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From invisible to caricatures: The need for an intercultural approach in Colombia

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Abstract:

This article identifies the representations of the Bari and Uwa ethnic groups constructed by the regional press, in the case of La Opinión (Cúcuta, Norte de Santander, Colombia) between 1992 and 2018. The selected period obeys the first 25 years of the Political Constitution promulgated in 1991 after a political process that demanded the establishment of a secular and social state of law. Through the documentary review of 78 copies of the newspaper in its printed version, being this an intentional sample conformed by the newspapers of October 11, 12 and 13 of each year (eve, day and after the commemoration of the discovery of America or Columbus Day), a process of codification and categorization was applied, which evidenced the infantilization of the Bari, showing them through caricatures and illustrations in the children's offprint. In addition, it made the Uwa invisible; they are only mentioned twice. The

newspaper represents the indigenous Bari and Uwa as warriors, associated with the resistance to the conquest and colonization during the 17th and 18th centuries, and as heritage, as it values their existence, their ancestral practices that allow the care of the territory, but in general, there is an underrepresentation of these communities in the media. This situation is recognized as an opportunity to make an intercultural educational commitment in the Department and the recognition of pluri-ethnicity from the school.

Keywords: Indigenous population; Amerindians; representations; local press; journalism; media.

1. INTRODUCTION

This research identified the media representations of the Bari and Uwa ethnic groups in the regional written press in Norte de Santander, Colombia, between 1992 and 2018. The time was selected about the proclamation of the Political Constitution (1991) that recognized the State as multiethnic and multicultural so that variations in the representations that the newspaper *La Opinión* in its printed version offered of the indigenous communities during 25 years could be evidenced.

The initial hypothesis was that the Bari and the Uwa were represented as poor, part of the folklore or generators of violence, among other forms, from reification, as Arteaga and González (2003) and Espinel (2014) found in their work on the indigenous people of Cauca, Colombia. However, after reviewing the press, only 22 journalistic pieces directly related to these ethnic groups were identified and presented in journalistic genres such as special reports, news and caricatures.

The intentional sample was sought between October 11, 12 and 13, being the eve, day and last day of the commemoration in Colombia of the Discovery of America or the Day of the Race. This shows an average of less than one note per year, moving from invisibilization to infantilization of indigenous communities.

Unlike other communities in the country such as the Nasa (Paeces) who during the 70's gained visibility through the creation of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca and took their representatives to the Congress of the Republic; or the Guambianos, also from Cauca, who had a representative in the National Constituent Assembly with Lorenza Muelas and a Department Governor with Floro Tunubalá Paja (2001-2004); or the Cocunucos who had a senator of the Republic with Anatolio Quirá, to cite some relevant cases, it was found that the Bari and the Uwas have remained invisible in the public sphere at the regional and national level.

The political organizational processes have not been strong if compared to the Nasa of Cauca and their movement, which promote the recovery of lands in the hands of private companies or landowners; except for the decision of the Uwa to offer a mass suicide, as they did in the Colony-if an oil company began exploration in their territory in the mid 90's. This does not mean that their territories and their communities have lived without the implications of the Colombian armed conflict or without the advance of colonization and the opening of new agricultural frontiers as a consequence of drug trafficking, drug exploitation, and the colonization of their territories. This does not mean that their territories and communities have lived without the implications of the Colombian armed conflict or without the advance of colonization and the opening of new agricultural frontiers as a consequence of drug trafficking, oil exploitation and the planting of monocultures, in this case, palm, (Chavarro & Otálora, 2020; Otálora, 2019), which allows deducing that they are not considered as major social actors, therefore, they are not sources and their issues are excluded from the information agenda.

The question that guided the study was In what way are the Bari and Uwas indigenous communities represented by the written press of Norte de Santander (*La Opinión*) between 1991 and 2018?

