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Part 2: Representing Reality

Chapter Title: ***Militarized Masculinity and Perpetration in Chilean Documentary Film***

"Palabras del espacio exterior" ("Words from Outer Space") is a two-page text that forms part of a chronicle written by Roberto Bolaño (2011) after one of his trips to post-Pinochet Chile in 1998. Bolaño's reflections speak volumes about the pervasiveness of violence and militarized masculinity, conditions that did not simply appear with the 1973 coup and disappear with the transition to democracy in 1990. Published in English in the collection of essays and speeches *Between Parentheses*, the title "Words from Outer Space" references *Interferencia secreta*, a clandestinely recorded tape containing a series of military orders and counter-orders transmitted on September 11, 1973, the day of the military overthrow of the democratically elected Socialist government of Salvador Allende. It was the bloodiest period in the seventeen-year-long dictatorship. That tape is analyzed in depth by Patricia Verdugo, a Chilean journalist, writer, and human rights activist. What stands out about Bolaño's remarks on the military commanders' words and voices is the way he traces the links between so-called ordinary masculinity and militarized masculinity and state violence. He writes that the voices of the commanders were vaguely familiar, like "echoes of a nebulous fear located in some parts of our bodies" (p. 84).

While the title ironically suggests otherwise, dictatorial violence is not depicted by Bolaño as "other," rather as troublingly familiar. He identifies it in the pranks of schoolboys, the teacher's punishing rod, the discourse of national security, and the laughter of militarized men on the tape. In the recording, "Some orders are unequivocal: there's talk about killing on sight, arrests, bombings. Sometimes the men who're talking make jokes: this doesn't bring them any closer to

us" (p. 84). Bolaño unpacks different kinds of information in these sentences where the distance between civilian and military men is questioned: "Despite it all, the humor they flaunt is familiar. A humor that one recognizes and would rather not recognize. The man who's talking could be my father or grandfather" (p. 84). I begin with Bolaño's "Words from Outer Space" because it captures an image of militarized masculinity and violence that I will trace through an analysis of two Chilean documentary films made by women in the post-dictatorship: Lissette Orozco's *Adriana's Pact* (2017) and Lorena Manríquez's *Ulysses Odyssey* (2014). These films explore the personal and political dimensions of violence, as well as the relationship between gender and militarism in the past and present. Both filmmakers seem to echo Bolaño's conclusion that "there's no getting around it: these are the voices of our childhood" (p. 86).

Underpinning these nonfiction works is the notion that the emergence of a militarized state that crushed leftist political opposition through surveillance, detainment, and torture was not an aberration. The Pinochet regime emerged from a society steeped in military culture and shaped by egregious inequalities between men and women of different classes, races, and sexual orientations. Militarism, already deeply rooted, surfaced powerfully as a backlash to the economic and social reforms of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government (1970–1973). If patriarchy constituted the bedrock of militarism, then militarism served to buttress patriarchy at a time when the social order was in question. The military stoked conflict surrounding issues of gender and class while it simultaneously discredited the democratic political process and framed civilian leadership as weak. The lionization of the armed forces and reverence for the figure of the all-powerful militarized male, therefore, went hand in hand with what Brian Loveman (1997) calls the "politics of antipolitics" (p. 3). Military and civilian acceptance of this ideology, Loveman states, entailed "the denial of the legitimacy of labor protests, strikes, and political party claims of representing diverse interests" (p.

5). These features of anti-politics cannot be separated from assumptions about gender.

Given how the right-wing government of Pinochet so vehemently defended patriarchal power and the authority of the armed forces to impose order, it is crucial to understand the relationship between gender, violence, and militarism. How might the social construction of the gender binary and militaristic socialization underlie, fuel, and justify acts of political persecution and subjugation? Where might we find insight into the junctures between so-called ordinary masculinity and militarized masculinity and violence? How might documentary film shed light on such connections? What strategies might filmmakers use to unmask the ideologies underpinning torture? And finally, how might their counter-hegemonic depictions of struggle be meaningful today? This chapter contributes to *Gender, Media, and Violence* by arguing that until we connect the dots between masculinity, militarism, and violence, we cannot fully comprehend the causes and consequences of dictatorial brutality. It frames the ideology of violent subjugation as part and parcel of militaristic culture, and it maintains that documentary film can play a role in rendering visible that overlooked relationship.

