

# War Films: Narratives in Conflict

A discourse analysis of three films portraying the Internal  
Conflict in Peru

Christel Nilsson

# Abstract

In this study, I conduct a critical discourse analysis using three films that depict the internal conflict in Peru that started in the 80s and lasted two decades as my material. The aim is to explore the perspectives that are represented and the portrayal of the conflict. I take a post-structural perspective in order to uncover the gender power structures that dictate how female narratives are included or excluded. I relate the films to the wider social context of war and militarism to research whether the films sustain or defy war as a norm and a viable solution to conflicts. The films refer to the same conflict yet present different interpretations and perspectives which shows the complexity of narratives that emerge after an event. The films relate in different manners to militarism and gender order by taking different approaches and understandings to war. The films either reinforce militarism to some extent or present alternative narratives that challenge the traditional understandings of war and militarism.

*Key words:* discourse analysis, war films, post-structural feminism, militarism

Words: 10026

# Table of contents

<b><u>1 Introduction.....</u></b>	<b><u>1</u></b>
<b><u>2 Problem Formulation and Demarcation:.....</u></b>	<b><u>2</u></b>
<b><u>3 Background.....</u></b>	<b><u>3</u></b>
3.1 The Peruvian Internal Armed Conflict.....	3
<b><u>4 Material.....</u></b>	<b><u>5</u></b>
4.1 Material Selection.....	5
4.2 Material Critique:.....	5
<b><u>5 Visual Language as the Subject for Discourse Analysis.....</u></b>	<b><u>6</u></b>
<b><u>6 Theoretical Framework.....</u></b>	<b><u>8</u></b>
6.1 The Theoretical Foundations of Discourse Analysis.....	8
6.2 Post-structural Feminism.....	9
6.3 Militarization, Militarism and Gender.....	10
6.4 Militarism and Films.....	11
<b><u>7 Method:.....</u></b>	<b><u>13</u></b>
7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	13
7.2 The Methodological Application of Critical Discourse Analysis:.....	14
7.2.1 Micro-level.....	14
7.2.2 Macro-level:.....	15
7.3 Method Critique.....	15
<b><u>8 Analysis:.....</u></b>	<b><u>16</u></b>
8.1 La Boca Del Lobo.....	16
8.1.1 Micro-Level:.....	16
8.1.2 Macro-level.....	17
8.2 Paloma de Papel:.....	17
8.2.1 Micro-level:.....	18
8.2.2 Macro-level.....	19

<u>8.3 La Teta Asustada:</u> .....	<u>20</u>
<u>8.3.1 Micro-level:</u> .....	<u>20</u>
<u>8.3.2 Macro-level:</u> .....	<u>21</u>
<b><u>9 Conclusion</u></b> .....	<b><u>24</u></b>
<b><u>10 References</u></b> .....	<b><u>25</u></b>

# 1 Introduction

After an armed conflict a myriad of narratives begin to form that retell different interpretations of the events that unfolded during the conflict. The collection of these narratives compose the collective memory of a nation. Collective memory is defined as the representations of the past that are collectively adopted and assembled through narratives (Hodges, 2011). However, collective memory isn't necessarily concise nor homogenous; it can consist of contrastive and competing narratives that strive to become, contest or confirm the hegemonic narrative. These narratives are also not necessarily independent from one another; they often are overlapping and interacting with each other (Hodges, 2011). The process of competing and constructing the collective memory includes a multiplicity of memories that use different mediums. Media has a significant role to play in the creation of memory by providing an arena for socio-cultural narratives to compete in but also contribute to the greater formation of the collective memory. Media has overarching presence and wide capacities to pursue storytelling. These narratives are interesting because of their wider use of visual mediums such as in films. Films as memory agents allow for artistic interpretations in the narrations creating a divergence of narrations even when based on the same event.

Narratives in media define the premise for this paper. In this paper I will be using films as the material to understand the narratives surrounding the internal conflict in Peru that started in the 80's and lasted two decades. The conflict was between the state and guerrilla movements and resulted in mass displacement and the deaths of many civilians. Throughout the conflict and after its demise, several films were created that depict the conflict in several manners and through different perspectives. My interest in this paper is to research the manner the conflict and participants are portrayed as well as how the films interact with one another and the greater discourse of war.

## 2 Problem Formulation and Demarcation:

In this paper I aim to conduct a critical discourse analysis of the narratives surrounding an internal conflict as presented through visual language in films. I will research the narrations surrounding the Peruvian armed conflict. My material is composed of three films that present different perspectives of the war. Through the adoption of a post-structural feminist perspective I aim to uncover how gender power structures dictate the opportunity for female narratives to compete in the war's discourse. This feminist perspective will also allow me to focus on how narratives are gendered. I want to research whether female narratives are included and if so how they are presented and equally important how they are excluded.

By aiming to execute a critical discourse analysis, I create two levels of analysis: the micro and macro levels. The micro level is constituted by the text presented in the films. I will analyze the movies to understand the varying discourses that form after an internal armed conflict and the elements of narrative that they establish, such as: the perspectives, the motivations of the parties involved and the portrayal of the conflict. The macro level involves how the films interact with the greater discourse of the war as well as how they relate to the hegemonic discourse of militarism which normalizes war. The purpose of the analysis is to explore how texts that draw upon the same event interplay in the greater discourse of the war. I highlight the intertextual processes that form the discourse of an armed conflict in order to understand further the contestation of various narratives.

It is important to emphasize from the outset that this paper is not attempting to assess the accuracy of the films in representing the "truth" of the armed conflict. I aim merely to understand the variations in the narrations the films present and construct interpretations of the events portrayed. Also, it is important to specify that the films don't encompass all discourses surrounding the conflict. They merely represent a fraction of the myriad of discourses that exist. The task of researching the complete discourse would require more time and resources than I have available. Narratives of the conflict continue to be reshaped and contested so it would be a continuous process to document them. Therefore, my focus remains the three films. Specific research questions are:

*What perspectives are represented in the film's narration?*

*How is gender reflected in the films? Are gender roles sustained or defied? Are female narratives included and in what manner?*

*How do the films relate to the context of militarism? Do they reaffirm the normalization of war or do they resist it?*

## 3 Background

### 3.1 The Peruvian Internal Armed Conflict

Throughout the 80's and 90's there was an armed internal conflict in Peru between Peruvian armed forces and guerrilla groups; namely, the Sendero Luminoso. The Sendero Luminoso's battle claimed to be ideological in nature; they originally described themselves as a maoist movement. In 1980 a campaign was initiated in the Peruvian highlands seeking to instill the nation with their beliefs and ultimately establish a communist utopia. The Peruvian government labeled the Sendero Luminoso as well as other participating guerrilla movements as criminal. Force was resorted to immediately and the possibility for negotiation talks was discarded. These forceful responses were carried out initially by the police, then aided by the military and even incorporated paramilitary forces known as ronderos (Sanchez Nieto, 2011).

