Memory struggles in Chile 45 years after the coup

A Critical Discourse Analysis on the role of the press

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ABSTRACT

This Degree Project (DP) deals with the discourses about collective memory in Chile 45 years after a coup d’état that gave way to a dictatorship that lasted for 17 years, during which serious human rights violations were committed. How different actors relate to this traumatic period shows how this is a field of struggle in contemporary Chile.

Collective memory has become a key theoretical concept for describing how social groups make sense of their common past. It is deeply entrenched with notions of identity, agency and change. Whereas collective memory is an abstract notion, it has to be somehow concretized in order to allow individuals to activate their own memories, opinions and reactions. Thus, media play a fundamental role in the construction of collective memory. Drawing on a constructivist approach, media are not fixed containers of memories but they actually work on how people perceive their past in relation to the present and the future. This (DP) focuses on the following questions: How do media contribute to the construction of the collective memory around the coup d’état and the military dictatorship in Chile? What are the discourses they diffuse and to what end? Which are the other counter-hegemonic discourses available in the Chilean society?

In order to answer these questions, this DP uses a Critical Discourse Analysis of the two main Chilean newspapers (La Tercera and El Mercurio) complemented with interviews to memory agents. The conclusions point out that these newspapers have a role in diffusing as well as constructing hegemonic discourses around this period of the Chilean history. They do so, mainly by silencing the voices of the civil society making their goals of social change difficult to achieve.
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Introduction

45 years ago, one of the most traumatic periods in Chilean history started. The military forces of the country carried out a coup d’état and threw out the “popular government” of Salvador Allende. The following military dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet prevailed for 17 years. By its end, more than 3,000 were executed on political grounds and/or disappeared, and more than 40,000 became victims of torture and/or were arbitrarily detained. This phenomenon was not exclusive in Chile, but falls within a wide wage of military dictatorships all through the Latin American continent. Important human rights violations were committed under the excuse of the “fight against communism” in USA’s backyard.

How the societies that experienced this trauma have dealt with this recent past is something that has interested many scholars from different disciplines—enriching the field of Memory Studies. The concept of “collective memory” was first developed by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Unlike history, collective memory is not about the succession of facts, but rather about the way in which social groups and communities make sense of these facts in the present. This is why collective memory is so entrenched to the Communication for Development field, as it is linked to how “citizens and groups struggle with their pasts and presents—and other group’s understandings—in their work for futures they dream of, or envision” (Hansen et al., 2015, p. 4).

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1 Salvador Allende led the coalition of left parties called Unidad Popular (UP) that won the presidential elections in Chile in 1970. UP’s political project was the establishing of a socialist system through democratic means. The UP government nationalised several big companies and went further in the expropriation of agricultural lands started by precedent governments, that entailed the confrontation of the economical elites in the country. Inside the coalition, some of movements praised the armed fight in order to carry out the socialist program. After the 1973 parliamentarian election results which prevented the right wing opposition of overthrowing the president, the political opposition supported a military coup that gave way to a 17 year dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet, http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-31433.html accessed on 01/01/2019 (in Spanish).

2 According to the reports of the the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (1991) and the Commission of Political Imprisonment and Torture (2004)

3 In a stronger or weaker degree, dictatorships were spread in South America: Brazil in 1964, Bolivia in 1971, Chile and Uruguay in 1973 and Argentina in 1976. Stroessner, who governed Paraguay since 1954, also adhered to this transnational logic. The Operación Condor is known as a program of cooperation between different information agencies between these dictatorships. “To a greater or a lesser extend all these regimes generated conflictive fights about memory, truth, justice and meaning” (Stern, 2009, p. 26).
Returning to the Chilean case, different hegemonic discourses about this period emerged since the very beginning of the dictatorship. However, this does not mean that alternative or counter-discourses have not existed. During the dictatorship, the military government imposed a direct censorship to silence its crimes and promoted the idea that the coup d’etat was a necessary action for the country’s sake. However, some institutions managed to collect the testimonies of the human rights violations.\(^4\) After the 1988 plebiscite, the consensus needed for the transition to a democratic system resulted in a collective oblivion, while the victims of human rights violations claimed for recognition. In the period after the death of the dictator, led by Michelle Bachelet, herself a victim of torture and exile, state policies of memory were supported, while subaltern groups that felt their human rights were not respected, criticised the government. With the first right-wing government after the dictatorship, President Sebastian Piñera tried to embrace the recognition of human right violations, while at the same time handling the 2011 student revolts of protesting against a system inherited from the dictatorship. This highly schematic overview of memory discourses in Chile serves as an illustration on how this is a field of struggle in which social groups draw on the signification they made of the past in order to shape their identities and to claim for power of action.

In October 2018, Ana González de Recabarren passed away at the age of 93, without finding the remains of her husband, her two sons and her pregnant daughter-in-law that were arrested in 1976, charged of being communist militants. In her last interview, published by the Spanish newspaper El País last 11th September, she stated: “This country seems designed by Pinochet. When they say ‘we won over Pinochet’, it is not true. We did not win. We remain divided and former fighters went home. That is what the dictatorship was for: to silence the people that had won their freedom. But, I trust today’s young people. They go out on the streets to protest and this means that

\(^{4}\) The first institution that dedicated itself to this work was the Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile (1973-1975). This ecumenical body, integrated by the Christian churches, was created to protect the life and physical integrity of the persecuted. This task was developed until 1975 when, by direct orders of Augusto Pinochet, it had to be dissolved. However, on 1st January, 1976, the Archbishop of Santiago, Raúl Silva Henríquez created the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (1976-1992), an institution linked to the Catholic Church and a continuation of the work of the Committee.
we are on the right way\textsuperscript{5}. This quote serves as an illustration on how transition, in a wide sense of substantive change, has not occurred for many.

Another example that proves the struggles concerning the collective memory today, is the brief intervention of the Minister of Culture who, last August, had to step aside after only 4 days in charge, because of his past declarations describing the Museum of the Memory and the Human Rights as a “farce”\textsuperscript{6}. A strong campaign led by the cultural sector in social media was mobilised under the hashtag #YoProtejoLaMemoria (I protect memory).

In the dissemination of the different discourses about the past, media play a fundamental role. If collective memory is a social framework that allows people to activate their own memories (even if they have not directly experienced the time in question), then this social framework somehow needs to be materialised, thus, communicated (Neiger et al. 2011). This Degree Project (DP) will draw on how media, more than disseminating, actually contribute to construct the narratives of the past. Under this foucaultdian perspective, we cannot leave behind the notions of power that influence media production. Taking into account that media are where these discourses are concretised and that they are not neutral devices, my research will account for the contribution of these media to the Chilean recent past narration. So, the general question for this research is:

- How do media, concretely the main Chilean newspapers, contribute to the construction of the Chilean collective memory of the coup d’état and the military dictatorship?

And the sub-questions:

- What discourses do they circulate and to what end? Do they allow other discourses to be heard?

\textsuperscript{5} https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/09/10/americainternacional/1536601171_086636.html?rel=mas accessed on 01/01/2018 (in Spanish)

\textsuperscript{6} https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-45177884 accessed on 01/01/2018
Which are the other counter-hegemonic discourses available in the Chilean society?

In order to answer these questions, and as collective memory is defined as a social construct, I have conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on articles published in the two main Chilean newspapers. I have chosen to include the articles published from 10th August till 15th September, where the incident that deposed the just nominated Minister of Culture is included, the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the military coup d’état, as well as, articles of everyday politics. At the same time, I have conducted interviews with memory agents, that is, people who are also discursive actors, about their visions of collective memory, why it is relevant, how they communicate it, if they feel represented in the media and how these discourses have evolved in recent times.

This DP starts with an overview on the existing literature on the topic of memory discourses on the coup and the dictatorship in Chile. Then, a theoretical chapter will draw on the notions of collective memory and why they are relevant for communication for social change. The CDA approach is presented as a theoretical and methodological stance in order to unveil the power relations that can be hidden in mediated texts, and then carried out within the selected sample of articles. This CDA is completed by confronting the different discourses emerged in the selected media texts with other alternative discourses about memory that are not present there—brought up in the interviews—which finally allows for answering the research questions of this DP.
Making sense of the traumatic past: the research on collective memory in Chile

The fact that the debate around collective memory in contemporary Chile is so alive, is something that this Degree Project (DP) accounts for. Mass and social media are the arenas of vivid discussions on different positions towards the meaning that the coup d’état and the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet has in Chile today. These debates are also present in academic research.

The formation of collective memory in Chile starts from the very beginning of the dictatorship. The historian Steve Stern draws on oral testimonies and other historiographical sources in his trilogy *The memory box of Pinochet’s Chile*. There, he describes the emergence of what he calls 4 types of “emblematic memories”, corresponding to 4 different ways of explaining the meaning of the collective trauma that Chileans experienced after the military intervention. Those are:

- **Memory as salvation.** This memory framework remembers the government of Salvador Allende as a traumatic nightmare and considers the coup d’état the “salvation” that rescued the country. The traumatic period happened before the seizure of power by the military, when there were institutional and economical chaos, polarization, hate, political violence and the country was on the verge of a civil war. For them, the violence of the new military government either did not happen or was isolated and perpetrated by individuals.

- **Memory as an unresolved rupture.** Opposed to the first type of memory, this accounts for the remembrance of people that themselves experienced the violence of the military regime, represented by detentions, tortures or disappearances of their loved ones. These experiences are so excruciating that they cannot get over them. Dictatorship destroyed their lives and the negation and non revelation of what happened to the disappeared detainees avoids them to find an interior peace. Within this framework, there is no point on debating the political circumstances before the coup d’état.
- Memory as prosecution and awakening. This covers a wider spectrum of people that did not directly suffer the disappearances of their relatives but experienced the dictatorship as a long period of repression that had a social awakening during the 80’s as consequence. According to Stern, this is a more heterogeneous group with people that supported the transition in the 90’s because it represented the conquest of democracy, while others felt betrayed when their social aspirations were not accomplished.

- Memory as a closed box. This type of memory considers this period of the Chilean past as deeply perturbing. Recalling it will only poison the present and the future. The experiences of the coup may be evoked in the private space, but taking them to the public arena may prevent the country’s reconciliation. It is also a framework that regroups heterogeneous visions on the meaning of the coup (positive or negative) but whose priority is the country’s stability (Stern, 2009, pp. 149-154).

According to Stern, we must not consider memory as an “arbitrary” manipulation, because emblematic memory pretends to capture an essential truth about the collective experience and many share the idea that it represents the truth (Stern, 2009, pp. 154-156).

The period of the transition\(^7\) has been crucial for the formation of collective memory in Chile. The politics of consensus allowed governability while Pinochet still was the commander in chief of the army, but, at the same time, neutralised the narrations of the victims that entailed confrontation (Richard, 2017, p.14). Stern prefers to speak about an \textit{impasse} of memory. An impasse where the majority of Chileans believed in the

\(^7\) The transition to a democratic system started in 1988, when Chileans voted in a plebiscite against the continuation of Pinochet as president of the Republic, which led the country to democratic elections in 1990. There is no consensus of the end date of this period, but some of the landmarks that are usually mentioned are the detention of Augusto Pinochet in London in 1998, his death in 2006 or the end of the governments of the Concertación (centre-left). According to Lechner and Güell (1998), the transition to the democratic system is characterised by its adjustment to the political and legal framework fixed by the 1980 Constitution, a capitalist market economy in expansion, the continuation of Pinochet in the political scene and a bipolar distribution of political forces. It is a negotiated transition in which the political parties recognize the procedures established by the 1980 Constitution.
truth of the rupture and prosecution that supposed the dictatorship, but also that Pinochet and the military still had enough power to influence the country’s destiny, provoking a slow progress in policies of truth and justice (Stern, 2009, p. 32). The detention of Pinochet in London in 1998 opened the way for the Chilean justice system to start processing the perpetrators of human rights violations during the dictatorship, but the American author still wonders if the power of that memory impasse will lead to a culture of oblivion (Stern, 2009, p. 33).

