

The Representation of the Political Antagonist During the Chilean Dictatorship in Television Fiction*

La representación en la ficción televisiva del antagonista político en la dictadura chilena

Javiera del Valle

Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile
javiera.delvalle.a@gmail.com

Abstract

*This investigation analyzed the representation of the political antagonist at the series *Los 80* and *Los Archivos del Cardenal*. For this it was explored the concept of dictatorship; political antagonism; the social representations; narrative genre and television fiction. The methodology used it is one of a qualitative character, through a theme analysis of the chapters. It was seen that because of the different constructions of the political conflict, the violent and repressive elements of the political antagonist of *Los 80* were nuanced, while in *Los Archivos del Cardenal*, those representations tend to be similar to that of a villain. While the argumentative thread of *Los 80* was based on the life experiences and conflicts that are caused by the everydayness of a family and does not try to expose the violations to human rights, *Los Archivos del Cardenal* puts an special emphasis on those events, because it is based on real events.*

Keywords

Dictatorship; political antagonism; television; Los 80; Los Archivos del Cardenal

Resumen

Esta investigación analiza la representación del antagonista político en las series *Los 80* y *Los Archivos del Cardenal*. Se indaga en el concepto de dictadura, antagonismo político, representaciones sociales, género narrativo y ficción televisiva. La metodología utilizada es de carácter cualitativo, mediante un análisis temático de los capítulos. Se constata que por sus diferentes construcciones de conflicto político, los elementos represivos y violentos del antagonista político en *Los 80* son matizados, mientras que en *Los Archivos del Cardenal*, la representación de ellos tiende a asemejarse a la de un villano. El hilo argumental de *Los 80* se basa en las vivencias y conflictos que se desprenden de la cotidianidad de una familia y no busca exponer las violaciones a derechos humanos, en cambio *Los Archivos del Cardenal* pone especial énfasis en la crudeza de la representación de dichos episodios, porque está basada en hechos reales.

Palabras clave

Dictadura; antagonista político; televisión; Los 80; Los Archivos del Cardenal

Recibido: 16/04/18 - Aceptado: 18/06/2018 - Publicado: 31/12/2018
DOI: 10.5354/0719-1529.2018.49033

* Research financed by Fondecyt Project No. 1160050 "Images of memory: generational interpretations of TV fiction series on Chile's recent past".

1. Introduction

Approximately 40 years after the Chilean government's military overthrow, 2 fiction series set during the dictatorship premiere: *Los Archivos del Cardenal* (LADC, 2011-2014, TVN)¹; and *Los 80* (2008-2014, Canal 13). Although both were created to compete for audiences during primetime, they were different. While *Los 80* addressed the daily life of a family during that decade and invited viewers to re-live their recent history; *LADC* sought to promote awareness of human rights by portraying the work of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad² (Schlotterbeck, 2014).

Their coming about could be explained by the change in the correlation of social forces, the proliferation of the internet and social networks; the attempt to rescue the credibility of media after their cover-up role during the dictatorship (Antezana, 2015); and the opening of a market that stimulated the creation of products that bring back memories and the past (Schlotterbeck, 2014). These are conditioned to the political and social time in which they were produced. *Los 80* stands out for representing a patriarchal family as its identifying element, in the context of Chile's Bicentenary celebration; while *LADC* highlights the search for justice and the supporting role that women of the era played, by positioning one as the protagonist of the series in the commemoration of the 40 years since the military overthrow (Mateos-Pérez & Ochoa, 2016).

Television has an effect on the creation of a collective imaginary. The act of choosing some events over others is typical of communication media. Televised stories contribute to building collective memories that allow the public to build impressions and learn about the overthrow (Antezana, 2015). Plus, mass communication media are the first source of political and social definitions, in addition to the existence of belief systems and producing ideological effects, given the structure of the messages represents the interests of the dominant power structure (D'Adamo, García & Freidenberg, 2007).

From a cultural studies perspective, representations of the past would be an interpretive creation –and not just one-, as manner of illustration, of something that already existed. In this sense, representation in television fiction is part of a production process, an exteriorization of meaning via symbolic systems, among the members of a culture (Rodríguez, 2016).

