

Political satire in the elections of 1935 and 2016. Comparative study of female social representations in *Topaze* y *The Clinic**

Sátira política en las elecciones de 1935 y de 2016. Estudio comparativo de representaciones sociales femeninas en Topaze y The Clinic

Fabiana Carola Rodríguez-Pastene

Universidad de Playa Ancha, Valparaíso, Chile / Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Santiago, Chile
fabiana.rodriguezpastene@dupla.cl

Carolina González

Universidad de Playa Ancha, Valparaíso, Chile
carogonzalezg@gmail.com

Francisco Messenet

Universidad de Playa Ancha, Valparaíso, Chile
prensamessenet@gmail.com

Abstract

The concept of social representation developed by Moscovici (1981) is used in order to determine the attributes women were and are represented with in politics based on the analysis of two historical moments distant in time. Two political satirical press media were investigated, analyzed over a period of one year starting in 1934 and 2016, dates coinciding with the first and last municipal elections that had universal suffrage. For the first period studied, *Topaze* magazine was analyzed and for the second, the weekly *The Clinic*. The results show that 81 years later, the woman continues being represented as an object of ridicule; contributing through this discursive practice to naturalize structural resistances that prevents the advancement of society towards equal rights; imposing and normalizing through symbolic violence, male predominance in the most diverse spheres.

Keywords: Social representation; symbolic violence; graphic humor; women; political satire.

Resumen

Se toma el concepto de Representación Social desarrollado por Moscovici (1981) a fin de determinar con qué atributos fueron y son representadas las mujeres en política, a partir del análisis de dos momentos históricos distantes en el tiempo. Se investigaron dos medios de prensa satíricos de carácter político, analizados durante el período de un año, a partir de 1934 y 2016, fechas coincidentes con la primera y la última elección municipal que contó con voto universal. Para el primer periodo estudiado se analizó la revista *Topaze* y para el segundo, el semanario *The Clinic*. Los resultados arrojan que 81 años después, la mujer continúa siendo objeto de burla; contribuyendo a través de esta práctica discursiva a naturalizar resistencias estructurales que impiden el avance de la sociedad hacia la igualdad de derechos; imponiendo y normalizando a través de la violencia simbólica, el predominio masculino en las más diversas esferas.

Palabras Claves: Representación social; violencia simbólica; humor gráfico; mujeres; sátira política.

* El presente artículo se enmarca en el proyecto de Investigación Científica Tecnológica DGI CSOC11-1718 "Representaciones Sociales: Mujeres y Elecciones Municipales 1935-2016", de la Universidad de Playa Ancha.

1. Introduction

Text and images create realities. For this reason, we must be extremely careful when using them; representations disseminated via mass media create a decisive universe of discourses that generate values, attitudes and judgements in regards to our social, cultural and political environment. Therefore, beyond its formats, journalistic discourse is a form of construction of social representation (Amolef, 2005, p.8); given that, Santander says (2011, p.209), these discourses that circulate and, because of that, it turns out to be shared, virialized, and legitimized, becoming an empiric basis for determining social representations: "The mediatic discourse is the main source of knowledge, attitudes, and ideology of the people", (Van Dijk, 2005, p.37). Thus, as Nash states (2005, p.17), the press has historically played a crucial role in the definition of patterns of acceptance and rejection; of what we understand as the endogroup and exogroup.

Communication media build social representations. Therefore, not only do they shape our perceptions. Based upon this, they also shape our behavior. Indeed, Loscertales (2008, p.64) describes them as agents of social dissemination that build realities and ways of understanding the world and behavior among men and women: "the messages made are decisive for the creating, maintaining and elimination of gender stereotypes". In the words of Araneda:

The identification that a person makes of himself or herself as a man or woman depends largely on the process of sex typification, that is, of the process of detailed learning of the stereotypes associated with being a man or a woman that are present in their culture. Gender identity is part of the self built by a limitless number of convictions related to masculinity and femininity. (Araneda, 2014, p.6)

And as Eguskiza-Sesumaga states "women and communication media form a widely researched combination in the last decades" (2018, p.80), the purpose of this article is to take a historiographic look at the treatment that humor in media -in terms of the concrete social practice, daily and naturalized- has made of the female gender in or-

der to determine the attributes women were and are represented within politics. Two satirical outlets of political character were investigated, analyzed for a period of one year each one, starting in 1934 and in 2016, years of the first and latest municipal election that had universal suffrage. For the first period, the magazine *Topaze* was used and for the second, the weekly *The Clinic*.