Jara (2016) also analyses the demobilising effect that traumatic memory produced in the Chilean society of the transition to democracy. According to the author, this is due to the disarticulation of social movements during the dictatorship, but also because this politics of consensus carried out by transitional governments. Nevertheless, this traumatic memory, in the form of postmemory (Hirsch, 1999, 2008)—referring to the collective memory of the generations that have not directly experienced the traumatic events of the past—would also be capable of enhancing a remobilisation of civil society, as the student protests of 2011 demonstrated. These links between past repertories of collective action and actual social movements have been pointed out as a resourceful perspective of memory in the strategies of communication for social change (Tufte, 2015).

Likewise, the framework construction for understanding the role of victims as a demobilising category has been researched under a social psychology perspective (Piper and Montenegro, 2016). According to the authors, the fight for the construction of collective memories has been made from the focus on human rights violations and the demands of truth, justice and reparation. The victims have been successful in diffusing their experiences of human right violations. But the categorization of victim would leave out political categories around social activism or social class struggles. In the authors’ words:

“(...) defining victims from the perspective of the harm and sufferance they suffered from, brings about two depoliticization movements: firstly, it makes invisible the political options that some of the people that were object of repression and violence took, through a mechanism of homogenization; and secondly, it makes invisible the power relationships that underlie in the violent actions undertaken, excluding from the debate the mechanisms through which these power relationships could be violently materialised” (Piper and Montenegro, 2016, p. 6).
A similar argument is used in the analysis of the experience of visitors of memory places. The accent is put on the traumatic experiences of the victims, insisting more on a sensorial and affective character, rather than a conceptual and critical one (Montenegro et al., 2017).

The Museum of Memory and Human Rights (MMHR) is the main state institution devoted for the remembrance of the victims of human rights violations during the period 1973-1990. It has not been exempt of criticism since its creation, which persists until today as this DP will account for. The analysis of the critics to the museum carried out by Mario Basaure (2017) brings about different approaches on how the history can relate to the present and the future. He distinguishes between a cognitive approach that understands the past as a *source of knowledge*; and a normative approach that refers to it as a *source of solidarity and social integration*. Based on this analytical framework, he categorises the different discourses around the MMHR that correspond widely to the discourses around the dictatorship. These are:

- A “neutralization of memory” that, with the aim of contextualizing the coup and the dictatorship assume a discourse on “crimes equivalence” which puts the human rights violations committed by the State with the violence carried out by the left sector at the same level. Other form of neutralizing memory would be erasing the “exceptional” character of the dictatorship and putting it at the same level with other violent periods of Chilean history.

- A negative cognitive discourse and/or negative normative discourse that draws on history as a warning for the future, traditionally associated with the “never-again”.

- The needs of contextualisation (the explanation of the political violence before the coup d’état) may also be presented in a normative form that encourages an auto-critical reflection.

- A positive normative discourse that uses the traumatic history in order to promote a culture of human rights, that includes other struggles like

While these and other research open up the possibility to deepen the study of the links of collective memory and social change in Chile, not a lot of attention has been given to the ways in which the media contribute to the construction of these discourses. While the research can deal with mediated forms of collective memory such as memorials (Montenegro et al., 2017) or conflict of discourses in the press (Basaure, 2017), they do not tackle how the text and its production and consumption may influence the way in which the society adheres to these frameworks.

An exception to this, is the research conducted by Lorena Antezana (2015) who has focused on analysing the role of TV in the commemoration of the coup d’état’s 40th anniversary, pointing out to the power of media—and who controls them—in shaping social narratives and imaginaries. Despite the proximity of TV to the political system, according to Antezana, the coup d’état’s 40th anniversary was the first time in which television re-framed the discourses about it condemning the human rights violations (by broadcasting images filmed during the dictatorship for the first time). The TV with new media competition for audience would explain this change in its approach to the past. Nevertheless, Richard (2017) nuances these conclusions with examples that underline the people for and against the dictatorship equidistant discourses, and discusses that the question of why in 23 years of democracy these images had not been broadcasted before remained unanswered.

What about the press and journalism? How do mainstream written media face the recent past in present Chile? Have they experienced the same logic as TV, with the emergence of new media? What is their role in constructing memory? The research about the role of press has been mainly circumscribed to its positioning during the dictatorship. Some examples of research topics are the role of El Mercurio’s owner, Agustín Edwards, in the instigation of the military coup d’état; the censorship suffered during those days, and the efforts to break it; or the role of dissident and prosecuted media (Mönckeberg, 2009; Lagos, 2012; Baltra, 2012). Today, none of these media has survived the transition to democracy, while the pro-dictatorship press reinforced their
positions in the democratic system (Bresnahan, 2003 cited in Del Valle Orellana and González-Bustamante, 2018).

Drawing on this existing literature, this DP aims to contribute to the understanding of the role of media, and concretely of what we can characterise as the hegemonic press, in shaping the memory discourses for its agenda-setting function, and at the same time, analysing how other memory discourses struggle in the quest for social change.
Theoretical framework: memory as discourse

Collective memory refers to the way in which social groups make sense of their common past. This highly schematic definition allows us to describe the characteristics of this social concept, to differentiate it from history and to defend its application to the field of communication for development, for its interdependence with notions of identity, power and change. In this section, first, I will briefly trace the origins of memory studies and the main analytical concepts of the discipline, and then argue for the profound relationship between memory, media and social change. This will lead up to claim for the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an effective approach to the study of memory and to the proposal of this Degree Project (DP). Finally, I will describe the case study and the methods chosen for my research.

Maurice Halbwachs was the first to refer to the collective dimension of memory. For him, the mechanisms by which people remember are not only determined by their lived experiences. Individual remembrance also draws on what he called the “social frameworks of memory”, which are established by social groups. Despite the fact that Halbwachs first published The social frameworks of memory in 1925, it has not been until the 80’s that memory studies emerged as a discipline. How to make sense of the traumatic events that tore the world during the 20th century? How to deal with the atrocities that the human species is capable of? Whereas the memory of the Holocaust has propelled and concentrated the main corpus of the discipline, memory is at stake in all societies that have to deal with a traumatic past. In the Southern Cone of Latin America, the relatively recent process of dictatorships that carried out crimes and tortures forces these societies to deal with open processes of justice and reconciliation.

The opposition between history and memory does not seem very fruitful. Adopting a foucaultdian approach, it could be argued that history is also a discourse that emerges from power. In fact, it is the occurrence of voices claiming for a more inclusive approach to the narratives of the past that have boosted the importance of memory studies. However, as an academic discipline, history would focus on “describing” the past, whereas memory would focus on “interpreting” this past, or making sense of it from the perspective of the present. Speaking of the distinction between history and memory, it is necessary to mention the work of French historian Pierre Nora. According
to him, memory is the property of the living, speaking subjects who hold it, it is constantly evolving and “it is open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived”. On the contrary, history is “the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer”, “history calls for analysis and criticism” and “belongs to everybody and to no one, whence it claims of universal authority” (Nora, 1989, pp. 8-9). Even if this differentiation is useful to understand the social constructive and dialectic nature of collective memory, other academics claim for a more nuanced distinction. For example, historian Steve Stern argues that “insofar as the historian must pick up the struggles and significant frames of memory as a topic of research in itself—as a set of relationships, conflicts, motivations and ideas that shape history—the distinction begins to break” (Stern, 2009, p. 31). Moreover, he contends that historians cannot avoid the problems of representation and interpretation, especially in traumatic events where there is always a “limited knowledge capacity”. “Conventional narrative strategies and analytical languages seem inadequate, professional history itself seems inadequate—as one more memory narration among many other” (Stern, 2009, p. 31).

What makes the study of memory relevant is that it can engage with “narratives of history and identity that are imbued with relations of power rooted in the present” (Weedon & Jordan, 2012, p. 146). These different interpretations of the past, rooted in group identity and power relations, makes of memory a field of struggles. In order to fully grasp the different aspects that conform the concept of collective memory for this analysis, it is worth to draw on Neiger’s et al. (2011) description.

- Collective memory is a socio-political construct. As already explained, it is built up in accordance to present socio-political circumstances.
- The construction of collective memory is a continuous, multidirectional process, where different versions of the past contend with each other, in a non-linear process. “Current events and beliefs guide our reading of the past, while schemes and frames of reference learned from the pasts shape our understanding of the present” (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 5).
- Collective memory is functional, to the aims, needs, interests etc. of a determined community.
- Collective memory must be concretised in order to allow the different members of a community to identify with it.
- Collective memory is narrational. The discourses of collective memory adapt to the cultural pattern that also allows for identification (Neiger et al., 2011, pp. 4-5)

These collective memory features allow me to argue for the interdependence between collective memory, media and communication for social change.

• Why is collective memory relevant for social change?

As different social groups shape memory in the present, it also becomes interesting as a “resourceful and future-posing activity that makes it the very processor of social change” (Hansen et al., 2015, p.4). It is because the memory’s anchorage in the present circumstances and group identities, that it actually serves for posing the terms in which these groups intend to project the future. Kendal R. Phillips (2015) underlines the rhetorical aspect of memory as it is a “persuasive act(s)—encouraging us to engage the past in particular ways, to accept particular narratives about ourselves, and these collectively accepted memories themselves become the bases upon which we deliberate about our future” (Phillips, 2015, p. 14). Thomas Tufte (2015) also draws on the rhetorical aspect of public memory explaining how it helps to constitute collectives, and adds that collective memory is part of the political culture. Memory becomes a “very seldom closed” struggle in which “what is remembered and what is not orients our sense of who we are and who we wish to be” (Tufte, 2015, p. 66).

In spite of this connection of collective memory with a future project, Tufte underlines that it is rarely used as a strategic resource in communication for social change and suggests "translating it” into discourses for social change and civic engagement.
“By theorizing how memory work can be conceived, and by de facto shedding light on the histories, trajectories and experiences that are remembered and used from the past, communication strategists will be able to work more proactively and consciously in strategizing for change. Furthermore, communication researchers and analysts will be able to perform much better and deeper analysis of where social change comes from and why changes processes are articulated” (Tuft, 2015, p. 63).

Putting collective memory under the perspective of communication for social change, it is worth bringing forward the concept of postmemory (Hirsch, 1999, 2008). Memory is handed down to other generations who did not experience the specific past actions that are remembered. It insists in how memory, especially trauma, is a legacy, but it also speaks about an ethical component of collective memory. “(A)s I can ‘remember’ my parents’ memories, I can also ‘remember’ the suffering of others” (Hirsh, 1999 cited in Weedon & Jordan, 2012, p. 148).

All these concepts are relevant for the Chilean case, where different social groups struggle for the narration of their country’s recent past, including the State and successive governments, but also victims of the dictatorship and new social movements that draw on memory imaginaries for the construction of their proposals. How these different groups relate to the account of the Chilean dictatorship speaks loudly about the project of the future that they want for the country.

• Why are media relevant for the collective memory?

Collective memory is an intrinsically social phenomenon that shapes the identity of individuals and groups. Thus, it cannot happen as an abstraction. In order to allow individuals to identify with it, it has to be somehow concretised. That is why media and mediation are so relevant to the study of collective memory and has attracted the academia’s attention (Neiger et al., 2011; Van Dijck, 2007; Garde-Hansen, 2011; Hajek et al., 2016).

