

NEWS STORIES AND REFLECTIONS OF POLITICAL INTERESTS:  
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF  
GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET IN THE BRITISH MEDIA

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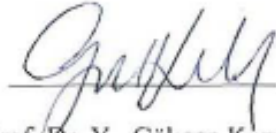
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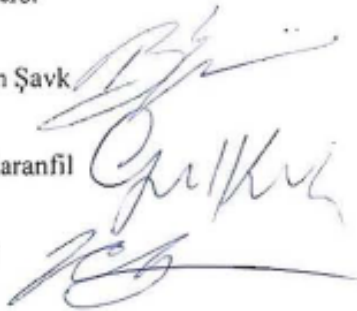
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **NEWS STORIES AND REFLECTIONS OF POLITICAL INTERESTS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET IN THE BRITISH MEDIA**

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Chile experienced 17 years a military dictatorship after General Pinochet seized power in a military coup d'état that overthrew the democratic government of President Allende in 1973. More than forty years have passed since the military intervention and Pinochet remains a divisive figure in Chile and around the world. Using critical discourse analysis this thesis considers news stories about Pinochet in two leading British newspapers with different political orientations. An analysis is undertaken to investigate how these newspapers represent social actions and actors in ways which reflect their political views. The analysis is contextualized by a description of the events and issues leading to the military intervention of Pinochet. Relations between Pinochet and the U.K governments at the time are also examined in order to understand the links between the military regime and Britain. This analysis examines lexical strategies in news stories covering three pivotal events related to Pinochet: the Plebiscite in Chile in 1988, the detention of Pinochet in London in 1998 and the death of Pinochet in 2006. The aim of this thesis is to identify the discourses evoked from the representations of Pinochet and other social actors and reveal how these are associated with particular views and ideas. It is found that newspapers reflect their political interests and orientations in the stories.

**Keywords:** Critical discourse analysis, Pinochet, The Guardian, The Times, Labour, Conservative.

## ÖZET

### GAZETE HABERLERİ VE POLİTİK ÇIKARLARIN YANSIMASI: GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET'NİN İNGİLİZ MEDYASINDA TEMSİLİ ÜZERİNE ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

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Şili, General Pinochet'nin Başkan Allende'nin demokratik hükümetini askeri darbe ile devirmesinin ardından 17 yıl askeri diktatörlük yaşadı. Askeri müdahalenin üzerinden geçen 40 yılın ardından Pinochet halen Şili ve Dünya'da ayrıştırıcı bir figür olarak bilinmektedir. Bu tez, eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemi kullanarak Pinochet'nin, farklı politik yönelimdeki başlıca iki İngiliz gazetesinde yayınlanan haberleri ele almaktadır. Bu gazetelerin, sosyal eylem ve aktörleri, kendi politik görüşleri üzerinden nasıl sunduğu incelenerek analiz edilmiştir. Analiz, Pinochet'nin askeri müdahalesine öncelik eden olay ve sorunların tanımlamaları ile uygun bağlama yerleştirilmiştir. Askeri rejim ile İngiltere arasındaki bağı anlamak için Pinochet ve Birleşik Krallık arasındaki o zamanki ilişkiler de incelenmiştir. Bu analiz, Pinochet ile ilgili üç esas olay üzerinden haberlerdeki dil ve kelime kullanımındaki stratejileri incelemektedir: 1988'deki Şili halk oylaması, Pinochet'nin 1998'de Londra'da tutuklanması ve 2006'da Pinochet'nin ölümü. Bu tezin amacı, Pinochet'nin ve diğer sosyal aktörlerin temsilinin çağrıştırdığı söylemleri belirlemek ve bunların belirli görüş ve düşüncelerle nasıl bağlantılı olduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Gazetelerin, haberlerinde kendi politik çıkarlarını ve yönelimlerini yansıttıkları tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi, The Guardian, The Times, Labour, Conservative.

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## **Chapter I: Introduction**

Chile experienced 17 years of a military dictatorship under the rule of General Augusto Pinochet. During this time, human rights abuses were well documented, as were the economic policies implemented by Pinochet. Using the case of newspaper reports about events involving Pinochet the purpose of this thesis is to reveal how newspapers represent social actions and actors in ways which reflect their political interest and orientations. According to Fowler (1991:25) 'representation, in the press, as in all other kinds of media and discourse, is a constructive practice'. This means that ideas or events are not communicated neutrally since they are loaded with social values and world-views. Fairclough (1989:49) describes media discourse as 'involving hidden relations of power' where the nature of the power relations is often not clear. This thesis examines the representation of Pinochet and other relevant social actors in news stories from two British newspapers, the Guardian and the Times, and aims to reveal the ideologies and discourses hidden behind the news. It has been assumed that text can have important ideological effects, 'inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies' (Fairclough 2003:9). Thus, discourses are not merely representations of social practices, but also serve 'to particular ends, namely the exercise of power' (Wodak and Meyer 2009:35). Considering that, it becomes necessary to identify and investigate the discourses that newspapers articulate in representing social practices and actors in news stories.

On 11 September 1973 General Pinochet took power of Chile in a violent coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of President Allende. Pinochet ruled the country from 1973 to 1990 and his regime is responsible for the death of thousands of people killed during his time in government (Valech et al. 2011). Hated and loved, almost ten years after his death, Pinochet remains a strongly divisive figure in Chile and around the world. For many of his supporters, Pinochet is the most recent hero of Chile and the excesses committed under his regime was necessary to re-establish order in the country and to take back power from a Socialist government. For his opponents, Pinochet's dictatorship represents one of the most horrible episodes in the history of Chile, a period of brutal repression and political persecution. Pinochet 'marked a generation of Chileans and touched



countless people throughout the world' (Muñoz 2008).

Since the violent coup in September 1973, Pinochet and his military dictatorship gained the attention of the media and the public. This thesis will examine how news stories about the former dictator Pinochet, and the events surrounding him, are recontextualised and represented in two newspapers in order to promote certain ideas. Specifically, this study examines the coverage of the Times and the Guardian during three pivotal events: the Plebiscite in Chile of 1988, the detention of Pinochet in London in 1998 and the death of Pinochet in 2006. The Times is a conservative newspaper which traditionally has endorsed right wing politicians, like Margaret Thatcher, while the Guardian is a centre-left newspaper which traditionally has supported the Labour Party (Devereux 2007:114; Galluzzi 2014:27). Both of the newspapers are among the top five U.K quality papers by print circulation and the Guardian is one of the most popular English-language newspaper websites in the world according to a study by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (2015).

Relations between Pinochet and the U.K date back to the 1980s, when Margaret Thatcher was the Prime Minister. During that era Pinochet developed a close relationship with Thatcher. According to Muñoz (2008), 'Margaret Thatcher saw Pinochet as a bulwark against Communism and a leader in privatization of state enterprises'. In April 1982, during the Falklands War between Britain and Argentina, Pinochet provided Thatcher's government with important intelligence that helped the British Army defeat Argentina. During Thatcher's administration, the U.K sent a significant amount of arms and military equipment to Chile (Becket 2003:257). In the 1980s, the British government even defended Pinochet's dictatorship in the U.N against accusations of human rights violations (Becket 2003:257).

The aim of this study is to reveal the ideological discourses evoked from the representation of Pinochet and other social actors in the news stories. Fowler (1991:120) argues that discourses in the media 'relate to its own institutional and economic position'. This means that 'several cultural and economic features of the press combine to give it unique importance in the (re)production of ideology' (Fowler 1991:120). Similarly Fairclough (1989:51) defines the media as a means for 'the expression and reproduction of the power of

the dominant class and bloc'. These definitions are useful for this study since they allow the idea that the Times and the Guardian represent Pinochet, and the events surrounding him, in ways that serve their interests and orientations.

In this thesis Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used as an approach to examine ideological language in the Times and the Guardian. CDA understands discourse as 'language in use' and one of its aims is to link linguistic analysis to social analysis (Richardson 2007:26). Some CDA scholars suggest that 'language use may be ideological' and to determine this 'it is necessary to analyse texts' (Wodak 1996 in Richardson 2007:27). The process of news production is a constructive process in which lexical choices are used by text producers for specific interests (Machin and Mayr 2012:31). From this perspective, news are not merely facts about the world but, in a general term, ideas (Fowler 1991:2). Therefore, CDA is used to reveal how social actors and their actions are represented in news stories. CDA believes that discursive practices may have ideological effects and may serve to produce and maintain unequal power relations (Wodak and Meyer 2009:6).

Following this introduction, chapter two presents the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. It provides an overview of CDA and introduces some of the main concepts that are used in the textual analysis of this study. Chapter two also presents the research focus of this thesis and explains the process followed to obtain the data that make up the sample. Chapter three focuses on the context and gives a brief description of the events surrounding the 11 September 1973 military coup in Chile and the dictatorship of General Pinochet. This chapter also examines relations between the United Kingdom and the dictatorship of Pinochet in order to understand the connections between Britain and the military dictatorship. Chapter four presents the main analysis of this thesis, and discusses the findings in relation to the research focus. This chapter is divided in three sections. The first section presents the analysis of the news stories covering the Plebiscite in Chile of 1989, the second section focuses on the analysis of the sample covering the arrest of Pinochet in London in 1998 and the last section is the analysis of the news stories covering the death of Pinochet in 1998. Finally chapter five discusses the main findings of the analysis and concludes the study.

It is believed that media and news reports shape public opinion and our understanding of the world. For many people, newspapers are their most 'substantial and significant' source of printed discourse (Fowler 1991:121). Against this backdrop this thesis analyses news stories about Pinochet's Chile and reveals how discourses in the media are linked to specific interests and orientations.

## **Chapter II: Methodology**

This chapter introduces Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and discusses some important theoretical and methodological approaches. This thesis's approach to CDA is also specified in order to contextualise the findings. This is not an exhaustive review but serves to illustrate how CDA examines lexical and grammatical choices in text. The focus of the thesis's research, data collection and the goals of the study are also explained.

### **2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

One of the aims of the critical study of language is to reveal the hidden agendas and ideologies behind oral and written text. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001:2) critical discourse analysis may be defined as 'fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language'. In other words, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). In this way, CDA endorses Habermas' idea (1997) that 'language is a medium of domination and social force that serves to legitimize relations of organized power' (in Wodak and Meyer 2001:2).

Critical discourse analysis understands discourse as 'language in use'. Richardson (2007:23) explains that the formalist or structuralist definition of discourse as 'a particular unit of language' or as 'a unit of language above the sentence' misses or underestimates 'the social ideas that inform the way we use and interpret language'. Therefore Richardson (2007:24) argues that if we want to study 'what and how language communicates when it is used purposefully' we should consider the functionalist definition of discourse. In the words of Brown and Yule's (1983, in Richardson 2007: 24) 'the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs'. Richardson (2007:24) asserts that in order to properly understand discourse:

We need to do more than analyse the inter-relations of sentences and how they hang together as a cohesive and coherent text. To properly interpret, for example, a press release, or a newspaper report or an advert, we need to work out what the speaker or writer is doing through discourse and how this doing is linked to wider inter-personal institutional socio-cultural and material contexts (Richardson 2007:24)

Hence, for CDA, discourse is a form of social practice. This means that while we are saying something we are also doing something through speaking (Fowler, 1991:87). From this perspective, discourse as 'language in use', contributes to the '(re)production of social reality'. As Hansen and Machin (2013:119) claim 'discourse does not merely reflect social processes and structures but itself is seen to contribute to the production and reproduction of these processes and structures'. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest that:

Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That's is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned –it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributed to transforming it (Weiss and Wodak 2003:13).

And since discourse becomes part of social processes, CDA is specifically interested in the discursive reproduction of social power, ideology and the study of fundamental social problems such as racism (van Dijk 2008:8). CDA explores the relation between power and language. As van Dijk (2001:352) explains, CDA intends to reveal 'the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context'.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997:271-80) the main principles of CDA are:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture

4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social relation

The notion of critical, which is inherent to CDA, 'could be traced to the influence of the Frankfurt School or Jürgen Habermas' (Thompson 1998 in Wodak and Meyer 2001:2). However, Krings (1973) suggests that nowadays it is used in a broader sense denoting the practical linking of 'social and political engagement' with a 'sociologically informed construction of society' (in Wodak and Meyer, 2009:7). Fairclough (1995) argues that 'critique is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things (in Weiss and Wodak 2003:13). In this sense in CDA, as in the case of other critical theories, the aim is to produce critical knowledge 'that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:7). As Blommaert (2009:25) points out, CDA focuses its critique on the intersection of language and speech and it is in 'uncovering ways in which social structure relate to discourse pattern (in the form of power relations, ideological effects, and so forth), and in treating these relation as problematic, that researchers in CDA situate the critical dimension of their work'.

Ideology is another key concept in CDA. The type of ideology that interests CDA is 'the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies' (Wodak and Meyer 2009:8). And these dominant ideas that exert power and appear 'neutral' are the ones that CDA tries to reveal. For Fairclough (Wodak and Meyer 2009:9) ideologies are:

...representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of texts...is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique (Wodak and Meyer 2009:9)

Another important aspect in CDA is the notion of power. CDA understands text as a medium through which different social groups can exert power and control. According to

Titscher et al. (2000) 'questions of power are of central interest since power and ideologies may have an effect on each of the contextual levels of production consumption and understanding of discourse' (in Richardson 2003:29). Therefore for language, is assumed to be 'entwined' in social power in different ways:

language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term (Wodak and Meyer 2001:11)

For van Dijk (2008:88) power is strictly related with the capacity of control in the way that powerful groups or institutions have the ability to 'control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups'. Therefore CDA is interested in power as a central condition in social life. Wodak and Meyer (2009:10) claims that power in texts is not the work of only one person but in texts the 'discursive differences are negotiated' and these texts are usually the 'sites of struggle in that they show traces of difference discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance'.

Within CDA there are many approaches derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds (Wodak and Meyer 2009:19). CDA is multidisciplinary with many scholars focusing on different issues and applying different theories. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) points out that CDA brings various theories into dialogue, 'especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other' (in Weiss and Wodak 2003:6). Among the different methodologies and theoretical positions in CDA, in this study I have chosen to draw on the social actors approach developed by Theo van Leeuwen.

### **3.2 CDA Approach of this study**

This study examines the representation of social actors in news stories of two quality papers and assumes that language choices in the press can have effects on audiences. Hence, critical discourse analysis is necessary and appropriate to examine the discursive structures and strategies used by text producers. According to Fowler (1991:25) representation in the press

is a constructive practice and ideas are not communicated neutrally basically because they are transmitted through media that are already impregnated with social values. Therefore, it is clear that CDA is relevant to this study in order to understand in which ways these features are transmitted to the reader through text.

Van Leeuwen is concern with how social practices can be turned into discourses in the context of specific discursive practices (Wodak and van Leeuwen 1993:93). For van Leeuwen representations always involve recontextualization (Wodak and van Leeuwen 1993:96). Discourses are recontextualizations of social practices. How social practices are represented in particular discursive practices is central in the work of van Leeuwen. In his words ‘recontextualization always involves transformation, and what exactly gets transformed depends on the interests, goal and values of the context into which the practice is recontextualized’ (Wodak and van Leeuwen 1993:96).

Van Leeuwen’s (2008:6) notion of discourse is close to Foucault’s one (1977), that is, not in the sense of ‘an extended stretch of connected speech or writing’ but in the sense of social cognition, of a ‘socially constructed knowledge of some social practice, developed in specific social contexts, and in ways appropriate to these context. In Foucault’s (1977) words discourses not only involve ‘a field of objects’ but also ‘the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge’ in a given context (in van Leeuwen 2008:6). Van Leeuwen (2008) suggests that:

discourse not only represent what is going on, they also evaluate it, ascribe purposes to it, justify it, and so on, and in many texts these aspects of representation become far more important than the representation of the social practice itself (Van Leeuwen 2008:6)

In this thesis, van Leeuwen’s socio-semantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented is adopted as the CDA approach. Representations of social actors can articulate specific discourses in text. Van Leeuwen (2008:23) explains that his approach focuses primarily on sociological categories rather than on linguistic categories. As a way to justify this choice, van Leeuwen exemplifies:



Agency for instance, as a sociological concept, is of major and classic importance in critical discourse analysis: in which contexts are which social actors represented as ‘agents’ and which as ‘patients’? But sociological agency is not always realized by linguistic agency, by the grammatical role of ‘agent’: it can also be realized in many other ways for instance, by possessive pronouns or by a prepositional phrase with ‘from’ (van Leeuwen 2008:23)

Despite this, van Leeuwen explains that his sociosemantic inventory of the ways in which the social actors can be represented is ‘grounded in linguistics’; each of the representational choices is tied to ‘specific linguistic or rhetorical realizations’ (van Leeuwen 2008:25). Van Leeuwen’s approach to the representation of social actors ‘range over a variety of linguistic and rhetorical phenomena, findings its unity in the concept of ‘social actors’ rather than in a linguistic concept such as, for instance, ‘the nominal group’ (van Leeuwen 2008:25).

Due to its flexibility, CDA has been applied to different topics and areas. There are CDA scholars analysing Political discourse, Ideology, Racism, Discourse of Economics, Advertisement and Promotional Culture, Media language, Gender, Institutional discourse, Education, Music, and so on (Blommaert 2005:26). There are also different ‘research strategies’ like the Discourse-Historical approach (Wodak and Reisigl), Corpus-Linguistic approach (Mautner), Social Actors approach (van Leeuwen), Dispositive Analysis (Jäger and Maier), Sociocognitive approach (van Dijk) and Dialectical-Relational approach (Fairclough) (Wodak and Meyer 2009:20).

For example, scholars like Andrea Mayr (2010) had analysed how ‘economic thinking and discourse practices originating from the economic sphere are now pervasive in various institutional settings’ like in the university or the prison (Simpson and Mayr 2010). Van Dijk’s work (1991) revealed how argumentative structures and strategies in the press tend to represent minorities in ‘stereotypical and sometimes even in blatantly racist terms’. Flowerdew and Leong (2007) investigated the role of metaphors in ‘the discursive construction of the notion of patriotism in postcolonial’ countries like Hong-Kong. Way (2015) examines the discourse in musical sounds to expose subversive and authenticity issues.

In this thesis I will look to the representation of social actors in news stories and reveal how newspapers are biased in favour of political orientations and interests. One of the most important elements in recontextualizations of social practices is 'participants'. According to van Leeuwen (2008:7) 'a social practice first of all needs a set of participants in certain roles'. Social actors play a key role in interpreting events in news stories. Representation of social actors in the media can have many ideological implications. For example, whether categorize a member of a group as a 'terrorist' or as a 'freedom fighter' can carry different meanings. Similarly, it's significant whether to name a participant by its full name or by an abbreviation form. The role given to social actors in recontextualized practices also can have specific implications.

The framework proposed by van Leeuwen (2008:28-51) offers a series of categories for the representation of social actors in text. Many of these categories were used to analyse the data selected in this study and specifically to examine the way in which Pinochet and other social actors are represented in the Times and the Guardian. I will briefly present below the representational choices that van Leeuwen (2008:28-51) proposes:

Exclusion: Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be 'innocent' details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in closely to the propaganda strategies of creating fear. Van Leeuwen (2008:29) explains that some exclusion leave no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actors and their activities. Such radical exclusion, he adds, can play a role in a critical comparison of different representation of the same social practice, but not in an analysis of a single text, for the simple reason that it leaves no traces behind (van Leeuwen 2008:29).