This is qualitative research with a descriptive and exploratory design. It was organized in three phases: first, the heuristic, which is the location and compilation of documentary sources; second, the critique of these sources, differentiating between two forms of critique, external and internal; and finally, the descriptive production of what was found, categorizing the information based on the in vivo codes and sociological constructs that emerged to determine the representations.

Given the underrepresentation of ethnic groups in the local media, it is evident the need to carry out an intercultural education program in the Department for the recognition of multi-ethnicity and inclusion in the school. Interculturality is assumed here as “openness to ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences;

to the positive acceptance of diversity; to mutual respect; to the search for consensus and, in parallel, to the recognition and acceptance of dissent and, currently, to the construction of new modes of social relations and more democracy” (López-Hurtado, 2007, p. 21-22).

2. FRAME OF REFERENCE

Research on indigenous issues in the media is divided into two lines: the first is embodied by works that address the contents, discourses, narratives and representations that the mass media construct about indigenous communities and/or movements; and the second addresses the production of contents by these communities and movements in their media.

On the presence of the indigenous in the socio-digital media Díaz (2021) analyzed the scientific production gathered in the Scopus database on the influence of the indigenous in and through the media. After reviewing 70 papers and 52 articles, he found that researchers have been interested in the new media ecology since 2013 to date and that Australia has the largest production on this topic. He concluded that the topic has evolved positively, giving it greater visibility, with an evident advance from paternalism to empowerment.

In the Latin American case, Pereyra et al. (2021) interrelated the theoretical and methodological perspectives of Communication and Anthropology to analyze the media treatment of the situation of indigenous peoples in Argentina. Based on the theory of Agenda Setting and content analysis of articles from online news portals in the country, from August 2018 to June 2019, they found, in addition to low news coverage on the subject; the construction and reproduction of meanings and representations that reinforce stereotypes and prejudices; and the impossibility of these to be actors and sources of information.

Bernal (2018) on the construction of the imaginary of the cholo in music, literature and the media in Peru, determined that, in the construction of the other, the indigenous person is modernized to insert him or her into the urban Lima imaginary. From contemporary multiculturalism, the cholo and the chola become products that adapt to the demands of the productive system, conditioning through this strategy their self-esteem and social success.

Magallanes and Ramos (2016) in *Miradas Propias: pueblos indígenas, comunicación y medios en la sociedad global* (Own Perspectives: Indigenous Peoples, Communication and Media in Global Society), showed a wide spectrum of research on the communicational relationship that develops in the field of indigenous media.

Studies on forms of representation of indigenous communities in the media and their relationship with journalism called for the construction of democracy were developed in Colombia by Arteaga and González (2003) and Espinel (2014). For the former, indigenous communities in the country have faced different forms of violence, from the mistaken belief of racial superiority to the greed aroused by the territories they occupy, excluding political and armed projects, authoritarianism and homogenizing economic models.

Before moving on, it is important to define the concepts of the indigenous and the indigenous community. An indigenous person is a descendant of the cultures that inhabited the conquered and colonized territories in America, and that preserve their way of life and self-identify as indigenous peoples. The Colombian Constitutional Court defined an indigenous community as “the group of families of Amerindian descent that share feelings of identification with their aboriginal past and maintain their traits and values of traditional culture, forms of government and internal social control that differentiate them from other rural communities” (Decree 2001, 1988, art. 2).

2.1. Theoretical foundation: the study of representations

The study of representations has its main exponents in the paradigmatic works of Abric (1976), Jodelet (1986), and Banchs (1986) who took up the concepts of Moscovici (1961) developing theoretical bodies for social psychology, around the concept of social representation, (coined from Durkheim's sociology). The theoretical works of Chatier (2002) and Hall (1997) also appear.

Urbina and Ovalles (2018) suggest that Latin American researchers have advanced their bets, which implies the configuration of local identity in the use of theory, finding two expressions of such studies

in the subcontinent, those concerned with unveiling our representations and methodological creativity, as an element of approach and intervention in communities.