The study of media in relation to memory, especially of mass media, is relevant because of its capacity of reaching a wide audience and its omnipresence in everyday life (Neiger et al. 2011; Edy, 1999). However, media do not only represent existing visions of society. They also contribute to the construction of these collective imaginaries about the past. This is why Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seems as an
appropriate approach for examining the contribution of media in the construction of the collective memory around the Chilean dictatorship.

This confronts with the self-perception that media often have as authoritative storytellers of the past (Neiger, 2011, p. 7), especially for those genres that proclaim a truth value, such as journalism or documentary films. But beyond that, an interesting fact is that media memory is not only media constructing memory, but that they do so by drawing on other memory agents. This is strongly related to questions of agency. Who has the right to narrate the collective past? Media do not only pose themselves as authoritative history narrators but they also have a determinant role in enhancing a collective memory negotiation where stories dominate the public sphere and where stories are silenced and lie around in subaltern publics (Tufte, 2015, p. 65).

The irruption of social media has also drawn the attention of memory scholars on how to grasp and how it might affect the construction of collective memory. Before the emergence of digital media, mass media had the exclusivity of reaching wide audiences. Nowadays, new information and communication technologies allow these audiences to produce and contribute to the diffusion of different notions of the past. “(T)he ease with which conflicting representation of the past can now be evaluated and compared, alongside the ease with which distorted or even fabricated versions of the past can now be created and disseminated—all require a comprehensive inquiry into the ever changing relations between mass media and the recollection of the past” (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 2). On the other hand, social media can open up the possibility of discussing people’s common past and could function as a counter-public to the elite’s discourse (Birkner and Donk, 2018).

Another interesting phenomenon that has been pointed out regarding the use of social media and collective memory, is that it might contribute to erase the “national” frontiers of the collectivity (Neiger, 2011 et al., p. 11). This could then allow for a wider global collective memory, but at the same time enhance national issues by example or reproduction. As an example of the latter, it is worth remembering the allusions that the far-right now president of Brazil made praising his country’s dictatorship period. How these messages interplay with Chilean collective memory in the social media era cannot be left aside.
Given the constructivist and mediated features of collective memory and its entwined relationship with notions of identity, representation, agency and power, I have chosen discourse analysis as a methodological approach to answer this DP’s research questions. Discourse analysis has become widely spread in the social sciences but it entails a variety of approaches and methods. This DP will focus on the CDA perspective (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1992) that involves a certain position from the researcher towards the object of the research, taking into account the power imbalances that discourses and the processes of meaning-making entail.

Discourse is not a purely linguistic concept; it also entails a practice. It has been defined as an “interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being” (Parker, 1992 cited in Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 3). For many discourse scholars, social reality does not exist outside discourse, because it is there where meaning is created. It is then, through the study of discourses, that we are able to understand and apprehend social reality.

“Discourses create representations of the world that reflect as well as actively construct reality by ascribing meanings to our world, identities and social relations. Discourse theorists within this school thus consider language to be both constitutive of the social world as well as constituted by other social practices (Phillips 2006).” (Joye, 2009, p. 49).

Texts are not isolated and they do not have meaning by themselves. It is by these practices of production and reception, and by the relationship that they establish with other texts, that they become meaningful. Context becomes then indispensable for discourse (Fairclough & Wodack, 1997 cited in Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.4). On the other hand, the productive aspect of discourse entails a struggle for power. As discourse is constituted and constitutive of social relations, questions of economy, politics or ideology determine who is able to create “the truth” about a topic, and what this “truth” would be. But discourses can also be used to challenge a power, that is, to challenge the hegemony of a certain discourse.
Given their importance in our contemporary societies, media have been widely researched, in order to unveil how they contribute or challenge the existing power imbalances within a society (Richardson, 2007; Joye, 2009). In my case of study, I will take this position to unveil which discourses of collective memory are diffused and constructed and which visions of memory are left aside. The non-presence of other discourses in the media that can be found in subaltern spaces can speak loudly about the struggles of memory in contemporary Chile.

For carrying this out, I will draw on the three dimensions CDA approach by Norman Fairclough (2008). The author proposes 3 levels of analysis—text, discursive practices, and social practices—, in order to understand how social practices shape and are shaped by texts through the way in which the texts are produced and consumed.

The description for form and content is related to the textual analysis. However, it does not only focus on the linguistic form of the text, but also on the function that such elements serve in the moment of their use (Richardson, 2007, pp. 38-39). In the analysis of Chilean newspapers, I will focus on: What vocabulary is used and why? What are the main topics covered? Or, what is the preferred journalistic genre?

Concerning the discursive practices’ analysis, it takes account of the conditions in which the texts are produced and consumed, or put differently, with the process of encoding and decoding. This is strongly determined by context and by the social practices that influence this codification. Speaking about the press, discursive practices are mainly related to professional and editorial standards but also to the audience that the media target.

The third level of analysis takes account of how social practices and power distribution among a society are relevant for discourse. It refers also to context, not only the most immediate, but to the culture, the economic system or the institutions that surround the production of these discourses. In the analysis of Chilean newspapers, the press system and position of these newspapers within the market economy, its financing ways or their relationships with political and economical elites, may bring about insights about the way they convey collective memory issues.
Case study description

The dictatorship period evocations in Chile are frequent in Chilean media. How the media cover these issues and how this coverage contributes to the narration of this traumatic period, remains the main research purpose of this DP. Although the media spectrum is diverse and privatised, with presence of a variety of newspapers, TV channels, radios and digital outlets, the media system in Chile has often been described as highly concentrated (Mönckeberg, 2009; Del Valle Orellana and González-Bustamante, 2018). Analysing the whole spectrum will be impossible in a single research. In spite of the alleged decreasing audience, I have decided to analyse the two main traditional newspapers in the country, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, as they still hold the status of “serious”, “authoritative” or “prestigious” press, and because of their links with Chilean economic and political factual power. How these links and reputation contribute to their construction of collective memory, it is also a relevant aspect to take into account under the CDA perspective, which I am using.

For the articles sample, I decided to cover 1 month approximately, from 10\(^{th}\) August to 15\(^{th}\) September 2018. The choice is not arbitrary. On 10\(^{th}\) August Chilean president, Sebastián Piñera named Mauricio Rojas as his new Minister of Culture. Because of his views on the Museum of Memory and Human Rights (MMHR), qualifying the state-led initiative that fulfils the mandate of the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, as a “farce”, he received a big wave of public criticism that led him to resign only 4 days after his nomination. Besides, 11\(^{th}\) September was the commemoration of the 45\(^{th}\) anniversary of the military coup. Moreover, other topics related to memory were present during this period: the decision of granting conditional freedom to 7 individuals who are convicted for crimes against humanity and the opening of a political process to the juries that awarded these penitentiary benefits; the nomination as a high government official of a person that is publicly accused (not judicially) of having hidden the evidence that would allow to determined if the ex president of Chile Eduardo Frei Montalva was victim of a State driven murder; or the preparations and political discussions over the commemoration of the 30\(^{th}\) anniversary of the referendum that drove Chile towards a democratic system.
In total, 200 articles in *La Tercera* and 197 in *El Mercurio*. The selection of the articles has been based on their coverage of issues that deal with the period of the dictatorship and its relationship to the present⁸, through keywords in newspapers databases, manual search in archives and on-line. It is difficult to assert that this big amount of articles around collective memory is so present within any other period of the year. While the commemoration of the coup d’état and the referendum are fixed points of the journalistic agenda, the others were contingent topics that could have appeared at any other time. What is interesting of this period is that, by accumulation, these topics have become more relevant than if they would have happened isolated. The big amount of articles exceeds my analysis capacity, so I have decided to focus mainly in the articles regarding the MMHR and the commemoration of the 45⁰ anniversary of the coup, because they triggered the most vivid debates about the role of collective memory.

These articles’ CDA has enabled me to assess these media’s contribution, as well as, the discourses that they transmit, and to put them into the Chilean memory struggle context, under a communication for social change perspective. In order to enrich the different levels of this discourse analysis, especially the one regarding social practices, but also in other to identify other discourses that are not present in these traditional media, I have conducted 4 interviews with people that directly work with collective memory. The interviewees are Alicia Juica, communication manager of the Association of Relatives of Detained and Disappeared people (Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos, AFDD) who is the daughter of a dictatorship’s disappeared detainee; Francisco Estévez, Director of the MMHR; Emilia Schneider, feminist and transgender activist, member of the Federation of Students of the University of Chile (Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile, FECH), and Javier Rebolledo, journalist and writer specialised in human rights violations during the dictatorship.⁹ During the interviews, I adopted an open-end format around these topics: why it is important to remember, what are the connections between memory and socio-political struggles and their views on the role of mainstream media and social media diffusing issues of memory.

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⁸ Appendix 1 – Table Nº 1
⁹ For more background on interviews see Appendix 2
There are obvious limitations to the approach and scope of the study and its methodology. Having a more complete picture of discourses about memory would require different types of media analyses, press, radio, TV, social media but also fictional accounts, cinema, literature, etc.\textsuperscript{10} It is also important to acknowledge that not all discourses about memory may be present in this work, as there are other collectives that also have a fixed position on memory issues as for example political parties or social movements. However, these limitations do not avoid this study to add on to the discussion on the implications of collective memory for social change.

\textsuperscript{10} Indeed, some scholars engage with a notion of cultural memory that goes beyond the social aspect of collective memory, which emphasises the mediation processes. As I have stated in this theoretical section, memory has to be materialised in order to allow individuals to identify with it. But the notion of cultural memory transcends this identification to refer to the different processes of appropriation and remediation by the public. “The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image” (Assman, 1995, cited in Tamm, 2013). Whereas newspapers and journalism are part of this cultural memory, there are many other forms in which memory is made available for (re)signification.
The hegemonic discourses about the coup and the dictatorship in Chile: A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the main newspapers

In order to understand the contribution of the main Chilean newspapers to the construction of collective memory around the military coup and the dictatorship, I have conducted a CDA based on the Fairclough 3-steps approach (Fairclough, 2008; Richardson, 2009; Joye, 2009). This approach has the purpose to unveil the power relations that, from one side, these media represent, and from the other, they contribute to enhance. As explained before, this methodology does not only take the content and features of a text into account, but also it also accounts for the context that surrounds them and that influences the conditions of its production and consumption. After having carried out the analysis, it is possible to establish the contribution of these media as well as the discourses that struggle in the construction of Chilean collective memory based on the confrontation of the results with the interviews carried out with memory.

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis can be carried out at different levels (semantic, grammatical, lexical, pragmatic, content). However, under a CDA perspective, what is important is not the meaning that these elements can have by themselves, but the function that they have in the moment of their usage (Richardson, 2007, pp. 38-39). Put differently, when conducting a textual analysis, it is important to focus on what is relevant for unveiling the power relationships that are encoded in that text. The analysis of the articles selected for this research could yield different results if practiced separately, as they involve two different media companies and editorial standards, different genres (informative and opinion and different subgenres) and are written by different people with different criteria, styles or backgrounds. However, what is interesting here is to treat them as a whole, in order to identify common trends and patterns that may speak about how this media inform collective memory and if any intention or power relation can be deduced by this coverage.
In order to pull out this type of conclusions, I have classified and noted only relevant aspects of the articles in a working table, where I have answered different questions about the text. What is the article about? Is there any relevant vocabulary used, especially when it is used to refer to the coup, the dictatorship period and collective memory? What is its journalistic genre? Who is the author and, is his or her background available? Whose views are diffused? What is the general approach to the topic and the summary of the article’s, author’s or interviewees main arguments? Is the article in the front page?

The first conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis is the presence of articles related to issues of memory nearly every day in the selected period. This shows that issues related to memory are relevant in the media and political agenda.