Memories are made in the interaction with groups to which people belong and individual memory is based on the sociocultural interpretation (Baer, 2010). Here lies the importance of questioning the representations on the dictatorship as these can remain in the memory and affect how recent history is understood and remembered.

It is necessary to consider that fiction stories have allowed for treatment of what's intolerable, given that in fiction cruelty is nuanced, appearing as an option to make the horror more tolerable (Antezana, 2015). This research has proposed questioning the representation of political antagonism in the fiction series *Los 80* and *LADC*. Its development responds as to how political antagonism of the dictatorship is represented in *Los 80* and *LADC*. Due to its different constructions of political conflict, the violent and repressive elements of political antagonism in *Los 80* are nuanced, while in *LADC*, their representation tends to seem like that of a villain.

2. Theoretical Framework

Television has an effect on the creation of the collective imaginary and representations of the world (Antezana, 2015), as well as on political and social definitions (D'Adamo, García & Freidenberg, 2007). Therefore, representations of the dictatorship influence the social representations of recent history.

Social representations influence the way to see and appreciate the world, guiding pre-

disposition and behavior in regards to social objects. Anytime cognitive, symbolic and emotional content is used, it reflects how people think and organize their daily lives. It's a result of the communicative and discursive processes, characterizing the way members of a group think, which leads to a common body of knowledge, common sense, and justification models (Prado & Krause, 2004).

Representations on televised fiction affect the production and exteriorization of meanings among the members of a culture (Rodríguez, 2016). The fiction genre is one of the TV genres and corresponds to entertainment programming (TIC, 2008). It is characterized for expressing and informing. It plays a role in the restitution of the past (Chamorro, 2014), as it serves, just like a traditional text on history, to express diverse nuances and points of view, as well as questioning and reflecting (Rodríguez, 2016).

Fiction series are a subgenre and often have specific plots per episode and others that are longer. Just like almost all television products, they have a script, where there are indications as to all the elements that should appear in the program (TIC, 2008). In terms of analysis, a narrative structure (contained in the script) is comprised of: 1. an order of events that advances towards an end; 2. thematic unity in regards to an actor-subject, that organizes the other elements; 3. transformation, that shows changes in the subjects and allows for reinterpretation of certain stories; 4. process, where the transformation occurs and shows a temporary continuum from the beginning to the end, being mainly developed in three moments³; 5. narrative causality and plot that involves the causal relationships between events, justifying and giving meaning to the narration; and 6. final evaluation, where all the events lead towards an end, even implying a moral principle (Marimón-Llorca, 2008).

Fundamental to a narrative structure are "the character, the action and the conflict" (Galán, 2007:1). The character is a fundamental

element of the narrative text, that can be defined as "everything that shows or supports, predominantly and clearly standing out from the rest, the plot in a specific audiovisual content" (López-Sánchez, Tur-Viñes & Galicia, 2010). Often used as reference are classic characters from 19th century literature, that must: connect to the story and vice versa; distinguish themselves from another; be contradictory, to give volume and credibility; as well as being chosen and organized in way that they contrast in order to make their qualities stand out as much as possible (Pérez, 2005). In addition, characters can be categorized into 4 types according to function: (1) main, like the protagonist, antagonist and the one of romantic interest; (2) supporting, like the confidant, the catalyst; (3) of contrast, that adds a new dimension; (4) and the thematic (Seger en Pérez, 2005).

The protagonist is defined based on exclusive characteristics that only correspond to him; focuses the story; organizes it; is who provides the largest amount of information; autonomous; is present in the moments of most climax; and is whom the viewer most identifies with, given that he has traits that are funny, flattering and seductive. In classic drama, the protagonist is morally good, although currently tends to be rebellious and outside the law (Pérez, 2005).