To contextualize the documentaries in this analysis, it is necessary to recognize that the attempt to address mass atrocity in Chilean film with a focus on the perpetrators is somewhat recent, emerging around 2010. As Michael Lazzara (2000) reminds us, an expansive bibliography of films, novels, historiographies, and scholarly works already existed on the experience of victims and their children, but stories of perpetrators and their families have been largely underexplored. Recent documentaries like Andrés Lübbert's *El color del camaleón* (*The Color of the Chameleon*) and Lissette Orozco's *El pacto de Adriana* (*Adriana's Pact*), both from 2017, foreground voices of the children and relatives of collaborators in torture and, Lazzara maintains, reveal how perpetrators represent themselves. Scholars have also pointed out that these documentaries shed

light on how their descendants confront political and ethical dilemmas associated with family bonds (Canet, Lazzara, Ros, Traverso). The aftermath of perpetration and complicity is also depicted with remarkable nuance by Marcela Said. In *El mocito* (*The Young Butler,* 2011), Said uses the groundbreaking book *A la sombra de los cuervos* by journalist Javier Rebolledo (2015) as a springboard to explore complicity in violence through the story of Jorgelino Vergara, a man who as an adolescent worked in a torture center during the Pinochet regime. Lazzara notes the significance of Rebolledo's and Said's work for sparking a sustained public focus on the underexplored topic of complicity.

This essay makes inroads into this growing body of scholarship by examining how Orozco's *Adriana Pact* (2017) and Manríquez's *Ulysses's Odyssey* (2014) present disruptive ways of seeing the gendered dimensions of militarism and complicity in violence within *and* beyond the armed forces. Both documentaries were produced by Chilean women whose family members played direct or indirect roles in the repression meted out by the Pinochet regime to eliminate the opposition and solidify power. I will examine how Orozco and Manríquez make visible the relationship between militarized masculinity and violence from multiple angles. The comparison allows me to explore how gender, as a social and cultural construction, is performative, multiple, and dynamic. The idea is not to conflate normative and militarized masculinity; rather, it is to observe how militarism is gendered and how it permeates civilian thought. As Cynthia Enloe explains, militarism and patriarchy are systems of ideas and practices in which we all participate to some degree. By permeating politics and popular culture (movies, slang, toys, video games, camouflage, etc.), war and violence are normalized.

Concurring with Enloe, I argue that to embrace militarized masculinity does not require one to wear a uniform but to adopt a certain worldview. As the documentaries in this chapter illustrate,

some of the military's most fervent proponents were and continue to be civilians, and many are women. Orozco and Manríquez demonstrate that just as militarism is not an entirely male domain, anti-militarism and resistance to toxic masculinity are not inherently female endeavors. My analysis brings out how the gendered process of militarization differs among men and women, and how a younger generation of women filmmakers reflectively confront these issues through documentary. Ultimately, these films not only constitute an audiovisual creative challenge to the violence of the regime, they offer compelling evidence of the connection between militarized masculinity and torture.

Ulysses's Odyssey (2014) by Lorena Manríquez

The documentary *La odisea de Ulises* (2014) by Lorena Manríquez centers on the filmmaker's quest to understand the vastly different political perspectives of her father and her uncle Ulises. In the opening voice-over, the filmmaker explains that her father was a dentist and an army officer who would tell his children that Chile was the protective sword that hung from the waist of the United States. He was the eldest son of a peasant family from southern Chile and managed to study in Santiago, forging a path out of poverty. As in the case of many working-class and poor men with few career opportunities, Manríquez's father likely saw in the military not only the most viable economic option, but also, as historian Leith Passmore (2017) suggests, "a male rite of passage in terms of social and familial responsibility, discipline, education, employment, and physical toughness" (p. 106). His core beliefs reflect the ideology of militarism, which maintains that armed force is the only effective response to political conflict.