How are these topics covered by the selected newspapers? It is interesting to see the big amount of published opinion articles. These opinion articles revolve mainly around the need or not of the coup’s contextualisation and if this contextualisation is a justification for that what happened. Those who defend the need of context, draw on the institutional crisis and the political violence that preceded the coup. But this contextualisation very rarely refers to the international context, the support of the CIA, the manipulation of the media or the intervention of the extreme right violent groups. In relation to this, many columnists draw on the differences between history and memory and use them to justify the need of this historical context, without noting that they are selecting some historiographical sources and avoiding others, what situates them in the memory building terrain against their intentions.

Concerning news articles, the majority of them cover memory issues in terms of actual partisan politics. For example, within the Rojas’ affaire, these media covered the reactions of the different political parties more profusely than the reactions from the cultural actors that bust the campaign against the Minister. It was only when he had

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11 See Appendix 1 – Table Nº 4 as an example
12 Appendix 1 – Table Nº 2
13 e.g. Contexto y memoria: falsos dilemas, Gonzalo Rojas, El Mercurio, 29/08/2018 or 1973: El nudo ciego, Sergio Muños Riveros, El Mercurio, 19/08/2018
14 As an exception, some of the articles refer to a context other than Allende’s government (e.g. El pecado original, Daniel Matamala, La Tercera, 19/08/2018 or Nuestra historia reciente, Esteban Vilchez Celis, 10/09/2018
15 e.g. Historia y memoria, Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, La Tercera, 18/08/2018
resigned that La Tercera included an interview with the poet who was the main promoter against him. And days after the resignation, the media still covered the political consequences that the affaire had triggered among the members of the government coalition.

Because of the different position towards that period, vocabulary is an interesting aspect that the selection of words may show, and that has triggered debates in Chile previously. While the defenders of the Pinochet regime tend to speak about “military pronouncement” and “military government”, its detractors use “coup d’état” and “dictatorship”. Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish a pattern in their media use. While “military pronouncement” for “coup d’état” is very restricted and can easily identify a coup d’état supporter, the rest of expressions are currently used as synonym within the same text. The abounds of articles dealing with “the context” of the coup d’état, also allows to identify a pattern of negative vocabulary for referring to the period that precede it: hate, political violence, crisis or civil war. What I find the most interesting is the recurrence of the term “quiebre de la democracia” (“democracy breakdown”). According to the analysis in the articles, it is a very widely used concept to describe the sum of the circumstances that led the country to the coup d’état. While in Spanish language “coup d’état” needs an agent (someone carries out a coup), a “breakdown” does not, with the effect of neutralizing the subject (and responsible) of this breakdown. It is also relevant to note that “the right” and “the left” are also present in many articles and evoke the same political and ideological distinction now as they did in the 60’s and 70’s, without many different nuances inside.

What is present in the text is as important as what is left aside (Richardson, 2007). And there is a very remarkable absence within this vast number of articles: the voices of the civil society, and the victims (as a part of it). Whether it is in more memorialistic articles concerning the 11th September, or in those commenting the political issues related to the past, the victims and/or relatives are barely quoted in the

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16 https://radio.uchile.cl/2012/01/05/escandalo-por-cambio-de-dictadura-a-regimen-militar-en-libros-de-historia/, accesses on 01/01/2019 (in Spanish)
17 e.g. The interview with Carlos Cáceres, who was minister during the Pinochet’s regime
18 e.g. Sobre el contexto, Carlos Williamson, El Mercurio, 16/08/2018 or Los reales negacionistas, Axel Buchheister, La Tercera, 19/08/2018)
articles covered by this analysis.\textsuperscript{19} For example, the special issue that \textit{La Tercera} dedicated to the 45\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the coup included interviews with some relevant actors of Chilean politics under the hashtag \#yolovivi (“I experienced it”). In this selection, some of them narrate the exile, but only the secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalán, refers to the detention and tortures. No other testimonies are brought forward. The allusion to the human right violations that is present all along the texts becomes then a rather abstract concept always experienced by “others”. The main consequence that the absence of these voices provokes is that the topics that the civil society may want to raise are absent from the political discussion.

\textbf{Discursive practices analysis}

Media, especially journalism and “truth-based” genres, present themselves as an authoritative source for describing reality. Not for nothing, they are often referred to as the ones that write \textit{the first draft of history}. Yet, their reflections on and their contribution to discourse are influenced by the practices that surround their production and consumption. This part of the analysis deals with the professional and institutional practices and values, as well as the audience role, which determine the text choices that have been already described. These discursive practices are, at the same time, determined by the social and cultural practices that will be covered in the third step of the Fairclough CDA model.

On a first impression, the relationship between journalism and memory may appear as \textit{counterintuitive}, as it deals with publishing \textit{what is new} (Edy, 1999; Zelizer, 2008). These authors have pointed out to the lack of study of this relationship although the fact that journalists draw on memory, as for to exercise their profession. Concretely, they use different journalistic genres and practices, such as commemoration journalism, historical analogies or historical contexts (Edy, 1999) with the intention of “explaining” the present. As stated by Zelizer, “(t)he past thus remains one of the richest repositories available to journalists for explaining current events” (Zelizer, 2008, p. 82). Our present

\textsuperscript{19} Appendix 1 – Tables Nº 5 and Nº 6
analysis is in part coherent and, at the same time, contradictory with these assumptions. On the one hand, the informative coverage is very much focused on partisan politics. Every recurrence to past events is analysed through the different positions that current parties sustain towards them. News coverage lacks a deeper link between contemporary social phenomena and the past. On the other hand, this type of coverage does not mean a lack of interest of the analysed outlet in covering memory issues but, on the contrary, a concrete approach to the topic. The high presence of articles that deal with the dictatorship’s history clearly shows that this topic is present in the political and media agenda. Moreover, the high number of opinion articles trying to frame the approach to history, together with editorial articles that express the media views, insists on the importance of memory for these publications. The absence of voices of the victims and their topics of relevance, or the lack of more historical contextualisation within other topics, may just reveal a determined editorial position towards their coverage.

The discursive practices of media are indeed determined by a double relationship between audience and producer (Richardson, 2007). From the articles’ analysis, it can be easily established that both El Mercurio and La Tercera address the Chilean upper-class society, with a high cultural and educational background, a strong purchasing power with interest in the political discussion within the country. It is interesting to note the letters to the editor in both newspapers are often signed with the profession or position of the sender, giving the impression that those of higher status have preference for inclusion. Despite this audience segmentation, they find themselves among the most read newspapers in Chile. Although other media, such as TV may be more popular, its influence over the political agenda is less than that of the written press (Valenzuela and Arriagada, 2011 cited in Navia and Osorio, 2015, p. 471). Both media lean towards the right-wing and this is also the perception that the audience has about them (Navia and Osorio, 2015, p. 472). In any case and beside editorial criteria, they function as communication products within the consumption market. According to Javier Rebolledo, journalist and writer specialised in human rights and the violation of them

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20 Appendix 1 – Table Nº 4
21 El Mercurio is the most purchased and read while La Tercera oscillates between second and third position depending on weekday or weekend, competing with La Cuarta, the popular outlet from the same company holding (Asociación Chilena de Publicidad ACHAP, 2017).
during the dictatorship —interviewed for this Degree Project (DP)—, this is an argument for the lack of in-depth articles in the current media.\textsuperscript{22}

Beside this market approach, it is impossible to avoid these media’s particular history linked to the dictatorship as both publications, and their media groups, played significant roles before, during and after this period (Mönckeberg, 2009; Lagos, 2012; Baltra, 2012). For example, the Director of the MMHR, Francisco Estévez—interviewed for this DP—links the general coverage absence of the museum’s activities in \textit{El Mercurio} to the fact that they ran an exhibition with American intelligence agencies declassified documents where documented evidence of the role of this newspaper in promoting the coup d’état was found.\textsuperscript{23}

Alicia Juica, communication manager of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees, and Emilia Schneider, student and feminist activist—both interviewed for this DP—also refer to the difficulty of reaching these media to diffuse their claims on current issues\textsuperscript{24}. This resonates with the deliberate proximity of these media to the political sources rather than the civil society ones.

\textbf{Social practices analysis}

“Social practices cover the structures, the institutions and the values, that while residing outside the newsroom, permeate and structure the activities and outputs of journalism” (Richardson, 2007, p. 114) and they have to do with the economic, ideological and institutional system in which news production and consumption takes place. The analysis of these aspects deals with how they influence the text choices and discursive practices, but also how the texts inform these social practices. This part of the analysis will focus on the media system and its origins.

The media system in Chile has been qualified as highly concentrated (Mönckeberg, 2009; Del Valle Orellana and González-Bustamante, 2018) which only builds up under the notion of the high concentration that is present in nearly every

\textsuperscript{22} Appendix 2 – Extract of interview Nº1

\textsuperscript{23} Appendix 2 – Extract of interview Nº2

\textsuperscript{24} Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 3 and Nº4
sector of the Chilean economy—one of the biggest in the region. Usually associated with the roles of a watchdog, counter power and democratic pluralism, this concentration plays against these values and leads to a homogenization of contents and agenda (Del Valle Orellana and González-Bustamante, 2018, p. 295). The duopoly which is represented by the analysed media outlets, *El Mercurio* for El Mercurio SAP (Sociedad Anónima Periodística) and *La Tercera* for Copesa (Consortio Periodístico de Chile, S.A.) share more that 80% of the advertisement revenues in the press (Asociación Chilena de Agencias de medios, 2015).

As mentioned before, the history of these media is closely related to the Pinochet dictatorship. *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio* were actually the only newspapers allowed the days immediately after the military coup, and they remained so for several months. The background of these groups during those days is full of farces which intended to hide the government’s abuses (Lagos, 2012; Mönckeberg, 2009; Baltra, 2012). Moreover, both media groups were rescued by the Pinochet government, in order to surmount the beginning of the 80’s economic crisis of the beginning of the 80’s. (Baltra, 2012, p. 14). But their position became consolidated by the end of the dictatorship and the beginning of democracy.

The Director of the MMHR refers in his interview to the responsibilities of the big newspapers during the dictatorship and their role today:

“They have not made any self-criticisms on their role on how they supported the coup, before, during and after. Moreover, they were very economically benefited because they were the only media with a circulation right. So then, of course, these media are big media holdings today, which have been built-up on the basis of non concurrence”.

(Francisco Estévez, interviewed on 13/11/2018)

Emilia Schneider and Javier Rebolledo allude in their interviews to a tacit agreement between the dictatorship government and the opposition, in order to allow the democratic transition, and that would entail the respect of the neoliberal measures that had been implemented during the 80’s by these group of students of the Catholic University of Santiago known as the Chicago Boys. This enabled sectors such as the

25 According to the last report of the Boston Consulting Group the 0,3% of the Chilean households concentrate the 35% of the country’s wealth, [https://www.latercera.com/noticia/pese-crecimiento-riqueza-privada-chile-sube-77-2016/](https://www.latercera.com/noticia/pese-crecimiento-riqueza-privada-chile-sube-77-2016/), accessed on 01/01/2019 (in Spanish).

26 Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 5 and Nº 6
education, the health system, the mining sector or the pension system to get privatised\textsuperscript{27}. With or without the existence of these tacit agreement, the truth is that the transition government administrations constituted by the coalition Concertación\textsuperscript{28} did not touch neither the economic foundations of the country that the dictatorship left nor to the Constitution that had been passed on in 1980.