Van Leeuwen (2008:29) makes a further distinction between two types of exclusion: backgrounding and suppression. When the relevant actions are included but some or all of the actors involved in them are excluded the exclusion does leave a trace, in this case we talk about backgrounding. In the case of suppression, there is no reference to the social actors in question anywhere in the text

Role Allocation: This second category focuses on the role social actors are given to play in representations (van Leeuwen 2008:32). This is an aspect that has been significant in the work of many critical linguists like Fairclough, Fowler, Kress and Hodge and van Dijk (van Leeuwen 2008:32). In text there should be congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices and the grammatical roles they are given in text (van Leeuwen 2008:32). According to this category representations can endow social actors with either active or passive roles (van Leeuwen 2008:33). Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active force of an action, passivation when they are represented as ‘undergoing’ the action or as being ‘at the receiving end of it’. For example, in ‘Maria hit the doctor’, Maria is activated. This is an action in the active voice where Maria’s agency is foregrounded. Activations serve to represent social actors as the ‘ones who do things and make things happen’ (Hansen and Machine 2013:145). According to Fairclough (2003:150) ‘where social actors are mainly activated, their capacity for agentive action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth is accentuated’. Activation can also attribute responsibility. In the case of passivation, what is accentuated is the subjection to a process, a participant is affected by the action of other, for example, in ‘The doctor was hit [by Maria]’, ‘the doctor’ is represented as the victim of the process [and Maria]. This is in general a negative aspect in representation however it can also be used to evoke sympathy or empathy towards participants. For Fairclough (1992:181) something that is always important is ‘whether agency, causality, and responsibility, are made explicit or left vague in media accounts of important events’.

Similarly, van Leeuwen (2009:280) explains that there are three ways in which agency can be obscured. The first one is ‘by representing what is going on as an event, something that just happened’ (for example: ‘Ten protesters died when police opened fire’). The second one is by ‘passive agent deletion’. This means, in a passive clause the agent of an action becomes a circumstance (for example: ‘ten police were killed by the police’). And the third way is by the use of nominalizations which transforms a process into a noun (for example: ‘the coming of winter’ instead of ‘winter is coming’) (van Leeuwen 2009:280).

Role allocation has been an important aspect of CDA. Van Leeuwen (2009:281) cites a study of Tony Traw (1979) that reveals how media through active and passive constructions

assigns role to social actors:

The Harare police had fired into a crowd of unarmed people and shot thirteen of them. Immediately after the event, The Times carried the headline 'Rioting blacks shot dead by police (passive clause), while the more left-wing Guardian wrote 'Police shoot 11 dead in Salisbury Riot' (active clause). In Africa, the Rhodesia Herald wrote the sentence I already quote 'A political clash has led to death and injury' while the Tanzanian Daily News wrote: 'Rhodesia's white supremacist police (...) opened fire and killed thirteen unarmed Africans (Van Leeuwen 2009:281)

Genericization and Specification: Social actors 'can be referred to generically or specifically, they can be represented as classes, or as specific, identifiable individuals' (van Leeuwen 2008:35). Van Leeuwen (2008) explains that this difference can be detected in new stories, for example in middle class oriented newspapers governments agents and experts tend to be referred to specifically, and 'ordinary people' generically. Therefore the point of identification, he argues, 'the world in which one's specifics exist is here not the world of the governed, but the world of the governors, the generals'. On the other hand, in working-class oriented newspapers is the 'ordinary people' who are more frequently referred to specifically (van Leeuwen 2006:35).

Assimilation: Social actors can be represented as individuals, in this case we talk about individualization, or they can be referred to as groups in which case we talk about assimilation (van Leeuwen 2008:37). There are two main types of assimilation: aggregation and collectivization. The main difference is that aggregation quantifies the groups of participants and treats them as statistics, collectivization does not. Van Leeuwen (2008:37) argues that aggregation plays a crucial role in society since 'majority rules' (for example in polls, surveys, democratic procedures and so on). Aggregation can therefore be used to manufacture consensus opinion or to regulate practice (van Leeuwen 2006:37).

Association and dissociation: Another way social actors can be represented as groups is by association. For van Leeuwen (2008:38) association refers to groups of social actors which are never labelled in the text (although the actors can be named somewhere else in the text). By association a group of people can be represented as alliance which exists only in relation

to a specific activity or set of activities. Dissociation refers to associations which are unformed as the texts proceeds (van Leeuwen 2008:38).

Indetermination and differentiation: This category refers to the way social actors can be represented indeterminated, as unspecified 'anonymous' individuals, or determinated when their identity is somehow specified. Van Leeuwen (2008:39) argues that indetermination is typically realized by indefinite pronouns and can also be aggregated, as, for example, 'many believe...' or 'some say...' etc. Indetermination can be used to anonymise specific social actors and treat his or her identity irrelevant to the reader and also to express exophoric references.

Nomination and categorization: According to van Leeuwen (2008:40) social actors can be represented in terms of their unique identity (nominated) or in terms of identities that they share with other social actors (categorized). When social actors are not nominated they do not become points of identification for the reader or listener. As we mention before, van Leeuwen (2008:40) suggest, for instance, that middle-class newspaper nominates only high-status actors while working-class oriented newspaper nominate 'ordinary people'. There are also different ways to nominate people, for instance, formal, semiformal or informal. Van Leeuwen (2008:42) also distinguishes two types of categorization: functionalization and identification.

Functionalization and identification: Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity that is closely related with them, or to something they do, for instance an occupation or role (for example: 'interviewer', 'player', 'politician', 'celebrant', etc.) Identification occurs when social actors are referred not in terms of what they do but in terms of what they are. We should distinguish three different types of identification: classification (for example: male, female, etc.), relational identifications (for example: John's mother) and physical identifications (for example: blonde, fat, redhead, etc.) Another category in which social actors can be referred to in interpersonal terms is appraisal. Social actors are appraised when they are referred in terms that evaluated them, for instance, as good or bad (van Leeuwen 2006:45)

Personalization and impersonalization: Just as social actors can be personalized they can also be impersonalized, represented by other means like, for instance, abstract noun or by 'concrete nouns whose meaning do not included the semantic feature 'human'' (van Leeuwen 2008:46). There are two main types of impersonalization: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction occurs when social actors are referred by means of a quality assigned to them in the representation (for example: 'poor, black, Muslim'). On the other hand objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated with them or the action that they are engaged in (for example by metonymical reference) (Van Leeuwen 2008:46).

Overdetermination: It occurs when social actors are represented as participating at the same time in more than one social action. It serves the purpose of legitimate or transforms social actions. There are four major categories of overdetermination: inversion, symbolisation, connotation, and distillation (van Leeuwen 2008:48). Inversion occurs when social actors are connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other's opposite. Symbolisation occurs when 'a fictional social actor or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in nonfictional social practices'. Connotation is a form of overdetermination that occurs when a unique determination (nomination or identification) stands for a functionalization or classification. Distillation realizes overdetermination 'through a combination of generalization an abstraction' (van Leeuwen 2008:49).

This variety of discursive strategies developed by van Leeuwen offers us a solid framework to examine how in text, and through different linguistic resources, social actors can be represented in a specific way. Employing van Leeuwen's model on the representation of social actors, this study attempts to examine how the representation of Pinochet and other relevant social actors in two British broadsheet newspapers carries different social and political meaning. Some of these categories will be used to examine the news stories in this thesis. I will use the ones which are more relevant for revealing the discourses articulated in texts.

### **3.3 Rationale of the study**

This study assumes that representations in the media are a constructive practice (Fowler

1993:3). The rationale of this study is to investigate and examine the way social actors are represented in news stories to reveal the wider discourses being articulated. As discussed before, CDA suggests that language choices are used to accomplish particular kinds of communicative aims (Hansen and Machin 2013:115). Overall, the aim of this research is to answer the following question: how the Times and the Guardian represent Pinochet and other relevant social actors in news stories covering the Plebiscite of Chile in 1988, the detention of Pinochet in 1998 and the death of Pinochet in 2006. This will reveal how the newspapers, through lexical and grammatical choices, represent social actors in specific ways to articulate ideological discourses in favour of their political orientations and interests.

The main focus of the analysis lies on the question of how this is realized. For that, I will look at linguistic strategies and grammatical choices used by text producers, understanding the political implications of these choices. Through discourse social actors can constitute knowledge, situations or social roles (Wodak van Leeuwen 1993:96). CDA offers a useful theoretical and analytical framework to reveal the hidden discourses in news stories.

### **3.4 Sample and data collection**

The data used in this thesis has been sampled from two quality British newspapers: the Times and the Guardian. During Pinochet's dictatorship, Chile and Britain established a close relationship under the Conservatives. In the Falklands War in 1982 between Argentina and the United Kingdom, Chile acted as an ally of Britain providing military intelligence. Throughout her years in office, Margaret Thatcher became a fervent supporter of Pinochet and on more than one occasion the former dictator declared his deep love for England. However, the relationship between Pinochet and the Labour Party was far from cordial. In 1973 after Pinochet seized power from President Allende, the general secretary of the Labour party, Ron Hayward, declared that the military intervention in Chile ended the 'hope of millions of people' (Beckett 2003:173). Similarly, in the mid-1970s, under the Labour government of Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, the U.K decided to break off diplomatic relations with Chile (Muñoz 2008:262). In 1998 before Pinochet was placed under arrest in London on charges of torture and killings, Labour Party member Jeremy Corbyn, sent a letter to the Prime Minister Tony Blair demanding that 'Spanish judicial authorities be

permitted to interrogate Pinochet with a view to extradition, and lamenting that the former dictator had been allowed ‘free and secret entry into the country’ (Muñoz 2008:248). Meanwhile, in 1998 Thatcher and the Conservative Party criticised the arrest of Pinochet in London (O’Shaughnessy 2000). This relationship between Pinochet and England, which will be further analysed, is one of the reasons for choosing British newspapers for this analysis.

This thesis focuses on the representation of Pinochet and other relevant social actors in news stories from the Times and the Guardian covering three specific events: the Plebiscite of Chile in 1988, the detention of Pinochet in London in 1998 and the death of Pinochet in 2006. The main reason for choosing these three periods is that each of them represents important turning points in the history of Chile. The plebiscite of 1988 marked the beginning of the end of Pinochet’s dictatorship. Pinochet’s detention in London in 1998 marked the first time the former dictator was placed under arrest on charges of torture and killings, and his death in 2006 marked the end of a long period of struggle for the families who were looking for justice. Another reason is that attention to Chilean affairs in the British news media increased significantly during these three periods.

These two newspapers were selected for a number of reasons. The Times and the Guardian are among the most prestigious and influential media outlets in Britain and the world. According to a report from Audit Bureau of Circulations (2015) the Times had an average daily circulation of 389,051 in February of 2015 compared to a 176,124 of the Guardian. This means that they are among the top 5 U.K quality papers by print circulation. Another data from Pew Research Center suggests that the Guardian is among the top 5 largest online English-language newspapers in the world. Hence, both of the newspapers are popular and read by a great number of people not just in the U.K but around the world.

Another reason for selecting these two newspapers is that they offer different political stances. While the Guardian is a centre-left newspaper with liberal views, the Times is a centre-right newspaper with a more conservative editorial policy committed ‘to the establishment and the sovereignty of traditional institution’ (Carvalho and Burgess 2005). Considering the aim of this study, the difference between both newspapers is an opportunity to enrich our analysis.



The Guardian was founded by John Edward Taylor in 1821 and it is owned by a charitable trust, the Guardian Media Group. Currently the Guardian identifies with social liberalism, traditionally it has endorsed the Labour Party and during the U.K general elections in 2010 it supported the Liberal Democrats (Galluzzi 2014:27).

The Times is the UK's oldest newspaper dating back to 1785 and is owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International Corporation. The Times had for many years supported the Conservatives and Margaret Thatcher (Devereux 2007:114). However in 1997 the Murdoch conglomerate made an agreement with the New Labour and supported Tony Blair (Devereux 2007:114). Even though traditionally the Times is not a supporter of the Labour Party, in the general elections of 2001 and 2005 it also supported the Labour Party (Galluzzi 2014:27). During the U.K general elections in 2010, the Times went back to supporting the Conservatives.

The selection of the news stories that make up the sample of this thesis was obtained from the Lexis-Nexis academic database. Lexis-Nexis is a news, business and law information service. The word 'Pinochet' was entered in the search engine of Lexis-Nexis. In order to gain a representative sample for textual analysis, the search was restricted to specific dates. The publication range for the selection of articles was from 0 to 10 days from the day of the event. The search engine produced a total sample of 226 documents for the three searches. Editorials and opinion articles were deliberately left out since the aim of this study is to analyse news reports and not individual views. I also eliminated stories which were not specifically about events in Chile related to my three events (but included the word 'Pinochet'). This left 62 stories. I eliminated stories from external press agencies as the objective of the research is to look at the differences between the two newspapers. The final corpus included a total of 10 articles. All these articles fit the criteria of the study and make up the sample. Analyses of these reveal how the Times and the Guardian represent events surrounding Pinochet in ways which reflect their interests and orientations.

The sample will be analysed in chapter four to see how the representation of social actors in news stories articulates different ideological and political discourses.

## Chapter III: Context

This chapter presents a general background that serves to understand better the data analysed in the thesis. This section gives a brief description of the events and issues leading to the military intervention of General Pinochet on 11 September 1973. The chapter also includes a brief narration of the relationship between Great Britain and the former dictator Augusto Pinochet.

### **3.1 Allende's rise and fall**

In 1970 Salvador Allende was democratically elected as the President of Chile. At that time, he was already a very well-known and popular politician in Chile. The 1970 election was his fourth attempt for the presidency. His victory on 4 September, with a narrow majority of 36.2% to 34.9% for the right-wing candidate Jorge Alessandi, in a free and fair election, marked the first time in the twentieth century that a 'socialist parliamentarian had been voted into office in the Western Hemisphere' (Kornbluh 2013). The election of Allende didn't surprise anyone in Chile. Since the 1950s he had been campaigning and in each election his vote share increased. In the 1964 presidential election he even reached 39% of the votes.

In the 1970s, after six years under the Christian-Democratic (PDC) government of President Frei (1964-1970), a government with left-wing leanings, it seemed that the PDC was following the line of Salvador Allende. Radomiro Tomic, the PDC candidate for the 1970 presidential election, had vowed to pursue the 'substitution of capitalism'. If we consider that Tomic obtained 28% of the votes in the presidential election of 1970, plus the 36% of Allende, together they formed a majority of the 'left' by more than two-thirds of the votes (Beckett 2003). After the election, the PDC supported the Congress's ratification of Allende as President. However, a few weeks later, the PDC surprisingly decided to form a coalition with the 'right' both in the Congress and in the Parliament, leaving the government with a minority vote in the legislature. This created a conflict between the executive and legislative

powers in the following months (Bucciferro 2012:29).

Allende came to power in 1970 under the Unidad Popular (UP), a coalition formed by left wing parties including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Popular Action and the Popular Unitary Action Movement. The aim of the Unidad Popular was the eventual transition to socialism. The whole program of reforms was called by Allende 'La via Chilena al Socialismo' ('the Chilean way to Socialism'). Allende proposed a transition under the existing constitutional and democratic structure. He planned to move gradually and continuously from a society characterized by profound structural economic conflicts to a society more equal and fair. The goal was to achieve a social transformation avoiding totalitarian practices. This, however, caused criticism of many radical left groups. They believed that the only way to achieve the social transformation of society was through total power and not just through the government, like it happened with the 'Unidad Popular' (Pinedo 2000:134).

Once Allende was elected, polarization in Chile advanced rapidly. In just a few months 'partisan and opponents of Marxist parties came to grips' (Marchak 2003:216). The election of President Allende also set off alarms in Washington. Less than 48 hours after Allende assumed the presidency, Henry Kissinger put pressure on President Nixon in order to 'take a hard-line policy posture on Allende (Kornbluh 2013:80). An excerpt from an eight-page White House document from 6 November 1973 reads:

The election of Allende as President poses for us one of the most serious challenges ever faced in this hemisphere...the example of a successful elected Marxist government in Chile would surely be an impact on –and even precedent value for– other parts of the world, especially in Italy, the imitative spread of similar phenomena elsewhere would in turn significantly affect the world balance and our position in it (Kornbluh 2013:80)

During his first year, President Allende continued to expand the reforms that President Frei (PDC) started during the previous years. He moved to fully nationalize copper, partially nationalized under Frei's administration. He continued his nationalization plans with companies in the mining, banking, manufacturing and commercial sectors (Marchak

2003:216). Allende attempted to make Chile independent from foreign economic interests. He succeeded in nationalizing many sectors, including mining, where two American companies Kennecott and Anaconda, were controlling 80% of the Chilean copper industry (Kornbluh 2013:83). The 'Unidad Popular' also incremented 'the pace of land expropriations based on Frei's 1967 agrarian reform law', raised wages, froze prices, distributed daily a half litre of milk free to children under the age of 16, 'took charge of all legal foreign trade transactions, and developed five alternative procedures for taking over private business' (Nogee and Sloan 1979:342).

The first year of President Allende was good: the share of national income received by wage and salary earners rose from 51% to 59%, the gross national product increased by over 8,5%, inflation dropped from 35% to 22%, industrial production increased up 12%, unemployment rate fell from 8% to a record low of 3,8% and 80,000 houses were built under a housing project of the government (Beckett 2003; Nogee and Sloan 1979:342). For the first time, the majority of Chileans were able to buy goods, something that before was a privilege reserved only for the rich (Beckett 2003:143). The Municipal elections of April 1971 showed a high level of support for Allende and the 'Unidad Popular'. They took 49,7% of the total votes across the country (Beckett 2003:144).

However, towards the end of 1971 Allende's project started to face some serious threats. The society was too polarized and confrontation between different groups became frequent. This polarization was also reflected in the Parliament. Political parties of the opposition started to block President Allende's reforms and policies, especially those ones aimed to socialize the economy. At the same time, Allende had to cope with his own supporters when they started the takeover of small farms and factories (Marchak 2003:217). The economic situation started to deteriorate. Foreign and private investment ceased. The price of copper, the main export, was falling from a peak in the late 1960s. And because of the pressure of the United States, international aid and loans to Chile decreased drastically. For instance, in October 1971 the World Bank refused to grant a loan to Chile arguing that it 'lacks solvency'. At that time the inflation in Chile was 50% lower than the one inherited from Frei's government and the industrial production had increased 23% in one year (Beckett 2003:147).

In 1972 the economy became the main threat to Allende's administration. Most of the industries that the government nationalized 'instead of generating profits, lost money because they tended to keep their prices too low in order to fight inflation, hired too many workers, raised wages' (Nogee and Sloan 1979:343). Due to a lack of a majority in the Parliament, the UP was not able to decree any law to increase taxes in order to control inflation. As a result, inflation started to rise: 15% in January 1972, 77% in August, 150% in November and 304% in August 1973.

The economic crisis intensified the social and political tensions in the country. By the end of 1972 the opposition to Allende included 'large and small landholders, peasant and farm workers, owners of both large and small business, and the former owners of large mining and manufacturing companies that had been nationalized' (Marchak 2003:217). In addition, the government had to deal with the opposition of the United States, the World Bank and the IMF among others. Similarly strong opposition propaganda by conservatives groups in Chile –funded by the CIA- contributed to a growing 'cohesion and mobilization of the bourgeoisie' against the government of Allende (Nogee and Sloan 79:344).

By 1973, pro- and anti-Allende demonstrations became increasingly frequent in the country. The United States and the CIA used hundreds of thousands of dollars to fund operations against the government of President Allende. As the CIA confessed to Congress in its September report in 2004: 'CIA activities in Chile provided assistance to militant right-wing groups to undermine Allende and create a situation of chaos and tension' (Kornbluh 2013:90).

The most damaging action against Allende's government took place in July 1973 and lasted until the military intervention, when truck owners organized a national strike. 'Because of the wild geography of the country, the Chilean economy is at the mercy of its transport. To paralyse trucking is to paralyse the country' (Garcia-Marquez 1974). On 11<sup>th</sup> September 1973 a military intervention commanded by General Augusto Pinochet overthrew the government of President Salvador Allende. Thus, 17 years of a military regime started.