Militarization, as a process, reinforces aggressive masculinity by promoting the notion that an honorable man's duty is to engage in violence to protect national security, defeat enemies, and restore hierarchies of power euphemistically called traditional values. The film shows, however, that not all men conformed to the militarized male ideal. The youngest brother of the family, Ulysses, also studied in Santiago, but he developed a very different political perspective, becoming a union leader and vocal supporter of the Popular Unity's efforts to achieve agrarian reform. After the coup, Ulysses was persecuted by the military and subsequently forced into hiding. He found protection at the Austrian Embassy while the paperwork for his exile in Switzerland was processed.

Through the juxtaposition of interviews and archival footage from the Allende years, the filmmaker draws our attention to the savior discourse, which served the crucial function of establishing the military consolidators of the Pinochet regime as symbols of patriotism and righteousness. From a perspective shaped by this discourse, her father and mother believed that overturning the Allende government by force was the only viable response to the weak, liberal, and unpatriotic civilian-led democracy. The savior discourse, which played an enormous role in the widespread collusion by the military regime, is manifestly gendered. It projected the regime's leader, General Augusto Pinochet, as the epitome of patriarchal masculinity. The Pinochet regime's ideology was shaped by militarism, as well as an ultra-conservative Catholic discourse, which, in turn, played the role of legitimizing the military regime's violence as the unfolding of a natural religious decree. The documentary thus points to the language that leads to mass atrocity crimes and illuminates the centrality of intersecting masculinist institutions (the military, Church, and state) in facilitating the process.

The military's discourse had been so normalized, the filmmaker admits, that she was shocked to learn that Pinochet had been arrested in 1998 for genocide. As the low-angle camera

captures a black-and-white photo of Pinochet in military uniform, she says, “It was incredible that my childhood hero was now internationally known as an evil dictator on the same level with Hitler. It was then when I realized that I had to piece together my own family puzzle.” As Manríquez gains a new understanding of history, she becomes increasingly unsettled by comments, behaviors, and statements of her father’s that reflect the glorification of war and the use of military force. Without any self-reflective irony, one family member remarks that the regime’s control eliminated violence: “Under Pinochet, there was never a mugging or a theft. Not a single aggression. The country was totally disciplined.” As Manríquez presses her father further in order to understand his role in the regime’s repression, his soft tone turns sharp: “In a war, there’s a principle that says, if they don’t kill you, you have to kill them.” Viewers observe how his perspective depends on binary thinking bound up in, and weaponized through, a lexicon of fear.

Like Bolaño’s “Words from Outer Space,” Manríquez’s documentary reflects the realization that the military agents involved in the coup and consolidation of the regime’s power were *not* from another planet but frighteningly close to home. This realization is made explicit when Manríquez discovers that one of her family’s friends was Marcelo Moren Brito. He was the head of the Villa Grimaldi (1974–1977), a clandestine concentration camp in Santiago where approximately 4,500 men and women political prisoners were tortured. Moren Brito, like other prominent actors in the regime including Manuel Contreras and Miguel Krasnoff, was a member of the military network and the Chilean army intelligence unit the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional). They were colonels or officers, some of whom were trained at the US-run School of the Americas. Moren Brito was also part of a death squad of Chilean army officers who carried out the 1973 Caravan of Death that traveled from north to south executing members of Allende’s coalition. To the filmmaker’s dismay, her mother nostalgically recounts how they used to call

Moren Brito "Uncle Marcelo." In 2004, Moren Brito was convicted of numerous human rights violations (abductions, disappearances, murder, torture), and later incarcerated for life at Punta Peuco Prison. In 2015, he suffered from organ failure at the age of 80 and died on September 11, the forty-second anniversary of the military coup.

Manríquez's documentary not only records the pro-dictatorship narrative, it also explains the historical context, allowing for a more nuanced political analysis of what is represented. This contextualization is accomplished through voice-over narration and by intercutting pro-Pinochet voices with a small but significant number of interviews with the regime's critics. One of those voices is her uncle, who after thirty years of exile, returned to a post-dictatorial Chile where Pinochetism continued without Pinochet. Ulises critiques his brother's justification of the coup and considers those who continue to defend military repression accomplices in violence. With Ulises, the filmmaker travels to Villa Grimaldi where she discovers that one distant relative was disappeared by the regime's agents for his ties to the Communist Party. By intercutting scenes at the memory site with contrasting pro- and anti-Pinochet interviews, the filmmaker denaturalizes the violent discourses and ideologies underpinning human rights abuses perpetrated by the regime and defended in the post-dictatorial present.