2. Theoretical framework: Texts and contexts

Humor, beyond its resources (satire, sarcasm, irony) is pedagogical. Its aim to cause laughter, it must be evident, explicit (Antezana 2009). Plus, many of its jokes are precisely based on a certain level of incorrection creating fertile ground for the dissemination of symbolic violence; therefore, one cannot help but concur with Araneda when he indicates that the effects of its dissemination deserve to be studied on symbolic levels (2014, p.6).

Its naturalization -being more habitual and contagious than laughter- presents a social problem, given that it normalizes social representations. These are understood in the present article according to authors such as Moscovici (1981) and Jodelet (1986); that is, as the basis which not only we perceive and give meaning to our world, but rather we will respond and act in consequence. Jodelet (1986) defines them as modes of practical thinking aiming towards comprehension, exchange and dominance of the social, material and ideal environment. It is about a practical knowledge, a knowledge of common sense, that which allows the subject dominance over its environment; producing and guiding the perception, communication and, based on it, behaviour.

Specifically under a gender perspective, in the social representations present in humoristic discourses:

Lies the idea that it is possible to make someone else the target of ridicule; thus, establishing hurtful dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that subjects adopt, (...) an admissible form of transgression, violence and discrimination towards all those that are considered 'socially different'. (Araneda, 2014, p.6).

Therefore, says Araneda, the joke becomes a strategy of depreciation and authority. Here is produced what Bourdieu (1998) calls symbolic masculine domination; term used by the author to refer to as the unequal gender relationship and its implications on all the aspects that perpetuate and ratify male supremacy as natural. This domination, although it is performed throughout symbolic features, influences every social organization, like family and workplace. In its most extreme shape reaches what the French sociologist call symbolic violence: "that violence that creates obediences that are not even perceived as such, supported by collective expectations, on some socially emplaced beliefs" (1998, p.173).

The humor is no exception to this latter communication reality. In fact, it can take it further. Specifically, because its particularity is that it can make the spread of a discourse more comprehensible (Antezana, 2009). In its aim to perform social critique, graphic humor uses methods that can reinforce gender stereotypes and prejudices, creating a discourse of symbolic violence. Along the way, and with an objective in focus, "it takes all that it sees and desires to transmit as message" (Fernández, 2015, p.216).

Romero (2009) points out, should there be limits on graphic humor? and if so, how much has been disputed, erased, shifted and towards where? Finally, how much have the social representations changed in terms of the woman and her political role?

2.1. The role of the media

Two decades ago, the United Nations for Gender Equality and the Women Empowerment (UN Women), wanted to highlight, in the agenda of its 4th World Conference on the Woman in Beijing, that 17,000 participants and 30,000 activists shared a common purpose: make gender equality and the empowering of women a strategic objective in government agendas and those of the private sector, civil society, and, of course, the *mass media*; in every corner of the planet. In that instance, the 189 United Nations member states recognized the enormous importance of communication media in changing gender stereotypes that have repercus-

sions in societies' attitudes and behaviors, being key to the actions plan on equality and the active role of women (Vega, 2014).

This led to different public and private entities investigating the role between communication media and gender equality. One of the most active instances was the Global Media Monitoring Project (2015), an investigation that involved 108 countries that identified "46% of news pieces reinforced gender stereotypes, and only 6% questioned such stereotypes". In Chile, only 7% of social and legal news questioned stereotypes and crime and violence sections reinforced them in 85%, showing the role of the media as normalizing agents and disseminators of violence.