For Jodelet (1986) social representations are:

Modalities of practical thinking oriented towards communication, understanding and mastery of the social, material and ideal environment. They present specific characteristics in terms of the organization of the contents of mental operations and logic. The social marking of the contents or processes must refer to the conditions in which the representations emerge, to the communications in which they circulate, and to the functions they serve in the interaction with the world and with others. (p. 474).

Banchs (1986) after discussing the concepts of Jodelet (1986) and Moscovici (1961) composes a concept of social representations, defining them as a form of common sense knowledge typical of modern societies “constantly bombarded with information by the mass media” (p. 39). These follow a logic different from scientific logic, but not inferior, and find their expression in the everyday language of each social group; their contents express values, attitudes, beliefs and opinions that are regulated by the norms of each community.

For Abric (2001), representation is a contextualized system that influences its significance and proposes two scenarios, the discursive context and the social context. The first is governed by the conditions that originate the production of discourse from where the representation is formulated or identified. Since it is, in general, discursive productions that allow approaching representations, it is key to analyze the characteristics of their production, and to understand that these representations are produced for an audience, who are expected to be argued and convinced “and that the significance of the social representation will depend at least in part on the concrete relations that are verified in the time of an interaction” (Mugny & Carugati, 1985, cited by Abric, 2001, p. 6).

In the second context, it has to do with the ideological and with the place occupied by the individual in the social group, since social representation is “always anchored in more general meanings that intervene in the symbolic relations proper to the given social field” (Abric, 2001, p. 7).

Cebrelli and Rodríguez (2013) criticize research that assimilates media representations (MR) to social representations (SR) because the former lose their specificity by disregarding how the media construct their publics and audiences; moreover, SRs leave out the complexity of semiotic processes that, in the case of the media, multiply. Therefore, they highlight the specificity of SRs, especially in their articulation with the regimes of hegemonic visibility and the politics of (in)visibility.

They then define SRs as “operators of visibility and translatability, and responsible, together with other symbolic systems, for mapping, organizing and linking the historical social ordering in the dimension of culture” (Cebrelli & Rodríguez, 2013, p. 91). In any case, SRs are resources for and resulting from communication.

This concept of MR is a fundamental category in this research, since it is evident after analyzing the results, the regimes of invisibility in which both ethnic groups find themselves. It can be said that their underrepresentation exceeds that of other subaltern groups, including other indigenous communities in the country and the subcontinent.

2.1. Theoretical foundation: the study of representations

2.2.1. Current situation of the Barí and the Uwa

After reviewing the existing bibliography, it was identified that there is more information on the Bari, also colloquially called Motilones, after the name given by the conquerors and colonizers since the 17th century to the indigenous communities that resisted them in the province of Maracaibo (Colombia and Venezuela today). This allowed presenting a broad overview of this community, fundamentally because the territory they inhabit, Catatumbo (a region attached politically and administratively to the Norte de Santander department, in the northeast of Colombia and the border with Venezuela) is the scene of a dispute of illegal armed groups from both the right and the left (Cruz, 2017; Gutiérrez, 2016). Such groups fight for control of coca crops that have increased since 2007 and make Norte de Santander, along with Putumayo, Nariño and Guaviare, the departments where 73% of the country's total coca

production is concentrated, according to the UNODC report presented in June 2015 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2015).

With an area of 10,089 square kilometers, Catatumbo is made up of 11 municipalities: El Carmen, Convención, Teorama, Tibú, El Tarra, Sardinata, San Calixto, Hacarí, La Playa, Ocaña and Bucarasica.

In the case of the Uwa, the information is scarcer and is particularly related to research that emerged in the 1990s after the indigenous people's battle to prevent oil exploitation in their territory located in the departments of Boyacá, Norte de Santander and Arauca; also, official documents produced by different entities of the Colombian State nourish this presentation.

Both communities live in areas suitable or close to oil exploitation, and are also border areas between Colombia and Venezuela, with multiple illegal crossings Fundación Paz y Reconciliación (Pares, 2020).

