**Remembering a Different Future:
Dissident Memories and Identities in Contemporary
Chilean Culture**

By
Jon Preston

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*Esto no está muerto,
No me lo mataron,
Ni con la distancia,
Ni con el vil soldado.*
– Silvio Rodríguez, ‘Santiago de Chile’

*Más allá de todas las derrotas,
la memoria de los vencidos es la que hace la historia.*
– Carmen Castillo

El olvido está lleno de memoria.
– Mario Benedetti

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Abstract

There have been two key episodes of conflict in the history of Chile since independence upon which contemporary Chilean society has arguably been founded. The first was the military domination of the indigenous Mapuche by the state, known as the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’, which spanned two decades between 1861 and 1883. The second commenced in 1973 with the coup d’état against the democratically elected president, Salvador Allende, and continued for 16-and-a-half years as Chile was ruled by Augusto Pinochet’s civic-military dictatorship. These conflicts and their far-reaching consequences form the basis for ongoing disputes in Chilean society today, despite the efforts of official state discourses to silence and gloss over these divisive events in the name of reconciliation and governability.

This thesis examines a selection of forms of contemporary cultural production that interact with Chile’s conflictive past and challenge official discourses of silence and forgetting. These cultural texts include the poetry of David Aníñir, the autobiographical books and films of Carmen Castillo, and sites of memory honouring victims of the dictatorship. Between them, they represent and reflect upon the historic and contemporary oppression of the Mapuche, repression and human rights abuses during Pinochet’s dictatorship, and the ongoing debates and struggles over this past and its consequences in the present.

This study employs a range of theoretical frameworks, given the varied nature of its subject matter. The analysis of Aníñir’s poetry relies on key concepts from Latin American cultural criticism, such as Antonio Cornejo Polar’s heterogeneity and Néstor García Canclini’s hybridity. The study of Castillo’s work draws on trauma studies, including concepts such as acting out and working through, as theorised by Dominick LaCapra, and the competing notion of working toward, in addition to Dori Laub’s work on survivor testimony and critical debates around the concept of nostalgia. Scholarship on memory studies and memorialisation frames the examination of sites of memory, including Maurice Halbwachs’s conceptualisation of collective memory and Pierre Nora’s foundational work on *lieux de mémoire*. In particular, Patrizia Violi’s notion of ‘trauma sites’ is central to the theoretical debate on the subject of Chilean memorialisation.

Overall, this thesis seeks to contribute to scholarship by offering original and innovative readings of all three cultural forms, and analyses both well-known cultural texts in their respective fields and others that have received little critical attention to date. Moreover, it is one of the first works to juxtapose and explicitly consider the links between the plights of the

Mapuche and the victims of Pinochet's dictatorship through a study of their cultural representations. Consequently, this thesis broadens the focus of historical memory in Chilean cultural studies, which has typically centred on the context of the dictatorship, to also encompass the experiences of Chile's largest indigenous culture.

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My parents and brothers have been a constant source of support and encouragement, for which I am always grateful. My parents- and sisters-in-law have been keenly interested in my critical perspective on Chilean society and history over the years, and their enthusiasm regarding the relevance of my study has meant a lot to me. And my Nana, who passed away while this thesis was under examination, was always supportive of my studies; she was generous enough to financially contribute to my undergraduate studies, which laid the foundation for my postgraduate research, and I wish she had been able to read some of my completed thesis.

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which was a turning point for me both personally and professionally. It fitted in perfectly with the chance to follow Francisca and my heart across the Pacific, and gave me the opportunity to immerse myself in Chilean culture and society. After a stint supervising my Honours dissertation, Dr Ross Woods took me under his wing once again – not in a supervisory capacity this time, but more in terms of guiding me through both the general process of completing a PhD and life after the PhD, as well as giving me tips on fatherhood. The School of Languages and Cultures at Victoria University has also provided a collegial atmosphere and excellent administrative support, which have been productive to the writing of this thesis.

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank the employees and volunteers at the sites of memory I visited during field research in August and September 2014, who shared their knowledge and experiences with me. I was struck by their warmth, sincerity and openness to answer a range of questions that I had. Our conversations were invaluable to my research and provided me with a much clearer understanding of each site, its history and organisation. On a personal level, many of these testimonies struck a chord with me and further convinced me that issues related to the memory of Chile's conflictive past are still very much relevant today. *Muchas gracias* to everyone who I met at these sites and who shared their stories with me, particularly: Manuel Méndez (Estadio Nacional); Bernardo de Castro and my anonymous guide (Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas); Felipe Aguilera and Juan Ilarraza (Londres 38); Sylvia Pinilla (Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos and Ex Clínica Santa Lucía); Romina Ampuero and Valeria Ampuero (Ex Clínica Santa Lucía); Bárbara Azcárraga and Omar Sagredo (Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi); Juan René Maureira, Diego Cabezas and Daniela Urbina (Memorial Paine); Claudia Videla (Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos); and Daniela Belmar (Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume).

Introduction

My affinity with Chile, its politics, history, society and cultures began on my first trip there on a university exchange in 2008. Before then, I knew little about Chilean history, except Salvador Allende's democratic path to socialism in the 1970s, an infamous Southern Cone coup d'état and repressive dictatorship, and the eventual return of democracy. During my semester-long stay in Santiago, I lodged in a *pensión universitaria*. It was a three-storey house in which the owners lived on the ground floor, and the first and second floors each comprised seven separate bedrooms for university students looking for a home away from home in one of the wealthier and safer neighbourhoods of the capital. Indeed, barely a stone's throw away from the *pensión* was the residence of then-president Michelle Bachelet, under police guard at all times. Like any somewhat politically rebellious youth, I took advantage of being in Latin America for the first time by decorating my room with posters of revolutionary icons such as Salvador Allende, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, and the popular Chilean singer-songwriter Víctor Jara. One day, upon returning to the *pensión*, I found a document left on my bed by the owner who, it transpired, had entered my room to show it to other potential lodgers and their families. The document was a contract for living at the *pensión*, which had not previously been brought to my attention, and contained a list of rules to adhere to. It was open on a particular page with one clause highlighted bright yellow, which read something along the lines of: 'Lodgers will not discuss politics or religion in the residence'. I later discovered, during a dinner conversation with other students, that the owners of the *pensión* were *pinochetistas* (supporters of Augusto Pinochet) who had a portrait of the deceased general in their office, and must have taken exception to my display of political affinity. This was the first taste I got in Chile of the divisions and tensions of recent history, and of the way in which some perspectives were glossed over and silenced.

Another relevant experience played out, this time in the public sphere, regarding *Los archivos del cardenal*, a fictionalised television series that was based on real events at the Vicaría de la Solidaridad during the dictatorship, which first aired on the Chilean state broadcaster Televisión Nacional in 2011. The Vicaría de la Solidaridad was an organisation created in January 1976 by the Catholic Church in Chile, led by Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez. Its principal purpose was to document human rights abuses committed by Pinochet's dictatorship and provide victims and their families with legal, social, economic and emotional support (Stern 2006a: 113). Thus, the television series exposed a number of crimes committed

by the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, the militarised secret police between 1973 and 1977) and revealed its *modus operandi* during the dictatorship. Unsurprisingly, the series was heavily criticised by the political Right, including figures such as: Carlos Larraín, senator and president of Renovación Nacional (the party of Sebastián Piñera, President of Chile at the time); Alberto Cardemil, a Renovación Nacional deputy; and Cristián Labbé, mayor of Providencia, a wealthy suburb in Santiago. Notably, Cardemil had been subsecretary of the Interior in Pinochet's regime, and Labbé had been a DINA operative and instructor, as well as a bodyguard for Pinochet during the dictatorship. Larraín opined that *Los archivos del cardenal* only contributed to 'mantener el odio nacional', while Cardemil claimed that the programme was an abuse of public finances. Labbé's criticism was the most vehement: he brazenly renamed the series 'los archivos del demonio' ('Alcalde Cristián Labbé...').¹

Further emphasising the programme's connection with the dictatorial past, one of the songs used to promote the series was a cover of Silvio Rodríguez's 'Santiago de Chile', a 1975 song that lamented the coup d'état and subsequent dictatorship. The original song's melancholy yet defiant reflection was reworked and re-signified over three decades later by the Chilean group Los Bunkers.² During live performances in Chile in 2012, the band played the song in front of projected images of Allende and the Unidad Popular period, while concert-goers jumped and shouted '¡El que no salta es Pinochet!', a cry that also used to be chanted at opposition marches during the dictatorship. This television series and its reception demonstrate the polemic and contested nature of the dictatorial era of Chilean history, including the views of a sector of society that would prefer to silence the memory and transgenerational re-telling of this past. Moreover, Los Bunkers's version of 'Santiago de Chile', its ties to *Los archivos del cardenal* and its live performances can be seen as embodying the resignification of symbolic and cultural acts which occurred 40 years earlier in a new context and era. They ultimately attest to the persistence of antagonistic historical memories in Chilean society and ongoing conflict.

Opposing interpretations of the past reveal the struggle between official and counter-official visions of history, particularly around the most divisive events. It is widely accepted

¹ Given its positive reception by the viewing public, a second season of *Los archivos del cardenal* screened in Chile in 2014. The series also led to a project between Universidad Diego Portales and CIPER Chile (an independent media outlet with a focus on investigative journalism), which involved researching and publishing details of the real-life cases that had inspired the events of each episode in the series. The fruits of this investigation on each season, which constitute a further re-examination of the past and its popular consumption in the present, were published in 2012 and 2014 (Insunza and Ortega eds. 2012, 2014).

² Los Bunkers's 'Santiago de Chile' was included in teasers for the series before it first aired; the song's music video also contains images from the series and portrays the band within the programme's diegesis as they sing ('Los Bunkers – Santiago de Chile').

by scholars that since the return of democracy in 1990 the Chilean political establishment has played a key role in silencing or diverting attention from counter-official versions of history and critical reflection on the past. The governing powers have done so by consistently promoting the notions of societal reconciliation and moving on from the past through a number of tactics, including encouraging forgetting and historical whitewashing, attempting to foster consensus, appealing to national unity, and, at times, spreading misinformation (Moulian 1997: 33, 37-38; Richard 2004: 16; Stern 2010: 246, 264).³ This is particularly notable with respect to official responses to the ongoing reflections of two key, foundational episodes of conflict in the history of Chile: the state's military domination of the indigenous Mapuche, known as the 'Pacificación de la Araucanía' (1861-1883); and the military coup d'état against President Salvador Allende in September 1973 and Augusto Pinochet's ensuing 16-and-a-half year dictatorship (1973-1990). With regards the former, the state views the subjugation of Mapuche as distant history and disregards indigenous activists' claims for historical reparation. In the case of the latter, the state has explicitly acknowledged the human rights abuses that took place and has sought to provide reparation to victims to a certain extent, but often seeks to lay such divisive issues to rest in the name of governability.

The legacies and tangible consequences of such conflicts are still very much present in Chilean society today on a number of levels – politically, economically, socially and culturally. For example, there have been growing Mapuche demands for the return of ancestral lands that were confiscated by the state. These demands are fuelled by a burgeoning Mapuche political movement and the continuing repression of Mapuche in the south of the country. Similarly, at the time of writing, Pinochet's 1980 constitution and the neoliberal economic model it enshrined continue to prevail, yet their legitimacy has been brought into question by numerous civil society movements in the last decade, including the well-publicised student movement.

This thesis sets out to examine a range of forms of cultural production that challenge Chile's official discourses on history: the poetry of David Aníñir, an urban Mapuche; the autobiographical written and filmic work of Carmen Castillo, a left-wing exile; and physical sites of memory that honour victims of Pinochet's dictatorship.⁴ These cultural products oppose

³ In the present decade, Sebastián Piñera's frequent appeals to national unity were a hallmark of his right-wing presidency (2010-2014). See, for example, "Haremos un gobierno de unidad nacional"...', 'Piñera llama a una "transición del futuro"...', 'Piñera llama a la unidad nacional', Jara Aranedo 2012, Morgado 2013, and 'Piñera llama a la unidad nacional para combatir...'

⁴ All of these cultural forms could arguably be approached as 'sites of memory' following Pierre Nora's original definition of the term as 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which [...] has become a symbolic element of memorial heritage to any community' (1989: 7). Steve J. Stern and Peter Winn have also emphasised the broad scope of the term 'sites of memory', which they use to encompass films and television programmes (2013: 366-367). In this thesis, however, 'sites of memory' is used to refer to physical sites of

and dispute the dominant worldview in Chile, which seeks to gloss over the cracks of the country's divisive, conflictive history. They also interact with the contested past through the memories and identities that they embody, which do not conform to the monolithic vision of the past espoused by the state and its official actors. In doing so, they emphasise the conflictive origins that have given rise to or inspired each work.

David Aníñir's poetry, for example, is firmly located in the urban setting, and the roots of his condition as an urban Mapuche can be directly traced back to the military subjugation of the Mapuche by the Chilean state in the 19th century. His open identification as an urban Mapuche defies official discourses and attitudes that have historically discriminated against urban Mapuche because of both their indigeneity and their perceived assimilation to non-Mapuche culture. Aníñir's poetic discourse also alludes to the dispossession, marginalisation and oppression that urban and rural Mapuche have historically suffered and continue to endure today. The basis of Carmen Castillo's autobiographical work is her identity as a victim of the dictatorship. It deals with the repression that she and her loved ones faced, including murder, forced disappearance, imprisonment, torture, and exile, as well as the traumatic consequences of these for survivors like herself. Her work thus foregrounds the complex process victims face to come to terms with past repression, in contrast to the state's attempts to move on and look towards a united future. Castillo's identification as a former member of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), a left-wing political movement, embodies a marginalised political worldview in Chile today. This is not solely because of the persecution that the Left suffered during the dictatorship, but also due to the embracing of neoliberal policies by the governing centre-left and centre-right coalitions since the return of democracy, which has further marginalised and stigmatised the Left in contemporary society and formal political structures. Sites of memory that commemorate victims of the dictatorship emphasise the dictatorial repression and its human cost. Their existence as symbolic recognition of these victims is also testament to the hard-fought struggle of human rights activists during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. These sites of memory dissent from attempts to impose closure on the dictatorial past and, instead, seek to keep the memory of victims alive. Much like Castillo's left-wing ideals, the political identities of the victims honoured in the memorials clash with the ethos of the contemporary neoliberal state that was established under the dictatorship.

memory, such as memorials and monuments, unless otherwise noted. The theoretical concept of sites of memory and the distinctions between associated terms are discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

Significantly, these forms of cultural production are not limited to engaging with only one of these episodes of conflict. Aníñir's poetry, as will be argued, portrays a critical vision of Pinochet's dictatorship, which complements the denunciatory perspectives of dictatorial repression found in the other two cultural forms. Similarly, Castillo's work and several sites of memory allude to and foreground both the historic and contemporary plights and resistance of the Mapuche. Moreover, all three forms of cultural texts denounce to varying degrees the ongoing legacy and consequences of Pinochet's dictatorship through a range of social, economic and political structures that endure in contemporary Chile, as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis.

These cultural forms evoke and appeal to past identities and memories of a number of groups, such as Mapuche, political victims of the dictatorship and their descendants, and Chile's political Left, in many ways. In their respective eras, all of these groups envisaged a future that would have been markedly different to that which has transpired. These futures ultimately differ from present circumstances because of the conflict and repression these groups suffered through their marginalisation and stigmatisation in official discourse and society. Thus, these cultural forms emphasise past conflicts and reflect alternative visions and worldviews in contemporary society.

At present, there is a rich critical corpus that examines a variety of Chilean forms of cultural production that interact with the past. In many cases, analyses of these cultural expressions focus on their representation of Pinochet's dictatorship and its legacy in contemporary society. Influential scholars in this area of criticism include Nelly Richard, Michael Lazzara, and Macarena Gómez-Barris. These scholars coherently draw their diverse subject matter together by emphasising the common feature of evoking and stimulating critical questioning of the dictatorship and transition to democracy (Richard 2004, 2010; Lazzara 2006; Gómez-Barris 2009). This thesis is indebted to their work in considering a range of cultural forms that interact with Chile's past and challenge the political and cultural norms that have been institutionalised by the establishment during the 25 years since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship.

The first chapter outlines the relevant historical backgrounds to this thesis, which are principally related to Salvador Allende's presidency, the coup d'état of 11 September 1973, Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, and the relationship between Mapuche and the Chilean state. It also considers the legacy and relevance of these episodes of conflict in contemporary Chilean society since the return of democracy. The discussion then moves on to examine relevant theoretical notions and critical debates on identity, memory, trauma and memorialisation.

Chapter 2 analyses the work of urban Mapuche poet David Aníñir. It examines his poetry's complex portrayal of a contemporary urban Mapuche identity and worldview that combines a range of cultural elements from diverse sources. This chapter argues that Aníñir's work has typically been examined from a critical perspective that predominantly focuses on its relationship with Mapuche tradition and has overlooked other fundamental aspects of his poetic discourse, including a multifaceted socio-political discourse dealing with Mapuche, Chilean and global issues, and diverse interactions with dominant Chilean culture. It also analyses a number of characters in his poetry to consider the extent to which they depict coherent or fragmented identities, and is informed by the theoretical notions of hybridity and heterogeneity.

The third chapter looks at the autobiographical work of Carmen Castillo, principally her first book, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* (1982), and one of her most recent documentaries, *Calle Santa Fe* (2007). This chapter is concerned with the representation of trauma in these works, given Castillo's personal experiences of detention, exile, and the loss of loved ones. It argues that Castillo's response to trauma evolves from an obsession with the traumatic past in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* to a more mature, considered reflection on this same past in *Calle Santa Fe*. This analysis is supported by theoretical concepts related to trauma, such as acting out, working through and working toward, as well as the notions of nostalgia and survivor testimony.

Chapter 4 analyses the symbolic representations at six sites of memory in Chile that commemorate victims of the dictatorship. Four of these sites are in Santiago: Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, Londres 38 Espacio de Memorias, Estadio Nacional, and Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas. The other two sites of memory, Memorial Paine and Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, are located in rural areas. This chapter focuses on a key distinction between these sites of memory related to their locations and past uses. Those in Santiago have been developed in specific places where acts of repression were carried out, whereas the principal rural sites of memory have not. This chapter critiques several theoretical notions that can be applied to the memorials in Santiago and examines a number of important distinctions between urban and rural memorialisation in Chile. It argues that the rural sites of memory develop a range of alternative memorialisation strategies that compensate for their limited use of places where repression occurred and subsequently provide a different perspective to urban memorials in the Chilean memory-scape. This analysis draws on a range of frameworks related to collective memory, trauma, and memorialisation.

Finally, the conclusion provides a summary of the study's principal findings and suggests possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 1

Conflict in Chilean History: Memory, Identity, Trauma, and Memorialisation

The first part of this chapter provides the historical context relevant to the present study. It predominantly centres on the history of the Mapuche and political events in Chile in the second half of the 20th century, including Salvador Allende's presidency and the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. It also delineates the legacies of these two periods of political upheaval during the transition to democracy, particularly the ongoing influence of Pinochet and human rights issues in Chilean society. This chapter subsequently discusses several key theoretical concepts and critical debates which frame the analysis of the cultural forms in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Historical Background

The presence of the Spanish in the territory that is today known as Chile began in the late 1530s, as they sought to explore territory that had been inhabited by various indigenous groups at different times since as far back as 10,000 BC (Ray 2007: 35; Rector 2003: 28).⁵ The conquistador Pedro de Valdivia and his men founded Santiago, the capital of Chile, in 1541, and over the following years, the Spanish advanced south to take control of territory up to the Bío-Bío River, near which Valdivia founded Concepción in 1550 (Ray 2007: 35). The Bío-Bío formed a natural frontier with the indigenous Mapuche, who the Spanish were unable to decisively conquer over decades of conflict, just as the Inca had been unable to conquer the Mapuche in the previous century (Ray 2007: 35). Consequently, the Spanish signed the Treaty of Quilín with the Mapuche in 1641, which established and recognised the concept of Mapuche sovereignty and independence in their territories. Hostilities between Spanish and Mapuche continued throughout the 17th century and beyond, despite this treaty and several formal dialogues between the two parties in the 18th century (Ray 2007: 37-38). Yet there was also trade among them in this frontier space during this period. Indeed, by the 19th century, the Mapuche possessed a 'very highly developed mercantile economy', and their exchanges with

⁵ These indigenous groups included: the Incas in the north, whose empire extended south from their capital, Cusco (in today's Peru), as far as the Maule River; the Aymaras, Atacameños, Changos, and Diaguitas in the north; the Mapuche, a diverse culture with many different groups whose influence extended from around Valparaíso to the island of Chiloé; and the Chonos, Alacalufes (or Kawesqar), Yaganes, and Onas (or Selknam) further south in Patagonia (Rector 2003: 29-30; Grebe Vicuña 1998: 28; Ray 2007: 34, 41-45).

non-Mapuche led to changes in livestock farming and the influx of new items of clothing and consumption into Mapuche society (Ray 2007: 38-39). Such trade also reflects a certain level of harmonious and mutually beneficial interaction between the two cultures at this time.

The start of the 19th century saw independence wars in Spanish American nations, which were breaking away from colonial rule. Chile was no exception to this movement, in which the creoles (those of Spanish blood born in America) enlisted the popular classes, including mestizos and indigenous peoples, to fight with them for the cause of independence. Life would change little for the populace after Chilean independence, however, as the Spanish colonial elite was simply replaced by a creole elite who ruled the country (Oppenheim 2007: 9). During the Chilean War of Independence (1810-1818), the Mapuche were symbolically appropriated by the independence movement, which stressed the heroism, bravery, and desires for freedom of the Mapuche warriors who had resisted the Spanish for centuries, and attempted to use this image as inspiration for its cause. However, a significant number of Mapuche sided with and fought alongside the Spanish, preferring the stability of their existing treaties with Spain to an unknown future relationship with an independent Chilean state (Richards 2010: 61-62; Ray 2007: 51). Within a few decades of the end of the independence struggle, Chile no longer defended and exalted its indigenous peoples, but rather looked to expand geographically and economically into Mapuche territory (Ray 2007: 53, 65; Richards 2010: 62). This culminated in the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ (1861-1883), as it is still misleadingly referred to today. It was a violent war of genocide against the Mapuche people, in which around 94% of Mapuche territory was taken from them by the state, which then sold the lands on to Chilean and foreign settlers (Richards 2010: 62; Lewis 1994: 129-134; Ray 2007: 88).⁶ A direct consequence of this land usurpation was that subsequent generations of Mapuche were forced to live in poverty in reduced areas of land. This led them to take part in mass urban migration from rural areas in the first half of the 20th century to join the urban workforce, as they no longer had enough land to live off in their traditional areas (Bengoa 2007: 87; Oppenheim 2007: 20; Rector 2003: 138).

Another important event for the Chilean state in the 19th century was the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), waged by Chile against Peru and Bolivia, which punctured the ongoing

⁶ This was also the first time throughout their history that the Mapuche had been conquered by and subjugated to a centralised and hierarchical state (unlike the vast majority of indigenous peoples of Latin America that were conquered by the Spanish), as opposed to their decentralised and culturally diverse social structure (Ray 2007: 41-45). This shock serves to explain the Mapuche’s recent memory of this subjugation and the ongoing traumatic impact that it continues to have on them.

‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ military offensive in the south.⁷ As a consequence of its military victory, Chile gained the regions known today as Arica-Parinacota, Tarapacá, and Antofagasta (the former two from Peru, the latter from Bolivia), including nitrate- and copper-rich lands, the mining and production of which would become key for the Chilean economy (Rector 2003: 17, 102, 125-127).⁸ This war is also the source of ongoing simmering political tensions between the three countries, particularly regarding the limits of Peru and Chile’s maritime territories and Bolivian access to the Pacific Ocean, which it lost during the conflict.⁹

The first half of the 20th century in Chile saw the state focus on promoting and developing industrialisation, a move that was to permanently alter the face of Chilean society: it led to the migration of peasants from the countryside who began to constitute a growing urban proletariat (Oppenheim 2007: 20; Rector 2003: 138). It also prompted the creation and growth of working-class neighbourhoods (*poblaciones callampas* or shantytowns) on the periphery of Santiago and other cities (Collier and Sater 1996: 292). As previously mentioned, Mapuche formed part of the rural peasantry that migrated to cities around this time, which has led to growth in the ‘urban Mapuche’ population in recent decades (Bengoa 2007: 87; Ray 2007: 20-24). This is particularly relevant to the analysis of the poetry of urban Mapuche David Aníñir, and will be further discussed in Chapter 2. Another notable event in the political sphere during this period was the outlawing of the Communist Party in 1948 by President Gabriel González Videla, bowing to U.S. pressure during the Cold War. Ironically, González Videla had been elected in 1946 with support from the communists. A decade later, in 1957 Carlos Ibáñez del Campo legalised the Communist Party, which paved the way to its significant influence in party politics and the following three presidential elections in 1958, 1964 and 1970 (Oppenheim 2007: 21).

Chile experienced a broad range of political projects in the 15 years before the 1973 coup d’état, with the Right, Centre, and Left winning successive elections. One significant factor during this period was the sustained level of support for the left-wing coalition around the candidacy of the socialist Salvador Allende. The 1958 presidential election was won by Jorge Alessandri, the Right’s candidate, by a slender margin of around 33,000 votes over

⁷ For details on the origins and evolution of this conflict, see Rector (2003: 99-102).

⁸ In *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, Eduardo Galeano highlights the levels of British investment in the Chilean nitrate industry following the War of the Pacific. He argues that the Chilean soldiers unwittingly fought for English investors and categorises eventual British investment in now-Chilean nitrate fields as a ‘masterpiece of looting’ (2009: 141).

⁹ The International Court of Justice in The Hague delivered its verdict regarding the maritime limit between Chile and Peru in early 2014 (Mascareño et al. 2014). At the time of writing, Bolivia is in litigation with Chile in the same court regarding its demands for access to the Pacific (Álvarez 2015).

Allende and his Frente de Acción Popular coalition, comprising the Communist and Socialist parties and other smaller left-wing parties (Rector 2003: 155; Oppenheim 2007: 21). Alessandri's presidency aligned Chile with the United States-led Alliance for Progress programme, whose main goal, from a U.S. viewpoint, was to create growth and promote reform in Latin America to avoid a repeat of the Cuban Revolution in other nations (Rector 2003: 160-161). As a consequence of agreeing to this programme, Alessandri was obliged to undertake land reform, although it was significantly limited and a shadow of the reforms to come under the following two presidents (Oppenheim 2007: 22).

Chile's next president was Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970), a centrist Christian Democrat who positioned himself between left-wing revolution and right-wing conservatism through his proposed 'revolución en libertad'. Frei's election was due in no small part to the Right's withdrawal of support for its original candidate, Julio Durán, in favour of Frei. The Right did so to prevent the election of Allende, who was once again standing for a Communist-Socialist coalition. This tactic bore fruit, as Frei defeated Allende in the election by 56% of the popular vote to 39% (Rector 2003: 162; Oppenheim 2007: 23).¹⁰ Frei also benefitted from the intervention of the United States and its financial support for his campaign, which included the diffusion of anti-Allende and anti-Marxist propaganda (Oppenheim 2007: 23). Key initiatives during Frei's presidency included a modification and broadening of the scope of Alessandri's agrarian reform and the 'Chileanisation' of the copper industry, which involved the Chilean state's acquisition of a majority stake of 51% in U.S. copper companies. His government also attempted to organise and mobilise popular sectors through the creation of grassroots organisations, particularly among shantytown dwellers and women, and thus wrest influence over such sectors from the Left (Oppenheim 2007: 24-25; Angell 1993: 149).

The 1970 presidential election was contested by the Right, Left and Centre: Jorge Alessandri and Allende once again, competing against the Christian Democrat Radomiro Tomic. Crucially, Allende's supporting parties had evolved into the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition with the addition of the Radical Party, which had moved from the Centre to the Left, and other smaller left-wing parties (Rector 2003: 170; Oppenheim 2007: 33). In his fourth consecutive presidential election, Allende won with 36.2% of the popular vote to Alessandri's 34.9% and Tomic's 27.8% (Angell 1993: 157). Historians and critics have used Allende's lack of an absolute majority to label him a 'minority president' and argue that he lacked the required

¹⁰ Allende, in fact, received a higher proportion of votes than he was to receive in 1970. John L. Rector argues that Allende would have been elected president in 1964 had the Right not voted for Frei (2003: 163).

authority and mandate to implant the social and economic changes proposed in his electoral programme (Oppenheim 2007: 35-36; Collier and Sater 1996: 331; Whelan 1989: 286, 289, 433). This fails to acknowledge, however, that few presidents in Chile between 1932 and 1973 had gained an absolute majority, yet all went on to implement the reforms they had campaigned upon and used the powers provided to them in the constitution, regardless of the size of their electoral victory (Oppenheim 2007: 36). Moreover, in the 1970 election both Allende and Tomic campaigned on platforms of ‘radical change’; indeed, Tomic’s programme has been described as ‘not noticeably less radical than that of Allende’ (Collier and Sater 1996: 156). Consequently, it can be legitimately argued that approximately 64% of voters had supported the type of change, broadly speaking, that Allende advocated (Oppenheim 2007: 36).¹¹

Upon his election, Allende’s opponents feared the transformation of Chile into a totalitarian socialist dictatorship, despite Allende’s strongly-held democratic beliefs. A doctor by profession, he had been a politician since the 1930s, becoming a deputy in 1937.¹² He was Minister of Health between 1939 and 1942 in Pedro Aguirre Cerda’s Frente Popular government, and then a senator from 1945 to 1970, rising to the position of President of the Senate in 1966 (Collier and Sater 1996: 330). Thus, Allende had from the start set out to transform the state democratically from within the system, through what he called ‘la vía chilena al socialismo’, and in this way he sought to transfer the balance of economic power from the bourgeois middle- and upper-classes to the masses (Oppenheim 2007: 27; Angell 1993: 157-158). Key achievements during Allende’s presidency included the nationalisation of copper, which went further than Frei’s ‘Chileanisation’ by completely expropriating U.S. copper companies, a move unanimously approved by all political sectors in Congress, even the Right. Allende also implemented a much farther-reaching agrarian reform than those of the previous two presidencies (Angell 1993: 161; Oppenheim 2007: 48-49; Collier and Sater 1996: 337). Moreover, Allende’s policies were the first to make a serious attempt to return to

¹¹ This argument faces the added complication of the internal dynamics of the Christian Democrat Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC) during the Frei and Allende periods. From 1967, the PDC contained three factions competing for overall control of the party: a conservative faction, the *oficialistas*, which included Frei; a more central faction, firmly entrenched in the party but which favoured more speedy social change than the *oficialistas* (the *terceristas*); and a left-leaning wing, the *rebeldes*, which favoured a non-capitalist route to development. Tomic came from the *tercerista* faction, whose support for speedy social change aligned him more closely than the *oficialistas* with Allende’s position, while the *rebelde* faction eventually left the PDC to form the MAPU (Movimiento por la Acción Popular Unitaria) and join Allende’s UP coalition. Following Tomic’s failed presidential campaign, power within the party shifted back to the *oficialistas*, who were considerably warier of Allende’s project. The PDC thus ultimately opposed Allende and supported the coup d’état (Oppenheim 2007: 26, 33, 57, 74).

¹² Chile’s bicameral congress comprises the Cámara de Diputados or Chamber of Deputies (lower house) and the Senate (upper house).

Mapuche the lands that had been usurped from them: in 1972, a law was passed to protect indigenous lands and to create the Institute for Indigenous Development, which was then to expropriate land to benefit Mapuche (Ray 2007: 104).¹³

Allende faced numerous obstacles during his presidency, in the form of responses to specific policy issues and general opposition to the creation of a socialist economy. There was significant resistance, for example, to his proposed national unified education system (Educación Nacional Unificada) by those who feared the Marxist indoctrination of children and the loss of privilege of private schools (Oppenheim 2007: 38). A further acute issue was economic sabotage, as Allende's opponents sought to heighten food shortages and foment economic crisis through the hoarding of everyday products and the creation of black markets (Rector 2003: 173-174; Oppenheim 2007: 84). There were also clear divisions over how to govern within Allende's own Unidad Popular coalition and the Left in general. The Socialist Party and the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) pushed for fast, sweeping and far-reaching changes to convert Chile into a socialist state, while the Communist Party's more moderate line preferred a gradual transformation of Chile and its economy, potentially through an understanding or alliance with the Christian Democrat Party (Angell 1993: 159-160; Oppenheim 2007: 68).¹⁴ Such cooperation with the PDC was unlikely, however, given the shift in power balances within the party to the right, as previously mentioned; it eventually united with the right-wing opposition to form the CODE (Confederación de la Democracia) electoral alliance for the March 1973 congressional elections (Angell 1993: 167; Rector 2003: 175-176).

No previous president had faced as entirely united an opposition as Allende did during this period, which added to the polarisation of Chilean society. During his presidency, there were numerous strikes, rallies and marches, both in support of and against Allende, and the right-wing nationalist paramilitary group Patria y Libertad carried out violent attacks of sabotage, targeting, for example, railway tracks and electricity transmission lines (Rector 2003: 175; Oppenheim 2007: 70-71, 86). The United States was also involved in undermining Allende and attempting to remove him from power, both openly and covertly. The U.S. established links with right-wing extremists and members of the armed forces who assassinated the commander of the army (René Schneider) days before Congress ratified Allende's election

¹³ Leslie Ray does point out, however, that Allende's vision of Mapuche was not of a separate ethnic group but as a subset of the rural proletariat; thus, they formed a part of the wider agrarian reform and were not necessarily the recipients of ethnic-based measures (2007: 115).

¹⁴ The MIR was not officially part of the UP; it remained outside the coalition in order to be able to support Allende but also disagree with him over certain policies. The MIR thus maintained a degree of independence from Allende and gave him its 'apoyo crítico' (García Naranjo 1996: 105; Pascal Allende 2003: 57).

as President in November 1970, in an attempt to create a political crisis (Collier and Sater 1996: 329; González 2012: 108, 115-118). It also imposed economic sanctions in an effort to make the Chilean economy collapse, and actively collaborated with both opposition political parties and coup plotters (González 2012: 104-105, 137; Collier and Sater 1996: 355; Oppenheim 2007: 72, 93; Rector 2003: 177). Moreover, since the start of Allende's presidency, business leaders and anti-Marxist officials in Chile's armed forces had been conspiring against him, with the latter violating the official military doctrine of the non-political nature of the armed forces, as set out in the Chilean constitution.¹⁵

There was a political stalemate following the March 1973 congressional elections, in which Allende's Unidad Popular won 44.2% (an increase from its 36.2% in 1970) and the opposition CODE won 54.2%, less than the two-thirds it required to be able to impeach and remove Allende (Angell 1993: 168). In August 1973, Allende also lost his staunchest ally in the armed forces, the commander Carlos Prats, who was a firm believer in the non-political role of the armed forces. Prats resigned after protests by his subordinate officials' wives outside his residence, fomented by the pro-coup military conspiracy, which led him to conclude that he had lost the support of his men (Collier and Sater 1996: 357; Oppenheim 2007: 73). Prats was replaced by Augusto Pinochet, who until that point had appeared loyal to Allende and the Chilean constitution, and was not even considered a potential ally in coup-plotting by anti-Allende officers (González 2012: 249-250, 261-262, 286).¹⁶

On 11 September 1973, the very day on which Allende was planning to announce that he would hold a plebiscite to decide on the continuation of his presidency in an attempt to break the political deadlock, La Moneda presidential palace burned as the air force bombed the seat of the President (Oppenheim 2007: 75). Allende, holed up inside, defended his democratic mandate alongside a small group of loyal supporters. He refused to surrender to the armed forces. After one last impassioned speech to the people of Chile who had elected him and whose lot he had tried to improve, and in the knowledge that resistance was futile, Allende took his life. The coup d'état that took place that day was to indelibly change Chilean political tradition, history and society. Augusto Pinochet's subsequent dictatorship was to last until 1990, some 16 and a half years. Following the coup, Pinochet used his position as commander of the army,

¹⁵ The conspiracy movement is thoroughly researched and documented in Mónica González's *La Conjura: Los mil y un días del golpe* (2012).

¹⁶ Pinochet was only informed that the coup would take place less than 48 hours before it began, despite his affirmations that he had been involved in the coup movement since 1972. He received an ultimatum that the uprising would occur regardless of whether he decided to join, and that if he did not take part in the coup, any blood that was shed would be on his hands (González 2012: 147-149, 303-310).

the largest and most powerful branch of Chile's armed forces, to gradually usurp power from what had originally been planned as a four-man military junta with a rotating presidency to a self-styled civic-military dictatorship firmly rooted in his figure. Pinochet declared himself, by decree, Supreme Head of the Nation in June 1974 and President of the Republic of Chile in December 1974 (O'Shaughnessy 2000: 78-79; Oppenheim 2007: 112).

Immediately following the coup of 11 September 1973, the whole of Chile came under military control and under curfew. The following day, Congress was closed, political parties that had supported Allende were outlawed, and all other parties were placed in recess. Meanwhile, brutal repression previously unseen in Chile was being unleashed, principally upon those who had been supporters of Allende and his government. Thousands of people were shot or arrested, held in make-shift concentration camps, and tortured (Oppenheim 2007: 105-106; Collier and Sater 1996: 359-360). Many people who had voluntarily handed themselves in to the authorities, trusting in the fairness that they had come to expect from the police, were never seen again (Verdugo 2001: 31). Some high-ranking politicians and ministers were sent to the harsh conditions of the sub-Antarctic Dawson Island, among them José Tohá, Allende's Minister of Defence at the time of the coup, who had been a personal friend of Pinochet and his wife, Lucía Hiriart (Oppenheim 2007: 106; González 2012: 208, 417). In September and October 1973, a military operation known as the 'Caravana de la muerte' travelled to several main centres in the north and the south of the country to conduct summary executions of prisoners following rushed military trials that did not follow the required legal protocol and overrode rules of military hierarchy, all under direct orders from Pinochet. This stamped a new level of brutality and repression on Chileans and inscribed fear in society and the armed forces alike (Verdugo 2001; Ray 2007: 124; Oppenheim 2007: 106; González 2012: 436-439).