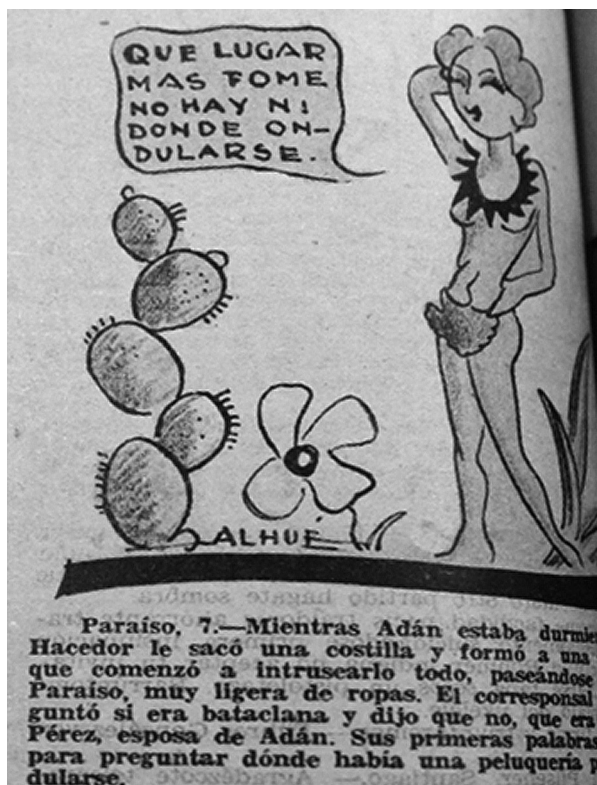
However, it is a drawn-out struggle; the first feminists had already raised their voices in Chile several years before. Female participation in the public sphere in the first half of the 19th century was very rare. Most Chilean women dedicated themselves to being housewives, mothers and wives. During the 30s, feminist movements rose up forcefully in Chile based on a number of issues referring to the historically and socially poor conditions in which Chilean women lived during the first half of the 20th century (Rojas & Jiles, 2017, p.45).

During the second term of President Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938) -and with the participation of Left-wing parties, including the Communist and Socialist- women began to demand equal legal rights. A series of feminist organizations germinated that demanded the right to take part in elections. Until then, women were not considered citizens.

However, and despite all efforts made, society seemed unwilling to take them seriously. In the months leading up to the municipal elections of '35, we can see how -via different dialogues and caricatures- *Topaze* showed the particular image that the feminine gender had then. And it did it precisely via the first woman on Earth: Eve, probably in an effort to include all in the same characterization; plus -and in line with the aforementioned- they give her the last name Pérez (which is very common in the country). The issue number 108, published on July 7, 1934, included the following story:

While Adam was sleeping, the Maker took a rib from him and with it made a woman that began to mettles in everything, walking around paradise, with very little clothing. The correspondent asked her if she was an exotic dancer and she said no, that she was Eve Pérez, Adam's wife. Her first words were to ask where there was a salon in order to curl her hair (*Topaze*, N°108 p. 16).

Figure 1



Source: *Topaze*, N°108 p. 16

Historically, the reasons that men of the era systematically denied women the vote were rooted in the possible existence of a triple inferiority of the woman: physical, intellectual and moral. Those opposing women's equal rights thought that the woman was anatomically, physiologically and psychologically different; they argued that nature had destined women to be mothers and their eventual meddling in politics would bring about the consequence of abandoning the home with an obvious degradation for the whole society (Maino, Pereira, Santa Cruz & Zegers, 1978).

Other arguments used to deny women the right to vote was to say that the fact that they relied on a father or husband did not allow them real independence.

Topaze referred to this topic in its political –sentimental advice column.

- Dear Mr. Topaze: What do I do? I am engaged and, at the same time, I am a member of the Frente Unido Femenino. My fiancée is a candidate, but the Frente Unido Femenino requires me to vote for the female candidate. Should I vote as a political activist or as a fiancée? Please tell me, because I don't know what to do. A woman in crisis. (*Topaze*, N°141, p.12).

