Animation, documentary and memory. The animated representation of the Chilean dictatorship

Animación, documental y memoria. La representación animada de la dictadura chilena

Animação, documentário e memória. A representação animada da ditadura chilena

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RESUMEN
La animación aparece cada vez más en producciones sobre sucesos relacionados con la memoria. Nuestro objetivo es analizar las obras que incorporan escenas animadas para representar la dictadura chilena y profundizar en la convergencia entre animación, documental y memoria. Desde una perspectiva cualitativa, combinamos el análisis de las animaciones con entrevistas a sus directores. Los resultados muestran que la animación es un formato versátil, que permite a los autores superar la ausencia de imágenes de archivo, suavizar el grado de representación de los sucesos traumáticos, abaratar costes, conectar la memoria con las nuevas generaciones y favorecer la empatía del espectador.

Palabras clave: cine animado; segmentos animados; documental animado; memoria; dictadura; Chile.

RESUMO
A animação aparece cada vez mais em produções sobre eventos relacionados à memória. Nosso objetivo é analisar as obras que incorporam cenas animadas para representar a ditadura chilena e aprofundar a confluência entre animação, documentário e memória. Desde uma perspectiva qualitativa, combinamos a análise das animações e entrevistas com os diretores. Os resultados revelam que a animação é um formato versátil que permite aos autores superar a ausência de imagens de arquivo, suavizar o grau de representação de eventos traumáticos, diminuir custos, conectar a memória com as novas gerações e favorecer a empatia do espectador.

Palavras-chave: cinema animado, segmentos animados, documentário animado, memória, ditadura, Chile.

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INTRODUCTION
Since the premiere in 2003 of the documentary Los Rubios (Albertina Carri), the production of works that use animation as a tool to address the issue of memory has gradually increased, especially in Southern Cone countries. Los Rubios is about the kidnapping and disappearance of the director’s parents in 1976, during the military dictatorship in Argentina. Over time, there has been a transition from the memory of the children of the victims to that of the grandchildren, as happened in the case of the Chilean Gabriel Osorio and his animated short film Bear Story (2014), inspired by the story of his grandfather, imprisoned after the coup d’état of Pinochet and later exiled.

The Israeli documentary Waltz with Bashir (Ari Folman, 2008), about the massacre of Sabra and Chatila, or the Cambodian L'image manquante (Rithy Panh, 2013), about the genocide carried out by the Khmer Rouge, confirm that this tendency to encourage memory is also observed worldwide, in societies that have suffered a violent or traumatic past.

The aim of this study is to analyze the convergence of animation with the memory of the Chilean dictatorship and documentary film, to establish the advantages of this format as a representation tool for these issues. Therefore, in the corpus selection we have included the production of animated audiovisual related to the theme of Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship. Along with the analysis of the works, we also incorporate the opinion of the authors to determine the elements that favor the proliferation of animated films and sequences in the field of memory and the traumatic past.

ANIMATION, DOCUMENTARY AND MEMORY
There is a long tradition of using animation in the documentary genre (Ward, 2005, p. 125). As Honess Roe points out, we can observe a hybridization of both from the beginning of the history of cinema: “The hybridization shows that often animation and documentary have very similar communicative goals, be that to educate or inform or to convey a strong message” (2009, p. 89). However, there are certain considerations to bear in mind regarding the limits of the animated image and the documentary genre. The use of animation in the documentary field has the disadvantage that “the performative element within the framework of non-fiction is thereby an alienating, distancing device, not one which actively promotes identification and a straightforward response to a film’s content” (Bruzzi, 2006, p. 154).

In the reproduction of images of humans, it is relevant to consider the limitations caused by the uncanny valley (Mori, 1970). Although this concept has its origin in robotics, its application has extended to the field of animation, especially for computer-generated animated human representations. According to Mori, as the mimetic reproduction of a human being improves, the emotional empathy felt by the viewer towards that replica increases to a point, called uncanny valley, in which the excess of realism decreases the empathic reaction if the appearance and human movement are not reproduced perfectly: “Empirical evidence has shown that the uncanny can be increased if there is a perceived mismatch (or imbalance) between a character’s graphical fidelity and their expected behavior, based on their realistic appearance” (Tinwell, Grimshaw, & Abdell-Nabi, 2014, p. 338). As stated by Nichols (2008, p. 88), “reenactments effect a temporal vivification in which past and present coexist in the impossible space of a fantasmatic”. In this regard, “a perceived lack of facial cues and an inability to decode vital nonverbal information may cause the Uncanny Valley effect” (Tinwell, 2014, p. xx). This is because people are familiar with the characteristics of the human face, so they easily detect any dissonant element in realistic representations of humans (Lasseter, 2001).