Repression became more structured and organised following the creation in late 1973 of the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional), the secret militarised police headed by Manuel Contreras. The DINA carried out the systematic persecution, detention, torture, and execution of left-wing militants and anyone deemed a threat to the regime, as well as audacious transnational military operations as part of Operación Cóndor (Oppenheim 2007: 108-111; Angell 1993: 187-188).¹⁷ The DINA, in effect, made opposition to Pinochet's regime a crime

¹⁷ Operación Cóndor consisted of covert collaboration among the military and intelligence services of South American dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s, such as Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Paraguay, in which Chile (particularly the DINA and Manuel Contreras) played a key role in its transnational command and repressive actions (Kornbluh 2013: 331-333). The DINA's overseas operations included the assassinations of Carlos Prats and his wife in Buenos Aires in 1974, and of Orlando Letelier, Chilean ambassador to the U.S. and Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, and Defence during Allende's presidency, and his colleague Ronni

(Angell 1993: 186). The regime's repression, through the DINA and later through the CNI (Central Nacional de Informaciones), was simultaneously secret and visible, so as to create a climate of fear, surveillance, and control over the population (Oppenheim 2007: 110; Moulian 1997: 174; Angell 1993: 188). This repression throughout the dictatorship led to the murder or forced disappearance of between 3,500 and 4,000 individuals. Moreover, it has been conservatively estimated that over 100,000 people were tortured, some 150,000 to 200,000 were detained for political motives, and 400,000 were exiled (Stern 2006a: xxi).

In economic matters, Pinochet's policy was guided from 1975 onwards by free-market economists, nicknamed 'the Chicago Boys', and sought to impose a neoliberal economic model on Chilean society. This economic reform encompassed, in a nutshell, the privatisation and transfer to municipal control of services or systems that had previously been under the control of the state or central government, and affected education, healthcare, social security and labour, among other policy areas. The market thus replaced the state as the provider of goods and services to society (Oppenheim 2007: 133-137).

Politically, Pinochet was influenced by his long-term collaborator and right-wing ideologue Jaime Guzmán, who envisaged a 'new democracy' without political parties; both favoured a drawn-out transition from dictatorship to this new form of democracy (Moulian 1997: 227-229). Guzmán was a key figure in the writing of the 1980 constitution, designed to leave an indelible mark on society and be extremely difficult to modify (Gumucio Rivas 2013). The constitution set a transition timetable that stipulated that Pinochet would remain as president until 1989, when elections would be held. It also modified the political system significantly, including, among other factors: strengthening the role of the military in politics and limiting civilian authority over the military; weakening Congress and creating non-elected senators; and limiting freedom of speech, essentially outlawing left-wing parties (Oppenheim 2007: 116-118). This constitution was ratified by a dubious plebiscite in 1980 (Angell 1993: 187; Moulian 1997: 250-251). In this way, Pinochet effectively attempted to commit 'policide', the destruction of political life, and make politics subordinate to the economy, which would then guide all political decisions (Stern 2006b: 31, 180-181; Moulian 1997: 47-48). Another political act of note was the proclamation of an Amnesty Decree-Law in 1978, which provided an amnesty to anyone who had committed crimes between 11 September 1973 and 10 March

Moffitt in Washington DC in 1976 (Oppenheim 2007: 108, 110; Collier and Sater 1996: 360-361). For a detailed account of Operación Cóndor and its activities, see Kornbluh (2013: 331-402).

1978. It was designed to protect members of the armed forces and prevent their future prosecution (Rector 2003: 222).

A number of policies imposed during Pinochet's dictatorship were to the detriment of Mapuche. Firstly, Pinochet issued a denial of Mapuche and other indigenous peoples' unique ethnic identities, stating that 'indigenous peoples do not exist. We are all Chileans' (Ray 2007: 118). Furthermore, the promulgation of Decree-Law 701 in 1974 provided state subsidies for forestry companies and allowed them to acquire land that was occupied by Mapuche communities. It also converted communal property into private property, and simplified the process of dividing private communal land into individual land titles. Once divided into individual titles, the land was no longer protected by legislation as indigenous land and could then be bought by non-Mapuche individuals or forestry companies (Ray 2007: 124).

During the 1980s, Pinochet weathered grassroots popular protests through a combination of repression and wearing down the opposition. This involved inviting the political leaders of the opposition to token negotiations, which amounted to no real gains for them. The regime thus forced the opposition to play by its rules and, as stipulated in the 1980 constitution, a national plebiscite was held in 1988 (Moulian 1997: 300-307, 340-431). This was a vote on Pinochet's continuation as president (literally, 'Sí' versus 'No') which, should he win, would see him continue to rule until 1997. Despite numerous obstacles – including suspicions regarding the transparency of the process, detractors who viewed participation in the plebiscite as a way of legitimising Pinochet's authority, and an overarching, latent fear in society – the opposition, united in the 'Concertación de Partidos por el No', nevertheless managed to defeat Pinochet's 'Sí' vote by 55% to 44% (Oppenheim 2007: 161-162; Angell 1993: 196; Lagos 2012: 2).¹⁸ Presidential and congressional elections followed in 1989, and were again won by the Concertación (now the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia), led by Patricio Aylwin, a Christian Democrat who had been instrumental in the PDC's opposition to Allende and had initially supported the coup d'état. During this period, the opposition was able to negotiate some changes to the 1980 constitution, although Pinochet continued to legislate up to the very last day of the dictatorship (Oppenheim 2007: 163; Collier and Sater 1996: 381; Angell 1993: 196-198). Pinochet's defeat at the urns did not signal his withdrawal from public life by any means: his constitution stated he would continue as commander of the army until 1998, at which point he would retire from that position and take

¹⁸ The Concertación coalition included parties that ranged from the Christian Democrats in the Centre to the Socialists on the Left.

a seat in the senate as a lifetime senator (Oppenheim 2007: 164, 230-232; Collier and Sater 1996: 381).

On 11 March 1990, Patricio Aylwin assumed the presidency for the next four years. Shortly thereafter, Aylwin formally acknowledged that human rights abuses had taken place in Chile in the previous two decades and symbolically apologised on behalf of the Chilean state to the victims. This was in itself a highly significant act, considering the silence and official denial that had surrounded claims of human rights abuse during the dictatorship (Stern 2010: 30-31). Aylwin took a key step in the process of establishing the truth of such abuses by setting up the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, also known as the Rettig Commission. It concluded in 1991 that 2,279 people had been killed (both those whose remains had been discovered and those classified as *detenidos-desaparecidos*) during the dictatorial period between 1973 and 1990 (Oppenheim 2007: 215-216; Stern 2010: 33, 84). During his presidency, Aylwin prioritised societal reconciliation and discovering the truth over enacting justice; justice, he said, would occur ‘en la medida de lo posible’ (Stern 2010: 16, 18, 21, 403). This constituted a pragmatic decision that took into account the potential hurdles that demands for justice would face, given the military’s ongoing power and the legal inviolability – for the time being – of Pinochet’s 1978 Amnesty Decree-Law.¹⁹

Under Aylwin, the Concertación governing coalition continued with Pinochet’s neoliberal economic model, yet attempted to improve it by also introducing social measures that sought to reduce social inequality. This was a broad economic line which future Concertación governments would continue (Angell 1993: 198; Oppenheim 2007: 173-174, 190-192). During this period of transition to democracy, Pinochet manoeuvred against the civilian government on two key occasions, both in response to actions that he viewed as threats to his person and to the institution of the armed forces.²⁰ These episodes are evidence of Pinochet’s continued power in the 1990s.

¹⁹ Aylwin did, however, conceive of a legal principle to sidestep the Amnesty Decree-Law, which came to be known as the Aylwin doctrine. This centred on the argument that judges had the legal duty to investigate cases of human rights abuse and attempt to determine the fate of individuals before applying an amnesty (Oppenheim 2007: 216; Stern 2010: 88).

²⁰ In 1990, Pinochet ordered all army personnel to remain in their barracks for one day, in response to an inquiry into the ‘Pinocheques’ affair (the sale of weapons by Pinochet’s son to the army in 1989 at seemingly inflated prices) and pressure from the government for Pinochet to resign as commander of the army before 1998 (Stern 2010: 54, 58-60). The ‘boinazo’ took place in 1993 while Aylwin was out of the country: specialist black-beret forces, equipped for combat, surrounded the Armed Forces Building in the centre of Santiago in which Pinochet and army generals were meeting. This openly challenged civilian authorities, who were investigating further potentially corrupt dealings between the army and Pinochet’s son, and demonstrated the army’s resistance to any possible reforms to the armed forces laws (Stern 2010: 119-120).

With regards to the indigenous situation in Chile, CONADI (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo Indígena) was created during Aylwin's presidency. This organisation was designed to 'protect and promote the development of the indigenous peoples, their cultures, families and communities, [...] and to protect indigenous lands', and was one of a number of funds designed to help Chile's indigenous peoples (Ray 2007: 137-138). In practice in the decades since, however, CONADI has proven to be a rather toothless state body whose authority has been undermined as successive governments have prioritised economic development and the interests of big business over the rights of indigenous peoples and environmental concerns. A clear example of this was the emblematic case of the construction of the Ralco Dam on indigenous lands in the late 1990s (Ray 2007: 139-140, 177-181; Stern 2010: 208).

Following Aylwin, another Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, son of former president Eduardo Frei Montalva, was elected president for the period between 1994 and 2000. Frei Ruiz-Tagle placed less emphasis on societal reconciliation and human rights issues than Aylwin, preferring to focus on economic matters and, in particular, modernisation (Stern 2010: 148-149). Frei was, however, unable to avoid human rights issues. His presidency saw the construction of Punta Peuco, a special prison designed to house individuals found guilty of human rights abuses, in which Manuel Contreras, the former head of the DINA, was finally jailed in October 1995 (Oppenheim 2007: 228; Stern 2010: 150-152).²¹ Frei's presidency also saw Pinochet step down from his position as commander of the army to become a lifetime senator in March 1998. Seven months later, Pinochet was detained in London under an arrest warrant issued by Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón under the principle of universal jurisdiction for human rights abuses committed against Spanish citizens during the dictatorship (Oppenheim 2007: 229; Stern 2010: 212-213). The case continued for over 16 months until the final weeks of Frei's presidency, as Garzón sought Pinochet's extradition to Spain to face trial and the extradition request was debated in the UK. Frei and his government, to the dismay of some, defended Pinochet, arguing against his extradition and for him to be allowed to return to Chile, where Chilean law would decide if he should face trial. Eventually, the British Home Secretary Jack Straw decided that Pinochet should not be extradited to Spain and should return to Chile on the grounds of allegedly fragile health. Pinochet made a mockery of this decision

²¹ Punta Peuco has received significant criticism since its creation. It has been referred to as a 'hotel 5 estrellas', in which each convict lives in a bungalow with cable television, gardens, games rooms, tennis courts and a barbecue facility, and has been described as an 'unacceptable privilege' by Amnesty International (Frías K. 2012; 'Reos de Punta Peuco...').

once he had arrived on Chilean tarmac, as he stood up unaided from his wheelchair to acknowledge his supporters who had gone to greet him at the airport (Oppenheim 2007: 238; Stern 2010: 213-215, 245).

Pinochet's arrival occurred little over a week before Ricardo Lagos was sworn in as President of Chile (2000-2006), the first 'socialist' president since Allende.²² Lagos had played a key role in the 'No' campaign in the 1988 plebiscite, and served as a minister under both Aylwin and Frei (Lagos 2012; Oppenheim 2007: 235). A highly significant project during Lagos's presidency was the creation of the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture, also known as the Valech Commission. It was instructed to identify individuals who had been imprisoned and tortured for political reasons under military rule and to make recommendations for reparative measures such as compensation. In a broader sense, the Commission sought to raise awareness of the repression carried out during the dictatorship. The Valech Commission's conclusions demonstrated the magnitude of torture during the dictatorship, with 94% of over 27,000 individuals imprisoned for political reasons suffering torture (Stern 2010: 289-292; Oppenheim 2007: 240-241).²³ As president, Lagos was able to modify Pinochet's 1980 constitution and remove several of its most anti-democratic features, including reinstating presidential authority to remove military commanders, and abolishing designated and lifetime senators. The reforms, however, were unable to modify the binomial electoral system, on which the Right was unwilling to make any compromises, and stopped short of writing a new constitution completely free from the legacy of Pinochet (Stern 2010: 330; Oppenheim 2007: 241-242). Lagos's presidency saw a continuation of the legal battles surrounding Pinochet, which included several indictments, a controversial diagnosis that Pinochet was mentally unfit for trial, and his subsequent resignation as a lifetime senator, as well as Pinochet's gradual marginalisation as a public figure (Stern 2010: 248-251, 255, 273, 301-302; Oppenheim 2007: 238-239). During this period there were also revelations about money laundering and corruption, including the discovery of a small fortune in Pinochet's name held in foreign banks, which further sullied his reputation and image (Stern 2010: 299-300; Oppenheim 2007: 239).

²² Lagos had been a member of the Socialist Party and the Party for Democracy (Partido por la Democracia), a party conceived for the 1988 plebiscite that individuals of banned parties could join to contest the plebiscite (Oppenheim 2007: 235). Lagos's socialism was altogether different to Allende's, as he continued the neoliberal economic model.

²³ A second report of the Valech Commission, completed in 2011, raised this figure by almost 10,000 cases, although this second investigative commission was criticised for the number of testimonies that it rejected and refused to include in its report (Stern and Winn 2013: 394; Délano 2011).

Relations between Mapuche activists and the state had been strained in the late 1990s and came to a head during Lagos's presidency. Lagos formed the Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato to report on the 'historical truth' of the indigenous peoples of Chile since independence and to propose 'a new relationship' between the state and indigenous peoples, in addition to making a number of public policy proposals on how to achieve this. Few, in any, of the commission's recommendations have since been implemented, however (Ray 2007: 140-141).²⁴ In the meantime, Mapuche protesters stepped up their activity, to which the state responded through the militarisation of the areas in which protests were taking place, both to contain the demonstrations and protect private property. The state also applied antiterrorism legislation, a remnant from the dictatorship, to prosecute activists (Stern 2010: 344-345; Ray 2007: 193-195, 197-200, 202).

Lagos's successor was another socialist, the first female president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010). A doctor by profession, Bachelet had served as Minister of Health and Minister of Defence under Lagos, and her election was highly symbolic of the issue of memory of the dictatorship. Bachelet's father was a constitutionalist air force general who refused to take part in the coup d'état, was subsequently imprisoned and died from complications related to torture in 1974. Bachelet herself was detained along with her mother, and was tortured before they were sent into exile for several years (Oppenheim 2007: 247; Stern 2010: 336). Using her own personal example, Bachelet sought to promote social reconciliation in order to heal the wounds of the past (Oppenheim 2007: 250-251). In the first year of Bachelet's presidency, on 10 December 2006, ironically the International Day of Human Rights, Pinochet died at the age of 91. This event led to mourning for some, and jubilation and street parties for others (Lazzara 2009: 124; Stern 2010: 348-352). Significant political events during Bachelet's presidency included the 2006 'revolución pingüina' student protests demanding universal and quality education; the poor conception and implementation of the modernising overhaul of Santiago's public transport network (although this had begun under Lagos); and the continuation of tense Mapuche-state relations (Stern 2010: 337, 342). Official responses to this latter issue continued as they had under Lagos, with the criminalisation of Mapuche activists, the militarisation of the southern areas in dispute, and the application of antiterrorism legislation to combat the Mapuche movement (Ray 2007: 276-277; Stern 2010: 345).

²⁴ These recommendations included: reparations to indigenous groups; the election of indigenous representatives to national Congress; indigenous presence on regional and municipal governments; and consecrating indigenous political and territorial rights (Ray 2007: 140-141).

The fifth president of Chile since the return of democracy was Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) of the centre-right Renovación Nacional, the first right-wing candidate to win a democratic election in over half a century. Piñera is a multi-millionaire businessman, whose fortune is rated among the top five wealthiest conglomerates in Chile (Walder 2010; Ramos and Guzmán 2012). Piñera's government faced its toughest challenge in 2011, when the student movement effectively paralysed universities for six months as it campaigned for free and quality education for all, and an end to profit-making in education, in both schools and tertiary institutions (Garcés 2012: 19-20). The student movement gained cross-sector support among the population and arguably caused a paradigm shift in Chilean culture by stimulating debate around the neoliberal economic principles that had been imposed during the dictatorship (Garcés 2012: 22, 138).²⁵ Such principles had been continued in democracy for 20 years by the centre-left Concertación and then by Piñera's right-wing government, and enshrined the notion that public services such as education could act as enterprises through which private investors could gain profit. The student movement attempted to counter this official policy through its slogan of 'No más lucro'. Notably, for several months opinion polls demonstrated higher approval ratings for the student movement than for the government, although in late 2011 it finally ran out of steam in the face of government attempts to wear it down and brand it as 'extreme' (Jara 2012; 'Presidenta FECH: "Hay un desgaste..."; "Los extremistas se han apoderado...'). Piñera's government also faced a number of other protests in 2011 and 2012, including national protests against the HidroAysén hydroelectric project, and regional protests against a range of issues in areas such as Magallanes, Calama, and Freirina (Garcés 2012: 13-14; Pinto Neira 2012; Díaz Medina 2013).

Under Piñera, there was no change to official state policy regarding the Mapuche movement. In 2011, four leaders of the Mapuche organisation Coodinadora Arauco-Malleco were imprisoned for between 20 and 25 years for an alleged armed ambush on a state prosecutor in October 2008. They had previously been tried in a military court and found innocent, and were then re-tried and found guilty in a civilian court (Charpentier 2011; Mardones 2010; 'Absuelven a Héctor Llaitul...').²⁶ Piñera's presidency also saw the 40-year anniversary of the 1973 coup d'état, in memory of which a number of official ceremonies were held. Piñera sought

²⁵ In her analysis of the 2011 student movement, Walescka Pino-Ojeda describes it as a 'foundational dislocating event in Chilean society' (2014: 127).

²⁶ The leader of Coodinadora Arauco-Malleco, Héctor Llaitul, originally received a sentence of 25 years, which was later reduced to 14 years; he was released on parole in 2015 after serving 7 years in prison (Correa 2015). For Llaitul's account of the judicial process, which included the application of antiterrorism legislation and the use of anonymous witnesses, see Llaitul Carrillanca (2011).

to further distance himself from Pinochet and human rights abuses, having always maintained that he voted ‘No’ in the 1988 plebiscite against Pinochet, by referring to and criticising ‘cómplices pasivos’ of the dictatorship in politics and society in the lead-up to the 40-year anniversary of the coup (Torrealba and Turner 2013; ‘Piñera insistió en “cómplices pasivos”...’). He also made the executive decision to close Penal Cordillera, a second prison built during Ricardo Lagos’s presidency to house former members of the armed forces found guilty of human rights abuses (‘Piñera anuncia cierre definitivo...’).

Michelle Bachelet was elected president for the second time in late 2013 and assumed in March 2014. She was supported by the Nueva Mayoría coalition, an augmented version of the Concertación now with the notable inclusion of the Communist Party, which formed part of a governing coalition for the first time since Allende’s presidency. The congressional elections that were held in tandem with the presidential elections also saw limited but significant generational renewal, as four former leaders of the university student movement were elected as deputies. During Bachelet’s presidency, there has been a deepening political crisis as scandals of corruption, particularly around political ‘donations’ and financing, have come to light.²⁷ These scandals have added to the already significant loss of trust in the political class, which resulted in notable levels of abstention in the 2012 municipal and 2013 presidential elections (60% and 59%, respectively) (Ruiz 2012; ‘Débil proceso electoral...’). An important project thus far in Bachelet’s presidency is the replacement of the binomial electoral system, imposed during the dictatorship and which benefited the minority (usually the Right), with a proportional electoral system (Vargas Morales 2015; ‘Fin al binominal...’). At the time of writing, there are also ongoing consultations as part of the ‘proceso constituyente’ to write a new constitution to replace Pinochet’s 1980 constitution (Álvarez 2016; ‘Infografía: Conoce las etapas...’). Some of the challenges faced by Bachelet’s predecessors have also continued during her presidency to date: relations between Mapuche and the state continue to be strained, and student protests in demand of far-reaching educational reform are ongoing (García Lorca 2016a, 2016b; Segovia 2016).

Theoretical and Critical Debates

The remainder of this chapter sets out some of the principal theoretical and critical frameworks that frame the analysis in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. This thesis follows the widely accepted conceptualisation of memory and identity as subjective ‘representations or constructions of

²⁷ For more on the so-called ‘año del destape’, see Medina (2015).

reality' that change over time (Gillis 1994: 3). The postmodern conception of identity proposes that individuals do not have 'fixed, essential, or permanent' identities, but continuously form and transform them in relation to their surrounding cultural environment in a way that produces multiple, competing and contradictory identities (Hall 1996: 598). Likewise, memories are not static or permanent: they are the meanings that individuals attach to the past from their perspective in the present. They are therefore liable to change, potentially as and when an individual assumes a new identity (Jelin 2003: xv, 3). Thus, memories and identity are inextricably linked and mutually constructed (Jelin 2003: 14-15). The way that individuals' identities condition the events in the past that they recall and affect how they view them and relate them to the present and the future is emphasised by Maurice Halbwachs, who states that 'we preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated' (1992: 47).

Halbwachs's work is foundational in the theorisation of collective memory: he argues that individual remembrances are mediated through memory frameworks created by groups in society (1992: 53). Thus, individuals remember as group members; their individual memories are located within and supported by collective memory (1980: 48, 50-51). Halbwachs also notes that there is no singular collective memory in society, since each social group holds a different collective memory (1992: 52, 141; 1980: 83). Indeed, given that individuals can simultaneously belong to and move freely between different social groups, their memories may vary and change depending on which collective frameworks or lenses they use to recall the past (Halbwachs 1992: 52). Jan Assmann further develops Halbwachs's notion of collective memory by identifying and distinguishing between two different forms: communicative memory and cultural memory. The former constitutes collective memory that revolves around everyday communication, is rooted in the present time, and spans back some three or four generations (Assmann 1995: 126-127). Cultural memory, on the other hand, is markedly removed from the everyday and is focused on fixed points in the past that are consistently remembered through various means. This second type of memory broadens the horizon and reach of collective memory, as it is based on the notion that past occurrences that may not have been lived through by present generations can still remain within the collective memory through certain objects or practices, such as texts, monuments, recitation and observance. Cultural memory is also significant insofar as it supports identity formation in relation to a group, and is a tool with which the past is reconstructed from the present situation (Assmann 1995: 129-130). This, in turn, further highlights the way in which memories of the past and their interpretations change and evolve over time.

The dissident memories and identities on which this thesis focuses have resulted from foundational traumatic experiences in Chilean history. These are principally the military defeat and subjugation of Mapuche by the Chilean state, and the 1973 coup d'état and subsequent dictatorship. In discussing some of these traumatic memories, this thesis draws on work on trauma by scholars such as Cathy Caruth and Dominick LaCapra. Caruth defines trauma as 'the response to an unexpected or overwhelming violent event or events that are not fully grasped as they occur, but return later in repeated flashbacks, nightmares, and other repetitive phenomena' (1996: 91). She also emphasises the delayed nature of traumatic experience, that is, the way in which it can recur and reappear involuntarily over time (1996: 92). Analogously, LaCapra highlights this belatedness in his definition of trauma: 'a shattering break or cesura in experience' that 'disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence; it has belated effects that are controlled only with difficulty and perhaps never fully mastered' (2001: 41, 186).

LaCapra also draws an important distinction between historical and structural trauma. Historical trauma is 'specific' and associated with clearly identifiable historical events that involve losses (2001: 78, 80). Thus, not everyone is subject to historical trauma, unlike structural trauma. LaCapra defines this second term as, rather than an event, 'an anxiety-producing condition of possibility related to the potential for historical traumatisation', to which all individuals can be exposed (2001: 79, 82). This distinction is key in relation to this thesis, which does not conflate 'contemporary culture, or even all history' with trauma, something LaCapra has warned against (2001: x). Instead, recognition is given to the two central episodes of historical trauma in question – the domination of the Mapuche and the coup d'état and subsequent dictatorship – as events that affected considerable numbers of Mapuche and Chileans, and produced significant losses and trauma. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 engage in detailed discussion and analysis of a diverse range of cultural forms which are linked through the creative reflections of and responses to the traumatic memories of these events and periods that they embody.

Historical trauma has the potential to impact both individual and collective identity and memory. As LaCapra notes, this produces 'an extreme and interesting paradox – how something traumatic, disruptive, disorienting in the life of a people can become the basis of identity formation' (2001: 161). This is particularly significant for both Mapuche and those who suffered under the dictatorship, whose lives have been marked by these experiences. Moreover, scholars outline a number of responses to traumatic memory, the delayed psychological return and impact of historical trauma. In general terms, these include two key responses. The first involves the unavoidable and obsessive repetition of past trauma, in which

the traumatic memory effectively possesses the victim, not dissimilar to the case of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (LaCapra 2001: 21, 142-143; Caruth 1995: 4-5). The second consists of attempts to confront and engage with the traumatic past to transform the understanding of it and break the hold it has over the victim (LaCapra 2001: 148). LaCapra refers to these forms of remembering and responding to trauma as ‘acting out’ and ‘working through’, respectively (2001: 21-22). Additionally, post-traumatic writing has been described as a productive form of memory work that engages these two responses to trauma (LaCapra 2001: 68, 105). This range of psychological and creative responses to trauma are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 on Carmen Castillo’s autobiographical works.

A further response to traumatic events in the past is found in memorialisation: the conception, development and creation of physical sites of memory.²⁸ Although memorialisation is not solely limited to representations of the traumatic past per se, a significant amount of scholarship on this subject has been developed in the field of Holocaust studies. The work of Pierre Nora on sites of memory is foundational and is underpinned by Halbwachs’s notion of collective memory. While Nora’s work was originally focused on the French context, it has since become a referent for academic studies and debates regarding sites the world over. Nora defines a ‘*lieu de mémoire*’ (site of memory) as ‘any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of memorial heritage to any community’ (1996: xvii). Additionally, he attributes the *raison d’être* of ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ to the non-existence of ‘real environments of memory’ or ‘*milieux de mémoire*’ today, effectively arguing that these sites fulfil the human desire to deposit memories in a physical object in an attempt to preserve them through time (1989: 7). They thus create a contrast between the fragility of human memory and the finite nature of individual and collective human existence, and the perceived atemporality and permanence of stone, or, in Nora’s words, its ‘illusions of eternity’ (1989: 12). Indeed, according to Nora, *lieux de mémoire* require a will to remember that distinguishes them from

²⁸ There are a range of terms used by scholars related to memorialisation. James Young defines ‘memorial’ as a broad category of anything that remembers (for example, books, activities, days, sculptures); he considers monuments to be physical objects that remember and, thus, ‘a subset of memorials’ (1993: 4). Katherine Hite outlines a competing distinction between monuments and memorials. For Hite, monuments are part of official commemorations led by the state, physical manifestations that emphasise a triumphant past and attempt to have a positive, unifying tone. Her view of memorials, on the other hand, is that they have mournful connotations and are representative of loss or sacrifice (2012: 2). The flaw in this distinction resides in the fact that, as Young and Paul Williams both note, a physical object may carry out both the heroic and mournful functions that Hite establishes as mutually exclusive (Young 1993: 3; Williams 2007: 8). This thesis uses ‘memorial’ and ‘monument’ in accordance with Young’s definitions, and also employs the general term ‘sites of memory’ interchangeably with ‘memorial’. For the sake of brevity, ‘sites of memory’ will refer to physical sites of memory, which are the focus of Chapter 4, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

sites of history, as they attempt to, among other purposes, ‘stop time’ and ‘block the work of forgetting’ (1989: 19).

Such sites encompass a range of possible forms, including traditional repositories of memory such as ‘museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries, [and] fraternal orders’, as Nora originally proposed, as well as broader concepts such as minority religions, regional and national borders, historic figures, and geographical locations (Nora 1989: 12; 1996; 2001a; 2001b). The very term coined by Nora, whose literal translation is ‘sites of memory’, emphasises a relationship between physical space and memory. In this regard, Nora asserts that ‘memory attaches itself to sites’, as opposed to ‘history [attaching] itself to events’, which complements and reinforces Halbwachs’s thoughts on the close relationship between memory and physical space: ‘every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework’ (Nora 1989: 22; Halbwachs 1980: 140). Moreover, Halbwachs theorises that ‘we recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings’ (1980: 140). Memorialisation, then, attempts to conserve a certain vision of the past in a specific location, taking advantage of the potential of physical space to serve as a tool for evoking memories.

Despite this, it should be remembered that sites of memory do not preserve memory through their mere construction. As Nora notes, ‘without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them [*lieux de mémoire*] away’, although this is tempered by his comment that ‘the less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs’ (1989: 12-13). The issue at stake here is whether memory can exist in physical constructions such as memorials. In reality, this ‘exterior scaffolding’ may only give the illusion of memory – it can point in a certain direction and may be used mnemonically by an individual or a group, but unlike their physical constructions the interpretations of sites of memory are by no means set in stone. Memorials’ meanings can change over time and are informed by present conditions; although they are constructed with a certain meaning attached to them, they remain open to different future interpretations and appropriations that cannot be foretold (Young 1993: 3; Álvarez and Hedrera 2013: 58; Jelin and Langland 2003: 4-5, 15). Indeed, James Young has gone so far as to argue that the inverse of Nora’s assertion is true, that ‘the more memory comes to rest in its exteriorised forms, the less it is experienced internally’, since the creation of monuments removes the individual or collective obligation to remember (1993: 5).

Taken to an extreme, memorialisation could then be considered a tool to promote forgetting in society by divesting individuals of the desire or need to remember (Young 1993:

5). An example of such memorialisation to forget could include state-driven efforts to create memorials as part of a formulaic response to truth and justice demands, representing a way for governments to “settle the matter” once and for all. Governments can thereby be seen to fulfil a moral duty to recognise past atrocities but then claim that reparation has occurred and that it is time to move on from continuing re-evaluations of the past (Stern 2010: 94, 123). The challenge for memorials that aim to promote remembrance is how to avoid what has been termed the ‘petrification’ of memory, a stagnation that freezes and ultimately undermines remembrance (Stern and Winn 2013: 323; Winn 2013: 438; Richard 2000: 11-12). This has led to Young’s formulation of ‘counter-monuments’: ‘self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being’, which provoke and challenge viewers, potentially evolve over time, and explicitly force the ‘burden of memory’ back onto viewers (1992: 271, 277). They represent what Young regards as possibly the best memorial: the unresolved debate over which memory or memories should be memorialised, and how and why this should be done (1992: 270). The notion of the counter-monument and what it embodies thus challenge traditional perceptions of memorials and add another layer of analysis when approaching memorials.

Debates around memory and memorialisation in the Latin American context have been analysed by scholar Elizabeth Jelin, among others. Jelin notes that memories are active and productive subjective processes founded in both experiences and physical and symbolic markers, and she confirms that these meanings attached to the past are not permanent but, rather, change over time (2003: xv, 5). Moreover, political and social conflicts and struggles are based around differing memories of the past, given that there is no ‘one memory, or a single vision and interpretation of the past shared through society’, echoing Halbwachs’s thoughts on the subject (Jelin 2003: xv, xviii, italics in original). These points are of utmost importance to memorialisation as they emphasise the way that meanings attached to sites of memory may change over time, and how such sites can operate as the source of or stage for disputes over memory. Moreover, Jelin argues that material ruins or traces, which may form part of a site of memory, do not constitute memories in themselves; rather, they must be evoked and contextualised in a way that gives them meaning (Jelin 2003: 18). This must be taken into account at sites of memory *in situ* whose administrations wish to take advantage of physical remains – their existence is not a pre-requisite for success in transmitting memory to viewers, and they need to be used in a specific way to obtain the desired reaction. Such sites of memory *in situ* have also been referred to in scholarship as ‘trauma sites’ and ‘sitios testimoniales’ by Patrizia Violi and Estela Schindel, respectively (Violi 2012: 38; Schindel 2009: 70). The

implications of the use of material ruins at these sites are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, which examines urban and rural sites of memory in Chile.

Memorialisation in Chile is inextricably linked to the context of the recent traumatic past, and the diverse ways in which it is approached, employed and contested. In this regard, this study draws upon several important works of criticism on the legacy, influence and ongoing relevance of recent history, particularly Pinochet's dictatorship, in contemporary Chilean society. The work of Tomás Moulian and his book *Chile actual: Anatomía de un mito* (1997) are seminal in this respect. Despite the fact that this book was published almost 20 years ago, Moulian develops a number of important concepts regarding the consequences of the dictatorship for Chilean society and the nature of Chile's transition to democracy that are still highly relevant today.

Moulian posits that the Chile of the transition was forged through processes of 'gatopardismo' and 'transformismo', by which society and politics were portrayed as different and having changed, when the opposite was true: everything ultimately remained the same as before (1997: 145, 358). This was not solely due to the inherent restrictions of the 1980 constitution and the 'protected democracy' it enshrined, and the *leyes de amarre* passed before the end of the dictatorship, but also because of the pragmatic willingness of the Concertación to embrace and continue the neoliberal model following the return of democracy (Moulian 1997: 47, 344-345, 357; Stern 2006a: 368). Central to this 'transformismo' are the concepts of 'olvido', 'blanqueo' and 'consenso', and the practices used to produce them. Moulian argues that contemporary Chile is obsessed with forgetting its roots in the dictatorship and that this 'olvido' is part of a broader attempt by elites to disguise the process of 'transformismo' since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship (1997: 33). The related process of 'blanqueo' or whitewashing the past in Chile is an action carried out by elites, who believe it is in the best interests of the country to promote healing and unity and to not return to the past. Moulian contends that this act ultimately serves to tolerate Pinochet's continued presence and influence in society; it thus legitimises his figure and forces *olvido* onto the populace (1997: 33). Finally, Moulian describes 'consenso' in modern Chile as 'la etapa superior del olvido', an imaginary harmony in society that forgets the discourses of deepening democracy and rejecting neoliberalism that were once proposed by the opposition to Pinochet (1997: 37). This consensus, Moulian argues, is a foundational act of 'Chile actual': it operates as a tool for the imposition of 'olvido' and 'blanqueo', and effectively accepts the notion that Pinochet's economic and social structures were rational and thus only need slight changes and improvements (1997: 37-38). Nelly Richard echoes Moulian's assessment in this regard,

postulating that the ‘official consensus of the Transition (sic)’ attempted to eliminate the memory of the past that it judged inconvenient and divisive – ‘private memory of the disagreements’ of the Allende and Pinochet eras – which would hinder and undermine its project of socio-political consensus (2004: 16).

A further important aspect of Moulian’s work is his discussion of the atomisation of society and the role of consumerism. Moulian notes the way in which the neoliberal economic model attempts to impose individuality over associativity in the workplace and in society, effectively atomising the population (1997: 99-100). Similarly, the hegemonic system also promotes individualism through a culture of consumerism, which is fuelled by access to credit (1997: 99-100). This, in turn, produces a complex relationship between consumerism, credit and individual identity, whereby Chileans construct their identity through the objects they buy or own, which has created an ostentatious culture in which ‘la riqueza no es privada, se exhibe. Es de mal gusto ocultarla’ (1997: 106, 110). Moulian’s work thus reveals that Chile has been strongly moulded by Pinochet and his ‘dictadura revolucionaria’ (1997: 22). In spite of reforms to the political system in recent times, the economic and cultural legacies of Pinochet’s dictatorship observed by Moulian some two decades ago endure in Chilean society today.

Other critics have echoed Moulian’s sentiment regarding the ‘revolutionary’ nature of Pinochet’s dictatorship. Walescka Pino-Ojeda, for instance, emphasises the unique role of this period of Chilean history in a global context, given that during Pinochet’s rule Chile was the subject of an economic experiment. Under the tutelage of Milton Friedman’s former pupils, Chile was the first country in the world to militarily impose neoliberalism through the use of state terror. In this way, Pino-Ojeda argues, a traumatic socio-cultural, economic and political event was transformed into an integrated structure, which was subsequently introduced across the planet. The virtues of this model have been promoted to such an extent that it has since arguably become the default, unquestioned common-sense approach to governance (Pino-Ojeda 2011).²⁹

A highly significant work on recent Chilean history is Steve J. Stern’s three-volume *The Memory Box of Pinochet’s Chile*, which is foundational in the study of memory in Chile since the 1970s (2006a, 2006b, 2010). Through meticulous historical research and documentation of political, social and cultural events, and drawing on Halbwachs’s work, Stern conceives of Chile as a battleground of memory and examines competing memory frameworks

²⁹ Naomi Klein also stresses Chile’s infamous role in global history, in terms of both the neoliberal economic experiment and the use of repression, torture and terror to control the populace during Pinochet’s dictatorship (2007: 71, 75-115).

during the dictatorship and return of democracy. Stern's theorisation around the concepts of 'loose memories' and 'emblematic memories' is highly productive in this regard. Stern defines loose memory or 'memory lore' as 'the remembered facts, stories, rumours, and meanings that people personally experienced or heard from others' and then pass on to other people (2006b: 68). Emblematic memory, on the other hand, is 'a framework for collective remembrance' that is constructed upon the 'raw material' of loose memories. Stern highlights a 'reciprocal yet selective interplay' between these two types of memory: loose memories 'provide authenticity to emblematic memories', while emblematic memory 'imparts broad interpretive meaning and criteria of selection to personal memory' (2006b: 68, 105-106).

Building on these theoretical notions, Stern analyses competing emblematic memory frameworks in Chilean society during the dictatorship, which held sway or were influential at varying times. The first of these emblematic memories is 'memory as salvation', through which the dictatorship and its supporters sought to justify the coup and its intervention (2006b: 108). A rival framework during the same era was 'memory as unresolved rupture', which was constructed by the opposition to the dictatorship, particularly those with personal ties to state violence following the coup (2006b: 108-109). 'Memory as persecution and awakening' was a related framework, and arguably an expanded form of 'memory as unresolved rupture'. It included not only direct victims of the dictatorship and those who had lost loved ones, but also critics of the regime and human rights activists (2006b: 109-110; 2010: 5). Similarly, a fourth framework, 'memory as a closed box', is closely related to 'memory as salvation'. It argued that memories of the divisive past ought to be 'put away and forgotten', in an action akin to *olvido* (2006b: 111-112).

Stern also outlines two emblematic memory frameworks which came to prominence following the return of democracy. The first was 'memory as shared tragedy', which implied that all sides should take responsibility for Chile's recent history in order to unite and come to terms with the past together. This framework was used to promote societal reconciliation, particularly by political elites (2010: 246, 264). An opposing framework, espoused by grassroots human rights movements and other civil society activists, was 'memory as unfinished work', which in the early 21st century sought to reckon with the past and bring justice following the crimes committed during the dictatorship (2010: 264, 273, 312). All of these emblematic frameworks provide a theoretical lens for understanding the shifting sentiments in Chilean society during the dictatorship and return of democracy. They also allow for a deeper comprehension of the various memory struggles that ultimately shaped these eras and Chile today.