The documentary also renders visible the filmmaker's coming of consciousness about the relationship between the institution of the military and the practice of torture as a tool of social control. Again, Bolaño's "Words from Outer Space" offers insight into the analysis of the process that viewers witness onscreen. Bolaño (2011) writes, "The tape rolls and little by little the voices become familiar, as if they'd always been there, talking to us, threatening us. The image is redundant. In fact, they were always there. They're the men who ordered a father to sodomize his own son if he didn't want them both to be killed, the bosses who put live rats into the vagina of a

twenty-two-year-old Mirista they called a whore" (p. 85). Bolaño's words about the tape recording of September 11 prompt us to understand how military culture hinges upon hierarchies of power and gender norms that exist outside the barracks and are amplified within them. Such asymmetries are integral in a hostile and competitive environment where recruits become increasingly deprived of agency and stripped of empathy.

In *Ulysses's Odyssey* the dramatic tension comes to a head when Manríquez finally asks her father directly if he participated in the torture of political prisoners. He denies the accusations and shows no signs of remorse. As her relationship with him becomes distant, she grows closer to her uncle Ulises, who not only offers a different political perspective but also a different model of masculinity. Particularly vulnerable in one scene, he struggles through tears to imagine his brother as a perpetrator of violence. His actions constitute a break in the gender system in which men and women are framed in a mutually exclusive binary of logical/emotional, public/private, masculine/feminine. As Carol Cohn (1993) argues in "Wars, Wimps, and Women," to exhibit "a trait on that list is not neutral—it is not simply displaying some basic human characteristic. It also positions you in a discourse of gender. It associates you with a particular gender, and also with a higher and lower valuation" (p. 229). If a man who cries at the mental picture of bloodletting and suffering is typically framed as less masculine, here the filmmaker reframes the same act through a different lens. Vulnerability and compassion become signs of courage, not weakness.

In her desire to bring a sense of reconciliation and closure to the family, Manríquez tries to convince herself, and the viewers, that her father's actions, whatever they had been, only bespoke his dedication to the family. Toward the end of the film, she resolves to "educate" her father onscreen about the covert participation of the CIA in the military coup. But the scene seems forced and results in an arguably unsuccessful effort to show his evolution. The performance is entirely

unconvincing. Manríquez concludes that her quest had ultimately reunited the brothers; however, in the last sequence, viewers witness the two men walking away from each other, taking separate paths. It is an audiovisual metaphor of the irreconcilable differences, shaped by conflicting perspectives on militarism, gender, and violence, that continue to divide so many Chileans.

***El pacto de Adriana* / *Adriana's Pact* (2017)**

Militarized masculinity is pervasive and performative, to use Judith Butler's term in *Gender Trouble*. That idea, also supported by the trailblazers in masculinity studies, challenges the common belief that male violence is natural and female violence is unnatural. According to R.W. Connell (2000), the common argument made is that males are inherently more aggressive than women and cannot be trained otherwise. "There is often an appeal to biology, with testosterone in particular, the so-called 'male hormone,' as a catch-all explanation for men's aggression" (p. 215). But, as Connell explains, hormone levels are far from being a clear-cut source of such behavior. "Cross-cultural studies of masculinities reveal a diversity that is impossible to reconcile with a biologically fixed master pattern of masculinity" (p. 215). Militarized masculinity is assimilated and enacted through gestures, words, intonation, postures, and corporeal displays.

Connell reminds us, however, that even while such social conditioning is pervasive, "we must not slide into the inference that therefore all men are violent. Almost all soldiers are men, but most men are not soldiers. Though most killers are men, most men never kill or even commit assault" (p. 215). For the boys and men who end up embracing militarized masculinity, either voluntarily or unwillingly, arrogance and intolerance are not considered imperfections to overcome but rather qualities to hone. How, then, can we understand the development of women

collaborators or perpetrators of state violence? How does the step-by-step process of making male and female perpetrators differ in the context of state violence, and how can documentary film shed light on such difficult questions?