The Sendero Luminoso's man power never reached higher than 5000 members. The military strategy employed against the security forces consisted of ambushes and hit and run techniques in the Amazon and in the Andes. Attacks in more urbanized areas consisted of car bombings, kidnaps, and destroying electricity towers to cut electricity to Lima. The most violent act that the Sendero Luminoso is responsible for is the massacre in Llundinamarca, Ayacucho, where 70 people including men, women and children were killed (Sanchez Nieto, 2011). The tactics used to defeat the guerrilla movements varied depending on the government; however, President Alberto Fujimori is largely credited for ending the violent conflict through measures that can be perceived as undemocratic and draconian (Laplante & Theidon, 2007, pg. 232). In 1992 the founder and leader of the Sendero Luminoso, Abimael Guzman Reinoso, was captured. Guzman signed an agreement ordering the Sendero Luminoso to lay down its weapons; however, a faction still refuses to acknowledge the agreement and continues to operate. A force of an estimated 200 members is now aligned with drug groups or produce their own drugs, mostly cocaine, as a way to finance their operations. This new form of the Sendero Luminoso is labeled as narco-terrorist organization (Sanchez Nieto, 2011).

In 2001, an interim government established a Truth and Reconciliation commission to examine and assign responsibilities to the crimes that occurred during the conflict. According to the commission, between 1980 and 2000 there were 69,280 deaths. The commission blamed 53% of the deaths on the Sendero Luminoso and 37% to the military. 75% of the victims were of indigenous decent and spoke Quechua. The violence of the conflict also led displacement due to a mass migration from the Andean region to coastal

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

urban centers creating shanty towns in the outskirts of cities. The commission attempted to take a “gender sensitive” approach in their investigation and included testimonies by women who were affected by the conflict's violence. This revealed that the conflict was plagued by cases of sexual assaults. The commission estimated that there were around 656 to 913 cases of sexual assaults, 48% of those cases were rape and 71% of the victims were women. The majority of the cases were committed by the Peruvian armed forces. The rapes served the military's cause as they were used mostly as intimidating or punishing tools against sympathizers or affiliated to the guerrilla groups (Theidon, 2007).



## 4 Material

### 4.1 Material Selection

I have chosen to analyze three Peruvian movies that have themes related to the military conflict in Peru. I selected films depicting different perspectives of the conflict. The movies were also produced in different time points. I think the selection presents a wide enough variety between the discourses to show how the event is interpreted through visual language in different manners. The movies were available online.

- En la Boca del Lobo (1988): Directed by Francisco Lombardi. This film was produced at the time when the violence of the conflict was reaching its zenith. It provides the perspective of the Peruvian armed forces.
- Paloma de Papel (2003): Directed by Fabrizio Aguilar. This film was produced soon after the decline of the conflict. It presents the perspective of indigenous civilians that lived in an area that was heavily affected through the eyes of a young boy who was forcefully recruited by the Sendero Luminoso.
- La Teta Asustada (2009): Directed by Claudia Llosa. This film portrays the continuing effects of the conflict even after its declined. The perspective presented is that of the daughter of a rape victim.

### 4.2 Material Critique:

An issue with my material is that not all the perspectives are presented. I couldn't find a movie that portrayed the perspective of the guerrilla organizations. This could be because they are often presented as the enemy. Another issue with my material is that it is depicting indigenous perspectives but it is produced by Peruvians residing in urban centers that may not speak Quechua, the indigenous language. The consumption of the films may also be restricted by the proximity to movie theaters and the technology necessary, which may exclude the rural centers which experienced the war and whose perspectives are being portrayed. This means that the viewers probably lack a first person experience of the conflict. Another issue is that there is more information concerning the most recent film, "La Teta Asustada" which makes a more in depth analysis available.

## 5 Visual Language as the Subject for Discourse Analysis

The field of discourse analysis has been abundantly used in social science research since its emergence. The concept connotes the idea that language reflects and determines socially constructed realities; however, its definition is not firmly established and several interpretations exist. The application and approach to discourse analysis has evolved over time incorporating innumerable interpretations. The objects of analysis has also evolved to include discourses that use other forms of languages and mediums besides textual. Contemporary researchers have argued for the inclusion of visual language in discourse analysis. In her article, "Popular visual language as global communication: the remediation of United Airlines flight 93" Cynthia Weber argues that traditional IR approaches neglect the significance of popular media within global communication (Weber, 2008, pg. 1). Weber argues that visual language is the language of popular culture which is widely produced and consumed by amateurs yet it contributes to the general discourse of a political phenomenon. (Weber, 2008, pg. 3). Weber suggests that policy makers are aware of this and interact with those discourses such as delivering speeches which build on discourses present in popular culture. Weber suggests that more emphasis should be given to visual language in the analysis within IR and other political fields in order to understand the complete discourse of a distinct political phenomenon (Weber, 2008, pg. 2).

In her article, Weber applies her suggestion in the study of the discourse surrounding 9/11. She follows the narrations of one of the attacks and analyzes how the text regarding the event is reused through different mediums and reshaped. Visual language used by films also contribute to the discourse of the attacks and mold the story. An event's narrative is reproduced through different mediums; the story on news articles is recreated in visual mediums such as movies (Weber, 2008, pg. 4). This is a process that Weber calls *remediation*; she describes it as the reproduction of medias while also erasing the memory of this reproduction so that the remediated story becomes the approved reality (Weber, 2008, pg. 1). Weber argues that the films are more successful than other texts such as official government reports or speeches in creating a "reality" of the event that achieves popular appeal. Films create a visual historical experience for the viewers that can affect their memories of the event. Weber explains how portions of the population lack a first person experience of a military conflict. Films ease the desire for a live first person experience by providing a virtual experience that is based on reproducing information from other medias. This makes them effective remediation tools (Weber, 2008, pg. 4). However, if the films remediation of the narrative of the event it portrayed is effective enough it can erase trace of remediation by blurring reality and becoming the new accepted account (Weber, 2008, pg. 5). This means that the viewers receive their virtual first person experience and accept it as reality.