On the documentary side, several authors highlight the resistance within the genre to totally renounce the indetical image and accept a representation of reality based on animated images (Menna, 2013). As Annegret Richter says, “prior to 2008, even people in the film business were irritated when we talked about animated documentaries” (Matzkeit, 2013). Likewise, Gunnar Strom posits that “the term ‘animated documentary’ may seem like a contradiction” (2003, p. 47), while Honess Roe states that “animation and documentary make an odd couple. Theirs is a marriage of opposites, made complicated by different ways of seeing the world” (2013, p. 1).

Nevertheless, in the words of Nichols, documentary is not a reproduction of reality, it is a representation of
the world we already occupy” (2001, p. 20). Nonfiction is defined by its opposition to fiction: “fiction being a construct about a world, and nonfiction being a construct about the world” (Ward, 2011, p. 299). Therefore, the differentiating element of the documentary is the reference to the historical world and not so much the format with which the reality or the individuality of the reproduced image is represented. As Wells says, “the claims made about the real world of actuality by animated documentaries must be evaluated according to what they say about that real world, and not on the basis of such formal or aesthetic criteria” (1997, p. 133).

With the arrival of the new millennium fully animated documentaries have proliferated and the English term animated documentary has been standardized in the academy (Wells, 1997; Ward, 2005; Honess Roe, 2013) or Animadok, in German (Richter, 2011; Mundhenke, 2017). Waltz with Bashir (Ari Folman, 2008), Pequeñas voces (Jairo Eduardo Carrillo, 2011), Approved for adoption (Jung Henin and Laurent Boileau, 2012), The missing picture (Rithy Panh, 2013) or 25 April (Leanne Pooley, 2015) are documentaries that deal with topics related to memory, made entirely or for the most part with animation techniques.

The consolidation of this type of productions and the appearance of sections dedicated to the animated documentary in international festivals like the Festival für Dokumentar- und Animationsfilm in Leipzig or the Factual Animation Film Fuss in London show their acceptance within the genre, since as Nichols points out, documentary is what documentary makers themselves consider admissible, what they consider limits, borders and test cases, the way in which borders exercise the force of a definition, however vaguely, and the way in which the qualification, negation or subversion of these same borders go from being an anomaly without consequences to be a transformative innovation and later an accepted practice (1997, pp. 44-45).

This increase in animated documentary production has its origin in several factors. In the first place, certain elements exogenous to the documentary have favored the naturalization of computer-generated images of human beings, beyond the traditional animations of objects. The development of computer science and changes in television in the 1980s (Richter, 2011), the popularity of digital animation in the nineties (Hight, 2008), technological convergence and mashup culture (Missomelius, 2015) have provoked a discussion regarding the limits of the representation modes of the documentary and its adaptation to the new social and technological contexts. Secondly, there are factors related to the difficulty posed by some issues to be represented by a classic documentary format (Skoller, 2011): the absence of archive images, the subjectivity of experiences lived on the emotional or psychological level, the risk of revealing the identity of an interviewee when there is a danger that he/she will suffer reprisals for his/her statements and the surreal elements hidden beneath the surface of the visible world (Becikman, 2011, p. 262). Thus, as Wells points out, animation fulfills a penetrating function, through which abstract concepts and previously unimaginable states can be visualized through animation in ways that are difficult to achieve […] in the live-action context” (1998, p. 122). In this regard, “there are forms of violence –holocaust, genocide, torture, and rape—that are considered beyond representation. However, they also claim to be discursivized, to be objects of a testimony, to be narrated” (Schwab, 2015, p. 61). Third, this format enables a “mechanism of Brechtian distancing” (Sánchez-Biosca, 2016, p. 17) in the representation of traumatic memory, especially in autobiographical documentaries. Thanks to this distancing, the degree of iconicity of the representation of a painful past is modulated to favor the exposure of the protagonists to the traumatic event from a bearable distance and that the images do not hurt the spectators’ sensibility. This protection mechanism is present in the live action documentary Els internats de la por (Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, 2015), where the testimonies of sexual abuse, mistreatment and humiliation suffered by children interned in religious centers in Spain during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco are illustrated with drawings and minimalist animations, made with simple strokes in two colors.