A further concept developed by Stern is that of ‘memory knots’, defined as ‘strongly motivated human groups, symbolically powerful events and anniversary or commemoration dates, [and] haunting remains and places’ that are ‘so bothersome, insistent, or conflictive that they move human beings’, even if only temporarily (2006b: 121, 124). This notion builds upon and broadens Alexander Wilde’s earlier concept of ‘irruptions of memory’ in Chile: ‘public events that break in upon Chile’s national consciousness, unbidden and often suddenly, to evoke associations with symbols, figures, causes, ways of life which to an unusual degree are associated with a political past that is still present in the lived experience of a major part of the population’ (1999: 475). Irruptions of memory and memory knots are productive theoretical tools to examine actors, dates, events and places that interact with the conflictive past in Chile and forcefully affect those who come into contact with them. In many ways, the dissident cultural forms that are analysed in this thesis can be understood as memory knots. This is most apparent in the case of the sites of memory that are examined in Chapter 4. Indeed, Stern singles out some of these sites in his development and application of this concept; as public places they are visible to society and seek to meaningfully affect it (2006b: 123; 2010: 171-173, 176, 270, 320). While the foci of Chapters 2 and 3, David Aníñir’s poetry and Carmen Castillo’s autobiographical work, may not be considered memory knots in the strictest sense of Stern’s definition, they both appeal to and invoke polemic or dissident memories in the public sphere.

Additional scholarship closely linked to the concepts of identity and memory has theorised on a variety of forms of cross-cultural interactions. This criticism examines cultural operations carried out within subaltern cultures, particularly those of indigenous groups in Latin America, as a result of and in response to their contact with dominant cultures and structures of power, including colonial forces and creole-led independent modern nation-states. These theorisations focus on the ensuing cross-cultural interactions, including the adoption, adaptation and merging of, at times, divergent cultural traits and identities, and have influenced the critical approach to Mapuche poetry in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

The term ‘transculturation’ was developed by Fernando Ortiz in the first half of the 20th century in response to the anthropological term ‘acculturation’. Both notions centre on the process of cultural contact and mutual affect between two or more cultures, though acculturation contains an implication that this process results in the subordinate culture’s passive assimilation of the dominant one. Transculturation, on the other hand, emphasises the ability of dominated cultures to also affect the dominant cultures with which they come into

contact (Ortiz 1995: 98; Rama 1982: 32-33).³⁰ The counter-hegemonic potential of transculturation was highlighted by Ángel Rama, who sought to defend and define Latin American cultural forms in their own right, rather than them being conceived as simple replicas of Western (that is, European and North American) cultural forms. Using Ortiz's original notion, Rama's 'transculturation' emphasises the creative capacity of subaltern cultures to actively adopt and adapt elements of the dominant culture, which effectively constitutes an act of resistance by the dominated culture in order to preserve its identity (Rama 1982: 34; D'Allemand 2000: 49).³¹ The related notions of heterogeneity and hybridity also examine the relationship between a plurality of cultural elements that derive from a variety of sources and the potential (dis)connections between them. Antonio Cornejo Polar develops the notion of heterogeneity to describe the situation in which at least one element of the literary process (the author and his or her sociocultural environment, the resulting text, the referent, and the system of distribution and consumption) originates in a different sociocultural system from the others, and thus creates 'a zone of ambiguity or conflict' (Cornejo Polar 1998: 18; Schmidt 1998: 241-242). This concept stresses the lack of fusion between divergent cultural elements: an unresolved difference within, and the fragmentary and conflicted nature of, the individual or the work of literature. Cornejo Polar links this unresolved heterogeneity to the socio-cultural fractures originally produced by the conquest of America, a socio-cultural trauma whose impact is still evident today (2013: 8-9). In this thesis, Cornejo Polar's theorising has played a significant influence in approaching the situation of the Mapuche with regards to Chile's modern nation-state, which as an inheritor of the modernising, Western worldview introduced by the Spanish has continued to exacerbate the marginalisation of Mapuche culture and worldview.

The foundational work on the concepts of hybridity and hybrid cultures was developed by Néstor García Canclini, who analyses the processes of cultural interaction and transformations that have been brought about by postmodernity in Latin America. In his work, García Canclini defines hybridity as 'procesos socioculturales en los que estructuras o prácticas discretas, que existían en forma separada, se combinan para generar nuevas estructuras, objetos y prácticas', and attributes its presence and development in Latin American culture to 'la sedimentación, yuxtaposición y entrecruzamiento de tradiciones indígenas [...], del

³⁰ For further discussion of Ortiz's definition of 'transculturation' and other scholars' critique of Ortiz's use of this term, see Arnedo-Gómez (2008: 187-191).

³¹ Rama further expands this interpretation of transculturation in his consideration of narrative transculturation in Latin American literature, which focuses on the ways in which Latin American authors combine elements from rural popular culture with literary techniques from Europe and the United States (Rama 1982: 32-56).

hispanismo colonial católico y de las acciones políticas, educativas y comunicacionales modernas' (2001: 14, 86). García Canclini's study of hybridity examines the combination of cultural elements from different origins and outlines opposing terms related to cultural forms, whose interplay gives rise to hybrid forms: modern and traditional, cultured and popular, and hegemonic and subaltern (2001: 195). This consequently allows for an appreciation of the power relations in the production and consumption of hybrid cultural forms, as it unveils underlying biases in criticism that devalue popular sectors' unwillingness to completely relinquish the traditional, or view their gravitation towards and acceptance of modernity as unavoidable (2001: 195-196). In contrast to such perspectives, García Canclini emphasises the 'prosperous' nature of popular cultures, principally to demonstrate that the reproduction of traditions and an embracing of modernity are not mutually exclusive (2001: 222). He affirms that in recent decades traditional cultures have been further enriched and developed through their transformation, and that they persist within popular culture in the face of modernity, particularly through the way they are relocated in cities and in 'interurban and international' networks (2001: 203, 205-206). This relocation is due in part to urban expansion, a consequence of urban migration and a key sociocultural phenomenon in Latin America in the 20th century, which García Canclini singles out as one of the catalysts for cultural hybridisation (2001: 260). The urban setting, in turn, offers new generations the opportunity to embark on 'cruces culturales', which, he argues, involve 'una reestructuración radical de los vínculos entre lo tradicional y lo moderno, lo popular y lo culto, lo local y lo extranjero' (2001: 224).

A crucial element of García Canclini's thesis relates to the ability of individuals in the contemporary globalised world to 'enter and leave modernity'. This idea can be understood in terms of the processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, drawing on two concepts originally developed in philosophy by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, which have since been extrapolated to other disciplines.³² García Canclini defines his use of deterritorialisation as 'la pérdida de la relación "natural" de la cultura con los territorios geográficos y sociales', while by reterritorialisation he refers to 'ciertas relocalizaciones territoriales relativas, parciales, de las viejas y nuevas producciones simbólicas'. In his study, García Canclini is particularly interested in the tensions between these two processes, which can give rise to hybrid forms of expression (2001: 281).

³² Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualisation, development, and various uses of the notion of territorialisation and its derivatives are outlined by Eugene Young (2013: 306-312).

The concept of hybridity, however, has been criticised for focusing excessively on people and relations of production and the market as opposed to individual identities (Lienhard 1997: 192). Moreover, hybridity has also drawn criticism for its tendency to present the image of a happy, coherent subject, almost in the same vein as *mestizaje* once did as a 19th century ideological discourse of harmonious integration, without paying sufficient attention to the social circumstances of inequality in which this mixture of cultures takes place (Lienhard 1997: 189, 193; Cornejo Polar 2002: 867).³³ García Canclini has, however, defended his conceptualisation of hybridity against such criticism, arguing in the introduction to a revised edition of *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* that ‘la hibridación no es sinónimo de fusión sin contradicciones, sino que puede ayudar a dar cuenta de formas particulares de conflicto generadas en la interculturalidad reciente y en medio de proyectos nacionales de modernización en América Latina’ (2001: 14). Nevertheless, hybridity has a legitimate place in cultural criticism, considering its defining focus to be the juxtaposition of elements from different cultural origins in the same space, individual, object or identity, and in relation to postmodernity, regardless of whether this combination gives rise to a coherent, harmonious fusion or an internal conflict. ‘Hybridity’s focus on postmodernity, mass culture and modern capitalism distinguishes it from Cornejo Polar’s ‘heterogeneity’, which is more closely focused on the presence of indigenous and Western elements in literary forms. The works of both García Canclini and Cornejo Polar are highly pertinent to the poetry of the urban Mapuche David Aníñir, as will be shown in Chapter 2.

The approach to Mapuche and their artistic production in Chapter 2 is also influenced by counter-official versions of history, which dissent from hegemonic portrayals of savage, uncultured Mapuche. Examples of this dominant discourse include frequent declarations by the polemic Chilean historian Sergio Villalobos, and, more recently, by the *intendente* of the Región de la Araucanía, Andrés Jouannet, who claimed that he does not recognise Mapuche claims over ancestral territory given that ‘el pueblo mapuche es parte del pueblo chileno. [...] son parte nuestra, parte de nuestra patria’ (Zamorano 2016).³⁴ Claudia Zapata has referred to such declarations as representative of ‘pensamiento mestizófilo’ in Chile today, which denies unique indigenous identity, glosses over their cultural differences, disregards their political

³³ It is for this reason, among others, that Martín Lienhard prefers the notion of cultural diglossia to represent the fact that ‘the “culture” – or the “identity” – of an individual can be considered as a sheaf or array of diverse, possibly divergent or even contradictory, practices’ (1997: 193). Lienhard’s approach thus takes into account a diverse range of cultural practices within each individual, rather than postulating a singular hybrid identity.

³⁴ For a selection of declarations by Villalobos, recipient of the Premio Nacional de Historia in Chile in 1992, see ‘Sergio Villalobos: Es absurdo...’, ‘Sergio Villalobos y conflicto...’, and Gallo (2016). His most recent work is aptly titled *La Araucanía: Historia y falsedades* (Villalobos R. 2015).

demands, and treats them, ultimately, as second-class citizens (Zapata 2016). Two of the most significant works that counter this hegemonic discourse are Elicura Chihuailaf's *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (1999), and José Bengoa's *Historia de un conflicto: Los mapuches y el estado nacional durante el siglo XX* (2007). Chihuailaf revisits 19th- and 20th century Chilean history from a Mapuche perspective and uses it as a platform to launch a political and cultural defence of Mapuche (Chihuailaf 1999). Bengoa traces the relationship between Mapuche and the Chilean state, starting with the Mapuche's military defeat, the confiscation of their land and their ensuing poverty. He then outlines Mapuche political demands during the 20th century, including their rebutted initial calls for 'integración respetuosa' and their more aggressive demands and tactics thereafter, which continued to the start of the 21st century (Bengoa 2007: 15). These works illustrate the struggles around attitudes towards Chilean history involving Mapuche and provide a clear context in which David Aníñir's poetry and its dissidence can be located.

Chapter 3 analyses the autobiographical written and filmic work of Carmen Castillo and how it constitutes a response to past trauma. It draws on the critical approach of scholars such as Michael Lazzara and Antonio Traverso, who have examined the tendency in Chilean documentaries to revisit and re-evaluate the recent past. More specifically, Lazzara and Traverso's work considers both critically acclaimed and lesser-known films that re-examine Allende's presidency and Pinochet's dictatorship (Lazzara 2012; Traverso 2013). This interaction with recent history is central to several of Carmen Castillo's documentaries, particularly *Calle Santa Fe* (2007). Furthermore, a significant study that frames the critical approach to Castillo's written work is Jaime Peris Blanes's *Historia del testimonio chileno: De las estrategias de denuncia a las políticas de memoria* (2008), which traces the evolution of testimonial literature by Chilean writers. Peris Blanes argues that testimonial literature written during the dictatorship sought to highlight the social and political processes curtailed by the coup and publically denounce the repression and human rights violations occurring in Chile (2008: 99-110). He also outlines in significant detail the nuanced differences between the literature written in exile and that which was produced within Chile at the time (2008: 90-242). Following the return of democracy, Peris Blanes proposes that the governments of the transition co-opted the testimonies and testimonial literature of this era to a certain extent, and he demonstrates a shift towards a paradigm of reconciliation in these works (2008: 243-310). It is in this context of Chilean testimonial literature that Castillo has produced her written work, including her first book, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* (1982).

Chapter 4 focuses on memorialisation and examines six sites of memory that pay homage to victims of repression during Pinochet's dictatorship. In recent decades, scholars such as Andreas Huyssen and Elizabeth Jelin have noted an obsession with the issue of memory and a 'current fever of memorialisation' in contemporary Western culture (Huyssen 1995: 7; Jelin 2003: 20). Within this context, Chile is no exception to the tendencies to focus on memory and memorialisation. Alexander Wilde, for example, labels the period from 1998 to 2010 a 'season of memory' in Chile, in which there was a sustained focus on issues, events and figures of the past in public and political spheres (2013: 34-35). Furthermore, since the turn of the century, several scholars have noted a 'boom' in memorialisation in post-dictatorial Chile (Stern and Winn 2013: 397, 404; Collins and Hite 2013: 136). The construction of memorials recalling the atrocities of the dictatorship in Chile is not just a simple reflection of a global move towards a culture of memory, however. It can also be read as one facet of the continuing battles over memory stemming back to Pinochet's rule, as analysed in Steve J. Stern's aforementioned trilogy (2006a, 2006b, 2010). Additionally, it can be interpreted as part of a response to past conflict in the realm of physical representation and symbolism, most explicitly embodied in Pinochet's dictatorship's 'aesthetic coup' against the Allende period (Errázuriz and Leiva Quijada 2012).

Scholarship on Chilean sites of memory primarily focuses on the processes that led to the creation of the sites themselves, including the interactions between the state and civil society groups during the stages of lobbying, proposing, creating and administering the sites. It also analyses the representations of the past employed and activities carried out at a number of emblematic sites. Indeed, one of the most salient issues in academic debates on Chilean sites of memory is the question of how to adequately represent the atrocities of the past. Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, for example, has come under scrutiny by scholars such as Nelly Richard and Michael Lazzara for its transformation from a site of terror into a place that now attempts to instil tranquillity (Richard 2010: 254-265; Lazzara 2006: 142). Other sites of memory are not exempt from critique. Marivic Wyndham and Peter Read have argued that subtle changes over recent years in the displays at Londres 38 suggest that the state is gradually taking control over the discourse presented inside the building (2014: 176). For its part, the state-conceived and -financed Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos has been repeatedly criticised for its exclusive focus on the dictatorial period (Stern and Winn 2013: 348, 354; Lazzara 2011: 67-69; Collins and Hite 2013: 155). Scholarly criticism also encompasses the symbolic employment of the figure of victims at different locations. Some sites have been critiqued as presenting victims in a homogenising manner that fixes them in the moment of their death or

disappearance and removes them from their individual, personal lives, while others have been praised for portraying victims as complex and heterogeneous individuals with hopes, dreams, motivations and background stories (Piper Shafir et al. 2011: 226).

These academic studies have prompted a number of debates regarding memorialisation in Chile. Cath Collins and Katherine Hite, for example, have queried the success of sites of memory to capture Chileans' 'attention and imagination', particularly among those who have limited, if any, interest in human rights violations during Chile's recent past (2013: 14, 140). This raises the equally significant question of what exactly capturing citizens' 'attention and imagination' entails. It could arguably involve transforming them into memory activists, raising their awareness of past repression and its consequences for contemporary society, or simply prompting them to question a site to which they had not previously paid much attention. Critics have also emphasised the far-reaching impact of sites of memory in society, which transcend merely symbolic reparation. Macarena Gómez-Barris, for example, argues that memorialisation can strengthen the foundations of democracy, while Peter Winn proposes that memorials are such a powerful pedagogic tool that they are even more important than classroom teaching on human rights and the recent past (Gómez-Barris 2009: 154; Winn, as cited in López 2014; Stern and Winn 2013: 368). Moreover, it is widely accepted that sites of memory are able to support and promote critical re-evaluation of the past, memory and history, in order to question the status quo and foster political and social mobilisation in the present (Richard 2004: 24-25; Hite 2012: 3-4). These critical approaches influence and frame the analysis of urban and rural sites of memory and their representations of the past in Chapter 4.

This chapter has outlined Chile's long history of indigenous activity and autonomy and left-wing political participation and struggles, both of which were curtailed by dislocating episodes of conflict. As has been demonstrated, the traumatic consequences of these conflicts for the dispossessed, oppressed and marginalised have continued throughout 20th and 21st century Chile, and many of the structures imposed as products of these conflicts remain in place today. This historical background thus emphasises the ongoing relevance of the responses to these episodes of conflict that are found in the cultural forms that will be analysed in the following chapters. Additionally, this chapter has outlined a diverse range of theoretical frameworks and critical debates that inform the analysis carried out in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 and in which this thesis as a whole is grounded.

Chapter 2

Portrayals of Contemporary Mapuche Identity and Worldview: The Mapurbe Poetry of David Aníñir

David Aníñir Guilitraro (1971–) was born and raised in Cerro Navia, a poor suburb on the western periphery of Santiago. Aníñir's parents were Mapuche who had separately migrated to the capital in search of work and a better life as part of Mapuche migration to Chilean cities in the mid-20th century (Vitale 2003; Muga 2005; Gallo 2011; Graneri n.d.). Thus, Aníñir is an urban Mapuche or 'Mapurbe', a term he coined that has since spread among wider urban Mapuche communities and Mapuche cultural movements (Aníñir 2008; Cayuqueo 2010; Reukan 2011).³⁵ Aníñir's father committed suicide when he was still a child, leaving his mother to raise him and his two siblings on her own. They lived in a 'población' during difficult times for the poor, attempting to survive the repression of Pinochet's dictatorship and the backlash of the neoliberal economic model being implemented at the time (Vitale 2003). From a young age, Aníñir faced discrimination at school for being Mapuche, and he and his brothers worked alongside their mother to try to sustain their family economically (Sacamuelas y Mezeway 2011; Gallo 2011; Vitale 2003). Around this time, Aníñir began transcribing letters on behalf of his mother to her family in southern rural areas, which constituted his first link with rural Mapuche communities and the start of his literary endeavours (Aníñir 2009; Graneri n.d.). In these letters he described the city, his surroundings, events, and discrimination; such themes remain prominent in his poetry to this day (Aníñir and Huichaqueo n.d.).

A construction worker by trade, Aníñir spent around 20 years working in the construction industry, to which he has referred as a beast that has allowed him to make ends meet ('una bestia que me ha servido para parar la olla'), while his poetry and artistic endeavours constituted a pastime activity (Aníñir, as cited in Gallo 2011; Sacamuelas y Mezeway 2011). He continued to reside in Cerro Navia until around 2012, when he gave up his job to dedicate

³⁵ 'Mapurbe' plays on the literal meaning of 'Mapuche' in Mapudungun, 'people of the land', given that 'mapu' means 'land' and 'che' means 'people' (Ray 2007: 10). Through its combination of 'mapu' and 'urbe', 'Mapurbe' also emphasises the 'urban land' in which urban Mapuche are raised. The terms 'urban Mapuche' and 'Mapurbe' are not used interchangeably in this chapter. The term 'urban Mapuche' will be used to refer to all Mapuche situated in urban areas. The term 'Mapurbe', in contrast, is an ethnic category and aesthetic concept created by Aníñir which emphasises the confluence of Mapuche and non-Mapuche cultural influences within contemporary urban Mapuche identity. It is not clear that all urban Mapuche subscribe to this label, and therefore this term will only be used in specific reference to the Mapurbe subjects, identities or worldviews projected in Aníñir's literary production. The term 'rural Mapuche' will be used throughout this chapter to specify any references to this particular sector of the Mapuche ethnicity, while 'Mapuche' will refer to all individuals who identify themselves as belonging to a Mapuche ethnicity regardless of their geographical location.

more time to his art and temporarily moved to Argentina (Sacamuelas y Mezeway 2011; Graneri n.d.). He has since returned to live in Santiago and works as a ‘gestor cultural y poeta’ (Aniñir 2014).

Aniñir’s body of work to date comprises four books of poetry: *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz* (originally published in 2005), *Haykuche* (2008), *Autoretraxto*, and *Guilitranalwe* (both published in 2014). A significant number of his poems have also been published in anthologies and on the internet. Aniñir describes his poetry as stemming from his life on the street and other experiences, such as growing up in a socio-economically deprived area and working in construction yards (Reukan 2011). The discrimination he has faced, both from individuals and systematically from the state and its policies, is representative of that which many other urban Mapuche have suffered. It feeds his poetry, which takes on an angry, combative, and at times ironic stance as he seeks to exact poetic revenge for the treatment to which he and his people have been subjected.

Aniñir’s self-assigned Mapurbe identity needs to be understood on the basis of the historical and sociological context that gave rise to the urban Mapuche population. As noted in Chapter 1, following the Mapuche defeat by the Chilean army during the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ (1861-1883), around 94% of Mapuche land was confiscated by the state and sold to third parties, including, in many cases, immigrants (Richards 2010: 62; Ray 2007: 88; Ancan Jara 1994: 6). The Mapuche survivors of the ‘Pacificación’ were forced to live in reduced spaces or ‘reducciones’ (Ray 2007: 88). Over subsequent decades, further encroachment by private landowners into the little land Mapuche still held, together with growth in the Mapuche population, led to overpopulation in already cramped conditions. Thus, from the 1930s onwards, there was a steady stream of Mapuche migration from southern rural areas to Santiago and other cities. This created new spaces for interethnic contact in the heart of mainstream society: the city, a bastion of the Western-derived socio-cultural structures imposed by the Spanish during the conquest and colonisation of America (Ancan Jara 1994: 7-8; Rama 1984). As José Ancan Jara notes, as early as the late 1940s there was already a significant nucleus of lower-working-class Mapuche in Santiago employed in the service industries or as domestic help. Many of these early urban Mapuche often attempted to hide their ethnicity during this period in order to avoid discrimination (Ancan Jara 1994: 9).

As Ancan Jara explains, a turning point occurred in the 1960s when it became possible for urban Mapuche to own property in or around the city, a direct consequence of urbanisation and state housing policies that were being implemented across Latin America at the time. This led to the creation of ‘barrios mapuche’ in and around Santiago, where a significant number of

Mapuche migrants settled. In the present day there are two or even three generations of urban Mapuche in Santiago and other Chilean cities. Thus, there are two distinguishable categories of Mapuche in Chile today: Mapuche in southern rural areas in ‘reducciones’ from the post-‘Pacificación’ era; and urban Mapuche in cities such as Santiago, Concepción and Temuco. Within the latter category, Mapuche migrants from rural areas generally maintain closer links to Mapuche traditional culture, whereas Mapuche who were born and raised in the city have tended to assimilate more Western-derived forms of urban culture (Ancan Jara 1994: 10-11).

Nowadays, urban Mapuche face discrimination not only from mainstream Chilean society, but also from ‘traditional’ rural Mapuche who disapprove of their assimilation of non-Mapuche culture and ways of life (Ancan Jara 1997; Chenard 2006; Collins 2014: 31-32). In fact, for a significant period of time ‘traditional’ rural Mapuche attempted to deny the existence of urban Mapuche (Gallo 2011). In recent times, many urban Mapuche have continued to hide their ethnic identities as a way to defend themselves from possible discrimination, which has led to identity crises in at least one generation of Mapuche born in cities (Chenard 2006; Ancan Jara 1997). This has not been helped by the fact that state organisms have effectively glossed over and silenced urban Mapuche by focusing their indigenous policy on rural Mapuche (Chenard 2006; Collins 2014: 32). Ironically, the vast majority of Mapuche today are actually situated in urban areas.³⁶ Thus, their significance cannot continue to be denied by dominant Chilean society nor by traditional rural Mapuche sectors, and the issue of the identity crisis faced by urban Mapuche remains pertinent (Saavedra Peláez 2000: 11; Ray 2007: 176). Two decades ago, José Ancan Jara hypothesised the potential for a new Mapuche identity to be created in the city, which would comprise a combination of tradition and modernity, and reflect the adaptation of urban Mapuche to new realities and challenges (1994: 13). Since then, urban Mapuche identities have become more conspicuous (such as the Mapurbe identity), while key Mapuche cultural actors have claimed that urban Mapuche have a key role to play in the survival of Mapuche culture and ought to be recognised as a Mapuche sub-ethnicity, alongside other groups such as the Pehuenche, Picunche, and Huilliche (Chihuailaf 1999: 28; ‘Reportaje a David Aníñir’).

³⁶ Much of the available scholarship on urban Mapuche uses population figures from the 1992 census, which showed that around 79% of Mapuche lived in or around urban centres, with 44% of all Mapuche in the Región Metropolitana alone. The 2002 census altered the question related to ethnicity, however, which produced unreliable and inconsistent results (Ray 2007: 238). There were also a number of faults with the 2012 census, which led to an audit of the data gathered. In this most recent census, a total of 1,508,722 people identified themselves as Mapuche; 564,234 or approximately 37.4% of them resided in the Región Metropolitana (‘Resultados XVIII Censo de Población 2012’: 172, 185).

Aniñir's work has been studied to date within the framework of Mapuche poetry, a literary genre whose origins can be traced back to pre-Colombian Mapuche oral traditions, which include song, poetry and narrative forms (Ray 2007: 26-27; Carrasco 2000a: 36; Carrasco Muñoz 1993: 77-78; González Cangas 1999: 68; Mora Curriao 2013: 21-22). Mapuche oral traditions, which have been termed 'etnoliteratura mapuche' by Iván Carrasco, are frequently viewed as precursors to present-day Mapuche poetic expression (Carrasco 2000a: 35). For instance, Elicura Chihuailaf, one of most the most acclaimed contemporary Mapuche poets, refers to his poetry as 'oralitura' and considers it a continuation of the oral tradition passed down from his ancestors (Chihuailaf 1999: 62). Another antecedent to contemporary written Mapuche poetry is what scholars have termed 'literatura etnocultural' and 'poesía etnocultural', which began to be published in the 1960s (Carrasco 2000b: 197; 2003: 179). These types of literature arose from interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the south of Chile (Carrasco 2000b: 197).

From the 1980s onwards, there has been a 'boom' in the production and reception of Mapuche poetry (Mora Curriao 2013: 22). Some of the most prolific and critically acclaimed Mapuche poets since the 1980s include Elicura Chihuailaf, Leonel Lienlaf, Lorenzo Aillapán, Jaime Luis Huenún and Bernardo Colipán. While the work of Mapuche poets is by no means homogeneous, it shares a number of common themes, which generally relate to ancestral Mapuche culture in the south of Chile and to the treatment that Mapuche have received from outsiders. Aspects of ancestral Mapuche culture frequently portrayed include the role of the *machi* or spiritual healer, *pewma* or dreams, the presence of ancestors in the lives of Mapuche, beliefs about the origins of life and the world, specific ceremonies like the *nguillatún* and *we tripantu*, and deep ties with the natural world (Park 1999; García Barrera 2008a, 2008b; Carrasco Muñoz 2002). Mapuche poetry also documents historical and contemporary traumatic experiences, such as the discrimination, ethnocide, forced acculturation and inequalities endured by Mapuche, and has issued calls for the recuperation of their ancestral territory and affirmation of Mapuche identity (Carrasco 2000b: 197; Geeregat and Fierro 2002).

There has been critical debate in scholarship surrounding the reception and national status of Mapuche poetry. Joanna Crow has examined the ways in which the Chilean state's cultural institutions privilege the work of some Mapuche poets over others. Her discussion draws upon Charles Hale's notion of the 'indio permitido', originally developed in the context of political and social movements. Hale highlights the change in official state discourse in Latin American nations in the 1990s and early 2000s to embrace and espouse multiculturalism, which was combined with dominant neoliberal economic policies in the region (2004: 16). Neoliberal

multiculturalism, as Hale refers to it, attempts to involve discordant parties such as indigenous groups and the state in a dialogue underpinned by several inviolable principles, which are ultimately designed to favour the state (2004: 18-19).³⁷ This state-driven dialogue creates a dichotomy between the socio-political figure of the *indio permitido* and the ‘undeserving, dysfunctional, Other’. The *indio permitido* is classified as ‘authentic and fully conversant with the dominant milieu’, and is a figure created and celebrated by official state organisms (Hale 2004: 17, 19). It is essentially a type of token Indian who is willing to liaise with official actors and serves to legitimise the state’s discourse of multiculturalism. The ‘unruly, vindictive and conflict prone’ Others, by contrast, trouble elite institutions and are excluded and dismissed by official bodies, or even labelled as ‘terrorists’ (Hale 2004: 19-20). Crow applies the two categories to the field of Mapuche poetry, and examines the differences between poets who she sees as fulfilling the role of *indio permitido*, and those who are conflictive. In general, the work of most traditional Mapuche poets tends to belong to the former group, as they have been co-opted by the state in order to legitimise its multicultural agenda. In stark contrast, the conflict-prone Mapuche poets, such as Aníñir, are critical of the social, political and economic status quo in Chile, and are thus relatively ignored by the literary establishment (Crow 2008: 223).

In Crow’s analysis, traditional Mapuche poetry co-opted by the Chilean state would seem to play a similar role to that of the concept of folklore in many Latin American nations, where it has served to consolidate the modern state’s authority over rural popular cultures in order to ensure national unity and impose a homogenising national identity (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 4). William Rowe and Vivian Schelling argue that ‘folklore is seen as a kind of bank where authenticity is safely stored’ and is used to isolate popular and traditional cultures (1991: 4). These cultures are thus fossilised and turned into static entities, thereby denying the ways in which they evolve in response to modernity (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 5-6). Scholarship on Mapuche poetry folklorises it in a comparable manner by focusing on its links to traditional Mapuche culture, thus collaborating to some extent in the co-option Crow identifies (Park 1999; Carrasco Muñoz 2002; Geeregat and Fierro 2002; Guerra 2002; Rodríguez Monarca 2005; García Barrera 2008a; Carrasco Muñoz et al. 2011). However, the poetry of the more conflictive Mapuche poets in particular challenges this folklorising thrust. Whilst displaying links with traditional Mapuche culture, it often remains firmly rooted in the present and engages with aspects of modern Chilean society and culture. David Aníñir, in

³⁷ These principles include the prevention of indigenous rights that are an obstacle to ‘the integrity of the productive regime’ (that is, significant economic enterprises) and the restriction of indigenous organisations so they do not gain enough power to challenge the state’s authority and discourse (Hale 2004: 18-19).

particular, has spoken out against the manner in which the dominant cultural establishment has repeatedly attempted to categorise his poetry on the basis of narrow and externally-imposed definitions of Mapuche culture and identity:

Me dicen poeta mapuche y me carga por todo lo que conlleva: la discriminación positiva, el palmoteo en la espalda, y el ‘venga por aquí y pase por acá’. [...] Claramente, mi condición es mapuche y hablo de cosas que tienen que ver con lo mapuche, pero no quiero que mi poética sea clasificada sólo como mapuche. (Aniñir, as cited in López 2012)

Cuando hablan del poeta mapuche me siento medio incómodo, mi poesía es poesía en sí, a los académicos déjenle los apellidos, ‘el poeta tal’. [...] Mi poesía se defiende sola, para mí tiene que ver con esa cualidad, no porque sea mapuche voy a ser mejor o peor poeta. (Aniñir, as cited in Santillán 2014)

With regards to the role of Mapuche culture in Aniñir’s work, it is possible to identify two distinct critical tendencies. On the one hand, some scholars focus on the ways in which Aniñir’s poetry interacts with elements of Mapuche traditions as they are ‘incorporados, problematizados y cuestionados de forma implícita’ into a new urban Mapuche identity (Echeverría 2014: 71). This criticism predominantly examines how Aniñir adapts traditional rural Mapuche culture to the Mapurbe’s urban experience and brings it into contact with forms of modernity, either as a weapon against the social disenfranchisement of Mapurbe or combining it with forms of modern technology and urban culture (Barros Cruz n.d., 2009; Echeverría 2013). On the other hand, several scholars contend that there is an absence of Mapuche culture in his poetry. Lucía Guerra, for example, has stated that behind the ‘amasijo de culturas dispares’ in Aniñir’s work ‘en un susurro, apenas se oyen las voces de la cultura ancestral’, while Juan Guillermo Sánchez uses very rigid examples and a narrow definition of traditional Mapuche culture in order to assert that such elements are not found in Aniñir’s poetry and are, he claims, ‘escenarios presentes por [su] ausencia’ (Guerra 2013: 312; Sánchez 2013: 94). Both tendencies reinforce a hegemonic construction of contemporary urban Mapuche identity as something that depends exclusively on a relationship with Mapuche tradition. Admittedly, critics in the former category do pay attention to Aniñir’s handling of traditional Mapuche culture from an urban Mapurbe perspective, thus showing how Mapuche traditions have not remained static before the advance of modernity. Nevertheless, their approach seems to be based on the assumption that Mapurbe identity and worldview can only be understood on the basis of Aniñir’s adaptations of Mapuche tradition, and thus also ultimately relies on Aniñir’s relationship with it. This reductionist tendency to conceive of Aniñir’s poetry exclusively as a function of its relationship with Mapuche tradition may be part

of the reason behind a propensity to focus solely on his poetic collection *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz* and, in many cases, on a limited number of poems within it.³⁸

Aniñir's poetry in this chapter is approached as a projection of a Mapurbe identity that encompasses a wide array of issues and elements belonging to both Mapuche traditional culture and to twenty-first-century modern-day Chile, Latin America and other parts of the world. Aniñir's multifaceted Mapurbe worldview is analysed through the most comprehensive study to date of his cultural production and a fuller consideration of its broad range of themes, semantic fields, and literary strategies. Significantly, as will be demonstrated, his work alludes to and invokes the historical memory and trauma of both the Mapuche subjugation and repression, beginning in the 19th century, and the dictatorship's human rights abuses, just as these two periods are also drawn together in the broader interpretive framework of this thesis. The analysis then moves on to consider theoretical concepts that can help to understand the heterogeneous and hybrid nature of Aniñir's poetry through an analysis of some of his poem's most representative Mapurbe characters.

Mapuche Tradition and Rural Mapuche Poets

To say that Aniñir's Mapurbe worldview does not depend exclusively on its connections with Mapuche tradition does not amount to denying its significant role in his writing. In fact, critics who examine Aniñir's adaptations of Mapuche tradition to the urban environment have tended to overlook the significance of sections of his poetry that link in with an ancestral Mapuche tradition untouched by urban modernity. Likewise, Aniñir's work displays a considerable number of similarities with the poetry of more traditional Mapuche poets from rural areas. These features seem to reflect a desire to not exclude traditional rural Mapuche from the Mapurbe worldview.

The opening poem of *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*, 'Yeyipun', immediately foregrounds the connection of the Mapurbe identity and worldview to ancestral Mapuche culture (2009: 21-22). This poem is written almost entirely in Mapudungun and originates in a form of traditional Mapuche oral discourse – a relatively formulaic prayer used to open a traditional Mapuche ceremony, containing given phrases that can be adapted to suit specific needs or requests in different situations (Aniñir, as cited in Echeverría and Castelblanco 2012). By invoking

³⁸ Exceptions include studies by Andrea Echeverría, Andrea Salazar, Sandra Collins, and Joanna Crow. Echeverría and Salazar have also analysed poems from Aniñir's second book, *Haykuche*, while Echeverría, Collins and Crow have each studied one or two poems originally published online by Aniñir ('Perimontú', 'Autoretraxto' and 'I.N.E. (Indio No Estandarizado)') (Echeverría 2013: 152-157, 2014: 84-87; Salazar 2009; Collins 2014: 33; Crow 2015: 7-10).

ancestral spirits and asking for their protection, this prayer constitutes the beginning of a dialogue with traditional Mapuche culture. It can also be read as establishing a protective barrier over Mapurbe, both members of the urban Mapuche population and Aníñir's book of the same title (Echeverría 2013: 144; García Barrera 2008b: 49). Later in *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*, the poem 'Malén ko (doncella del agua)' alludes to another Mapuche ceremony, the *nguillatún*, by referring to 'esos seres muertos / invocados por la machi' (2009: 86). In this instance, the ritual is located in its traditional rural setting, and can therefore be read as a vindication of centuries-old Mapuche traditions. These allusions to both the *yeyipun* and *nguillatún* in Aníñir's poetic discourse highlight the survival of a culture that hegemonic powers would have preferred to extinguish but which continues to resist urbanisation, modernity and globalisation.

Traditional Mapuche beliefs regarding the role and importance of their ancestors' spirits are also evoked in 'El pewma del mundo trasero'. In this poem, the speaker harks back to a glorious Mapuche past, directly communicates with ancestors through *pewma* (dreams), and affirms their continuing presence:

Ser tú es la evolución misma
 [...]
 ser tú es estar en ti
 es quererme a mí mismo, pues tú estás en mí
 y es lo mismo. (2009: 42)

The poem's speaker goes on to emphasise the idyllic nature of Mapuche's ancestral past, in which they lived peacefully and in harmony with nature:

Somos de un mundo antiguo
 donde las revoluciones no eran necesarias
 tú te lavas el rostro en el río de la verdad
 y yo rodeaba a nuestros hermanos animales
 pues con ellos vivíamos. (2009: 42)

This idealistic vision ultimately highlights the speaker's reverence of ancestral Mapuche culture, which is viewed as a positive inheritance and a place of refuge that can be reached through dreams.

Traditional Mapuche culture is also integrated into Aníñir's poetic discourse through several other references to Mapuche beliefs. The title character of the poem 'Wanglen', for example, alludes to a young girl in traditional Mapuche beliefs known as Wanglen or 'star', who was placed in the sky by Wenumapu Chao, 'el Padre del Cielo', and went on to create the natural world (Aníñir 2009: 37-39; Cayuqueo 2008). Throughout this poem, the speaker talks

to Wanglen in the present tense, thus directly interacting with this traditional creation myth. In a similar fashion, the title of the poem ‘(ENTRE TREN-TREN Y KAY-KAY, CAÍ)’ refers to Tren-Tren and Kay-Kay, the serpents of good and evil, respectively (Aniñir 2008: 32-35). According to traditional Mapuche beliefs, Kay-Kay attempted to drown humanity by raising the level of the seas only to be thwarted by Tren-Tren, who raised the mountains and preserved human life (Chihuailaf 1999: 202). These references to traditional Mapuche beliefs, rituals and ancestors could be seen to reflect Aniñir’s conviction that ‘volver a retomar mi cultura es reivindicarla’, thus underscoring the importance of these traditions to the Mapurbe worldview (Aniñir, as cited in Vitale 2003).

The third and final section of *Haykuche*, ‘Kvla: Tukvlpán fachantv (Memorias del presente)’, takes on a pedagogic tone as the speaker explains important features of ancestral Mapuche culture, particularly regarding beliefs, rituals, and links to ancestors and nature (2008: 71-95). For example:

Los espíritus de nuestros antepasados
se comunican a través de los sueños

[...]

En el centro del universo
habitan todos los tiempos
la Machi guía y defiende nuestro Espíritu

Nuestra Machi se comunica
con los espíritus del cielo
en el Nguillatun pedimos
a las fuerzas de la naturaleza. (2008: 86, 90, 92)

The authorial intention behind this section of *Haykuche* is that of educating readers who are unfamiliar with Mapuche culture.³⁹ In this respect, it is similar to the work of other Mapuche poets such as Elicura Chihuailaf, Leonel Lienlaf, Jaime Luis Huenún, and Bernardo Colipán (Chihuailaf 1988, 1991, 1999; Lienlaf 1989, 2003; Huenún 1999; Colipán 2005).