The owners of the press duopoly thus became benefited by the economic order, receiving the big part of the advertisement cake, which then provoked the disappearance of other alternative and critical media created by the dictatorship’s end (Mönckeberg, 2009; Bresnahan, 2003 cited in Orellana and González-Bustamante, 2018, p. 295). In fact, Corrales and Sandoval talk about “ideological monopoly” instead of duopoly:

\begin{quote}
“One feature of the national business sector is its high level of ideological uniformity, which has its expression in a high level of engagement with the neoliberal model at the economical level, and strong conservative values at a cultural level, so that when they act as advertisers, they use the investment as a tool to strengthen those media that are more related to them, introducing a distortion in the market that hinders the appearance of other expressions” (Corrales and Sandoval, 2005 cited in Mönckeberg, 2009, p.434).
\end{quote}

When linking this economic system and conservatism values to memory, not only as an expression of the way in which the past is remembered, but also as a construction of how this is projected to the present and the future, some of the interviewees reveal an obvious power imbalance and non-coverage of issues that go against their interests.

\textsuperscript{27} For delving into the politics of the Chicago Boys during the 80’s in Chile resulting on the privatisation of the economy, and the civil responsibilities during the dictatorship see Mönckeberg (2015) and Rebolledo (2015).

\textsuperscript{28} Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Coalition of Parties for Democracy) or Concertación is the coalition of the opposition parties that was formed for the campaign of the 1988 plebiscite and that occupied the presidency from 1990 till 2009. It was conformed by the Christian Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, the Party for Democracy and the Radical Social Democratic Party.
Memory struggles: Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses of collective memory

As it has been defended in the theoretical section of this DP, collective memory is a social construct about the past that serves as a rhetorical and political strategy for the future, considering the cultural framework of the society (Neiger et al., 2011; Tufte, 2015; Phillips, 2015). It is, thus, a critical concept for social change. Likewise, media play an important role not only in diffusing the different discourses available within a topic, but as active participants of the collective narration of history. The selection of a CDA approach for the analysis of the role of the main Chilean newspapers in these collective memory constructions allows to unveil hidden power relationships and an agenda that directly resonates on social change. Along with what Richardson asks “How does reporting relate to, and reflect wider social inequalities? (...) Does reporting bolster the power of the dominant classes? (...) Does the report deny the possibility of meaningful social change?” (Richardson, 2007, p. 225).

Although different perspectives on memory issues may appear within the coverages, this analysis suggests that the treatment of this topic in the main newspapers in Chile serves to maintain actual power relations system within the country, where the companies owning these media hold powerful positions inherited from the dictatorship period. The obvious consequences are that the standpoint held by these newspapers denies the possibility of social change when not taking the voices of the victims, civil society and social movements into account. However, it would be too easy to leave it there, without acknowledging that they represent just one stance of the communication ecology related to collective memory. Acknowledging that other social groups use media or communication processes to construct collective memory would be necessary to complete the vision of memory struggles and social change in Chile. A deep analysis on the latter escapes the scope of my research. Nevertheless, to understand what discourses are absent from the hegemonic narratives of memory, this DP draws on the views and opinions of different memory agents and contrasts them with the newspaper coverages.
Contextualisation of the coup, the “memory of equivalence” and negationism

The incident about the comments of the newly appointed and 4 days after resigned Minister of Culture triggered plenty of articles, opinions and even discussions within the political arena on the need of contextualisation of the MMHR, and more generally of the coup d’état. This is not a new topic. Stern argues that one of the frameworks that operates within what he calls the “emblematic memory of salvation” is precisely to defend the need of the coup d’état in response to the chaos, violence and nearly civil war that was happening in the country (Stern, 2009, pp. 149-150).

This also refers to what has been called the “memory of equivalence” that, in the same vein as contextualisation, equates the left-wing supporters’ political violence before the coup d’état at the same level as the human rights violations committed by the state during the dictatorship. The articles reflect even a hypothetical position on what could have happened if there had not been a coup d’état, considering that a communist dictatorship would be more violent. In relation to this, the equivalence is also brought to present times when many articles demand to those saying that the human rights violations do not have any context to condemn the human rights violations committed in actual socialist regimes such as Cuba or Venezuela.

Does this request for contextualisation translate into a way of negationism? In fact, the controversy on Mauricio Rojas’ sayings which qualified the museum as a “farce” lies on the accusation of negationism. Even if he later stated that he had never denied the human rights violations that occurred during the dictatorship, the contextualisation request may serve as a way of justifying their existence or minimising them, resulting on a “neutralisation of memory” (Basaure, 2017, p. 128). As the director of the MMHH states:

“What they (those who criticize the museum because of the lack of context) seek is to justify, which is a second phase, in my opinion, of negationism. Negationism is, first, a denial that the events occurred. But, when you no longer can continue denying that the events occurred, comes the second phase, that is, the justification. That is to say, ok, it

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29 e. g. No caben todos, Mª Angélica Pérez, El Mercurio, 14/08/2018 or Museo de la Memoria, Mauricio Desbordes, La Tercera, 14/08/2018
30 e. g. Aún hay memoria ciudadanos, Gonzalo Rojas, El Mercurio, 15/08/2018
31 e. g. La hegemonía cultural de la izquierda dominante, Nicolás Ibañez Scott, El Mercurio, 15/08/2018 or El contexto y la defensa de los DD.HH., La Tercera, 25/08/2018
is true these events occurred, but that is due to, and the cause that is given is that it was necessary to carry out a coup d’état in Chile because there was an imminent civil war or because a communist dictatorship was a threat to the country” (Francisco Estèvez, interviewed on 13/11/2018)

The right to truth, justice and reparation

In response to the need of contextualisation, there is also presence of articles defending the moralising role of the MMHR and the need of unambiguously condemning the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. The right to truth, justice and reparation is evoked in some of the articles defending this position, but the lack of presence of the voices of the victims does not allow their requests on this matter to be made visible. One of the most important demands is the need of explanation to the whereabouts of the people that were subject to forced disappearance during the military regime. The archives destruction and the unwillingness of those who were responsible to talk about it is one of the main subjects concerning truth and justice, according to the Director of the MMHR. For the Association of Relatives of Detained and Disappeared People the need of justice and the fight against impunity is one of their main requests. Besides, the slowness of the justice system that started to prosecute perpetrators after 1998 or the non-recognition of the civil responsibilities (beside the military), impact in the victim’s right to truth, according to the interviewees. These topics were not covered in the analysed sample, while journalism could serve as a form of symbolic reparation for the victims of human rights violations.

“Journalism has had a relationship with the truth. It has spread the truth and it has triggered investigations in parallel to those of justice. And for the reparation, it has not been a monetary reparation, nor in the sense of imprisoning someone, but of making a

32 e. g. La memoria de un converso, Carlos Peña, La Tercera, 13/08/2018 or El ciudadano de la memoria, Máximo Pacheco, La Tercera, 24/08/2018
33 e. g. El retorno de la memoria, Ernesto Águila, La Tercera, 22/08/2018
34 Appendix 2 – Extract of interview Nº 7
35 Appendix 2 – Extract of interview Nº8
36 This year the Supreme Court decided that the Amnesty Law will no longer have effect for crimes against humanity. The Amnesty Law, or Decree Law No. 2191 granted amnesty to all persons involved in criminal acts as perpetrators, accomplices or accessories, committed between 11th September 1973 and 10th March 1978, without making a distinction between common crimes and those committed with political motivation.
37 Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 9 and Nº 10
social condemnation of what happened, to publicly disclose it and to give a little calm
and some degree of welfare to the people who saw their rights violated or the relatives
of people who saw their rights violated so badly in this country.” (Javier Rebolledo,
interviewed on 16/11/2018).

**Memory as an ethical heritage**

Human rights are often invoked in the press as the red line that should never be
crossed, and the defence of the MMHR is related to this normative function of memory
(Basaure, 2017). However, this is always presented in an abstract form with no links to
concrete human rights issues that are present in the Chilean context, such as the rights
of the indigenous people, the use of excessive force by the police during public
demonstrations, women or LGBTI diversity’s rights. Moreover, the fact that nearly all
discursive production is framed under debate on the need of context makes that the
force of the arguments somehow dilutes in the general discussion. In contrast, the
Director of the MMHR insists on this normative value of human rights against
contextualisation.

“Today there is a very broad awareness that very serious violations of human rights were
committed in Chile, that justice must be done and that we must fight against impunity.
That is established as part of a heritage, a heritage of consciousness, so to speak. It is
not eternal, but it exists. And that is what we have to keep working with”. (Francisco
Estévez, interviewed on 13/11/2018)

On the contrary, Alicia Juica thinks that there is not enough awareness on the
human rights violations issue due to the hegemonic discourses that have framed the
fight of the former left-wing militants under the political violence, but points out to the
same idea of the memory necessity as an ethical stance:

“Suddenly, I feel that nothing was worth it. That they died for nothing. When I watch TV
and the common citizen says that ‘all delinquents should be pulled out from schools’ (in
reference to the student movements), it is very sad (...). They say they understand the
struggles of the detained disappeared, but then they practically defend torture. If we
understood human rights violations, we would apply this knowledge to the present.”
(Alicia Juica, interviewed on 2018/11/06)
The exemplary democracy for some, vs. the democracy inherited by the dictatorship for the others

There is an interesting trend that stands out from the articles analysed. Whereas, generally speaking, all articles condemn human rights violations during the dictatorship and defend the value of democracy, some of them put an emphasis on the first, and others on the latter. In all the discussions about the need of context, the ones that defend the need of contextualisation often allude to the importance of democracy and point out to the government before the coup as responsible for the “democracy breakdown”. As sustained by Basaure (2018, p. 112), the risk here is “to subordinate the human rights values, to the institutional order values”.

This discussion has been reinforced by the government’s agenda of establishing a Museum of Democracy that would serve to understand the value of democracy and the history of its breakdowns and implementation. The project was quickly bolted down in the polemics around the MMHR, being qualified as the “Museum of Equivalence” or the “Museum of Context”. Within these discussions, the needs of historising democracy or the different forms of democracy have also been evoked by some columnists, but few critics problematise the democratic system that was established in Chile after the dictatorship and that appears to be a field of struggle. Schneider refers to the Chilean democracy weaknesses nowadays as a product of the conciliation of different political forces to put the dictatorship to an end.

“The Concertación ’s left, very much installed on the administration model inherited from the dictatorship, used blackmail to avoid making major transformations: “the dictatorship will be back”. So, democracy was always very easy and very little substantive, because all the organized bases that sustained political projects had been dismantled. Concertación, following that legacy, devoted itself to administer the mass of voters that already existed instead of building organisations that gave support to new projects”. (Emilia Schneider, interviewed on 13/12/2018)

38 e. g. La verdad más dura, Sergio Muñoz Riveros, La Tercera, 13/09/2018
39 The project was on the electoral program of the president Sebastián Piñera and caught momentum in the wave of the Rojas’s affaire. The first idea was to devote this museum to the history of the transition to democracy but the group of experts, led by historian Lucía Santa Cruz, decided to build a democracy’s history museum within the Chilean nation.
40 Sol Serrano: No soy partidaria de los museos del empate, La Tercera, 01/09/2018
41 Museo del contexto, Rafael Ferrada, La Tercera, 24/08/2018
42 e. g. Museotitis, Alfredo Jocelyn Holt, La Tercera 25/08/2018
Memory for social change

In the same vein of memory evocation as an ethical heritage, memory can be tackled as a resource for social change as pointed out by Tufte (2015). In the Chilean case, this resource is reflected in a double perspective which is interconnected. First, contemporary social activism, especially the student activism groups that emerged around 2006 and 2011, justify their actions in connection with the past as they claim that the current system was inherited from the dictatorship period. And secondly, as a strategy for social change. The first link is more obvious for social activists:

“We rose up because it was inconceivable for us that education was not free. But also, other previous generations’ social activists rose up —what made the student mobilisation so important—because of those unfulfilled promises made by the left calling for a NO-to-the-dictatorship vote and promised a future of rights, which ended up by being a marketed future, more precarious, more violent, more conservative.” (Emilia Schneider, interviewed on 13/12/2018)

Here, it is useful to draw again in the concept of post-memory (Hirsch, 1999, 2008) which refers to the memory that has been transferred to the generations that did not live under the dictatorship.