Fourth, the implementation of animation is not only done in an instrumental way to overcome these difficulties, but we also find works in which it fulfills an aesthetic function. When the real images are not very persuasive, an animated representation of the facts allows to provoke in the spectator a greater visual impact (Wells, 1998). As Kota Ezawa, author of the animated documentary The Simpson Verdict (2002),
recognizes, the animated representation of a scene already existing in archive images allows to distill and stylize the visual information of the image “and one reason why artists have used stylization for centuries is to get the attention of the viewer… By stylizing something, by distilling information, the information can also become more vibrant and more visceral in a way” (Beckman, 2011, p. 267). Finally, animation can provide a counterpoint of humor to the content of the documentary, taking advantage of the comic connotations of this format. As Ward points out, animation “can draw together complex social issues and simplify matters (sometimes to ironic effect) to present an argument about the real social world” (2005, p. 127).

For example, in Bowling for Columbine (2002), Michael Moore interspersed the animated clip A Brief History of the United States of America, which in just three minutes summarizes in an ironic way the history of that country, using an aesthetic very similar to that of the satirical animation series South Park (Trey Parker and Matt Stone, 1997-present). Likewise, in The Age of Stupid (Franny Armstrong, 2009), we find three animated sequences that serve to reinforce, from a tragicomic perspective, the concepts that appear during the live action documentary: consumerism, climate change and war for resources. Honess Roe (2013) points out that these animation segments create thematic and tonal punctuation moments in the documentary, which serve both to summarize and explain some contents and to incorporate a touch of acid humor that contrasts with the seriousness of the live action part. For Nichols, any recreation of the historical world in the documentary field can be classified in any of the following typologies: realist dramatization, typification of routines, brechtian distanciation, stylization, and parody and irony (2008, pp. 84–87).

Paul Wells proposes a classification of the representation modes of the animated documentary according to the images’ level of adaptation to the canons of the documentary format: the imitative mode uses the generic conventions of the documentary with a naturalistic representation, the subjective mode uses animation to represent the thoughts and feelings of their main characters; the fantastic mode moves further away from the realistic representation until it reaches the limits of surrealism, “revealing the underlying systems and relationships in rationalized, supposedly civilized, naturalised cultures” (1997, p. 44); and the postmodern mode is at the other extreme of the imitative mode, being “a mode with no special claim to ‘truth’ or ‘reality’, but is rather ‘merely an image’ and not an authentic representation” (1997, p. 45).

Annette Richter (2011, p. 127) proposes four non-exclusive functions of animation, contextualized with examples of documentaries: anonymization of the protagonists, as in the documentary Repetition Compulsion (Ellie Lee, 1997), where animation serves to protect the identity of women living on the street; illustration of memories and feelings, in Survivors (Sheila Sofian, 1997), in which the testimonies about the abuse suffered by women victims of gender violence are illustrated with animations; compensation for the lack of documentary archive material, in Silence (Sylvie Bringas and Orly Yadin, 1998), which depicts the calamities suffered by the family of Tana Ross in the context of the Holocaust and the Nazi persecution of Jews, and use of advanced representation options, in Flawed (Andrea Dorfman, 2010), which allows to expand the range of representation tools.

For Honess Roe, it is questionable that these classifications can “help us understand this type of film or fulfill much of a purpose beyond a self-serving one of being able to divide films up among their suggested categories” (2013, p. 21). The author proposes a classification similar to that of Richter, although it differentiates between the functions that the animation fulfills in the animated documentary and in the live action documentary that incorporates animated segments. According to Honess Roe (2013), if in the animated documentary the animation fulfills three functions—mimetic substitution, non-mimetic substitution and evocation—in animated segments “the function of the animation is to interject into the live action in such a way to markedly contrast the animated and the live action parts of the film. This is often intended for humorous, satirical and ironic effect” (2009, p. 22).