In the 1970s, the guerrillas of the National Liberation Army (ELN) made incursions into Catatumbo, initially with the Carlos Armando Cagua Guerrero and Camilo Torres fronts (Fundación Ideas Para La Paz [FIP], 2013) of the Popular Liberation Army (Ejército Popular de Liberación), later. The two main reasons that prompted the participation of the guerrillas in the zones are defined firstly as the desire to appropriate border territories and secondly, to take advantage of the large extensions of land suitable for illicit crops, especially coca. It is worth clarifying that the Barí do not plant, consume or mambear coca leaves as part of their ancestral tradition, as is the case with the Nasas of Cauca or the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada.

This generated a real wave of war in the territory because in addition to the oil and peasant colonization, illegal groups appeared and started a strong fight among themselves for territorial control. With nothing else to do in the face of a war generated by other actors, but of which they were (and are) victims, the indigenous Barí move to the Venezuelan Catatumbo to try to maintain harmony and the existence of their community.

Until the 1990s, the peasants' possessions had not occupied the Catalaura and Motilón Barí Reservations, the ancestral territories sacred to the community or the hunting and fishing grounds located in El Carmen, El Tarra and Tibú; but a study conducted in 2004 by the same community and by the Catatumbo-Barí National Natural Park Unit of the Ministry of Housing and Territorial Development, showed that during that period, the peasants appropriated territories between the municipalities mentioned above (Páez *et al.*, 2010).

By 1996, more people entered Catatumbo in search of work, no longer in the oil companies but assisting in coca cultivation as raspachine. Large extensions of territory, even those of farmers with titled possession, had coca crops within the boundaries of the established Serranía de los Motilones National Forest Reserve (Páez *et al.*, 2010), and these were confused with traditional plantations such as coffee, cocoa and fruit trees.

Since the 21st century, Catatumbo has been affected by attacks on oil pipelines that have resulted in damage to the region's flora and fauna. Catatumbo's public problems have been characterized initially by oil exports, followed by the war for territorial control and illicit crops, which have sown a wave of violence in the Barí community and the population settled in the region. By 2004, with the demobilization of the Catatumbo Block of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), new paramilitary groups appeared in the area, including the Black Eagles, followed by the Rastrojos and the Urabeños.

The Uwa represent 0.5% of Colombia's indigenous population (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística [DANE], 2005). According to information provided by the Directorate of Indigenous, ROM and Minority Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior (2012), they are organized into 17 of these communities, which make up the United Uwa Resguardo.

According to Restrepo (2007), the U'wa people, among all the indigenous communities that inhabit Colombian territory, have had a particular and violent history of contact with the conquistadors. Between 1635 and 1650, the Tuneva Indians, as they were called, developed a resistance movement in the region of Servitá, the present-day department of Santander, and ended up fleeing from the encomienda to the mountains of the Serranía de los Infielos, shouting "we have neither god nor king, and they will conquer us again". For almost 200 years, the Uwa took refuge in the Chita and Cocuy

mountains of the Eastern Cordillera, in wild territories that protected them from domination and extermination.

In the Republican era, their resistance led them to commit collective suicide in the place known as Peña de la Gloria, in the municipality of Cocuy, Boyacá. This event marked their history, when the U'wa felt that their last refuge on earth has been lost, their strategy has been to renounce to live, thus following the fate of Mother Earth... and so they also renounce to see their agony (Restrepo, 2007, p. 165).

According to Jesuit priest Javier Giraldo, in his interpretation of the biological, meaningful and ethical dimensions of this dramatic episode in the life of the U'wa, he explained that suicide did not mean a rejection of the gift of life but rather respect for the most sacred dimensions of life itself (Restrepo, 2007).

Indigenous people not only had to face the dispossession of their lands at the time of colonization; in recent history, as stated by the Ministry of Culture (MinCultura, 2010), they also continue to face it by illegal armed actors and transnational companies that exploit hydrocarbons.