“I think that our generation rose up because the return of dictatorship’s blackmail no longer operated as a possibility, because we had not experienced it”. (Emilia Schneider, interviewed on 13/12/2018)

Whereas the links between memory and current socio-political system are well established among activists, what do they think about recovering the memory of those who fought and participated in the social movements that brought Salvador Allende to the power?

“For us, it is really important to rehabilitate our disappeared detainees. To give them their name, together with their political militancy (...). We do not want them to be forgotten, nor their project. This means that they disappeared because they were building up a different world, which in the opinion of many of us today, is a lot fairer that the one we have now.” (Alicia Juica, interviewed on 06/11/2018)

This resonates with the conclusions of Shafir and Montenegro (2017) that the victims are often invoked in their role of suffering victims but not so much in their role
of social activists, which is also the case in the press. Moreover, new social movements do not often relate themselves to old political acronyms, but with the new parties that were created as a result of the student activism in 2011, due to the stance of traditional parties during the transition. According to Emilia Schneider, they do not often draw onto the past to construct imaginaries of change.

“I think we should claim certain aspects, such as the idea of the Popular Government to build up a project not only as an addition of political apparatus, but constructing a social base that at present, does not exist anymore (...). There is a very deep memory debt of impunity in Chile, of which the Concertación administrations are also responsible for. And that is the reason why social movements in Chile sometimes lose their courses, because they do not have this perspective of being part of a social force that has since long been trying to progress in this country. But, also because the traditional narration, both from the left and the official one, has been very masculinised, white racialised, and it is not indigenous, and this is exclusive. At the same time, it is a very hazy narration, because those who took the left flag ended up on the same side (as the right-wing)” (Emilia Schneider, interviewed on 13/12/2018)

Here, Emilia Schneider refers also to other memories that have been excluded from the narration of memory and that are related to present socio-political struggles such as the indigenous, feminists or LGTBI social movements. A general account of the memory of these activism appears to be also an important factor for building up this memory of social action. Schneider, a feminist and LGTBI activist, insists that feminist movements during the 80’s had very clear notions about radical democracy. Nevertheless, their role and narratives have been rendered invisible.  

A change of discourse?

In the Alicia Juica, Emilia Schneider and Javier Rebolledo’s interviews there is a clear reference to a hegemonic discourse that would have been installed in the society’s big layers by the conservative sectors. This discourse claims that looking backwards would avoid looking forward, simply speaking. Besides, they refer to a general disaffection to politics that is expressed in the large abstention rates in the electoral

43 Appendix 2 – Extract of interview Nº 11
44 Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº12, Nº 13 and Nº 14
appointments. The erosion of memory is pointed out as one of its causes, but also the educational system’s low quality.\textsuperscript{45}

On the other hand, this debate is alive, as shown by social movements such as the ones that pressured Mauricio Rojas, the Minister of Culture, to demission only 4 days after his nomination, or the wide media coverage it got. For the Director of the MMHR, “the museum suffered a menace” during these 4 days, which activated the people’s memory conscience as an ethical heritage, resulting in that several thousands of people gathered in the museum’s outbuildings to support its defence, much more than what other social demonstrations often mobilise.

The reference to the military coup’s 40\textsuperscript{th} anniversary commemoration in 2013, under the same presidency that is now ruling the country, has been made by the press coverage that this DP analyses\textsuperscript{46} and other cited academic works (Antenzana, 2015, Richard, 2017). That commemoration marked an important milestone because the president, who comes from the right-wing sector, recognised that they had been the dictatorship’s “passive accomplices”. At the same time, media did an extensive coverage of the event and showed, for the first time, unseen images and gave voice to the victims. Javier Rebolledo refers to that moment:

“It was like if we had made an implicit agreement between us that there is a kind of thing that we cannot permit ourselves, no matter what we think. And that was very beautiful. But then, the negationist discourses came back... it is cyclical. But in that opportunity, we won many people from the centre (political spectrum), who are not usually very political, but who got engaged through the affective aspect”. (Javier Rebolledo, interviewed on 16/11/2018)

Likewise, Richard (2017) sustains that it was, actually, the presence of the victims in the media that activated the memory that had been silenced, and that opened interesting debates around the civil responsibilities and the necessity of asking for forgiveness. On the other hand, the ephemeral character of TV and electronic media provoked these debates not to rest much within Chilean society (Richard, 2017, pp. 192-197).

\textsuperscript{45} Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 15 and Nº 16
\textsuperscript{46} e.g. Piñera pasa de los “complices pasivos” a la “democracia enferma”, La Tercera, 12/09/2018
In fact, the coup’s 45th anniversary commemoration has been very different, judging from the analysed press coverage carried out for this DP.

“The political context in which president Sebastián Piñera was elected last year is very different from the political context in which he was elected the first time. He has had to agree with the most extreme right-wing to get the votes and representatives needed to govern”. (Javier Rebolledo, interviewed on 16/11/2018)

Emergence of far-right movements

The national context is different, but it is important to also refer to an international context where the region is heading to the right with the emergence of far-right figures that praise the dictatorial Latin American past, such as the newly elected president in Brazil. This makes people wonder if the memory can play a role in enhancing or preventing the emergence of these movements.

“We go towards it (...). Everything we have done to build up this memory, to explain the country that the coup d’état did not come from Pinochet’s head nor from 4 generals, but it came from a previous action and was financed by other countries such as the USA, and that it did not only happen here but in other Latin American countries. (...). But we do not connect these issues, we do not understand causes and consequences. We think that the world was born now” (Alicia Juica, interviewed on 06/11/2018)

The influence of social media

In this battle for discourse, how do the emergence of new and social media contribute to the construction of collective memory? Again, the Minister of Culture’s episode demonstrates that social media allowed a wide spectrum of people to mobilise against him. However, the fact that alternative and social media cannot compete with the hegemonic position of mass media controlled by the traditional communication groups, the fragmentation of audiences, the manipulation of information or the presence of very conservative and far-right sectors within these media, are some of the concerns expressed in the interviews. As part of the expression of the social struggle, social media represent the different “memories” and some of the discussion evoked in this last part of the analysis may be found there, while alternative or counter-hegemonic

47 Also see Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 17 and Nº 18
48 Appendix 2 – Extracts of interviews Nº 19, Nº 20, Nº 21 and Nº 22
memories are in general absent in the traditional Chilean newspapers. If social media can operate as a counter-public to the elite’s discourse (Biker and Donk, 2017, p. 13), it is something that needs more research in the Chilean case.

This section has served to confront the hegemonic discourses of the main Chilean newspapers with those of other people who are also active agents of the past narrations. From this comparison, it is possible to argue that there are alternative discourses which are not present in those media. The discourses about memory in the main Chilean newspapers focus very much on the contextualisation of the coup d’état and the need of defending the institutional order. However, it is mainly through the absence of alternative voices in their pages that we can argue that they defend the status quo through memory and that they do not promote social change. On the contrary, the discourses evoked by other memory agents relate to memory visions that aim to enhance social change, either from the normative ethical heritage perspective that serves as a guide in other present challenges, or from a perspective of drawing on past repertoires for enhancing collective action. However, the construction of collective narratives of change through memory does not only confront the hegemonic discourses, but also new phenomena such as the role of social media and the emergence of far-right discourses.
Conclusion

45 years after a coup d’état that gave way to a dictatorship that committed serious human rights violations, and 30 years after the beginning of a transition that established a democratic system in the country, the way in which Chileans make sense of their traumatic past is a field of struggle. The theorisation of collective memory as a social construct that is deeply entwined with identity groups and rhetorical and political prospects for the future, has allowed me to argue that memory’s different approaches entail different projects for society.

Beyond the legal obligations to the rights of truth, justice and reparation that international law imposes on those states that have perpetrated human rights violations, this Degree Project accounts for the impossibility of reaching a consensus of meaning about the Chilean past. To put it differently, it accounts for the existence of different memories that participate in the social fight. How these memories serve as a resource for social change has been the backdrop for this DP.

Communication becomes a fundamental aspect here, because it is through it that memory’s social frameworks become concrete, allowing individuals to identify with them. They constantly draw on the past, and by doing so, they contribute to a project for the future. Therefore, this DP has tried answering the following questions: How do media, in concrete the main Chilean newspapers, contribute to the narration of the coup d’état and the military dictatorships? What are the discourses that they diffuse/construct about this period of the Chilean history? Do they allow alternative voices to be heard? And, which are the other counter-hegemonic discourses available in the Chilean society? To answer these questions and, as collective memory has been defined as a social construct, this DP has drawn on a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, also supported by interviews with relevant memory agents.

The first conclusion that can be established through the analysis of articles tackling memory on the press issued between 10th August and 15th September 2018 in the two main Chilean newspapers, is that they have contributed in the establishing of a hegemonic discourse linked to the political and economic elites in the country that does not question the foundations of the political and economic system of Chile, and limits the possibilities of social change. The discourses that are present in these media are
both constituted and constitutive of social practices related to the market system, the concentration of the media or the ideology of the owners of these corporations. The limited pluralism of ideas found on these newspapers is linked to the traditional parties’ different sensibilities and to a business model that has to reach these audiences (from the high or medium-high class spectrum). The CDA carried out for this research has allowed me to conclude that the way in which they tackled the issues related to memory reinforces the power relations that are established within society.

This analysis has also allowed me to account for the absence of alternative voices within the main newspapers in Chile. In spite of the fact that one of the issues (the one that deposed the Minister of Culture) was initiated by the civil society, they have barely been quoted during the analysed sample. Thus, important aspects of its agenda have been left out from the media discourses.

Despite the existence of hegemonic discourses about the past that do not support social change, this does not avoid the existence of other discourses within the Chilean society. Again, the case of the social mobilisation against Mauricio Rojas may serve as an example for the latent discourses that might emerge suddenly. This DP has allowed me to identify a range of discourses present in the Chilean society, through the interviews with social actors and memory agents that relate to social change. Taking into account this DP’s scope, it is important to clarify that the interviews do not intend to represent memory’s wide spectrum of approaches within the Chilean society. As an example, only one representative of “subaltern memories” has been interviewed which show evident important absences. Nevertheless, the interviews carried out for this DP allow me to contrast other views with the ones diffused by the press, and from this comparison, account for the memory struggles which fight for establishing their rhetorical and political projects for the future.

In this way, the analysis shows that the press coverage is mainly framed in debates around the need or not of contextualisation of the conditions that made the coup and the dictatorship possible, as well as the necessity of preserving the institutional democratic order. This confronts with other topics that have been raised in the interviews such as the need for truth, justice and reparation for the victims, the democratic system’s questioning that emerged from the post-dictatorship period, the use of memory either as ethical heritage or even as a resource for social action. These
memory struggles happen in a changing context where the influence of global and regional phenomena, such as the emergence of far-right populist discourses, and the increasing importance of social media within these debates. How this context influences the construction of collective memory in countries with a traumatic past associated to far-right dictatorships, makes for interesting research in the future.

The study of collective memory in Chile is not new in academic research and has been tackled from different perspectives, as shown in the literature review section. This DP has allowed me to go deeper into the different discourses about this particular period of the Chilean past, establishing concrete topics of struggle and situate them under a perspective of communication for social change. Moreover, it has contributed to the study of the media, and concretely the press, as another important vehicle of collective memory.