The antagonist appears in contrast to the protagonist and he must face him in order to achieve his objective. It can be a person, a group of people, an event or a catastrophe. If it is characterized by a person, he must be created by giving him seductive and fascinating qualities, as well as skills and intelligence. Another one of his features is that he has reasons for acting the way he does and for opposing the protagonist. He is not just a simple fool who enjoys being bad (Pérez, 2005) and he can even be good, despite representing an obstacle for the protagonist (Linde & Nevado, 2016).

Finally, among the antagonists there is a subgroup: the villains. They are largely narcissists,

incapable of respecting others or recognizing their humanity (Pérez, 2005). They represent the main obstacle that the hero must overcome and are different “both in their ethics (...), and their physical appearance” (Linde & Nevado, 2016: 56). Different from a common antagonist, this one opposes the protagonist for perverse reasons and not only for his narrative function in the story. The villain often manipulates or tricks the weakest and has a traumatic past that made him abandon the moral code, becoming distorted and strange (Linde & Nevado 2016). He also has charisma and leadership. They are narcissistic, intelligent and unpredictable (Morrell in Linde & Nevado, 2016).

Nevertheless, this classic stereotype of villains has been changing. North American productions have created a representation of a villain that is more ambiguous, polyhedral and close to identification with the viewer, via mitigation of the features of evil by using resources like ridiculization, or via virtues or positive attitudes. Many of his actions are morally justified and without a doubt the limits between hero and villain are more and more blurred (Linde & Nevado, 2016).

Although we have discussed the constitutive characteristics of antagonists narratively speaking, the object of study is the representation of the political antagonist. Thus, a relevant component is the notion of political antagonism that is developed by Laclau and Mouffe (1987) and whose origin lies in the post-functionalist⁴ thought (Stoessel, 2010).

Political antagonism comes from the presence of contradictory discursive planes between the articulating and the articulated in an attempt at negotiation to achieve hegemony (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987). In this sense, the constitution of the discourse is the attempt to dominate the field of discursivity and stop the flow of differences building a center (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987).

Conflictive relationships between groups are thus built as a result of a differentiation with

the other. According to Mouffe (2007), conflicts can take on 2 forms: antagonism, where what is at stake is the struggle between opposites that cannot be reconciled and where one must be suppressed; and the agonism, a pluralist way of facing the opponent, where, despite the stances between us and them cannot be reconciled rationally, legitimate, democratic mechanisms are sought to solve disputes. If there were no confrontation between the different stances, politics would be in danger, given that the antagonistic aspect is always present, even when there is an agonistic relationship (Mouffe, 1999).

In regards to the aforementioned, in every society there are coexisting partially antagonistic memories, given each one can suggest different or contradictory meanings; and in Chile the antagonistic representations of the dictatorship continue to today (Waldman, 2009). When it comes to dictatorships, Collier (1985) proposes that the appearance of authoritative repressive governments responds to the tension among the dependent, capitalist modernization which has developed in the region. It began in Chile when the constitutional government of Salvador Allende was overthrown by a coup d'état at the hands of a military junta on September 11th, 1973. Pinochet held power for almost 18 years and carried out politically and economically repressive actions (Padilla, 2005). The dictatorship was characterized by the “restriction of communication media, political party suppression, control of the judicial branch and repression of members and supporters of the previous government” (Waldman, 2009:10).

Chilean authoritarianism is known for its high level of repression, nearing a true terrorism of the State (O'Donell, 1989). Repression can be defined as the use or threat of coercion in various degrees, applied on behalf of governments on opponents in order to weaken their resistance. They are mechanisms that point to the control and the punishment of ideologically, politically, socially or morally deviant behavior and nears the notion of political violence. In addition, it can imply phy-

sical elimination, state control of public and private behavior and even the imposition of moral codes (González, 2006).

Without a doubt, the cruelest aspect of the Chilean dictatorship is the human rights violations committed "exercising like a systematic policy of death, torture, forced disappearance, exile, exoneration and persecution of dissident citizens, installing a climate of constant fear and threat throughout the population" (Cornejo, Reyes, Villarroel & Rocha, 2013) and the worst abuses, of both the individual and social rights of modern Chile occurred as a result of the military overthrow of Allende led by Pinochet (Padilla, 2005). For this reason, the opinions of the dictatorship vary, from different sectors of society (Cornejo, Reyes, Villarroel & Rocha, 2013) and it is a historical point of reference that articulates public and private discourses making even today dialogue difficult between them (Prado & Krause, 2004).