Their ancestral territory, which covered areas of the aforementioned departments and even extended as far as Venezuela, measured about 1'400,000 hectares; of which by 2007 they only owned 200,000, or 14%. Hence, the U'wa are also characterized "by the historical struggle they have maintained against transnational hydrocarbon exploiters in their ancestral lands" (MinCultura, 2010, p. 1).

However, despite their various problems, such as the contamination of water sources, the environment, land and crops, the loss of their agricultural practices, and the weakening of food and economic security and self-sustainability systems, related to illegal groups and extractive companies, the Ministry of Culture adds, the U'wa still preserve their traditional customs and practices.

Happiness for an U'wa is "the clean territories, where we have medicine and health. What happens to the atmosphere and the world with this contamination, if the river and the water run out? This is ratified by the Plan de Vida of Ascatidar, one of its two organizations, when it states that "one of the clearest visions for indigenous peoples is to have a territory with legal guarantees and collective property (Restrepo, 2007, p. 158).

Thus, in this situation, there is a conflict between the cultural and economic spheres. The U'wa people are strongly opposed to oil exploitation in their territory, considering it a sacred place.

Serjé (2003) in his work on territories in dispute, due to the opposition of the U'wa to oil exploitation, points out that the fact that captured the attention of the media in the first quarter of 1995, when in their Public Manifesto they affirmed "we prefer a dignified death, proper to the pride of our ancestors who challenged the domination of the conquerors and missionaries", referring to the collective suicide story that occurred during the colony when the U'wa put their children in clay pots and heading towards an abyss, they threw them and the adults threw themselves into the abyss before being entrusted.

This threat of collective suicide has repercussions because it mobilizes national public opinion and interests the international press, and also links popular and indigenous organizations, and environmental and human rights NGOs. Thus, after the kidnapping by the ELN of OXY contractors and Senator Lorenzo Muelas, Ecopetrol launched a campaign with the slogan 'Without oil, there is no life, in which the advantages of hydrocarbons were highlighted and the Ministry of Mines assured that the interests of some three thousand U'wa could not oppose the interests and the common good of 35 million Colombians (population in 1995). In this way, the colonial stereotype of backwardness and lack of development with which the indigenous people were represented at that time was used as an excuse.

3. METHODOLOGY

The qualitative research approach and its design are descriptive-exploratory; from the descriptive approach, new concepts, problems and priorities of the topic, and object of study are identified, and through this, it seeks "the characterization of a fact, phenomenon, individual or group, to establish its structure or behavior" (Arias, 2012, p. 70) and, from the exploratory approach, understood as that which is carried out when the objective is to examine a topic or research problem that has not been studied much, of which there are many doubts or has not been addressed before (Hernández-Sampila, 2012, p. 70), and from the exploratory, understood as that which is performed when the objective is to examine

a topic or research problem little studied, of which there are many doubts or which has not been addressed before (Hernández-Sampieri & Mendoza, 2018).

To identify the ethnohistoric and current characteristics of the Barí and Uwa ethnic groups and to understand their political, economic, social and cultural dimensions in the territory, a documentary review of various historical, anthropological and institutional sources on these communities was carried out.

2. Subsequently, the researchers proceeded to review the documentary corpus in the primary source constituted by the copies of the newspaper *La Opinión* between 1991 and 2018, specifically on October 11, 12 and 13, which correspond to the eve, the day itself and the following date of the Commemoration of the Day of the Race or the Discovery of America, in Colombia.

The journalistic information collected was organized by categories and subcategories through a process of open coding with in vivo coding and sociological constructs, which allowed the identification of media representations of the indigenous Barí and Uwas in the 78 copies reviewed.

Table 1

Notes published in *La Opinión*, print version, on Barí and Uwas 1991-2018.