### 3.2 The military assault

The coup d'état was carried out in the early morning hours of 11 September 1973. After hearing about the movements of troops, while still at his home, President Allende decided to call his Minister of Defence, Orlando Letelier, and asked him to investigate what was going on. After Letelier confirmed a military insurrection, President Allende rushed to the presidential palace 'La Moneda' (Beckett 2003:155). At 9 am, important cities like Valparaiso and Concepcion were already in the hands of the military forces. The airport of Santiago, telecommunications and telephone lines were also taken early on that morning by the army. Most of the military forces were located in Santiago, specifically around the presidential palace. Once in 'La Moneda', President Allende ordered all the presidential guards and the service staff to leave the presidential palace for their own safety. He congregated the 'ministers, high officials, doctors, and security personal' that were in 'La Moneda' and talked to them:

I will not resign, I will not leave the country, and I will not leave La Moneda. I will fight until the end. I thank all of you for your loyalty, but there must not be pointless victims. Most of you are young, have spouses and children. You have a duty to them and to Chile. This will not be the last battle (Muñoz 2008:13)

Meanwhile, in a telephone conversation, the Chilean Army Commander-in-Chief Augusto Pinochet informed one of his subordinates officers that President Allende had no choice but to surrender:

- Unconditional surrender! No negotiations. You hear: unconditional surrender!' Pinochet screamed.
- Okay. Unconditional surrender. And we keep the offer to take Allende and his family out of the country? The officer asked.
- As far as Allende is concerned, we maintain the offer to fly him out of the country, but the plane will fall in mid-flight. Okay my old man? Pinochet replied (Muñoz 2008:14)

Before 12 p.m. that day, the first rocket from a British-made Hawker Hunter fighter jet penetrated the second floor of the presidential palace (Muñoz 2008:15). Short after that, 'La Moneda' received eighteen direct hits (Beckett 2003:156). The attacks continued and the palace was on fire. Scores of occupants were killed by the rockets but president Allende and many of his collaborators resisted the attacks. When soldiers entered the presidential palace they had to fight against the survivors, including Allende. Minutes later President Allende's was declared dead.

The 'Junta Militar' was led by four Generals: General Augusto Pinochet of the Army, General Gustavo Leigh of the Air Force, Admiral Jose Toribio Merino from the Navy and General Cesar Mendoza representing Carabineros. The 'Junta' took total control of the country. According to them, the aim of the military intervention was to 'restore the order' and to save Chile from the 'Marxist cancer'. In short they dissolved the Congress, imposed martial law, a curfew, and press censorship. All leftist parties were declared illegal and non-left parties were declared in recess. Workers confederations were eliminated. All university rectors were replaced by government appointed personnel and schools of sociology, journalism and education were closed. Some technical schools were closed on the basis that they were 'centres of leftism' (Schoultz 2014:12). An estimated 13,500 people were arrested in the aftermath of the coup. Twenty detention centres were set up, including the National Stadium of Chile. A total of 7,612 prisoners were taken to the National Stadium between September 11 and October 20 (Kornbluh 2013:162). Many of them were killed and buried in secret graves, dropped into the ocean or dumped at night on city streets (Kornbluh 2013:162).

After a few days, General Augusto Pinochet was appointed as the head of the 'Military Junta':

I was elected because I am the oldest...but after a while Admiral Merino will be, then General Leigh, and so on... I am not an ambitious man...I would not want to seem to be a usurper of power (Kornbluh 2013:163)

Pinochet ruled the country for the following 17 years.

### **3.3 A General in the government**

Once in power, the 'Military Junta' started a campaign to imprison, torture or kill anyone who had links with Allende or any other 'leftist' organization. Any opponent of the 'Military Junta' was seen as a 'subversive' who posed a threat to the nation and the order. One of the most notorious episodes of brutality perpetrated by the 'Junta' during that time is known as the 'Caravan of death'. It was a military squad, created by Pinochet, travelling around different detention centres across the country. In each stop prisoners were removed from their cells, taken away, brutalized, bayoneted and shot. In just four days the Caravan killed 68 people (Kornbluh 2013:163).

On 18 December 1974, Pinochet assumed officially the title of President of the Republic. A few months later he created the DINA, a Gestapo-style secret police controlled directly by him. Essentially the DINA was 'a roving instrument of repression, accountable only to Pinochet, intended to eliminate enemies of the state, circumvent civil, legal norms, and strike fear into the populace and less aggressive military services' (Kornbluh 2013:163). Pinochet's regime institutionalized torture and abuse. By 1978 almost 30,000 Chileans had been forced into exile and by the end of the decade an estimated 200,000 Chileans fled the country for political reasons (Shayne 2009:19).

Simultaneously, General Pinochet started to introduce changes in the economic system of the country. In 1974 the economy was worse than during Allende's administration. In 1974 the average inflation of Chile was 586.06%. The Junta promised to establish a "modern, mixed economy". Pinochet lowered prices, cut public spending and began to return companies to private owners. However the results were not as expected. He decided to ask assistance from a group of economist known as the 'Chicago boys'. The 'Chicago Boys' were a group of Chilean economists and followers of the neoliberal theories of Milton Friedman (Harvey 2005:8). Since the 1950s, as a part of a Cold-War programme, the United States funded and trained Chilean economists at the University of Chicago in order to counter leftist tendencies in Latin America (Harvey 2005:8). Back in Chile, the 'Chicago



boys' played an important role inside the conservative groups who opposed President Allende. In 1975 Pinochet brought the 'Chicago Boys' to the government. Once in power the 'Chicago Boys' transformed the structure of the Chilean economy:

[They] reversed the nationalizations and privatized public assets, opened up natural resources (fisheries, timber, etc.) to private and unregulated exploitation (in many cases riding roughshod over the claims of indigenous inhabitants), privatized social security, and facilitated foreign direct investment and freer trade. The right of foreign companies to repatriate profits from their Chilean operations was guaranteed. Export-led growth was favoured over import substitution. The only sector reserved for the state was the key resource of copper (Harvey 2005:8)

According to Harvey (2005) this was 'the first experiment with neoliberal state formation'. It brought the 'immediate revival of the Chilean economy in terms of growth rates, capital accumulation, and high returns on foreign investment' (Harvey 2005:8). As part of this new economic project, the government sold the oldest state owned companies to private investors at very low prices. In many cases the beneficiaries of these sales were traditional wealthy families of Chile (Becket 2003:212). Similarly the government cut radically the welfare programs and introduced changes to benefit the private sector. Public funds to school and universities were drastically reduced (Becket 2003:213). At the same time, trade unions lost completely their capacity to negotiate and strikes were banned.

At the end of the 1970s the economy of Chile started to show signs of recovery: the inflation slowed down and productivity grew. Suddenly the economy was growing faster than economies like the United States and many others in Europe. Foreigner observers started to visit Chile (Becket 2003:213). However, Harvey (2005:09) argues that the 'Chilean miracle' was just a political project aimed to 're-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites' at the cost of political and social repression. The neoliberal model implemented in Chile by the 'Chicago Boys' in Chile was reproduced later by both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Harvey 2005:9).

Towards the end of 1970s the international community became more aware about human rights violations that were taking place in Chile. In March 1978 the U.S representative to the U.N Human Rights Commission in Geneva expressed his 'profoundest regrets' for the 'despicable acts of subversion of the democratic institutions of Chile, taken by certain US officials, agencies and private groups' (Muñoz 2008:125). Pinochet, aware of the international pressure, took his precautions. He passed a decree to provide immunity for the human rights committed in Chile between September 1973 and March 1978, the period known as the 'State of Siege'. Nevertheless, despite the international pressure, Pinochet continued perpetrating human rights violations. According to the Chilean Commission of Truth and Reconciliation, between 1978 and 1985 the regime killed 160 people. Most of these murders were perpetrated by the CNI, a state intelligence agency (Kornbluh 2013:181).

In 1980, as an attempt to legitimize his regime and extend his personal dictatorship, Pinochet cast a constitution that would provide –according to him- a 'protected and safe transition back to democracy' (Kornbluh 2013:423). The constitution was approved by a referendum celebrated in 1980. However the opposition, including groups from the centre, denounced electoral manipulation and considered the results as fraudulent (Kornbluh 2013:423). The new constitution designated Pinochet as the President of Chile for the following eight years. The constitution also promised that at the end of the term there would be a plebiscite in which Chileans would have the chance to say 'Yes' or 'No' to eight more years of military rule in the country.

In 1983 Chile faced its worst economic recession since the great depression. The gross national product fell by 14%, unemployment rose 30%. Chilean foreign debt reached 19 billion dollars, the highest in the world (per capita). The 'economic miracle' of the 'Chicago boys' was discredited (Kornbluh 2013:264). At the same time, political parties, trade unions and human right organizations started to build a national coalition to bring down Pinochet's regime and restore democracy. On 11 May 1983 Chile witnessed the first national day of protest. Demonstrations became commonplace in Chile. The government responded as usual: between May and September of 1983 the military regime killed 85 people and arrested over 5000 (Kornbluh 2013:265).

During the second half of the 1980s Pinochet faced heavy international criticism due to notorious human rights crimes. The regime lost the ideological and financial support from the U.S. and the economy was in crisis. Similarly, Chileans lost their fear and people started to go to the streets in large numbers. Pinochet's regime was losing power.

### **3.4 Chile says NO**

In 1988 fourteen parties announced the creation of a unified coalition, the 'Command for the NO,' whose objective was to defeat Pinochet in the upcoming plebiscite called for by Pinochet's 1980 constitution (Kornbluh 2013:429). The struggle was not easy. Political leaders of the 'No' faced arrest and protests were violently repressed by the forces of the government (Kornbluh 2013:429). During the first half of 1988 two thousand people were arrested by Pinochet's forces.

Surprisingly, the military dictatorship allowed the right to campaign. Despite Pinochet having total control of the media and the television, fifteen minutes per day on national television for both campaigns, 'Yes' and 'No' were allowed. These were the only minutes in television that the opposition had during the entire military regime.

The 'Command for the NO' started a huge campaign on the streets. They made door to door visits throughout the entire country (Muñoz 2008:196). Their slogan was 'Chile, happiness is on the way'. The 'YES' campaign based its campaign on the idea that a 'NO' vote meant the return of the Allende period.

Rumours about plans to disrupt the voting during the Plebiscite were numerous and confirmed years later by government sources. The day of the Plebiscite hundreds of journalists around the world were in Chile to cover the elections. Many international observers were present as well (Muñoz 2008:202).

Despite all the obstacles imposed by the military regime, on 5<sup>th</sup> October 1988 the 'Command for the NO' won the plebiscite. The day marked an historic victory for Chile. With a participation rate of more than 95% of eligible voters the turn out was 54.6% for the

‘Command for the No’ and 43% for Pinochet (Kornbluh 2013:432). Although some sources suggest that Pinochet tried to reverse this defeat, he had no option but to accept it. Instantaneously thousands of people took to the streets of Chile to celebrate the end of the military dictatorship.

### **3.5 Democracy and the General**

According to the 1980 constitution, general elections would be held on December 1989. Before that, while still in power, Pinochet proclaimed himself Commander-in-Chief of the Army for 9 more years and senator-for-life, which provided him immunity against any accusation related with the human rights crimes committed during his regime (Becket 2003:260).

The ‘NO’ coalition, organized in leftist and centrist political parties, chose Patricio Aylwin, a Christian Democrat, as their candidate for the presidential elections of December 1989. The right-wing coalition chose as candidate Hernan Buchi, the former finance minister of Pinochet. A third candidate, Francisco Javier Errazuriz, a conservative businessman, also ran for the election.

On 4 December 1989 the election was held and with the 55% of the votes the candidate of the ‘NO’, Patricio Aylwin, won the elections. Hernan Buchi, the right-wing candidate, obtained just 29% of the votes (Becket 2003:261). Pinochet was defeated once more.

The transition from a military dictatorship to democracy was not easy. Pinochet was not anymore in the government but his status as the head of the Army was a serious threat to the government of President Aylwin and democracy. In 1989 Pinochet warned: ‘I am prepared for everything. My enemies, however, shouldn’t forget something: the Army will always protect my back...The day they touch one of my men the rule of law ends’ (Beckett 2003:261).

The constitution inherited from the military dictatorship contained the so-called ‘authoritarian enclaves’ which limited democracy and civilian rule during President

Aylwin's administration (Sigmund 2003:241-50). Pinochet was still at the head of the army, and at that time the army intelligence controlled all the functions of the 'National Intelligence Center' (Sigmund 2003:241-50). The Court accepted the amnesty declared by Pinochet in 1978 that provide immunity against any persecution of human rights violation (Sigmund 2003:241-50). Similarly, the Senate had nine senators appointed by Pinochet leaving the government of Aylwin with a minority of seats in the Senate (Sigmund 2003:241-50).

According to Sigmund (2003:241-50) one of the biggest obstacle for the consolidation of democracy during President Aylwin's government was the impediment of legal prosecution of the military and the ability of Pinochet to use his control over the Army. Early in the 1990s there were two episodes of military unrest: one in December 1990 and a second one in May 1993. These came in reaction to investigations of human rights abuses and to a case of financial scandal involving Pinochet's son.

In April 1990 President Aylwin established the 'National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation' which aimed to 'clarify in a comprehensive manner the truth about the most serious human rights violations' committed by Pinochet's regime (Kornbluh 2013:470). However, the investigation was restricted to just identify the fate of the victims without identifying those who had perpetrated the attacks (Kornbluh 2013:470). Even if President Aylwin tried to achieve the total transition to civilian rule during his regime, the real transition took place during the administration of Aylwin's successor, Eduardo Frei Jr. with the prosecution and sentencing of Manuel Contreras, Pinochet's right hand man. Contreras was sentenced in May 1995 to seven years of prison for the murder of Orlando Letelier, Allende's defence Minister (Sigmund 2003:241-50).

### **3.6 Allende, Pinochet and Great Britain**

The response in Britain to the coup d'état in Chile was immediate. In September 1973 Ron Hayward, the general secretary of the Labour Party declared that the coup d'état in Chile was 'the destruction of the hope of millions of people' (Beckett 2003:173). Len Murray, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) made a public demand to the

Conservative Government of Edward Heath to pressure Chile for the restoration of democracy. Meanwhile an editorial in the Times had defined Allende's administration as 'disastrous' and justified the military action arguing that the 'devastation of a country can be tolerated but it has a limit'. The conservative broadsheet added that under the circumstances in Chile any reasonable military could have thought that to intervene was his constitutional duty (Beckett 2003:173).

On 28 November 1973, in the U.K. Parliament there was a debate on Chile during which Labour MPs expressed that Britain 'should not recognize the new regime or offer it credit and aid'. The minister of state for foreign affairs and member of the Conservative Party, Julian Amrery, suggested that what had happened in Chile 'was essentially a Chilean dispute settled by Chileans and the ministers do not regard it as their duty to pass judgement' (Turner 2010:57).

Three days after Hawker Hunter jets bombed the presidential palace in Chile, a group of trade unions in the United Kingdom mobilized to show their solidarity with the people of Chile. In the Rolls Royce Factory of East Kilbride, outside of Glasgow, workers 'moved a resolution against the military takeover of the Chilean Government' (Jones 2014:118). In a note sent in 1973 to the Trade and Industry Minister the workers of the Rolls Royce East Kilbride factory announced: 'we are refusing to work on Avon 207 engines used in the Hawker Hunter fighter/bomber in for overhaul for the Chilean Air Force' (Jones 2014:119). Shortly after this declaration, eight Avon 207 engines belonging to Hawker Hunters jets of the Chilean Army arrived to East Kilbride for revision (Beckett 2003:186). The workers announced that according to the resolution that they previously signed, the revision of Chilean engines would not take place. During the following four years, despite threats from Roll-Royce, the indignation of the Chilean government and court decisions the workers refused to work on the engines for the Chilean Army and didn't allow anyone else to touch them. The engines remained untouchable in the factory for years. The case of the workers was even discussed in the British Parliament between the Labour and the Conservative Party (Beckett 2003:186).

During 1974 more than two thousands Chilean arrived in the U.K. The number was not high

in comparison to the quantity of refugees that fled to Mexico, Argentina, Sweden and Canada. However, considering the distance and the hostility of Heath's administration towards Allende's sympathisers the number of Chilean migrants was surprising (Beckett 2003:193). The British embassy in Santiago, unlike many others, did not open his doors in September 1973 to the Chileans who were seeking refugee status. In fact, the British ambassador of that time, showed his sympathy for the 'Junta'. In September 1974, during the first commemoration of the military dictatorship, the British Chamber of Commerce in Chile, presided by the British ambassador, Reginald Seconde, published in the most conservative newspaper of Chile, *El Mercurio*, an announcement celebrating and congratulating the first year in power of the 'honourable' 'Military Junta' (Beckett 2003:174).

In July 1974, and after the first reports on human right violations, 86 refugees were accepted in Britain. It was a low number compared –for instance- to the 806 refugees that had been accepted in Sweden during that period (Beckett 2003:193). After the Labour Party took power from the Conservatives the British government announced in the Parliament that all the requests of Chileans refugees will be considered favourable. In the following years, a considerable numbers of Chileans fled to the U.K (Beckett 2003:194). Under the Labour government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Britain introduced a total ban on the sale of arms to Chile (Muñoz 2008:262). After an English citizen was tortured by Pinochet's forces in 1976, the Labour government decided to withdraw the British ambassador from Santiago,

In 1975 Margaret Thatcher became the leader of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party had a completely different opinion about the events in Chile than the Labour Party. For the Conservatives, the Socialist regime of President Allende was a 'myth' and Allende's real intentions were to establish a Marxist dictatorship in Chile (Beckett 2003:193). In their opinion, a military intervention was more than necessary to stop such a dirty plan (Beckett 2003:193).

The ties between Pinochet and Thatcher dated from the late 1970s. At that time, Thatcher's economic adviser, Sir Alan Walters, had travelled to Chile and returned with 'good news about Pinochet's economic policies', 'especially the privatization process and pension

reform' (Muñoz 2008:262). In 1979 after Margaret Thatcher became prime minister in Britain, her first move regarding Chile was 'to re-establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, downgraded since 1976 after Dr. Sheila Cassidy, a British physician' was tortured for having treated a leftist militant ( Muñoz 2008:262). In 1980 Thatcher lifted the arms embargo imposed by Wilson during mid-1970s. In the following months a considerable amount of loans by British banks were guaranteed to Chile (Muñoz 2008:262). During her second year in office, Thatcher sent her Minister of Finance to Chile. This was the first official visit of Britain to Chile in ten years (Muñoz 2008:26).

### **3.7 The Falklands, Pinochet and Thatcher**

In 1982 Argentina invaded the Falklands Island, a British colony in the South Atlantic Ocean, 480 km east from South America's southern Patagonia coast. One week after the invasion, Pinochet's government agreed to allow British forces to use its military bases next to the island. Chile also offered to share with Britain all the obtained information in relation to the movements of Argentinian troops and aircrafts (Becket 2003:250). In return for its help, Chile would receive Hawker Hunters fighter jets, Canberra's aircraft, anti-aircraft missiles and long-range radar from Britain. The collaboration between the two countries was kept in secret as Chile was officially neutral during the conflict. The war between Argentina and Britain lasted 72 days and ended with the Argentine surrender, returning the control of the island to England. Argentina lost 712 soldiers and 225 member of the British Army were killed. After the war, Chile received its arms and earned Thatcher's gratitude.