3. Methodology

This investigation is qualitative, as it is developed inductively; using an interpretive perspective; and the data analysis was performed using the description of audiovisual elements (Hernández, Fernández-Collado & Baptista, 2006). When working with concepts that derive from different disciplines, a theoretic and methodological conciliation must be performed. A transversal analysis was performed between various disciplines from a geometric disciplinary standpoint, where a possible validation of knowledge can be performed, by way of methodological-theoretical frameworks (Charaudeau, 2003).

The universe of all the episodes of each series was developed based on two samples: the specific, via a non-random selection of 19 episodes from both series (*Los Archivos de Cardenal* (6) and *Los 80* (13)), where some political antagonistic conflict is represented;

and the general, performed based on a previous analysis, that gathered the most important aspects as to each one of the seasons of the series analyzed, to provide additional information for the analysis, given that selecting some episodes and not other could omit an important part of the plot, development of the events, and transformation of the characters.

The gathering of information was carried out with the support of matrixes or analysis forms (Caseti & Di Chio, 1999), on which main themes were recorded. Four types of matrixes were used, which registered information from general to specific: the first⁵ showed the general aspects of each season; the second was built to ratify the presence of antagonistic moments in each season; the third⁶ was used for the analysis of episodes intentionally chosen as sample; and the fourth organized the summary of the most important characteristics of each political antagonist and their evolution in the story. In addition, the codification of the information was performed via a thematic analysis, that serves to "use a wide variety of types of information in a systematic way" (Fraga, Maidana, Paredes & Vega, 2007: 4).

It is important to mention that the term "political antagonists" included civilian and uniformed characters that adhere to the dictatorship and take part in politically antagonistic events, that are such due to the conflict's irreconcilable nature. Thus, to identify the type of antagonism represented, there are two important points in the analysis: if the antagonistic moment involves physical aggression or is purely verbal⁷; and if there is violence, if it features weapons or not. Although in the theoretical framework, political violence linked to repression, in terms of the analysis, will be related to the antagonistic moment, where via the use of force and violence, one plans to eradicate another irreconcilable opponent and the use or no use of weapons develops different types of conflicts with their political opponent.

4. Analysis

First, a brief summary of each series is presented, followed by a summary of the characterization and evolution of the political antagonists by way of a table⁸ detailing their most important characteristics. Later, they are categorized in order to analyze them as groups of people with characteristics, transformations, political beliefs, motivations, objectives, ways of relating with their political opponent and common practices. Character categorizing was carried out using 2 dimensions: their level of ideological entrenchment and the relationship they develop with their political opponent, that can range from verbal confrontations to the use of force. After that, types of political conflict are developed considering aspects like the presence of contradictory discursive superficialities, repression, violence, human rights violations, kidnappings, etc. Based on this, a typology is made based on an axis: the verbal-armed. Here is where the type of conflict developed is identified, which can range from slightly violent contradictory discursive confrontation, in terms of verbal; to moments where there is physical violence via attac-

ks, torture, kidnapping and murder of political opponents, that for the desire to exterminate the other, more decisive antagonistic moments occur.

4.1. Analysis of *Los 80*

Los 80 is based on the life of the Herreras: a middle-class Chilean family during the dictatorship. They are comprised of a married couple, Ana and Juan, together with their 4 children: Claudia, Martín, Félix and Anita. The majority of the problems that surround the Herrera Family have to do with daily life. Although there are antagonistic conflicts between characters of different ideological beliefs, the moment that has most analytical value in terms of this investigation is when Juan and Ana's oldest daughter becomes romantically involved with a member of the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (FPMR⁹), causing the large political antagonistic conflict that affects the Herreras, upon the arrival of Pedro, the supposed lost brother of Juan who turns out to be an agent of the CNI¹⁰.