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

I take Weber's work as inspiration for my choice of films as my material. Films present a visual narrative that can be easily consumed. Conflicting representations of the past can be created and disseminated in films; they can be evaluated and compared. Therefore, they provide an interesting opportunity to examine how different narratives contest one another in creating the discourse of the armed conflict. They also contribute to the collective memory meaning that they also interact with other discourses that are created by news articles or political statements which have traditionally received more attention by IR scholars. I think that cultural and social narratives that use films as memory agents are significant components of the discourse of a war and therefore worthy of scholarly attention.

## 6 Theoretical Framework

### 6.1 The Theoretical Foundations of Discourse Analysis

This paper incorporates a discourse analysis so some definitional ground work must be laid. A discourse analysis integrates method as well as theory regarding the research and understanding of communication, culture and society. Discourse analysis presupposes certain ontological and epistemological premises that are shared by all the varying approaches to discourse analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 3). The theoretical ground for discourse analysis is determined by post-structuralism which, as its predecessor, posits that human culture is ruled by structures. Post-structuralism, however, responds to the perceived essentialist and positivist thinking of structuralism. Positivism assumes that the researcher can attain an objective perspective and through the scientific method reality can be observed and explained through neutral language (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 44). Post-structuralism rejects this suggestion and instead assumes that reality can not be objectively perceived. Therefore, central to discourse analysis is the subjectivity of reality. This doesn't mean that material reality does not exist independently but it is given meaning through discourses (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 11). Through the language that is available, reality is accessed and categorized. We interpret a phenomenon by referring to it with the linguistic concepts that we learn socially; we are influenced by meaning systems and social contexts. Language that we construct to refer to conceptual systems, social identities and institutions is influenced by cultural and historical contexts (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 44). However, language is unstable which allows for it to be used in different manners or new language can be created (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 19). Post-structuralism assumes that reality is socially constructed and can be altered.

Discourse analysis postulates that language has a role in the construction of social realities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 5). Discourses contribute to the changing and construction reality, but at the same time they reflect existing socially constructed realities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 10). Discourses do not occur independently, they are created by social interactions which contribute to the production and maintenance of discourses that compete against each other in the creation of realities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 5). Power structures determine which discourses dominate and shape social world; access and control over resources also allows the opportunity to stabilize and normalizing discourses which include ideologies. The normalized social realities can prevent other discourses from

emerging and creating an alternative social reality. This can have an impact in how people in the society behave because they act according to the prominent social reality. Therefore, discourse and the social realities they address can have social consequences concerning agency production (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 6).

## 6.2 Post-structural Feminism

In this study I employ a feminist perspective to conduct my analysis. Feminist theory does not have a universal framework. Feminism is at times equated with the subject of women and a political agenda of increasing their representation and legitimacy as political agents. However, the insistence of a coherent category of women refuses the multiplicity of intersections that compose the grouping. The label of women is not homogenous; it intersects with other cultural, social and political categories. Therefore, in my analysis I do not simply research the physical representation of women but look at the intersectional layers that compose the grouping. The women characters that films display therefore should not be regarded as representative for all women experiences, but other characteristics should be considered such as class and race. In her book, *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler suggests gender as the subject of feminism. Gender incorporates males and masculinity as well as females and femininity. Butler explains that gender is not a coherent variable and varies depending on the cultural and historical contexts. She writes that it is “impossible to separate gender from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained (Butler, 1990, pg.5).” The variations between masculinities and femininities depend on social and historical contexts which signifies that they are socially constructed and therefore can be changed.

As explained previously, discourse analysis is based on post-structuralist thinking. Hence, the form of feminism opted for is post-structuralist feminism. Post-structural feminist theory understands gender as a structure that serves as main organizers of social relations; therefore, it is relevant to most contexts. The post-structural feminist approach interprets gender as the socially constructed behaviors and identities prescribed to the gender roles of masculinity and femininity. These assignments are socially constructed and are not dependent on sex which is defined as biological characteristics that differ between male and female bodies. The binary systems of gender and sex do not mirror each other; therefore, gender is not naturally determined by the sex and it is instead socially learned. Butler discusses bodies as instruments for performing gender. She argues that the gender order is sustained by repeated performances (Butler, 1990). There are idealized versions of femininity and masculinity that are striven for and achieved through performance. Gender roles can be as nurturing mothers for females and soldiers for males.

The dichotomy of gender implies that the construction of masculinity and femininity are dependent and relational to one another. The relationship is also hierarchical where the masculine always presides over the feminine. Masculinity is valued more highly than femininity (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 4). The dichotomous and hierarchical gender

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

structure creates a power structure between what is assigned as masculine or feminine. This is the basis for the inequality between men and women. The gendered power structure can be reflected in other power relationships of inequality. Therefore, gender can help to understand the construction of other power structures. There are different types of masculinity that are ascribed different levels of power. As mentioned before, female and male identities are not homogenous and instead intersect with other identities such as race. Identities are not politically neutral since some carry privileges. The hegemonic masculine ideal is manifested typically by white western straight males while subordinate masculinities that lack one of those qualities are feminized and devalorized (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 8).

Gender can be interpreted as a hegemonic discourse that normalizes gendered behaviors (Butler, 1990, 12). It limits agency by determining what are normal female and male behaviors. The gender structure influences the construction of identities. It shapes how people identify themselves by either acting like men or like women but it also shapes how others identify and relate to others. Society expects certain gendered behaviors and roles based on sex. This has social consequences for how people behave which can be observed in the division of occupational roles such as jobs traditionally related with child bearing being dominated by women. The dichotomous structure creates different experiences for men and women (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 12). This can be applicable to various contexts including war where women and men assume different roles and therefore experience it differently. Therefore, to accomplish a complete understanding of the social experience of war, both female and male narratives should be considered.

Language has aided the sustenance of the gender structure. Language verbalizes the gendered assignments making the gender orders visible. The gender discourse has become homogenous in society and restricts resisting discourses. The normality of gendered language makes it difficult to avoid and it is applied to other contexts. Feminine and masculine categorizations aren't restrictively applicable only to male and female bodies; they are also assigned to nonhuman things such as institutions, objects and concepts (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 3). Gendering operates to enforce the dualistic characteristic of the gender order. Concepts and ideas that are feminized are deemed less valuable. In political thought, practices and concepts associated with masculinity such as war are highly valued and in turn those that are associated with femininity are undervalued and receive less attention. The gender order influences how we understand, value and perceive the world. Therefore, applying a gender perspective when analyzing discourses of the war reveals how it is traditionally understood and presents alternatives.