In the aftermath of the conflict, Thatcher and Pinochet enjoyed a close relationship. In September 1982 Thatcher sent her Finance Minister, Peter Rees, to Chile to celebrate the 9<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the military dictatorship. Rees defined the military dictatorship of Chile as a 'moderate and stabilizing force' (Becket 2003:257). During the eighties, despite many countries condemning the terrible acts of Pinochet's regime, Great Britain kept close ties with the dictator. In 1982 and 1984 the British government even argued in the U.N. that it was no longer necessary to investigate Pinochet's regime for alleged human rights violations (Becket 2003:257). Towards the end of the 1980s Britain had sent so many arms to Chile that the U.S. complained about the stability in South America (Becket 2003:258)



### **3.8 Pinochet in London**

Even though Pinochet stepped down as President in 1990 he remained as Commander-in-chief of the army for another eight years. In this new role he found the perfect reason to visit Great Britain: to buy arms. In 1991, one month after he left office, the government of President Aylwin announced that Pinochet would travel to the United Kingdom (Becket 2003:264). On 18 May Pinochet arrived to London. Chilean exiles and human rights organizations made calls to protest the visit of the dictator. The dictator visited British Aerospace in London, inspected rocket launchers, and returned back to Chile (Becket 2003:264).

In February 1994 Pinochet visited London again but this time for holidays with his wife Lucia Hiriart. They stayed in a five-star hotel in the centre of London and made shopping trips to luxury shops (Becket 2003:264). British police escorted Pinochet during the entire trip. He returned to Chile after five days. Four months later the dictator visited Britain again. In one of these trips he met Margaret Thatcher. Between 1994 and 1998 Pinochet and Thatcher would meet for at least 10 times (Becket 2003:264).

In 1995, while Pinochet was still at the head of the Chilean Army, two British companies signed a contract to build the artillery system of Chile. Pinochet's visits to London became frequent and the idea of a brutal dictator moving free around the world was not very well received by his opponents and victims. In 1994 Amnesty International in the United Kingdom gave instructions to an English lawyer, Geoffrey Bindman, to prepare a case in order to arrest Pinochet during one of his visits to London. With Pinochet in London once again, Amnesty International moved fast to send reports about human rights violations in Chile to the Public Prosecutor Office in London to formally question and detain the former dictator. However before anything could be done Pinochet had fled back to Chile (Becket 2003:266). This was the first precedent for future actions.

### **3.9 Spanish extradition**

In 1996 the 'Union Progresista de Fiscales' (UPF) of Spain, started an investigation in

relation to human rights violations perpetrated by Pinochet's forces during his dictatorship. The UPF realized that a clause in the Spanish legislation would allow it to open cases against any foreign government responsible for torture and genocide (Becket 2003:268). To do this, the UPF started to collect testimonies of Chilean and Spanish citizens who witnessed murders and torture during Pinochet's dictatorship. A few months later a well-known Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzon, on his own initiative, began a formal investigation in relation to Pinochet's crimes.

In 1998 Pinochet visited once more London, ignoring the change of government in Britain to the Labour Party and the investigations by Spain (Becket 2003:267). Before the former dictator arrived to London, the Chilean embassy contacted the British government to inform that Pinochet would visit England for holidays. Despite Pinochet not being Commander-in-Chief anymore, the British government guaranteed special treatment to the dictator (Becket 2003:268). Pinochet arrived in London on the 22 of September with his wife and daughter. They visited Margaret Thatcher, did shopping and visited museums. During his visit, Pinochet went for a health check where he was advised to undergo an operation on a disc in his back, something that had been causing some pain to the former dictator. Although the recovery would take several weeks Pinochet decided to have the operation in London.

On 9 October the former dictator had an operation in a London Clinic. A few days later, on the 13 October 1998, the Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzón, understood that this was his chance to catch up with Pinochet. Garzon 'initiated a coordinated effort through the Spanish courts to formally question, detain and extradite Pinochet' (Kornbluh 2013:467). To get a fast response from the British side, Spain invoked 'the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism- a mutual cooperation, treaty that obligates signatories to identify, locate, and hold suspected international terrorist' (Kornbluh 2013:467). The next day the British police received faxes ordering the detention and interrogation of Pinochet for:

creating an international organization that conceived, developed and carries out a systematic plan of illegal detentions, abductions, torture, forcible transfer of persons, murders and/or disappearance of many people, including citizens from Argentina,

Spain, the United Kingdom, the US, Chile and other countries' (Kornbluh 2013:467)

On 16 October 1998 British police entered the London Clinic and informed Pinochet that he was being placed under arrest. The case was celebrated worldwide by victims and human rights defenders.

In Chile Pinochet's detention created an intense debate between supporters and opponents of the former dictator. Thousands of people ran into the street and celebrated that Pinochet was arrested. Rights wings politicians denounced the arrest as a conspiracy organized by the international left. Businessmen called to boycott England and Spanish companies and demanded the government to break diplomatic relation with Great Britain and Spain (Muñoz 2008:252). Supporters of the General protested outside the British and Spanish embassy. Physical and verbal confrontations between pro- and anti-Pinochet demonstrators became common on the streets.

The hostility between supporters and opponents of Pinochet also moved to the political arena. Cristián Labbé, a former army colonel who worked with Pinochet, was now the mayor of Santiago's borough Providencia, the area where the Spanish embassy was located. Labbe gave an order to cancel the trash collection services from the Spanish embassy and removed the reserved parking slots guaranteed to the embassy. When the garbage began piling up in front of the Embassy, Cristina Girardi, a leftist mayor of Santiago borough's Cerro Navia, sent a truck to the Spanish embassy with a huge banner that read 'we pick up your garbage because you are already picking up ours' (Muñoz 2008:253). At the time, opinion polls showed that just 25% of the Chileans believed Pinochet should be set free while 69% believed he should be judged in the U.K or Spain (Kornbluh 2013:475).

In London Pinochet's defense was led by 'the prestigious and expensive firm of Kingsley & Naply' (Muñoz 2008:256). The first arrest warrant was followed by another provisional warrant on October 22. The alleged offenses included 'torture to hostage taking and conspiracy to commit murder' most of them perpetrated in Chile (Muñoz 2008:256). On October 28, the High Court, with Lord Chief Justice Thomas Bringham presiding, heard

the charges and the evidence from the Spanish government and the court decided to overturn 'the first warrant on the grounds that murders of nationals in other nations were not extraditable crimes under British law' (Muñoz 2008:256). In relation to the second warrant, the court ruled that 'Pinochet had 'sovereign immunity' as a former head of state for acts carried out as part of his official duties' (Muñoz 2008:256). However the High Court allowed 'the Crown Prosecution Service to appeal this decision before Britain's Supreme Tribunal' (Muñoz 2008:256).

On November 25, the House of Lords announced the results of the appeal, and with two votes for immunity and three votes against immunity the House of Lord decided that Pinochet did not enjoy immunity in England for the crimes committed during his regime (Muñoz 2008:258). Pinochet moved from the London Clinic to a private residence in London, whose rent was more than ten thousand pounds a month, and was placed under house arrest.

Just a few days after Pinochet was detained in London, Margaret Thatcher made a public call for the release of Pinochet. In a letter published in the Times on 22 October 1998 Thatcher wrote:

I have better cause than most to remember that Chile, led at that time by General Pinochet, was a good friend to this country during the Falklands War. By his actions the war was shortened and many British lives were saved. There were indeed abuses of human rights in Chile and acts of violence on both sides of the political divide... General Pinochet must be allowed to return to his own country forthwith

Thatcher was a fierce supporter of the former dictator during all the legal process in London. On March 1999 she visited Pinochet's residence in London and thanked him in front of the television cameras:

for the information you gave us, and also the refuge you gave to any of our armed forces who were able, if they were shipwrecked, to make their way to Chile' ... 'I am

also very much aware that it is you who brought democracy to Chile' (Muñoz 2008:261)

The Conservative Party in the U.K also criticised the arrest of Pinochet in London and 'backed his fight to avoid deportation to Spain on charges of murder and torture' (O'Shaughnessy 2000).

For the president of Chile in 1998, Eduardo Frei, a Christian Democrat, the arrest of the former dictator was a 'threat to Chile's sovereign rights'. He argued that the arrest of Pinochet, regardless of the dictator's crimes, 'violated the principle of diplomatic immunity that he enjoyed as a senator-for-life and the principle of territorial jurisdiction'. President Frei explained: 'I defend principles, not concrete individuals' (Muñoz 2008:260).

In March 1999, a second panel of judges, confirmed that the dictator could be extradited but only for the human rights violations perpetrated after the date Britain signed the U.N Conventions against Torture in September 1988 (Kornbluh 2013:469). This was not an impediment for the persecutors who collected several cases of human rights crimes committed by Pinochet's forces after 1988.

Nevertheless, in October 1999, according to Pinochet's doctors, the former dictator suffered a series of 'mini-strokes' that left him 'disoriented' (Kornbluh 2013:469). Pinochet's lawyers moved fast to fight the extradition with the argument that Pinochet's mental condition impeded him to stand trial. On January 2000, the British Home Secretary, Jack Straw, declared that 'following recent deterioration in the state of Senator's Pinochet health' he was 'unfit to stand trial' (Kornbluh 2013:469). The decision was based on a medical report written by four British doctors that stated that Pinochet had suffered 'mild dementia' and 'memory deficit for both recent and remote events'. Finally on March 2, 2002, Straw confirmed that Pinochet would not be extradited to Spain arguing that the former dictator would not 'be mentally capable of meaningful participation in a trial' (Kornbluh 2013:469). After 504 days under house arrest in London, Pinochet and his family left the centre of London in a caravan for the Waddington Air Base where a jet from the Chilean Air Force was waiting. Their departure was delayed only when one of Pinochet's lawyers came on

board to deliver a gift from Margaret Thatcher, it was ‘ a reproduction of a silver plate that was made in 1588 to commemorate Sir Francis Drake’s victory over the Spanish armada’ (Muñoz 2008:272).

### **3.10 Pinochet back at home**

On 3 March 2000, Pinochet arrived in Chile escorted by Chilean Air Force fighter planes. He was received by all four commanders in chief of the Armed forces and the Police, along family members, right-wing politicians, army generals and supporters (Muñoz 2008:273). At the city’s airport a military marching band played Pinochet’s favourite tune ‘Lily Marlene’. After he got up from his wheelchair, Pinochet walked and waved his walking stick with his right arm saluting the public, ‘a gesture interpreted by many as proof that he had fooled English doctors (Muñoz 2008:272).

The case in England encouraged many people in Chile to start investigations against the former dictator. Just after his arrival, more than seventy-nine judicial cases were brought against the former dictator in Chilean tribunals (Muñoz 2008:274). In May 2002 the Chilean judge, Jaime Guzman, requested the Santiago Court of Appeals to lift the immunity that Pinochet had as a senator-for-life. Shortly after, on 23 May, Pinochet’s immunity was lifted with 13 votes in favour and nine against.

Unable to stop the cases against the former dictator on grounds of immunity, Pinochet’s lawyers intended to use the same strategy that they used in London. They argued that the former dictator was too old and ill to be judged. However, judge Guzman, accelerated his persecution and on 1 December 2000, Pinochet was indicted as the intellectual author of the ‘Caravan of death’, the squad of army officials that travelled across the country killing political prisoners (Kornbluh 2013:475 ).

On 24 January 2001, Pinochet was placed under house arrest for the first time in Chile and was interrogated in relation to the atrocities committed under his regime. However, a few days later, the Court of Appeals reversed the decision of Judge Guzman ordering Pinochet new medical tests. After the exams, Judge Guzman interrogated Pinochet and concluded that

he was in condition to face trial. The decision was ratified by the Court of Appeal (Muñoz 2008:277). Pinochet was again placed under house arrest for 42 days before he was granted bail. Pinochet's lawyers and political followers started to work on a new offensive in order to declare Pinochet mentally incapacitated. On 8 July 2001, the Courts of Appeals accepted this thesis and Pinochet was declared unfit to stand a trial (Muñoz 2008:277).

Three years later, in August 2004, the Supreme Court confirmed a decision of the Court of Appeals to lift Pinochet's immunity from prosecution. The decision came after a television channel broadcasted an interview with Pinochet in which the former dictator appeared in perfect condition. New cases were brought against the former general in charges of kidnapping, torture and killings. On December 2005 the former dictator was placed again under arrest and interrogated in relation to human right crimes.

In 2004, a terrorism-related investigation in the U.S showed evidence that Pinochet had opened numerous accounts in the Riggs Bank of the U.S under fake identities and was hiding millions of dollars. Shortly after, evidence revealed that Pinochet was 'Rigg's private banking department's fourth-largest customer' (Muñoz 2008:274). In 2005 the former dictator was charged with tax evasion of millions of dollars.

On 10 December 2006, a week after he suffered a heart attack, Pinochet died under house arrest in the Military Hospital in Santiago de Chile. He was never convicted for any crime. On the day of his death, the Chilean government denied a state funeral. 'It would embarrass Chile's conscience to honour somebody who was involved not only in human rights issues but even in misappropriation of public funds' declared Chilean President Michelle Bachelet. His funeral was organized by the Army and was held at the Chilean Military School in Santiago (Kornbluh 2013:497). According to official reports Pinochet's regime killed more than 3,000 people and tortured another 40,000 (Valech et al. 2011).

Pinochet's Chile made many enemies both within the country and outside its borders. The UK under the guidance of Thatcher was one its staunch allies, while under Labour, the UK was far less friendly and at times against the regime. It is within this context that in the following chapters we consider how the news media in the UK represented events in Chile

in ways which reflect their own interests and political orientations.



## **Chapter IV: Analysis of the sample**

This chapter examines the lexical strategies used in news stories covering events related to Augusto Pinochet. The chapter is divided in three sections. The first one presents the analysis of news stories covering the Plebiscite in Chile in 1988, the second section examines stories related to the detention of Pinochet in London in 1998 and the third one presents the analysis of the obituaries of Pinochet published in 2006.

### **4.1 Analysis of the Plebiscite**

On 5 October 1988 Chile celebrated a plebiscite to decide the fate of General Pinochet. After fifteen years of dictatorship, millions of Chileans headed to the ballot boxes to choose whether the dictator Augusto Pinochet should stay in power for another eight years or not.

There are considerable differences in how the 1988 plebiscite of Chile is covered by The Times and the Guardian. Both of the newspapers frame the referendum as a significant step towards democracy after the 15 years of military dictatorship, however a closer look into the representation of social actors reveals significant differences. The representations of Pinochet in the Times tends to have positive connotations while in the Guardian's coverage of the plebiscite Pinochet is represented as a despotic leader and it emphasizes substantially more the negative actions of the military rule. In this chapter I will look at the ways social actors are represented in the sample of stories about the plebiscite.

#### **4.1.1 The Times**

The Times' coverage of the Plebiscite is generally sympathetic towards Pinochet. The general evaluation of Pinochet is positive. One of the main discourses that we can find in the sample is that Pinochet –despite all the atrocities committed- is still an option –perhaps good- for the 1988 referendum.

In the Times Pinochet is often activated in relation to actions that connote power and positivity. Consider the following:

- 1) 'Despite his notorious record on human rights since he seized power after a violent coup in 1973, three factors could still swing the electorate behind him. In the first place, he has made an attempt to change his spots, promising to govern in future as a democrat and allowing his political opponents back from exile'.

Here the author draws on positive discourses of Pinochet in focusing on 'three factors [that] could still swing the electorate behind him'. In excerpt one Pinochet is mostly activated in relation to activities that contribute to a positive representation of him. He is grammatically the actor in relation to actions such as 'seizing power', 'made an attempt to change his spots' and 'promising to govern in future as a democrat and allowing his political opponents back from exile'. These activations seem to work towards a positive presentation of Pinochet.

According to van Leeuwen (2008:43), agency is an important aspect in CDA. We should investigate which activations are chosen, in which institutional and social contexts, and why these activations have been taken up. Therefore we can determine and reveal which interests are served and what purposes are being achieved. The activations above are evidently serving the purpose of emphasising that Pinochet is not just a dictator with a 'notorious record on human rights' but someone 'promising to govern in future as a democrat'. Similar activations of Pinochet connoting positivity can be found in the sample, as: 'a new genial Pinochet promising order' and '[Pinochet] has made an attempt to change his spots'. This representation works ideologically to present Pinochet as a possible option to vote for in the plebiscite despite all the atrocities committed during his regime.

In excerpt one Pinochet is also overdetermined in the form of an inversion. Van Leeuwen (2008:48) argues that an inversion is a form of overdetermination in which social actors are connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other's opposite. In excerpt one Pinochet is represented as having, on the one hand, a 'notorious record on human rights' but on the other hand as 'promising to govern in future as a democrat and allowing his political opponents back from exile'. This overdetermination helps to transform the actions of Pinochet from negative to less negative, transforming his image from a brutal military dictator to a leader promising democracy. According to van Leeuwen (2008:48)

overdetermination is one of the ways in which texts are used to legitimate practices and/or to naturalize ideological discourses.

Another strategy used in excerpt one is exclusion and de-agentilisation (van Leeuwen 2008:28). The writer does not specify human rights abuses, perpetrators of violence, victims or circumstances. For instance, in extract one, those responsible for 'the violent coup' are excluded and Pinochet is being put in the role of 'promoter of peace, democracy and order' (for example: 'promising to govern in future as a democrat'). This is clearly intended from the Times to suit their interest and purpose in relation to their readers (van Leeuwen 2008:28). The Times' coverage attempts to present Pinochet positively - excluding him from acts of violence- and as a good option to vote for in the plebiscite.

For van Leeuwen (2008) exclusions have been an important aspect of CDA:

To mention just one classic example, Tony Trew (1979:97ff.) showed how, in the Times and the Rhodesian Herald (during the year 1975), the police were excluded in accounts of the riots during which they had opened fire and killed demonstrators, because it was in the interest of these papers and their readers to attempt to justify white rule in Africa and this required a suppression of the fact that the white regimes apply violence and intimidation, and suppression of the nature of the exploitation this make possible. It requires that the regimes and their agents be put constantly in the role of promoters of progress, law, and order, concerned to eliminate social evil and conflict, but never responsible for it (van Leeuwen 2008:28)

Another strategy found in the Times is the use of noun phrases and nominalizations such as 'record in human right' seen in excerpt one. Elsewhere in the sample there are similar cases as: 'accusations of intimidation by General Pinochet's men', 'the repressive policies and political isolation of the Pinochet years' and 'such allegations put about by opposition groups'. This technique allows the exclusion of social actors and their actions. According to Fowler (1991:80) nominalization 'is a radical syntactic transformation of a clause, which has extensive structural consequences and offers substantial ideological opportunities. Fowler et

al. (1979) argue that ‘the choice of passive over active, or of noun over verb, is not ideologically random’ (Bilgic 2008:785). This strategy does not just exclude certain social actors and their actions but present their practices as something not to be further examined or contested.

In excerpt one the use of adversative connectors like in ‘despite his notorious record on human rights’ also plays a crucial role in representing Pinochet from one perspective, but trying at the same time to appear balanced and unbiased. Paradoxically, this adversative connector is used both for objectivity (for example: to accept that Pinochet committed crimes) and for subjectivity (for example: to emphasize the factors that could make him win the elections).

To further consolidate the figure of Pinochet on the days before the 1988 Plebiscite, The Times articulates a discourse of the opposition, ‘the command for the ‘No’, which connotes negativity. This serves to articulate a discourse that presents Pinochet as a better option to vote for in the plebiscite. Amongst the negativity surrounding the opposition in excerpt two, it is inexperience, there is division and potential to cause chaos. The opposition is mostly activated in relation to actions that connote negativity, seen here in extract two:

- 2) ‘General Pinochet has reminded Chile that “No” vote would mean a period of uncertainty. Opposition parties, united in their detestation of the dictatorship remain divided in other aspects. They are also short of recent political experience (if through no fault of their own). Given the choice between a new genial Pinochet promising order and a divided opposition threatening chaos many will opt for the former’

Here the opposition is collectivised and activated negatively as ‘united in their detestation of the dictatorship’ and ‘remain[ing] divided’ (van Leeuwen 2008:37). These actions connote weakness and apathy. This could have been written in another way, for example as: ‘political parties from different ideological backgrounds have united hoping the end of the dictatorship and the return to democracy’. However, the Times represent the opposition in a way that makes it appear less attractive for the readers.