2.1.2 Graphic Humor

Graphic humor is a unique discursive genre that combines images and words that - in the framework of the rise of the cultural history- became a valued source to study social representations that brought it about. It is a format "of opinion via which humor presents the interpretation of something, thanks to the help of psychological, rhetorical and/or plastic resources, often strengthened by a brief text. In addition, it has a critical and, at times, editorial purpose" (Abreu, 2001). It uses diverse resources such as caricatures, literary tools, and photographic montages, multiple graphic and semantic registers, via which it participates in the "controversial field of power" (Antezana, 2006, p.20).

It is deployed in order to criticizing mistakes and highlighting defects or unique features of something that allegedly embodies one of the principles of freedom of expression. It is based on the assumption that graphic humor collects the prejudices and concerns existing at a certain moment in a specific social area: in this case, that of the audience identified with the ideological and social profile the outlet targets and is supported by. For Segado (2009) this capacity to sketch the common traits that compose and configure the common sense of a collective is what makes graphic humor a relevant object of study. In other words, and totally along with the concept of social representation previously developed, it is knowledge out of

common sense capable of systematizing the communication and facilitating the appropriation of the social environment to individuals, which would allow us to laugh at a certain joke (Bruel, 2008).

For Bruel, categorizing is, firstly, a process through which we ascribe people to determined groups and we differentiate between them by linking them to emotional and evaluative meanings. In that sense, the joke serves as an indicator of who can be target of ridicule and who cannot. The joke participates in the social construction of stereotypes; if I laugh about certain features, I reaffirm an evaluation.

2.1.2.1 Topaze

On August 12, 1931 was published the first issue of *Topaze*, subtitled "The Barometer of Chilean Politics". This weekly was founded by Jorge Délano Frederick, Coke¹, talented cartoonist that, after returning to Chile after living in the United States, had to try to wing it in order to receive some source of income and improve somehow his economic and labor prospects.

The name *Topaze* was taken from a comedy by Frenchman Marcel Pagnol who successfully presented in the then Teatro Comedia (Donoso, 1950:159). Coke, together with using the name *Topaze*, took advantage of its success to start an advertising campaign oriented towards the general public in which the debut of the satirical weekly was announced throwing out thousands of flyers from a plane that flew over Santiago, together with the commercial advertisement of who was the first sponsor the magazine had: baby food manufacturer Meyer.

In the beginning, *Topaze's* administrator was Joaquín Blaya. Jorge Sanhueza was founder-editor and Jorge Délano was head cartoonist. María Eugenia Oyarzún, the only woman in the *Topaze* family, also participated editing and wrote the jokes of Peggy and was well-accepted by readers.

The success of the first issue was so big that they had to print three new runs, and pay the print shop that very same day. The magazine -published for almost 4 decades (August 12, 1931 to October 30, 1970)- was also assimilated in the political agenda and the hearsay of the Chilean establishment of

those years, heavily characterized by the participation of the conservative, liberal and radical parties, as well as the gradual incorporation of socialist and communist parties.

2.1.2.2 The Clinic

The project *The Clinic* began in August of 1998, as part of the communicational strategies of the political campaign of Ricardo Lagos Escobar. Through the company TV Corp (owned by Enrique Symms), *The Clinic* was conceived as a response to a lack of free media in Chile and in the need to create one before the Concertación primaries. *The Clinic* was given out for free of charge at colleges and universities and among the opinion leaders, with an underground circulation and a print run of 48,000 copies, which was well received by the audience, avid of new journalism and in favor of the candidate for the presidency. The newspaper's free of charge period lasted a few months and it stopped being printed until its reappearance in November 1998. The first issue of *The Clinic* titled "¡A acicalarse chiquillas. Garzón viene a Chile" was published on November 23, 1998, just after Augusto Pinochet's detainment in the London Clinic of England.

Its first issue plainly showed its primary intention to exclusively attack Pinochet, but the object of ridicule and irony transformed and changed according to the events and new personalities inside the national and international political sphere.

Today, after 20 years of circulation, the paper is widely recognized. Since its beginning until now, it has maintained its sarcastic, ironic and sharp editorial line (Nah, 2007).