### 6.3 Militarization, Militarism and Gender

The social context of the analysis is war and the militarization of culture. The military forms part of a normalized system in which society perceives war as the legitimized tool for problem and conflict solving. This norm system is referred to as militarism. Enloe more "concretely describes militarism as the belief that hierarchy, obedience, and the use of

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

force are particularly effective in a dangerous world (Kronsell, 2012, pg. 28)". Militarism also operates in times of peace as it permeates social spheres that are usually regarded as separate from the military in order to prepare society for the opportunity of war. Conscription is a tool that leads to militarism by preparing mostly young men for the prospect of war. Aspects of the military as an institution are visible in culture such as symbols, practices, norms and rules. Militarism is a cultural and ideological phenomenon where war seems the most viable option but also where military ideals and experiences are glorified.

In her book, *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*, Kronsell presents the concept of the military as a social institution that was grounded in gendered ideas. She explains how the military institution presents norms supporting the traditional gender order that have been historically embedded (Kronsell, 2012, pg. 9). This is viewed physically since historically the military has been dominated by men. The military institution constructs a gender order by assigning citizens gendered roles. Females are perceived as the mothers of the nation while males are the defenders. Females have been marginalized from military activity and when included they are fulfilling feminine tasks such as cooking. The gendered dichotomy of military roles makes it difficult to alter; it is hard for a female to enter the military and be accepted as the protector. As explained before, dichotomies create dependent relationships where the masculine is dependent on the feminine; protectors require a group to protect. Kronsell argues that due to this relationship, males are less encouraged to fight when females enter the military sphere because they no longer have the visible protector/protected relationship. Women are present in the military context as "civil cheerleaders" (Kronsell, 2012, pg. 21).

As long as the gender dichotomy is considered natural the militaristic construction of citizenship will prevail. This is problematic because women are excluded from the military sphere even at times of peace. This has consequences because women and femininity are excluded from making political decisions concerning defence and security. Militarism and its masculine implication omit alternatives that can be deemed as feminine. Masculinity is considered by feminists to be "deeply implicated in increasing militarization and silencing alternatives to armed conflict and resolving conflict non-violently (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 22)." This also results in the exclusion of women experiences in analysis of wars. Kronsell describes the military as an "institution of hegemonic masculinity" (Kronsell, 2012, pg. 44). The military creates a space of hypermasculinity and heterosexuality which have become norms through institutionalization over time. The military hegemonic masculinity creates an admired ideal of what it is to be a man.

## 6.4 Militarism and Films

In the article, *War, Cinema and Moral Anxiety*, Mark Lacy explores the issue of lack of personal proximity to the trauma of war. He argues that cinema can manipulate morality and legitimize war and violence making it an accepted concept to viewers and society; hence contributing to militarism. It can lead to the derealization of military engagement by functioning as a distancing tool. The substance of war which is physical

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

injuries to human bodies is placed in a different context where stories of heroism are created. The content of war which is killing humans becomes abstract. War films can create a masculine military experience even for those who are not personally experiencing war and contributing to the normalization of the military and war. Abstractification is achieved through distancing as well as creating a hyper-masculine image that is desirable to the viewer. However, Lacy also explores the possibility that war films can also lead to moral progress because they can inspire empathy which can bring war and its atrocities closer to the viewers. Lacy refers to Virilio's argument that movies are successful tools in the creation of national identity because they create a visual history that created feelings of solidarity or even exclusion (Lacy, 2003).



## 7 Method:

In this segment I will describe the analytical method I will apply to my material. As explained in the previous section, discourse analysis constitutes both theory and a method. In this study I employ a Critical Discourse Analysis so I will first explain how it differs from other forms of discourse analysis and followed by how it will be applied to my study. Finally I will criticize and discuss my selection of method. I will be conducting a qualitative study of the films. A qualitative study aims to describe and understand opinions and behaviors (Teorell & Torsten, 2007, pg.11). I will be studying and interpreting few cases in order to describe their qualities. This means that the study has no ambition to explain nor establish generalized causal relationships, it is instead focused on understanding and explaining the select cases.

### 7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

In their book, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips describe three different approaches to discourse analysis; in my study I will implement a critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA provides guidelines regarding the empirical study of the relations between discourse and cultural developments in different social domains (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 60). CDA differs by postulating that discursive practices constitute the social world but they are also constituted by other social practices that can be non-discursive. A discursive practice is the process in which texts are produced and consumed in everyday life (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 61). Non-discursive aspects can be institutions and structures; they influence the discursive practice by determining the conditions for how the discourse is allowed to occur (Neuman, 2003, pg.89). In the example of movies, the structure of the industry determines how the movies are produced and distributed. The movie theaters are part of the structures which determine the arena of the discourse and the industry's demand can determine the content of the discourse. CDA also sustains that discursive practices have social consequences that contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations. This is understood as the ideological effects of the discursive practice. The aim of a critical discourse analysis is then to shed light on the role of the discourse practice in changing or reinforcing these social structures. Discourse practices either just reflect and maintain the social world including the unequal relations or they attempt to alter them (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 63). Therefore, critical discourse analysis is not politically neutral because it commits itself to social change in favor for those oppressed in society. Its purpose is to analyze the effect of a discourse practice in order to enact social change.

## 7.2 The Methodological Application of Critical Discourse Analysis:

Norman Fairclough presents a well established framework for CDA. He takes a macro-social perspective in order to take into account that social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations that people are often not aware of. He defines a social structure as social relations that occur in society as a whole but also in institutions which are composed by discursive and non-discursive aspects. He details a theoretical model and methodological tools for empirical research in everyday social interaction (Neuman, 2003, pg. 65). Due to the inclusion of non-discursive elements, Fairclough emphasizes the importance for any analysis to focus on two dimensions: the communicative event and the order of discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 67). The communicative event is the discursive practice where language is used to categorize reality. The order of discourse is “the configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or social field (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 67).” I need to analyze the relationship between the communicative event and the discourse order. “The aim is to map the partly non discursive, social and cultural relations and structures that constitute a wider context of the discursive practice, the social matrix of discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 88).” In order to facilitate the analysis, Fairclough composed a three dimensional model that exists within the communicative event: the text, the discursive practice and the social practice (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 68). The relationship between the text and the social practice is mediated by the discursive practice. This means that the text can not be analyzed in isolation; it can only be understood in relation to other discourses and to the social context. In my analysis, I incorporate two levels: the micro and the macro.

### 7.2.1 Micro-level

In this dimension I will focus on the content of the film. I will analyze the perspective of the war that is narrated. I will attempt to uncover how the attitude towards the war and who is assigned agency and responsibility for the conflict. I will also analyze how the included parties are presented. A gender perspective will also be applied to unveil how female narratives are incorporated in the subject of war which has been traditionally male dominated. Besides the inclusion of female narratives, I will also research the manner in which they are presented. The concept of stereotypes will be relevant in this dimension; stereotype serve as simple generalizations that have been stabilized and normalized that support conceptual and ideological systems such as the gender order. Gender stereotypes are manifested as qualities and roles that are perceived to fit all the members of a gender group (Peterson & Runyan, 2010, pg. 47). Due to the use of visual language in films, the message can be transmitted through dialogue but also visually such as through symbols.