In excerpt two the opposition is also represented as a group ‘short of recent political experience (if through no fault of their own)’. Here again the representation of the opposition connotes weakness and inexperience. They appear as a group that is not ready to

govern. However, no details of actions or knowledge are forthcoming. Even if the Times mention –by the use of parenthesis- that this situation is ‘no fault of their own’ it gives no further details, excluding social actors responsible for this situation (for example: Pinochet and his subordinates). Elsewhere in the sample we can find more negative representations of the opposition as: ‘A ‘NO’ vote would mean a period of uncertainty’, ‘this moderate opposition’, ‘the moderate opposition led by the Christian Democrats’, ‘politicians who had little in common’ and ‘the alternatives before them remain hazy’.

Naming is another strategy that we can find in excerpt two and typically found throughout the sample. ‘General Pinochet’ is usually formally nominated with honorifics (15 times out of 18 throughout the whole sample) connoting power and authority in contrast to the opposition who is collectivised and reduced to ‘opposition parties’ and ‘divided opposition’. The opposition is formally nominated just one time throughout the whole sample (as: ‘16-party alliance called ‘Command for the No’’). This naming difference between Pinochet and the opposition makes it harder for the opposition to become a point of identification for the readers (van Leeuwen 2008:53).

In excerpt two ‘General Pinochet’ is also activated in a way that connotes power and authority. He is activated in the process of ‘reminding’ ‘Chile that a ‘NO vote would mean a period of uncertainty’. This line contributes not just to present Pinochet as a strong figure (‘reminding Chile’) but also to present the opposition as a ‘threat’ to Chile. These representations of the opposition are in line with a conservative view that tries to empower Pinochet and the dictatorship and tie in closely to propaganda strategies of creating fear and setting up the opposition as the enemy of the country (van Leeuwen 2008:28). These representations of the Times contribute to articulate a discourse in which Pinochet is presented as the best choice for the plebiscite while the opposition is presented as a bad a choice.

Moreover sentences like ‘given the choice between a new genial Pinochet promising order and a divided opposition threatening chaos many will opt for the former’ recontextualizes the actions of the opposition as negative without providing any circumstances or details. Here the opposition is activated negatively as ‘threatening chaos’ while Pinochet is activated positively ‘promising order’. These kinds of representations give rise to the implicature that voting ‘NO’ in the Plebiscite would create chaos in Chile. It is clear from the Times that

Pinochet and the government most often act in positive actions and the opposition are activated only, or almost only, in relation to negative actions. It's interesting to note that in the Times, the 'Yes' and 'No' options are mostly represented in terms of 'chaos' or 'order' and not for instance as forms of 'military rule' or 'democracy'.

Another technique employed in excerpt two and seen throughout the sample is the use of indetermination. Van Leeuwen (2008:51) explains that indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified 'anonymous' individuals or groups. Indetermination is typically realised by indefinite pronouns and can also be aggregated as for example in 'many will opt for the former'. The use of this superlative adverb allows the Times to present Pinochet and the dictatorship in a way that connotes power and support. In this case it serves the idea that numerous people will vote for Pinochet 'despite his notorious records on human rights'. Similar cases of indetermination were found in the sample, for example: 'they hardly want to a return to what preceded him [Pinochet]', 'whether in the end they will have much choice [rather than Pinochet], is still debatable' and 'the country would not be ready to accept [Pinochet's defeat]'.

Then the Times proceeds to an even more seductive series of representations and strategies carried out to enhance the positive image of Pinochet. The Times outlines the supposed benefits of the Pinochet regime's neo-liberal economic policies. This contributes not just to articulate a positive image of the dictator but to the idea that the dictatorship was necessary to save the economy of Chile. This discourse is supported by adding negative evaluations of the previous government of President Allende.

General Pinochet and the dictatorship are usually related to actions that connote positivity. Let's consider excerpt three:

- 3) 'The violent coup which brought General Pinochet to power in 1973 ended three years of economic chaos under the elected Communist Government of President Allende'.

Here representations of action draw upon a discourse which emphasizes that the military intervention of 1973 has helped Chile politically and economically. The 'violent coup' is activated ending 'three years of economic chaos' which contains a positive appraisalment (van Leeuwen 2008:45). This representation helps to legitimate the coup d'état and the

actions of Pinochet in terms of the need to save the country from the 'three years of economic chaos' under the communist government of President Allende.

In excerpt three the Times also employs strategies of exclusion (van Leeuwen 2008:28). Here the responsible for the 'violent coup which brought General Pinochet to power' are excluded from the text. According to van Leeuwen (2008:29) when some activities are included, but some or all of the social actors involved in it are excluded, the exclusion does leave a trace. Here we can ask 'but who are responsible of the 'violent coup'? No circumstances and details are provided. Arguably, this exclusion is not merely incidental, it is related to the strategy of the Times which suppress or background the social actors from the government that are involved in negative actions. Elsewhere in the sample we can find this kind of construction as: 'the repressive policies and political isolation', 'more than 1,200 people have been arrested, 102 wounded and three killed' and 'some 800 were arrested on one day'

In excerpt three we can note that 'General Pinochet' is passivated (van Leeuwen 2008:32). He is represented as being 'brought to power' by the 'violent coup'. Pinochet is presented as undergoing in the process of 'bringing' rather than being the active agent of a process (as the head of the coup). Ironically, from the representation, it even appears like Pinochet is another victim of the coup. This passivation works ideologically in order to not show Pinochet as the responsible of the coup.

The image of Pinochet and the dictatorship is further supported by constructing an unfavourable image of the government of 'President Allende'. In excerpt three the administration of Allende is described as 'three years of economic chaos' which contains a negative appraisal (van Leeuwen 2008:45). Representing the 'Communist Government' in such a way helps to question President Allende's authority and regime. This evaluation of the previous government is another way which serves to legitimate the coup d'eta and Pinochet's actions.

Excerpt three works to create a contrast between negative evaluations of the 'Government of President Allende' (for example: under economic chaos) and the positive evaluations of the 'violent coup' (for example: 'ending economic chaos'). Thus, the actions of the 'violent coup' can be evaluated as good and those of the 'Communist government' as bad. This

works ideologically to articulate a favourable image of Pinochet and the dictatorship and consequently legitimate its actions.

Similar constructions can be found in the sample, consider the following: ‘while they want an end to the violence, the repressive policies and political isolation of the Pinochet years, they hardly want to a return to what preceded him’. Even if this representation foregrounds negative aspects of the Pinochet era, the main evaluation is that ‘they’ (voters) prefer the ‘Pinochet years’ rather than ‘what proceeded him’ (Allende’s government). This representation works ideologically in order to legitimize the negative practices of the Pinochet years in the name of what ‘they prefer’ (the voters).

Elsewhere in the sample we can see similar representations that serve to articulate a positive image of Pinochet as in: ‘the economy is booming. Foreign investment has grown, inflation has fallen and unemployment has shrunk from around 25 per cent to not much more than 8 per cent. Conditions for Chilean workers have generally improved’ and ‘the Christian Democrats, the main non-Communist opposition group, have significantly felt the need to reassure people that, if eventually elected, and they would not overturn the achievements of the Pinochet years’.

The evaluation of Pinochet and his regime is often elaborated in relation to economic aspects which serve to de-emphasize human rights crimes and articulate a positive discourse of Pinochet and his dictatorship. Consider the following:

- 4) ‘The monetary policies of the Pinochet Government, aided by 15 years of political continuity have helped Chile towards an economic prosperity which is the envy of its neighbours’

In excerpt four the ‘monetary policies of the Pinochet government’ are represented as agent in the process of ‘helping’ ‘Chile towards and economic prosperity’. This representation serves to evaluate Pinochet’s government as good. Here the activation of ‘Pinochet government’ is realised by a postmodification (‘of the Pinochet government’) of a process noun (‘monetary policies’). Van Leeuwen (2008:44) suggests that ‘by comparison to participation this kind of activation backgrounds agency, changing it into the ‘possession’ of a process which has itself been transformed into a ‘thing’. This may have been done in



order to foreground the ‘monetary policies’, which ‘helped Chile’, and articulate a discourse which leads us to evaluate the dictatorship positively despite Pinochet’s crimes.

The line ‘15 years of political continuity’, in excerpt four, is an abstract reference to the military dictatorship. Abstractions are used to represent social actors by means of a quality assigned to them (van Leeuwen 2008:46). In this way, by means of the term ‘political continuity’, the quality of being stable is being assigned to the dictatorship and therefore this quality serves to articulate a positive discourse about Pinochet and the dictatorship. This reference is then further supported by recurring to positive appraisements (van Leeuwen 2008:58). Claiming that Chile, ‘aided by 15 years of political continuity’, is the ‘envy of its neighbours’ reinforces the idea that the dictatorship was something positive for Chile. However to suggest that Chile is or was the ‘envy of its neighbours’ and qualify the brutal dictatorship as ‘15 years of political continuity’ is an inadequate evaluation that ignores the fact that the Pinochet era was characterized by violence, torture and chronic social instability. Muñoz (2008:309) argues that ‘the social costs of Pinochet’s economic policies were huge. Pinochet did not build a single hospital in all his years of power and the country’s infrastructure was left practically untouched until the return of democracy’. According to Muñoz (2008:309) the ‘real Chilean economic miracle truly occurred during the sixteen years following the return of democracy’ and not under the dictatorship of Pinochet.

In the following excerpt Pinochet’s regime is again represented positively as bringing both economic improvement and to some extent social progress.

5) ‘The economy is booming. Foreign investment has grown, inflation has fallen and unemployment has shrunk from around 25 per cent to not much more than 8 per cent. Conditions for Chilean workers have generally improved’

Here The Times foregrounds the supposed government’s ability to handle the economic situation efficiently arguing -for instance- that ‘the economy is booming’ or that ‘conditions for Chilean workers have generally improved’. These positive evaluations of the dictatorship – which in any case are vaguely developed- help to legitimate the actions of the dictatorship and serves to articulate a positive discourse of Pinochet and the dictatorship. However, no circumstances are provided and no details of actions which make up the

economy ‘booming’ or the conditions for workers ‘improved’ are revealed. This representation of Pinochet’s rule may be seen as an attempt of the Times to exclude and background the brutal ways that the Pinochet’s regime use to achieve his goals.

The Times’ coverage often foregrounds the economic aspects of Pinochet’s era which reflects sympathy and support for the military government. Pinochet’s ‘economic miracle’ is always emphasized and juxtaposed to other aspects like human rights crimes, as if economic prosperity could automatically legitimate and justified the acts of the dictatorship.

#### **4.1.2 The Guardian**

While the Times mainly emphasises positive aspects of Pinochet and his dictatorship, in the Guardian Pinochet and the government are activated in relation to actions that connote negativity. A discourse where Pinochet and the government are represented as fraudulent is articulated. Accusations of violence and involvement in illegal activities are dominant in the texts. The opposition is mostly activated accusing the government and Pinochet of planning to rig the elections for the plebiscite. Let’s consider the following:

- 1) ‘Amid speculation about impending curfews or terrorist attacks, the 16-party opposition coalition, the No Command, has accused the government of launching a vast operation of psychological warfare to deter voters and stave off the defeat predicted by most opinion polls’.

In excerpt one the opposition is formally nominated as ‘The No Command’ and also collectivized as the ‘16-party opposition coalition’. Such naming suggests more power and authority in comparison to the representations in the Times where the opposition is usually negatively referred to as we saw in the previous analysis. Elsewhere in the sample we can find the opposition and its members named as : ‘all-embracing anti-junta coalition’, ‘ Mr Ricardo Lagos, leader of the main opposition Party for Democracy (PPD)’ and ‘Mr Patricio Aylwin Christian Democrat leader and spokesman for the No Command’

Additionally, the ‘No command’ is also activated in the process of accusing ‘the government’ of launching ‘a vast operation of psychological warfare to deter voters and stave off the defeat predicted’. Here the government of Pinochet, passivated by the ‘No

Command', is represented negatively launching an operation which contains a negative appraisal (van Leeuwen 2008:45). The government is the implicit agent of 'launching a vast operation of psychological warfare'. This representation of the government, expressed in example one, gives rise to the implication that Pinochet and the government are trying to intervene in the plebiscite.

Similarly, arguing that 'most opinion polls' predict a defeat for Pinochet in the next elections articulate a discourse which serves to represent the government as 'losers' and the 'No command' as 'winners'. Here, 'most opinion polls' is what van Leeuwen (2008:46) calls utterance autonomization, a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means or reference to their utterances. This lends a kind of impersonal authority and makes it easier to guide the reader through the discourse that the Guardian is trying to articulate in which the government is represented as 'losers' and launching a series of manoeuvres in order to prevent a defeat in the Plebiscite.

Nevertheless in the Guardian the agents of actions are typically collectivized in ways that represent no specification or identities. Social actors appear mostly collectivised or associated. Consider the following:

- 2) 'There have been reports of police and civilian agents stripping 'No' supporters of the identity cards needed to vote, and there is concern about multiple registration of security agents on voting lists'.

Here 'police and civilian agent' are associated to form a group that represent a threat to the elections. As van Leeuwen (2008:95) suggests association occurs when a group is represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to a specific activity or set of activities. In this case, the association exists in relation to the activity of intervening in the elections. These kinds of representations which suggest that Pinochet's government is planning to intervene in the plebiscite are common through the sample such as: 'Santiago has been filled with rumours of moved by the military government to prevent or distort the voting', '...his party had evidence that agents of the Yes vote would try to scare the population by provoking electricity blackouts and clashes in order to interfere with the delivery of results' and 'opposition leaders say that in rural areas local governments have hired buses and trucks to restrict transport to 'Yes' voters'.

In excerpt two ‘No’ supporters’ are presented as victims of the actions of ‘police and civilian agents’ who are activated negatively ‘stripping’ ‘identity cards needed to vote’.

Representing the government and agents of the state in such a way helps to establish the idea that they are anti-democratic, making the readers a complicit community against them. In this way, the Guardian articulates a negative representation of Pinochet and the government in terms of negative values, characteristics and actions.

Another strategy used by the Guardian that serves to present Pinochet and his government as corrupt is by the use of authoritative sources, such as the United States. Although the CIA and the United States helped to plan the coup and assisted Pinochet during his dictatorship, now they appear to have become more critical towards his regime according to the representations. Let’s consider the following:

- 3) ‘The U.S told the Chilean ambassador, Mr Hernan Felipe Errazuriz on Sunday that Washington was concerned that Gen Pinochet may be planning to ‘cancel the plebiscite or nullify its results’

In excerpt three the United States is activated telling’ and being ‘concern’ about a potential election fraud in the Plebiscite. This representation of the United States serves to reinforce the idea that Pinochet’s government is trying to intervene in the elections. The use of authoritative sources to add negative values to Pinochet and his regime is common through the sample, notable in: ‘Mr Ricardo Lagos, leader of the main opposition Party for Democracy (PPD)’ , and ‘Mr Patricio Aylwin, Christian Democrat leader and spokesman for the No Command’.

However, the Guardian also includes authoritative sources that give voice to Pinochet’s government, consider the following such as ‘The Under-Secretary of the Interior, Mr Alberto Cardemil’, ‘the Interior Minister, Mr Sergio Fernandez’, ‘the Interior Minister, Mr. Sergio Fernandez’, and ‘Mr. Fernando Aguero, leader of the main businessman’s organisation. Thus, we can say that representations in the Guardian give voice to both groups and nominated them in similar ways.

Activating the government and Pinochet in actions like ‘launching a vast operation of psychological warfare to deter voters and stave off the defeat predicted’, ‘stripping “No” supporters of the identity cards’ and trying to ‘cancel the plebiscite or nullify its results’ a

series of dark manoeuvres are connoted. This serves to articulate a general concern and criticism towards the government of 'Gen Pinochet', drawing upon discourses of a despotic and corrupt government trying to rig the elections to stay in power, whatever the costs.

In the same ideological way, Pinochet and the dictatorship are continuously described as antidemocratic and vicious. Amongst the negativity surrounding the government and Pinochet suggested in the text, a discourse of a despotic leader who is out of touch is dominant. Representations of Pinochet are often very selective and involve the use of populist discourse. A variety of strategies are used in representing action which connote this, let's consider the following:

- 4) 'Perhaps General Pinochet really did believe he was loved by his long suffering people. If so, he succumbed to a delusion common among megalomaniacs whose absolute power takes them further and further from reality'.

In extract four naming such as 'General Pinochet' suggests power and authority in opposition to 'his long suffering people' which connotes vulnerability. This draws upon populist discourses of the elite (represented by Pinochet) against the 'people' (Way, 2016:12). According to De Cleen et al (2010) one essential concept of populism is 'the people' pitted against 'an elite' (in Way 2016:5). Here 'people' are passivated and relationally identified with Pinochet which serves to articulate a populist discourse where the 'suffering' of the people is recontextualized and connected directly to Pinochet's actions (van Leeuwen 2008:43). Thus, according to the representations, Pinochet is responsible for the misfortune of the people. Elsewhere in the sample we can see this as in 'the general who has ruled them with a rod of iron for 15 years', 'a verdict on the blood-stained rule of Augusto Pinochet', 'Chileans may well have cause to be thankful that their dictator no longer look as robust as he did, 'there have been reports of police and civilian agent stripping 'No' supporters of the identity cards needed to vote', and 'agents of the 'Yes vote' would try to scare the population'. This discursive articulation is in conjunction with 'the formation of an internal antagonistic frontier separating the 'people' from 'power' (Laclau 2005 in Way 2016:5). In general the Guardian suggests support for the people and negative

emotional attachment to Pinochet and his actions, which serve the purpose of emphasising the idea of Pinochet, is a cruel leader and the people are victims of his actions.

In the Guardian Pinochet is also activated in relation to actions which connote a leader who is 'out of touch with reality'. For instance, in excerpt four he is represented as a leader that may have believed that 'he was loved by his long suffering people'. This assumption of Pinochet is recontextualised as 'common among megalomaniacs'. This representation, made in evaluative terms, is an appraisal which connotes negativity, suggesting an old dictator 'out of his mind', repudiated by the masses, who is determined to hold power at any cost (van Leeuwen 2008:45). In the sample it's possible to find more representations with similar connotations such as 'even someone with such overweening confidence in his own longevity may realise there is not much time left to earn a place in his country's history as something other than an incubus' and 'if he thought that the recent economic recovery would guarantee victory, he overlooked the fact that the benefits have been unevenly and unjustly spread and that he is most loathed by the masses with least to lose'.

Pinochet is also classified and categorized in a way that suggests a shameless and defiant dictator. Consider the following:

5) 'At any rate for a 72-year-old-dictator with his record to seek no less than eight further years in office by means of a referendum offering a stark choice between Yes and No was both arrogant and optimistic'

In excerpt five the Guardian mentions Pinochet's age, which is an implicit classification of Pinochet as an aged man, which does not have a positive connotation (van Leeuwen 2008:42). This classification may serve the purpose of representing him as an old person for politics that shouldn't stand for the presidency. Similarly, classifying Pinochet as a 'dictator' is another way that serves to represent him in a negative way, unlike the Times which mostly named him as 'General Pinochet'. Moreover Pinochet is also represented as a dictator with 'record', where 'record' is clearly a reference to the human crimes he committed during the military rule. However no details or circumstances are given.

Furthermore the Guardian evaluates Pinochet's intention of 'seeking no less than eight further years in office by means of a referendum' as arrogant and optimistic, which contains

a negative appraisements (van Leeuwen 2008:45). This construction of Pinochet's image articulates a discourse of a despotic leader who is out of his mind.

The Guardian usually presents the dictatorship of Pinochet in negative terms emphasizing his responsibility. Consider the following:

6) 'General Pinochet took long enough about it, but concluded that Chile's pariah status, for which he bears the principal responsibility, is both undesirable and damaging'.