Aniñir’s poetry and these poets’ interact with traditional Mapuche culture in other similar ways. Books by César Millahueique and Bernardo Colipán, for instance, both open with a form of traditional ritual discourse such as a prayer to a deity or an invocation of deities and references to the *nguillatún* ceremony, just as *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz* begins with ‘Yeyipun’

³⁹ In this regard, Aniñir has stated: ‘Existen elementos de la realidad del pueblo mapuche que los chilenos no saben que existen, como la cultura, la religión y las costumbres’ (cited in Vitale 2003). Chileans’ lack of education about Mapuche culture is also discussed by Ricardo Candia Cares (2012).

(Millahueique Bastias 2004: 11-12; Colipán 2005: 13, 15; Aníñir 2009: 21-22; García Barrera 2009: 39; Carrasco Muñoz et al. 2011: 29). Likewise, aspects of traditional Mapuche culture evoked in Aníñir's poetry, such as ancestors, dreams and beliefs, are key themes in his fellow Mapuche poets' work. Chihuailaf's 'El rocío de la mañana eleva mi soñar', for example, deals with dreams, their significance, and the connection with ancestors through them, while Lienlaf's 'Pasos sobre tu rostro' revolves around the memory and presence of ancestors within the speaker in the present day (Chihuailaf 1991: 61; Lienlaf 1989: 55). Lienlaf, like Aníñir, has also referred to the myth of Tren-Tren and Kay-Kay on several occasions, in poems such as 'Kai-Kai y Treng-Treng' and 'Baile sagrado' (1989: 105; 2003: 13).

Furthermore, Aníñir's poetry contains a number of textual links with other Mapuche poets. He alludes to the work of Chihuailaf and Lienlaf in several places. The poem 'Mapurbe', for example, directly quotes the line 'somos los hijos de los hijos de los hijos' from Chihuailaf's poem 'En el país de la memoria', reworking it into the Mapurbe worldview and experience: 'Somos los hijos de los hijos de los hijos / somos los nietos de lautaro tomando la micro / para servirle a los ricos' (Aníñir 2009: 76; Chihuailaf 1988: 74). Aníñir also evokes two other poems by Chihuailaf, 'Sueños' and 'Contrasueños', in the poem 'Proesía sin nombre', which opens with the phrase: 'Para escribir sueños, contrasueños, ensueños...' (Aníñir 2014: 38; Chihuailaf 1988: 63-73). Additionally, several terms that Chihuailaf has developed over the course of his literary career are found in Aníñir's poems. For instance, Chihuailaf has employed the notion of 'oralitura' and the position of the 'oralitor' to define his work, which is incorporated into the poem 'Corre el tiempo': 'Ni de perdones ni pecados / eran las metáforas que oralitó el poeta del antepasado' (Aníñir 2009: 57; Chihuailaf 1999: 62; González Cangas 1999: 71). Similarly, Chihuailaf has repeatedly referred to the motif of 'azul' throughout his poetry, given that it is the sacred colour for Mapuche, which is deeply tied to their beliefs and worldview. The phrase 'verbo azul' in 'Temporada Apológika' can be read as an allusion to this motif (Aníñir 2009: 26; González Cangas 1999: 75-76; Chihuailaf 1991, 2002, 2008).

Several of Aníñir's poems also interact with the work of Leonel Lienlaf on a thematic level. In 'Hacerla cortita', for example, the speaker notes that 'el silencio también es resistencia', since it comprises a rejection of the Spanish language imposed upon Mapuche (2009: 24). This evokes Lienlaf's poem 'Rebelión', which also refers to a rejection of (written) Spanish and exalts silence as a form of resistance: 'Mi mano se negó a escribir / aquello que no me pertenecía / Me dijo: / "debes ser el silencio que nace"' (1989: 79). Moreover, the image in 'Mapurbe' that 'debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre' is closely linked to a verse of

Lienlaf's 'Temuco – ciudad': 'Temuco – ciudad / debajo de ti / están durmiendo / mis antepasados' (Aniñir 2009: 75; Lienlaf 1989: 39).

Another link between Aniñir's work and these Mapuche poets' is found in their use of Mapudungun, the traditional language of Mapuche. A number of works by traditional Mapuche poets are written in the form of double register, with Mapudungun and Spanish versions of the same poem presented on facing pages (Chihuailaf 1988, 2002, 2008; Lienlaf 1989, 2003; Aillapán Cayuelo 1994). The Mapudungun text is typically on the left-hand page, reflecting the poems' original composition in this language, while the Spanish translation or interpretation is opposite. This can be read as a way of vindicating Mapudungun as a language and emphasising its rich literary legacy, including Mapuche oral art forms and culture (Rojas 2009: 39). While Aniñir sporadically uses words and phrases in Mapudungun throughout his poetry, the traditional Mapuche language is most consistently employed in his book *Haykuche*, which contains Spanish and Mapudungun versions of the same poems on opposite pages. Aniñir is not a native speaker of Mapudungun nor is he fluent in the language – the poems in this collection were translated for him into Mapudungun by other individuals (Muga 2005). This use of double register in *Haykuche* is consistent with the pedagogic nature of some of its sections, which Aniñir envisaged as serving to educate the reader about traditional Mapuche culture (Graneri n.d.).

Aniñir makes his connection with Mapudungun particularly evident during recitals of his poetry. The double register in *Haykuche* differs from that which traditional Mapuche poets employ, given that the Spanish text appears on the left-hand page and the translated Mapudungun is on the right. Yet in recitals of poems from *Haykuche*, Aniñir reads the Mapudungun version first ('David Aniñir 2da Parte...'; 'Canal-L: David Aniñir. "Haikuche"'; 'Aniñir: David Aniñir poeta...'). This performative technique forces the Spanish-speaking listener to sit through the Mapudungun version of the poem whilst waiting for the meaning to be made clear in the ensuing Spanish rendition.

The above discussion suggests the need to question the predominant focus on Aniñir's adaptations of traditional Mapuche culture to urban modernity. The fragments analysed in this section also indicate a simultaneous concern with establishing an allegiance with 'authentic' Mapuche traditions and with the cultural representatives of rural Mapuche sectors. This also brings into question the dismissal of Mapuche's ties to traditional culture by the autonomous Mapuche movement, evidenced by the view of Héctor Llaitul, leader of the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco, that 'en la ciudad [los mapuche urbanos] no tienen espacios sagrados' (cited in Vergara 2012). It is possible to view this dual approach to Mapuche tradition as reflective

of a Mapurbe worldview that refuses to exclude rural Mapuche and their ‘purer’ forms of Mapuche culture.

The Dual Mapuche Politics of Aníñir’s Poetry

Aníñir has referred to the political nature of his poetry on several occasions, and has described it as ‘una trinchera desde donde puedo tirar miles de piedras y no salir arrancando, quedarme ahí para defenderme y defender a mi pueblo’ (cited in López 2012). Not only does Aníñir view his work as a means to defend ‘his people’ (both Mapuche and Mapurbe) against the systems of oppression to which they have been subjected, but he also holds a conviction that art can be used as a vehicle to bring about social change in general (Santillán 2014).

The dual focus in Aníñir’s poetry on modern Mapurbe culture and rural Mapuche culture is mirrored by a persistent concern with the social and political predicaments of both rural and urban Mapuche. Aníñir considers the two subethnicities to be allies in a common political struggle and his poetry often seems to reflect a desire to reconcile the two in this resistance. This stance markedly contrasts with the political philosophy of representatives of the autonomous Mapuche movement, who openly disdain urban Mapuche and do not believe that they can make a valuable contribution to the Mapuche political struggle. To cite Héctor Llaitul once again: ‘el ámbito urbano no es la mejor escuela para construir la resistencia o el militante necesario para la lucha mapuche’ (cited in Vergara 2012). Llaitul goes on to argue that the proper way for urban Mapuche to join the struggle is to return to rural communities in the south (Vergara 2012).

Aníñir’s poetry may be seen to shift between two distinct categories of political discourse. The first privileges rural Mapuche socio-political themes, while the second focuses on political issues related to the predicament of urban Mapuche. This section will outline some of these shifts with reference to a number of key poems from the collections *Mapurbe*, *venganza a raíz*, *Haykuche* and *Guilitranalwe*.

Aníñir’s alignment with the political agenda of rural Mapuche has been somewhat overlooked by critics, yet it bookends his first collection of poetry. The traditional Mapuche prayer ‘Yeyipun’ opens *Mapurbe*, *venganza a raíz*, and contains only three words in Spanish, ‘presos políticos mapuche’, which stand out from the rest of the text in Mapudungun (2009: 21).⁴⁰ By referring to incarcerated Mapuche political activists, this prayer unequivocally sets

⁴⁰ Other analyses, perhaps relying on alternative versions of ‘Yeyipun’, note that the word ‘memoria’ forms part of the text (García Barrera 2008b: 49; Echeverría 2014: 79). In the 2009 edition of *Mapurbe*, *venganza a raíz*,

the collection in the contemporary context of repression faced by rural Mapuche in the south, while the use of Mapudungun highlights their resistance. This political stance is further emphasised on the last page of *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*, which contains a colophon referring to its date of publication: ‘octubre del 2009, época en que el pueblo mapuche continúa luchando por sus tierras, cuando la mal llamada “pacificación de la Araucanía” se repite porfiadamente hasta nuestros días’ (2009: 100). This reference to ‘la mal llamada “pacificación de la Araucanía”’ alludes to the ongoing use of this misnomer and to the bias against Mapuche in hegemonic historiography.⁴¹ This colophon also stresses the ongoing ethnocide to which Mapuche are subjected, and suggests that the historical trauma that the Mapuche suffered in the 19th century continues to this day.

Aniñir’s poetry also contains a critique of the negative social and cultural effects of the neoliberal economic model upon rural Mapuche. This can be seen in the poem ‘Malén ko (doncella del agua)’ in connection with droughts occurring as a result of the privatisation of the water supply. The poem alludes to the deep connection between Mapuche and nature, and to the importance of water in their cultural acts, which are now in jeopardy:

El recuerdo se seca
 el tiempo oxida la laguna mental
 sin embargo, el disco duro de tu memoria almacena
 el buen trato de esos seres muertos
 invocados por la machi cuando escasea el agua
 maloqueando ese corte en trámite que trae consigo
 la cuenta de la empresa sanitaria, Malén
 de el (sic) riego necesario para cosechar los frutos de tu tierra
 y lavar la enfermedad crónica que cargamos a cuestas. (2009: 86)

The references to ‘la machi’ and ‘esos seres muertos’ that the former invokes as a mediator and healer in rural Mapuche communities allude to a traditional ceremony like the *nguillatún*, in which communities ask for divine intervention and protection from natural phenomena for their health, crops and animals (Ray 2007: 151; Chihuailaf 1999: 77). The poem brings attention to the fact that today rural Mapuche are severely hampered by the privatisation of the water supply (‘ese corte en trámite que trae consigo / la cuenta de la empresa sanitaria’). In these circumstances, rural Mapuche lack water for even the most basic tasks, such as cultivating their crops and sanitation, and they resort to their ancestral culture as an antidote to these obstacles.

however, this is printed as ‘lémoria’ (Aniñir 2009: 21). For this reason, the above analysis refers to ‘presos políticos mapuche’ as the only words of the text in Spanish.

⁴¹ The one-sided nature of official history in Chile is highlighted in the poem ‘María Juana la Mapunky de La Pintana’, through the lines ‘las mentiras acuchillaron los papeles / y se infectaron las heridas de la historia’ (2009: 32).

The image of a struggle between Mapuche traditional beliefs and neoliberalism is therefore clearly present in this poem.

The Mapuche political struggle is once again invoked in ‘MEA CULPA (CONADI, con nadie?)’ from *Haykuche*. This poem juxtaposes the political situation in the south of Chile and business-sounding jargon with an ironic intention:

La Lucha Mapuche
es un proyecto
de fomento productivo:
la creación de la iniciativa
está en el despojo de las tierras
a las comunidades
los ejecutores son los comuneros
que se debaten en el conflicto
y los beneficiarios
son los Mapuche
que viven en la ciudad. (2008: 24)

The title of the poem includes a word play on CONADI (*Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena*), a state organism tasked with defending indigenous interests. The poem emphasises the pervasive nature of neoliberal thought in contemporary Chile, given that the Mapuche political movement is described in terms of a cost-benefit analysis or project report (‘un proyecto / de fomento productivo’, ‘la iniciativa’, ‘los ejecutores’). It also denounces the plundering of the lands of rural Mapuche communities, which has been carried out by the forestry industry in the south of Chile since Pinochet legislated to subsidise forestry companies and allow them to acquire Mapuche land (Ray 2007: 124). The poem suggests that a victory for rural Mapuche in this conflict – in the form of a partial or complete recovery of their ancestral territory – would also benefit urban Mapuche (‘los beneficiarios / son los Mapuche / que viven en la ciudad’). Thus, there is a noticeable link between the rural Mapuche struggle and their urban counterparts, but the poem places greater emphasis on a rural Mapuche political discourse.

Later in *Haykuche*, a verse in the section ‘Kvla: Tukvlpán fachantv (Memorias del presente)’ contains a denunciation of the economic and cultural pillaging which rural Mapuche have suffered. As can be seen, the poem’s persona speaks as a member of a general Mapuche collectivity:

Nos robaron la tierra
Nos engañaron
Aquí encontraron fuerzas que bailan
Me robaron la tierra. (2008: 72)

This verse supports a current rural Mapuche discourse that claims that ancestral Mapuche land was not transferred to non-Mapuche hands in a fair manner (Ray 2007: 101; Chihuailaf 1999: 125-127; Llaitul and Arrate 2012: 141). It is also notable that these lines include the only reference to a first-person singular pronoun in this section of *Haykuche*: ‘me robaron la tierra’. It could be argued that the change from the first-person plural pronoun to the singular reflects a shift from a collective rural political discourse to an individual one that could be viewed as symptomatic of a more individualised urban worldview.

Later in the same section of *Haykuche*, the speaker deplores the sustained attempts on the part of the dominant sectors to acculturate Mapuche:

Quieren acabar con lo nuestro
con nuestra tierra
con nuestro idioma
con nuestra cultura
pero seguimos siendo Gente de la Tierra. (2008: 88)

This verse creates an opposition between a Mapuche ‘us’ that could be seen to include rural and urban Mapuche and a non-Mapuche collectivity who seek to erase Mapuche land, language, and culture. The final line underlines Mapuche strength in the face of adversity, as they continue being true to themselves as ‘Gente de la Tierra’, the literal meaning of ‘Mapuche’ in Mapudungun. When considered together, these two emblematic verses of ‘Kvla: Tukvlpán fachantv (Memorias del presente)’ in *Haykuche* create a link between the traumatic memory of past and contemporary experiences of discrimination and violence, which can be read as pointing towards the intergenerational transmission of this historical trauma.⁴²

Another poem that vividly condemns the situation faced by many rural Mapuche in the south of Chile is ‘Lefiman’. The poem is based on the repetition of sentences beginning with ‘hubo...’ that often appear to allude to a more glorious past for a collective rural Mapuche subject, before the intervention of external forces. In one sentence, the speaker refers to the current militarisation of La Araucanía in the south of Chile, in which heavily armed specialist police forces operate around the little land Mapuche families own: ‘Hubo de esas donde la piel se mimetizaba con la noche y el futapewma, sin que ningún perro salga con su Fusil AK-47 y te ladre a media noche: “¡Carabineros de Chile, andando indio conchetumadre!”’ (Aniñir

⁴² Several of the other cultural forms analysed in this thesis also support or sympathise with elements of this rural Mapuche political discourse. Carmen Castillo’s documentary *Calle Santa Fe* (2007), for example, includes archive footage of a land occupation from the early 1970s in which Mapuche participated (see Chapter 3), while one of the rooms of Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume explicitly portrays the Mapuche as the original inhabitants of the local area (see Chapter 4).

2014: 33, italics in original).⁴³ This line draws attention to the ongoing human rights violations committed as part of the quasi-military occupation of Mapuche lands and the surrounding areas in the south of Chile, which is rarely reported in mainstream media in Chile.⁴⁴

In contrast to the focus on rural Mapuche politics in the above poems, other parts of Aníñir's poetic corpus demonstrate a marked focus on the social and political concerns of urban Mapuche. One of his most studied poems, 'María Juana la Mapunky de La Pintana', is paradigmatic in this respect (2009: 32-34). The poem describes María Juana, a young urban Mapuche woman from the impoverished neighbourhood of La Pintana, who is seemingly caught up in a range of illegal activities. At one point, the speaker denounces the historical events which led to Mapuche urban migration and the creation of an urban Mapuche subclass, and emphasises the distancing of Mapuche from their traditional lands: 'oscura negrura of Mapulandia street / sí, es triste no tener tierra' (2009: 33). The poem then presents a vision of the discrimination María Juana faces:

loca del barrio La Pintana
el imperio se apodera de tu cama

[...]

Lolindia, un xenofóbico Paco de la Santa Orden
engrilla tus pies para siempre
sin embargo,
tus pewmas conducen tus pasos disidentes. (2009: 33)

The first two lines allude to María Juana's possible involvement in activities like prostitution, given the reference to her bed and considering an earlier description of her hanging around 'la esquina fría y solitaria' (Aníñir 2009: 32; Crow 2008: 236). The line 'el imperio se apodera de tu cama' also conjures an image of the poverty of María Juana and others in the 'barrio mapuche' of La Pintana, given that they are forced to take on debt in order to buy basic goods that may be repossessed at any time. The poem also emphasises the constant repression María Juana faces from a prejudiced police force through the lines 'un xenofóbico Paco de la Santa

⁴³ The purported purpose of this police deployment is to maintain peace for all who live in the area, yet the militarised forces appear most concerned with protecting the interests of multinational forestry companies, and regularly conduct armed raids on Mapuche communities, including targeting women and children.

⁴⁴ A selection of media articles which deal with aspects of the Mapuche conflict ignored by mainstream media outlets include several from the left-wing publication *Punto Final*, such as Sepúlveda Ruiz (2011), Cabieses Donoso (2012), Paillán C. (2012), Montoya Montoya (2012), Faundes (2012), and Zamorano Silva (2013). Other media that detail aspects of the Mapuche conflict frequently overlooked by mainstream media include online news articles, such as Candia (2013) and Correa (2013), news reports and programmes by the state broadcaster Televisión Nacional ('Reportajes 24: Las dos caras...', 'El Informante: el origen...'), and the documentary *Newen mapuche* by Elena Varela (2011).

Orden / engrilla tus pies para siempre'.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, María Juana is able to find sanctuary – or even openly resist the discrimination of the dominant culture, as María José Barros Cruz posits – by tapping into her Mapuche heritage, an element of her 'mapunky' or Mapuche punk identity: her *pewmas* (dreams) provide an escape from this reality ('tus pewmas conducen tus pasos disidentes') (Barros Cruz 2009: 36-37).

Later, the speaker directly addresses María Juana and all Mapurbe, delivering a message of emancipation and freedom:

Mapurbe;
la libertad no vive en una estatua allá en Nueva York
la libertad vive en tu interior
circulando en chispa de sangre
y pisoteada por tus pies

Amuley wixage anay
Mapunky kumey kuri Malén
LA AZCURREÍA ES GRATIS. (2009: 34)

The significance of these lines as a bridge between the plights of rural and urban Mapuche is signalled by Sandra Collins. Collins argues that the whole verse expresses the idea that Mapurbe, despite their circumstances, should not envisage freedom as something foreign, but rather as part of their ethnic heritage. In her view, the poem infers that María Juana's 'bloodline is testament to her inherent autonomy', and utilises a vision that taps into 'the stereotype of the concept of the Mapuche as an allegory of freedom' (2014: 37). This reflects rural Mapuche political discourse insofar as it reinforces the concept of Mapuche autonomy that existed prior to their domination by the Chilean state and their loss of land; such autonomy and the recovery of ancestral territory form cornerstones of the rural Mapuche political agenda. Collins's analysis, however, somewhat reduces urban Mapuche experiences to a rural Mapuche worldview, and therefore overlooks the Mapurbe specificity of these lines, particularly the importance of the reference to an icon of globalisation, the Statue of Liberty. The message is specifically directed at Mapurbe, who are exposed to the global dominance of ideals originating in the United States and its concept of 'freedom'. While the United States, New York and the Statue of Liberty are distant, foreign realities for individuals like María Juana, they are praised in the Chilean media and upheld by the political establishment as paragons of development. Thus, the poem establishes an ironic contrast between an urban and globalising icon of freedom that relies on capitalistic ideals and the 'freedom' of Mapurbe, which, as María Juana's

⁴⁵ 'Paco' is slang for a policeman in Chilean Spanish.

circumstances illustrate, is not freedom at all. This image is countered by a message of Mapurbe resistance in the poem's final verse in which the speaker implores Mapurbe to wake up to this paradigm-altering perspective and change their marginalised situation, which translates as 'Levántate / Mapunky, estás bien / Darse cuenta es gratis' (Aniñir 2003: 13; 2009: 95).⁴⁶

The marginalisation of Mapurbe, including their origins and their social disenfranchisement, is also a central theme of the poem 'Mapurbe', and is exemplified in the following verses:

Nacimos en la mierdópolis por culpa del buitre cantor
nacimos en panaderías para que nos coma la maldición

Somos hijos de lavanderas, panaderos, feriantes y
ambulantes
somos de los que quedamos en pocas partes

El mercado de la mano de obra
obra nuestras vidas
y nos cobra

Madre, vieja mapuche, exiliada de la historia
hija de mi pueblo amable
desde el sur llegaste a parirnos
un circuito eléctrico rajó tu vientre
y así nacimos gritándole a los miserables
marri chi weu!!!
en lenguaje lactante

Padre, escondiendo tu pena de tierra tras el licor
caminaste las mañanas heladas enfriándote el sudor. (2009: 75-76)

These verses expose the historic abuse of Mapuche who were forced to migrate to cities because of the 'buitre cantor', those who took advantage of them either by taking their lands or convincing Mapuche that they would have better lives in the city. In the poem, the speaker's mother has migrated to the 'mierdópolis' of Santiago from the rural south. Her description as an 'exiliada de la historia' thus establishes her migration not solely as a form of exile but also as part of the marginalisation of Mapuche in hegemonic historiography.⁴⁷ The speaker's father suffers from alcoholism and depression caused by this forced migration, as is evident in the

⁴⁶ This translation is provided in a footnote by Víctor Cifuentes Palacios, who translated an earlier version of Aniñir's poem into Mapudungun for the bilingual collection *Epu mari ñilkatufe ta fachantü: 20 poetas mapuche contemporáneos* (Huenín ed. 2003).

⁴⁷ In this context, the poem establishes the Mapuche as the first exiles in the history of republican Chile, foreshadowing the mass political exile that was to take place as a consequence of the dictatorship's repression. This thus juxtaposes the fates of the victims of these two episodes of conflict and human rights abuses in Chilean history.

line ‘Padre, escondiendo tu pena de tierra tras el licor’. The poem then criticises the lower-class condition of urban Mapuche, who work as ‘lavanderas, panaderos, feriantes y ambulantes’. Their lives are ruled by the workforce market, which leads to a precarious existence that includes being exploited. The lines ‘somos de los que quedamos en pocas partes’ could suggest that the marginalisation to which urban Mapuche are subjected is threatening the survival of their ethnic identities. Nevertheless, the speaker highlights that Mapurbe are born with fighting spirit as they shout the Mapuche call for strength, ‘marrichiweu’.⁴⁸ Overall, this poem makes brief allusions to the rural origins of Mapurbe’s forebears, and the Mapudungun phrase ‘marrichiweu’ links in with Mapuche tradition and the rural Mapuche political struggle in which it is used today. Nonetheless, the predominant theme of the poem is the Mapurbe’s particular predicament in the city.

The poem ‘Wechekeche’, Mapudungun for ‘young people’, also points to the victimisation of young Mapurbe today (Aniñir 2009: 95). The narrative technique deployed here is that of directly addressing an individual reader through the use of the second-person singular pronoun ‘tú’:

presidio de venas aceradas
sin fianzas ni coimas
que te liberen
[...]
el espejo te destierra
[...]
temiendo de ti
guarecido en tu calidad ciudadana
[...]
siluetas soldadas al arco
apegadas fríamente al cuerpo en conflicto
tienden a desalojar tu hábitat. (2009: 62-64)

These descriptions may be read as references to young Mapurbe today. They allude to various forms of discrimination that they suffer at the hands of law enforcement agencies. Poverty impedes the poem’s addressee from posting bail to avoid spending time in jail (‘sin fianzas ni coimas / que te liberen’). The reflection in the mirror would underscore his Mapuche ethnicity, and it is also directly linked in the poem to his exiled condition (‘el espejo te destierra’).⁴⁹ This ‘exile’ can be read as indicative of young Mapurbe’s distancing from their ancestors’ lands, echoing the reference to exile in the poem ‘Mapurbe’ and, more broadly, the interrelated

⁴⁸ This phrase literally means ‘diez veces venceremos’ (Barroz Cruz n.d.).

⁴⁹ The individual being addressed is male, given that the masculine form of the adjective ‘guarecido’ is used to describe him.

experiences of historical repression suffered by Mapuche and victims of Pinochet's dictatorship. Moreover, this reference alludes to their banishment to socially deprived areas on the urban periphery. He is feared because of the establishment's official discourse that labels Mapuche troublemakers or terrorists ('temiendo de ti'). Indeed, the addressee's 'protection' as a citizen ('guarecido en tu calidad ciudadana') seems ironic considering that at the level of social reality Mapurbe are treated as second-class citizens. Finally, the way in which the addressee's habitat is cleared out ('siluetas soldadas [...] tienden a desalojar tu hábitat') could refer to police raids in poor Mapurbe neighbourhoods, although it could also evoke the militarised state of affairs in the south of Chile among Mapuche lands.

The Mapuche political awareness developed throughout Aníñir's poetry seeks to denounce the oppression of rural Mapuche and Mapurbe, albeit from a standpoint on the urban periphery. This dual discourse focuses on both the social predicament and political discourse of rural Mapuche and the particular circumstances of Mapurbe, yet avoids conflating the two by respecting their distinctiveness.

The Mapuche Cause as the Pinnacle of all Social and Political Struggles

As previously argued, Aníñir's poetry does not engage exclusively with what are generally perceived as Mapuche issues and themes but with a broad range of political, social and cultural factors. However, Aníñir's political commentary beyond a Mapuche and Mapurbe political agenda has received limited critical attention. This is not to say that scholars have completely ignored his poems' references to broader Chilean socio-political concerns. In fact, Paulina Alemparte Guerrero explicitly notes that the individual who is being addressed in 'Oda al Hambre' (sic) 'no es exclusivamente el mapuche ni el "mapurbe", sino todo individuo que experimenta la crisis de la desigualdad' (2013: 214). Rather, the tendency to underestimate the full extent of Aníñir's socio-political discourse is evident in the narrow focus on a small sample of his poems, particularly 'Salmo 1997' and 'Oda al Hambre', which present an unmistakable critique of the Church, capitalism, and poverty in general (Crow 2008: 233-234; Barros Cruz n.d., 2009: 35-36, 41; García Barrera 2008b: 50-51; Sepúlveda Eriz 2013: 235; Alemparte Guerrero 2013: 214).

It is tempting to induce that this restricted focus must be, in part, due to the narrow definition of Mapuche poetry with which many scholars work, and to the overarching tendency in criticism to focus on the relationship between Aníñir's work and Mapuche tradition. Sandra Collins's introduction to her analysis is particularly illustrative in this respect. In rather generalising terms, she refers to the 'anarchic rejection of existing political systems' by

Mapurbe and their fundamental critique of ‘religious, scholarly and [...] literary institutions’, yet emphasises that ‘blasphemy, rage and violence are used to reassert Indigenous spirit’ in Mapurbe cultural production (2014: 25).

Furthermore, such an approach ignores Aníñir’s own declarations regarding his political outlook. Aníñir has explained his belief that the Mapuche political movement forms part of a wider, global struggle against social injustice in the following terms: ‘la lucha es en todos lugares del mundo, en todos lugares de tierra, la lucha del pueblo mapuche es un ápice más de muchas otras luchas’ (cited in Santillán 2014). This conviction is portrayed throughout his poetic discourse, which demonstrates a complex historical and socio-political critique of both Chilean society and international situations.

On several occasions, Aníñir’s poetry directly and indirectly alludes to human rights abuses and the negative consequences of Pinochet’s dictatorship. An initial critique of the dictatorship is found in the poems ‘Corre el tiempo’ and ‘Malén ko (doncella del agua)’, which refer to ‘muertos reaparecidos’ and ‘muertos aparecidos’, respectively (2009: 57, 84). In their original contexts, these phrases may allude to dead Mapuche ancestors, but they also evoke the terms ‘desaparecidos’ or ‘detenidos desaparecidos’ that have become synonymous with the state-sponsored violence and human rights abuses of Pinochet’s dictatorship. The use of the term ‘(re)aparecidos’ can therefore be read as juxtaposing two of the most brutal armed conflicts in Chilean history, the domination of Mapuche and the coup d’état and the oppressive regimes that they heralded. Such a critique echoes the sentiments of Elicura Chihuailaf, who also equates these historic events in his book *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* by referring to them as ‘la “Pacificación” de los mapuche’ in 1883 and ‘la “Pacificación” de los chilenos’ in 1973 (1999: 71).

Other poems allude to the murders committed by the dictatorship’s forces, as in this excerpt from ‘Al chancho’:

Sí, es por eso que esta tierra es una larga y angosta faja de
poetas ooeehh! Tiki – tiki – ti
Ta – ta – ta – ta – tá sonaban las matracas ese 11 de
septiembre del `73 cuando tenía 2 años
Y asesinaron a una caleta de poetas. (2009: 90)

These lines directly refer to the violence of the coup d’état through the onomatopoeic imitation of the sound of machine gun fire (‘ta – ta – ta – ta – tá’) and reference to ‘las matracas’. The speaker also categorically states that the military murdered ‘heaps of poets’ (‘una caleta de poetas’), which evokes the thousands murdered by Pinochet’s forces and the death of Pablo

Neruda less than two weeks after the coup, which may have been caused by the military.⁵⁰ The juxtaposition of ‘tiki – tiki – ti’, the sound associated with the Chilean national dance the *cueca*, and the coup d’état is also significant. Firstly, it underscores the close proximity of two significant dates in contemporary Chilean society: the anniversary of the coup d’état on 11 September, and Chile’s *fiestas patrias* on 18 September, which celebrate the start of the independence movement and during which the *cueca* is performed. Moreover, the *cueca* is inextricably linked to the coup from a historical perspective: the leaders of the coup issued the ‘Acta de Constitución de la Junta de Gobierno’ on 11 September 1973, which justified the military uprising in the name of protecting traditional Chilean customs or *chilenidad*, of which the *cueca* is a prime example (González 2012: 531).

Another allusion to the state-sponsored murders that occurred during the dictatorship can be found in ‘EL POEMA DE LUCIANO’ in *Haykuche*, which refers to ‘un sueño con Luciano Carrasco’ (2008: 38). The individual being evoked would appear to be Luciano Carrasco Mora, the son of José Carrasco Tapia, a journalist and member of the Communist Party killed by the CNI in 1986.⁵¹ Luciano suffered from depression brought on by the lack of justice following his father’s murder, and he eventually committed suicide in November 2002. His death was seen by many as a desperate call for justice (Bianque 2006; Carmona 2002; Silva 2002). Through this reference to Luciano Carrasco, the poem’s speaker sympathises with those who suffered the dictatorship’s harshest repression and their families, who continue to deal with the legacy of these events. There is, therefore, an identification in several of Aníñir’s poems with the victims of state violence and human rights abuses that stemmed from the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ and the dictatorship, as his work forms a clear link between these two periods of conflict, their traumatic memory and their consequences.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the poem ‘Salmo 1997’ contains a critique of the religious and political establishment in Chile:

Padre nuestro que estas (sic) en el suelo
 putificado sea tu nombre
 vénganos de los que viven en los faldeos de la reina
 y en las condes
 hágase señor tu unánime voluntad
 así como lo hacen los fascistas en la tierra
 – nuestra tierra –
 Y la policía en la comisaría
 Danos hoy nuestro pan que nos quitan día a día
 perdona nuestras verdades

⁵⁰ For information on the investigation into Neruda’s death, see Amorós (2012).

⁵¹ José Carrasco Tapia’s detention and murder is detailed by Manuel Salazar (2012: 233-234).

así como nosotros condenamos
a quien no las entiende
no nos dejes caer en esta invasión
y líbranos del explotador

Maaaaaaaaaaaaammmeeeeéén

En el nombre del padre soltero
del hijo huérfano
and the saint spirit
(Q.E.P.D.). (2009: 47)

This poem equates the rich with evil as the speaker asks God for protection from ‘los que viven en los faldeos de la reina / y en las condes’, referring to two affluent suburbs on the east of Santiago, La Reina and Las Condes. Furthermore, those who occupy Mapuche lands – state actors, private landowners or transnational forestry companies – are described as ‘fascistas’ and are portrayed as, along with the police, doing as they please. The speaker also highlights the poverty and abject conditions in which the lower sectors of society are forced to live, due to the fact that their daily bread is taken away from them (‘nuestro pan que nos quitan día a día’). Thus, by appropriating and adapting the Lord’s Prayer to a version more applicable to the circumstances faced by the poor and marginalised in Chilean society the poem criticises the Church’s hegemony. It also suggests that the Church is out of touch with the poor and that it plays a significant role in the perpetuation of social injustice in Chile. Towards the end of the poem, the use of ‘Maaaaaaaaaaaaammmeeeeéén’ insults the Church and all the other groups to whom the prayer refers (the police, the wealthy, and the fascists). During recitals, Aníñir takes this antagonistic posture further by mocking the Catholic intonation of ‘Amén’ when he says ‘Maaaaaaaaaaaaammmeeeeéén’, as he simultaneously makes the sign of the cross in an exaggerated manner before finally resting his hand on his crotch (‘David Aníñir Descentralización Poética’). He also adapts this poem in some performances by stating ‘que en tu paz, no descansas’ instead of the textual ‘(Q.E.P.D.)’, followed by a phrase along the lines of ‘marrichiweu’ or ‘resiste conchetumadre’ (‘Canal-L: David Aníñir. “Mapurbe”’; ‘David Aníñir Descentralización Poética’; Aníñir and Huichaqueo n.d.). In these ways, a solemn Catholic prayer is converted into a forceful condemnation of the groups and institutions named in the text.

A poem in the collection *Haykuche* also appropriates a Catholic prayer to highlight the links between the Church and the neoliberal state:

Yo te obligo
en el nombre de la Producción

del Hijo Comercio
y del Espíritu Exacto
¡¡¡ A que trabajos !!!

¡¡¡Améeeen!!!
...y que no se diga ni una wev́a más... (2008: 18)

Here the traditional Holy Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (*Padre, Hijo, and Espíritu Santo* in Spanish) is replaced with the vocabulary of economics ('Producción', 'Hijo Comercio', 'Espíritu Exacto'), thereby implying that the dominant deity in neoliberal capitalist societies such as Chile is the economy. In a similar vein, the poem 'Pewkayeal podrido dinero', which takes the form of a poetic suicide letter, refers to the omnipresent deity of money, 'Gran Hermano Dinero':

No quiero seguir en esto
te dejo Gran Hermano Dinero
salgo de tu santuario

[...]

No quiero seguir en esto
Te dejo Gran Hermano Dinero
creador del Sueldo y de la Guerra. (2009: 44-45)

Clearly, the world the speaker wants to leave revolves around money, which is later described as 'podrido hermano dinero / aceite del engranaje humano' (2009: 46). Such lines also reinforce the image of the economy as a deity, given that the world is described as its 'santuario' and it is presented as a 'creador'.

A poetic critique of the political establishment continues in 'Acullá nieva pus', which adopts the non-conformist imagery and messages of the 1990s song 'El Cóndor' by the Chilean punk-rock band Fiskales Ad-Hok (2009: 35-36). In its original context, 'El Cóndor' was a powerful and violent rant against the conservative political and religious establishment, Pinochet's dictatorship and the transition (Fiskales Ad-Hok 1993). In the song, the condor, a national symbol of Chile, defecates on emblems of political hegemony like Congress and La Moneda palace. The poem 'Acullá nieva pus', for its part, modifies this image to depict 'el cóndor con diarrea / en el asta de las banderas estatales' (2009: 36). This desecration of the Chilean flag, which flies at landmarks of political power in Chile, therefore openly challenges the authority of not only the political establishment but also the Chilean state and its organisms.

The capital city and the political and economic power it represents are the target of 'Santiago en 100 palabras'. The poem constitutes an ironic take on a short story competition

of the same name held annually by Metro de Santiago, the capital's underground rail network. This mock entry comprises 20 identical lines with five variations of the same expletive: 'Conchadesumadre conchesumadre chuchetumare rechuchatemadre shetumare' (2009: 92). These profanities, Aníñir has explained, are not directed at *santiaguinos* (residents of Santiago), but rather at the state apparatus based in the capital that has historically oppressed Mapuche and the popular sectors of Chile in general (cited in Gallo 2011). In this case, Santiago represents the centralisation of political and economic power that is distanced from the realities of Chile's regions. Indeed, the original organisers of 'Santiago en 100 palabras', the metro, and the public transport system in Santiago in general exemplify such centralisation: they have been modernised so as to compete with those of European cities, while urban centres in other regions have to make do with relatively antiquated systems and machines.

Aníñir's poetry also tackles the governing political system in Chile, and critically refers to several neoliberal reforms such as the privatisation of healthcare and municipal boundary changes, which were originally implemented by Pinochet and have since been continued. Aníñir's poetic discourse consistently evokes the poverty and socioeconomic segregation such measures have caused, and criticises the resulting inequalities in society. In this sense, it constitutes a creative response to Pinochet's dictatorship and its consequences in much the same way as the other cultural forms analysed in this thesis do. The poem 'Urgencia', for instance, focuses on the two-tier health system in Chile:

Kariño:
sacarte
esa muela
cariada
te costará
un ojo
de la cara. (2008: 68)

Because the public health system is not fully funded by the state, the poem's speaker criticises the cost of healthcare for the poor, in this case dentistry. Indeed, the fact that the high cost of healthcare impedes the poor from receiving quality treatment has been exposed in the media in recent times in Chile ('Dentistas: "Roxana Miranda tiene razón...'). In a similar vein, the poem 'Arte peótika' parodies the neoliberal logic of *bonos* (vouchers) used to placate the poor or vulnerable, as opposed to concrete reforms and restructuring: the lines 'Poesía sin IVA incluido / vía bono previsional' highlight and undermine the pervasiveness of neoliberal rhetoric in Chile (2009: 74).