### 7.2.2 Macro-level:

This dimension composes the contextualization of the analysis. I will attempt to understand how the films interact with other discourses within an order. In this level, the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity are relevant. Intertextuality refers to the use, change or reproduction of previous discourses by newer discourses. Interdiscursivity in turn refers to how they are recreated in other mediums such as how films use visual language to recreate textual based discourses (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 73). I will research how the films build up on other discourses and how they reproduce or reshape them.

According to Fairclough, the concept of hegemony allows us to understand the discursive practice as a part of a social practice involving power relations. The power relations between discourse means that discourses aren't equal in power and influence (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, pg. 75). There is a struggle between discourses; discourses attempt to become the dominating discourse. If a discourse achieves this and establishes a hegemony it can restrict the emergence of new discourses. The discursive practice is either reproducing the hegemonic discourse or attempting to transform it. I interpret militarism and the gender order is sustains as hegemonic discourses in my analysis. I aim to explore whether the films enforce militarism through abstractification by enhancing the proximity to war and creating a hyper masculine sphere that glorifies war, or they defy it. Furthermore, do the films support the gender structure and exclude women from the sphere of war?

## 7.3 Method Critique

As mentioned in the theory section, a foundation of discourse analysis is that reality is subjective. Our interpretation of reality is affected by our social context. Therefore, my analysis is not free from subjective assumptions. My interpretation can be influenced by my cultural context and it is important to consider that the films were produced in a different cultural context than mine. Also, texts can have several meaning potentials that may contradict one another. Therefore, my interpretation and analysis of the films aren't the sole meaning.

## 8 Analysis:

### 8.1 La Boca Del Lobo

#### 8.1.1 Micro-Level:

At the beginning of the film, text starts rolling in briefing us on the successions that led to beginning of the conflict. We are informed that in 1982 the Peruvian armed forces declared the area of Ayacucho a emergency zone and this marked the beginning of the “dirty war”. The end of the text contains the message that the film is inspired by events that took place between 1980 and 1983. As the film commences, we follow a military truck driving through the Peruvian highlands with its final destination the small Andean town of Chuspi. The town had been previously attacked by the Sendero Luminoso and the military has sent reinforcement to hold the post. We are introduced to the main character, Vitin Luna, through a voice-over where he explains his motivation for joining the mission, to earn an appointment to officer's school his military career. His best friend, Kike, accompanies him. They reassure each other of their decisions and promise to support each other; Kike reaffirms this by asking Vitin if they are friends, to which he replies with a hand shake.

The mission lacks resources and tactics; when the two friends arrive the man in command is seen as weak and lacking leadership. This is manifested when during the night someone removes the Peruvian flag and replaces it with a Sendero Luminoso flag. The soldiers are ordered to search every house and look for clues that indicate the culprits. During the search, Vitin and Kike find incriminating evidence in a house so they arrest the proprietor. The man is questioned and the friends employ physical force. During this shot, the camera is focused on the commander's face which shows discomfort about the torturous situation. He orders them to stop the questioning to which the two friends reply with confusion claiming that force should be employed when dealing with terrorists. The commander dies in an ambush which leads to a key moment which sets the film in motion, the arrival of Lieutenant Roca who restores command of the platoon. His is a stern leader that plans to discipline the recruits and use all measures available to eliminate the enemy.

The film explores and dramatizes the disintegration of morality and empathy of the isolated platoon that confronts an invisible enemy. This is characterized by Vitin's experience: he begins as a hopeful soldier that follows orders without questioning them. As

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

the film progresses and the Lieutenant's methods becomes more sadistic he is conflicted by his own morality and disciplinary pressure. His sexuality is contested; he is feminized for being too "soft" against the enemy. At the end he reinstates his masculinity by defeating the Lieutenant and determining his own path. Vitin is portrayed as the ideal Peruvian who realizes the brutality of the military tactics and walks away, he composes the moral compass in the film. It is the military and their indoctrination of men as brute soldiers that is to blame for the violence that occurred during the conflict. However, Peruvians can be assured that they remain moral and can differentiate between good and evil while demonizing the military.

The film explores how when faced with an abstract enemy, the soldiers begin to create their own enemies with faces: the local population. The soldiers speak Spanish and are from urban centers while the local population speaks Quechua and has indigenous roots. The soldiers polarize the local population; the military considers themselves the representative Peruvian citizens and they must condition the indigenous population's loyalty to the nation. They are a different type of Peruvian; they are constructed as the others. This is made clear when the locals are forced to congregate to sing the national anthem in Spanish. Several people are shown struggling with the lyrics and some do not know how to position their hand in a salute to the flag. The characterization of the indigenous local population as others justifies brute treatment.

The focus of the film is the moral dilemma that Vitin faces; other actors and events act as triggering sequences for his transformation. The only female actor present in the film is a local woman who works at a store that Kike frequents. However, her purpose is to depict the disintegration of the friendship between Kike and Vitin. Kike rapes her and Vitin finds out ultimately ending the friendship. However, this further depicts Vitin's struggle when he refuses to testify against Kike. Members of the Sendero Luminoso don't make a physical appearance in the film; they remain in the background with their political agenda and motivations hidden. When they attack, the damage they produce isn't shown. However, the film explicitly depicts the violence committed by the military. Lieutenant Roca murders a civilian during an interrogation and out of fear of being tried, orders the witnesses to be killed. The scene crudely shows the bodies of the civilians including children being hit by bullets. This serves as the last trigger that leads to Vitin's resolution.

### 8.1.2 Macro-level

The film is one of Peru's most screened films yet it was controversial when released because it stems from real events while also providing an explanation: a cover up of military brutality towards the villagers (Pagán-Teitelbaum, 2010, pg. 168). It can be interpreted as a condemnation of the military; however, Lombardi has stated in several interviews that his aim wasn't to spark political protest but instead explore collective violence in Peru (Barrow, pg. 136). He has also claimed that his sources were interviews with witnesses as well as talks with national experts on the Sendero Luminoso, yet his film remains a fictional work that aimed to portray violence in a generalized sense and not in a specific context (Barrow, pg. 136). However, the film still served as a testimonial to some viewers who interpreted the specific event as the topic. The focus of the film's narrative on the

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

violence excludes other narratives. Though other actor's are present in the film, they are given no agency and remain in the background. This sustains the norm that the military has the hegemony on violence and war remains about soldiers. The film centers on the character development rather than the socio-political events encouraging the audience to become more interested in the conflict within the male lead character (Barrow, pg. 138).