The variety and the disparity of proposals to classify the animated documentary show the difficulty of narrowing the limits and functions of this hybrid format. Below, we will analyze the animated audiovisual production related to the Chilean dictatorship.
aim is to find out what functions the implementation of this format fulfills to define the advantages of its hybridization with the documentary genre and memory.

THE ANIMATED REPRESENTATION OF THE CHILEAN DICTATORSHIP

In the selection of the works analyzed, we have included all types of animated audiovisual productions related to the theme of the Chilean dictatorship, from the dictator Augusto Pinochet’s coup d’état in September 1973 until the end of the Military Regime in March 1990.


The style of the films is quite different and each one uses a technique or combination of own animation techniques. Most authors have developed a personal style. Among their references in the field of hybridization of animation and memory, they recognize having seen films such as *El botón de nácar* (Patricio Guzmán, 2015), *Persepolis* (Vincent Paronnaud and Marjane Satrapi, 2007) or *Waltz with Bashir* (Ari Folman, 2008).

The path that has led each author to use animation is related to his/her professional career. Some works have their origin in individual initiatives, such as Vivienne Barry’s story of the *arpilleras* (women who work with sackcloth), the memory of the coup d’etat in the new generations of Claudio Díaz or the story about Gabriel Osorio’s grandfather exile. These are animation professionals who have incorporated the problem of the memory of the dictatorship in their audiovisual productions.

On the other hand, other productions have institutional support, such as the stories about Salvador Allende and Víctor Jara, both public television productions, or *Trazos de memoria*, a project linked to the Londres 38 memory space. This initiative is inspired by the Dutch website *Hidden Like Anne Frank* (http://www.hiddenlikeannefrank.com), which illustrates the testimonies of Jews who had to live in hiding in the Netherlands during the Nazi occupation in the Second World War.

Except for Vivienne Barry, who lived through the military coup, the rest of the authors have spent most of their lives in democracy, after the end of Pinochet’s dictatorship. The majority was born even after 1973. Therefore, the generational factor seems to be a decisive element in the bet for an emergent narrative about the memory of the dictatorship, supported by the different formats offered by animation.

**COMO ALITAS DE CHINCOL**

*Como alitas de Chincol* (2002) is an animated stop motion short story of the Chilean Vivienne Barry, who lived in exile during the Pinochet dictatorship. Upon her return to Chile, the author decided to tell the story of a group of women who denounced the repression and crimes of the dictatorship with the embroidery of sackcloth.

The short animates the stories and the elements that appear on the rugs embroidered by these women. As a chronicle, the staging represents the relevant events of the coup d’état and the dictatorship: the bombing of the La Moneda Palace, the arrests, the exile, the demonstrations, the murders, the hunger strike of the families of the detainees disappeared in the embassy of Denmark, the deficiencies in the health system, the martyrs of Lonquén and, finally, the return of democracy.

Along with these events, the daily life of the protagonists is also shown: embroidering, weaving, taking care of children, cooking or eating. As for the materials used, in addition to the animations with thread and cloth, there are photographs of the *arpilleras* working, the original rugs and the repercussion that their embroidered subversive criticisms had in the press.

In the soundtrack, along with the music of Humberto Onetto, there are also archival sounds related to the narrated events, such as the atmosphere of demonstrations and political demands, as well as the characteristic sound of a helicopter’s propeller, which the author especially links to memories of military actions during her childhood in Chile (Vivienne Barry, personal communication, March 17, 2018). Along with the use of photographs and embroideries of the sackcloth, these sound elements abound as part of the documentary nature of the work.
GOLPE DE ESPEJO

The documentary *Golpe de espejo* (Claudio Díaz, 2008) illustrates with rotoscoping the testimony of nine young Chileans born after the military coup, among whom we find from Pinochet supporters to children of exiled or disappeared prisoners: Carla is the daughter of Chilean exiled in France and has the memories of the military coup that her parents transmitted to her; Michael was raised in a family environment related to the dictatorship, and he defines his grandparents as Pinochet supporters; Josefina is the daughter of a Navy officer, although at home they did not discuss politics; Juan Miguel was born almost at the arrival of democracy and has no memories of the dictatorship, Ricardo also has no memories or references to the coup d’etat, Alex is the son of a political death victim and does not like the kind of democracy that Chile has, although he recognizes that it is better than the dictatorship; Ernesto has the references of the coup that his father, arrested three days for his union affiliation, told him, and Susan writes poetry and remembers her childhood listening to the songs of Violeta Parra.