Here 'Chile's pariah status' is an abstract reference to the dictatorship of Pinochet. Using the term 'pariah' in order to refer to Pinochet's dictatorship connotes negativity but not just towards the military rule but specially towards Pinochet who is activated bearing the 'principal responsibility' for 'Chile's pariah status'.

Similarly activating 'General Pinochet' in the process of 'taking long enough' to realise that 'Chile's pariah status was undesirable and damaging' is an open critique to Pinochet who stayed for 17 years as the head of a non-democratic military regime.

In the Guardian representations of actions abstractly articulate criticisms for Pinochet's and his regime, drawing upon populist discourses of a despotic, abusive and out of touch leader opposed to the people's interests.

In this chapter we saw how representations of Pinochet in the Times and the Guardian articulate different discourses. In news stories from the Times, Pinochet appear as a dictator promising to govern as a democratic. Pinochet's economic achievements are also foregrounded which serves to articulate a positive discourse of the former dictator. In contrast, in the Guardian recontextualizations of processes foregrounds anti-democratic practices of Pinochet and the Government articulating discourses that connote negativity towards the military regime.

In the next chapter I will examine the linguistic strategies employed by both newspapers in new stories about the arrest of Pinochet in London in 1998.

## **4.2 Analysis of Pinochet's detention**

In October 1998 Augusto Pinochet was placed under arrest in London for crimes of genocide, terrorism and torture. Pinochet was arrested at the 'London Clinic', while recuperating from back surgery, at the request of a Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzón, who asked for his extradition. The detention of the former dictator provoked a series of reactions -both in favour and against the case- in Chile and around the world. Both positions were represented by the media and public opinion. Some argued that the arrest would exacerbate the differences in Chile while others believed that the detention was a necessary step towards consolidating democracy in Chile. The former dictator spent 503 days under house arrest in London fighting his extradition to face trial in Spain. In this chapter I will examine the ways social actors are depicted in a sample of news stories about Pinochet's detention taken from the Times and the Guardian.

### **4.2.1 The Times**

News stories from the Times suggest that the newspaper is against the detention of Pinochet by drawing heavily on the negative consequences of the arrest. Pinochet is usually passivated or backgrounded in the news stories and he is rarely activated in relation to the actions that brought him to trial. The Times articulates a discourse in which the detention of Pinochet is seen as a threat to the stability and democracy of Chile. The use of authoritative sources serves to legitimise the discourse that is being articulated. Let's consider excerpt one:

- 1) 'The country's political leadership - many of whom were victims of General Pinochet's dictatorship - have put aside party differences and joined demands for the release of the former dictator because they feel the fledgling democracy would not survive if he faced trial'.

Here the 'country's political leadership' is activated in relation to the process of 'put aside party differences' and 'joined demands for the release of the former dictator'. By reference to an authority (for example: 'the country's political leadership') the demands for the release of Pinochet are legitimized (van Leeuwen and Woodak 1999:104). According to van



Leeuwen (2008:20) recontextualizations of social actions may add legitimations, reasons that either the whole of a social practice or some part of it must take place, or must take place in the way it does. In excerpt one, the legitimations are founded on the 'country's political leaderships' request. Similarly, expressions like 'many of whom were victims of General's Pinochet dictatorship' contribute significantly to the text's purpose of legitimizing the release of Pinochet, leading readers to believe that the calls for the release of Pinochet are diverse and from all factions, even from his victims. However the alleged victims of Pinochet are indeterminated and aggregated in the form of 'many of whom' which anonymizes their identities (van Leeuwen 2008:40).

Representing 'the country's political leadership' through objectivication and abstraction serves to connote a homogenous and cohesive group which adds legitimacy to the demand for the release of Pinochet. However, at that time, the positions were much more diverse than this representation suggests, with factions like the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Humanist Party showing gratitude for the detention of the former dictator in London (Lira and Loveman 2002:233).

The 'country's political leadership' is also activated in the mental process of 'feel that the fledgling democracy would not survive'. According to Machin and Mayr (2012:107) it is often the case that social actors who are made the 'subjects of mental processes are constructed as the 'focalisers' or reflectors of action'. These participants are allowed an internal view of themselves. This can be one device 'through which listeners and readers can be encouraged to have empathy with that person' (Machine and Mayr 2012:107). In extract one the readers are being encouraged to sympathize with the 'country's political leadership' by being informed about their 'feelings'. This serves not just to empathize with them and their feelings but especially with their 'demands for the release of the former dictator'. Similarly, evaluations like 'democracy would not survive if he faced trial' serve to evaluate the detention negatively, as a direct threat to Chile's democracy.

In excerpt one 'General Pinochet' is formally nominated which connotes power but he is also categorized as a 'former dictator' (van Leeuwen 2008:40-42). This categorization may connote negativity however the actions that made him a dictator are excluded or de-

emphasised from the text. As we will see in this chapter, exclusion is a common practice throughout the sample.

Those affected by Pinochet are identified by relational identification (van Leeuwen 2008:42) to Pinochet as ‘victims of General Pinochet's dictatorship’. This representation backgrounds Pinochet’s agency, changing it into the possession of a process which has itself been transformed into a thing (van Leeuwen 2008:33). Here lexical choices help to deemphasize agency and causalities. This could have been written in another way as for example: ‘people who suffered by the brutal actions of Pinochet’s dictatorship’ which would be far more negative.

In the Times representation of actions usually connotes support for Pinochet and rejection towards his detention. Consider excerpt two:

2) ‘The Senate, where more than half of the members are staunchly loyal to the general, and the Congress have ceased sittings, halting the country's legislative mechanisms, in protest at the arrest’

In excerpt two ‘The Senate’ is represented as being ‘staunchly loyal to the general’ and activated in the process of ‘have ceased sitting’ in protest to the arrest. Representing ‘the Senate’, with the majority of his members being ‘staunchly loyal to the general’ and protesting the detention serves to empower Pinochet and legitimizes the calls for his release. ‘The Senate’ is a collectivization which serves to connote a kind of institutional support toward Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:37). The expression ‘staunchly loyal’ is not a random selection and gives rise to the strong implication that the majority of the members in ‘The Senate’ were supporting Pinochet despite his human rights violations, much like a soldier to a superior officer. This representation misses or underestimates the fact that in 1998 the Senate of Chile was integrated by mostly centre-left members who were not ‘staunchly loyal’ to Pinochet. Admittedly, some centre-left people opposed Pinochet’s arrest in London but this doesn’t convert them into people ‘staunchly loyal to the general’. This representation fails to explain why some people with a strong animosity towards Pinochet urged Pinochet’s release. Many of these politicians were not defending Pinochet but Chile’s

sovereign rights. They were concerned that if Pinochet did not return to Chile, Chileans ‘would feel that much less acutely the urgency to create conditions for justice’ and Chileans would miss the opportunity to create ‘conditions for justice’ in their own country and consolidate the Chilean transition to democracy (Muñoz 2006: 260-266).

‘The Congress’ is also included as an actor who opposes Pinochet’s detention and activated in the process of ‘have ceased sittings’. This representation serves to reinforce the discourse of the detention as something negative. However this is a generalization, most of the politicians who refused to sit in the Congress were members of right-wing parties that historically supported Pinochet and his regime.

Similarly, in excerpt two ‘The Senate’ and ‘The Congress’ are associated represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to the activity of ‘protesting’ against the detention of Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:38). As we see in excerpt one and two, by reference to powerful social groups like the Congress, the Senate or Chile’s political leadership, the Times articulates a discourse in which the detention of Pinochet is represented as a threat to the country and rejected by the public. These representations are common throughout the sample, for example: ‘as a sign of the growing anger in Chile over the General's arrest, the Government yesterday ground to a near standstill. The Senate announced that, in protest at his detention, it would refuse to sit’. Here ‘the Government’ is represented as having stopped in protest to Pinochet’s arrest. Similarly, activating ‘the Senate’ ‘announcing’ that ‘it would refuse to sit’ in protest to Pinochet’s detention serves to articulate a discourse of the arrest as harmful, which is creating instability and affecting the normal progress of the country. Arguing that there is a ‘growing anger in Chile over the General’s arrest’ is another representation that serves to add criticisms and negativity towards Pinochet’s detention. However, this is an agentless construction. The social actors are anonymized and we don’t know from where the ‘growing anger’ is coming (van Leeuwen 2008:40).

Throughout the sample we find more representations in which authoritative sources appear opposing Pinochet’s detention, such as ‘President Frei...., is expected to reiterate his appeal for the general's release ‘ and ‘Santiago Benadava, an expert in international relations and diplomacy, flew to London on behalf of the Chilean Government to support General Pinochet's claim...’. In both of these examples the actions and social actors are recontextualized in order to connote support towards the figure of Pinochet.

Expression such as; ‘ceased sittings’, ‘refuse to sit’, ‘ground to a near standstill’, ‘democracy would not survive if he faced trial’ and ‘halting the country’s legislative mechanism’ serves to evaluate the detention in negative terms and to delegitimize it. These representations give rise to the implication that Chile was facing a growing instability due to Pinochet’s arrest, so the best thing that could happen is to let him free. However, according to some studies the majority of the Chilean people did not feel that the detention of Pinochet was a threat to their country. According to a survey published in December 2, 1998, by the Mori polling group, 71% of the participants said that they were not affected by the arrest of Pinochet, and 66% of the respondents said that Chile’s democracy was not in danger (Spooner 2011:164). Moreover, the same survey revealed that 57% of the participants thought it would be best for the country if he were tried, and just a 29% thought he should not be tried.

Thus, it is interesting to note that in most of the representations social actors are often represented as backing Pinochet and demanding his release, obscuring the fact that the majority of the people welcomed the arrest. Those ones are not often represented but mostly excluded from the representations. Admittedly, some people were calling for the release of Pinochet, but the positions were much more diverse than the above generalization suggests. All of this works ideologically to represent the arrest just from one perspective.

The Times representations also enhance the negative image of the detention in other ways. News stories draw upon a discourse in which the detention is causing social chaos and turmoil in Chile. The language employed to represent Chile depicts a situation of alarm and crisis. The discourse can also be interpreted as a direct warning to the British authorities. Anti-Pinochet groups are often represented as rioters by means of their activations and categorization. Let’s consider the following.

- 3) ‘Daily scenes of thousands of chanting Pinochet supporters clamouring for a return to hard-line rule, and violent clashes between police and anti-Pinochet demonstrators, are echoing the kind of upheaval which marked the 1970s and early 1980s in the country’.

In excerpt three ‘anti-Pinochet demonstrators’ are activated negatively being involved in ‘violent clashes’ with the police. They are functionalized and referred specifically in

terms of the activity that they are doing, in this case protesting/demonstrating (van Leeuwen 2008:42). They are also associated with the police represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to the activity that is 'echoing the kind of upheaval which marked the 1970s' (van Leeuwen 2008:38). It is clear that here the Times prefer to represent anti-Pinochet demonstrators negatively as rioters, rather than as people who may be demanding something valid. Here the representation of 'anti-Pinochet demonstrator' gives rise to the impression that all the people who were against Pinochet were violent troublemakers. This representation works ideologically in order to delegitimize their demands.

In the excerpt above 'Pinochet supporters' are also functionalized and activated in relation to two processes: 'chanting' and 'clamouring for return to hard-line rule' (van Leeuwen 2008:42). These activations do not connote negativity as the activations of anti-Pinochet protesters. Similarly, Pinochet supporters are also aggregated by means of 'thousands of' which may connote power and supremacy in numbers (van Leeuwen 2008:37).

Anti- and pro-Pinochet demonstrators are represented as opposite. While one group is represented clashing violently with the police the other group is activated clamouring for a hard-line rule. This apparent difference in the representations can be seen as a representational strategy of the Times in order to present anti-Pinochet groups negatively and pro-Pinochet groups positively.

The expression 'return to hard-line rule' is clearly an abstract reference to 'return to military rule'. Similarly, to foreground the 'violent clashes' and put it next to the 'upheaval which marked the 1970s and early 1980s' serves not just to legitimate the calls for the release of Pinochet but also make it more likely for the readers to accept as legitimate the possibility of a 'return to hard-line rule'. As van Leeuwen (2008:20) suggest recontextualizations may add legitimations, reasons for a social practice or some part of it to take place. With recontextualizations like 'violent clashes' or 'upheaval which marked the 1970s and early 1980s in the country' the need for an immediate solution is invoked, for instance the release of Pinochet. Lexical choices contain a clear function to stress the supposed negative consequences of Pinochet's arrest.

The Times uses comparisons as a tool to articulate a contrast between Chile before Pinochet's detention and after Pinochet's detention. This comparison serves to highlight the negative consequences of the detention. Consider the following:

4) 'Since the arrest of General Pinochet, 82, at the London Clinic more than a week ago, the normally busy streets of central Santiago have become a battleground between petrol bomb-throwing left-wing activists and the water cannon and teargas of heavily armed riot police. More than 300 people have been arrested and at least 40 injured'

Here 'General Pinochet' is formally nominated and classified by age which is an implicit classification of Pinochet as an aged man, which may connote pity for his person suggesting that he is too old to be detained (van Leeuwen 2008:40-42). Out of 15 times Pinochet is 13 times formally nominated which help to connote authority and power.

In excerpt four anti-Pinochet demonstrators appear mentioned in negative terms. They are indeterminated, classified and functionalized as 'petrol bomb-throwing left-wing activists' which contains a negative appraisal (van Leeuwen 2008:40-45). Representing them as 'petrol bomb-throwing left-wing activists' reveals a tendency of the Times to encode negative stereotypical attributes to anti-Pinochet groups. When representing anti-Pinochet demonstrators it is evident that negative appraisals are more plentiful than positive ones (van Leeuwen 2008:45). Similarly classifying them as 'left-wing activists' may be a strategy by the Times that serves to polarise the discussion over Pinochet's detention leading the topic to two extremes (left versus right) where it may be easier to justify the release of Pinochet and his dictatorship (van Leeuwen 2008:42). Although this representation may reflect the aspects of some protesters, it seems problematic to apply such categorization to all anti-Pinochet demonstrators considering the various background characteristics of this group.

In excerpt four the people who have been arrested and injured during 'the battleground' are aggregated as 'more than 300 people' and '50 injured' (van Leeuwen 2008:37). This serves to create a sense of chaos and indicate a problem. Similarly, the actions of 'to arrest' and 'to injure' are agentless constructions. Here the actions are represented as an event that just happened without the involvement of any agent (van Leeuwen 2008:66).

Recontextualizations like ‘the normally busy streets of central Santiago have become a battleground’ are another way that serves to articulate criticism towards Pinochet’s detention. To describe as a ‘battleground’ the situation in Santiago after Pinochet’s detention and compare it with the ‘normally busy streets of central Santiago’ previous to the detention serves to reinforce the idea that the detention is causing social chaos and damage legitimating the calls for the release of Pinochet.

In contrast to the representations of anti-Pinochet demonstrators, which usually carry negative appraisements and connotations, the activations of pro-Pinochet are quite different (van Leeuwen 2008:45). As founded in the sample: ‘well-dressed men and elderly women crying out ‘free Pinochet our beloved leader’ hurled eggs and spat at the walled compounds’ and ‘hundreds of young people from Santiago's upper middle classes chanted anti-British and anti-Spanish slogans’. Here while Pinochet supporters are activated ‘hurling egg and spat’ to walls, anti-Pinochet protesters appear clashing with the police. Or while one group is classified as ‘petrol bomb-throwing left-wing activists’ the other is classified as ‘Santiago upper middles classes’ or ‘well-dressed men and elderly women’ (van Leeuwen 2008:40). These reveal differences in the representations drawing upon negative discourses of anti-Pinochet groups and serving to add legitimacy to the demands of pro-Pinochet groups which are in line with the discourse that the Times is trying to articulate. However these recontextualizations of the Times do not contribute to the knowledge and understanding of pro-and anti-Pinochet groups nor of the whole situation during that time.

The Times usually represents social actors as a group of people which exist only in relation to activities which are bringing instability to the country. Let’s consider the following:

5) ‘Protests by thousands of supporters and opponents of Augusto Pinochet, the detained former dictator, who have been clashing with police on the streets of Santiago, have plunged Chile into political turmoil that is testing its fragile eight-year democracy’

Here ‘supporters and opponents’ are collectivised and associated, to form a group which is putting at risk the social order of the country (van Leeuwen 2008:38-40). Both ‘supporters and opponents’ are represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to the activity of ‘clashing with the police’ and protest (van Leeuwen 2008:38-40). These kinds of

associations, which are formed to emphasize the risk that Chile is facing, are common through the sample as we noted, for instance, in extract two where the ‘Congress and the Senate’ are also associated in relation to a specific activity, in that case the activity of ‘halting the country's legislative mechanisms’.

In excerpt five the supporters of Pinochet are included in actions that may connote negativity like ‘clashing with the police’, still this representation of the ‘supporters’ is articulated by the use of an association which serves more to emphasize the ‘political turmoil’ that is causing the detention rather than to represent them individually in relation to actions that may delegitimize their demands (as was done with the ‘anti-Pinochet demonstrators’ in the previous excerpts and throughout the sample) (van Leeuwen 2008:38).

Arguing that protesters in Chile ‘have plunged Chile into turmoil that is testing its fragile eight-year democracy’ is another recontextualization that serves to legitimate the calls for Pinochet’s release. It also serves to evoke a discourse of fear and alarm. The creation of fear demands a response, in this case the release of Pinochet. However, according to a survey published in 1998, the majority of the Chileans said that Chile’s democracy was not in danger while Pinochet was under arrest in London (Spooner 2011:164).

Expression such as ‘clashing with police’, ‘violent clashes’, ‘return to hard-line rule’ and ‘battleground’ serve to evaluate the situation in Chile in negative terms. The sample of the Times can be taken as an example of negativization of the detention of Pinochet in creating a discourse of fear and panic and calling for the ‘order’.

#### **4.2.2 The Guardian**

News stories from the Guardian offer quite a different representation of Pinochet’s detention. The Guardian draws upon a discourse in which Chileans are represented divided over the figure of Pinochet where some consider him a brutal and murderous despot while others credit him with saving the country from ‘chaos’. Let’s consider the following:

- 1) ‘The arrest of the ageing General Augusto Pinochet shattered any remaining illusions that Chileans had come to terms with the legacy of his 17-year military rule. While



some point to the grisly record of more than 3,000 dead and disappeared, others focus on economic success and argue Pinochet's firm hand was needed to save the nation from chaos'

While the Times suggests that political leaders in Chile 'have put aside party differences and joined demands for the release of the former' (see excerpt three of the Times) the Guardian argues that the arrest of the former dictator in London 'shattered any remaining illusions that Chileans had come to terms with the legacy of his 17-year military rule'. The Guardian represents the arrest of Pinochet as an event which reveals that Chileans have not yet overcome their differences in relation to Pinochet and the military coup. This point is further elaborated by drawing on the rhetorical contrast between pro-and-anti Pinochet groups where on one hand Pinochet is a hero but on the other a tyrant.

In excerpt one anti-Pinochet demonstrators, indeterminated as 'some', are activated in the process of 'point to the grisly record of more than 3,000 dead and disappeared'. Here the victims of Pinochet are indeterminated and aggregated as '3,000 dead and disappeared' which serves to highlight the human rights crimes of the dictatorship and also to present the victims of Pinochet's dictatorship as an objective reality (van Leeuwen 2008:37). The phrase 'grisly record' contains an evaluative adjective which plays a role in the moral evaluation of the nominalized reference 'record' (van Leeuwen 2008:110). It's also at the beginning of the sentence which adds emphasis to the evaluation. This description tends to be a negative moral evaluation of Pinochet and his regime and serves to legitimate the claims of anti-Pinochet groups.