N°	Date	Title	Title translated	Journalistic genre
01	11/10/92	Motilonos: "blanco no respetar"	Motilonos: "white do not respect".	Opinion article
02	12/10/92	Fuimos conquistados, reprimidos y destruidos	We were conquered, repressed, and destroyed.	Special Report
03	12/10/92	En busca de nuestra identidad. Los Motilonos	In search of our identity. The Motilonos	Special Report
04	13/10/92	¡Los caníbales eran los españoles!	The cannibals were the Spaniards!	Opinion article
05	13/10/92	Día de la raza	Race Day	News
06	11/10/95	Ilustración en separata infantil	Illustration in children's booklet	Illustration
07	12/10/95	La raza y el árbol hoy en el primer lugar en Cúcuta	La raza y el árbol today in first place in Cúcuta	News
08	12/10/95	Día de árbol-Corponor	Tree Day - Corponor	Caricatures
09	11/10/97	Qué viva nuestra raza	Long live our race	Fotonoticia
10	11/10/97	Ilustración en separata infantil	Illustration in children's booklet	Illustration
11	11/10/98	¿Cómo andan nuestros indígenas?	How are our indigenous people doing?	Special Report
12	12/10/98	Caricatura	Caricature	Caricature
13	12/10/99	De Colón pa acá	From Colón to here	Fotonoticia (go to internal page)
14	12/10/99	Encuentro de dos culturas	Encounter of two cultures	Special Report

15	12/10/2002	Caricatura	Caricature	Caricature
16	13/11/2006	El poder motilón	The motilon power	Fotonoticia
17	13/10/2006	Presencia y participación de etnias indígenas	Presence and participation of indigenous ethnic groups	Editorial
18	13/10/2006	Comunidad Motilón Barí, marcha por su territorio	Motilón Barí community marches for its territory	News
19	11/10/2008	Ilustración separata infantil	Illustration of children's booklet	Illustration
20	13/10/2008	Marcha de guayucos y flechas	March of guayucos and arrows	News
21	12/10/2012	Callaos y adoctrinaos	Shut up and indoctrinate yourselves	Caricature
22	13/10/2015	Encuentro binacional Bari	Binational meeting Bari	Fotonoticia

Source: Own elaboration

4. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

This section may be divided into subheadings. It should provide a concise and precise description of the experimental results, their interpretation as well as the experimental conclusions that can be drawn.

4.1 Journalistic information

After reviewing the articles published in the 25 years studied, it was established that the predominant journalistic genre was news and photo-news with seven records; followed by caricature and special report with four records each; and opinion articles with 3. During the years 1993, 1994, 1996, 2000, 2001 to 2005, 2007, 2009 to 2011, 2013, 2014, 2016 to 2018, no record on the Bari and Uwa ethnic groups was identified on the selected dates, nor any reference to the multi-ethnicity in the region.

The illustration was a frequently used resource to represent the indigenous people, particularly in the children's offprint or the special offprint published in 1992 to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the "Discovery of America".

As is frequent in the journalistic coverage of any topic, the news is the predominant genre in the media; however, in the case of the publications made in *La Opinión*, it is paradoxical that the title relates to 'race', but the content does not expand on the information as in the article "La raza y el árbol hoy en el primer lugar en Cúcuta" (Race and the tree today in first place in Cúcuta) of October 12, 1995.

Once this analysis of the form of the newspaper articles was completed, open coding was carried out to obtain the in vivo codes and the sociological codes from which emerged the categories that made it possible to determine the representations offered by the newspaper of the indigenous communities: warriors and heritage. It is worth clarifying that these representations are directly linked to the Bari since the Uwa are only mentioned in two publications.

4.2 Representation as warriors

To explain this representation of the Bari in the press, it is necessary to clarify what it means for this community to be a warrior. The major chiefs are the elders who exercise the Authority (Council of Chiefs and Traditional Authorities) in the community, they are also in charge of transmitting ancestral knowledge and wisdom to the minor chiefs and warriors. The Barí warriors are the young people who have skills in hunting, fishing, singing and wrestling. They are chosen by each community to participate in an annual sporting event in which they compete to demonstrate who has the most skills in each area.