The interviewees answer the questions: Do you remember the coup? And what is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear this word? Along with the testimonies, there are animated fragments with a musical soundtrack by Cristián López, representing symbolic figures that evoke the visual contexts of each period:

The Coup, where we see a group of quiet pigeons and then, when listening to an insistent military march, they embark on a frantic flight. The Dispossession, which shows us the life and death of the disappeared detainees. The Reencounter, which allows us to look into the lives of exiled and returnees. Finally, The Reconciliation, where children, young and old people live together in Chile today, while embarking on a journey from an individual past to a collective future (Díaz, 2007).

The visual stylization of the interviewees manages to separate the testimonies of the people who give them. In the process of abstraction, specific individuals are literally blurred until they merge with images of the social imaginaries of Chile related to the coup. In this regard, key protagonists of recent Chilean history appear illustrated, such as Víctor Jara or Violeta Parra, and memory spaces, such as the La Moneda Palace.

The animation allows integrating from a dream perspective the images of the current Chile and those of Pinochet’s military coup, offering a wide spectrum of responses that allow, as the last testimony says, “that we look through the window of the future towards our recent past and assume our commitment as children of this land” (Pérez & Díaz, 2008).

TRAZOS DE MEMORIA

*Trazos de memoria* (Valentina Armstrong, Carolina Churruca, Helios Lara, Paloma Rodríguez, María José Santibañez and Oscar Sheihing, 2012) and *Trazos de memoria 2* (Pavel Reyes, Álvaro Gruneret, Daniel Vásquez, Néstor Pérez, Fernando Barros and Claudio Martínez, 2016) are part of the Londres 38 project, a memory space in Santiago, Chile, located in the former detention, repression and extermination center known by the same name.

It is a choral project, in which each testimony is animated by a different director. Throughout two volumes (2012 and 2016), each consisting of six short films, the authors illustrate with black and white animated images the testimonies of survivors and relatives of detainees disappeared in Londres 38. As Pablo Céspedes recognizes, narration is the core of the Trazos de memoria stories, while illustrations, music and sound effects occupy a secondary place, to accompany and reinforce the voice of the testimonies (Quijada, 2016).

The stories go back to the government of the Unidad Popular, including the coup of 1973, the resistance during the dictatorship, the exile, the repression in Londres 38 and the search for disappeared relatives: “It is about experiences and specific situations that account for more global processes transmitted through animated illustrations” (Londres 38, 2012).

As Campbell and Hardbord (2002, p. 217) point out in reference to the video-testimonies about the Holocaust, these projects have their origin in an attempt to suture the collective wound.

In *Trazos de memoria* María José Santibañez illustrates the testimony of the former MIR activist, Guillermo Rodríguez Morales, about the process of social and political organization during the government of the Unidad Popular; Oscar Sheihing illustrates Miguel Ángel Rebolledo, former MIR activist and survivor of Londres 38, who talks about the day of the 1973 coup d’état; Paloma Rodríguez puts images to the story of Mario Irrázabal, surviving sculptor of Londres 38 who tells his experience in that detention center; Carolina Churruca illustrates the testimony of Erika Henning Cepeda, former MIR militant detained in Londres 38, who talks about the forms of resistance to repression in that place; Valentina Armstrong makes the animated illustration of the testimony of Luz Encina Silva, a human rights activist and mother of a disappeared...
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ments of the narrative, but also to situate themselves in
themselves, who up to this day still don’t know where
happened to the bear’s family? Where are they? These
are the same questions that thousands of families ask
their loved ones ended up” (Osorio, 2016).

The story of the bear’s personal drama works as an
alley of the suffering of the families that experienc-
ed the consequences of the repression of the Chilean
dictatorship. Although the story focuses on the inte-
rior of the characters and the pain of the family being
truncated, the metaphorical link with the dictatorship
is present in the work as a trigger for the vicissitudes of
the protagonists. As the director recognizes: “I did not
want it to be a literal story but a metaphor” (Perasso,
2016). “Sentiment is rescued more than the literality
of Chile’s history” (Rodriguez, 2016).