3. Methodology

The investigation presented here is exploratory. This is because the analysis of satire and social representations of the woman have not been addressed in depth in Chile. However, and as will be detailed in the following lines, the review of the project's state of the art included related studies performed in other latitudes or applied to other types of pieces -like advertisements, for instance- that guided the design of the matrix of analysis. The methodology is mixed in order to achieve a

more accurate perspective of the phenomenon to investigate (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista, 2010, p.532).

Because of that, this study adjusts the instrument designed by Rodríguez-Pastene who adapted the automatic Diachronic Hemerographic Analysis of Moreno Sardá (1998). The selection of this tool allows us to see the remaining features as well as the changes produced throughout the history of both publications (Rodríguez-Pastene, 2016, p.12).

The instrument was used by Rodríguez-Pastene in his doctoral thesis “From the attribute to the promise. Representations of consumption in England, 1881-1910. A study as a historiographic source”, where he analyzed the social representations founded in 800 advertisements. The modified tool was divided, just like the original, into three levels.

Thus, on the Contextual Level, the piece is identified and it is generally individualized. On the Iconic Level, a denotative or descriptive analysis of the caricature, photomontage or humoristic outline is performed.

Finally, on the Iconographic Level, the inquiry that goes beyond what is explicitly understood in the piece analyzed is performed, to make a connotative interpretation of it, on which a discourse analysis of semiotic nature will be built.

Therefore, within the last level, categories were included based on two works that analyze graphic humor: “Humor and political discourse: Humor as an opinion and critique resource in contemporary Greek and Spanish press” by Theofylakti (2016), that guided the category of humoristic resource. The text of Dolores Vidal (2016), “Graphic Humor and Social Representations. Social representation of the man-woman relationship in the work *Mujeres Alteradas de Maitena*”, therefore, inspired

the identification of gender roles and stereotypes.

Therefore, types of humor were classified as:

- **Satire:** Lyrical subgenre that not only has the purpose of laughing at or ridiculing, but rather that is also transmitted via a moral ending, via which the author of the piece aims to make society better by disapproving of some of its acts or ideas.
- **Sarcasm:** Blatant ridicule, biting irony and cruel used to offend or abuse someone or something, making it seem as a clear strategy to discredit a person.
- **Irony:** Rhetorical figure that consists in making one understand the contrary of what is said.
- **Parody:** burlesque imitation or with sarcasm.
- **Absurd Humor:** Evokes unreal and incoherent situations that lack meaning.
- **Dirty Jokes:** Vulgar or daring jokes, sexually explicit or evident obscenity.
- **Grotesque:** Designating that which is strange, ridiculous, eccentric, fantastic and irrational. It is a mix of animalization, caricature, horror.

The table referring to the “symbolic universes” showed the diverse meanings identified in the pieces. With this tool, we questioned the hidden, the apparent, the unapparent, the potential, the incredible (the not said) of every message (Santander, 2011). The categories were the following:

- **Inferiority:** Feeling of dependence or subordination.
- **Religiousness:** Practice attached to a religious dogma.
- **Objectification:** The act of representing or treating a person like an object (a thing that can be used as one’s desires).
- **Machismo:** Attitude of aggressiveness and superiority of men in regards to women.

Table 1

Protagonists	Number of protagonists	Political Sector	Political Party	Protagonist Genre	Type of subject	Scenario	Type of Relationship	
Publication	Date	Category	The unit is composed of	Graphic resources used	Page	Size	Location	Colors
Nature of the relationship		Humoristic resource		Symbolic Universe		Stereotype and prejudice		

(Source: The author)

- **Corruption:** Practice consistent with the use of functions and means of organizations, especially the public ones, for economic advantage or that of any other nature, by its administrators.
- **Revindication:** Claim something that one believes to have rights to.
- **Superficiality:** Frivolous without content or reason.
- **Classism:** Attitude or tendency of whom defend the class differences and discrimination for this reason.

Finally, the matrix includes the category "Stereotype and prejudice" understanding prejudice to be a "negative preconception towards a group and towards its individual members". Stereotype is the "belief in regards to the personal attributes of a group of people. The stereotypes can be excessively generalized, inappropriate and resistant to new information" (Myers, 2000, p.335).