Table 1: Political antagonists of *Los 80*

Name	Role	Objectives and motivations	Ideological Entrenchment	Relation with opponent	Antagonistic moments	Transformations	Mitigation
Agent Tapia (Pedro Herrera)	Undercover CNI agent	Seeking information on the whereabouts of Gabriel and Claudia to defeat the FPMR	High	Persecution and extermination	Murders Gabriel, kidnaps Claudia	Yes	Returns Claudia, gives his records to Juan, wants to leave the CNI.
Don Genaro	Store owner	In favor of dictatorship for economic gain	High	Close, but strong rejection via verbal confrontation	verbal	No	Humor and closeness with children

Martín Herrera	Child in Herrera Family	FACH pilot	Low	Close and strong rejection via verbal confrontation	verbal	Yes	Adopts discourse against the dictatorship
Doña Imelda	neighbor	In favor of dictatorship	High	Distant	No	No	Friendly with children; difficult family situation
Don Farid	Boss/partner Juan	Economic prosperity	High	Undetermined	No	No	Generous and shows solidarity
Compañero Gabriel	Union Leader	Undetermined	Undetermined	Close	No	No	No
Bigote and Muñeco	CNI agents	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Aggression	Stop and hit Juan and Exequiel	No	Lets Juan escape
Agents on mission in Argentina	CNI Agent	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Persecution attempt to exterminate	Armed confrontation with FPMR members	No	No
CNI Superior	CNI Agent	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Delegates crimes of torture, persecution and extermination	No	No	Ridiculization
Agent Martínez	CNI Agent	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Direct	Murders Tapia	No	No
Police Officers	CNI Agent	Order	Undetermined	Direct, repression	No	No	Distance from human rights abuses

Source: Made by author based on analysis.

In *Los 80* there are 3 types of political antagonists. The first type has a low ideological entrenchment and develops a verbal antagonism. This character is Martín Herrera, who initially has a favorable view of the dictatorship, influenced by his vocation as a pilot for the armed forces (FACH). His discourse is pro-government, yet without an ideological entrenchment that would make such thoughts permanent. Upon leaving the institution, Martín sees the crimes committed and turns against the institution (See Table 1).

The second type of political antagonist engages in verbal conflict, with heavy ideological entrenchment. These characters include: Don Farid, Don Genaro and Doña Imelda, who despite not using violence they are moved by their firm belief that the dictatorship is the best possible option. With the stance, they support and allow the government's violent practices. Although the intensity in which they defend their beliefs differs, they concur in rejecting the previous government and that the dictatorship is better. They are older people, that support their argument with

experience. However, their representation involves nuances, humorous and humanizing components that appeal to the emotional side generating empathy in viewers.

The third type are the members of the CNI. In addition to having a heavy ideological entrenchment they follow an aesthetic code. They are represented as cold and cruel people who have naturalized their crimes, making them seem routine. They work in hierarchies and follow orders; and reject their political opponents treating them as unwanted and making them deserving of human rights abuses. They are characterized for the use of repressive, violent, and asymmetrical practices as the only way to protect the hegemonic power resulting from a character that is irreconcilable with the beliefs in dispute. These characters introduce components that nuance their cruelty, like a certain degree of humanity and remorse. Agent Martínez is the only political antagonist whose conduct is similar to that of a villain, upon murdering his partner, Agent Tapia. Nevertheless, such event can be interpreted as a victory for good, given that it eradicates the figure of Pedro, justifying his conduct.

Another example is Agent Tapia, given his importance in the plot and the complexity assigned to his character being the most important political antagonist of *Los 80*, but it also has humanizing components: he returns Claudia and later is remorseful of his crimes. Such serves as a moral lesson, given that his poor state is due to the heaviness of his conscience.

In this series political conflict is developed in three spheres: verbal, non-armed-armed and armed-armed. The first is found in both the first and second group of antagonists. These conflicts represent the contrasting of different beliefs, and although they may include verbal violence, they do not imply physical violence.