The references to the dictatorial period are found in
different areas. On the one hand, the modus operandi
of the repression of the dictatorship is reproduced: bea-
tings, kidnappings, imprisonment, torture, etc. On

BEAR STORY

Bear Story (Gabriel Osorio, 2014) was awarded in
2016 with the Oscar for best animated short film. It is
inspired by the life of Leopoldo Osorio, grandfather of
the director and secretary of President Salvador Allende.
Osorio was imprisoned for more than two years after
Pinochet’s military coup and was later sentenced to
exile. The dedicatory is implicitly reflected in the title,
since bear is said os in Spanish.

The short film is an amalgamation of animation
techniques, where animated objects in stop motion,
traditionally animated drawings and watercolors and
computer-generated animated images converge. It is
articulated through a double story, without a text that
anchors the meaning of the images (Barthes, 1986). In
the first place, there is a narrative framed by an ani-
mated diorama that shows the story of a bear beaten
and kidnapped by uniformed people. During his capti-
vity, he is forced to work in a circus, separated from his
family. In this regard, the short film shows the emo-
tional repercussion of the forced separation for the pro-
gonist, by showing his longing when he contemplates
the family portrait that he carries in a pocket watch.
Finally, the bear manages to escape to return with his
family. This story with a happy ending shows parallels
with the family history of the director, since his grandfa-
der also returns from exile when the dictatorship ends.

However, along with this outcome of the framed
narrative, we also find the story of the bear that manages
the diorama: an organ player who lives alone, separated
from his family. The longing of his relatives is evident
by the looks towards spaces of the house that denote
their absence, which in his story are reduced to figures
of tin puppets. Thus, as the director himself points out,
the story leaves some unanswered questions: “What
taken place in the Unidad Popular; Néstor Pérez
animates the testimony of Lautaro Videla Moya, for-
mer MIR activist, about the resistance of the political
organizations on September 11, 1973; Álvaro Grunert
illustrates the testimony of Mario Aguilera Salazar on
political repression and strategies of resistance; Fern-
anda Barros animates Oscar (Rulo) Troncoso’s state-
ment about his detention and torture in Londres 38;
Pavel Reyes illustrates the testimony of Juana Aguilera
Jaramillo, former MIR activist, who recounts the pro-
ses of social and political reorganization conducted
during the dictatorship, and Daniel Vásquez designs
the images that accompany the story of Natalia Chan-
freau Hennings on how being the daughter of a disa-
ppeared prisoner affected her childhood.

The animations were made, mainly, by authors under
thirty years, with the aim of reaching more easily the
new generations (Quijada, 2016). In this regard, it
should be noted that, during the creative process, the
directors interviewed the people whose testimony
they were going to illustrate. The meetings offered the
authors tools to gather information about visual ele-
ments of the narrative, but also to situate themselves in
the historical and personal context of the testimonies.
Thus, an intergenerational dialogue was established
that facilitated the understanding of what happened
by the youngest and allowed a staging from their aes-
thetic perspective and through a current format with
which they are familiar.

The referen
the other hand, the aesthetic of the uniforms recalls the characteristic image of the military, especially the distinctive uniform of the dictator Augusto Pinochet: long cape, rosette and shoulder boards embroidered in yellow and significantly large cap.

By offering us the suffering caused by the forced separation of the family, the short film gets the viewer to emotionally share the point of view of the protagonist so that he/she can empathize with the suffering of the dictatorship’s victims. As Gabriel Osorio tells, the sensation of being deprived of his loved ones is what inspires the story: “During my childhood I felt the invisible presence of an absent grandfather, who was not dead, but was not present in my life. Bear Story is not about the life of my grandfather, but it is inspired by his absence and the mark it left on me” (Osorio, 2016).

The short film visually complements the nostalgic memories of the past, using the ancient ways of working, such as watercolor drawing. Antonia Herrera, director of animation, says that “everything is based on the nostalgia of how we remember our families and our grandparents when we were children. We used sepia tones such as those of portraits and old photos” (Rodriguez, 2016). Thus, the memories of the time when the family was united are literally fossilized in amber tones, trapped with the bittersweet feeling that childhood nostalgia brings.