To use a category of closed content of stereotypes and prejudices, we worked with the classifications from the research done by González and Paredes (2004), *Usos actuales del marketing sensual. Iconos femeninos en la publicidad de hoy*. The text names the characteristics to which women are associated with in advertising, those pertaining to the present research are: emotional, sexual and attractive, hard-working, dedicated to the private space, dependent, emotional/sentimental, aiming to please, family-oriented, and maternal.

The corpus of the present study is the comparative analysis of two satirical press media of political nature, composed by front page caricatures and inside pages of *Topaze* during 1934-1935, and the total sum of images located on the front pages of the weekly *The Clinic* from 2016. This selection was carried out with the purpose of using the most comparable pieces inside both weeklies, considering the specificities of the format of each one; the photomontages of the front pages of *The Clinic* are comparable with the caricatures of *Topaze*, given the freedom and possibility of intervention of the photomontage is similar to what the caricature provides.

In its first phase, the investigation covers from April 1934 to the same month of the following year, period in which women could exercise their right to vote in the municipal elections for mayor and coun-

cilors; of the 98 female candidates, 26 women were elected to community mayor positions.

In the second part, we explored the female representations made by *The Clinic* during the last 2016 municipal elections, in which female candidates for mayor and city council represented 19% and 30.9% of the total candidates, respectively. Only 231 out of 1,211 candidates for mayor were women.

The universe studied was composed of those communicational units where representations of women converge –whether as gender or particular subjects- or via feminization of male subjects.

4. Results

This investigation arises from the analysis of 104 pieces (64 in *Topaze* and 40 in *The Clinic*), considering all the graphic contents listed in the analysis matrix of content applied.

4.1 Topaze

On the Contextual Level, of the 64 pieces analyzed, only four correspond to the front pages of *Topaze* (6%), which shows that the female figure was not interesting enough to the magazine in order to print it on the front page. Around 91% of the units analyzed are composed by text and image. It is noteworthy that 94% of the graphic resource in *Topaze* corresponds to drawings or caricatures; while only one photograph was published during the period investigated (1934-1935). On the other hand, 59 pieces were printed in black and white (92%).

In the Iconic Level, the protagonists in *Topaze* are widely varied. However, among the pieces analyzed, the relationship between Juan Verdejo and his wife Domitila is highlighted together with the presence of Minister of Finance Gustavo Ross, who more than once is represented as a woman to ironize on his weak character or poor political decisions. While 46% of the political parties cannot be determined, 19% of the protagonists represent the conservative party, 16% the liberal party, 9% the radical party; and all the rest, less than 2%.

The scenario where the women portrayed appear in *Topaze* can largely be identified as inside (31%) followed by “cannot be determined”; restricting the female sphere to the domestic realm. Always within the Iconic Level, women predominate in an active role with 69%, while suffering roles only represent 25% of the pieces researched. However, this female protagonist role is not radical, but rather a target of ridicule.

The Iconographic Level reinforces the aforementioned; sarcasm predominates in referring to or addressing women of the era (33%), instance where there was apparent biting ridicule in order to degrade the abilities of women in social, cultural and political spheres. The parody (28%) followed by irony (16%) predominate as humoristic resources to refer to women as gender and as protagonists of the events of interest in the era. They are followed by absurdity (9%), satire (6%), grotesqueness (5%) and dirty jokes (3%).

In regards to symbolic universes, machismo (36%) and superficiality (33%) are predominant, followed distantly by vindication (8%) and classism (8%). In regards to stereotypes and prejudices, 27% of the *Topaze* publications represents the woman as sexually attractive; that is, the representation of the female character is at the disposal of male pleasures. These categories follow: aiming to please (23%), dedicated to the private sphere (20%), family-oriented (12%) and dependent (11%).

It is interesting to prove that the jokes in *Topaze* are directed particularly to the high-class female segment. Historically, these women participate more in politics. The magazine focuses little attention to or showed few of the historic events that the Chilean working class women were supporting in this era.

