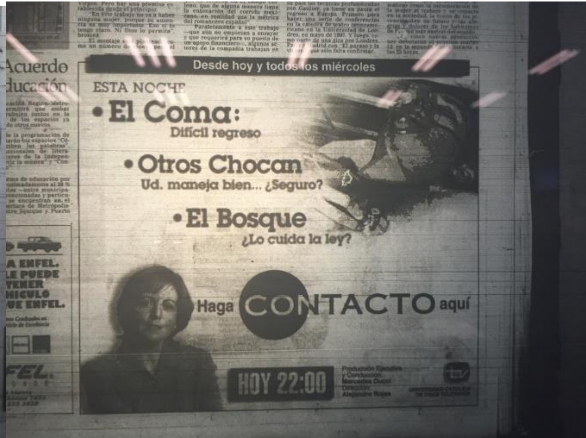


May 25, 2008, ad in *La Tercera* May 21, 2009, ad in *La Tercera*



August 4, 1991, ad in *El Mercurio* July 15, 1992, ad in *El Mercurio*

November 10, 1993, ad in *El Mercurio* August 17, 1994, ad in *El Mercurio*

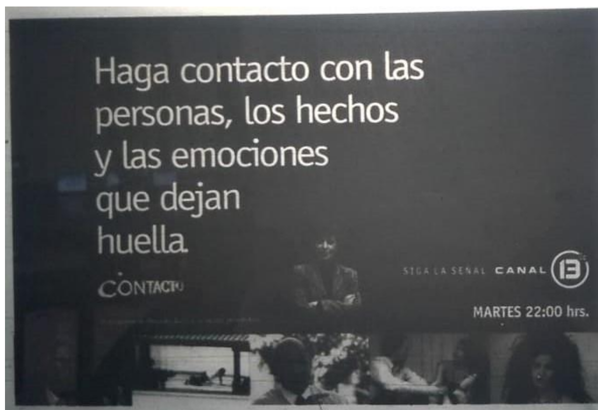


July 5, 1995, ad in *El Mercurio*

August 7, 1996, ad in *El Mercurio*

July 6, 1997, ad in *El Mercurio*

July 12, 1998, ad in *El Mercurio*

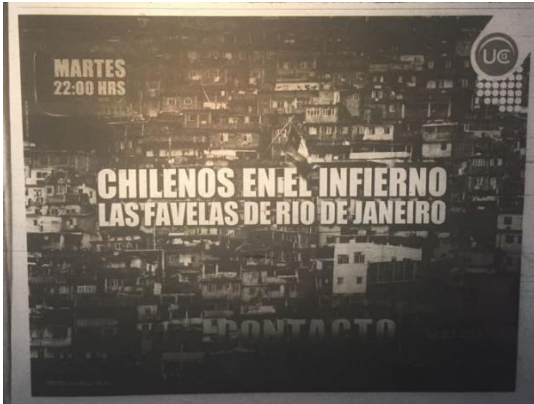


October 10, 1999, ad in *El Mercurio*

June 3, 2003, ad in *La Tercera*

June 8, 2004, ad in *La Tercera*

July 9, 2006, ad in *La Tercera*



June 17, 2008, ad in *La Tercera*

June 1, 2009, ad in *La Tercera*

June 5, 2011, ad in *La Tercera*