From the soundtrack point of view, the weight of the music in the interpretation of the Bear Story images is significant, since there are no dialogues that can in any way direct the meaning of the story. In this regard, the music of the short film results in the nostalgic atmosphere that the theme and the colorimetry of the images provide. The soundtrack played by Dënver has an emotional and melancholy tone, which evokes the sensation of organ players or musical boxes and goes back to past times. As Milton Mahan, one of the members of the band, points out, although the music is extremely sad and has small moments of darkness, at the end of the short film it changes and leaves room for the viewer to have a luminous contemplation considering the message that “life with all its setbacks is fine” (Araya, Escobar, & Naranjo, 2016).

**LOS ÚLTIMOS DÍAS DE VÍCTOR JARA**

In the Chilean case, we find several examples of documentaries with animated segments that do not follow a disruptive pattern and demonstrate a cohesive convergence of documentary and animation. This format is used as a tool to face the challenge of “how to replace the absence of images that represent the act of killing, torturing, dehumanizing the enemy” (Sánchez-Biosa, 2016, p. 12). An example of this is found in Los últimos días de Victor Jara (Christian Rojas Rebolledo, 2016). This is a reportage, broadcasted on September 14, 2016 on Televisión Nacional de Chile (TVN) to commemorate the 43rd anniversary of the murder of the Chilean singer-songwriter, Victor Jara, in the football stadium that now bears his name. It consists of four pieces that recreate what happened between the day of his arrest (9/11/1973) and the day of his burial (09/18/1973): El día del Golpe de Estado, Detenido en el Estadio de Chile, La muerte and El rescate de su cuerpo.

**SALVADOR ALLENDE**

Due to the traditional linking of animation with children, animated cultural and educational videos are a powerful tool to connect with new generations and explain traditions, historical events and events related to the traumatic memory of a country. These initiatives are aimed to be broadcasted on television, but also to be distributed in educational centers as resources to address these problems.

In the Chilean case, animations have been produced that collect customs, myths, legends and folk tales of the country’s original peoples, such as the animated medium-length film Nuestros orígenes (Ingrid Muñoz, 1993), the Pichincha documentary series (CNTV Nova-sur, 2015) or the animated short Selk’nam (Sebastián Pinto, 2012).

In the field of memory of the Chilean dictatorship, we only find a Venezuelan public television production that narrates in a pedagogical way the rise to power of the Unidad Popular and the military coup of Pinochet: Salvador Allende (ViVe TV, 2016). The animation represents the political opposition of the right and the Christian Democratic Party as flamboyant shadows of a demonic aspect that threaten President Allende. In contrast, the organizations and sectors that support him appear smiling and are easily identifiable as men and women of diverse ethnic groups and professions. I.e., it confronts the darkness and the phantasmagorical threat of political opposition to the union and the popular fraternity of Allende.

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The video is articulated through a voice-over that provides information on the judicial file of the case and the testimonies of survivors who were with Víctor Jara during the days preceding his murder. The interviewees reconstruct the story in situ, in the same spaces where the events narrated happened. As the author states, the animations make it possible to reinforce the story of the interviewees and depict “the events as they occurred, from the mouths of their protagonists, in the same place” (Rojas Rebolledo, personal communication, January 4, 2017).

The digital animation techniques allow a performative testimony in which, along with the image of the interviewees, the protagonists mentioned in the narration are animated, such as the military, the detainees or Víctor Jara himself. In the reportage there are also scenes animated with stop motion, in which it is shown in an explicit and detailed way the vexations that the composer suffers during his detention, as well as the moment in which he is murdered.

In addition, along with the animated dramatization of the murder in a realistic style, there are allegorical elements that replace the images of the exact moment of his death. Therefore, when we hear the shots that end with the life of Víctor Jara, metaphorical images are shown, such as the string of a guitar that breaks or a group of birds that flies in disarray.

CONCLUSIONS

The convergence of animation and documentary films has become a new way of narrative expression in the field of memory and traumatic events. The analysis of the animated representation of the Chilean dictatorship shows a tendency to make possible the oxymoron of representing the un-representable, overcoming the traditional limitations of the documentary genre and adapting its aesthetic to the canons of the 21st century: “If this new century has taught us something, it is the categorical, almost essential refusal to admit the emptiness of images; or, if preferred, the imperative need to build traces of what left no trace” (Sánchez-Biosca, 2016, p. 24).