Social segregation and the unequal distribution of wealth in Chile is represented in Aníñir's poetry through references to the Mapocho River, which runs westwards through Santiago from its source in the Andes. The Mapocho passes first through the city's wealthy eastern suburbs, then the city centre and less affluent areas as it heads through and out of the capital, before flowing into the Maipo River on Santiago's western periphery. In 'Al chancho', for example, the speaker refers to 'poesía paltona y conceptual enclavada en la falda de los cerros y el cielo / donde la cruza el Mapocho cristalino sin los mojones y guarenes cerca del Arrayán' (2009: 91). Here 'paltona' operates as a synonym for the Chilean word *cuico*, and is, according to the glossary of *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*, an 'adjetivo descalificativo dado a las viejas pudientes, rikachonas' (2009: 95). Thus, the poem criticises the disparity among the living conditions of the wealthy and the poor: the former inhabit suburbs close to the Andes like Las Condes ('en la falda de los cerros y el cielo'), where the Mapocho runs clear and pristine ('el Mapocho cristalino'), whereas poorer areas downstream are associated with dirt and pollution such as 'mojones y guarenes'. Similarly, 'Poesía a lo que escribo' refers to 'el río mapocho hacia abajo', further downstream the Mapocho in lower socioeconomic areas, where there are 'mojones cristalinos que navegan hacia el mar' (2009: 27). Here it is no longer the Mapocho that is clean and crystal-clear, but, conversely and ironically, the rubbish and human waste. The roots of such social segregation are found in the modification of municipal boundaries in Santiago under Pinochet, which involved the forced relocation of poor families from certain areas. This policy was coupled with the transfer of control over public services such as healthcare and education to municipalities, which reinforced the gap in wealth between the haves and the have-nots that continues to prevail today (Oppenheim 2007: 138-140).

A social critique of poverty continues in 'Poetry pewman'. This poem's speaker lives in a state of poverty which has invaded every aspect of existence:

Me preocupa en ocasiones
sacudiéndome en la almohada
De estar llegando a un estado de inercia total
en el vértice de un péndulo
donde la inopia y el éxito social
roen la existencia
como al Ricardo Melinao
que niveló pa' abajo
que de la nada evolucionó a menos
o sea a 'no ser'. (2009: 65)

These lines reflect the very nature of poverty and the class structure in Chile ('la inopia y el éxito social'), in which being poor is equated with not existing or leading to death ('de la nada

evolució a menos / o sea a “no ser”). Later in this poem, this situation of poverty is further emphasised through the speaker’s poor living conditions, as at ‘casi las 11:00 am / el frío helaba intenso’ (2009: 68). The speaker also expresses solidarity with the lower working classes and the disenfranchised:

[...] el despertador me mece
y no exalta a las 6:00 am. (antes de morir)
entiendo al peón, al jornal, al gañán y al indigente
incrédulos ante la brutal sentencia de:
a quien madruga Dios le ayuda
era obvio que Dios no les escuchaba
porque *Dios sólo entiende inglés*. (2009: 66-67)

The speaker also points to the demanding circumstances that the poor face in earning a living, as they work long hours for little economic reward. Furthermore, the popular refrain ‘a quien madruga Dios le ayuda’ does not seem to apply to them. Indeed, this poem suggests that the only Chileans who receive God’s benevolence are those who have received a private education and can talk to God in English.

This social critique extends to the way the poor are particularly affected by environmental and public works issues. ‘Poetry pewman’ later refers to ‘la polución ambiental’ and ‘el smog’ in Santiago, which often blankets the city for months during the year (2009: 68). It is worth noting that in Santiago the wealthy have more resources to counter the negative effects of the pollution (such as respiratory illnesses) through the aforementioned two-tier health system. The poem ‘Corre el tiempo’ could also be seen to allude to the poor state of water drainage systems in poorer neighbourhoods, which regularly flood when it rains heavily: ‘Corre el tiempo / como el agua del temporal por nuestros pies’ (2009: 58).

A further affliction that blights the lives of the poor is hunger, a topic with which ‘Oda al Hambre’ (sic) engages:

Siempre y cuando tengas hambre
abre el apetito de tus instintos
busca en medio de la basura o pide fiado
siempre hay algo esperando. (2009: 77)

This poetic message is emphasised in a particularly powerful video in which Aníñir rummages through rubbish and eats the remains of a packet of food he finds before reciting ‘Oda al Hambre’ (Aníñir and Huichaqueo n.d.). In the written version of the poem, the speaker also tells an individual:

no pretendas comer del plato ajeno
mantén apagada la tele

Evita memorizar imágenes gastronómicas
desecha toda posibilidad de degustar
las delicias que para ti no alcanzan. (2009: 78)

María José Barros Cruz has interpreted these lines as an implicit criticism of the ‘desigualdad social profunda’ displayed in television programmes, which frequently focus solely on the lives of the affluent (2009: 41).⁵² These ‘imágenes gastronómicas’ also allude to the constant presence of advertising on television and elsewhere in a society permeated by consumerism, which teases the poor with images of objects they may need but cannot afford unless they use loans or credit cards (‘delicias que para ti no alcanzan’). The poet ironically plays with this combination of advertising and poverty and hunger in the same video of ‘Oda al Hambre’, as he recites the poem in a confectionary store, surrounded by chocolates, sweets and advertising, including that of the brand Ambrosoli with its slogan ‘...la vida es dulce’ (Aniñir and Huichaqueo n.d.).

The criticism of poverty in Aniñir’s poetry and its solidarity with the impoverished working class is also channelled through the motif of ‘sobremorir’ – ‘sur-die-ving’ or the concept of a ‘living death’ – which is an understudied feature of his poetry in criticism to date.⁵³

The speaker of the poem ‘Poetry pewman’ repeatedly sleeps until late, dreaming in order to escape the harsh social reality:

Duermo hasta que se me cansan los sueños
ahora debo levantarme a descansar
y enfrentar de nuevo el día como la muerte manda
sobremorir. (2009: 67)

This verse inverts ‘reality’ in the sense that the speaker gets up to rest, and death is in control of life. This waking existence, a ‘living death’, is almost worthless. Far from an enjoyable life, it is a daily sacrifice, repeating the same actions over and over to barely survive. This inversion of reality is also presented in Aniñir’s biography on the inside cover of *Haykuche*: ‘David Aniñir Guiltraro. [...] Sobre-muere el día a día y sobre-vive durante las noches sumergido al pewma. Esto ya hace 37 añejos’ (2008). Once again, daily life is equated with ‘sur-die-ving’,

⁵² The focus of television programming in Chile on the wealthiest sectors of society and the negative consequences of this are discussed by Ricardo Pinto Neira (2011).

⁵³ María José Barros Cruz has examined the thematic axis of drugs as a metaphor for the ‘morir cotidiano’ of the marginalised experience of the speaker of ‘+ Poesía - Policía’, while Lucía Guerra considers that the same poem portrays a subject in an alienating situation who lives ‘una muerte en vida’ (Barros Cruz 2009: 36; Guerra 2013: 310). Analogously, Andrea Echeverría refers to an agonic subject in a limit situation caught between life and death in ‘+ Poesía - Policía’, and supplements this analysis with reference to ‘Poetry pewman’ in her 2013 doctoral thesis (2014: 74; 2013: 127-129).

while the poet is described as finding true freedom while he sleeps, much like in the verse quoted above from ‘Poetry pewman’.

In an interview in which Aniñir discusses the amount of time dedicated to earning money versus that which he can dedicate to artistic creation, he stated: ‘...el otro mundo [el del trabajo, de ganarse la vida] es el que te domina, ¿no? A eso yo le llamo *sobremorir*: lo que te queda de tiempo lo vives, pero ¿cuándo?, ¿un día feriado?, ¿un fin de semana largo? [...] En realidad, tenemos una vida de mierda’ (cited in López 2012). In the first instance, this can be read as evidence of Aniñir’s opposition to the neoliberal capitalist model, since he rejects the centrality of money in people’s lives. It also demonstrates how his concept of ‘sobremorir’ is closely linked to the existence of those who are, in effect, slaves to the capitalist system, trapped in a cycle of never-ending work.

The motif of ‘sobremorir’ is also a key theme in a number of Aniñir’s poems. In ‘+ Poesía – Policía’, for example, this ‘living death’ is described in terms highly relevant to the urban poor:

Desde tantos momentos que mi muerte está pendiente
que ya no concilio vida ni muerte
muero en el asiento trasero de una micro llena
muero al contar mis dientes los pocos que me quedan
muero las ocho horas regaladas por día
y si a esto le sumamos el resto del año
muero los veinte y tantos años que llevo con esta fantasía. (2009: 54)

This verse portrays different aspects of the marginalised life of the poor, who bear the brunt of the inequalities in society and are on the brink of a physical and spiritual death: their daily commute is on overcrowded public transport (‘una micro llena’); they receive poor oral healthcare (‘mis dientes los pocos que me quedan’); and they earn a completely inadequate minimum wage, since the eight hours or more worked each day are simply ‘regaladas’. The final line emphasises that this ‘living death’ seems to have pervaded all aspects of life and contaminated all of existence, given that it has been ongoing for over 20 years.

This same poem contains the line ‘mejor un pewma a esta ciudad’, which can be read as reiterating the belief in dreams as a way of escaping the condition of ‘sobremorir’, a sentiment that is also expressed in the author biography in *Haykuche* (‘sobre-vive durante las noches sumergido al pewma’) (2009: 56; 2008). Similarly, in ‘Poetry pewman’ the speaker sleeps and dreams in a fruitless attempt to escape the reality of ‘sobremorir’, as what was once a bed becomes a coffin or a deathbed. This is reflected in the lines ‘por ahora me revuelco en mi ataúd’ and ‘decidí permanecer en el lecho’ (2009: 67-68). The notion of working-class life

as a living death is also present in this poem in the earlier-cited lines ‘el despertador me mece / y no exalta a las 6:00 am. (antes de morir) / entiendo al peón, al jornal, al gañán y al indigente’ (2009: 66). Furthermore, the speaker proceeds to refer to this ‘living death’ with the terminology of consumerism: ‘Antes que la vida me mate / a cómodas cuotas / sin rebajas ni re-altas / hasta agotar el stock de las situaciones’ (2009: 68). This is followed by a message of pessimism:

Las generaciones seguirán su curso
ordinario
ordinal
y yo me quedaré
aquí
pegado
en mi último sueño. (2009: 69)

In these deplorable circumstances, the speaker doubts whether the destiny of the urban poor will ever change – their descendants will simply be ordinary or common (‘ordinario’) and merely a statistic (‘ordinal’). To escape this reality and break out of the system imposed upon the poor, the speaker chooses the freedom of dreams (‘me quedaré / aquí / pegado / en mi último sueño’), although this will ultimately lead to a death caused by poverty.

Additionally, the poem ‘Mapurbe’ reflects the belief that that Mapurbe can be considered an ethnic subgroup of the urban poor, as illustrated in the following verses:

El mercado de la mano de obra
obra nuestras vidas
y nos cobra

[...]

somos los nietos de lautaro tomando la micro
para servirle a los ricos

[...]

La lágrima negra del Mapocho
nos acompañó por siempre
en este santiagóniko wekufe maloliente. (2009: 75-76)

The first verse highlights how the workforce market governs the lives of the poem’s collective speaker. The second verse reflects the fact that lower-class individuals undertake a daily commute in public transport not to work for the rich but to serve them (‘tomando la micro / para servirle (sic) a los ricos’), thus emphasising the miserly pay they receive for their efforts. The speaker finally refers to the Mapocho, which eternally accompanies the collective Mapurbe subject. This image relies on an understanding of the east-to-west trajectory of the Mapocho

River discussed previously, and alludes to the daily journey of the members of the working class from the western side of Santiago to the wealthier eastern suburbs in order to ‘servirle a los ricos’ (Barros Cruz n.d.; Echeverría 2013: 131).

Aniñir’s poetry also demonstrates a further outward movement from a focus on political, social and economic issues in Chile towards a criticism of capitalism and colonialism as global systems. This international perspective is typical of an urban worldview in a modern, globalised society, and reflects the poet’s solidarity with broader struggles against social injustice (Santillán 2014). This perspective is not completely absent from Aniñir’s earlier work, but it is markedly prominent in some of his more recent poems.

A preoccupation with injustice on a global scale is first expressed in *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*. The poem ‘Oda al Hambre’ alludes to the situation of hunger the urban poor experience in different locations around the world, in ‘la pobla’, ‘sowetos’, ‘las favelas’, ‘los suburbios’ and ‘los campamentos’ (2009: 77). ‘Soweto’ is defined in the glossary to *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz* as ‘Sudáfrica. Asentamientos marginales habitados por la población negra, acosados por la violencia represiva (de la colonia inglesa)’, while ‘favelas’ are ‘do Brasil. Poblaciones periféricas donde se repite la misma weá (como en otros lugares del mundo)’ (2009: 96). Thus, the glossary entry for ‘sowetos’ situates marginalisation in the context of colonialism in South Africa. Moreover, the definition of ‘favelas’ explicitly states that this poverty and hunger is not limited to Chile, South Africa or Brazil, but occurs the world over, as is emphasised in the following lines in the poem:

siente profundamente lo que vanamente
es el pan de cada día
de muchos como tú
y otros no tan parecidos a ti. (2009: 78)

While Paulina Alemparte Guerrero views this critique of poverty and marginalisation as a ‘gesto continental’ as the subject ‘canta ahora la miseria de un Continente (sic)’, the poem does not restrict this issue to the Latin American context (Alemparte Guerrero 2013: 214). ‘Oda al Hambre’ clearly alludes to poverty on a global scale on several occasions and can therefore be read as drawing a link between the downtrodden in every society in the world.

Aniñir’s more recent poetry explores the historical roots of the exploitation of capitalism in the broader Latin American context. A paradigmatic poem in this regard is ‘Haykuche’ (not to be confused with the book of the same title), which explicitly denounces the conquest of America and the ruling of Latin America by elites for over 500 years:

Este Abya Yala con 521 años

de resistencia latente
en medio de tanta reivindicación
y sangre corriendo bajo sus napas

Colón maneja sus carabelas
desde una transnacional
sus empresas son los gobiernos
y sus lacayos el aparataje militar

Haykuche se sostiene desde ese espacio
como un gutural y conciso alegato poético,
desde el microuniverso que apela
seguir viviendo, desde ese entrañable
espacio diminuto del Haykuche,
para erguirse más allá de las
fronteras impuestas por los estados

Entonces la palabra se hace
aullido polifónico
tan solo por la soberbia
de seguir vivo. (Aniñir 2013)

The continental focus of this poem is foregrounded from the outset, through a reference to indigenous resistance in the American continent for 521 years ('521 años / de resistencia latente'), that is, the time between Columbus's arrival in 1492 and the poem's composition in 2013. The use of the term 'Abya Yala' is also significant. It originates among the Tule-Kuna indigenous peoples of Panama and western Colombia. It means 'tierra en plena madurez' or 'tierra de sangre vital', and refers to the American continent as a whole (López-Hernández 2004: 4). This would suggest that the speaker views his Mapurbe discourse and Mapuche heritage as part of a wider phenomenon of solidarity among the indigenous peoples of America.

This poem then alludes to over 500 years of history, politics and economics in Latin America, as Columbus's ships are equated with transnational corporations from Europe and North America that continue the economic pillage of Latin America today ('Colón maneja sus carabelas / desde una transnacional').⁵⁴ The speaker goes on to condemn the fact that Latin American governments merely govern for powerful international economic businesses and the wealthy ('sus empresas son los gobiernos'). Furthermore, the reference to transnational

⁵⁴ The plundering of America's wealth is also evoked in the poem 'Corre el tiempo' in *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz*. In one verse, the speaker alludes to elements of the Mapuche past before stating that 'los canallas *se iban por dentro* con el tesoro' (2009: 57, italics in original). This verse explicitly portrays Mapuche as victims of the theft of their treasures by Spanish or Chilean 'canallas', and thus constitutes a critique of colonialism from a Mapuche perspective, as Alemparte Guerrero has noted (2013: 214-215). In this sense, this section of 'Corre el tiempo' echoes on a local level the broader continental denunciation of colonialism in 'Haykuche'. For more on the pillage of Latin America's riches, see Eduardo Galeano's seminal *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (2009).

companies' use of the military to defend their interests ('sus lacayos el aparataje militar') recalls the many dictatorships in Latin America in the 20th century, and particularly the coup d'état against Allende in Chile.

The penultimate verse changes focus to the speaker's poetic project and to how it aligns with the outlined socio-political and historical context. The speaker looks for 'Haykuche' to 'erguirse más allá de las / fronteras impuestas por los estados', suggesting here that the imposition of borders across the Latin American region is a fallacy. Combined with the earlier mention of 'Abya Yala', the text alludes to a time when such geopolitical divisions did not exist, thus approximating the idea both in the past and today of a united Latin America.

Another recent poem, 'Tiempo y espacio', also alludes to the history of Latin America and contains an implicit denunciation of history and politics in the region. This poem details a journey through time and space in which the poem's speaker met a Mapuche woman, but is unable to recall exactly when:

Tuve el privilegio de verla en otro tiempo
Que no recuerdo muy bien
—Como se sabe, a veces la memoria falla—
No sé si fue un otoño de 1881
o un invierno de 1492 A.C.
(Antes del Capitalismo). (Aniñir 2014: 45)

The first possibility is that the speaker met this woman in 1881, that is, during the 'Pacificación de la Araucanía'. This year is all the more significant since the 'futa malón' or 'great uprising' of Mapuche took place in November 1881. It was ultimately a 'courageous but futile' uprising against the Chilean army, in which the Mapuche's defeat effectively signalled the army's inevitable victory (Ray 2007: 77-78; Graneri n.d.). 'Un otoño de 1881' thus explicitly refers to a period preceding the 'futa malón', and can be read as an allusion to a final era of Mapuche autonomy.

The second alternative date in the poem, 1492, evokes the arrival of the Spanish to the American continent that year, an event to which 'Haykuche' also alluded. The speaker, however, specifies that this meeting with the Mapuche woman would have occurred in 'un invierno de 1492'. Given that Mapuche inhabited areas in the south of modern-day Chile and Argentina, this meeting would have taken place in the southern hemisphere and during the winter months between June and August. Thus, this reference to 'un invierno de 1492' predates Columbus's arrival to America in October 1492 by a number of months, thereby evoking a time before Europeans arrived on the American continent. Both suggested eras represent periods of indigenous autonomy in Latin America, and the juxtaposition of these two dates can

be understood as framing Mapuche history within a broader continental context of indigenous history. The poem then links the arrival of the Spanish in 1492 with the imposition of capitalism in America through the abbreviation ‘A.C. / (Antes del Capitalismo)’. This once again reiterates a critique of the domination of foreign economic interests in Latin America, an inherent aspect of neoliberal capitalism.

It can therefore be concluded that a fundamental aspect of Aníñir’s Mapurbe worldview is a discourse that fervently critiques modern political processes and a range of social and cultural issues in Chile today and further afield. It includes a denunciation of Pinochet’s dictatorship, the religious and political establishment, the neoliberal economic model, poverty, and colonialism.

Dialogues with Popular and Erudite Forms of the Dominant Culture

Aníñir’s poetry also engages with erudite and popular cultural forms that are part of the dominant Western-derived culture of Chile. For instance, there are clear thematic and stylistic links with the work of poets who are a part of Chile’s dominant literary canon, such as Pablo Neruda, Nicanor Parra and Vicente Huidobro, as several scholars have noted (Barros Cruz n.d., 2009: 38, 41; Crow 2008: 233-234; García Barrera 2008b: 51; Alemparte Guerrero 2013: 212; Sánchez 2013: 97). Some critics have also alluded to the use of punk culture in Aníñir’s poem ‘María Juana la Mapunky de La Pintana’ (Barros Cruz n.d., 2009: 36-37; Echeverría 2013: 126; Maldonado Rivera 2011: 89). Rodrigo Rojas in particular has described the poet’s appropriation of ‘[el] lenguaje y la simbología punk’ as a strategy of resistance against the dominant cultural establishment (2009: 144-145).

As mentioned, one of Chile’s canonical poets with whom Aníñir’s poetry engages on a number of levels is Pablo Neruda. The commonalities between *Mapurbe*, *venganza a raíz* and Neruda’s *Canto General* have been signalled by María José Barros Cruz, who notes the way both evoke the agonising plight of the impoverished in poems such as Aníñir’s ‘+ Poesía – Policía’ and ‘Mapurbe’ and Neruda’s ‘Alturas de Macchu Picchu’ (Barros Cruz 2009: 41). Another connection can be found in the poem ‘Temporada Apológika’, which alludes to Neruda’s ‘Poema 20: Puedo Escribir’. Aníñir’s poem includes a commentary on the process of writing poetry and a reconfigured version of Neruda’s well-known opening line, initially replacing ‘versos’ with ‘verbos’ and then altering the line further: ‘es escribir los verbos más tristes esta noche / [...] / es escribir los verbos más tristes “tonight”’ (Neruda 1969: 50; Aníñir 2009: 26). Similarly, ‘Oda al Hambre’ can be read as an ironic take on Neruda’s odes, many of which exalt food or drink like artichokes, *caldillo de congrio*, onion, bread, tomato, and

wine (Aniñir 2009: 77-79; Neruda 1990). ‘Oda al Hambre’ foregrounds the hunger and suffering of many of the urban poor, thus subtly critiquing Neruda’s middle-class background. This particular allusion to Neruda could also be seen as an attempt to challenge the literary establishment’s somewhat elitist position and its imperviousness to the reality of many Chileans.⁵⁵

Connections to the work of Vicente Huidobro in Aniñir’s poetry are most evident in the poem ‘Arte Peótika’, which is a reworking of Huidobro’s ‘Arte Poética’ (Aniñir 2009: 72-74). ‘Arte Poética’ reflects an elitist conception of poetry and emphasises authorial creativity and inventiveness. This can be appreciated in the following extracts from the poem:

Que el verso sea como una llave
Que abra mil puertas.
Una hoja cae; algo pasa volando;
Cuanto miren los ojos creado sea,
Y el alma del oyente quede temblando

Inventa mundos nuevos y cuida tu palabra;
El adjetivo, cuando no da vida, mata.

[...]

Por qué cantáis la rosa, ¡oh Poetas!
Hacedla florecer en el poema.

Sólo para nosotros
Viven todas las cosas bajo el Sol.

El poeta es un pequeño Dios. (Huidobro 1981: 2)

Huidobro was born into one of Chile’s wealthiest families and, as David M. Guss notes, his ‘education and class background led him to a belief in the supremacy of French culture’ (1981:

⁵⁵ This critique of the Chilean literary establishment is reiterated in several other poems. ‘Al chanco’, for example, describes a poet from a socio-economically deprived neighbourhood: ‘el poeta pica’o a choro / poeta sazonado de envidia en los círculos literaRtos (sic)’ (2009: 90). The glossary to *Mapurbe, venganza a raíz* defines ‘literaRtos’ as ‘los mismos weones de siempre que circulan los espacios cuadrados de la alta literatura, cerca del Olimpo’ (Aniñir 2009: 94). These lines portray the literary establishment as elitist and exclusive, since it only engages with ‘alta literatura’, and is seemingly dismissive and envious of the popular poet who writes from a position markedly outside of official cultural circles. Similarly, the addressee of the poem ‘Autoretrato’, ‘David’, is also a working-class, Mapuche poet who is marginalised by the literary establishment: ‘Los poetas desconfían de ti / Te ven muy flayte / En la Sociedad de Escritores de Chismes’ (2014: 20). These lines mock the Sociedad de Escritores de Chile by referring to it as the ‘Sociedad de Escritores de Chismes’, and accuses its members of discriminating against this poet because of his working-class background, as they consider him ‘flayte’. Moreover, the speaker ridicules the criticism that this Mapuche poet receives from official literary circles, who devalue his work or ‘poewmas’ (a combination of ‘poemas’ and ‘pewmas’ or dreams) and consider that it plagiarises the Mapuche imaginary and worldview: ‘Déjate de poesías, plagiador / Todos saben que tus poewmas / Son del imaginario mapuche / Que se te devienen en sueños / Por lo menos explica al lector, al pie de página / Que violaste los derechos de autor de tus antepasados’ (Aniñir 2014: 20-21).

xiii). Huidobro relocated to Europe on more than one occasion and he wrote some of his poetry in French until he was eventually accepted ‘by the European avant-garde’ at the time (Guss 1981: xii-xv). Aníñir’s ‘Arte Peótika’ parodies Huidobro’s upper-class background and elitism by vulgarising ‘Arte Poética’. It begins by changing the word ‘Poética’ to ‘Peótika’ in the title, thus alluding to ‘peo’ (the colloquial pronunciation of ‘pedo’ or ‘fart’ in Chilean Spanish). The speaker also emphasises the popular nature and origins of poetry:

¿Quién pagará el arriendo de esta pieza porteña?
donde sus ventanales antiguos dieron alguna vez al mar

¿Quién valorará esos espacios?
donde renació la poesía aleteando
sobre esa inspiración her-musa
nadie señoras y señores quitados de bulla!!!

Los miserables orígenes de esa poesía son desconocidos
en escritorios, editoriales y bibliotecas
los orígenes paupérrimos de este Arte

Desarte

o desastre

Son inmundos (Aníñir 2009: 72)

The poem challenges the image of poetry as the product of a sublime process of creation by presenting it instead as an ‘estado subliminal de conciencia / pos estado de descomposición’ (2009: 73). The speaker of ‘Arte Peótika’ also parodies the direct call to poets that is included in ‘Arte Poética’ (‘Por qué cantáis la rosa, ¡oh Poetas!’):

Entiendo la poesía no como el ave sino como el vuelo
(a las aves no me las toquen más en su virtud aérea,
¡oh! poetas) (Aníñir 2009: 74)

This parody of Huidobro’s poem can be interpreted as an attempt by Aníñir to debunk Huidobro’s *creacionismo*, a tendency that defended poetry ‘based on its own intrinsic properties and not subservient to the imitation or reproduction of nature’ (Guss 1981: xii). Aníñir has directly expressed his opposition to this kind of idea by stating that ‘el arte por el arte para mí no tendría mucho sentido’ (cited in Graneri n.d.).

This parody of Huidobro’s poetry and cultural Europhilia is also perceivable in an untitled poem from *Haykuche*. This poem plays with the syllables used in solfège and thus evokes part of Huidobro’s ‘Tour Eiffel’, which is written in French:

La poesía
Es música
En Si

On monte sur une chanson
Do
ré

En Fa
 En Re
 También en Sol
 En La
 En Ti
 Y en Mí. (Aniñir 2008: 12)

mi
 fa
 sol
 la
 si
 do

Nous sommes en haut. (Huidobro 1981: 18)

Aniñir's perspective on Nicanor Parra and his anti-poetry is less critical, by contrast, and in fact he seems to use it as a source of inspiration for his own poetic discourse. The Mapurbe poet has acknowledged Parra's influence, which is most visible in the way he plays with language, and in his poems' ironic, humorous and sarcastic nature (cited in Wadi 2011; cited in Echeverría and Castelblanco 2012). As some critics have noted, Aniñir's 'Salmo 1997' echoes Parra's ironic 'Padre Nuestro', as well as several other re-workings of the Lord's Prayer by Latin American poets (Aniñir 2009: 47; Parra 1968: 118; Crow 2008: 233; García Barrera 2008b: 51). A further similarity between Aniñir's poetry and Parra's is in their use of symbols instead of words. For instance, mathematical symbols take the place of words such as 'más', 'menos', and 'por' in the title of '+ Poesía – Policía' and in 'Arte Peótika': 'El poema a la vena entra / alterando pulsaciones x minuto x hora / x día x noche / x vida x muerte' (Aniñir 2009: 54, 73). Similarly, Parra employs symbols in the poems 'Hay mapuches & mapuches' ('Hay diferentes órdenes de mapuches / x adopción x raza x astucia / mapuches x conveniencia...') and 'CHISTES PARrA (sic) DESORIENTAR A LA POLICÍA' ('Creo en un + allá / [...] / somos esclavos x naturaleza') (Parra 2010, n.d.). Furthermore, the use of Parra's own surname instead of the word 'para' in the title of 'CHISTES PARrA DESORIENTAR A LA POLICÍA' is emulated in Aniñir's recent poem 'POESÍA *PARRA* TODOS' (2014: 53-55, italics in original). The influence of Parra's work is also reflected in Aniñir's 'I.N.E. (Indio No Estandarizado)', which presents the reader with a mock census question and a list of negative terms used to refer to Mapuche (2014: 15-16). This poem contains parallels with Parra's 'Test', in which the speaker invites the reader to choose between a list of irreverent options to define an antipoet and antipoetry (1968: 114, 116). Additionally, '10 10: cuernófono' and Parra's 'Conversación Galante' are similar insofar as they both take the form of conversations between lovers and contain humorous twists (Aniñir 2014: 39-41; Parra 1968: 64).

As noted above, Aniñir's poetry also interacts with a number of forms of popular culture. Some of the most prominent of these are urban musical genres of Western origins, such as rock and punk. For instance, the poem 'Acullá nieva pus' contains an epigraph which is a

quote from the song ‘No estar aquí’ by the Chilean punk-rock band Fiskales Ad-Hok. The poem then starts with a reconfigured version of the song’s opening lyrics:

Y me quedo parado aquí, entre pewenes electrocutados
y me quedo parado aquí mirando a uno y ningún lado
y me siento tan imbécil, inmóvilmente imbécil... (Aniñir 2009: 35)

Y me quedo parado aquí, parado aquí
mirando a uno y otro lado
y me siento tan imbécil, tan imbécil... (Fiskales Ad-Hok 1995)

‘Acullá nieva pus’ also features the lines ‘el cóndor con diarrea / en el asta de las banderas estatales’, which, as Rodrigo Rojas has noted, paraphrase the lyrics of another Fiskales Ad-Hok song entitled ‘El Cóndor’: ‘Como quisiera ver venir desde las altas montañas, un gran cóndor con diarrea que cagara, que cagara, y que cagara en el Congreso, en La Moneda y nuestra sana Iglesia, ¡sana!’ (Aniñir 2009: 36; Rojas 2009: 134-135; Fiskales Ad-Hok 1993).

Another connection with a Chilean punk band is found in the poem ‘A-la cabra-pank’, which appears to be inspired by a song of the same name by an underground punk-rock band called Los Rata Punk (‘Los rata punk - A la cabra pAnk’). The aggressive, raw tone of the original song is echoed throughout this poem:

Quiero besarte los ojos
y tragármelos
como las ostras a las perlas
para que me mires por dentro
y cachí que no soy de acero

Quiero besar tu boca
masticar tu lengua
y succionar tu vómito
al decirme te quiero

Quiero navegar sobre tu blanda piel
lubricarte de miel
y dejar que el amor sangre

Quiero encontrarte en la esquina fría y solitaria
violar la invisibilidad de tus prejuicios
y drogarte de amor. (2009: 41)

Another Chilean musical influence in Aniñir’s work is the folk-rock band Los Jaivas, to whom part of a verse in the poem ‘Al chancho’ alludes:

poeta sazonado de envidia en los círculos literaRtos
poeta retoba`o sarpa`o empaura`o (sic)
que sabe donde pica la jaiva “todas juntas” ellas, oye (2009: 90)

The particular spelling of ‘jaiva’ (as opposed to ‘jaiba’, which means ‘crab’ in Chilean Spanish) evokes this group, as does the phrase ‘todas juntas’, which is an allusion to one of Los Jaivas’s most famous hits, ‘Todos juntos’.⁵⁶

The poem ‘ALTER EGO’ contains another clear connection with Chilean popular music, as it is dedicated to René de la Vega, a Chilean singer of humble origins who made kitsch pop music in the late 1990s and early 2000s with a persona inspired by the figure of Elvis (Aniñir 2008: 36; Barrientos 2013). René de la Vega is often the object of mockery in Chilean popular culture; the poem partakes in this mockery by portraying him as someone who believed all of the praise he was receiving at the time of his success, had his 15 minutes of fame, and then disappeared from public life.⁵⁷ Moreover, ‘ALTER EGO’ in its entirety ironically plays on one of de la Vega’s biggest hits, ‘Chica rica’, by explaining the fate of ‘la chica rica que estudió en la Técnica A-28’ in the time that has passed since de la Vega’s success:

Y le dijeron: “ya vaya mijito y hágase famoso”
y se las creyó.
La chica rica que estudió en la Técnica A-28,
y compró su música,
ya no es rica,
tiene un hijo,
y vende cds pirateados en el centro. (2008: 36)

British and North American rock bands are also referenced in Aniñir’s poetry. For instance, the title of the poem ‘CALIFORNIKATION DE LOS AMANTES CON MÚSICA DE RED HOT CHILI PEPPERS’, from the collection *Haykuche*, refers to the group Red Hot Chili Peppers and their 1999 album and song ‘Californication’, while ‘DEEP PURPLE’, also in *Haykuche*, evokes the British rock band of the same name and contains an epigraph alluding to the date of one of their concerts in Chile: ‘27 de febrero de 1999, Estadio Santa Laura’ (2008: 20, 26; ‘Mal comienzo para Deep Purple’). In addition, the recent poem ‘OZZY OZZY OZZY OZZY!!’ from the 2014 collection *Guilitranalwe* revolves around the persona of the British rock vocalist Ozzy Osbourne, who is described as the speaker’s ‘alter ego’ in the poem’s first verse:

⁵⁶ The song ‘Todos juntos’ is significant in itself, given its iconic status as an anthem for inclusion and cooperation both on a national and continental level. This is best perceived in its chorus: ‘¿Para qué vivir tan separados si la tierra nos quiere juntar? Si este mundo es uno y para todos, todos juntos vamos a vivir’ (Los Jaivas 1973). In this sense, this allusion complements the reiterated critique of socioeconomic segregation and discrimination in Aniñir’s poetry discussed previously.

⁵⁷ Over a decade later, de la Vega returned to public life and was elected mayor of Conchalí in the October 2016 municipal elections (‘René de la Vega ya es oficialmente...’).

No te burles del viejo Ozzy Osbourne
 es un viejoven adicto a la adicción
 enamorado de la pasión.
 mi amor, no te burles del príncipe de las tinieblas y el rock
 sireno del mar muerto
 aunque su voz ya no sea el coral canto del fondo acuático
 no te burles de mi alter ego
 ni de Bukowski y Lemebel
 por más pútrido y patético que se vea el viejo Ozzy
 no te burles de él, washita. (2014: 29)

Aniñir's poetry displays several connections with Spanish rock and pop music. The poem 'Estando en ti sin ti', for example, is inspired by the Spanish singer-songwriter Joaquín Sabina's 'Cerrado por derribo' (2009: 40). This is made clear by the poem's epigraph, which quotes a number of lines from the song's lyrics and attributes them to Sabina. Moreover, the poem itself is closely related to 'Cerrado por derribo' insofar as it follows a similar lyrical structure of lines beginning with 'Este' or 'Esta' and employs similarly metaphorical language (Sabina 1999). In this regard, many of the poem's lines could conceivably fit in with Sabina's music and form a new part of his song, although the speaker leaves a characteristic Mapurbe stamp through the line 'este mapuche malherido alucinando' (2009: 40). The poem '10 10: cuernófono' also alludes to another Spanish singer, Miguel Bosé, and his song 'Amante bandido', as the speaker states over the phone 'hola kariño / cómo está mi amor? / soy yo, recuerdas? / [...] / tu amante bandido' (2014: 39; Bosé 1984).

Hybridity and Heterogeneity

As the analysis thus far suggests, Aniñir's texts' engagement with a wide array of rural and urban cultural forms from Mapuche and non-Mapuche origins, as well as social and political issues from different spheres of Chilean society, attests to a Mapurbe identity and worldview encompassing a combination of cultural forms and issues that pertain to both tradition and modernity. In Latin American cultural theory, such combinations of seemingly 'disparate' elements have often been conceptualised through the category of 'hybridity', as well as concepts such as 'heterogeneity' and 'transculturation', amongst others. Néstor García Canclini's work on hybrid cultures in particular is ideal for understanding the type of cultural phenomena that take place in Aniñir's work. García Canclini defines hybridity as a sociocultural process through which previously discrete cultural forms and practices are combined and thus produce new cultural structures, objects and practices (2001: 14). The critic views hybridity in Latin American culture as a consequence of the juxtaposition, convergence,

and mutual influence of indigenous traditions, colonial Catholic culture imposed by the Spanish, and political, educative and media cultures in modern times (2001: 86). García Canclini's thesis approaches hybridity as a central part of the process of modernity, as popular sectors reproduce traditions and embrace modernity to create an enriched fusion of the two (2001: 203, 222).

García Canclini views the processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation as central to hybridity. The former corresponds to the removal of cultural practices from a specific geographical or social location, which then produces a change in its symbolic meaning, while the latter encompasses the relocation of cultural products or forms (2001: 281). Furthermore, García Canclini emphasises the significant impact that urban expansion in Latin America has had on the intensification of cultural hybridisation (2001: 260). It is worth recalling here that Mapuche urban migration led to the creation of the urban Mapuche sub-ethnicity, and thus plays a significant role in the construction of Aníñir's Mapurbe poetic discourse and identity.

The juxtaposition of traditional, rural Mapuche culture with elements from Western-derived cultures in Chile within Aníñir's poetry would appear to confirm its 'hybridity'. However, García Canclini's theory, as developed in his *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (2001), has been criticised by Antonio Cornejo Polar 'por el tono celebratorio con el que está dicha y por el excesivo empleo de ejemplos que parecen referirse preferentemente a ciertos estratos de la sociedad latinoamericana' (2002: 868). Notwithstanding this criticism, Cornejo Polar notes that 'la teoría de la hibridez de García Canclini [...] tiene una virtud poco reconocida y para mí incuestionable: su inmersión en la historia, lo que permite que así como se "entra y sale de la modernidad" también se pueda –de algún modo– entrar y salir de la hibridez, aunque estos tránsitos no siempre obedezcan a las necesidades, o a los intereses o a la libertad de quienes los realizan' (2002: 868). In this sense, Cornejo Polar considers that García Canclini's concept productively accounts for the instability and changeability of processes of cultural mixture, but he also suggests that it may camouflage the harsh social conditions of oppression and marginalisation that often accompany such processes. As García Canclini would later explain, he found Cornejo Polar's criticism constructive, particularly regarding the excessive emphasis that his theorising placed on 'los participantes en hibridaciones felices' (García Canclini 1999: 54). This led García Canclini to critically reflect on his concept and acknowledge that his 'polémica contra la melancolía del purismo y el tradicionalismo folclóricos pueden (sic) haberme llevado a privilegiar los casos "prósperos" e innovadores de cultura popular' (1999: 55).