The film is critical of the tactics employed yet, its message still suggests force as an appropriate tactic for solving problems. When Vitin realizes the brutality of the military tactics he defies authority by refusing to shoot the civilians and ultimately challenging Lieutenant Roca to a game of Russian Roulette. This is the culmination of the film where Vitin's reasonable masculinity defeats Roca's uncontrolled masculinity. Vitin is courageous enough to pull the trigger on the fifth attempt and survives, meaning the bullet is for Roca. Roca begs Vitin to pull the trigger for him because he does not dare to kill himself, yet Vitin spares his life. This reinforces militarism because Vitin uses a weaponized and forceful method to confront the issue. He succeeds and establishes the superior masculinity: the controlled and moral masculinity.

## 8.2 Paloma de Papel:

### 8.2.1 Micro-level:

The opening scenes of the film set a somber atmosphere where a community is singing a melancholic melody in remembrance of fallen members. We aren't informed of their cause of death but we can infer that they were victims (or maybe even perpetrators) of the violence that occurred during the peak of the internal conflict in Peru. We are then transported to a correctional facility where a little boy plays with a paper dove. A female officer enters the scene and they walk together through a room lined by bunk beds and inhabited by other young children; the officer affectionately places her arm over the boy's shoulders. We see again the paper dove but it has now multiplied to several paper birds; the person playing with them is now a young man whom we understand as the young boy grown up. We are then shown the outside of the jail where a crowd has gathered including a reporter that informs us that a group of people that had been accused of being terrorists during the internal conflict have been granted amnesty, among them is the young man who was playing with paper bird. He is now sitting on the bus and his memories transport us to the peaceful scenery of a small town in a beautiful mountainous area in Peru that is serenaded by the sounds of children laughing.

The film is composed of the young man's (named Juan) memories of his childhood and the events that led him to find himself detained in a jail for several years. It is a story of loss of innocence where a young boy is confronted with the reality of the violence of a conflict. The images presented of the time previous to the interruption of his childhood, show an idyllic childhood. As an eleven year old, Juan is a happy and playful child getting

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

into mischief with his two friends, the son of the mayor and a little girl. He loves his mother who is nurturing and protects him. However, when the corrupt mayor is murdered, Juan father is imprisoned as a suspect. This is the moment when Juan's innocence is interrupted. Juan incidentally identifies the culprit of the murder, a man named Fermin. However, he is discovered and kidnapped by guerrilla members that are identified to the viewer as members of the Sendero Luminoso. They are never specifically mentioned as senderistas, but throughout the movies they use symbols traditionally used by the Sendero Luminoso. Juan then enters a world of violence that affects his peaceful and innocent life.

Juan becomes a part of a group of children that are being conditioned to follow the doctrine of the Sendero Luminoso and are even trained for military combat. The young boys are fed masculine rhetoric stating that only young boys cry for their mother. They are also trained in arms and taught how to make bombs. The guerrilla members are portrayed as manipulative and treacherous. The members are even betrayed by their own doctrine as shown in the end where a battle unfolds in the town leaving many dead. A female senderista stops to absorb the brutal scene and mourns her fallen friend. This humanizes in a sense the senderistas. The military is encountered briefly during the movie; however, this brief moment offers a negative depiction of the Peruvian armed forces. Juan and another young female recruit approach some soldiers at an outpost by the highway in order to plant a bomb. The soldiers question them and they make sexual suggestions to the female recruit. The state's armed forces are shown abusing their power over the indigenous population.

The film presents an anti-war message. Both sides that participated in the armed conflict, the state's military and the guerrilla organization, are demonized throughout the movie. The paper dove is a traditional symbol of peace. When Juan is released from jail, he returns to his old village where he encounters a unfamiliar and changed sight. His home and places he knew are different. Suddenly, he recognizes his two childhood friends who embrace him warmly. The film attempts to communicate a hopeful message of achieving reconciliation after the conflict through love and cooperation.

## 8.2.2 Macro-level

The film presents the viewer with an example experience that can be generalized for the populations that were primarily affected by the violence of the armed conflict. The town is never explicitly identified, it can be any town in the Peruvian highlands. The story can be translated to other towns that experienced the conflict. The film depicts an experience by rural Peruvians living in the highlands. As mentioned before, most of those afflicted by the violence were of indigenous roots and not Spanish-speakers, yet, the film is entirely in Spanish. This creates a virtual experience that is easier to relate to for urban Peruvians. However, it removes an identity layer and homogenizes Peruvians. The film is narrated through the perspective of a child. This creates a powerful emotional experience for the viewer. There is a sense of protection towards the main character due to his young age and the violence he is exposed to. There are explicit scenes of violence in the film such as Juan being forced to stab a soldier to death. They are more powerful because it is a child executing or

being subjected to the violence. The film achieves some emotional proximity to the physical trauma of the war.

Despite the anti-war message of the film, there are aspects that can be interpreted as reflecting traditional understanding of war. Juan can be interpreted as the regular civilian Peruvian. Juan's mother who is loving and caring represents the nation. This is a traditional militarized manner of understanding the relationship between civilians and the nation. The civilians are males and the state is the nurturing mother to the civilians. The armed conflict interrupted Juan's childhood and robbed him of his innocence. This can be expanded to a greater scale; the conflict interrupted Peru's history. The guerrilla uses masculine rhetoric that attempts to disconnect the Peruvian children from their mother. They are mocked and feminized for crying for their mother. The guerrilla movement is abandoning their mother, the state of Peru. When Juan escapes the guerrilla's ranks, he returns to his hometown where he encounters hostility and suspicion from his fellow Peruvians. He is seen as a traitor even though he attempts to warn them from an approaching attack by the Senderistas. Juan returns to his mother who embraces him and advises him to hide. Juan attempts to convince her to run away with him but she wants to stay in the town and wait for Don Fermin whom she believes is an ally. The mother is naive and still welcoming a person who betrayed the town and was responsible for the kidnapping of Juan. The mother as the state still embraces all the citizens even though they betray her. This results in her being captured and killed. Juan is left suffering by the side of his dead mom's body. This is a contrasting soundtrack from the children laughing at the beginning of the movie: the sound of children wailing. The conflict killed the mother and robbed Juan from his innocence just as the conflict damaged the state of Peru and affected its citizens. Juan, the Peruvian citizen, still suffers the effects of the conflict and mourns for the death of his mother.