Through its illustrations and texts, *Topaze* features motivations that would impede readers from seeing the woman as a competent political participant, which coincides with the concept of symbolic violence developed previously. The superficiality and economic and emotional dependence are resources frequently used to ridicule the gender. See the following excerpt:

See here honey, what’s going on with me and for having gotten involved in politics, and when my husband told me over and over to not get involved

and that I would suffer for being nose-y. Now check this out, I just read in the newspaper that I’ve been named monitor, good grief, for the elections on Sunday. (*Topaze* No. 140, p. 6).

4.2 The Clinic

In the other hand, the 40 front pages including female presence published by the weekly *The Clinic* during 2016 were analyzed. On the Contextual Level, the units of the weekly are mainly composed of the use of text and image (98%); in other words, both resources complement each other and reinforce the message to be massively spread. All the front pages of the weekly are in color and use graphic resources, capturing the attention of the reader via attractive, retouched, attention-grabbing images. Noteworthy is the use of photomontages in the front page, seen in 85% of the samples, eclipsing photographs and caricatures.

Within the Iconic Level, in the front pages analyzed, 72 characters from the political world appeared, with a highly-frequent presence of the president of the republic, Michelle Bachelet (eight appearances), followed by Lucía Hiriart de Pinochet, Sebastian Piñera and Jorge Burgos (three appearances each).

The large majority of protagonist roles is held by ex-President Michelle Bachelet with 23%. One of the reasons for this heavy coverage was the Caval Case, which involved Sebastián Dávalos and Natalia Compagnon -son and daughter-in-law of Bachelet, respectively- for conflict of interests and misuse of confidential information. *Ad portas* to the 2017 presidential elections, the weekly ironized more than once celebrating an imminent end of the government of the ex-president which portrayed her many times in the role of concerned mother and incompetent president.

The image that accompanied this text (See Figure 2) shows 62% of the category Government, demonstrating that the critiques of the magazine were directed towards those in the government and the administration of the executive office. The irony in this image corresponds to the president’s unsuccessful trip to the Araucanía, a trip the by then Minister of Internal Affairs, Jorge Burgos, was not informed of.

Figure 2



Source: *The Clinic* 628, p.1

On the Iconographic Level, the humoristic resource that predominates is irony with 24%, while satire, sarcasm and parody have 18% each, respectively. The front pages that allude to grotesque humor represent 11%, while the absurd makes up 9%.

Irony –main resource used by the weekly- focuses on illustrating the lack of leadership of the president to guide the country; the inability to keep her son in line and lead a team where “friendly fire” predominates.

In terms of the symbolic universe, we can see that women are represented in *The Clinic* via superficiality, with 29%. This is followed by machismo with 16% and objectifying of the female figure with 13%. The stereotypes and prejudices complement the symbolic universe with 15% of female presence portrayed like aiming to please and 14% as dependent and family oriented. Some 13%, therefore,

shows the female figure as dedicated to the private space and as hard-working.

4.3 Comparative

In this section, we will discuss the results that, comparatively, illustrate the main temporary and permanent aspects within the matrix of analysis.

4.3.1 Contextual Level

On this level, we can see that the graphic resource par excellence in *Topaze* (94%) is the drawings or caricatures; while the graphic resource of the satire on the front pages of the weekly *The Clinic* are photomontages. The latter, reflecting the daily use of the technology today that replaced the sketch of the raised hand. It is interesting to conclude that the photography without intervention is rarely used by the two media; where the freedom to satirize provided by the caricature is similar to the autonomy of intervention achieved via the photomontage.

4.3.2 Iconic Level

In both media, and therefore, for more than 81 years, the woman is represented in closed, interior, domestic spaces, reinforcing the patriarchal representation of our society where physical, collective and even individual places are different among men and women. In *Topaze*, the social scenario where the women portrayed carry out their lives takes place inside the home (31%) and the percentage is even higher in *The Clinic* (40%); while rural scenarios are practically zero in both publications, making the country and indigenous woman completely invisible.