Whereas the content of the issues that cross memory struggles in Chile and that have been highlighted along this DP, it is important to add that more research is needed in order to tackle the form of communication. Journalistic genres have been proved to be an important site for the social framework construction of collective memory. Other media formats related to popular culture, TV series, songs, etc. can also be so. At the same time, how alternative groups work with memory issues at a communitarian level, may also allow for a deeper collective memory reflection under a communication for social change perspective.

The questions that lie behind this DP and other possible ramifications are not minor. How can collective memory, the meaning that we give to our traumatic past, serve to construct a world with more social justice? I would like to finish this DP by quoting one of the interviewees. Journalist Javier Rebolledo refers to the effect that the research on human rights violations which were committed during Pinochet’s dictatorship has had on him:

“My identity is not the same after having learnt all these cases. My opinion regarding the army, public institutions, education, health, regarding what happens in this country, what was done in this country... the revolution that took place during the dictatorship, a conservative revolution if you want, but a revolution after all. I realize that my thoughts would not be the same if I had not gone through all these trances, if I had not known all these things.” (Javier Rebolledo, interviewed on 2018/11/16)
References


APPENDIX 1 – ARTICLES ANALYSIS

Table № 1 – Number of articles related to the period of the coup d’état and the dictatorship in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* between 10th August and 15th September 2018, organised according to the big thematic coverages of this period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minister of Culture crisis, critics of the MMHR and the debates around the context of the coup</th>
<th>45th anniversary of the coup</th>
<th>Granting of penitentiary benefits to convicted of crimes against humanity</th>
<th>The suspicion of assassination of ex president Frei Montalva</th>
<th>30th anniversary of the plebiscite to democracy</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Mercurio</strong></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Tercera</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This DP focuses its analysis on the two first topics: the crisis around the Minister of Culture, the critics of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights and the debates around the contextualisation of the coup, and the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the coup.
Table Nº 2 – Number of articles according to its journalistic genre and number of articles highlighted on front page for the coverage of the Minister of Culture crisis, the critics of the MMHR and the debates around context and the 45th anniversary of the coup

### Minister of culture crisis, the MMHR and the context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th></th>
<th>Letters to the editor</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>On front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>News</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>In-depth articles</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>Columnists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Mercurio</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Tercera</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 45th anniversary of the coup

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th></th>
<th>Letters to the editor</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>On front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>News</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>In-depth articles</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>Columnists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Mercurio</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Tercera</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table Nº 3 – Number of articles according to thematic approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thematic approach</th>
<th>Number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debates around the context of the coup and the human rights violations</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of the coup</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauricio Rojas crisis (political aspect)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of democracy</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The need or not of memory</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The memory of the dictatorship in the armed forces</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of Augusto Pinochet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other museums of memory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of victims of human rights</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The teaching of the dictatorship in Chilean schools</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table N° 4 – Focus on editorial articles (example of the table used to categorise articles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Subgenre</th>
<th>Relevant vocabulary</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Argumentation/Approach</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>14.08.2018</td>
<td>Un episodio inquietante</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>cultural authoritarism, inquisitorial spirit</td>
<td>Debates around context of the coup and the human rights violations</td>
<td>Freedom of expression.</td>
<td>It disqualifies those who have criticised the need of contextualisation and defend their freedom of expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tercera</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>14.08.2018</td>
<td>Opiniones y libertad de expresión</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>intolerant society, freedom of expression as a value of democracy</td>
<td>Debates around context of the coup and the human rights violations</td>
<td>Freedom of expression. Equivalence with other left regimes.</td>
<td>The editorial contends that one sector wants to take over memory without any discussion and that this can derive in totalitarianism. It makes an analogy with exPresident Michel Bachelet who has been nominated as High Commissioner of Human Rights but never condemn Cuba and Venezuela regimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>23.08.2018</td>
<td>¿Museo de la democracia?</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>popula, democratic</td>
<td>Museum of Democracy</td>
<td>Importance of democracy but not only in a museum, as an alive process.</td>
<td>Defense of the idea of the Museum of the Democracy but warns towards its challenges: democracy is an alive concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tercera</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>25.08.2018</td>
<td>El contexto y la defensa de los DD.HH.</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>human rights, rights violations</td>
<td>Debates around context of the coup and the human rights violations</td>
<td>Human rights are unconditional. Equivalence with other left regimes</td>
<td>Against the left partisans who defend that violation of human rights do not have context but do not criticise the regimes of Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>26.08.2018</td>
<td>Definiciones culturales</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>Maurice Rojas crisis</td>
<td>Partisan politics approach</td>
<td>It praises the firsts days in office of the new Minister of Culture and her technical profile.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tercera</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>26.08.2018</td>
<td>El controvertido Museo de la Democracia</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>Museum of Democracy</td>
<td>Against politicization of memory and the museum of democracy</td>
<td>Against the creation of a Museum of Democracy, because the project lacks of political consensus in its definition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tercera</td>
<td>Mauricio Rojas, the MMHR and context</td>
<td>08.09.2018</td>
<td>Defensa de los derechos humanos sin contexto</td>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>human rights violations</td>
<td>Debates around context of the coup and the human rights violations</td>
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APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEWS

Interview 1 – Alicia Juica, from the Association of Relatives of Detained and Disappeared people (Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos, AFDD), interviewed on 11/06/2019.

Background

Alicia Juica is the Communication Manager of the AFDD and daughter of Mario Juica Vega, detained and disappeared on 9th August 1974. The AFDD is one of the main associations of relatives of victims of the dictatorship. It was officially created in 1975 under the protection of the Comité Pro Paz, first, and the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, when the first was closed. It regrouped mainly women, mothers and wives that from the beginning of the dictatorship met outside the detention centres asking for their relatives. During the dictatorship the association focused on reclaiming the whereabouts of their relatives through different protests, hunger strikes, judicial actions and international awareness-raising. With the end of the dictatorship, they enlarge their claims to demands of justice against the perpetrators as well as state support for the relatives of the victims. They march every Friday in front of the presidential palace to fight impunity.

Questionnaire

- What are the objectives of the association?
- What are its main demands regarding truth, justice and reparation?
- Why is it important to remember?
- How does the dictatorship relate to present political and social struggles?
- What are the reasons why it is difficult to link the past with the present?
- Do you think that a character like Bolsonaro could emerge in the Chilean context?
- After the transition, do you think that the debates around memory have more presence in the public sphere?
- How do you communicate about your struggles?
- Do social media contribute to diffuse your messages?
- What is the role of the traditional media? Do you feel represented by them? Do you have access to them?
- What do you think about the Mauricio Rojas episode?
Interview 2 – Francisco Estévez, Executive Director of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights, interviewed on 11/13/2018

Background

Francisco Estévez was appointed director of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in July 2017. He is a historian and has received the prize UNESCO-Mandajeet Singh 2014 for the promotion of tolerance and non-violence. The Museum of Memory and Human Rights was opened in January 2010 in order to render visible the human rights violations committed by the Chilean state between 1973 and 1990 in accordance with the recommendations of Truth Commissions hold in the country. At the same time, it seeks to stimulate reflection and debate so that those events do not happen “ever again”. It is run by an independent Foundation formed by representatives of the academia and the human rights sector, but financed by the State. The museum has been the target of recurrent criticisms since its opening -especially from the right wing sectors- mainly because it does not include the 1970-1973 period as the context in which the coup d’état took place in 1973.

Questionnaire

• What is the objective of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights?
• Why is it important to remember?
• How does the dictatorship period relate to the actual political and social context, and how does the museum dialogues with these issues?
• The museum has received many accusations of being politically biased. Does the Chilean state have a state public policy around memory? What would this public policy lack?
• What is your opinion about the comments of Mauricio Rojas and the crisis it triggered?
• Did you expect so much support?
• Do you think that the mobilisation was due to the media? Or were there other factors?
• What is the role of traditional media today? Do you think they still have the power of influencing politics?
• Is it easy to reach traditional media in order to diffuse Museums activities?
• And the role of social media?
• How do you think younger generations relate to the memory that they do not have experienced? Will they protect this legacy?
• What is the relationship between memory and the emergence of far right movements?
Interview Nº3 – Javier Rebolledo, journalist and writer specialised in human rights violations, interviewed on 11/16/2018

Background

He has worked as journalist several publications (La Nación Domingo, The Clinic, Siete +7) where he specialised in the research of human rights violations, first related to child rights, and then, in the violations of human rights during the dictatorship in Chile. After the state publication La Nación Domingo was closed in the first government of Sebastián Piñera, he devoted himself to the writing of books about the crimes of the dictatorship and the role of different civil and political actors: La trilogía de los cuervos, Camaleón and Los hijos del frio.

Questionnaire

• You have devoted a great part of your work to the research of the dictatorship crimes and the role of different actors during that period. How did you come to that topic?
• Many people say that they do not want to look to the past, because of the pain it causes, or for not breaking with social cohesion, or because there are more important problems at present. Why is it important to remember today?
• Do you think then that people want to remember?
• How do you connect with those people?
• What is the role of communication for truth, justice and reparation?
• Did you find support from your editors in order to carry out your research?
• Do you think media have evolved in their discourses about the dictatorship?
• What do you think about the public policies of memory?
• What is your opinion of traditional media covering the issues around the coup and the dictatorship?
• What is the role of social media in this debate? Do you think they were important in the Mauricio Rojas crisis?
• How do think the young people that did not experience the dictatorship relate to it? Is it possible to reach them as an audience?
• Do you think that in Chile, despite its recent past, is it possible the emergence of far-right movements?
Interview 4 – Emilia Schneider, student, feminist and transgender activist, interviewed on 12/13/2018

Background

Emilia Schneider is a Law Student of the University of Chile, member of the Federation of Students (FECH) and militant of the political party Izquierda Autónoma (Autonomous Left), which is integrated in the parties’ coalition Frente Amplio (Broad Front). She was the spokesperson of the “feminist occupation” of the Law School of the University of Chile and spokesperson for the 8th March coordination group. Student movements have been leading latest social protest in Chile, claiming for the improvement and free access to education. The first wave took place in 2006 under Michel Bachelet’s government (Concertación) and was led by secondary school students. The second wave in 2011 happened along with other “occupy movements” around the globe and manage to involve other social movements in Chile, making the scope of the protests broader. The protests criticised the inequalities produced by the socio-economic system inherited from the Pinochet dictatorship, and gave birth to several new political parties that have regrouped under the coalition Frente Amplio. This coalition obtained more than 20% of the votes in last presidential and parliamentarian elections of November 2017. Last 2018 has been also an active year for the student movements, where they have taken the voice of feminist struggles and denounced the situations of harassment and machismo in the Chilean universities.

Questionnaire

• You were born in democracy. How did you learn about the dictatorship?
• Do you think it is an open struggle today?
• How is this period of history related to present socio-political struggles? Do social movements make this link?
• Is it possible to draw on memory to reach people when the topic is so polarised?
• Is memory a resource for activism?
• Do subaltern memories find a space in the narration of collective memory in Chile?
• What is the role of traditional media in the construction of discourses around collective memory?
• What tools do you use as activist to break this barrier?
• What is the role of social media in these struggles?
• Do you think memory is linked to the emergence of new far right movements? Do you think that this phenomenon would be possible in Chile?
Extracts of the interviews referenced in the text

Extract Nº 1 – Javier Rebolledo – On the lack of space for research

There is not much space for research, because research is expensive and does not give results in the short term. To think of a media of these characteristics, you should be thinking about something that is not only offered and bought, but you have to be thinking of a public cultural investment. And there is no such policy from the government. And the rest of the media work as private companies, with businessmen, mega-entrepreneurs, as media owners who understand the importance of the media. The communication company, the radio or the channel they own is only one among many other companies. So, the question is, why would a businessman, with interests in 20 companies - that means practically in all social and economic sectors - have a journalist who can become a loaded weapon against him at some point? That gives you a good indicator of the types of topics covered by the media here in Chile.