Therefore, the meaning of the word has acquired a double connotation, the second associated with war and warfare.

During the conquest and the colony they did react to the invasion of their territory, as Montoya (2020) exposes in his work on the province of Maracaibo (today Colombia and Venezuela) and the opposition of the Motilones, name that denominated several indigenous groups and that was coined for the Barí, to the colonial domination. This caused that in the XVII and XVIII centuries their territory was freely transited by the official officials, nor by the Capuchin missionaries; these last ones, from 1721 gave as lost case the evangelization due to their violence.

However, during the twentieth century they have suffered the onslaught of oil companies, armed conflict and colonizers, without the possibility of confronting them on equal terms, even though in the note the expression of an indigenous person is quoted verbatim:

...If they kill the Indians, we will kill the whites. We are forewarned against the outside, the new, the strange (La Opinión, October 11, 1992).

Thus, when La Opinión (October 11, 1992) used members of the Bari community as sources and they alluded to being warriors, it is likely that they were assumed to be combatants, for example, in the article titled “Motilones: blanco no respetar” (Motilones: white men do not respect) the following qualities are expressed:

...a brave people, a freedom-loving people, a rebellious and bellicose people, a people that defends its territory (La Opinión, October 11, 1992).

4.3 Representation as equity

A differentiating element between the representations of the Barí in the local press, compared to other indigenous communities, is that they are shown as heritage: beings that are in the past and should be preserved there in their territory. For his part, Espinel (2014) in his study on the representations of the indigenous movement of Cauca in the press, evidenced that the Misak or Guambianos are repeatedly shown with their traditional attire, hat, poncho and anaco, as vestiges of a colonial past that survive in the twentieth century, so that folklorization and reification are the most common forms of representation.

But in the case of the Barí, showing them through their traditional attire in publications of the 21st century in color photographs and on the front page, after being made invisible, allows corroborating the intention of the newspaper to represent them with heritage. Thus, in the article entitled “*Fuimos conquistados, reprimidos y destruidos*” (We were conquered, repressed, and destroyed, La Opinión, October 12, 1992), citing indigenous sources, they state:

We have not lost nor will we lose our aboriginal tradition... Mestizos tried to erase us from the face of the earth... We have the same capacity as any other Colombian.

On the other hand, in the article entitled “Los caníbales eran los españoles!” (The cannibals were the Spaniards, La Opinión, October 12, 1992), it is recalled that the conquest was violent, savage and devastating against the indigenous community and that there was aggression against the culture and material goods of the natives, which shows that there is a recognition of the knowledge and behaviors that existed before the arrival of the conquerors.



Figure 1. Cultural heritage

Once these two forms of representation have been exposed and given the low number of publications made by the newspaper during the period under review, added to how these indigenous communities were represented from the image: caricature and illustration, a question arises: Caricatures or invisible? In the following section, we will try to answer this question based on the information collected and previous studies related to the visualization of ethnic minorities in the media.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Caricatures or invisible?

After registering that four of the 22 publications made during the period studied represented the Bari and Uwa indigenous people through caricatures and on three other occasions they were represented through illustrations, with a total of seven publications in which photography was not the first option when it came to making the indigenous people of these communities visible, A first analysis would indicate that the fact that the Bari's attire is barely a guayuco and that the photographic images that exist of them in their territory are scarce, the newspaper chose to illustrate or draw them as a caricature.

However, if they are treated as caricatures (Figure 1), humorous images that emphasize defects rather than recreate reality, this infantilization is close to the vision of the early twentieth century that portrayed them with little discernment and no capacity for an agency (Castillo, 2013). This infantilization is also evident in the use of illustrations that show Bari children in the children's spread or situations out of context, for example, using a sink, which in their territory they do not use.