In the essay "Gendering the Perpetrator," Clare Bielby (2021) observes that the perpetration of violence is "a dynamic process, a form of *doing* (perpetrating) rather than *being* (the perpetrator) and a form of *doing* intimately bound up with many others, not least the *doing* of one's gender" (p. 163). This perspective gains eye-opening nuance in Lissete Orozco's documentary film *Adriana's Pact,* which is by and about women. Like Manríquez, Orozco is propelled by a family question. But whereas *Ulises's Odyssey* focuses on the patriarchal militarized figure, *Adriana's Pact* raises questions about women's involvement in acts of violence. Raised entirely by two generations of women (grandmother, mother, aunts), the filmmaker hardly includes male voices; however, the patriarchy, and her aunt Adriana's place in it, looms large. "When I was a girl, I had a strong role model in my life: my aunt Adriana," recounts Orozco. "In 2007, she was detained, and I found out she worked as an agent in the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional) in Pinochet's secret police, which has often been compared to the Gestapo of Nazi Germany. My aunt claims to have never seen or participated in any instances of torture, but nevertheless she fled to Australia to avoid trial."

The documentary not only raises questions about the presence of women in abhorrent acts of torture under Pinochet but also how militarism and gender relations contribute in unique ways to the making of women perpetrators. More broadly, the film points to how militarization does not exclusively shape men in the armed forces. It is a larger societal process that permeates beliefs and actions beyond the barracks.

In April 2010, three years after she was arrested, Orozco interviewed her aunt (Adriana Rivas, nicknamed "Chany") about her four years in the DINA (1974–1978). She was a twenty-three-year-old film student at the time. That footage would become an essential piece in a documentary that developed over nearly a decade. Claiming herself innocent, Adriana begins by explaining that she worked for the Ministry of Defense, a statement verified by an image of her identification card that Orozco cuts to and foregrounds. First, she became a secretary and translator of classified documents in English for Alejandro Burgos, who was the assistant of Manuel Contreras. Some viewers will recognize Contreras as the notorious Chilean army officer and head of the DINA. A photo of the young, smiling Adriana alongside Contreras raises questions about her involvement in the collection of information, arrests, interrogations, electric shock, rape, murder, and disappearance of the bodies of the detainees. At the time of filming, these were crimes of which Contreras had already been found guilty.

Adriana recalls working in "security" with Juan Morales Salgado, another DINA agent and military colonel found guilty of human rights abuses, and affirms that those were the best years of her life. Salgado was the director of the Lautaro Extermination Brigade, organized by Contreras and based at the clandestine extermination quarters of Calle Simón Bolívar. He worked with a cohort of more than seventy members to systematically eliminate the leadership of the Communist Party in Chile and in exile. Importantly, the members of the brigade came from the four branches of the armed forces and depended on nurses and other civilian agents like Adriana Rivas. While these women reaped certain benefits from the dominant group in their performance as patriotic agents, they remained subordinate in the larger patriarchal domain.

Her nostalgic reminiscence about her decision to become a functionary of the Lautaro Brigade betrays her unbroken deference to those military men in power and her aspiration to be

among them, if not become one of them. Her own words suggest that she used her femininity and sexuality in the negotiation of power, but at the same time wanted to be one of the boys: "Since I was pretty, I had a pretty body, I was friendly, I had good diction. That meant I had a good status. I knew how to behave, how to act, so I could go anywhere. And I would be treated like one of them." The interview leaves no doubt that she found her own self-worth in the promise of a higher social position among powerful military men. As she boasts about attending to "important visitors like the army officers from Spain," the filmmaker cuts to a black-and-white photo that spotlights Adriana, with an ear-to-ear smile, next to an officer whose military cap she is wearing. Such details reveal how being recruited into a male-dominated job that required the use of force involved a profoundly gendered thought process shaped by patriarchy and a learned admiration for the military.

While militarization and economic inequality, among other factors, contributed to the making of both male and female perpetrators in Chile, the film reveals that with each of these contexts, women were already marginalized, holding less power in relation to men. This is a point that Lazzara (2011) demonstrates in *Luz Arce and Pinochet's Chile*, a book that examines the experience of a woman prisoner–turned–collaborator. In an interview, Arce states, "I was always trying to avoid rape or other forms of sexual abuse because I was a woman in a man's world. Outside of DINA (before and after), I suffered discrimination in the workplace. I had fewer possibilities to achieve certain positions because I was a woman" (p. 111). Arce's testimony indicates that the mental breakdown from psychological and physical abuse over time produced a sense of disempowerment and, by extension, an impetus to claim power over others.