In relation to Aníñir and urban Mapuche, several critics have made use of the category of hybridity to describe the identity of young urban Mapuche, which is made of a combination of elements of Mapuche and Western-derived non-Mapuche cultures (Collins 2014: 37; Echeverría 2014: 77). Other scholars have directly applied the concept of hybridity to the Mapurbe characters that appear in Aníñir's poetry and, as a consequence, allude to the contestatory nature of these characters' identities. Sara Luco describes a 'variety of hybrid Mapuche characters' whose identities clash with notions of 'purity' and 'authenticity' found in the 'absolutist vision on identity' of 'dominant Chilean discourse' (Luco n.d.). Analogously, Claudio Maldonado Rivera views María Juana la Mapunky de La Pintana as a 'sujeto híbrido' whose conscious appropriation of a Western cultural form, punk, allows her to resist 'la aculturación, la invisibilización, el abuso y la marginalidad en el contexto histórico de la urbe contemporánea' (2011: 88-89). These commentaries could be seen to present Aníñir's Mapurbe characters as examples of what García Canclini terms 'casos "prósperos" e innovadores de cultura popular' (1999: 55). There is a danger of downplaying, in García Canclini's words, 'las contradicciones y los conflictos que suelen contener las hibridaciones' by suggesting that these Mapurbe characters can freely, happily and successfully appropriate and mix divergent cultural forms in order to preserve distinctive ethnic identities (1999: 54). However, while Aníñir's poems feature characters that combine the traditional culture of Mapuche with forms of modern urban culture, they do not generally omit to bring attention to conflicts and contradictions, some of which are social while others pertain to the identity of his Mapurbe characters. This highlights the relevance of Cornejo Polar's concept of heterogeneity, which the Peruvian critic used to examine forms of cultural production that incorporate elements from diverse sources but demonstrate a marked lack of fusion (Cornejo Polar 1998: 18). Cornejo Polar's concept of heterogeneity puts the emphasis on the fragmented or internally-conflicted nature of identities and cultural forms.

A few critics have already begun approaching Aníñir's work through the lens of heterogeneity or from a perspective akin to that of Cornejo Polar's notion. For instance, the hybrid identities of several characters in Aníñir's poetry, according to María José Barros Cruz, do not reflect 'una hibridez armónica o feliz', but are, rather, an 'estandarte de batalla contra las narrativas urbanas y de la nación' that marginalise and discriminate against them (Barros Cruz n.d.). Similarly, Lucía Guerra claims that Aníñir's poetry reveals 'una contaminación en la que la cultura originaria [...] es un amasijo de culturas dispares', thus emphasising a lack of fusion between the distinct cultures (2013: 312). Andrea Echeverría explicitly interprets Aníñir's poetic discourse as a defence of 'una heterogeneidad cultural', as it does not pursue

‘la integración de las culturas, sino la coexistencia de elementos diversos al crear un espacio propio en la sociedad’ (2013: 174-175).

This section builds upon this trend in Aníñir criticism by applying the categories of hybridity and heterogeneity to a number of characters in key poems, paying particular attention to the coherence or lack thereof of their internal identities as well as to the social conflicts, social inequality and cultural struggles that surround them.

Of all Aníñir’s poems, the one that most approximates García Canclini’s ‘casos prósperos’, suggesting a harmonious fusion of disparate cultures, is ‘Perimontú’. This poem features a Mapurbe character who illustrates the adoption of both foreign and traditional Mapuche cultural elements. ‘Perimontú’ is the Mapudungun word for a vision that the *machi* experiences, and the poem repositions and resignifies this traditional Mapuche figure in an urban setting (Chihuailaf 1999: 78).⁵⁸ The persona of the *machi* effortlessly combines a number of cultural influences of traditional, ritual and sacred Mapuche culture with modern punk-rock music and imagery:

Una machi en actitud hardcore
una minosa punx atrevida
mapuche 2.0
desencadenando su yeyipunx al son del sol
en clave de luna
en llave de estrellas
con riff de cometas
una machi en actitud power metal
con newendy
agitando su trance en el mosh,
saltando al pogo, tierra abajo, al tajo
tierra adentro, al rojo, al cuajo
una machi de la pobla
una hermosa mapunky borracha
marichiwaniando eufórica,
¡porque andai puro marichiwaneando!
con tu brebaje de ácido sulfúrico y muday
en volá de kuymi.
Cosmogónica dulcinea de la fábula terráquea:
una machi mapurbe con actitud sorpresiva
con fibras del kalku por el torrente sanguinolento
ascendiendo al rewe de alta tensión
y al tronar de voltajes en noches de lluvia
con el espiral del Slam al medio del foye.

⁵⁸ Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf also employ the figure of the *machi* in their poetry and present themselves as this medium and spiritual healer, as scholars have noted (Park 1999; Echeverría 2013: 151-152). Claudia Rodríguez Monarca has also examined the *machi*’s role more broadly in Mapuche poetry (Rodríguez Monarca 2005).

Una Guacolda de la esnaki,
toda brígida ella. (2014: 28)

The opening lines of the poem situate this ‘machi mapurbe’ within a modern metal or punk-rock scene: she has an ‘actitud hardcore’ and is a ‘minosa punx’. The poem’s speaker then uses modern-day technological speak to emphasise that she is not a traditional *machi* but a contemporary, updated ‘mapuche 2.0’ from a poor urban neighbourhood (‘de la pobla’). The subsequent description of the urban *machi* combines her modern musical affinity with astronomical bodies that play a significant role in the traditional Mapuche worldview as she unleashes her ‘yeyipunx’ or punk *yeyipun* ‘al son del sol / en clave de luna / en llave de estrellas / con riff de cometas’. She continues to juxtapose the traditional with the modern through her ‘actitud power metal / con newendy’, given that ‘newen’ means energy, power, or strength in Mapudungun, and her ‘trance en el mosh’. Her state of trance does not occur in a traditional Mapuche setting. Instead, the site of the rock concert is appropriated and resignified as a Mapurbe ceremony or event and, moreover, her trance appears to be alcohol-induced. Nevertheless, this ‘mapunky borracha’ is described as being authentically Mapuche since she is ‘marichiوانيando’.⁵⁹ Thus, the *machi* is portrayed as embodying a new way of being Mapuche, by relating to and reflecting her traditional culture yet, at the same time, embracing modernity. To this end, her seemingly harmonious fusion of cultures challenges the homogenising discourse of the Chilean state by not conforming to stereotypical conceptions of traditional Mapuche nor completely assimilating to non-Mapuche culture. The poem closes with a number of references to traditional Mapuche culture and practices, such as ‘kalku’, ‘rewe’, ‘foye’, and ‘Guacolda’.⁶⁰ Notably, these words are still modified and set among the modern urban Mapuche reality, for example, in the line ‘rewe de alta tensión’.⁶¹ ‘Perimontú’ can therefore be interpreted as vindicating urban Mapuche culture by portraying a new, modern way of being Mapuche in the city, which avoids any explicit references to internal conflict in the *machi*’s persona or to an impression of marginalisation or discrimination. In this sense, the

⁵⁹ The invented verbs ‘marrichiwanianar’ and ‘marrichiwanear’ in this poem are derived from ‘marrichiweu’, the historic Mapuche catchcry calling for strength and courage, translated in Spanish as ‘diez veces venceremos’ (Barros Cruz n.d.).

⁶⁰ ‘Kalku’ is a sorcerer or witch in Mapuche mythology; ‘rewe’ has a number of meanings, including the sacred altar in Mapuche ceremonies, and a ‘place of purity’; ‘foye’ refers to the cinnamon tree, sacred in Mapuche culture and which can be used to create the *rewe*; and ‘Guacolda’ was the name of Lautaro’s partner (Chihuailaf 1999: 78-79).

⁶¹ The line ‘Una Guacolda de la esnaki’ also combines the traditional Mapuche with the present day Mapurbe. By referring to Lautaro’s partner, Guacolda evokes traditional rural Mapuche from the 16th century. On the other hand, ‘esnaki’ appears to be one of Aníñir’s characteristic plays on words, in which switching the final two syllables would produce ‘eskina’ or ‘esquina’, and thus alludes to urban Mapuche characters like María Juana la Mapunky, described in the eponymous poem as ‘de la esquina fría y solitaria’ (Aníñir 2009: 32).

poem does not necessarily seek to devalue Mapuche tradition or deconsecrate the role of the *machi*, as Andrea Echeverría considers (2014: 84). Instead, it can be read as adding value to the urban Mapuche's activities by linking them to traditional Mapuche culture from which they may be distanced.

However, there are many other poems that feature Mapurbe characters who, whilst resorting to a combination of Mapuche and non-Mapuche cultural forms, are also consistently presented in contexts of marginalisation and resistance to the dominant culture, and reveal inner conflict and contradictions. In the poem 'María Juana la Mapunky de La Pintana', María Juana is a young female 'mapunky' or Mapuche punk from a poor, working-class suburb, La Pintana. She is a marginalised individual, and her urban Mapuche identity clashes with the hegemonic conception of Mapuche identity. The following description highlights María Juana's Mapuche ethnicity as well as her disconformity to externally-imposed Mapuche stereotypes:

Eres tierra y barro
mapuche sangre roja como la del apuñalado
eres mapuche en F.M. (o sea, Fuera del Mundo)
eres la mapuche 'girl' de marca no registrada
de la esquina fría y solitaria apegada a ese vicio,
tu piel oscura es la red de SuperHiperArchi venas
que bullen a borbotones sobre una venganza que condena. (2009: 32)

In this verse, María Juana is portrayed in terms that suggest a traditional Mapuche identity. She has Mapuche blood in her veins ('mapuche sangre roja') and her 'piel oscura' is the colour of 'tierra y barro'. Not only is her skin this dark hue, but she is herself made up of earth and mud. Indeed, the affirmation 'eres tierra y barro' implies a deep connection that Mapuche have traditionally had with the land or *ñuke mapu* (Mother Earth). This relationship with the land, however, is problematised through María Juana's deterritorialised condition as an urban Mapuche outside of *wallmapu* (Mapuche ancestral territory), which means she is 'en F.M. (o sea, Fuera del Mundo)'. As if to crown this point, she is not *una joven mapuche*, *una chica mapuche*, or even *una niña mapuche*, but 'la mapuche "girl"' who lives in the 'oscura negrura of Mapulandia street', on the cusp of her ethnic tradition and the globalised world in which the English language pervades everyday life (2009: 33). María Juana is thus at once both a representative of her inherited past, and also a reflection of her present urban circumstances. Her unique *mapunky* identity juxtaposes the traditional Mapuche and modern Western culture, yet cannot be classified under the logic of capitalism and consumerism, as it is 'de marca no registrada'. By straddling these two worlds, María Juana challenges notions about a single, homogenising Mapuche identity, while also reflecting the way that, as John R. Gillis notes, all

individuals in modern society belong to different groups simultaneously (1994: 15). María Juana can therefore be seen as a hybrid subject who forms part of a new Mapurbe world and culture.⁶² Although this poetic description of María Juana elides any explicit reference to inner conflict per se, it is clear throughout the poem that there is no overt celebration of this fusion as her discrimination and marginalisation are foregrounded.

Similarly, the poem 'Lautaro' emphasises the inherent conflict of the title-character's adoption and adaptation of elements of both traditional Mapuche culture and modern urban culture. While the image and symbolism of Lautaro has been co-opted over the last century as an icon of the Chilean nation, this poem reclaims this historic leader for Mapuche and, in particular, for Mapurbe (Richards 2010: 63-64). The poem resurrects Lautaro in the present time and resituates him alongside objects of modernity and technology. This is best perceived in the opening verses:

Eres caballo galopando sobre el mar
subiendo y bajando ventisqueros
en esta época del mal
galopas, brincas y relinchas sin apuro
solo,
a pelo,
contemplativo
reflexivo
cicatrizando la costra diaria del vuelo

Ciberlautaro cabalgas en este tiempo Tecno-Metal
tu caballo trota en la red
las riendas son un cable a tierra
que te permiten avanzar
como un werkén electrónico
de corazón e-lek-tri-za-do. (2009: 80)

This vision of Lautaro evokes the knowledge he appropriated from the Spanish invasion, such as the use of horses and warfare tactics, which he then employed against them in the Mapuche resistance (Barros Cruz 2009: 39). This represents the ongoing processes of cultural transformation carried out by Mapurbe who, following in Lautaro's footsteps, appropriate and innovate objects at their disposal in the modern urban setting for their own purposes, such as using the internet to spread their message to the world as a 'werkén electrónico' or an electronic messenger. 'Neo Lautaro', as he is also referred to, is thus a fusion of the traditional and the

⁶² Andrea Echeverría has expressed a similar idea to this analysis: 'De este modo, personajes que habitan la poesía de Aníbal como María Juana la Mapunka y Ciberlautaro, representan una nueva forma de "ser mapuche" en la ciudad que escapa la homogenización debido a la duplicidad de su conciencia, pues se sitúan entre dos culturas, dos formas de ver y vivir la vida que coexisten simultáneamente en ellos' (2014: 73-74).

modern, the rural past and the urban present (2009: 81).⁶³ This fusion is not openly celebrated, however. In addition to the earlier description of the Mapurbe Lautaro as ‘cicatrizando la costra diaria del vuelo’, he is also firmly rooted in a situation of illegality in the urban periphery:

cabalgas en la noche
pirateando sin miedo el medio
chateando cerebros y conciencias
pasando piola en la red. (2009: 80)

By situating this contemporary Lautaro in an urban setting, the poem draws a link between the conflictive nature of the Mapuche past and heritage and urban Mapuche today. It also suggests that the processes of hybrid cultural innovation carried out by Mapurbe constitute a defiant response to the homogenising discourse of the dominant culture. Therefore, this poem not only alludes to a sense of inner fragmentation within the subject of Lautaro, but also emphasises the origins of the conflict between Mapuche and non-Mapuche cultures in Chile.

Such divisions are also notable in the poem ‘Mapurbe’, which traces the genealogy of urban Mapuche and presents a collective subject whose identity can be considered internally conflicted and who endure inequality. This poem explores and problematises the Mapurbe’s relationship with the land in its opening lines:

Somos mapuche de hormigón
debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre
explotada por un cabrón. (2009: 75)

Here urban Mapuche are no longer simply ‘people of the land’ (the literal meaning of ‘Mapuche’), but ‘mapuche del hormigón’. This ‘hormigón’ represents not only the urban landscape but also the domination of Mapuche by another ethnic group and the principles of modernity, urbanisation and capitalism. In turn, Mapurbe are physically separated and emotionally distanced from *ñuke mapu* (Mother Earth), whose natural resources are exploited by the dominant capitalist ideology (‘debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre / explotada por un cabrón’).

Later in this poem, a glorious, autonomous Mapuche history is poignantly juxtaposed with the Mapurbe’s present conditions. This effectively underlines their contemporary domination, which can be read as a reflection and continuation of the historic conflicts between Mapuche and non-Mapuche cultures:

Somos los hijos de los hijos de los hijos

⁶³ In this regard, Claudio Maldonado Rivera, Sara Luco, and María José Barros Cruz all refer to Lautaro in this poem as a hybrid subject (Maldonado Rivera 2011: 84; Luco n.d.; Barros Cruz n.d.).

somos los nietos de Lautaro tomando la micro
para servirle a los ricos
somos parientes del sol y del trueno
lloviendo sobre la tierra apuñalada. (2009: 76)

These lines contrast the Mapuche past, in which historic leaders such as Lautaro were able to stave off the Spanish and defend their territory, with the Mapurbe's marginalised present, in which they work for the wealthy in return for miserly wages. Furthermore, despite Mapurbe's distance from *ñuke mapu*, given that they are separated from the land by the layer of concrete beneath their feet, and are located hundreds of kilometres north of ancestral Mapuche territory, this verse draws attention to their inherited ties to natural phenomena ('somos parientes del sol y del trueno') and 'la tierra apuñalada'. Indeed, Mapurbe and the land, 'explotada' and 'apuñalada', suffer the same oppression, and, in this sense, the fates of both rural and urban Mapuche and the land are inextricably bound together (Aniñir 2009: 75-76; Echeverría 2013: 130). The poem's final verse also emphasises the exploitation of Mapurbe and their lack of harmony with the city:

la lágrima negra del Mapocho
nos acompañó por siempre
en este santiagónico wekufe maloliente. (2009: 76)

The closest link that Mapurbe have to nature in the city, the Mapocho River, can be interpreted as mourning their plight, since it is referred to as 'la lágrima negra del Mapocho'. This final image of the foul-smelling, evil spirit, agonising city ('este santiagónico wekufe maloliente'), also referred to earlier in the poem as 'la mierdópolis', starkly contrasts with the initial allusion to the land, 'nuestra madre', asleep under a layer of concrete laid by the oppressor (2009: 75). This once again highlights the inherent contradictions and conflict that form part of the Mapurbe's current predicament.

'Poesía a lo que escribo' also presents a character with a form of internal conflict as a consequence of being located in the problematic crossover between globalisation and Mapuche culture. This poem juxtaposes the traditional past and the urban present as it describes the process of composing poetry. The speaker's poetic discourse is initially linked to Mapuche ancestors, as it is 'un encargo de otros tiempos / legado por la naturaleza de la vida / y los designios cósmicos de mis antepasados mapuche' (2009: 27). Nevertheless, this poetic discourse is also explicitly situated in the urban periphery:

Auspiciado por mí mismo
traído desde el periférico cordón umbilical,
que da vida a los cabros que escuchan mis poemas,

levanto este universo poético,
desde el río mapocho hacia abajo
sobre mojones cristalinos que navegan hacia el mar. (2009: 27)

The following description of the poem's speaker then alludes to a sense of internal fragmentation caused by the unresolved tension between disparate cultural influences:

Este mapuche vestido de jeans
y poleras de universidades yanquies
confunden mi habitante
mezcla de norteamearaucano
y mapurbe. (2009: 28)

This Mapuche resides in a globalised city, surrounded by symbols of foreign influence or domination. The jeans represent North American culture and its global reach, which is further emphasised by the use of 'jeans', a word originating in English, as opposed to the Spanish *vaqueros*. Similarly, t-shirts from North American universities are another imported good and allude to a world and existence far removed from the Mapurbe's reality; they can also be interpreted as symbols of foreign knowledge and theories that have been imposed on Chile, such as Milton Friedman's neoliberal economic experiment. The combination of these influences leads to an inner conflict or confusion within the Mapurbe individual, who feels a mix of 'norteamearaucano y mapurbe' and is unable to reconcile the juxtaposition of these imposed foreign elements.

The urban setting of the majority of Aniñir's poems, referred to in 'Poesía a lo que escribo' as 'la mierdópolis / donde arde el asfalto', also reflects the sense of conflict and fragmentation that surrounds his Mapurbe characters (2009: 28). In the poem 'Temporada Apológika', for example, the city adversely affects the speaker's identity: 'Mis problemas vienen de nativos árboles de cemento / Confusión tierra asfalto' (2009: 25). Here the irreconcilable difference between nature – native trees and the land – and the cement and concrete amply used in urban construction produces an inner confusion. This juxtaposition of urban and rural landscapes is notable in other poems, as rural Mapuche heritage affects the speaker's vision of the city. In the poem 'Acullá nieva pus', for instance, the speaker states 'soy el indio de la selva gris', while the poem 'Es a voces' refers to 'las llanuras de hormigón' (2009: 35; 2011). Such descriptions emphasise the condition of the Mapurbe individual, who Mabel García Barrera has described as 'desarticulado, desarraigado y despojado de su ser cultural (tierra-territorio, comunidad cultural), constituyendo un sujeto agónico' (2008b: 49). Moreover, these contrasting settings highlight a lack of harmony in the Mapurbe characters'

worldview and allude to the historic struggles between Mapuche in the rural south and the Chilean state and its urban bastions of power.

The above analysis of the representation of Mapurbe hybrid characters reveals that Aníñir is far from celebrating the fusion of the modern and the traditional in a way that might camouflage historic and contemporary conflicts and divisions. Rather, these Mapurbe individuals frequently foreground such conflicts as they display internally fragmented identities and evoke situations of marginalisation and inequality.

The heterogeneous hybridity of Aníñir's poetry in general is also evidenced by this chapter's analysis of the wide array of cultural influences, social and political issues, and cultural figures that inform his work. Whilst radically defying the folklorising tendency of the state and Mapuche cultural actors by combining the traditional with the modern, Aníñir's poetry does not project a homogenous and coherent Mapurbe worldview but one in which a vast array of often incoherent and unrelated elements coexist in different degrees of fusion or mutual conflict and irreconcilability. In relation to traditional Mapuche culture, Aníñir's poetry draws on reconfigured versions of urban Mapuche culture as well as Mapuche tradition without always necessarily fusing them into one, thus respecting the distinctiveness of separate sectors of the Mapuche population. His political references maintain a similar duality through a political discourse that deals with rural and urban Mapuche political issues separately. This political heterogeneity is taken even further through the deployment of a political discourse that addresses fundamental national political issues, in particular Pinochet's dictatorship and its negative legacy for Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike. There is also a clear international dimension to his poetry's political discourse as it deals with issues such as hunger and injustice on a global scale and the historical roots of capitalism in Latin America, for example. As well as having an international political focus, Aníñir's poetry engages with cultural forms from the popular and erudite realms of the dominant Western-based culture in Chile. Aníñir's poetry cannot be reduced to its connection with Mapuche tradition as he presents a much broader, hybrid and heterogeneous Mapuche identity, configured from an urban stance and in respect to the specific urban predicament and conditions in the city. Aníñir's Mapurbe characters embody this heterogeneous hybridity by appearing in contexts of conflict, oppression, inequality and cultural loss, as well as displaying fragmented and unresolved identities.

Chapter 3

Recollections of Past Trauma:

The Autobiographical Works of Carmen Castillo

The autobiographical works of Carmen Castillo Echeverría, as both author and film-maker, have centred on a revision of the dictatorial past and the subsequent return to democracy, from a revolutionary left-wing perspective. Her work is grounded in her personal experiences of the dictatorship, as a survivor and an exile. A salient aspect of Castillo's books and documentaries which deal with the past is the way she responds to this past trauma and how she interacts with it as she seeks to come to terms with the past. This chapter analyses the contrasting approaches to trauma in two of Castillo's works, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* (1982) and *Calle Santa Fe* (2007). It argues that her response to trauma evolves from a repetitive obsession with past trauma in her first book to a considerably more mature and critical reflection on the past in the more recent documentary.

Carmen Castillo was born in Santiago in 1945. After studying at Universidad de Chile, Castillo lectured and conducted research on Latin American history at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (Castillo, as cited in Urrutia O'Neill 2004). She joined the MIR around 1967, at a time when the movement's influence in Chilean politics and society was burgeoning. In the late 1960s, Castillo married Salvador Allende's nephew, Andrés Pascal Allende, a fellow MIR militant with whom she would have her first child. During Allende's presidency, she continued her political work in the MIR and was briefly employed in La Moneda Palace, the seat of government. In 1969, Castillo became romantically involved with Miguel Enríquez, the MIR's secretary general and, arguably, the most important leader in the movement's history (Castillo, as cited in Urrutia O'Neill 2004).

Following the coup, Castillo and Enríquez went into hiding, as did other MIR militants who refused to go into exile and vowed to remain in Chile to lead the resistance against the dictatorship. The DINA, however, swiftly began to persecute the MIR. Throughout 1974, an increasing number of MIR militants fell into the hands of the DINA; they were then tortured and, in many cases, murdered (Salazar 2011: 140-150). The DINA eventually discovered Enríquez and Castillo's safehouse at Santa Fe 725 on 5 October 1974. During the military's assault on the house, Enríquez was killed and Castillo, 6 months pregnant at the time, was seriously wounded (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 169-171; Salazar 2011: 149). She was taken to hospital, where she was kept under guard and was interrogated by the DINA. At the same

time, an international campaign of solidarity was orchestrated by her parents, who were already in exile in England. This put pressure on the dictatorship to release her and successfully secured her safe passage out of the country (Castillo 1982: 93-100, 104; Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 168-169).

In December 1974, Castillo gave birth to her and Enríquez's child in Cambridge, although he died a few weeks later due to complications attributed to the wounds Castillo had suffered during the attack on the safehouse. In a double state of mourning, for both her partner and their child, Castillo moved to Paris. For a number of years she continued to work for the MIR, principally in her role as the 'heroic widow' of the hero-martyr Enríquez, attempting to gain international solidarity both for the movement and against Pinochet's dictatorship (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 178-180, 183-186). By the late 1970s, Castillo had begun to gravitate away from the formal structure of the MIR, although she did not renounce her revolutionary-left worldview (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 215-217). Following the dictatorship, Castillo has continued to live in France, where she has since re-married and formed a family, although she visits Chile frequently for both familial and political purposes (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 257-258).

Since the late 1970s Castillo has worked on her literary and filmic production. Her written works comprise three books: *Un jour d'Octobre à Santiago* (1980), which was published in Spanish as *Un día de octubre en Santiago* in 1982; *Ligne de fuite* (1988), which has not been translated into Spanish to date; and *Santiago-París: El vuelo de la memoria* (2002), which was co-authored with her mother, Mónica Echeverría.⁶⁴ These works are largely autobiographical, and generally revolve around personal memories and reflections related to her experiences in the MIR, her relationship with Enríquez, and her position as an exile who sporadically and briefly returns to Chile. Castillo's filmic production, mostly in the form of documentaries, is more profuse than her literary work. Her documentaries have focused on a range of topics, often tied to her political worldview. Two of her most acclaimed films, which deal with Pinochet's dictatorship and its consequences, are *La flaca Alejandra: Vidas y muertes de una mujer chilena* (1994) and *Calle Santa Fe* (2007).

The majority of scholarly criticism on Castillo's work to date has primarily focused on the film *Calle Santa Fe* and on a number of specific aspects of her work, such as the presence of nostalgia; mourning and the overcoming of trauma; her revision of the history of the MIR

⁶⁴ While Castillo's first book was originally written and published in French, this thesis will refer to it by its Spanish title, given that this is the version of the text consulted and analysed.

and the revolutionary Left in Chile, particularly her feminist perspective and examination of the role of women in the revolutionary Left; and the way in which she interacts more generally, on both a personal and a collective level, with the politics of memory in post-dictatorship society (Treacy 2005; Peris Blanes 2008; Rueda 2009; Richard 2010; Valenzuela 2010; Ramírez 2011; DiGiovanni 2012; Lazzara 2012; Llanos 2012, 2013; Traverso 2013; Vidal 2013; Herrera and Pertuz Bedoya 2015). Scholars have also highlighted both the autobiographical nature of Castillo's work and the way in which it incorporates a range of different testimonies into the overall narrative (Rueda 2009; Ramírez 2010; Valenzuela 2010; Herrera and Pertuz Bedoya 2015).

In spite of the overarching focus on *Calle Santa Fe* in the literature, there are a number of common themes in Castillo's written and filmic production, and there is, therefore, scope for a broader critique of her work.⁶⁵ The present chapter contributes to current scholarship in this vein by examining the way in which Castillo's vision of the past as presented in her work has evolved with the passing of time. More specifically, it analyses the progression from Castillo's obsession with the traumatic past in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* to a more mature, measured reflection of this same past some 25 years later in *Calle Santa Fe*. This analysis draws on theoretical notions such as Dominick LaCapra's exegesis of acting out and working through, George A. Bonanno and Stacey Kaltman's definition of working toward, and Jenny Edkins and LaCapra's contrasting approaches to post-traumatic writing. This chapter also utilises Dori Laub's work on trauma and testimony, Antonio Traverso's critique of the use of the concept of nostalgia in recent scholarship, and Marianne Hirsch's notion of postmemory.

Given that Castillo's autobiographical work stems directly from her traumatic experience on 5 October 1974, a productive lens to analyse her response to trauma within her work are the concepts of acting out and working through, originally conceived by Sigmund Freud and further developed by Dominick LaCapra. LaCapra describes trauma as 'a disruptive experience that disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence', with 'belated effects that are controlled only with difficulty and perhaps never fully mastered' (2001: 41). Building on this, he details two responses to trauma. The first, acting out, involves a compulsive repetition of traumatic episodes from the past, since the victim is unable to differentiate between the past and the present (2001: 21). The victim thus relives the past, almost as if he or she were haunted by ghosts, as past occurrences forcefully interrupt his or her daily life in the present (2001:

⁶⁵ Studies that draw comparisons between several of Castillo's texts include Treacy (2005), Vidal (2013), and Herrera and Pertuz Bedoya (2015).

142-143). In many ways, acting out is closely linked to the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, in which, as Cathy Caruth has noted, the traumatic image or event ‘possesses’ the sufferer (1995: 4-5). In contrast, the second of LaCapra’s responses, working through, is a process by which the victim can distinguish between the past and the present and comprehend that the traumatic experience took place in the past (2001: 22). In this way, he or she attempts to gain critical distance from the problems of the past and potentially transform the understanding of these problems (2001: 143, 148). Ultimately, by working through past trauma, the victim is able to voluntarily recall the traumatic past; rather than being controlled by trauma, as occurs in the process of acting out, the victim now controls the memory.

LaCapra’s use of the term ‘working through’ has been questioned by critics, however. George A. Bonanno and Stacey Kaltman approach the issue of traumatic memories from a psychological perspective and argue for a subtle shift in the way that confronting the traumatic past is considered. Instead of focusing on the past and ‘recovering lost experiences’, as is the case in working through, they prefer the term ‘working toward’, a process by which the victims change their focus from the past to the present and the future. Victims thus hone in on new goals and aims and, eventually, create ‘a new narrative meaning that incorporates the traumatic event within a broader life narrative’ (Bonanno and Kaltman 2000: 190). While the distinction between working through and working toward is subtle, it offers a nuanced perspective of the shift in Castillo’s focus in *Calle Santa Fe*, as will be shown later.

LaCapra has also noted that memory work can act as a catalyst for distinguishing between past and present (2001: 66). By actively confronting memories, a victim can overcome the desire to act out the traumatic past and work through it in order to gain a more stable understanding of what happened to him or her. Post-traumatic writing is one form that memory work can take, by which the victim is able to bear witness to trauma and enact it; the victim may also be able to work over and through this trauma, although this is not certain to occur (LaCapra 2001: 105). From a psychological viewpoint, this has been referred to as ‘scriptotherapy’, in which individuals write about their thoughts and feelings regarding a past trauma in the hope it may help them organise their thoughts and promote new ways of perceiving them (Smyth and Greenberg 2000: 138-139). It should be noted, however, that this therapy, which seeks to convert traumatic experience into a form of narrative, ‘may initially increase distress’ (Smyth and Greenberg 2000: 151). This highlights the fact that scriptotherapy is a process that ultimately involves a combination of acting out and, eventually and desirably, working through.

An alternative approach to post-traumatic writing and scriptotherapy is found in Jenny Edkins's work on trauma and memory, which considers the inscription and re-inscription of traumatic experiences into narratives. She argues that linear narratives, while often perceived as productive from the perspective of coming to terms with the past, have the negative effects of depoliticising and 'gentrifying' these memories (2003: 15). In other words, the conversion of a traumatic memory into a linear narrative goes against the grain of the very essence of the trauma in question and fundamentally alters it. Edkins outlines an alternative to a linear narration of experienced trauma: 'encircling the trauma', returning to the site of the original trauma time and time again (2003: 15). This approach creates what she terms 'trauma time', a distinct form of temporality that is both 'inherent in and destabilises' the production of linearity. Consequently, Edkins argues, the 'political struggle between linear and trauma time' produces a non-linear narrative of memorialisation through the recognition and surrounding of the traumatic event (2003: 15-16). The concept of 'encircling the trauma' in post-traumatic writing thus posits an alternative way of processing trauma. Edkins effectively critiques the perspective that the most important role of acting out is the way it can accompany, facilitate or herald working through, given how the latter is considered to be the more desirable of the two responses to trauma (LaCapra 2001: 143). In contrast, she emphasises the creative and productive potential of a focus on past trauma in post-traumatic writing, which is akin to acting out. This can be understood as placing value on narratives that do not visibly work through trauma but, rather, demonstrate an obsession with the past.

LaCapra's two responses to trauma are related to Svetlana Boym's work on two distinct forms of nostalgia, 'restorative nostalgia' and 'reflective nostalgia'. Boym's work relies on her initial definition of the term: 'Nostalgia [...] is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's fantasy' (2001: xiii). She then outlines two competing kinds of nostalgia: restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia involves a desire to reconstruct (or restore) an idealised past, and comprises an attempt to return to the way things once were (2001: 41, 49). Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, is concerned not with the 'recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth' but rather focuses on 'the meditation on history and passage of time'. It thus promotes a degree of critical thinking and reflection alongside nostalgic longing (2001: 49). As with acting out and working through, the former term is narrowly, if not obsessively, focused on the past, whereas the latter demonstrates an ability to critically approach the past from the perspective of the present. As previously noted, Boym's terms have been employed by both Lazzara and DiGiovanni in their analyses of *Calle Santa Fe*, in which

they argue for the presence of both types of nostalgia in the film (Lazzara 2012; DiGiovanni 2012).

Despite being accepted by some academics, Boym's terms have come under critical scrutiny. Antonio Traverso, for example, has criticised the distinction between 'a negative and a positive nostalgia' (2013: 56). Traverso acknowledges that Boym's distinction between two types of nostalgia seeks to redeem the concept of nostalgia and correct the way it is used in criticism, but he identifies a serious pitfall. He argues that restorative nostalgia is almost identical to what is already commonly understood as nostalgia: 'a paralyzing affective drowning of the subject in the desire to recover an idealised past'. Meanwhile, reflective nostalgia corresponds to 'a notion of critical, self-reflective remembering through which the subject seeks to elaborate the past in the reality of the present to facilitate a responsible imagining of the future' (Traverso 2013: 67). Tellingly, this distinction for Traverso merely replicates 'the public culture distinction [...] between nostalgia per se and memory in a critical and political sense', since the very notion of reflective nostalgia has been 'virtually emptied of the most inherent attributes traditionally associated with nostalgia – an intimate, affective, and obsessive reconsideration of the past' (2013: 68). Traverso ultimately argues that it is more productive to consider nostalgia as an emotion with healing and nurturing properties which may be used (though not always) to 'concede affect and embodiment to the critical activity of remembering and working through a traumatic past' (2013: 68-69). Thus, nostalgia need not be a completely negative and immobilising force, as is understood in its lay definition and implied in restorative nostalgia. Indeed, to this regard nostalgia can be 'restorative of the self' as an important component of critical reflection and an emotion linked to 'the subjective experience or textual representation of remembering' (2013: 68-69).

While the diverse responses to trauma described above occur on an individual level in Castillo's earlier work, her more recent documentary, *Calle Santa Fe*, demonstrates a collective re-examination of the past. This, in turn, points to a collective response to trauma, given that the majority of the interviewees in the film, including Castillo, are victims. A significant number of the former MIR militants from Castillo's generation, for example, were incarcerated, tortured, and often sent into exile. Many had loved ones killed by the dictatorship's repressive apparatus, and almost all of them were forced to live in hiding in Chile at one point or another under the permanent threat of persecution. To this extent, Michael Lazzara has labelled the MIR and other left-wing groups in Chile as victims of a 'genocide' carried out by the dictatorship (2012: 68). Moreover, the children of some of these militants were also emotionally affected during this period. Some suffered the deaths of parents or loved ones, or

had to spend years of their childhood living in hiding in Chile. Others were forced to live in a commune-style arrangement in Cuba known as Proyecto Hogares while their parents attempted to clandestinely return to Chile as part of the resistance to the dictatorship in Operación Retorno.⁶⁶ These experiences marked the existence of these two generations, and some of the interviewees in *Calle Santa Fe* even explain the processes by which they have, with varying degrees of success, attempted to come to terms with this past. The classification of these individuals as victims of traumatic experiences does not, therefore, fall into the trap against which LaCapra warns of conflating the category of trauma to argue that everyone is a survivor of trauma, but rather acknowledges the effects these foundational traumatic experiences, by the individuals' own admission, have had on their lives (LaCapra 2001: x). Given the collective trauma embodied by Castillo's interviewees, the critical reflection in *Calle Santa Fe* can be understood as a collective way of working through these past traumatic experiences towards a more stable understanding of the past. This collective working through has generally been overlooked in scholarship but represents an important facet of the film in contrast to Castillo's previous work with its much narrower focus on personal trauma.

Marianne Hirsch's notion of 'postmemory' is another relevant theoretical tool in the study of Castillo's work, particularly the way in which it helps to distinguish the documentary *Calle Santa Fe* from Castillo's earlier book. Hirsch defines postmemory as a 'powerful and very particular form of memory' that is experienced by subsequent generations following significant traumatic events. That is, postmemory is found among generations with no lived memory of a certain trauma themselves, but who 'grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth' (1997: 22). Hirsch also emphasises the 'imaginative investment and creation' which mediates the link between postmemory and its traumatic provenance and establishes this postmemorial identification. While Hirsch originally developed this concept with a focus on a generation of descendants of Holocaust survivors, she notes that it can also be applied to 'other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences' (1997: 22). It thus effectively corresponds to a number of processes carried out by the current generation of children of those who were traumatically affected by Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile. Therefore, the concept of postmemory is a productive theoretical tool to explore the transgenerational transmission of traumatic memories, as well as the way such

⁶⁶ Cherie Zalaquett provides a number of accounts of the varied experiences of children of MIR militants, which alludes to some of the forms of trauma they suffered (2009: 156-162).

memories are adopted and reconfigured by younger generations, both of which will be discussed with respect to *Calle Santa Fe*.

This chapter will consider Castillo's work through the lenses of acting out, working through and working toward. Instead of relying on Boym's two forms of nostalgia, as has been done elsewhere with regards to Castillo's work, this chapter will utilise the concept of nostalgia along the lines set out by Traverso as described above: an emotional element which can contribute to the aforementioned modes of responding to trauma. It will also consider the way that the diverse responses to trauma are carried out collectively in her more recent documentary and critically apply the concept of postmemory.

Un día de octubre en Santiago: An Obsession with the Traumatic Past

Castillo's first book revolves around the events of the day to which the title alludes: 5 October 1974, which changed her life. The day in question constitutes the narrative thread that binds the distinct sections of the book together, as Castillo attempts to uncover as much information as she can about the events that took place and repeatedly poses the question '¿Dónde estabas tú el sábado 5 de octubre?' to different individuals. This focus on 5 October 1974 is complemented by Castillo's narration of episodes of her life and the MIR's history throughout the 1970s, particularly following the coup.

The narrative structure of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* includes three sections, each of which centres on a different location: 'La casa azul celeste de Santa Fe', 'La casa José Domingo Cañas' and 'La calle Claude-Bernard'. In addition, each section is framed by a different perspective which acts as a lens for the narrative. The first section focuses on Castillo's time as a committed left-wing militant, while she lived clandestinely with her partner and leader of the MIR, Miguel Enríquez. It deals with events following the day of the coup from the MIR's angle, as Castillo, Enríquez and their family moved from one safehouse to another, and looked to consolidate the movement's underground resistance. It also recounts the losses suffered by the MIR, particularly in late September and early October 1974 as the DINA began to close in on members of their leadership.⁶⁷ This section comes to a close with the start of the DINA's assault on the house on Calle Santa Fe.