4.3.3 Iconographic Level

The symbolic universes predominant in *Topaze* are machismo (36%) and superficiality (33%); both universes also stand out –vying for first and second position- in *The Clinic* where the superficiality obtains 29% and machismo expressions reach 16%.

This is interesting, given that they are the dominant representations that utilize symbolic violence to justify male supremacy for over 8 decades in Chile. Regarding stereotypes and prejudices, both publications show a predominance in the representation of the female gender as sexually attractive and desiring to please, showing that feminine power is the body and not the intellect.

5. Conclusions

As Vega (2014) explains, gender violence is structural, because the social organization is patriarchal. From this context arose Chile's 2018 student movement that fought against machismo in higher education institutions, taking over the national agenda. In fact, the current administration of President Sebastián Piñera had to make changes to the women's agenda due to the public pressure. In May 2018, 23 measures were presented seeking to reach equal rights and obligations in Chile.

The effort to study the problem arose in a context of active uncovering and denouncement of gender activists; #Niunamenos² public protests; and, more recently, a series of feminist sit-ins at educational institutions in the country³. This investigation fits within the countless struggles of women for their revindications: yesterday the right to vote; today the right to make decisions about their own bodies. "Each day we conclude that the representation of women in the discourse of traditional communication media and in new technologies reproduces sexist stereotypes" (Vega, 2014, p.15). The sarcasm in *Topaze* and the irony in *The Clinic* have contributed to spread and reinforce the symbolic violence against women; for decades the misogynist humor has naturalized the stereotypes to the detriment of the female gender.

The magazine *Topaze* represented the woman as a superficial and banal being, incapable of becoming a real contribution in the political arena given her supposed physical, emotional and intellectual handicaps. More than eight decades later and in a context in which women already participate in spaces of republican politics, *The Clinic* underestimated their management and leadership abilities, discrediting feminine political behavior, seen mainly via the figure of Michelle Bachelet and her

cabinet members.

81 years later, women as political players still are objects of ridicule; contributing via this discursive practice to naturalize structural resistances that impede the advance of society towards equal rights; imposing and normalizing via symbolic violence, the masculine predominance in diverse spheres.

Carrying out this academic exercise is not an excess of seriousness, humor is also resistance, denouncement and necessary criticism of power when it is done intelligently: the human being "can be defined, in addition to the only animal that thinks, as the only animal that laughs, which in the end is the same, because there is no laughter without thought" (Sosa, 2007 p.171).

Endnotes

1 Délano was godson and nephew of the president of the Republic of Chile, Vice-admiral Jorge Montt, married to Leonor Frederick, and baptized in the Chapel at La Moneda, circumstance attributed to his destiny of political cartoonist. Donoso, 1950:158. Donoso, R. (1950). *La sátira política en Chile*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria. Taken from: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7961.html>

2 Starting in 2016, Chile became part of the movement against gender violence and femicides that began in Argentina in 2015; carrying out various demonstrations such as marches, posts on social media and opinion columns under this name.

3 Correspond to a series of manifestations carried out by high school and college students in Chile that began in April 2018. Among the demands of the movement were those to take action against faculty members accused of sexual abuse, elimination of sexism in education, changes made to curricular programs, and training on gender equality, and more. "Las demandas tras las tomas feministas en universidades». La Tercera. May 8, 2018. Found on May 9, 2019.

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- About the authors:

Fabiana Rodríguez-Pastene is doctor in History with a minor in social studies, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. She has a master's degree in History with a minor in Political Science and International Affairs, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Journalist and undergraduate degree in Social Communication, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Professor and Researcher Universidad de Playa Ancha and Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez.

Carolina González has a master's degree in Communication from Universidad de Playa Ancha.

Francisco Messenet is journalist and has an undergraduate degree in Social Communication from Universidad de Playa Ancha.

- How to cite:

Rodríguez-Pastene, F., González, C. & Messenet, F. (2019). Political satire in the elections of 1935 and 2016. Comparative study of female social representations in *Topaze* and *The Clinic*. *Comunicación y Medios*, (39), 26-38.