The example of Luz Arce, like Adriana Rivas, makes evident the need to examine the intersectional nature of identities to understand subjugation, complicity, and torture. Such analysis,

therefore, becomes important both in comprehending the complex nature of identities and reiterating the potential of an intersectional approach in developing theories of violence. To recognize this is not to offer an apology for female violence workers, but rather to gain a better understanding of how militarism, with its dominant narratives of gender, becomes instrumental in the making of perpetrators.

Even though Adriana distances herself from past human rights abuses, her behaviors bespeak an ongoing acceptance of militarism and reverence for militarized men. From her perspective, the ex-military officers that were found guilty continue to be authoritative men and respectable leaders who may have been wrongfully convicted. This reveals how the Pinochet regime was predicated upon military ideology and how militarism was, and continues to be, profoundly gendered. Such ideology, the film reveals, has been embraced by both soldiers and civilians, men and women. Orozco's filming of a forty-year commemoration of the coup further demonstrates this idea. In a militant celebration and defense of the regime outside the Caupolicán Theater in Santiago, one woman holds a sign with a photo of Pinochet and the words "Good Father, Good Grandfather." Inside, a group of men and women raise their arms in a fascist salute as they shout "Long Live Pinochet! Long Live Franco!" As Orozco leaves the theater, they chant, "Communists, wimps, your relatives were killed for being assholes." In this sequence, the filmmaker effectively exposes a gendered discourse and culture of militarism that defends state violence as a means to an end. In what follows, Adriana is captured in an interview stating, "Torture has existed in Chile ever since I can remember… Everyone knew it had to be done to break people. Because the Communists are tough. They have a military education that is much better than that of the actual military. We can't deny that it was necessary." It was a damning public interview that Rivas would later regret. Given that these scenes expose the emergence of

violence from ingrained gender norms linked to militarism and authoritarianism, the documentary allows us to conceptualize violence in more productive ways. The film offers insight into the gendered dynamics of militarization in 1970s Chile and also offers a historical through line to the present.

Gaining an understanding of the relationship between militarized masculinity and the making of women perpetrators requires historical, theoretical, and comparative analysis. In *Right-Wing Women*, Andrea Dworkin (1988) offers insights into "the promise of the right" in the United States of the 1970s: "The Right acknowledges the reality of danger, the validity of fear. The Right then manipulates the fear. The promise is that if a woman is obedient, harm will not befall her" (p. 22). Without collapsing difference, it is instructive to recognize connections between radical right-wing women's experiences in the US and Chile. For Dworkin, the right claims to protect the home and nation from chaos and threat. It is a discourse of security with powerful effects. Women acquiesce "to male authority in order to gain some protection from violence" (p. 14). She explains that sometimes it is a lethargic conformity and sometimes it is militant: "She will save herself by proving that she is loyal, obedient, useful, even fanatic in the service of the men around her […] The males rarely keep their part of the bargain as she understands it" (p. 14). But the militant conformist has given so much of herself that she clings "with a tenacity incredible in its intensity, to the very persons, institutions, and values that demean her, degrade her, glorify her powerlessness […] She becomes a lackey, serving those who ruthlessly and effectively aggress against her" (p. 17).

When we ask if similar arguments could be applied to the case of Chile, the work of historian Margaret Power (2002) in *Right-Wing Women in Chile* is useful. At the center of her research is the role that right-wing women played in encouraging the military to stage the coup.

Interviews reveal striking patterns. In their own words, Chilean right-wing women longed for "tranquility," "security," protection from "chaos," and the restoration of "order," which in their eyes could only be achieved by the armed forces. Many saw themselves as political actors and found value in their activities, such as the public humiliation of military men like General Prats, who refused to overthrow the democratically elected government of Allende. But that idea ran counter to the military's understanding "that a woman's fundamental duty was to be a mother and homemaker" (p. 246). After the coup, the military dissolved right-wing women's groups like Poder Feminino because "they operated with a level of independence that the military found unacceptable" (p. 242).