## 8.3 La Teta Asustada:

### 8.3.1 Micro-level:

We hear a woman singing in Quechua as the opening credits roll. The subtitles inform us that she is retelling her rape experienced during the internal conflict in Peru. The woman's face is finally revealed; she is an woman with deep wrinkles in her dark complexion that hint at her age, her long gray hair has strands that show remnants of the dark black tone that it had in its youth. She is lying on her death bed in a small room. We are then introduced to her daughter and main character of the movie, Fausta, who replies to her in song. Suddenly, the older woman stops singing and the camera cuts to a shot of Fausta's face revealing fear at the realization of her mother's death. We are then showed a scene of a soon-to-be bride arguing with her parents and brother about the length of her wedding veil not being long enough. Fausta enters the scene and without saying anything gets a nose bleed and passes out.



Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

The following scene shows a doctor's office where a doctor discusses Fausta's health with the father to the bride, who we identify as Fausta's uncle. The doctor explains that Fausta has no health concerns and that the constant bleeding due to Fausta's capillaries being too close to the surface. However, he reveals that Fausta has a potato in her vagina which she refuses to have removed. Fausta's uncle explains to the doctor that she has a disease called "la teta asustada" (milk of sorrow in English) that was contracted through her mother's breast milk. The disease is a product of the mother's fear and suffering that she experienced when she was raped during the violence in Peru. The milk transmits these emotions to the children so that they share the emotional and physical trauma that their mothers lived.

The conception of this disease represents the consciousness that remains after the trauma of the conflict. It shows the remnants of the violence, the continuing effects of a conflict that has now entered remission. The film portrays and explores the physical and psychological consequences of the war. Fausta's disease is the emotional trauma but it is manifested physically through nose bleeds and paralyzing fear. The setting of the film is even a product of the conflict. Though never mentioned in the film explicitly, Fausta's family is of Quechua decent and they probably lived within the areas that were heavily affected by the violence. They have since settled in a shanty town in the outskirts of Lima like many other indigenous people who were displaced and relocated around coastal urban centers. The film attempts to shed light on the fact that people's lives continue to be affected by conflict.

The disease, milk of sorrow, depicted in the movie has an emphasis on the woman's body. The women experienced the trauma and through her female biology passes the disease to her children. The rape has degraded the woman and robbed her of the supposedly natural ability to nurture children. Her ability to give birth and feed her children is poisoned so her children are in turn poisoned by the mother's failure. The disease can be spread through direct physical contact with the female sexual organs such as her breast. There is a focus specifically on the female sex organs as shown by Fausta's physical protection of her vagina. History is written on the land where the armed conflict took place but the memory of the war is inscribed in the female bodies that witnessed the events. The bodies of the women become martyrs and are a reminder of the shame and pain they experienced yet the men are not mentioned.

The film doesn't name a perpetrators to the violence. When Fausta's mother is retelling her experience she omits naming the culprits. She refers to them as disgusting people, she blames them for her trauma. When Fausta is excusing her choice to put a potato in she refers to the men as disgusting claiming that only something more disgusting repels them. When the uncle explains the disease he names only the event but doesn't give responsibility to anyone. Therefore, the focus of the movie is the event and the effect of it. There is no actor that is credited with agency or responsibility for the event. The only one who acts regarding the event is Fausta who attempts to protect herself. Fausta is controlled by fear and lives in isolation; she is especially wary of men. She credits men as the ones responsible for the violence and therefore aims to shield herself from them.

The film depicts the separation between indigenous culture and modernity. The doctor's office is a clear example of this dichotomy. The doctor represents modern science and the empirical which clashes with the understanding of the war trauma by Fausta and her uncle. The doctor is frustrated by the uncle's refusal to understand Fausta's condition as caused by the potato in her vagina. Fausta and her uncle are in turn frustrated by the doctor's lack of understanding of the milk of sorrow disease. The conception of the milk of sorrow

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

disease is categorized as mythological by modern society. However, this show the lack of understanding by urban Peruvian society of the traumatic experiences lived by the rural indigenous people during the conflict. The disease is just the manifestation of the continued trauma; by modern society it would be explained as post-traumatic stress disorder. This represents the division between approved knowledge production and mythology: the milk of sorrow wasn't conceived by professionals so it is discredited by modernity.

The plurality of Peruvians is also rendered explicitly in the film. Fausta works as a maid for a rich white woman in order to make money to transport her mother's cadaver from the shanty town into Lima. The woman lives in a big house with luscious gardens that is barred from other Peruvians by a large wall. The woman is a pianist and is intrigued by Fausta's singing (Fausta uses singing as a comforting tool when she is crippled by fear). She convinces Fausta to sing for her in exchange for pearls. The woman then composes piano interpretations of Fausta's songs and performs them in a concert that receives positive acclaim. After the concert, the woman suddenly forces Fausta out of the car and abandons her in the streets of Lima and Fausta doesn't receive the promised pearls. This is a representation of the lack of understanding by urban Peruvians of the indigenous people who suffered throughout the conflict and continue to be afflicted by the effects of it. Many indigenous women gave testimonials about their experiences during the war and had to publicly reveal their traumas for the composition of the Commission's report. Many probably did it in the hopes of receiving justice or compensation (Theidon, 2008). However, their hopes were never fulfilled satisfactorily. The rich urban Peruvian woman is granted with some responsibility in the film. She could have aided Fausta in her recovery but instead used Fausta for her own gain and then abandoned Fausta.

### 8.3.2 Macro-level:

The film, "La Teta Asustada", was a success that spread beyond the borders of Peru. It was nominated for several international film awards including the Oscar and was even victorious in getting several awards including the Golden Bear award at the Berlin Film Festival. The story the film depicts is a fictional interpretation of the interviews conducted by the Harvard anthropologist, Kimberly Theidon. The director, Claudia Llosa, has explicitly stated Theidon's book, "Entre Projimos", as the source of inspiration for the script of the film. However, the film utilizes the material but does not replicate it (Harris, 2011). Theidon's work makes no mention of the insertion of potatoes in the vagina to repel rapists; she does make mention of techniques used by women in attempt to protect themselves such as pretending to be pregnant (Largaespada, 2010). Llosa's decision to use a potato can be cinematic due to the symbolism that potatoes carry throughout the movie as well as to shock the viewers. The discourse of the film interacts with the popular memory of the conflict. Its abstract narration allows viewers to integrate it to their previous understanding of the conflict. Theidon, in an interview, explains how Peruvians connected the movie to their own narrative of the conflict. For example, in the opening sequence when the rape is narrated yet the culprit is never mentioned, some Peruvians completed the story with their own memories and associations and assumed that the Sendero Luminoso was the responsible entity. Theidon explains that the Senderistas are classified as the official enemy (Largaespada, 2010).