It is necessary to clarify that infantilization is not criticized because it is considered pejorative what is related to childhood, but precisely because, in Western society, the child is linked to the minority of age, the inability to demand rights and to assume duties and the need to be guided, to be under someone's tutelage. From this point of view, representing the Bari repeatedly as children, puts them also at the level of younger siblings, soulless beings, who need special care, this being a colonial trace, but also, ignoring their autonomy as a people, their history and capacity for agency.



Figure 2. Illustrations and caricatures of the Barí

Source: *La Opinión* October 11, 1997; October 12, 2012.

Thus, when *La Opinión* publishes a page with caricatures of a Barí child who saves water by turning off the faucet of a sink, it places him as a mirror of what the readers of the newspaper should do. Although the Barí indeed recognize themselves as guardians of nature, their environmental care practices are quite different from those of a modern western child, these analogies make the exotic tangible and pretend to domesticate it (Burke, 2005).

In the case of caricatures of indigenous Barí children or illustrations of Barí adults, all of whom are male, they also show the frequent invisibilization of the female gender. Such representations deepen stereotypes, especially when they seek to show cultural identity and/or cultural encounters.

Concerning the photographs, which in the case of the Barí are usually the same for 10 years of the period analyzed: the indigenous with guayuco, his bow and arrow or the indigenous with a string of sins, which were taken by researcher Bruce Orson in the 70s of the twentieth century, the statism in the use of the image, reduced the representation that the readers had of the Barí, who were shown as primitive beings and who remained naked (a problem for Western society).

On the other hand, although the dispute over the use of the territory occurred in part of Norte de Santander, and the Uwa are present in the area, *La Opinión* did not show any information on the subject for the selected dates in that year (1995). It is clear that from the criteria of topicality that journalistic information should handle for October the Uwa issue was no longer newsworthy, it is also clear that it could have been published as a follow-up to an event and/or through other journalistic genres.

Although the Political Constitution (1991) defined Colombia as a pluri-ethnic and multicultural country in its Article 7, the journalistic practices in the newspaper *La Opinión*, about the coverage and informative treatment of indigenous issues, remained with similar qualities during the 25 years studied.

This finding differs from what happened in other regions of the country, such as Cauca, where the written press began a process of recognition of the indigenous communities settled in their territory after the promulgation of the Magna Carta. It is possible to explain this situation from the scarce political empowerment that the Bari and the Uwa have had, compared to the belligerent and decisive indigenous movement that was organized in the south of the country.

The Bari and Uwa Indians were represented as warriors and as cultural heritage, in the second form of representation the ethnic groups are revalued, but from the reification: pieces that must be preserved to show an exotic and uncivilized past, but their own.

The number of Uwa pieces identified during the period studied was minimal. The community is referenced in two newspaper articles, which show total invisibility as a social group. Of the Bari, 20 pieces were recorded, including news, special reports, caricatures and illustrations, which shows that this community is also invisible during the period studied.

As for the caricaturization of the Bari, it is noted that this constitutes a form of conscious or unconscious stereotyping in which the Other, from another culture, is attributed special characteristics that bring him closer to the Self, but distance him from his practical truths, as happens when a Bari child is presented saving water in a sink, an element that is out of reach in his territory.

Given that the period studied corresponds to the 25 years following the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution in Colombia, and that all of Latin America (Nicaragua (1987), Brazil (1988), Mexico (1992), Peru (1993), Bolivia (1994), Venezuela (1998) was opening up to the recognition of pluri-ethnicity and multiculturalism, the newspaper did publish information related to indigenous people from other regions of the country and the world, dealing with situations such as marches or demobilizations of guerrilla groups such as the Quintin Lame. In conclusion, there is evidence of underrepresentation of both indigenous communities in the media of reference.

This situation opens up the possibilities for an intercultural education program in the Department in which the recognition of both ethnic groups as part of the past and present of the territory is achieved; their uses and customs are valued, as well as their struggles and political commitments for the survival of their people in a context complexed by the armed conflict and the extractive economy.

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