If, in the case of *Adriana's Pact* (2017), viewers assume that there is truth in the allegations that Adriana witnessed, and even participated in, the torture of political prisoners, then we must also recognize that she knew firsthand that resisting militarized masculinity would lead to detention, rape, sadistic psychological abuse, mutilation, or death. In a 2011 interview, filmed as the case developed, Orozco asked her aunt why she stayed in the DINA, to which she responds, "Because I had no choice. I would have been killed. They wouldn't let me go." Fear may not have been the *only* motivation given that Chany conveys an anti-communist discourse and admits to the lure of economic gain and entry into the upper echelon of right-wing leadership. However, viewing such factors in isolation constitutes a failure to recognize the links. These factors are bound together and jointly figure in decisions to enforce the will of militarized men. That is not to say that women perpetrators in the DINA lacked agency. Even if we consider them responsible agents, women's roles in state violence must be understood in light of the imbalance of power in the making of female violence workers, which occurred under the watchful eye of militarized men. The transformational effects of fear, militaristic language, and a system of rewards and

punishments are all gendered and constitute cornerstones in the creation of perpetrators and, more broadly, controlled members of a hierarchical, patriarchal military state.

Adriana's Pact foregrounds how the corrosive effects of militarization are compounded by gender inequality. One key witness, the aforementioned Jorgelino Vergara, claims that from 1976 to 1977 Adriana proved her equal capacity for violence and loyalty to the militarized men above her by actively participating in torture sessions. According to his testimony, featured in Orozco's documentary, she would beat the detainees with her fists and sticks, and apply electrical shocks during interrogations, all actions that Adriana vehemently denies. Journalist Javier Rebolledo corroborates Vergara's testimony by stating that everyone in the DINA had to participate in violence as a sign of loyalty. Vergara and Rebolledo, among others, add layers to the narrative, making Adriana's claims of innocence increasingly unbelievable to the filmmaker and viewer. Orozco, nevertheless, remains a careful listener, always trying to balance a commitment to uncover the truth with a commitment to familial relationships. The film, which follows the case till around 2017, has an open-ended conclusion. That year, the attorney general in Australia agreed to the extradition of Adriana Rivas. Recall that Australia was where Adriana had lived for over two decades before her arrest while visiting Chile in 2007, and where she returned when she escaped while on bail. In November 2021, Rivas lost her second extradition appeal in Australia and will be forced to return to Chile.

De-normalizing the Continuum of Violence

One compelling scene in *Adriana's Pact* brings us back to Bolaño's "Words from Outer Space." In the documentary, a contemplative camera pans over a group of mourners outside the Museum

of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago on September 11, 2013, on the fortieth anniversary of the coup. Viewers hear a tape with sounds of bullets and commentary recorded on September 11, 1973. When we analyze the scene in the context of the entire documentary and alongside Bolaño's words, we can trace stunning parallels. Bolaño (2011) dares to say, "In those familiar voices we can contemplate ourselves, at a remove, as if watching ourselves in a mirror" (p. 85). It isn't Stendhal's mirror, he notes, thereby suggesting that the image is a refraction, not an exact reflection. That said, "it could be, and for many who hear the tape it surely will be precisely that" (p. 85). Bolaño, like many men, is repulsed by hypermasculine theatrics and sickened by killing; however, he is careful to recognize that such acts are not from another world, but uncomfortably close to his own.

In their documentaries Manríquez and Orozco seem to echo Bolaño's realization, but whereas the former attempts to end on a reconciliatory note, the latter closes with an unsettling and open-ended collective reflection: "The relationship can't be destroyed, it transforms… As I become conscious of this historical puzzle, I look to the future more than that past. The puzzle is incomplete, but I ran out of possibilities. I hope that this will be a starting point for others who deserve to find these hidden pieces." Orozco positions her documentary as an intervention in a broader political debate about impunity, and perhaps for that reason it received significantly more attention in Chile in comparison with Manríquez's film. That said, both documentaries effectively render visible the pervasiveness of militarism and authoritarianism, even beyond the barracks, and their link to patriarchy and torture. They expose how the perpetration of violence is a gendered process and how documentary film can be a tool in the broader attempt to de-normalize the notion that violence is the most effective "solution" to political conflict.

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