Handledare: Annika Bergman Rosamond

The film also investigates other memories that were marginalized from the popular memory. Most coastal-urban Peruvians lacked a first person experience since the conflict took place mostly in the highlands. The majority of those who suffered the violence of the conflict were also Quechua speakers. Therefore, the experiences and memories couldn't be communicated verbally easily to urban Peruvians who mostly speak Spanish. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission consisted of 8000 pages which probably was consumed mostly by professionals. The film is more accessible to amateurs and can therefore communicate the message more widely. Urban Peruvians could access the message constructed by the testimonies through a different medium. The film doesn't provide a first person experience of the violence of the conflict, but rather a virtual experience of the emotions created by the armed conflict. It creates an emotional experience of the lingering trauma. The viewer can understand the emotions of those who had a first person experience and add substance to the reports or testimonies they might have previously consumed. The film achieves, to an extent, an emotional proximity to those who were affected by the violence. By depicting the war through the eyes of an indigenous woman, a narrative of war that doesn't only depict violence is created. This can be seen as a challenge to militarism by providing alternative accounts by actors that are often marginalized in war discourses.

In her article, *A Theory on the Violence of Memory*, Theidon explains how there is a "gendered division of emotional labor" that appropriates the female body with the responsibility and burden of keeping and narrating the emotional trauma. Women have the responsibility to speak out about rape while men can enjoy the comfort of silence (Theidon, 2008). The individual men who were perpetrators do not receive attention in the discourse of rape; they do not have to offer their testimonies. The film also grants the men with this immunity. The perpetrators aren't named or their actions explained. The focus lies on the women and their bodies. Theidon argues that the social context is imperative for understanding the experiences of the women. She explains how the women used their bodies to protect their town and loved ones. Rape mostly occurred in detainment facilities where women went to get their family members who had been arrested. This social context narrates a story of female heroism instead of one of their victimization (Theidon, 2008). The movie doesn't make mention of this; even if it wasn't relevant to the content of the film, its absence reinforces the militarized idea of women as victims in war rather than as agents.

## 9 Conclusion

The films present a variety of narratives that differ from one another despite drawing from the same event. The diversity in the films signifies the multiplicity of memories that emerge after a conflict. The collective memory is not homogenous and is instead constituted by a variety of narratives that present different perspectives and interpretations. The films represent how the exploration of a perspective depicts a narrative that focuses on different agents. These narratives and their focuses can exclude or contradict others. The film, “La Boca del Lobo” excluded other groups by focusing primarily on members of the Peruvian Armed forces. The inclusion of female narratives in the film, “La Teta Asustada”, presented alternative narratives concerning the emotional trauma of war instead of the physical. The portrayal of the parties included in the films also affects its consumption and how the viewers can relate to them. The films present main characters that the audience that identify and relate in different manners. The film, “Paloma de Papel”, presents an indigenous-rural child characters that the audience can empathize with and even relate nationally due to the film's use of Spanish. The films are all anti-war in some sense, yet they relate in varying ways with the hegemonic discourse of militarism and gender. Militarism was reinforced in some ways such as glorifying masculinities and force as a solution to conflict or by reflecting the gender order sustained in the military institution. This signifies that gender and militarism influence the manner in which the films construct the narratives of war.

As my concluding remark, I would like to highlight the complexity of discourse orders. There are innumerable discourses that surround the same subject that interact with one another. Discourses consume other discourses and can recreate or reshape them. They can also contest one another. The films present different interpretations of the war and different focuses: they attempt to steer the discourse of the war towards a certain narrative. The films interact even with other discourses formed in others spheres such as academic or political. This indicates how visual language used in film interplays and contributes in the greater discourse of war. Therefore, the films offer a mere glimpse of the armed conflict in Peru as well as the conflict and contest of discourses within an order.



## 10 References

- Barrow, Sarah (2006). *Political Violence, Cinematic Representation, and Peruvian National Identity: La Boca del Lobo (Francisco Lombardi, 1988) and La Vida es una Sola (Marianne Eyde, 1993)*. Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity. Ed. Fowler, Will – Lambert, Peter. Palgrave Macmillan, pp 131-148.
- Butler, Judith (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Harris, Brandon (2010). *Claudia Llosa, "The Milk of Sorrow"*. Filmmaker Magazine. Web. <<http://filmmakermagazine.com/12035-claudia-llosa-the-milk-of-sorrow/>>. Accessed: 2013-11-27.
- Hodges, Adam (2011). *The Characterization of 9/11 and America's Response to Terrorism. The "War on Terror" Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*. Oxford University Press.
- Jorgensen, Marianne W. - Phillips, Louise J (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications. Ebook Library.
- Kronsell, Annica (2012). *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense: Militarism and Peacekeeping*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lacy, Mark J (2003). *War, Cinema And Moral Anxiety*. Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 28, pp 611-636.
- Laplante, Lisa J. – Theidon, Kimberly (2007). *Truth With Consequences: Justice And Reparations In Post-Truth Commission Peru*. Human Rights Quarterly, 29, pp 228-250. Project MUSE.
- Largaespada, Mildred (2010). *La Teta Asustada: La Historia Detrás De La Película*. Periodismo Humano. Web. <<http://periodismohumano.com/culturas/la-teta-asustada-la-historia-detras-de-la-pelicula.html>>. Accessed: 2013-11-27.
- Neumann, Iver (2003). *Mening, materialitet och makt*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Pagán-Teitelbaum, Iliana (2010) *Depiction or erasure? Violence and trauma in contemporary Peruvian film*. Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies, 24:1, pp 161-177.
- Peterson, Spike V. - Runyan, Anne S. (2010). *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*. 3rd edition, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Sanchez Nieto, Alejandro (2011). *Give War A Chance Revisited – The Price To Pay: The Military And Terrorism In Peru*. Defence Studies, 11.3, pp 517-540. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. Accessed: 2013-12-14.
- Teorell, Jan - Svensson, Torsten (2007). *Att fråga och att svara. Samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. Malmö: Liber.
- Theidon, Kimberly (2008). *The Milk Of Sorrow: A Theory On The Violence Of Memory*. Canadian Woman Studies, pp 8-16. Humanities International Complete. Web.

- Theidon, Kimberly (2007). *Gender In Transition: Common Sense, Women, And War*.  
Journal Of Human Rights, 6.4, pp 453-478.
- Weber, Cynthia (2008). *Popular visual language as global communication: the  
remediation of United Airlines Flight 93*. Review of International Studies, 34,  
pp 137-153.