The second section is presented from two different yet complementary perspectives of victim-survivors. The first is that of Amelia, with whom Castillo met in exile in France. She narrates her detention and those of other MIR militants in Cuartel Ollagüe at José Domingo

⁶⁷ Another account of this period of repression faced by the MIR is found in Salazar (2011: 140-150).

Cañas 1367, the torture and murder of some of them, and the events inside the clandestine detention centre while the DINA assault on Santa Fe 725 was taking place. The narration then shifts back to Castillo's perspective, returning to the gun battle at the safehouse. Castillo details how she was wounded, captured, taken to hospital and interrogated by the DINA, before eventually being allowed to leave the country. There is a clear contrast in this section between the typical destiny of detained MIR militants, who were tortured and in many cases murdered, and Castillo's privileged position, which not only prevented her from being physically tortured, but also allowed her to be released into exile.

The final section is centred on Castillo's experience of exile and her life after the death of Enríquez, whilst based in Rue Claude-Bernard in Paris. Castillo focuses not only on more recollections of the day of Miguel Enríquez's death but also on the disappearance in 1976 of Edgardo Enríquez, referred to as 'Simón', Miguel's brother and another member of the MIR's leadership. This section also contains some of the more reflective passages of the book, in which Castillo grapples with the nostalgia she experiences, her forced exile from Chile, and the effect this has on her identity. She also alludes to some of the contradictions she faces in her condition as a female MIR militant removed from the front line of the struggle, and delivers a defence of the MIR's political strategy of resistance against the dictatorship.

The current section of this chapter seeks to demonstrate that the predominant response to trauma displayed by Castillo in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is that of acting out, an obsessive and compulsive repetition of her past trauma, which Castillo appears unable to escape and convert into a paradigm of working through. This argument is significant given Castillo's perception of her work and particularly *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. Castillo has stated that her work forms part of her attempts to 'trabajar la memoria, los recuerdos' in order to prevent these memories from becoming static or turning into an obsession or nostalgia, which she views as analogous to oblivion (cited in Bedregal 1999). To this end, Castillo has defined her first book as 'fundamental en mi trabajo con la memoria' as it represents her 'pelea contra una memoria rígida que podía quedarse pegada' (cited in Bedregal 1999). Undoubtedly, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is concerned with 'working memory', to use Castillo's phrasing, given its principal themes of the memory of her traumatic past, the different perspectives from which she views it, and the versions of the past she gathers. However, as will be discussed below, it is debatable whether Castillo achieves her stated aim of breaking a static, rigid and obsessive memory or simply perpetuates it.

Castillo's choice of language for *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is one important element that demonstrates Castillo's response to trauma and the interplay of acting out and

working through. This book was originally released in French as *Un jour d'Octobre à Santiago* in 1980, before the Spanish translation was published in 1982. The conscious decision to write in a language which is not her mother tongue has impacted on Castillo's later work, as she has continued to write in French. In fact, one of her works, *Ligne de fuite*, has not been published in Spanish to date. In a brief acknowledgement at the start of the Spanish version of *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, Castillo offers a tentative explanation for her linguistic choice. Prefacing her justification with the admission that she was unsure why she wrote in French, she notes that she did so 'tal vez simplemente porque [el francés] es la lengua del exilio, donde transcurren hoy los días, la vida. [...] Tal vez porque necesitaba una lengua extranjera para soportar la memoria de los ausentes' (1982: 7). Castillo alludes here to her condition as an exile, and its impact on an emotional and political level. To this regard, Benedict Anderson has noted what he considers to be the most important feature of languages: their 'capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities*' (2006: 133, italics in original). Thus, one interpretation of Castillo's employment of the language of exile in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is that she does so to firmly root herself in the state of exile. This serves to emphasise the reason for her exile – the dictatorship's repression – and can also be understood as a way for her to shun Chile and all it represented for her at the time – Pinochet's regime and what she has termed its 'máquina de olvido' (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 237).

The second explanation for Castillo's use of French over Spanish in her original manuscript points to an emotional decision: her need to use a language other than her mother tongue to talk about the memory of the dead. This is significant in view of the implications of the use of foreign languages outlined by Christopher Tilley. Tilley argues that foreign languages and their components – 'their words, their sequences, their nuances, their sounds' – do not have 'emotional and bodily resonance' for a speaker in the same way as a mother tongue, regardless of how well or fluently he or she may speak the foreign language. The words of the foreign language, he posits, 'possess meaning but do not have depth', and thus do not have the same emotional impact on the speaker (2004: 27). Castillo has revelled in her linguistic ability and adaptability, specifically how she has been able to adapt to exile in France and speak perfect French without an accent (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 259). In this ability she finds the emotional distance she craves to be able to talk about her traumatic past. Indeed, Castillo has admitted that writing in French has allowed her the possibility of reconstructing her personal experience and talking about it. In contrast, she found writing about her experiences in Spanish too intimidating and distressing (Castillo, as cited in Rueda 2009: 82).

Despite the reasons behind this linguistic choice, it does not produce any substantial critical distance between the past and the present, as will be demonstrated below, which is a crucial factor for LaCapra in the process of working through past trauma (2001: 22, 143). Nor does the use of French succeed in blocking Castillo's traumatic memories, since these memories still permeate her work. So while Castillo's decision to write in French seems critical to allow her to write the book, it also, conversely, demonstrates the ongoing effects of her traumatic experience: she is unable to verbalise the past in the language that has the most emotional resonance for her, which points to the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Castillo's use of French thus ultimately reflects the way that the predominant response to trauma in her discourse is centred on her obsession with the past.

Castillo has also described writing as a cathartic process for her. In *Santiago-París: El vuelo de la memoria*, Castillo describes a turning point in her traumatic remembrance in 1977 when she engaged in a clear act of scriptotherapy – writing all night about her memories, channelling the past and inscribing it on the page. Significantly, she notes that this was not an attempt to erase the past and traumatic memories, but rather to ‘conservar un instante la vibración’ and preserve their memory through the action of writing them down. This writing process allowed her, she argues, to finally admit that two of her closest friends, Miguel Enríquez and Bautista Van Schouwen, were dead (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 189). Castillo does not clarify whether any of the material she wrote during this process was later incorporated into *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, though given the time this episode of scriptotherapy took place and the fact that it was related to Enríquez and Van Schouwen, two central figures in the book, this is a distinct possibility.

There is a disjunction, however, between the significance of writing for Castillo – both the process of writing and the language in which she chooses to do so – and the final written product that is *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. While Castillo has referred to her first book in an interview as an attempt to break what she terms static memory, an immobilising force that can lead to obsession and oblivion, this therapeutic quality is not significantly reflected in this work (Castillo, as cited in Bedregal 1999). This could be attributed to the way in which, according to LaCapra, the process of coming to terms with the past through post-traumatic writing involves a combination of acting out and working through (2001: 186). Indeed, it can be understood as part of the natural process for trauma survivors to have obsessive and compulsive tendencies before eventually being able to work through the trauma. As will now be argued, a number of features in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* support the notion that the

book reflects an obsession with the traumatic past. This ultimately overshadows the benefits of working through as described by Castillo in posterior accounts.

Un día de octubre en Santiago takes the form of a reconstruction of the past through Castillo's memories and those of others. It employs the central question of '¿dónde estabas tú el sábado 5 de octubre?' to guide the process of accumulating information related to her traumatic past. This question also allows for some reflection on the experience of exile and the MIR's political strategy at the time the book was written, although it does not provoke any meaningful reflection on the author's own traumatic experience. The way Castillo employs this question could initially be viewed as a form of scriptotherapy, and therefore working through, since it directly addresses the heart of her traumatic experience. The fact that it becomes an incessant line of questioning throughout the book, however, clashes with the intent of working through the past. Indeed, by repeatedly returning to and invoking the traumatic events of 5 October 1974, Castillo creates a non-linear narrative and effectively 'encircles the trauma', as theorised by Edkins (2003: 15). In this way, Castillo's narrative structure shuns the possibility of coming to terms with and working through the past and instead obsessively focuses on the trauma and retains the emotional and political impact of the events in question. Furthermore, this non-linear structure involves a number of leaps forwards and backwards in time, often prompted by traumatic recollections or issues related to them. In this sense, the narrative mimics the workings of memory and acting out, in which there is no distinction between the past and the present; the traumatic memories are still raw and have not been worked through. Thus, the narrative structure replicates the obsessive repetition or acting out of past trauma.

This non-linear narrative is also evident in the overall structure of the book itself. On the one hand, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is divided into sections, each linked to a specific location which corresponds to a progression in time: clandestine life in Calle Santa Fe; detention, torture and expulsion from Chile through the lens of the secret detention centre at José Domingo Cañas 1367; and life in exile in France on Rue Claude-Bernard. On the other hand, this linear order is undermined by the fact that it is always framed from a perspective which focuses on the way in which each time and setting is linked by and to 5 October 1974. The first chapter is haunted by the eventual fate of Castillo and Enríquez, and she acknowledges that her aim is to reconstruct events leading up to the DINA assault on their safehouse (1982: 40). The second chapter also revolves around Enríquez's death, given Amelia's version of events from her experience in Cuartel Ollagüe, and details Castillo's fate following her and Enríquez's unsuccessful resistance. The final chapter is also punctuated by Castillo's attempts in exile to discover more accounts of 5 October. Thus, what initially appears to be a typical

linear narrative progression from chapter to chapter is interrupted and fraught with the return of Castillo's traumatic recollection. This memory effectively exercises a haunting quality and forces itself into every facet of her memories and existence, emphasising the obsessive quality of her narrative.

A related feature of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* that illustrates Castillo's obsession with the past is the presence of nostalgia. The first section of the book in particular, with its focus on the house on Calle Santa Fe, is highly nostalgic in the literal definition of the term from its Greek derivative: 'a longing for a home that no longer exists' (Boym 2001: xiii). For Castillo, this was her quintessential home with the man she regarded as her true love, and she has described this period as the happiest of her life. By means of illustration, she notes the following: 'Diez meses de vida en la casa celeste de Santa Fe. Y todo lo que puede esperarse a lo largo de una vida, allí lo viví' (1982: 39). Beyond this romanticisation of the time period during which she lived with Miguel Enríquez and their children in the house on Santa Fe, Castillo also demonstrates a clear idealisation of Enríquez, once again in a melancholic tone. In a sequence of passages, she fondly recalls Enríquez's intelligence and astuteness, the way she used to watch him as he worked alongside her, and the way she felt that she 'quería merecer un sitio junto a su hombre', all of which contribute to her nostalgic memories of him (1982: 28-31). Indeed, this nostalgia and idealisation is so pronounced that one critic has gone so far as to pointedly argue that Castillo's militancy in the MIR was due to her love for Miguel Enríquez rather than any serious adherence to and study of revolutionary theory (Vidal 2013: 158).

This mood is detectable in other parts of the book, for example when Castillo nostalgically refers to other close friends, Bautista Van Schouwen and Edgardo Enríquez, both detained-disappeared victims of the dictatorship. She employs a repetitive technique, starting sentences and paragraphs in which she recalls her fondest memories of them with the names she used to call them, Bauchi and Simón (1982: 37-38, 115). This creates an emphasis on the positive qualities and joyful moments of their lives, and the repetition of their names seeks to make them present, contrasting with their physical absence. Given the way they are incorporated into a narrative obsessed with Castillo's traumatic past, the author's repeated calling of her friends' names and her idealisation of Miguel and life in the house at Santa Fe 725 appear nostalgic in the more traditional understanding of the concept, as an 'intimate, affective, and obsessive' form of remembering the past (Traverso 2013: 68). Therefore, this nostalgia does little to promote any critical thinking in Castillo's discourse: her narrative contains minimal critical reflection on her emotional trauma, and while there is a limited

amount of reflection on a political level, regarding the MIR's strategy of resistance against the dictatorship, this also leads to an exaltation of Miguel's leadership and astuteness (1982: 153). Thus, the overriding nostalgic tendency, particularly on an emotional level when Castillo talks about her loved ones who are dead or disappeared, ultimately consolidates the image of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* as a form of acting out, an obsession with and an idealisation of an unattainable past era.

Another key strategy Castillo uses throughout *Un día de octubre en Santiago* is the use of the second person in her narration. Her repeated use of 'tú', however, is not designed to incite the reader's participation in her story; rather, she uses it to directly address other individuals from her past and present. These individuals include the dead, such as Miguel Enríquez, Bautista Van Schouwen and Edgardo Enríquez, and those with whom she actually talks in the book: Amelia, a MIR militant who survived detention and torture in Cuartel Ollagüe; Andrés Pascal Allende, leader of the MIR following Miguel Enríquez's death and father to Castillo's eldest daughter; and Andrés's mother, Laura Allende, a politician who was Salvador Allende's sister. Unsurprisingly, the person who Castillo addresses most is Miguel Enríquez, and the way in which she talks to the dead can be understood as a sign of her ongoing inability to come to terms with the trauma of the past. Castillo also employs 'ustedes' on a limited number of occasions in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* to address different groups of people: Javiera and Camila, Miguel Enríquez's daughter and her daughter, respectively; her imprisoned, disappeared and dead comrades; and her friends and fellow MIR militants.

The implications of this form of addressing specific individuals within the narrative, rather than the reader, have been approached by Jaume Peris Blanes in his comprehensive work *Historia del testimonio chileno*. Peris Blanes posits that the use of the second-person pronoun throughout Castillo's book, particularly the singular form 'tú', excludes 'la figura de un lector potencial a quien fuera destinado el texto, cerrando el relato sobre sí mismo y replegando la voz sobre los propios actores de la historia recordada' (2008: 315). By excluding the reader from her narrative, Castillo avoids opening up in a scriptotherapeutic process which could help her come to terms with the past. Rather, in an act which perpetuates her obsession with the past, she chooses to focus on her world and life experiences, including the dead and disappeared, those who are not physically with her but who she continues to carry with her in her day to day life.

This is further emphasised by the way Castillo describes being able to see some of the individuals whom she directly addresses. Immediately before she talks to Bautista, for example, she says that 'a Bauchi, [...] lo veo, años después, unas semanas antes de su detención' (1982:

37). Similarly, as she evokes the memory of Simón (Edgardo) from her Parisian exile, she sees him in her mind's eye, stating: 'Es que en París Simón vive. De aquí estoy viéndolo, Simón en la calle Claude-Bernard...' (1982: 114). Even though she resorts to positive memories of them in these examples, Castillo cannot escape the fates that befell Bauchi and Simón. In other words, her non-traumatic memories are still inextricably linked to and framed by their eventual deaths. This is most evident by the way that Castillo describes in close proximity to these happy memories the night that 'Bauchi cayó', and how 'Simón fue arrestado' while he was alone in Buenos Aires 'el 10 de abril del 76' (1982: 38, 110-112). Castillo's repeated use of second-person pronouns to address individuals within her narrative, rather than the reader, illustrates Mieke Bal's observation of the lack of a 'social component' in what she terms 'traumatic (non)memory', which 'is not addressed to anybody, the patient does not respond to anybody; it is a solitary event, not even an activity' (1999: x). In the 'solitary event' of Castillo's traumatic remembrance, she can only appeal to those whose memories she holds within her, and fails to address anyone other than them or her interviewees. This, alongside her desire to evoke the dead in an attempt to keep them alive, demonstrates a focus on her traumatic past which underscores the obsessive nature of her narrative and her acting out of the past.

Another facet of Castillo's response to trauma is found in the split identity she presents in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, as Castillo refers to herself in both the first and the third person and by different names. Throughout the book she refers to Catita, the name Miguel used to call her, when alluding to herself during the period in which she lived in hiding with Miguel and their daughters between 1973 and 1974 (Castillo 1982: 15-16; Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 189). Ximena, another of Castillo's aliases, was the pseudonym she used for activities in the MIR during the same period. As she notes in *Santiago-París: El vuelo de la memoria*, the dividing point between her personas of Ximena and Catita was the threshold of the house at Santa Fe 725: 'Una parte de mí [Ximena] actuaba fríamente, recorrido sin emociones por las calles de Santiago de un punto de contacto a otro. La otra [Catita] solo aparecía dentro de la casa azul celeste de Santa Fe' (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 176). In stark contrast to her allusions to Catita and Ximena, Castillo employs the first person to refer to her present-day self, that is, the person who is writing and narrating *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. The existence of a split identity can be understood as symptomatic of the trauma Castillo experienced. Given LaCapra's definition of trauma as 'a disruptive experience that disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence' (2001: 41), Castillo's multiple personalities correspond to a disarticulation of her identity, which has caused her to view her past and present selves as separate entities. In turn, these different aliases, corresponding to

different times in Castillo's life, establish a distinction between the past and the present which appears to demonstrate a level of working through of past trauma.

There are fundamental aspects of Castillo's split identity, however, which illustrate a more complex interaction of her past and present personas. There are moments when Castillo conflates her third- and first-person narration, and she also confuses the time periods that these identities inhabit. For example, recalling a conversation with Miguel Enríquez, Castillo writes: 'Una mañana me preguntaste: Catita, ¿qué piensas hacer?, ¿has reflexionado?, ¿y las niñas?' (1982: 29). Later in her narrative, when questioning the events of the day before 5 October 1974, Castillo says 'la Catita no lo sabe. No lo sé' (1982: 49). Finally, when recalling her final moments with Miguel Enríquez during the DINA's assault on Santa Fe 725, she narrates: 'La toma [Miguel], sí, me toma, [...] y me besa y me habla. Por un instante la metralleta descansa a sus pies: Catita, despiértate. Catita... No, ella jamás pronunciará esas palabras; callará' (1982: 92). In all these examples, the way in which Castillo confuses the first-person and third-person narration, and therefore her identities, undermines the generally orderly distinction between her past and present personas in the book. Moreover, Castillo's reference to Catita with a range of verb tenses – preterite, present and future – in her conflation of identities hints at an element of inner turmoil and psychological instability, in which the distinctions she has created in her own mind as a response to trauma are blurred. The way she brings Catita into the present, seemingly involuntarily, even though Catita ought to be consigned to the past, can be understood as the haunting, imposing nature of the past on her present life, and therefore a form of acting out.

Castillo's allusions to Catita throughout *Un día de octubre en Santiago* also reveal a certain amount of emotional confusion. After narrating Miguel Enríquez's death and her capture and expulsion from Chile, Castillo states: 'Porque Miguel ha muerto, ella, la Catita, ya no existe. [...] La Catita murió. La asesinaron el sábado 5 de octubre de 1974. [...] La Catita ha muerto y nadie puede tomar su lugar' (1982: 105-106). On a basic level, it is obvious that Catita died along with Enríquez: he was the only person to call Castillo by that name, and thus without him there is no one else to refer to her as Catita. Therefore, the way in which she holds on to the identity of Catita, as a key to gain access to and evoke Enríquez, points towards its use as a tool in her obsession with her traumatic memory. Indeed, in a convoluted passage in which she attempts to recall details of an early period of her relationship with Enríquez, Castillo remarks 'estoy esforzándome para nada, la Catita se me escabulle, me escapa' (1982: 36). In this way, the role of Catita – now more as a character in the book rather than part of Castillo's

split identity – operates as a device to keep the memory of Miguel Enríquez alive. Castillo's repetitive allusions to her are thus central to her obsession to keep the past alive and act it out.

A final significant feature of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* which highlights Castillo's obsession with the traumatic past is its testimonial nature. It should be noted that there is a nuanced yet highly significant distinction, at times overlooked or taken for granted in criticism, between two categories of testimony: survivor testimony and testimonial literature. In survivor testimony, a victim-survivor 'bears witness' to traumatic events, either orally or in written form, in a process which may help him or her to come to terms with the past (Laub 1992a: 69-70; LaCapra 2001: 105). Testimonial literature, on the other hand, is more specific and nuanced. In Elzbieta Skłodowska's seminal work on Latin American *testimonio*, she catalogues two forms of mediated testimonies, 'novelas testimoniales' and 'testimonios novelizados', and delineates two branches of the latter: 'testimonio etnográfico y/o socio-histórico', in which an educated narrator acts as a mediator, interviewing an often subaltern individual and relaying his or her testimony; and 'testimonio noticioso', a detective-style discourse in which the narrator goes about researching and compiling different accounts and details about a certain event (1992: 100, 102).⁶⁸ *Un día de octubre en Santiago* contains elements of both survivor testimony and 'testimonio noticioso', which provide further evidence of her ultimate obsession with past trauma.

Castillo's narration of the events of 5 October 1974 and her subsequent detention, interrogation and expulsion from Chile constitute survivor testimony. From her perspective as a 'privileged' survivor, given that she was not tortured in the way that many of her comrades were, Castillo's testimony bears witness to the DINA's systematic annihilation of the MIR, culminating in the death of its leader, Enríquez, and the psychological scars with which this has left her (Castillo 1982: 100). Dori Laub's work on psychoanalysis, originally in the field of Holocaust studies, has established that it is imperative for survivors to tell their stories in order to survive, move on, and rebuild their lives (1992b: 78). In other words, bearing witness constitutes a central aspect of working through survivors' trauma. Laub also emphasises the importance of the survivor having someone else to listen to his or her story, highlighting that 'bearing witness to a trauma is [...] a process that includes a listener' (1992a: 70). Moreover,

⁶⁸ The key difference between these two types of 'testimonio novelizado' is found in the visibility of the narrator-mediator. In an ethnographic testimony, the mediator-transcriber-editor is invisible, which raises ethical questions regarding the authenticity of the individual's testimony, and how its transcription and editing may have been moulded to serve a certain ideological purpose on the editor's part. In the detective-style testimony, on the other hand, the mediator-detective is clearly visible – it is a self-aware recompilation of information from a diverse range of sources (Skłodowska 1992: 83, 163, 166).

he argues that testimonies are not the same as monologues, and that it is in the interaction and empathetic understanding between the survivor and the listener that the victim is able to gain support and, ultimately, closure (1992a: 70-71). In Castillo's testimony, however, there is no physical listener to whom she bears witness; on the contrary, she excludes potential readers through her focus on addressing her dead loved ones. There is no therapeutic outcome to this conversation, as the dead cannot empathetically listen to her survivor testimony and support her in the process of coming to terms with the past. Thus, the lack of an active listener further contributes to and intensifies her obsession with the past.

Furthermore, *Un día de octubre en Santiago* approximates the 'testimonio noticiero' form as Castillo supplements her own survivor testimony with the testimony of others who she seeks out in order to learn of their experiences of 5 October 1974. Castillo makes no attempt to hide her mediation of the testimonies she compiles – they are relayed either in the form of conversations she has with the individuals, or framed by phrases such as 'Miguel relata', 'la Rucia me lo contó', 'cuenta Solange en una carta' or 'Pierre Kalfon me relató su conversación' (1982: 23, 119-120). Even an entire section, in the case of Amelia's testimony, is prefaced with phrases like 'durante horas, Amelia lee' and 'Amelia habla', before Castillo retells her story in the third person (1982: 61-62). Indeed, at times Castillo even interrupts her interviewees' testimonies to direct them to the key information that she wants to gain from them. For example, she interrupts Amelia's extensive testimony, which accounts for over half of the second chapter, by directly asking her '¿dónde estabas tú, Amelia, el sábado 5 de octubre?' (1982: 87). Similarly, following Andrés Pascal Allende's anecdotes of Miguel Enríquez, Castillo attempts to focus his memory by asking: '¿Dónde estabas, Andrés, el sábado 5 de octubre?' (1982: 148). In this way, Castillo's questioning of her interviewees emphasises her determined focus on the events of 5 October 1974. It also highlights her active agency as a detective figure, one could posit, as she seeks specific information that she feels may have been overlooked or not sufficiently addressed in others' testimonies.

Moreover, Castillo explicitly acknowledges her investigative role on several occasions in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. She openly describes the purpose of her book as 'reconstituir el trayecto que condujo al enemigo hasta la casa de Santa Fe', and states that she owes it to herself to carry out this investigation (1982: 40). Similarly, in exile she feels the impulse from her memories of Simón to 'proseguir, a encontrar otros testigos y hacer la pregunta una vez más: ¿dónde estabas tú [Simón] el sábado 5 de octubre?', as Simón's presence with her '[le] empuja a indagar en otros lados, en busca de otros sábados 5 de octubre' (1982: 122). This underscores the way in which her search for more information about the details surrounding

the assault on Santa Fe 725 and Miguel Enríquez's death is a central theme of the book, alongside her own testimony.

Castillo's role as a compiler of accounts and her incorporation of these testimonies alongside her own thus feeds her obsession, as her incessant pursuit of information related to Enríquez's death seeks to fill in the gaps in her knowledge and obtain a clearer picture of the events of 5 October 1974. The use of others' testimonies also places Castillo in an interesting position as a listener for others, some of whom have also suffered traumatic experiences and are therefore sharing their own survivor testimony. Castillo could thus be considered to be helping individuals like Amelia work through their trauma, by acting as an 'empathic listener' for their testimonies (Laub 1992a: 68). Castillo's disposition to listen to these stories, however, is largely driven by her own focus on the past, which detracts from any altruistic qualities it may have. Moreover, by listening to and taking in other stories and accounts leading up to the traumatic event, instead of solely focusing on writing about it herself for therapeutic purposes, Castillo is further deep-rooting her focus on the trauma and not gaining critical distance from it. Therefore, her investigative actions and her role as a mediator of other testimonies ultimately negate the positive impact of her telling her story in a scriptotherapeutic manner, and operate as another aspect of her obsession with her traumatic past.

Calle Santa Fe: A Mature Reflection on Past Trauma

Calle Santa Fe is an audiovisual account of Castillo's return to Chile in the mid-2000s to embark upon a personal and collective examination of the past. As in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, the central historical juncture around which the film is constructed is the death of Miguel Enríquez and Castillo's detention on 5 October 1974, which led to her subsequent expulsion from Chile. In response to this, the film documents Castillo's recurrent visits to Calle Santa Fe 30 years later, as she attempts to fill in the few remaining gaps in her memory and understanding of the events that took place that day. She also gains access to the house itself, now occupied by a different owner, and entertains the possibility of buying the house for a second time for the dual purposes of preserving the memory of Enríquez and converting it into a space to be used by contemporary left-wing movements. Towards the end of the film, Castillo ultimately decides against this action, and settles on a homage to Enríquez in the form of a memorial plaque in the street close to Santa Fe 725.

The film also contains two other narrative threads which are juxtaposed and intertwined alongside the development of these events in Calle Santa Fe. On one level, *Calle Santa Fe* engages in a reconstruction of the collective history of the MIR, from its inception in 1965 to

its dissolution in 1989. This is principally achieved through the use of archival footage and Castillo's interviews with individuals who are also former MIR militants. Some of the topics that Castillo and her interviewees reflect upon include the MIR's political ideology and praxis, the repression inflicted upon the movement during the dictatorship, its militants' clandestine return to Chile in the 1980s, and the ongoing presence of a marginalised 'cultura mirista' that endures in contemporary Chile. As will be discussed below, this revision of history attempts to validate the memory of the MIR as a significant political, social and cultural organisation, and salvage it from the stigmatisation and marginalisation to which it has been subjected since Pinochet's dictatorship.

Castillo complements this collective re-membering of the MIR's past by incorporating her own personal story and recollections into the film. This narration encompasses a retelling of many events or experiences to which she previously alluded in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, such as clandestine life in Santa Fe 725 with Enríquez, the DINA assault which killed him and wounded her, her detention and expulsion from Chile, her work for the MIR overseas, and her exile in Paris. In addition, Castillo refers to events that occurred after her first book was published, including her distancing from the formal structure of the MIR, her return to Chile under exceptional circumstances for 15 days in 1987, and her return to Calle Santa Fe in the 21st century. This autobiographical gesture thus entwines Castillo's personal story with the history of the MIR, and in many ways portrays her experiences as somewhat anomalous to those of the majority of her comrades who she interviews. The film as a whole is born out of the interactions of these three complementary narrative lines – Castillo's personal history, her activities in the present, and the collective past of the MIR – which creates a nuanced vision of the past and the present.

Calle Santa Fe is Castillo's most analysed work, and has been approached from a number of perspectives. In many ways, this can be attributed to the film's lengthiness (it runs for over two and a half hours) and to the abundance of themes it includes. Antonio Traverso has categorised *Calle Santa Fe* as a 'documentary of return', a term originally developed by Janet Walker with regards to filmic accounts dealing with the wake of Hurricane Katrina in the United States in 2005 (Traverso 2013: 53). This physical act of return and its recording on film in *Calle Santa Fe* and a number of other Chilean documentaries, Traverso argues, gives rise to a clear sense of nostalgia which permeates the work (2013: 54). Similarly, Lisa Renee DiGiovanni has proposed that Castillo's 'return home' to Chile and Calle Santa Fe, as well as her 'nostalgic longing to salvage remnants from the past', sets the film apart from Castillo's earlier work that ultimately deals with similar topics (2012: 19).

DiGiovanni's approach to *Calle Santa Fe* and what she deems to be its distinguishing feature in Castillo's corpus overlooks some of the key nostalgic features of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* that were analysed in the previous section of this chapter. Moreover, DiGiovanni places excessive importance on the physical nature of Castillo's return to Chile in *Calle Santa Fe*, in contrast to Traverso's categorisation of *Calle Santa Fe* as a 'documentary of return', a film that is 'ultimately about returning to a place and time painfully remembered by the filmmaker' (2013: 52). Consequently, DiGiovanni somewhat disregards the emotional and psychological return to Chile that Castillo undertakes in her earlier work. For example, as has been previously noted, Castillo dedicates a chapter of *Un día de octubre en Santiago* to the recollection of clandestine life in Santa Fe 725. In addition, she had also physically returned to Santiago a decade before the filming of *Calle Santa Fe* for her documentary on the MIR militant-cum-DINA collaborator Marcia Alejandra Merino, *La flaca Alejandra*. Therefore, while it is valid to emphasise Castillo's physical journey of return to her former home in *Calle Santa Fe* and the significance of this, the film is also a 'documentary of return' in an emotional sense and is by no means the first of her works in which she has physically or psychologically returned to the time and location of past trauma.

In fact, one aspect that sets *Calle Santa Fe* apart from the rest of Castillo's work is the way in which it moves beyond a mere return and a reconstitution of events to a broader social and political commentary. Indeed, given the subject matter of *Calle Santa Fe*, the film can be approached as both a social and a political documentary. Julianne Burton, for example, has defined social documentaries as those 'with a human subject and a descriptive or transformative concern' (1990: 3). She also notes that the 'renaissance' in Latin American documentary film production, beginning in the middle of the 20th century, 'has gone hand in hand with social and political ferment' and is often motivated by 'a commitment to political transformation' (1990: 26-27). Similarly, Antonio Traverso and Tomás Crowder-Taraborrelli have observed that the exponents of 'political documentary' in the Southern Cone have 'played an active role in counterhegemonic struggles, ideological debate, political organisation and education, investigations of human rights violations, and the creation of public audiovisual archives' (2013: 6). In many ways, this echoes Burton's assessment some decades earlier of the uses and purposes of Latin American documentaries (1990: 6-7). Castillo's film has both a social purpose, by shedding light on social inequality in Chile and certain attitudes to historical memory, as well as a clear political motivation, detailing the history of the MIR, the dictatorship's repression, the experience of exile, and currents in left-wing movements in Chile

today. In addition to its classification as a documentary of return, *Calle Santa Fe* thus forms part of the rich tradition of these two overlapping filmic genres in Latin America.⁶⁹

A number of studies to date on *Calle Santa Fe* have focused on its feminist perspective, examining the privileged position given in the film to women's voices and testimony, and the critical reflection on women's roles in the revolutionary movement (Ramírez 2011; DiGiovanni 2012; Llanos 2012, 2013). This focus on gender makes a pertinent and valuable contribution to scholarship on Castillo's work, but is not the focus of this study. Other studies look at the documentary's portrayal of nostalgia (DiGiovanni 2012; Lazzara 2012). The use of the notion of nostalgia in these critical works is particularly relevant to the present analysis.

As previously discussed, Traverso has outlined a significant conceptual flaw in Boym's notions of restorative and reflective nostalgia, namely that the two terms seemingly re-label the common understanding of nostalgia and critical thinking, respectively (Traverso 2013: 68). Nevertheless, both DiGiovanni and Lazzara utilise Boym's terms as theoretical frameworks around which they base their analyses of *Calle Santa Fe*, and in both cases they focus on the contrast between these two forms of nostalgia in the film. DiGiovanni juxtaposes Castillo's fixation on the former safehouse and her emotional rejection of contemporary Chilean society with the critical inquiry into the dual roles of 'motherhood and militancy' between which women in the revolutionary movement were trapped (2012: 24). Lazzara, for his part, outlines the progression from Castillo's obsession with Santa Fe 725 and her attitude towards today's Chile to the critical reflection on the MIR's legacy and her decision not to buy the house back (2012: 78-80).

As DiGiovanni and Lazzara rightly point out, there is clearly an obsessive, nostalgic dimension to *Calle Santa Fe* which is conveyed through the idealisation of elements of the past and the focus on the recuperation of the house. This angle, however, dismisses some of the key motivations behind Castillo's desire to recover the house and overlooks a number of other features in the film that point towards her coming to terms with past trauma, as will be discussed below. Moreover, Lazzara's analysis privileges the autobiographical characteristics of the film

⁶⁹ An alternative view is held by Hernán Vidal, who has gone so far as to argue that *Calle Santa Fe* 'no corresponde a lo que comúnmente se entiende por película documental' (2013: 175). To justify this claim, he employs a rather restrictive definition of documentary film as an audiovisual recording of an investigation 'sobre un hecho social de relevancia' which proposes a hypothesis and sets out to prove or disprove it through the use of evidence and interviews (2013: 175-176). Such a definition is clearly at odds with the conceptions of social and political documentaries as espoused by both Burton and Traverso and Crowder-Taraborrelli, and would arguably exclude seminal works such as Patricio Guzmán's three-volume *La batalla de Chile, la lucha de un pueblo sin armas* (1975, 1976, 1979) from the category of documentary films. Overall, Vidal's assertion appears to be driven by an ideological bias, given that it constitutes one of several attempts to discredit Castillo throughout his highly critical analysis and treatment of her work.

and therefore neglects the equally significant collective reflection developed throughout Castillo's interviews. DiGiovanni, on the other hand, acknowledges the collective self-reflection found in *Calle Santa Fe* to a certain extent, in order to support her argument regarding the film's feminist perspective and the way it examines collective trauma. The collective trauma she refers to, however, is 'family trauma' between parents and children, as opposed to a broader collective trauma among a generation of former MIR militants (DiGiovanni 2012: 33).

The examination of *Calle Santa Fe* in this section aims to build on the existing critical literature by considering in tandem the mutually complementary individual and collective responses to trauma in which a range of actors in the film engage. It also argues that the predominant response to the traumatic past in this film comprises a mature, critical reflection on the past, which involves processes of both working through and working toward, in stark contrast to the obsessiveness of *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. While critics such as Lazzara and Amanda Rueda have alluded to a form of progression from modes of acting out to working through purely with respect to *Calle Santa Fe*, this section illustrates that this evolution is arguably a much longer and more complex process which develops throughout Castillo's work (Lazzara 2012: 80; Rueda 2009: 79). That is, the general obsession with the traumatic past in *Un día de octubre en Santiago* eventually evolves into a more mature reflection on this same past in *Calle Santa Fe*. This measured reflection on the past is not solely exemplified by Castillo's epiphany regarding what she feels she ought to do with the house on Santa Fe, but by a range of aspects of the film which bring into relief broader questions relating to left-wing militancy and Chilean society.

The narrative structure of *Calle Santa Fe* is the first feature of the film that illustrates Castillo's more measured response to the traumatic past and, as a consequence, the interaction between working through and working toward. As has been noted above, the documentary frequently shifts between three complementary narrative threads. This can create the illusion that the narrative structure is somewhat unordered and muddled. In this regard, Elizabeth Ramírez has asserted that Castillo's documentaries in general do not have a linear or chronological construction, given that they are 'trabajos de memoria'. Moreover, Ramírez has highlighted what she judges to be the fragmentary and repetitive nature of *Calle Santa Fe*, alongside Castillo's 'continuo retorno' to diverse locations like Calle Santa Fe and the use of a range of archives. She attributes all three of these features to the film's 'dimensión traumática' (Ramírez 2011). Overall, Ramírez's claims suggest that *Calle Santa Fe*'s non-linear, fragmented and repetitive narrative structure effectively enacts or encircles trauma.

In spite of the way in which the film does indeed switch between its distinct plot lines, which involves frequent temporal leaps, on the whole it does suggest a linear narrative progression and is significantly more orderly in this respect than Castillo's earlier work. In the first instance, each narrative thread – Castillo's personal history, her activities in the present, and the collective past of the MIR – is chronological in its own right. Furthermore, the two storylines which deal with individual and collective history develop simultaneously, and they consider roughly similar eras as they both progress.⁷⁰ For example, after interviewing several women in Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi on their experiences of detention and torture, Castillo then narrates her own detention in hospital and her journey into exile.⁷¹ Similarly, Castillo explores with various interviewees a number of different facets of the active resistance to the dictatorship during the 1980s, of which the MIR formed part, before questioning her own actions in exile while this resistance was taking place.

The shifts between these complementary and entwined narrative threads, then, are carried out for the very purpose of attempting to maintain a sense of chronological development in the film. Indeed, Castillo has referred to the confluence and organisation of narrative lines in the documentary as 'una narración construida a la manera de una ficción' (cited in Letelier n.d.). This emphasises the way in which, in spite of the changes between distinct narrative threads that ought to disrupt any chronological progression, the film's production artificially creates a linear narrative. This linearity is further emphasised by Castillo's decision to use each separate interview only once in the film. By not returning to a previous interview to glean further information or discuss a different era of the past, Castillo maintains a sense of progression in the narrative or its 'ritmo emotivo', as she has labelled it (cited in Letelier n.d.). Subsequently, the film's narrative continues moving forward in its treatment of the past and follows the chronological order of events; it does not repetitively return to specific episodes of trauma, and therefore avoids encircling the accounts of traumatic experiences it details.

This does not imply, however, that there are no exceptions to this chronological development in *Calle Santa Fe*. The most significant temporal leaps backwards and forwards in the documentary occur when Castillo employs archival footage from the 1970s and 1980s. These archives, which range from newspaper clippings, filmed interviews, news footage, and personal recordings, serve the express purpose of supporting and illustrating the chronological

⁷⁰ One notable exception to the chronology of Castillo's personal history are her musings at the start of the film regarding her previous return to Chile from France in the 1980s.