At the same time, pro- Pinochet groups, indeterminated as 'others', are activated in the processes of 'focus on economic success' and 'argue Pinochet's firm hand was needed to save the nation from chaos'. Here 'Pinochet's firm hand' is an objectivation in the form of a somatisation (van Leeuwen 2008:47). According to van Leeuwen (2008:47) somatisation occurs when 'social actors are represented by means of reference to a part of their body'. The expression 'Pinochet's firm hand' adds a connotative meaning that serves to evaluate Pinochet and the dictatorship as severe and strict. Presenting pro-Pinochet supporters as a group of people who legitimate 'Pinochet's firm hand' in order 'to save the nation from chaos' gives rise to the implication that Pinochet supporters justify the deaths of thousands

of people in the hands of military rule. This representation may lead readers to infer that pro-Pinochet supporters are people that support repressive and vicious regimes in the name of 'order' and 'stability'. The representations in the Guardian challenge the claims of the Times that there is consensus in Chile in relation to Pinochet's detention.

Representations in the Guardian usually place pro-and anti- Pinochet groups in relations of binary opposition. For instance, in excerpt one, one group appears condemning 'Pinochet's firm hand' while the other appears defending it.

The Guardian articulates criticism towards pro-Pinochet groups, drawing upon populist discourses of an elite against people's interests. Let's consider the following examples: 'by yesterday street demonstration appeared to have decreased as Pinochet's supporters headed back to the office. The sight of the coiffed and impeccably dressed Pinochet supporters getting sprayed by police water cannon seemed almost humorous to those who suffered', '...those are all people who profited from Pinochet, that's why they support him' scoffed a plumber, Hector Bozo', and '...businessmen continue to be a bulwark of support for the ageing general'. Here Pinochet supporters are represented in ways that emphasise their social status. Describing them as, for instance, 'coiffed and impeccably dressed' or 'businessmen' and arguing that Pinochet supporters are 'all people who profited from Pinochet' connote distance with normal people like, for instance, the 'plumber Hector Bozo'. These representations draw upon populist discourses of the elite (represented by Pinochet supporters) against the people (represented by anti-Pinochet's demonstrators, for example, by 'a plumber Hector Bozo'). This construction is in conjunction with the 'formation of an internal antagonistic frontier separating the people from power' (Laclau 2005 in Way 2016:5).

Similarly, the Guardian, in contrast to the Times, presents a more complex representation of anti-Pinochet group's through individualization, nomination and categorization. These representations challenge the dominant idea of anti-Pinochet groups as rioters and agitators articulated in the Times. Consider these naming: 'Antonietta Tariseno a nun', 'painter Manuel Ponce Molina' and 'Marcelo Rojas, aged 48'. These naming strategies give a more diverse representation of anti-Pinochet demonstrators representing them in their humanity and complexity and not just as 'petrol bomb-throwing left-wing activists' as written in the Times (van Leeuwen 2008:40). For van Leeuwen (2008:55) which social actors are, in a

given discourse, categorised and which nominated is always of interest to investigate. In stories, he continues, nameless characters fulfil only passing, functional roles, and do not become points of identification for the reader or listeners. In this sense, in the Guardian anti-Pinochet protesters can function as point of identification (van Leeuwen 2008:55).

News stories from the Guardian emphasize the fact that the reaction to Pinochet's arrest in Chile was mixed and polarized. Representations also contain negative appraisal towards the former dictator. Let's consider the following:

- 2) 'The British role in Pinochet's arrest is both celebrated and reviled, reflecting the degree of comfort Chileans have with the sight of the paunchy, white-haired general sitting in their senate'

In excerpt two the representation of Pinochet through physical identification like 'paunchy, white-haired' connotes vulnerability where 'paunchy' suggest fat, spoiled, elite and too relaxed articulating a negative image of Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:44). According to van Leeuwen (2008:58) 'physical attributes tend to have connotation and these can be used to obliquely classify or functionalise social actors'. This description suggests no status or authority and seems to question Pinochet's status of senator-for-life granted by the controversial 1980 Constitution written during his regime. This is not the only representation in the sample which carries a negative appraisal towards Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:45). Elsewhere he is identified, for instance, as 'the former mediocre cadet'. Here Pinochet is represented in a way that includes a negative adjective, in this case 'mediocre'. Additionally the classification 'cadet' connotes much less power and authority than if he was classified as 'General' or the like (van Leeuwen 2006:40).

The Guardian represents the 'British role in Pinochet's arrest' as being 'celebrated and reviled'. Both activations ['celebrated and reviled'] though agentless, reinforces the idea that there are two Chiles, one who defends Pinochet and the other that wants him to come to justice. This representation is further used to illustrate the 'degree of comfort' that Chileans have with the former dictator in 'their Senate' suggesting that there is a considerable portion of 'Chileans' which are not 'comfortable' with Pinochet sitting in 'their Senate'. This serves to question his status as senator-for-life.

Similarly, in contrast to the Times, the Guardian gives considerably more voice to actors who welcomed Pinochet's arrest. Consider the following examples found in the sample: 'I am pleased at what is happening in England but embarrassed at how the Chilean government continues to defend him', 'Isn't it wonderful?' said Marcelo Rojas, aged 48, chanting outside the London Clinic, 'when I heard the news, I said, 'Thank you Scotland Yard' and 'when I heard of this arrest, I was delighted, if they just hold him for the 40 days it takes to process the extradition request, it will be delicious'. These representations challenge the dominant representation of the Times where Pinochet's detention is seen as something repudiated by most of the social actors in the stories. These constructions serve to articulate a united voice against Pinochet. Similarly, giving voice to anti-Pinochet protesters and activating them in mental processes of feeling, like 'pleased', 'embarrassed', 'hearing', 'delighted', the Guardian constructs them as focalisers or reflectors of actions which allow an internal view of themselves encouraging readers to have empathy with them (Machin and Mayr 2012:59; van Leeuwen 2008:33).

Another discourse that is articulated in the Guardian is that Pinochet enjoyed for many years absolute immunity in England. This serves to portray Pinochet as a despotic leader without remorse for the crimes committed in the past, drawing upon populist discourses of a despotic leader against the people. Consider the following:

- 3) 'From the early eighties onwards he slipped into Britain annually, sometimes on shopping trips to buy weapons, but more often for a bit of R and R. If Gen Pinochet was concerned by the outraged Chilean exiles who called for him to be punished for the estimated 3,000 murders carried out during his regime he appeared not to show it'

In excerpt three Pinochet is activated in relation to the process of 'slipped into Britain' 'to buy weapons' or for 'a bit of R and R'. Here Pinochet is overdetermined in form of inversion (van Leeuwen 2008:47). He is connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other's opposite ('buying weapons' and having 'R and R'). This overdetermination serves to articulate a discourse in which Pinochet is represented as a bloody dictator ('buying weapons') but at the same time enjoying complete impunity (having 'R and R'). He is portrayed as a despotic leader who does R&R whilst buying weapons. This representation

also serves to stress the level of freedom that Pinochet enjoyed during many years in Britain evading any trial for the crimes and atrocities committed during his regime. Other cases of overdetermination, with similar connotations, can be found in the sample, such as: 'he has enjoyed tea with Baroness Thatcher, bought British rockets and visited the odd museum and had his health checked over'. These representations can also be interpreted as a direct critique of British authorities who permitted this situation to occur and also as a call to take action now.

Pinochet is further depicted as a dictator who did not have any remorse or any fear of being held. This is realised by activating him in the process of 'appeared not to show' any concern for the 'estimated 3,000 murders carried out during his regime'. Pinochet is depicted as a despotic leader who does not care about the deaths perpetrated during his rule. Here 'murders' is an abstract reference to the victims of Pinochet's regime which are aggregated and quantified presenting them as a fact which can be used to form a consensus opinion about Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:37). The activation of the 'estimated 3,000 murders' is realized through 'circumstantialization' by the preposition 'during' which serves to include Pinochet's responsibility in the murders as they were 'carried out during his regime' (van Leeuwen 2008:31). Additionally 'Chilean exiles' are classified and activated 'calling' for Pinochet to be punished (van Leeuwen 2008:42).

In order to reinforce the idea that Pinochet enjoyed impunity before his arrest, the Guardian highlights actions of Pinochet that connote a comfortable and pleasant life. Consider the following:

- 4) 'Before his detention last week and the extradition request from Spain in connection with atrocities committed against its citizens, his relationship with Britain had seemed unshakeable. He bought his ties at Harrods and shopped at Fortnum and Mason. Much to his delight, he was recognised by the head salesman at Burberry's'

In excerpt four representations of actions foreground the level of impunity and freedom that Pinochet enjoyed for many years before his detention in London. He is an agent in the processes of 'bought his ties at Harrods' and 'shopped at Fortnum and Mason'. He is also passivated in the process of being 'recognised by the head salesman at Burberry's' (a luxury shop in London). These representations illustrate the association of impunity, luxury and

despotism with Pinochet. It represents Pinochet as a brutal dictator without a hint of guilt or accountability to anyone. The details given in this representation, like the names of the shops are not a random choice but purposive that serves to highlight a pleasant life despite the crimes committed. These work to articulate populists discourses which legitimise the anger at Pinochet and sympathy for anti-Pinochet demonstrators. Elsewhere in the sample, representation with similar connotation can be found in: 'he usually stayed at a modern five-star hotel off Park Lane, favoured by well-heeled Europeans' and 'Gen Pinochet also paid regular visits to Madame Tussaud's and the National Army Museum'. Here the actions of Pinochet are recontextualized as being elite and too relaxed articulating discourses of a despotic leader. Descriptions like 'modern' or 'five-star' are added to the representations in order to trigger moral evaluations and foreground the attributes and values that the Guardian is relating to Pinochet (van Leeuwen 2008:98).

It's interesting to note that the relation between Pinochet and England is depicted as a relationship of complicity, which articulate criticism towards England associating the country as a place where Pinochet enjoyed impunity for his crimes. For example: 'In times of strife London has provided a welcoming haven for the elderly dictator, a synonym for gentility, rules and fair play' and 'British technology had been instrumental in bringing him to power. Hawker Hunter fighters aided his 1973 coup bombing the presidential palace'. Here representations give Britain the agent role in processes that connote support towards Pinochet, like 'providing a welcoming haven', 'bringing him too power' and 'aiding'.

Representations in the Guardian articulate criticism toward Pinochet and offer a more complex representation of anti- and pro-Pinochet groups by employing different strategies of representation. The Guardian articulates a discourse that draws upon populist discourses which connote politicians are despotic, not listening and against the people (Way 2016). The use of a populist discourse is a way in which the Guardian shows sympathy toward the victims of Pinochet and legitimates their voices calling for Pinochet to be punished.

As we saw in this chapter, the representations of Pinochet and other social actors in news stories from the Times and the Guardian articulate different discourses. In the Times the recontextualizations of social process are often constructed in order to show support towards Pinochet, for example calling for his release. In the Guardian the representations of social

actors are more diverse giving voice for instance to anti-Pinochet groups and adding criticism to the former dictator.

Next chapter will analyse the representation of social actors in news stories related with the death of Pinochet.

### **4.3 Analysis of Pinochet's death**

On December 10, 2006 the former dictator Augusto Pinochet died in Santiago de Chile one week after he suffered a heart attack. Though at the time of his death he was under house arrest, Pinochet escaped justice and was never convicted of any of the crimes of which he was accused. The Chilean government rejected a state funeral for Pinochet. His funeral was held at the Military Academy in Santiago.

In this chapter I will analyse Pinochet's obituary in both the Guardian and the Times. In both newspapers, the obituaries are the most extensive stories related with the death of Pinochet with 3099 words in the Guardian and 2470 in the Times. So, it's believed that the obituaries are the best source to analyse the dominant discourses of Pinochet articulated by both newspapers on the days of his death.

There are similarities in the types of choices made by the Times and the Guardian. Both obituaries -for instance- foreground the human rights crimes committed during the military regime. Both of them also include the economic policies of Pinochet's regime. However, the differences between both newspapers seem to appear in the ways social actions and social actors are constructed and evaluated, which leads to very different discourses in the newspapers. I will examine how Pinochet is represented, specifically in relation to human rights crimes, and identify the strategies that are being employed in order to articulate specific discourses.

#### **4.3.1 The Times**

In news stories from the Times we see an implicit support for Pinochet. This is achieved through different strategies such as excluding him from negative actions.

Though human right crimes issues are included in news stories from the Times, the processes are often agentless. The responsibility of Pinochet is usually backgrounded from these representations. This may be intentional as part of the discursive strategies adopted by the Times to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal, such as to de-emphasise Pinochet's responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of Chileans (Wodak and Meyer 2009:94). Consider the following:

- 1) 'The coup was brutal and effective. The presidential palace was bombed and President Allende committed suicide. Resistance was soon crushed, left-wing political parties were banned, censorship was imposed, the universities were purged and left-wing politicians and union leaders were repressed'

In excerpt one all the acts are agentless obscuring who is responsible for these activities. The actions of 'bombed', 'crushed', 'banned', 'imposed' and 'repressed' give no details of who did it (van Leeuwen 2008:25). All these processes are caused by particular agents, however the agents are missing. This representation plays a part in reducing the number of times Pinochet and the military regime are explicitly linked to human rights crimes and repression. Even if one may argue that the readers are assumed to know this information already, representations like this serve to de-emphasise responsibility. It allows the actors in the semantic structure to be deleted entirely in the clause, thus leaving responsibility for the processes unspecified (Fowler 1991:78).

Excerpt two is another example in which the social actors responsible for human rights issues are backgrounded and excluded. These absences are a clue of what the Times is trying to hide from the reader (Fairclough 2003 in Hansen and Machine 2013:113).

- 2) 'An official report in 1991 produced evidence for the death and disappearance of almost 3,000 men and women in the repression that followed, and many thousands more were tortured, imprisoned or exiled'



Here actions like ‘to torture’, ‘to imprison’ and ‘to exile’ are agentless acts (van Leeuwen 2008:23). No details of actions or agency are offered. The use of nominalisations and process nouns like ‘death’, ‘disappearance’ and ‘repression’ is another way that allows the exclusion of social actors (Van Leeuwen 2008:28). For Fairclough (2003):

nominalization characteristically involves the ‘loss’ of certain semantic elements of clauses – both tense (so ‘destruction’ can cover ‘was destroyed’, ‘is destroyed’, ‘will be destroyed’, etc.) and modality (so distinctions between ‘is’, ‘may be’ ‘should be’ and so forth are ‘lost’). It also may involve the exclusion of participants in clauses’... ‘It can also obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions (Fairclough 2003:143)

Even if these nominalisations foreground the human rights crimes committed during Pinochet’s dictatorship, the process nouns leave the question of causality and agency unanswered. As cited in Hart (2014:33), one potential ideological function of nominalization, like in excerpt two, is to permit habits of concealment (Fairclough 2003: 144; Fowler 1991:80). The Times include human rights crimes but leave the causality and agency unclear. This may be part of the strategy used by the writer in order to avoid or to reduce -as much as possible- the times Pinochet is represented in relation to actions or processes related to human right abuses. This serves the purpose of articulating a discourse that de-emphasises the responsibility of Pinochet in human rights issues.

Similar cases, in which representations of human rights crimes leave causality and agency unclear can be found in the sample as in: ‘...the Roman Catholic Church condemned the human right abuses and created and extensive network...’and ‘...repression was intensified...’. Here, for instance, the responsible for the ‘human rights abuses’ is excluded from the text, similarly nominalizations like ‘repression’ allow the exclusion of social actors (van Leeuwen 2008:30). These choices and patterns in the vocabulary have the effect of obscuring the agent (Blommaert 2009:29).

These representations are ideologically significant since they leave causality and agency unclear. In that sense, although the Times tries to appear objective by including human right issues, in reality it backgrounds and excludes the responsible for these actions (van Leeuwen 2008:28). Such strategies reveal an ideological position of the Times, for example, representing human rights issues as something not to be further examined or contested (van Leeuwen 2008:41). The representations in the Times present human rights issues as fact but not like a process. Thus, human rights issues appear simply like a thing rather than the result of actions taken by specific individuals, for instance, Pinochet and his regime (Hansen and Machin 2013:132). This articulates discourses in which the responsibility of Pinochet in human rights violations appears less important and even irrelevant.

Another discourse of Pinochet is actually a ‘double discourse’ which, on the one hand, emphasizes negative aspects of Pinochet and his dictatorship, but, on the other, foregrounds positive aspects of his dictatorship. This serves to construct a discourse in which the representation of Pinochet is transformed from negative to less negative (or to positive). Consider the following:

- 3) ‘Pinochet became an international symbol of Latin American military dictatorship, though for many Chileans he was the man who saved Chile from a Marxist takeover and presided over an economic restructuring that set the country firmly on the road to sustained and impressive economic growth’

In excerpt three we have two images of Pinochet: ‘the dictator’ and ‘the hero’. The first representation suggests negativity while the second positivity. This is what we call ‘inversion’, a form of overdetermination in which Pinochet is connected to two practices that are, in a sense, each other’s opposite (van Leeuwen 2008:62).

In the first line of excerpt three, Pinochet is activated negatively in the process of ‘becoming’ an ‘international symbol of Latin American military dictatorship’. However no detail or actions are given. All the processes that convert Pinochet in the ‘symbol’ are excluded from the text. This serves to de-emphasise the brutal acts committed by Pinochet and his regime. Then, we have the presence of the adversative connector ‘though’ which gives the chance to provide a kind of correction for the assumption in the first phrase. Fairclough (1989:131) suggests that these kinds of connectors can ‘cue ideological

assumptions'. Immediately after the connector the Times argues that Pinochet was for 'many Chileans...the man who saved Chile' from a 'Marxist takeover'. Pinochet is activated in relation to the process of 'to save' which connotes not just positivity but power and authority. This representation carries a positive evaluation of Pinochet, as someone who removed a danger from Chile. Here 'many' is an indetermination that anonymizes the social actors but aggregates them connoting a big number of people (van Leeuwen 2008:40). However this representation fails to explain why the democratically elected Government of President Allende, categorized as a 'Marxist takeover', represented a situation of risk for Chile (van Leeuwen 2008:42).

Furthermore Pinochet is activated in the process of 'presided over an economic restructuring' that brought 'sustained and impressive economic growth' to Chile. This activation serves to set Pinochet in a particular frame where he can be evaluated positively. Foregrounding the economic aspects of the military regime is a way in which the Times try to legitimate, if not to excuse, the dictatorship and its excesses.

This representation of Pinochet, as 'the saviour of the country', is a form of argumentation, that serves as a way of guiding the reader on how to interpret the events related with the coup d'état. Although Pinochet is also described in unfavourable terms in the first phrase of excerpt three, the discourse of Pinochet that emerges after reading this extract, is the one as a 'saviour' and 'successful'.

Another case in which economic aspects of the dictatorship are juxtaposed to human rights issues can be seen in the following excerpt:

- 4) 'However though the Pinochet regime was undoubtedly a brutally effective police state, it was also a pioneer in the application of free-market economic policy'

Here the connector 'however' serves to downplay the fact that Pinochet's dictatorship was a 'brutally effective police state' and highlights the fact that it was the 'pioneer in the application of free-market economic policy'. According to some studies the 'textual function of 'however' in the sentence initial position is to change the topic of discourse, particularly when it is used to introduce a contrastive sentence, enabling the discourse to proceed around this new topic' (Wang 2011:122). In excerpt four the writer constructs a discourse in which

the economic ‘achievements’ of Pinochet appear as something that can legitimate or justify the human rights violations.

Such constructions provide an argument that directly de-emphasises the agency and responsibility of Pinochet in specific processes, for example, in human rights atrocities. These representations reveal what the Times considers as relevant to the understanding of Pinochet. Despite these positive representations of Pinochet based in economics term, Muñoz (2008:309) argues that ‘in 1970, 20% of Chile’s population had lived under the poverty line; by 1990, when Pinochet left office, the poor had doubled to 40%. Average salaries during the Pinochet years were lower than in 1970’.