Animated segments are commonly used to create “thematic and tonal punctuation moments in a documentary” (Honess Roe, 2013, p.10), however, in Los últimos días de Víctor Jara these segments allow to visually reconstruct the memory of the coup and the repression of the dictatorship in those events where archival images are not available. Thus, there is a resignification of the memory spaces, which thanks to the animation “generate the picture that will finally remain in the spectator’s memory” (Rojas Rebolledo, personal communication, January 4, 2017). It is also a versatile format, which allows modulating the degree of representation of traumatic events. As the author points out, the animation “softens the horror while showing it” and allows us to show the facts as they happened, but with the respect that the victim and his/her family deserve (Rojas Rebolledo, personal communication, January 4, 2017).

We also find documentaries that address the reconstruction of memory completely from animation. As the author of Golpe de espejo points out, the docu-animated format allows “to concrete a real language with a creative language that is a contribution to education and that reflects realities, not harsh and violent, but realities that have a relationship with the spirit” (Animación, Chile en Movimiento, 2013). For Claudio Díaz, the use of animation allows to take advantage of “the proximity of young people with these multimedia and proactive languages” (personal communication, January 25, 2017). It is, therefore, another functionality beyond the elements highlighted in the theoretical introduction. Apart from anonymizing the victims, evoking emotions and memories, overcoming the absence of images and expanding the expressive possibilities (Richter, 2011), animation allows us to connect the new generations with the theme of memory.

In the same vein, Trazos de memoria aims to “develop new formats of expression and transmission of the memories of our recent past, to reach a wider audience” (Londres 38, 2012, p. 70). I.e., use animation as a format “more universal and well received among young people and young adults” (Elgueta, personal communication, October 31, 2017). In Salvador Allende, the animation plays a pedagogical role that connects with the tradition of the historical documentary, but with a format adapted also to the children’s audience. However, it is striking that these animations are made abroad. As Vivienne Barry points out (personal communication, March 17, 2018), the necessary consensus to face a pedagogical project aimed at children on the controversial subject of the memory of the Pinochet dictatorship does not yet exist in Chilean society.

The Londres 38 team stresses other factors that influence the implementation of the animated format in the memory documentary, such as the economic
advantages, since it allows to lower production costs, or the psychological ones, by favoring the connection of the spectators with their own emotions (Elgueta, personal communication, October 31, 2017); i.e., animation invites us to “put something of ourselves in what we see on the screen” (Honess Roe, 2011, p. 221). Bear Story is an example of how an animated fiction story can connect with a universal feeling, as its director states: “Audiences in other countries see a reflection of their own political processes. In Russia, for example. Or in Taiwan, where they associated it with the Japanese invasion during the Second World War” (Perasso, 2016). Despite being a fiction with anthropomorphic animal characters, the animation transmits emotions that transcend the specific case and claim the memory of the victims and the pain generated in the families.

The use of metaphors and less figurative or abstract visual representations through animations allows the author to incorporate a double coding by ages (Brown, 2017): on the one hand, more obvious messages addressed to all audiences; on the other, deeper messages only recognizable by adults, where violent events are blurred or replaced by metaphors. This dual strategy allows, as García-González (2017, p. 98) points out, that the mediator adult can choose to what extent he/she will explain these references to the minor. Consequently, both in the field of the family and in educational institutions, animation is an adequate tool to face the challenge of addressing this problem in the generations that have not experienced this traumatic past, especially in those younger.

FOOTNOTES
1. This paper is part of the academic production of the European Commission R&D project Cultural narratives of crisis and renewal (RISE-2014-645666 CRIC).
2. Stop motion is an animation technique in which a succession of small spatial variations of a static object is recorded frame by frame. When playing these images, the object seems to move.
3. Rotoscoping is an animation technique that allows tracing the images of live action movies to create realistic movements and dimensions in animated objects.
4. The videos are available at http://londres38.cl/
5. According to Óscar González, employee of the tailor shop of the Chilean Army Military School, the cap of the dictator Augusto Pinochet was, by express order, “seven centimeters higher than that of his peers” (Peña, 2012).

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