The second is the non-armed-armed conflict, via repressive actions on behalf of agents of

the State that often frighten and chase both politically-involved and non-politically involved people. Although this conflict is characterized by an imbalance of power, it leads to a happy ending for the main characters, who in some way or another avoid a tragic ending at the hands of CNI agents, always due to their good will.

The third type is the armed-armed conflict. This occurs in the confrontations between the FPMR and the CNI. Although the opposition is via the use of violence, viewers can see the imbalance of force, aspect that leads to clandestine manner in which members of the FPMR live in due to their inability to dismantle the dictatorship; and also in the murder of Gabriel¹¹.

4.2. Analysis of *Los Archivos del Cardenal*

This series is set in Chile at the end of the 1970s and portrays the work of Vicaría de la Solidaridad, which was established on January 1st, 1976 by the Cardenal and Archbishop of Santiago, Raúl Silva Henríquez. Its main plot involves the political and romantic life of Laura Pedregal, social worker, that works in the Vicaría and is daughter of the organization's lead attorney; and Ramón Sarmiento, son of a high-ranking official of the dictatorship, that opens his eyes to what is happening in Chile upon entering the Vicaría and working there as a lawyer. Each episode has a police conflict, which often provides new dramatic dimensions. The political antagonistic component is present throughout the series. However, it directly affects the protagonists when Laura's father is murdered. Here a climax occurs, given that such event causes this character to join the FPMR, due to her disappointment in the results of peaceful protest, creating a separation between Laura and Ramón.

In *LADC* there are 4 types of political antagonists. The first are civilians with a government job: the Supreme Court Magistrate and the Prosecutor. These characters represent

Table 2: Political antagonists of LADC

Name	Role	Objectives and motivations	Ideological Entrenchment	Relation with opponent	Antagonistic moments	Transformations	Mitigation
Marcelo Alarcón	CNI Operative Director	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Direct. physically and verbally violent	Commits various human rights abuses	No	No
Estela Rossi	Artist, girlfriend of Alarcón	Status and fame	Undefined	None	No	No	Reveals Alarcón crimes
El Troglo	CNI Agent	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Direct. Physically and verbally violent	Commits various human rights abuses	No	No
Mauro Pastene	CNI Agent	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Direct. Physically and verbally violent	Commits various human rights abuses	Regrets crimes committed	Regret and cooperation with justice
Laurence Martínez	CNI Operative Director	Defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Indirect. Gives orders.	No	No	No
El Chino	Police	Obey orders from superiors	Undetermined	Direct with those close	Murders friend	No	Remorse
Marco Sarmiento	Father Ramón/official in dictatorship	Support dictatorship	High	Direct with Ramón	verbal	Realizes crimes and changes sides	Becomes member of the Alianza Democrática
El Rucio	Ex member of PC, cooperates with CNI	Cooperate with CNI	Undefined	Direct upon attempting to negotiate	Threatens Mónica; murders CNI member	From the opposition to being in favor of the dictatorship; later becomes a traitor to CNI	Broke down

Supreme Court magistrate	Idem	Impede trial of Rucio	Undetermined	Indirect	No	No	No
Thomas Parker	CNI Agent, EX CIA	Gather information to defeat and exterminate dissidence	High	Direct and violent	Applies torture	No	No
María Canales	Writer. Wife of Parker	Serve as facade	Undetermined	No	No	No	No
Familia de Ramón	Idem	In favor of dictatorship	High	No	verbal	No	Ignorance and naivete

Source: Made by author based al visionado.

an obstacle in the Vicaría's search for justice. They have an unclear degree of ideological entrenchment. Plus, they do not perpetrate any type of violence and they do not have direct contact with their political opponent. Nevertheless, given the nature of their job, they allow crimes to go unpunished and aid the intelligence services (See Table 2).

The second group is comprised of those with higher ranking positions in the CNI, like Alarcón and Martínez, that embody the power and organization of crimes as well as ideological cleansing by way of extermination. They perpetrate different degrees of violence and are highly ideological. They are powerful, military-style and being aware of their power, carry out their activities with confidence and intimidation. While Martínez adheres to certain codes of conduct, Alarcón surpasses them all to carry out personal and labor acts, positioning himself as the villain.