Another move in the Times in order to de-emphasise human rights crimes is to focus on human rights crimes in other countries. This serves to minimize the seriousness of the crimes committed by Pinochet and his dictatorship in Chile. Consider the following:

- 5) ‘Though arguably there were far worse human right atrocities in other Latin American countries, international sympathy for Chilean democracy and Allende experiment converted Pinochet into the best known (and most hated) dictator’

In excerpt five we again have the presence of an adversative connector at the beginning of the sentence. Here ‘though’ comes to mean ‘in spite of the fact that’. This connector works as a counter-argument that de-emphasises the human rights atrocities committed by Pinochet and foregrounds the fact that there were ‘worse human rights atrocities’ in other countries of Latin America. Thus, human rights crimes are presented as normal or universal which seems to make it less serious. Arguing that ‘there were far worse atrocities’ in other countries is a way that serves to represent the atrocities committed by ‘Pinochet and the military’ less relevant, or important. Van Leeuwen (2008:109) defines this kind of argumentation as ‘conformity legitimation’, a way to legitimate practices based on the principle that something is legitimate ‘because that’s what everybody else does’ or ‘because that’s what most people do’. In this way, and even if Pinochet is passivated in the process of being ‘converted’ ‘into the best known (and most hated) dictator’, this evaluation is being questioned by telling that there ‘were far worse human rights atrocities’ in Latin America.

Consequently the writer suggests that what ‘converted Pinochet into the best known (and most hated) dictator’ was not the human rights crimes (‘there were far worse human right atrocities’) but the ‘international sympathy for Chilean democracy an Allende experiment’. Here it is clear that the writer wants to lead the reader to interpret the events in a particular way suggesting that the negative image of Pinochet has been a product of political factors rather than due to the human rights violations committed by Pinochet. Similarly to compare the human rights atrocities of Pinochet with the human rights atrocities of other Latin American countries is another way to legitimate the practices of Pinochet. According to van Leeuwen (2008:111) ‘comparisons in discourses almost always have a legitimating or delegitimizing function’. These lexical choices are made to underestimate the magnitude of Pinochet’s human rights violations and may be seen as a denial of the Times despite the large number of reports and consistent accounts of human right crimes committed by Pinochet’s rule.

Similarly, the representation of Allende’s government in the Times connotes negativity and no authority. For instance, in the excerpt above his government is nominated as the ‘Allende experiment’ (van Leeuwen 2008:40). Here the quality of being an ‘experiment’ is assigned to Allende’s government which serves to belittle it. Representing the government of Allende as an ‘experiment’ gives rise to the implicature that it was neither a serious nor a regular government. Attaching such negative lexical choices to Allende’s government makes it more distant, excluding positive qualities and thus makes it easier to legitimate or defend the military intervention commanded by Augusto Pinochet. Elsewhere in the sample, Allende’s government is represented as ‘a Marxist takeover’. Here the government of President Allende is classified and represented by means of an abstraction, for example ‘takeover’, which may give rise to the idea the government of Allende was not democratically elected (van Leeuwen 2008:46). Consider this other example ‘the brief but turbulent years of the Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende brought the collapse of the promised ‘Chilean road to Socialism’, here ‘Salvador Allende’ is nominated with a semi-formal construction and his government is negatively activated as it “brought the collapse”. Also lexical choices like ‘brief but turbulent’ serves to add an extra negative connotation to Allende’s regime.

Even if Pinochet was an universally reviled dictator during the time of his death, representations in the obituary of the Times contribute to construct a positive, or less negative, image of Pinochet in order to legitimate his actions and his dictatorship.

### 4.3.2 The Guardian

In this section I will analyse the representation of social actors in the obituary of Pinochet in the Guardian. As we noted in the previous analysis of the Times, human rights crimes processes are usually agentless and the responsible for these actions are backgrounded. In the case of the Guardian, the responsible for such actions are included, foregrounding their responsibility. Consider the following excerpt:

- 1) ‘Especially shocking was the level of repression in a country with a longstanding parliamentary tradition and a hitherto mild record of military involvement in politics by regional standards. Official investigations since 1990 have confirmed over 3000 deaths and disappearances at the hands of Pinochet's security forces’

Here the representation attributes agency to ‘Pinochet’s security forces’ for the responsibility of ‘3000 deaths and disappearances’. The agency of ‘Pinochet’s security forces’ is not constructed directly through the use of a verb but by employing the expression ‘at the hands of’ which comes to mean ‘by the action of’ or ‘through the agency of’. Even if this expression is an impersonalisation in the form of somatisation that can background the identity or role of social actors, in this case it serves to stress the direct involvement of ‘Pinochet security forces’ in the death and disappearances of the victims (van Leeuwen 2006:46). Similarly, one can argue that prepositional phrases like ‘at the’ can be used to de-emphasise agency however this construction includes the agents of actions, in contrast to what we saw in the agentless representations of the Times.

In excerpt one, the number of victims is aggregated and presented as objective information (van Leeuwen 2006:37). For van Dijk (1992) the use of these kinds of statistics serves to give the impression of research, of scientific credibility (in Hansen and Machin 2013:132). Similarly, the responsibility of ‘Pinochet’s security forces’ in the crimes is presented as ‘confirmed’ by ‘official investigations’ which help to present the information as reliable.

Here 'official investigations' is part of an utterance autonomization which excludes social actors but leads to a kind of impersonal authority to the utterances (van Leeuwen 2008:46).

Pinochet's coup d'état is also presented in a negative way by emphasising, in the first sentence, the fact that Chile was a country which used to have a 'mild record of military involvements in politics'. This representation serves to represent the coup d'état as something unusual for a country like Chile, that had destroyed a long and stable democratic tradition.

Even if the Guardian articulates passive constructions of Pinochet, his responsibility in human rights issues is always foregrounded and emphasised. Consider the following:

- 2) 'By this time, imprisoned military officers, including Contreras, were openly expressing disgust at Pinochet's refusal to accept any responsibility for abuses while his subordinates were being jailed and disgraced. By his death some 300 cases had been filed against him and proceedings were going ahead in three especially infamous cases. For one of these - multiple murders, torture and disappearance in a notorious secret detention centre in Santiago known as Villa Grimaldi - he was placed under house arrest'

Here Pinochet is constructed by the writer as passive assuming a less powerful position. He is passivated with regards to 'some 300' human rights cases that 'had been filed against him' and also in the process of being 'placed under house arrest' for a case of 'multiple murders, torture and disappearance'.

So even if Pinochet's agency is not foregrounded through activation, his responsibility is emphasised through passive constructions where he plays the undergoing role in activities like being accused of human rights crimes or being placed under arrest (van Leeuwen 2008:33). Similarly if we look to collocations, the words that frequently precede or follow 'Pinochet' in this paragraph are: 'abuses', 'death', 'torture', 'disappearance' and 'arrest' (Fairclough 2003:131). In this way the Guardian is drawing on discourses that suggest negativity towards Pinochet.

Similarly, in excerpt two, Pinochet is passivated by the activation of ‘imprisoned military officers’ which ‘were openly expressing disgust at Pinochet’s refusal’ to accept any responsibility. This representation of Pinochet also serves to foreground his role in the human rights crimes. This construction presents him as a former General who turned his back on his collaborators. Here collocations like ‘disgust’ also connote negativity towards Pinochet (Fairclough 2003:131). In excerpt two the only collaborator who is nominated is ‘Contreras’, which serves to emphasise that even the right-hand man of Pinochet felt betrayed by the former dictator (van Leeuwen 2008:40). This representation articulates a negative discourse of Pinochet as a disloyal military man who did not assume the consequences of his actions.

As we noted in excerpts one and two, the grammatical constructions in the Guardian usually include agency and foreground the human rights abuses of Pinochet, as opposed to the Times. This is common through the sample. For example: ‘...General Prats became one of the victims, killed with his wife in exile in Buenos Aires by a bomb attached to their car - an attack later shown to have been carried out by Pinochet's agents’, ‘in 2006 his last remaining immunity to prosecution, as a former president, was removed to allow him to be charged in a notorious case of the murder of opponents abroad’ and ‘in January 1998, proceedings were even opened against Pinochet himself on charges of genocide brought by the Communist Party’. In all these constructions, either by activation or passivation, the responsibility of Pinochet in human rights is stressed, for example ‘have been carried out by Pinochet's agents’, ‘allow him to be charged in a notorious case of the murder of opponents’ and ‘proceedings were even opened against Pinochet himself in charge of genocide’ (van Leeuwen 2008:32).

In the sample of the Guardian we also find discourses with reference to Pinochet’s economic policies. However, these constructions are not used as a form to de-emphasise or to minimize the responsibility of Pinochet in human rights crimes, as it has been done in the Times. Consider the following:

- 3) ‘By the late 1980s, while reviled worldwide for the brutality of his regime, Pinochet was also lauded by many for turning his country's economy into a dynamic free-market model for the developing world’



Here Pinochet is presented in two ways. In the first sentence he is passivated and presented as someone 'reviled worldwide' because of the 'brutality of his regime'. This is realized at the beginning of the sentence which serves to add prominence (van Dijk 1991:216). This construction of Pinochet, as the head of a 'brutal regime', connotes negativity and serves to legitimate this 'revile' against him. In the second phrase the former dictator is also passivated but in this case in relation to the action of being 'lauded by many' due his economic achievements. This second representation of Pinochet may suggest a subtly positive discourse of the former dictator, however it does not counter-argue the preceding representation. Furthermore this positive appraisal is realized through indetermination by the indefinite pronoun 'many' which anonymizes the social actors who laud him, pointing responsibility to an unspecified 'many' (van Leeuwen 2008:39).

In contrast to the discourse articulated in the Times, the lexical choices in the Guardian do not represent the economic issues of Pinochet as a counter-argument to de-emphasise human rights violations. In fact, Pinochet's economic policies are questioned by the Guardian. The discourse articulated challenges the figure of Pinochet as 'the saviour of the Chilean economy'. This is realized by emphasising some of the negative consequences of the radical neoliberal policies implemented during the military regime. Consider the following:

- 4) 'Meanwhile, in laboratory conditions, with political parties and trade unions banned, the "Chicago Boys" set about radically remaking the heavily state-dependent economy. This was achieved through wholesale privatisation, a complete opening to the international economy, fixing the exchange rate artificially low, and pumping in foreign loans during the petro-dollar glut of the late 1970s. The result was the destruction of national industry and much of agriculture, then near-collapse in the early 1980s amid a frenzy of speculation, consumer imports and debt crisis. The state bailed out most of the country's banking sector and unemployment rose to an official level of over 30 per cent'

In excerpt four the representation emphasises that the 'radical' economic policies implemented by Pinochet were done under non-democratic conditions 'with political parties and trade unions banned'. However, the action 'to ban' is agentless. Similarly, the economists of Pinochet, nominated and collectivized as 'Chicago boys' (a popular name

given to Chilean economist that studied with Milton Friedman in Chicago), are activated in the process of transforming the economy through a 'radically remaking' (van Leeuwen 2008:40). The changes implemented by the 'Chicago boys' are represented in a negative way producing a series of side effects like 'the destruction of national industry and much of agriculture'. Similarly collocations like 'radical', 'destruction', 'near-collapse, serves to articulate a discourse that recontextualizes the economic policies of Pinochet's regime as being negative (Fairclough 2003:131).

Similar representations can be found in the sample, for instance, 'reforms such as the privatisation of the pension system became highly influential around the world, growth became steady and Chile became a byword for economic success - though the gap between rich and poor widened to give the country the worst income distribution in the region after Brazil'. Despite Pinochet's economics reforms being presented positively in the process of becoming 'highly influential around the world' and a 'byword for economic success', later we have the use of the connector 'though' that serves to articulate an argument that challenges the representation of the first phrase. Immediately after the connector, Chile is presented as a country with 'the worst income distribution in the region after Brazil', despite the 'highly influential' economic reforms of Pinochet. The implication of this second representation emerges as a suppressor of the preceding representation. According to Fairclough (1989:131) the use of connectors like 'though' contain and reinforce 'ideological common sense'.

This construction gives rise to the implicature that even if Pinochet's economic reforms were 'highly influential' these didn't help to overcome the gap between rich and poor. Therefore the evaluation of Pinochet's economic policies articulates a negative discourse.

Excerpts three and four articulate an open critique against the economic policies of Pinochet. This reveals the ideological stance of the Guardian which stands not just against the economic policies of the military dictatorship but also against the consequences of these extreme neoliberal policies. These constructions emerge as counter-arguments against the representations of the Times, in which the economic policies of Pinochet are foregrounded and represented as something that appear to legitimise and obscure the human rights crimes

Differences between the Times and the Guardian are also evident in the way they construct the image of Allende. In contrast to the Times, in the Guardian, his figure suggests positivity and authority. Consider the following example:

- 5) 'It was here too that he first met Dr Allende, who in 1973 would commit suicide in the bombed ruins of 'La Moneda' government palace rather than surrender the presidency'

In extract five Allende is formally nominated with the addition of the title 'Dr' which suggests authority (van Leeuwen 2008:40). Here he is also activated in the process of 'commit suicide'. This action is constructed with the phrase 'rather than' which in this context suggest 'instead of' or 'in preference of'. Representing Allende as choosing to commit suicide instead of 'surrender the presidency' is a way that serves to recontextualize Allende's suicide as an act of defiance against the military coup rather than an act of self-destruction. This representation articulates a positive discourse of Allende, as someone who died for what he believed in. This 'heroic' image of Allende contrasts with Pinochet's image articulated in the Guardian where he is mostly negatively portrayed as –for example in excerpt two- a disloyal military man being criticized by his ex-collaborators.

Elsewhere in the sample, we see Allende represented positively as in 'Allende's election three years before at the head of a socialist-communist coalition had a significance far beyond Chile itself, being widely seen as the harbinger of similar projects in countries such as France and Italy, as well as the beginning of a "second Cuba" in Latin America itself. Here Allende is formally nominated and presented as the head of a project that was 'seen as the harbinger of similar projects such as France and Italy' which connote positivity (van Leeuwen 2008:40). Similarly 'Allende's election' is activated as having a 'significance far beyond Chile' which suggests authority and power. Lexical choices here articulate more positive discourses about Allendes' government than the representations we saw in the Times.

In this chapter we have seen how through different grammar and lexical strategies the Times and the Guardian articulate discourses with particular political interests. The representation of Pinochet in the Times usually de-emphasises or excludes the responsibility of Pinochet in

human right crimes while in the Guardian Pinochet's responsibility is much more emphasised.

## Chapter V: Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to reveal how newspapers articulate discourses that promote, legitimise and maintain their political and ideological views. This study has identified and discussed the main linguistic and discursive strategies evoked from the representation of Pinochet and other relevant social actors in news stories from the Times and the Guardian. Van Leeuwen argues that discourses, making sense of the same aspect of reality, can be in service of different interests (Wodak and Meyer 2009:145). Using critical discourse analysis and Van Leeuwen's (1996) approach to the analysis of social actors, this study has shown how two newspapers recontextualize events related to Pinochet in ways which reflect their interests and orientations.

The analysis of the sample revealed an important difference in how the Times and the Guardian represent Pinochet in news stories. In the Times, the economic aspects of Pinochet's dictatorship are usually emphasised and evaluated in positive terms. Pinochet is represented as responsible for Chile's economic success and for saving the economy of the country. These representations serve to recontextualize Pinochet's actions as positive. Similarly, Pinochet's 'economic miracle' is used as an argument that leads to the idea that the former dictator was not someone 'too bad', but someone who also made good things for his country. Furthermore, lexical choices in the Times tend to de-emphasise human rights crimes committed by Pinochet's dictatorship. Though human rights violations are included in some news stories, grammatical choices tend to de-emphasise or exclude the agents of actions. In the Guardian the representation of Pinochet is articulated in different terms. Pinochet is represented as a brutal and anti-democratic dictator, articulating discourses that connote negativity. The human rights crimes committed under his military dictatorship are emphasised and the responsibility of Pinochet is usually foregrounded. Similarly the 'economic miracle' of Pinochet is called into question and evaluated in negative terms. Recontextualizations of actions also tend to represent Pinochet as a despotic leader who did not care or did not worry about the atrocities committed under his military rule.

In both newspapers the discourses evoked from the representation of Pinochet are articulated in different ways, from different points of view on the same topic. However the components

of the representations are drawn using similar textual strategies (Fowler 1991:221). These strategies can be linked to the orientations and politics interest of the two papers. The Times is a conservative, right wing, newspaper and the Guardian is a centre-left one (Khosravini 2009:126). The Times traditionally has endorsed the Conservative Party while the Guardian has supported the Labour Party. A poll from Ipsos Mori (2010) indicated that the voting behaviour of the majority of the readers of the Times is for the Conservative Party while the voting behaviour of the majority of the readers of the Guardian is for the Labour Party.

Under Pinochet's dictatorship, Chile was one of the first countries to implement a neoliberal economy. A few years later, in 1979, Margaret Thatcher, from the Conservative Party, took the same neoliberal path as Pinochet (Harvey 2005:9). The economic methods used by Pinochet have been praised by many right-wing sympathisers around the world. According to Moreno (2008), Pinochet 'has been broadly admired and acclaimed, from most extreme right-wing think-tanks to world-class publications like the New York Times, The Economist, Time magazine, Newsweek and Financial Times'. Against this backdrop it is not surprising that a conservative newspaper like the Times tends to articulate positive discourses of Pinochet. In July 2013 the Wall Street Journal, a Murdoch-owned newspaper, like the Times, based in New York, published an editorial entitled 'After the Coup in Cairo' suggesting that Egypt needed a Pinochet. In its final paragraph the newspaper stated: 'Egyptians would be lucky if their new ruling generals turn out to be in the mould of Chile's Augusto Pinochet, who took over power amid chaos but hired free-market reformers and midwived a transition to democracy'. Similarly, while Pinochet was arrested in London, Rupert Murdoch's British-based satellite network, Sky Television channel, made an exclusive deal to televise Margaret Thatcher's visit to the former dictator (Justo 1999). The Times articulates a positive or less-negative image of Pinochet in order to promote its ideological and political views. Meanwhile the Guardian, a centre-left newspaper, favours left-of-centre politics (Gold and Revill 2004:21). Therefore it is not surprising that the paper adopts a more critic line on Pinochet. According to Turner (2010:57) in 1973 after the military coup in Chile the Times 'was more in line with Heath's government than with the Labour opposition. The Guardian had some sympathy for the 'Allende experiment' and argued that the coup did not prove that radical reform by democratic means was impossible'. By each newspaper taking sides, we can see how newspapers articulate discourses that are in line with their political and ideological views.

Many readers expect news stories to present unbiased factual reporting news but some of them may not be aware how recontextualizations of process are turned into discourses in order to shape them to support particular interests. As Fairclough (2008) suggests:

Making news is a heavily interpretative and constructive process, not simply a report of 'the facts'. This does not mean that news narratives are just the same as fictional narratives: news narratives, like historical narratives (Callinicos 1995), have a 'referential intention' which makes them open to questions about the relationship between story and actual events, questions of truth (Fairclough 2003:85).

In CDA many scholars have found how news centres are linked to newspapers political orientations and interests. For instance van Dijk (1991) revealed how conservative British press editorials about ethnic affairs have political and socio-cultural functions that serve to reproduce white dominance and right-wing racism and reaction. Bishop and Jaworski (2003) analysed how British newspapers reportages of football games, reproduce and maintain hegemonic social relations in order to construct nation. Way (2013) exposed how western media representing Somali piracy articulates discourses that are advantageous to the West and less so to Somalis.

Considering that ideologies are reproduced through discourse, this thesis has revealed how the use of language in news stories about Pinochet covers hidden agendas. Therefore we can conclude that the process of news making is 'a heavily interpretative and constructive process' and not just a report of the facts (Fairclough. 2003:85).

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