Extract Nº 2 – Francisco Estévez – On the difficulty of media access

It is not easy to reach the media. With El Mercurio we have had a distancing relationship. El Mercurio publishes little on the Museum. When it has done so, it has been because the news has been too big, and not having it would imply being uninformed. Recently, we made an exhibition with declassified secret archives from the North American agencies. And they showed how El Mercurio had been part of the international plot to make way for a coup in Chile and to maintain the dictatorship. That was in the Museum. It is evident that for El Mercurio we are not easy because this is a museum that, when talking about memory, also talks about how El Mercurio played a role that favored the coup d’État and the maintenance of the dictatorship. Hence, there is not a fluid relationship.

Extract Nº 3 – Alicia Juica – On the difficulty of media access

The traditional media – television, radio and press –, are in the hands of the powerful today. Hence, they are not the voice of the people. As an association we go to the media today. However, rather than the media, today it is the journalist who by his own personal history, by his own sensibility engages or not with this type of topics. But, as for commemorations, trials … that’s not news anymore! (...) I do not feel that the media connect with the problems of the present that have their origin in the past, like the AFPs, because if they did, people would understand.

Extract Nº 4 – Emilia Schneider – On the difficulty of media access

Today it is very difficult to dispute something in the Chilean media. That is why the new social movements had to adopt other ways of breaking into the debate, such as university occupations, which is something unavoidable. But thinking about the voices that exist in Chilean media today, there are none social voices, there are parliamentary, ministerial voices, of the Executive power, of the legislative power. But there are no
voices of social movements that are given a space. (...) There are some alternative media that work, but in Chile, you have the problem that the media system is very monopolised and it is very difficult for alternative media to compete against them. Somehow, all newspapers and TV channels belong to the same families from the right or Concertación sectors, and they nourish this binomial politics.

Extract Nº 5 – Emilia Schneider – On the maintaining of the economic system after the dictatorship

There is a part of society that is ignored, and it suffers a deep unease because even if the dictatorship fell, its living conditions did not improve, nor did their rights. There was an integration through consumption. Because the Concertación administration followed the same political line of the dictatorship, that is, the establishment of a neoliberal system in Chile. We rose up because it was inconceivable for us that education was not free. But also, other previous generations’ social activists rose up—what made the student mobilisation so important—because of those unfulfilled promises made by the left calling for a NO-to-the-dictatorship vote and promised a future of rights, which ended up being a marketed future, more precarious, more violent, more conservative.

Extract Nº 6 – Javier Rebolledo – On the maintaining of the economic system after the dictatorship

When the dictatorship realizes that the Communist Party is willing to kill Pinochet (the attack on Pinochet failed, but also a massive arms internment failed in Carrizal Bajo, which was almost to make a revolution with 2 million ammunition)\(^49\), the negotiations between the right and the centre-left sped up under the premises of not touching the socio-economic model that had been established in the country since the 80’s. What was done here from 1980 was a total revolution, through a group of people, like Miguel Kast and other people that are now in government like Cristian Larroulet. This silent revolution is now causing much havoc. This was part of the claims of the 2006 student movement, which for the first time protested against the economic model implemented between 1980 and 1990 by these Chicago Boys, which included education, health, the pension system, road concessions, the change of the mining system, the labour system… everything you can imagine, they erased it in a stroke. In my book *A la sombra de los cuervos* (*Under the ravens’ shadow*), I discussed each of these changes in detail and how these very catholic guys, went from being ultraconservative in the values and economic aspects, to be ultraconservative in the values aspect and ultraliberals in the economic one.

Extract Nº 7 – Francisco Estévez – On the pending tasks for truth, justice and reparations

One of the great difficulties that we face is the systematic destruction of the archives that the dictatorship carried out, resulting in that those files never were known. And, we do not know if there still are secret files that contain information. The big question

that remains unanswered, is what happened to the fate of the disappeared detainees. Presumably, we think they were thrown into the sea or that their bodies were eliminated in some way, but there is no record of what happened to them. And that remains a pending pain for those who wonder where they are.

Extract of interview Nº 8 – Alicia Juica - On the request for truth, justice and reparations

Today in 2019 the group demands justice mainly because truth is difficult to obtain due to the silence agreement the perpetrators have made. We claim for justice for our disappeared detainees but with penalties that correspond to the crimes they committed. Because today the penalties vary from 5 to 15 years for having killed a number of people, for having had an illegal association, for having tortured, for having kidnapped .... In addition to having short sentences, they have been arrested very late, when they have spent most of their lives in freedom. And they are also condemned to be in a prison of privileges. If they were like any other Chilean, they would be in a common prison. And it is not revenge as some try to say. Justice is a legacy that is left to the country, to humanity. No murder can go unpunished.

Extract of interview Nº 9 – Javier Rebolledo – On the slowness of justice

Judiciary processes started in 1998, 2000, 2001, for the most part. And we are in 2018 and many of these processes are still in a summary state. Others have sentence in the first instance. Later comes the appeal, a second instance a third instance. That means that 20 or 25 years may run without knowing who the perpetrators were, because the processes are under summary secret. And from there to have the sentence, it can easily be other 4 years. That means that yes, there are a part of the crimes against humanity perpetrators that are in Punta Peuco prison, but others that will never pay their duties because they have already died or because of humanitarian reasons... When we hear about those who are arguing humanitarian reasons to get penitentiary benefits, it is people that have not been more that 5 years in prison.

Extract of interview Nº 10 – Francisco Estévez – On the civil responsibilities in the coup and the dictatorship

Another great lack of truth is that in Chile there is no determination of responsibilities of civilians, with power –with economic power, with political power– who committed crimes, or were linked, or involved in the violation of human rights. Because here there was a civil-military conspiracy to carry out the coup d’état, and also a civil-military conspiracy for the repression and the maintenance of the dictatorship. The civil part is the part that is still hidden, let’s say. Therefore, yes, there is still a way to walk, not a little, in this country, for the truth to be known.

Extract of interview Nº11 – Emilia Schneider – On dissident memories

In Chile, the first mobilisations against the dictatorship were led by the feminist movement. There was such a disappearance of leaders and political cadres from the
Chilean left, who were mostly men, that feminists came to lead that process. Women were spearheads in the process of popular mobilization of the dictatorship. This is very invisible, largely because of the feminist silence with the return to democracy and the division that existed between the feminists who joined the Concertación administration and those who decided to go on the autonomous route. The feminists gave very clear indications of what the recovery of democracy in Chile had to be. From the notion of radical democracy, of a democracy with rights, of a democracy that goes beyond the exercise of the vote no matter how important that may be.

Concerning sexual dissidences, there is a clearer or more popular reference with the figure of Pedro Lemebel and the “Apocalypse Mares”, which consists in a legacy of performative activism, closely linked to art. Within the organized dissidence, there is a rescue of memory, but it is made out of us that already are activists or militants. Because it is useful to think about an activism that comes from the institutional margins.

**Extract of interview Nº 12 – Emilia Schneider – On the hegemonic discourse of the right**

I believe that there is a hegemony that the right has built for years, of which the left from the period of the return to democracy has been accomplice. Now, there are many people who say that there is resentment, that things have already been done and now let’s move forward. And I believe that this is a discourse that the right and the most ultraconservative sectors of the country have known how to install, or at least how to put it as an acceptable pole in the debate.

**Extract of interview Nº 13 Alicia Juica – On the hegemonic discourses of the right**

I believe that their great triumph has been to erase a little bit with this story that we are trying to recover. I think their discourses have an effect on people, and people have kept the images of the subversive, the internal enemy into their imaginary. Today the one who fights in the schools is a terrorist, the one who throws the Molotov… Then, the idea that stays in the people is that the social fighter is a criminal.

**Extract of interview Nº 14 – Javier Rebolledo - On the hegemonic discourses of the right**

Think about who says that looking to the past opens, needlessly, wounds or that it breaks social cohesion. There is a very good indicator of why they say this. This is a right wing discourse. Not even from the Christian Democracy. As they won this fight, the do not want things to be changed.

**Extract of interview Nº 15 – Javier Rebolledo - On the political disaffection of the population**

In Chile there is a big citizens mass that do not attach to any ideology and that rather moves according to their factual needs. And this is related to many factors, but one important one is the quality of the education system.
**Extract of interview Nº 16 – Emilia Schneider – On the resource of memory for explaining present struggles**

I believe that memory is very important. I think that for current social movements it is hard to keep in mind that memory of what happened. And it’s not just to have it as a symbolism, or as an identity tradition, but because it makes a lot of sense for the struggles of the present. Where are the foundations of Chilean neoliberalism? Where are the foundations of the Chilean State that is sustained in these speeches that legitimize the path of violence as closure of the political debate?

**Extract of interview Nº 17 – Francisco Estévez – On the resource of memory and human rights for fighting far-rights movements**

We must bear in mind that nationalists and militarists also have their memories. And for them it is necessary to protect certain traditions, certain history, certain truths. But as the front of the museum says, this is the Museum of Memory and Human Rights. The memory that we seek is the one that relates to human rights. I believe that this is a challenge of great urgency in the present, because there are movements that go against democracy, against human rights and, consequently, they do not agree at all with this of linking memory and human rights. And for them a museum like this is a threat to their worldview. Therefore, you do need a museum of this type or memory sites. In other words, the absence of a memory policy by the State or the failure to exercise the right to memory by citizens facilitates the emergence of authoritarian, nationalist, militarist alternatives, etc.

**Extract of interview Nº 18 – Emilia Schneider – On the emergence of far-right movements**

I believe that we are on the way to a future presidential election where the extreme right will have more weight. Today it is not something that is so popular to say “I am with the dictatorship”, but it is becoming something that neither is so unpopular. And for example, (José Antonio) Kast, who represents the most conservative right in Chile, took a worryingly high percentage in the last elections and has been growing.

**Extract of interview Nº19 – Alicia Juica – On the role of social media**

Social media give little capacity to investigate for generating one’s own criteria and opinion, because one just copies and shares others’ opinions. Sometimes I have shared things on Facebook without even reading them well, and then I thought, how could I share it? (...) When they are used wrongly, social media can be like shooting a bullet against oneself. They distort stories that quickly start to spread and that become installed as a truth. And how can this be repaired? The mistakes can replicate so much that you cannot correct them anymore.
Extract of interview Nº 20 – Francisco Estévez – On the role of social media

Social media are part of the social and political fight within the country. In social media, power is better distributed compared to the established traditional media where power is not distributed. But it is also important to note that social media are the expression of very conservative, very violent and anti-rights movements, that are also part of communication powers, that were, for example, decisive in the triumph of Bolsonaro in Brazil. And they could eventually be so for an extreme right candidate in Chile.

Extract of interview Nº 21 – Javier Rebolledo – On the role of social media

It is evident that social media have enhanced a democratization of information. But they also raise many questions that have to do with what one learns in college about the responsibility of information. I have found many of these so-called fake news. And there is a lot of ideology mixed, which does not necessarily have to do with rigor or information. And that is complicated because it is against the profession, it is against journalism.

Extract of interview Nº 22 – Emilia Schneider – On the role of social media

Social media have been a key aspect to break the informative barrier. In the universities we are constantly doing newsletters, podcasts... As it is so difficult to install debates in Chile through other means, we have to go little by little, from simply speaking with other people in the street. But it is very difficult to make a policy of mass media that is pointing to a social transformation, including social media. Because suddenly the left overestimates the audience it reaches, that are the ones that are already convinced... and not the majority of this country. Because the hegemony over this majority is the hands of the right and the most conservative sectors.