The third group is comprised of agents of lesser rank, like Pastene, Troglo, Thomas Parker and Rucio. They are very ideological, directly commit high levels of violence, and take orders from superiors. Although they do not often work alone, they are violent and brutal to their political opponent. The first two were

initially represented as similar and the weight of their actions brought them to face tragic endings. On the other hand, Rucio -former member of the PC- was broken down emotionally by the CNI in order to make him an accomplice to their crimes. This character develops his most narcissistic and brutal side, as a result of the traumatic events that he experienced at the hands of the CNI and also positions himself as a villain.

Another category is that of civilians that do not commit verbal or physical violence, are ideological and in favor the dictatorship. They are comprised of Ramón's family, that have a privileged social position, express opinions based on ignorance and belong directly or indirectly to the dictatorship. An important character among them is Marcos, who upon finding out what they had done to his son, decides to distance himself from the government and become an activist for the opposition.

The last category are the wives of the CNI agents: Estela Rossi and María Canales. These women show little ideological entrenchment; do not commit violence; are involved in an environment where crimes and abuses are committed, because they have relations-

hips with CNI agents; and represent people who, due to status, decide to turn a blind eye to the atrocities committed all around them, or accept the activities of their husbands as natural. They are docile, without much will, superficial and practically neutral in terms of politics, component that results in a mitigation of their antagonistic character.

The types of conflicts developed in *LADC* are marked by armed political antagonistic confrontation. There are few moments when the conflict remains in the verbal realm and one of the rare examples of this type of confrontation is when Ramón confronts his family in regards to the crimes of the dictatorship. Although you can distinguish between the two categories of conflict: the non-armed-armed¹² and the armed-armed¹³, the repressive-violent component on behalf of the government is always present, as it embodies by essence the political antagonist, creating the conflict and the plot.

The non-armed-armed conflict is the Vicaría's attempt to uncover the cases of human rights abuses, promoting the democratic peaceful movement. Nevertheless, the CNI's response is to chase, frighten, and murder members of the Vicaría leading to an unbalanced relationship where non-violence is met with extreme violence.

The armed-armed conflict is between FPMR and CNI. It includes mutual violence, considering that both parties take part in armed conflict. It is characterized by the brutality with which opponents are treated and for carrying out terrible cases of torture to obtain information and teach lessons.

The fourth and final type of conflict is that between those who oppose the dictatorship and are in favor of the peaceful movement, like the Vicaría, and those who support violent movement, like the FPMR. It is not antagonistic, because although they represent contradictory discursive planes, there is no attempt to suppress the other.

5. Conclusions

This investigation has theoretical and methodological relevance in terms of the disciplinary cross developed between dimensions stemming from fields like the narrative and political theory. It is unlikely to be categorized as a purely audiovisual or political analysis, showing the close relationship between the creation of fiction products and the conformation of political and social realities and identities.

One can see that most of the political antagonists of the series *Los 80* are civilians that act in terms of verbal confrontations and play a supporting role, whereas in *LADC*, the majority of the political antagonists¹⁴ are CNI agents or government employees that oppose their political opponent via crimes committed against them and therefore exercising violence or at least delegating it. They represent an important part of the series' dramatic conflict. In addition, the representation of the villain is much crueller in *LADC* than in *Los 80*, given that the first series nuances the negative component via the idea that the villain serves justice, in *LADC* the negative characteristics of the villains, like narcissism and the lack of morals (Linde & Nevado, 2016) are fundamental to the argumental thread and tend to be exacerbated.

Although both series represent the existence of diverse versions and positions in regards to what happened in the Chilean dictatorship (Cornejo, Reyes, Villarroel & Rocha, 2013), the series differ on how they recreate the contrast of political opinions, as a dimension that finally results in a dramatic component. In regards to the type of conflict represented, despite both series featuring antagonistic moments that are based on the attempt of one group to suppress the other as a result of being unable to reconcile their different positions (Mouffe, 2007), while in *LADC* it tends to be antagonistic, irreconcilable and with the presence of high degrees of violence and repression; in *Los 80* they are related more to daily occurrences in the

life of the Herrera Family (Schlotterbeck, 2014) and those that are political generally stay in the verbal confrontation realm. This aspect is related to the plot of the series and the situations they portray, given in *LADC* the entire dramatic plot has to do with the obstacle that the dictatorship represents and the crimes committed.

It has been shown that the political antagonistic representation in *LADC* differs from that of *Los 80*. Although both series portray the repression and violence committed by one part of the State at the hand of political antagonistic characters, the first puts emphasis on the cruelty with which these actions are shown, given they are based on true events and portray the repression by the State via physical elimination and state-controlled conduct (González, 2006). Using this quota of realism results in the representation of the political antagonists including in more cases components that make them out as villains, in comparison to *Los 80*.

It is worth reflecting on the capacity that la representation in TV fiction to influence the production and exteriorization of meanings among the members of a culture (Rodríguez, 2016). While the creation of the narrative text of *LADC* favored the portrayal of the crimes committed in the Chilean dictatorship via a deliberate attempt to accurately portray the horrors that occurred; that of *Los 80* could incentivize conciliatory and unifying efforts, given the nuancing in the representation of the conflicts and the political antagonists. In this sense, it would be enriching to develop a reception study directly focused on analyzing the effects of the different narrative, conflict construction, and representation strategies of not only political antagonists, but also other characters involved in the political conflicts addressed.

Notas

1. Herein referred to as *LADC*.

2. Entity linked to the Catholic Church that provided legal, economic, technical and spiritual guidance to victims of the dictatorship and their families. It gathered information on torture, deaths, and kidnappings. The Vicario submitted annual reports to the President of the Supreme Court Supreme that were also published in records, books and the magazine *Solidaridad* (Web Memoria Chilena).

3. Initial situation, knot or transformation and final situation (Marimón-Llorca, 2008).

4. Questions the existence of a final external basis for the social component, contrasting Orthodox Marxism (Stoessel, 2010), where the economic dimension determines the political order (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987).

5. Constitutes the general sample

6. Constitutes the specific sample.

7. Although the separation between thought/reality is rejected and it is understood that every physical act of attacking someone would be based on the discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987), verbal confrontations are differentiated from those that involve physical violence. It seeks to identify characters that antagonistically oppose each other and not those with different positions.

8. The summary of each main political antagonist is developed individually and some supporting characters were grouped based on common characteristics.

9. Although the FPMR was officially revealed in December 1983, having committed sabotaging acts on banks and financial institutions, as well as a nationwide power outage, its story begins in the 1970's. It was born as a paramilitary structure of the PC to resist and promote the downfall of the dictatorship. It sent military troops to academies in Cuba and Eastern Europe. One of its most important operations was "Siglo XX", for the failed assassination attempt on Pinochet in Cajón del Maipo. L. Muñoz. (2004). *The Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez*, 1980, 1987.

10. Created in 1977 after the closing of the DINA,

after the murder of Orlando Letelier in Washington. It was the State's most important intelligence service. It was considered a military organization and reported to the President. It had members of the armed forces and civilians who carried out its work in state repression, murder, torture, interrogation, detainment and kidnapping. It had facilities throughout the country, with heavy infrastructure and an organizational level superior to DINA (Web Memoria Viva).

11. Husband of Claudia Herrera.

12. Persecution, harassment, illegal detainment, torture, death and kidnapping of civilians.

13. Where members of the CNI clash

14. with FPMR activists.

15. he most relevant for analytical purposes.

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▾ About the Author

Javiera del Valle Abarca is a Political Scientist from Universidad Diego Portales (2011-2014) with a Master's Degree in Political Communication from Universidad de Chile (2015-2017). She has worked on projects on gender and press documentation. She has also been in charge of electoral studies and most recently, she acted as research assistant on a project aimed at improving educational materials.

▾ ¿Cómo citar?

Del Valle, J. (2018). La representación en la ficción televisiva del antagonista político en la dictadura chilena. *Comunicación y Medios*, (38), 66-80.