⁷¹ The site of memory Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, its development and its symbolic representations are analysed in detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis. In *Calle Santa Fe*, Castillo also visits Estadio Nacional, whose memory project and symbolic features are likewise examined in Chapter 4.

narratives of Castillo's life and the MIR's evolution which are being told. By means of illustration, a conversation regarding the MIR's relationship with Salvador Allende and events on the day of the coup is followed by footage of an interview between Allende and Régis Debray, in which the president declares that he is aware of the possibility he may be assassinated to be removed from power. To a similar effect, a 1982 recording of Castillo in French, in which she describes the way she makes documentaries about Chile from exile, is inserted within the narration of her life in exile. The use of this archival footage does not constitute an involuntary return to the past in the style of a stream of consciousness narration which mimics the workings of memory, as is found in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. Rather, these jumps back and forth in time have been introduced during the film's postproduction by Castillo, who is fully conscious of their implications. There is a clear recognition of the distinction between past and present, and these temporal shifts operate as a means of furthering the documentary's overall narrative by provoking reflection on the past events in question. Overall, then, the linear narrative progression on complementary levels in *Calle Santa Fe* does produce a chronological structure, which allows Castillo to explore and revise historical events, and is further supported by archival footage.

One central thematic feature of *Calle Santa Fe* is Castillo's attempt to buy the former safehouse at Santa Fe 725. The significance of the house itself is highlighted in its description by scholars as the 'linchpin around which the documentary's narrative emplotment unfolds' and as the film's 'núcleo referencial de la memoria histórica y afectiva' (Lazzara 2012: 78; Richard 2010: 163). Some critics have chosen to focus on Castillo's repeated visits to Calle Santa Fe to argue that the recovery of the house represents a fixation on the traumatic past. Lazzara, for example, has proposed that the house 'takes on the monumentalized status of a fetish or an obsession' for Castillo as it represents the revolutionary past both for her as an individual and for Chile as a whole (2012: 78-79). Thus, the house exemplifies Castillo's 'restorative nostalgia', before her later resolution against conserving it leads her towards 'reflective nostalgia' and working through the past (Lazzara 2012: 80). DiGiovanni echoes Lazzara's analysis by labelling Castillo's plans to buy Santa Fe 725 for the purpose of 'enshrining' the memory of Enríquez and the MIR's political project as 'a textbook example of restorative nostalgia' (2012: 24). In both cases, the notion of restorative nostalgia implies an obsessive tendency and can therefore be understood as analogous to acting out (Traverso 2013: 54, 72).

The way Castillo approaches the house on Calle Santa Fe, including her intentions to buy it and convert it into a memorial, however, should not simply be dismissed as an obsession

with the traumatic past. On the contrary, the house's function can be viewed as illustrative of critical reflection and coming to terms with the past, including the concepts of working through and working toward, and even demonstrates the progression from the former notion to the latter during the film. First, it is important to contextualise Castillo's arrival at the house on Calle Santa Fe within the broader narrative of her life and her attempts to deal with the traumatic experience that took place there. In an interview shortly after the release of *Calle Santa Fe*, Castillo describes a previous instance when she returned to the street in the early 1990s during the filming of the documentary *La flaca Alejandra*, whose opening sequence includes footage of the house's exterior. Castillo explains her apprehension during the filming of this scene for *La flaca Alejandra*, as she approached the house, briefly touched its walls, and then left. Notably, she was unable to physically pause outside the house, fearful of damaging 'delicate' memories and not yet ready to confront the resistance to the dictatorship that the house symbolised (Castillo 2008: 133). This apprehension and her inability to physically encounter the embodiment of her traumatic memories demonstrates that Castillo was, at that point, yet to come to terms with the past. A decade later, however, Castillo was now emotionally prepared to approach and enter the house, exploring the meanings and significance it held for her personally and for the revolutionary Left collectively. In this sense, her proposal to buy the house, a product of this search for the meaning of the house from a standpoint of mature reflection, can be seen as a step in the process of coming to terms with the past.

Castillo's return to the house after four decades does not necessarily represent an obsession with the past, but rather, can be seen as a way of confronting past trauma. When Castillo enters the house alongside her daughter and granddaughter, she is visibly emotionally affected. As she walks through the house's interior, Castillo explains to her daughter how the internal layout is now different, as well as the function of each room and what they were like when they lived there with Enríquez and his daughter. In this respect, Castillo demonstrates an understanding of the distinction between the past and the present, that is, between her memories and the current state of the house. By voluntarily recalling how things used to be and contrasting them with how they are now, Castillo gives the impression that she is in control of her memories of the house, and is consequently in the process of working through. Castillo also remarks on the patio of the house that 'es como si todo fuera otro al mismo tiempo, ¿no? Sabemos que las baldosas están, pero como que uno no puede tocar el recuerdo'. This comment effectively demonstrates the way in which Castillo now critically reflects on the passing of time since the traumatic events. She emphasises the contradiction she is forced to confront between the preservation of physical elements of the past – the tiles – and her inability to access

the memories associated with them. Thus, while the house and its contents evoke certain memories of the past for Castillo, her mature reflection demonstrates a clear understanding of the way time has passed and life has moved on.

Castillo's plans for the house should her attempt to buy it be successful also suggest a coming to terms with the past. Castillo has admitted to being driven by a desire for revenge, fuelled by the fact that she could not bear to see the house and what it represented inhabited by 'fascists' who were impervious, and even hostile, to the memory of Enríquez (2008: 141). In many ways, this attitude towards the house's current owner represents a microcosm of Castillo's struggle against what she views as 'amnesia general' and the whitewashing of history, particularly that of the MIR, in Chilean society (Castillo, as cited in Bedregal 1999). Her plans for the house, which seek to challenge these attitudes in present-day Chile, comprise two key features. The first involves commemorating Miguel Enríquez in some form. This desire to convert the house into a vehicle of memory runs the risk of petrifying the memory that it wishes to preserve: it could close off the memory of the past and make it inaccessible in the present. Castillo appears to be aware of this risk, however, as she states in the film that she does not intend for the house to become a mere shrine.⁷² The second other aspect of Castillo's intentions for the house involves allowing it to be used as a gathering place by contemporary left-wing movements. Despite the fact that a representative of the younger generation of leftist militants rejected Castillo's offer, her suggestion points toward a productive use of the house in the present by facilitating the development of political action by the modern Left. This, in turn, adds another dimension to Castillo's hypothetical plans and involves the process of working toward, since it would have entailed using the memory of the past, as represented by the house, to influence and help construct new left-wing narratives and projects in the 21st century. Thus, the way Castillo approaches and interacts with Santa Fe 725 throughout the film is illustrative of critical reflection and coming to terms with her past trauma associated with the house.

The recollection and rearticulation of the history of the MIR in *Calle Santa Fe* is another feature of the film which demonstrates a mature, critical reflection, both individually and collectively, and can be viewed as a process of working through. The MIR's existence as a political movement, formally over three decades in the second half of the 20th century and informally among networks of ex-militants since the return to democracy, is inextricably linked

⁷² The symbolic uses of sites of memory in which atrocities occurred and the consequences that different representational strategies may have for visitors' perceptions of the sites are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, on memorialisation in Chile.

to the attempted annihilation of the movement by the DINA during Pinochet's dictatorship. In this sense, the history and memories of the MIR are ultimately overshadowed by the trauma of the dictatorship: the deaths of its militants and the human rights violations that many of them suffered.

Nevertheless, *Calle Santa Fe*'s critical examination of the MIR moves beyond the all-encompassing label of 'victim' of the dictatorship which has been attached to the movement. It does so not only by considering the movement's historic achievements and valuing its position in Chilean political history, but also through the critical questioning of some of the political decisions its leaders made, with the benefit of hindsight. This inquiry by Castillo and other former militants encompasses issues such as the negative consequences of Operación Retorno and Proyecto Hogares, particularly the way in which they separated families, and whether the MIR's resistance was ultimately worth the lives that were lost as a result of it. This examination constitutes a collective transformation of the understanding of the MIR's past, and works through the past trauma associated with the movement. Furthermore, this recollection and re-evaluation of the MIR's history contains some nostalgic overtones, insofar as it portrays the MIR's political goals and actions in a positive light. As Traverso has argued, nostalgia has the potential to not solely be an immobilising force but can also be 'restorative of the self' (2013: 68). This is supported by Mieke Bal, who has similarly contended that a nostalgia which is 'critically tempered and historically informed' can have an empowering and productive effect (1999: xi). Given the way that the nostalgia related to this issue is harnessed in *Calle Santa Fe* to foster a mature reflection on the past, it appears to have a somewhat nurturing effect which supports the former militants as they come to terms with the movement's tragic past. Consequently, these nostalgic overtones arguably correspond to Castillo and the former militants' working through of past trauma, rather than demonstrating a desire to restore an idealised past.

The use of interviews as a central part of *Calle Santa Fe* also illustrates the predominant role of critical reflection and coming to terms with the past as a response to trauma. In stark contrast to the relatively narrow focus of the interviews conducted by Castillo in *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, which revolve around a reconstruction of the events of 5 October 1974 from numerous perspectives, the interviews in *Calle Santa Fe* consider a variety of topics related to the existence of the MIR and the lives of its militants. In addition to the broader range of issues the interviews deal with, they also lean towards critical reflection on past decisions and actions. These interviews are more probing and more profound, as they search for answers

to ascertain why certain events took place or specific decisions were taken, rather than simply describing what occurred, as is the case in Castillo's first book.

Illustrative of this are the interviews with Andrés Pascal Allende, the only person to be interviewed by Castillo in both *Un día de octubre en Santiago* and *Calle Santa Fe*. Castillo's questioning of Pascal Allende in the former is restricted to his experiences around the day of the murder of Miguel Enríquez, and his responses are largely descriptive. In *Calle Santa Fe*, in contrast, the interaction between Castillo and Pascal Allende involves a broader historical contextualisation and reflection on the role of the MIR during Salvador Allende's presidency and its relationship with him, as well as alluding to the day of the coup itself. The testimonies of other interviewees in the documentary also take on a reflective tone. Gladys Díaz, for instance, explains her decision to not ask for asylum and leave Chile voluntarily, while Cristián Castillo touches upon the loss of comrades and how their absence afflicts the survivors. Another interviewee, Margarita Marchi, discusses the difficulties of balancing being a mother and a revolutionary militant. Castillo's use of interviews in *Calle Santa Fe*, then, does not simply revolve around the reconstitution of a series of events. Rather, the confluence of her interviewees' voices supports the overall argument of the documentary by collectively critically examining past events and trauma in order to consider how this past may be of use to influence the present and the future.

Castillo's role as a listener in *Calle Santa Fe* is also more prominent than in her earlier work. That is, viewers see her as a listener who allows the polyphony of her interviewees' voices to stand out, rather than perceiving her as a mediating presence, as is the case in her first book, in which she transcribes and relays the testimonies of others. Once again, this reflects the way in which the documentary deals with a wider range of topics and experiences than *Un día de octubre en Santiago*. In the documentary, Castillo seeks out experiences of repression that are markedly different to her own, some of which share several characteristics. The testimony of Lucía Sepúlveda Ruiz, for example, describes her clandestine life in Chile for the duration of the dictatorship, in stark contrast to Castillo's public expulsion from Chile and work in exile. Similarly, a group of women talk with Castillo at Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi and refer to their experiences of detention and physical torture at clandestine detention centres, which is also alien to Castillo. Castillo's choice of interviewees can thus be seen to augment the scope of experiences of repression during the dictatorship and militancy in the MIR beyond her own. In this way, her role as a listener helps to create a more complete and nuanced picture of repression and resistance, facilitating critical reflection on the past and its ongoing legacies.

Furthermore, in her role as an interviewer and listener, Castillo's questions provoke deep questioning on a range of personal issues related to the past, not solely for the interviewees but also for herself at times. This is the case in Margarita Marchi's interview, which deals with the traumatic memories of her clandestine return to Chile during the dictatorship, including leaving her daughter at Proyecto Hogares in Cuba. As Castillo questions Marchi, the interviewee is in the foreground of the shot, while behind her there is a mirror in which the viewers are able to see Castillo's reflection as Marchi speaks. At times, the shot cuts to the mirror's reflection, focusing on Castillo listening to Marchi's testimony. On the most basic level, this reminds viewers of the necessary presence, as Laub has argued, of a listener to whom victims can talk about their traumatic past if they are to successfully bear witness to these events (1992a: 70-71). It also portrays Castillo as questioning herself and her past actions, given that viewers hear the victim's testimony but see Castillo's image and her response to what is being said. That is, by interviewing others and acting as a listener for their reflection on traumatic experiences, Castillo is also able to question her own past and, perhaps, come to terms with it alongside the other person (DiGiovanni 2012: 27). In this case, Castillo's introspective questioning is tied to the fact that she also left her daughter, Camila, in Cuba in 1977 (Echeverría and Castillo 2002: 192).

By engaging with the same questions she poses to Marchi, and even delivering one question in the first-person plural form, Castillo can be viewed as demonstrating a certain level of identification with her interviewee. In this regard, LaCapra has criticised the 'full identification' of listeners with trauma victims, which he views as an inadequate and inappropriate form of affective response. For LaCapra, 'desirable empathy involves [...] what might be termed empathic unsettlement', since full identification with this trauma can potentially blur the lines between trauma victim and secondary witness (2001: 97, 102). At an extreme level, full identification with the trauma of others in this fashion could lead to another situation against which LaCapra warns, the conflation of the category of trauma to the extent that everyone is seen as a victim (2001: 65). Therefore, it is important to emphasise in this context that Castillo's empathic response to Marchi's testimony does not succumb to over-identification with her interviewee in an unhelpful way, principally because both women went through experiences of trauma with a number of similarities. This identification between the interviewer and the interviewee appears to create a mutually beneficial exchange in which both women, to different extents, confront their own past trauma, and even the collective trauma which the two of them symbolise. Given that they both went through similar processes of familial separation, Castillo can be seen as providing Marchi with a secure, non-judgmental

environment that is more conducive to the discussion of her trauma and arguably allows a deeper reflection on the past.

Notably, the majority of interviewees in *Calle Santa Fe* belong to Castillo's generation: they lived through the dictatorship as adults and therefore bear a direct link to the traumatic past through their experience and memories. Consequently, it is interesting to consider Castillo's decision to also include the voices of a younger generation in the documentary. On one level, this can be read as a means of forging a sense of identification between these younger interviewees and Castillo's target audience. In this regard, Castillo has noted in an interview that the film is aimed at young people in Europe, and was bought by the French Ministry of Education to be shown in high schools as part of the national curriculum in Spanish and History (Castillo, as cited in Letelier n.d.). The inclusion of members of a younger generation may thus be interpreted as a means of demonstrating this topic's transgenerational relevance.

On another level, the inclusion of members of the younger generation suggests a visible change in perspective in the film, particularly as these interviews take place in the final third of the documentary. This thus constitutes a distancing from a sole focus on the testimonies of those marked by trauma and provides a way of incorporating the younger generation into the historical debate, no longer passively but as active actors. This can be read as part of Castillo's attempts in her work to protect the memories of this era from oblivion; by involving the new generations, she passes the baton of memory and left-wing activism to them. It is also a means of presenting a fresh perspective on the past and a youthful outlook in the present, which are relatively free of the traumatic burdens of history. The young people may acknowledge, understand and even identify with the historical trauma of those who have come before them, but they do not bear it in the same way as Castillo's generation. They thus come to the past from a position of postmemory, as Hirsch terms it, as part of a generation that adopts and resignifies the trauma of a previous generation. In this way, the incorporation of a selection of voices of the younger generation in the interviews in *Calle Santa Fe* accentuates the tendency towards critical reflection on the past. It also demonstrates the way that lessons from the past can be taken on board and kept relevant to be employed in the present and the future by generations to come.

This postmemorial tendency is found in several sequences with members of the younger generations. For example, Castillo interviews Macarena Aguiló, the daughter of Margarita Marchi, a MIR militant with whom Castillo has already spoken on camera. Aguiló lived in Proyecto Hogares in Cuba for four years, separated from her parents, who had returned to Chile clandestinely. Aguiló's participation in *Calle Santa Fe* represents a move towards reflection

on the past by the younger generation. In her interview with Castillo, which immediately follows her mother's, she offers a new perspective on the traumatic past of the MIR from the position of the children who were left at Proyecto Hogares. Aguiló alludes to the pain that was caused by her parents' decision to leave her in Cuba, but also explains that she has come to accept this past experience and does not negatively dwell on it.⁷³ The perspective of a new generation is also emphasised through Aguiló's documentary on the experiences of Proyecto Hogares, *El edificio de los chilenos* (2010), her postproduction of which is depicted in *Calle Santa Fe*. Both her testimony and the production of her documentary illustrate how the young film-maker critically engages with this experience from her own childhood and that of others, working through her past and its inextricable links to her parents' traumatic experiences, as well as working toward a reflection on the ongoing influence of this past in the present.

Castillo has also alluded in interviews to the presence of Vicente Durán in the film. Durán is one of the rappers in a hip-hop street performance that Castillo watches, and who lived in exile in the United States with his parents, MIR militants, during the dictatorship (Castillo 2008: 140). His duo's presentation in a poorer neighbourhood is highly critical of the political and economic state of affairs in Chile, and can be understood as following the MIR's worldview. In this sense, the performance inherits and reworks the MIR's political legacy. Durán's hip-hop song also notably contrasts with other music heard in the film, such as the works of the groups Quilapayún and Inti Illimani, which Castillo uses as an audio backdrop to archive footage. These groups, alongside renowned artists like Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara, were exponents of the *nueva canción chilena*: a movement that started to flourish in the 1960s and 1970s, and whose songs demonstrated a clear social conscience and were closely linked to left-wing political movements of that era. Consequently, the hip-hop performance can be interpreted as a modern successor to the *nueva canción chilena*, as a new generation reinterprets from its own viewpoint and experiences not only the political message espoused by the MIR but also the musical genre with which they present their views. Thus, this contemporary resignification and reflection on past trauma carried out by members of the next generation such as Aguiló and Durán further supports the argument for the existence of critical reflection with a focus on the present, or working toward, in *Calle Santa Fe*.

⁷³ Such an attitude of coming to terms with the past is not shared by all those who spent part of their childhood in Proyecto Hogares, however. Another woman interviewed by Castillo is significantly more scarred by this experience than Aguiló and explains how she has been unable to forgive her mother and overcome the feelings of sadness and abandonment that she still bears.

In summary, Carmen Castillo's life has been marked by the traumatic events of 5 October 1974, which she has revisited throughout her written and filmic endeavours. The response to this trauma that is found in her work differs significantly between her first book, *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, and her documentary *Calle Santa Fe*. As has been argued, it is possible to interpret an evolution in her retrospective focus in these two works. *Un día de octubre en Santiago* depicts an obsession with the traumatic events through a range of devices, and Castillo can be understood as acting out the past. *Calle Santa Fe*, on the other hand, demonstrates a considerably more measured reflection of past trauma, as she works through the past and works toward a new narrative. This progression from obsessiveness to critical reflection, and from acting out to working through and toward, coincides with the passing of time between each work's production. This effectively illustrates the way Castillo has largely come to terms with her trauma during this period.

Chapter 4

Homages to Victims of the Dictatorship: Urban and Rural Sites of Memory in Chile

The return to democracy in Chile saw official moves towards reparation to victims of the dictatorship on a number of fronts. One significant facet of these attempts to acknowledge victims included symbolic reparation, which involved the conception and construction of sites of memory. Among the first milestones in memorialisation during the transition were the construction of the Memorial del Detenido Desaparecido y del Ejecutado Político in Santiago General Cemetery, and the recovery of the land on which Villa Grimaldi had stood, both of which took place in the early 1990s (Stern and Winn 2013: 316-317; Torrealba 2011: 173). From the beginning of the 21st century, there was a noticeable increase in memorialisation in Chile. This coincided with the presidencies of Ricardo Lagos and Michelle Bachelet, both of whom were sympathetic to the cause of victims' families and gauged the need and importance for official symbolic recognition of past human rights abuses (Wilde 2013: 47-49; Stern and Winn 2013: 397-398, 404; Winn 2013: 436). Today, scholars have referred to a relatively well-established culture of memory in Chile regarding the human rights abuses of the past, which is founded upon this memorialisation and the 'vigilancia constante' of memory activists (Collins and Hite 2013: 134; Stern and Winn 2013: 406-407).

This chapter analyses the symbolic and representational strategies at six sites of memory in Chile, four of which are located in the capital, Santiago, and two of which are found in rural areas. These sites are: Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, Londres 38 Espacio de Memorias, Estadio Nacional, Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, Memorial Paine, and Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume. By examining and contrasting urban and rural sites, this chapter carries out the first analytical comparison between urban and rural Chilean memory sites. As scholars such as Katherine Hite have noted, the majority of discussions on memory and commemoration in Chile focus on Santiago (2012: 77).⁷⁴ This is partially due to the proliferation of memory projects in the capital and their more advanced development, although such discussions tend to focus on a limited number of sites of memory, including the

⁷⁴ An important contribution to memory debates outside the principal cities of political and economic power is *Luchas locales, comunidades e identidades*, edited by Ponciano del Pino and Elizabeth Jelin, which examines memory and identity struggles in more remote areas of Latin American countries, but does not focus on sites of memory per se (del Pino and Jelin eds. 2003). Lessie Jo Frazier's work is an important study on rural memory in Chile. It focuses on memory in the north of the country and includes a consideration of the historic and contemporary uses of the concentration camp at Pisagua (Frazier 2007).

aforementioned Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38.⁷⁵ Memorial Paine is the exception to the general omission of rural sites of memory from academic analysis, and has been studied by several critics (Hite and Collins 2009; Collins 2011; Hite 2012; Piper Shafir et al. 2011; Collins and Hite 2013; Stern and Winn 2013). Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, on the other hand, has not been studied to date from the perspective of memorialisation. Following the analysis of these diverse sites of memory, this chapter draws on and evaluates the concept of ‘trauma sites’, as defined by Patrizia Violi, to explore some of the key theoretical and practical differences between urban and rural sites of memory in Chile and their representational strategies (Violi 2012: 38).

Santiago’s Memory Sites

The four sites of memory analysed in this section are representative of the first two of three phases of the dictatorship’s repression, identified by Chile’s National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. The first period, during the final months of 1973 after the September coup, was characterised by mass detentions and round-ups, which were often indiscriminate and aimed to intimidate the populace and stamp the military’s authority on the country. Military regiments and barracks, police stations, ships, and sport stadia were predominantly used to hold prisoners during this time (Riquelme and Troncoso eds. 1992: 45-47). The sporting complex of Estadio Nacional was occupied as one of the first mass detention centres in Santiago under the army’s authority (Hite 2004: 58; Bonnefoy Miralles 2012: 11-14). The second phase of repression, roughly between 1974 and 1977, coincides with the DINA’s lifespan. During this time, this repressive organisation oversaw hundreds of clandestine detention, torture and extermination centres across Chile, and carried out more selective and systematic detentions and executions (Riquelme and Troncoso eds. 1992: 63-65).⁷⁶ Three locations used by the DINA in Santiago are Londres 38 (between October 1973 and September 1974), José Domingo Cañas 1367 (between August and November 1974), and Villa Grimaldi (from May 1974 until mid-1978), all of which have been recovered and converted into sites of memory (Bize Vivanco et

⁷⁵ One study found that some 240 places in Santiago’s Región Metropolitana could be considered sites of memory. It should be noted, however, that this figure includes diverse objects such as houses, buildings, small shrines, plaques, monoliths, murals, monuments and memorials considered by the researchers to ‘talk’ about Chile’s past (Piper Shafir et al. 2011: 211-212).

⁷⁶ Studies have concluded that there were at least 85 detention centres in Santiago alone, and that torture was conducted in some 1132 centres across the length and breadth of Chile during the dictatorship (Silva and Rojas 2011: 78-79; Stern and Winn 2013: 307). For more details on the formation and structure of the DINA, including its concurrent use of multiple locations as clandestine detention centres, see Salazar Vergara (2013: 58-76).

al. 2011: 3; Salazar 2011: 131-139; Moya 2007: 21; Matta 2000: 7).⁷⁷ All four sites of memory in Santiago analysed in this chapter are thus locations where atrocities took place.

These sites have been divided into two groups for the purpose of analysis. The first group comprises two sites which are among the most developed and the most analysed in academic criticism: Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38 Espacio de Memorias. The second group includes two sites, Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas and Estadio Nacional Memoria Nacional, which are still undergoing development and have received little critical attention to date.

Londres 38 Espacio de Memorias and Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi

Londres 38 is located in the centre of Santiago and was constructed as an aristocratic family home in the 1920s. During the Unidad Popular era, the house was the local headquarters of Allende's Socialist Party. Shortly after the coup, the building was seized by the DINA and converted into Cuartel Yucatán, the first clandestine detention, torture and extermination centre in the Región Metropolitana.⁷⁸ Cuartel Yucatán operated between October 1973 and September 1974, during which time 98 individuals held there were murdered (Salazar 2011: 131; 'Víctimas y protagonistas'). Due to the relatively high visibility of its central location, Londres 38 was abandoned in September 1974 in favour of the DINA's other sites further away from the city centre. In an attempt to erase evidence of its repressive past, the house's street number was changed by the dictatorship in all legal records from 38 to 40 (Stern 2010: 270-271). The house was then gifted in 1978 to the Instituto O'Higiniano, a reactionary military organisation with strong ties to the regime ('Su historia').

The Instituto O'Higiniano continued to occupy the property until 2005, when reports surfaced that it was planning to demolish the building. This news spurred the government and civil society activists into action and led to the declaration of the house as a national monument in October 2005 (Stern 2010: 319). Following attempts by the Instituto O'Higiniano to sell the house and civil mobilisations against this, the state eventually negotiated with the Instituto to exchange another property across the street in return for Londres 38 in 2007. In the first instance, however, the government proposed that Londres 38 house the nascent Instituto

⁷⁷ Other former detention, torture and extermination centres in Santiago which, at the time of writing, have been recovered and converted into sites of memory include Ex Clínica Santa Lucía and Nido 20.

⁷⁸ Information regarding the history of the building at Londres 38, its development as a site of memory, its current funding and administration, and its temporary exhibitions, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on commentary by and conversations with Felipe Aguilera, a guide at Londres 38, during a visit to the site in August 2014.

Nacional de Derechos Humanos, to the indignation of memory activists, who continued to protest (Stern 2010: 322; Bize Vivanco et al. 2011: 8). Only after these civil action groups formed a legal entity and established working groups did the state agree to hand over the building for them to administer as a site of memory (Bize Vivanco et al. 2011: 9-12). Londres 38 opened to the public in 2011.

Villa Grimaldi's colonial-style house and gardens, located on the outskirts of Santiago, were built in the mid-19th century and bought by Emilio Vasallo in 1964. Vasallo converted the building into a restaurant which was frequented by left-leaning intellectuals and artists during the UP period (Matta 2000: 3-4). Following the coup, the DINA seized Villa Grimaldi, given its spacious grounds and strategic location far from the city centre but close to several armed forces' installations (Matta 2000: 7). From 1974 to 1978, Villa Grimaldi, or Cuartel Terranova, became the most significant of the DINA's detention, torture and extermination centres: approximately 236 individuals are thought to have been executed and over 4,500 were held prisoner there ('Listado de detenidos(as)...'). When the DINA was disbanded in 1977, the CNI took over the administration of Cuartel Terranova until it fell out of use the following year.

In 1987, Villa Grimaldi was sold by the CNI to a construction company with close links to the CNI director of the time. This company planned to level the site in order to build new properties or subdivide and sell the land (Matta 2000: 8; Stern and Winn 2013: 324). Following the return of democracy in 1990, this controversial sale and the plans for the site's future became public knowledge. In response, a broad civil society movement emerged, comprising local residents, survivors, victims' families, and human rights groups. This movement, which later gained the support of a local mayor and politicians, lobbied the state to halt the proposed construction work (Stern and Winn 2013: 325). As a result, Villa Grimaldi was expropriated in late 1993. The following year, human rights groups were able to enter Villa Grimaldi for the first time; almost all the original structures had already been razed (Torrealba 2011: 173-174). Subsequently, debate ensued over what to do with the site, leading to a proposal to work around the remaining features of Cuartel Terranova to create a powerful testament to the site's sinister past (Stern and Winn 2013: 326). Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi thus became the first former clandestine detention centre in Latin America to be recovered and opened to the public in 1997 (Collins and Hite 2013: 141-142). In 2004, it was declared a national monument by the Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales (López and Calderón 2006: 58).

Both Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38 currently receive permanent state funding through the Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos (DIBAM), part of the Ministry of

Education.⁷⁹ This contributes to the administration and development of the sites, including costs of education projects and guided tours, maintaining networks among related groups and sites, communication and media, research, and security.⁸⁰ Both sites are administered by boards of directors, paid workers and volunteers, some of whom are survivors, relatives and friends of victims. They also include people with experience in human rights movements and ‘professionals’ with studies in relevant areas, a number of whom are part of the younger generation born during the dictatorship (‘Quienes somos’). This mix of contributors points to successful transgenerational transmission, collaboration, and renewal in the administration of both sites, and also indicates a tendency towards the ‘professionalisation’ of sites of memory (Collins and Hite 2013: 143). Given the funding and organisation of Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38, it is unsurprising that they are among the most visible sites of memory in Chile and have a key educational focus. Both offer a range of guided tours and workshops for visitors, particularly school groups and social movements, and are involved in numerous projects promoting memorialisation and human rights issues in Chile.

The remodelled Villa Grimaldi was originally conceived as a sombre, peaceful location, left relatively open to interpretation. Its open field of view was centred on two paths forming a cross and a meeting point in the middle of the plot: one path stretched from the now-closed entrance gate from the days of Cuartel Terranova to the water tower used for various means of torture, and the other from the park’s new entrance to the Muro de los Nombres of the victims last seen or murdered in Villa Grimaldi. This memorial wall was inaugurated in 1998, shortly after Pinochet’s arrest in London. The names on the wall are not ordered alphabetically (as is the case, for example, in the Memorial del Detenido Desaparecido y del Ejecutado Político in Santiago General Cemetery), but are listed by the year in which the victims were murdered. This signals the evolution of the dictatorship’s repressive policies and the persecution of different political movements – the MIR in 1974, the Socialist Party in 1975, and the Communist Party in 1976 – as is explained to visitors by guides at the site. Without this contextualisation, however, the Muro could fall into the trap of presenting a homogenised category of victims.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Villa Grimaldi also receives funding from other sources, such as the European Union (Stern and Winn 2013: 329-331; Aguilera Insunza 2011: 103).

⁸⁰ Information regarding state funding and the administration of Villa Grimaldi, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on conversations with Bárbara Azcárraga, a guide at Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, during a visit to the site in August 2014. Additional information regarding the symbolism of the Muro de los Nombres and the rose garden at Villa Grimaldi is based on the audio guide available at the site in August 2014.

⁸¹ The second name on the Muro de los Nombres is that of Bautista Van Schouwen, Carmen Castillo’s friend to whom she refers to as ‘Bauchi’ throughout *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, as discussed in Chapter 3. For more

In the past decade, there have been a number of other significant developments at Villa Grimaldi. These include the conversion of an old swimming pool changing room, one of the few original constructions still standing, into the Sala de la Memoria. This room houses a number of everyday belongings of murdered and disappeared victims, as well as photographs documenting the recovery of Villa Grimaldi. The Sala de la Memoria, with its use of photographs and personal artefacts, is an example of what Macarena Gómez-Barris calls ‘a memoryscape against the tide of forgetting’, and is arguably the most poignant display of the individual lives cut short by the dictatorship, including a display cabinet containing the belongings of four members of the same family murdered in Cuartel Terranova (Gómez-Barris 2009: 66). Other areas which have evolved in recent times include the installation of four monuments to the militants of different political parties among the victims of Villa Grimaldi. These memorials demonstrate the political ideals for which victims were targeted, and highlight not only their different political visions but also their broad union around the revolutionary project that Allende embodied. Additionally, a rose garden that had existed during the Vasallo and DINA eras of Villa Grimaldi was replanted, with each rose within it dedicated to a female victim of the dictatorship (Stern and Winn 2013: 331-334). This foregrounds the plight of female victims and reminds visitors that they were often singled out for some of the most horrific forms of torture. Moreover, the contradictory nature of survivor testimonies about the rose garden – some recall it as a life-affirming presence while others associate it with repression – underlines the varied and unique experiences of each prisoner. These three additional memorials serve to paint a more textured picture of the range of victims’ diversity, in terms of gender and politics, and resist the homogenising dangers of memorial walls solely comprising names and dates.⁸²

At Londres 38, one of the principal symbolic markers is found in the cobblestone street outside, where black and white tiles have been laid to replicate those in the house’s floor, as well as 98 iron plaques, each with the name, age, and political militancy of one of the victims

details on the plight of Bautista Van Schouwen, who is believed to be one of the first two people murdered at Villa Grimaldi, even before it was formally established as Cuartel Terranova, see Nancy Guzmán (1998).

⁸² Other significant developments at Villa Grimaldi since the turn of the century demonstrate a gradual shift towards a more explicit representation of victims’ experiences in Cuartel Terranova. These include the reconstruction of the Torre, a water tower equipped with a watch point, torture areas and cramped isolation cells, and a separate isolation cell known as a Casa CORVI in 2000 and mid-2002, respectively (Stern and Winn 2013: 331; Lazzara 2006: 139). Both of these structures force visitors to directly confront the claustrophobic reality prisoners faced. The Monumento Rieles Bahía de Quintero, a copper cube housing the remains of railway tracks to which prisoners’ bodies were tied before they were thrown into the sea and made to ‘disappear’, was opened in 2007 (Stern and Winn 2013: 333). The fragments of railway tracks, to which even parts of clothing have become fused over time, are particularly evocative.

of Cuartel Yucatán. The inclusion of each victim's political affiliation at Londres 38, one of few sites of memory in Chile to do so, is highly significant and is foregrounded by guides, as it indicates the systematic political persecution carried out by the DINA (Richard 2010: 247). This presentation of aspects of the individuals' human qualities, such as their ages and political affiliations, offers a more nuanced picture of each victim, thereby avoiding the pitfalls of homogenisation and stimulating reflection on their active political involvement (Piper Shafir et al. 2011: 220; Lazzara 2011: 85). The way in which this symbolic intervention in the street outside Londres 38 makes visitors divert their gaze to the ground also seeks to recreate the experiences of prisoners: the black and white floor tiles were one of the few elements that prisoners could see from beneath their blindfolds during their detentions (Lazzara 2011: 85; Richard 2010: 246).⁸³ Additionally, visitors' natural response when viewing these symbolic features is to physically bow their heads to focus on the floor, which can be interpreted as a posture of mourning for the plight of the victims.

Beyond the black and white tiles and the iron plaques in the street outside, the building of Londres 38 itself is relatively bare in comparison to the symbolic representations that abound at Villa Grimaldi. Predominantly bare walls force visitors' focus onto the house itself as a historical artefact, and contain a small number of explicative messages. Among these are two slogans which seem particularly significant: 'La actividad de hacer memoria que no se inscriba en proyecto presente, equivale a no recordar nada', and 'Este es un pasado que sigue siendo parte de nuestro presente'. The phrases point clearly to the aim of Londres 38 to link past repression, held and symbolised within the house, with present social circumstances in Chile.

As part of this strategy, Londres 38's memory politics seeks to promote interaction and active engagement with the past. Twelve informative panels are placed in the street outside Londres 38 during opening hours, in an attempt to capture the attention of passers-by. These panels briefly present workers' struggles during the UP period, alongside more detailed information on state terrorism during the dictatorship, the 119 victims of Operación Colombo and the ensuing media cover-up, and protests against Pinochet's rule.⁸⁴ They also detail more recent protests against the dictatorship's legacies and media cover-ups, and include space for visitors to collaborate by writing about other cover-ups. These panels actively attempt to draw

⁸³ A similar effect has been created in Villa Grimaldi by using shards of colourful tiles from the original house to create mosaic signs denoting the park's different areas (Aguilar 2005: 20; López and Calderón 2006: 58; Collins and Hite 2013: 142).

⁸⁴ Operación Colombo is an emblematic case of the DINA's attempts to cover up its crimes. It involved the creation of two newspapers in Brazil and Argentina by the DINA to 'report' the deaths of a total of 119 disappeared MIR militants in armed confrontations (Sepúlveda Ruiz 2005: 14-15; Stern 2006a: 108-109). For more on Operación Colombo, and an attempt to recover the memory of the 119 victims, see Sepúlveda Ruiz (2005).

parallels between the dictatorship and contemporary society, in terms of both the media's influence and role and protests against the political, economic and social systems left in place by Pinochet's regime. Londres 38's memory politics is further evident in temporary exhibitions it displays and loans out to schools, universities and other social organisations, which are closely linked to contemporary issues or struggles. For example, the exhibition on display in August 2014 contained photographs of the 2011 student protests in favour of free, quality education, which called into question the neoliberal logic underpinning private education. This juxtaposition of dictatorial memory with recent events in an attempt to influence the present lies at the heart of Londres 38's memory work.

Estadio Nacional and Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas

Estadio Nacional and Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, located just over a kilometre apart in the suburb of Ñuñoa, are both sites that are currently undergoing processes of development, and face a number of operational and structural obstacles. To date, there have been no in-depth studies of either of them as sites of memory.

Estadio Nacional, constructed during the 1930s as the country's foremost sports stadium, was one of many stadia up and down the country to be converted into large-scale prisoner camps following the coup (Riquelme and Troncoso eds. 1992: 46). Prisoners from all over Santiago were brought to the sports complex, where they endured harsh, cramped conditions and a range of degrading and humiliating acts between September and November 1973. It is estimated that as many as 20,000 individuals were held at Estadio Nacional during those two months, and that hundreds were murdered there (Hite 2004: 59-60; Bonnefoy Miralles 2012: 7). Once it had been emptied of prisoners in November 1973, Estadio Nacional returned to its original use as a sports stadium (Bonnefoy Miralles 2012: 194-198). It is important to note that the use of Estadio Nacional as a mass prison was acknowledged by the military, which even allowed foreign media access to the stadium-prison (Hite 2004: 58). Estadio Nacional is the only site analysed in this chapter whose use for repressive effects was publicly acknowledged by the military.⁸⁵ Since that period, Estadio Nacional has remained under government control, just as it was before the coup. It was declared a national monument in October 2003, and the civil society organisation Regional Metropolitano de Ex Presas y Presos Políticos (hereafter 'Regional') has been granted special access to parts of the stadium

⁸⁵ For a detailed account of Estadio Nacional's use as a concentration camp, see Bonnefoy Miralles (2012) and Carmen Luz Parot's documentary *Estadio Nacional* (2003).

and the sporting complex for the purpose of guided tours and its project of 'Estadio Nacional Memoria Nacional' since the mid- to late-2000s (Durán 2011: 149). Tours of the stadium and surrounding areas do not occur on days when sporting or cultural events are scheduled.

The house at José Domingo Cañas 1367 belonged to a leftist Brazilian sociologist named Teotonio Dos Santos in the early 1970s. Following the coup, Dos Santos sought asylum at the Panamanian Embassy, along with hundreds of others who were crammed into the Embassy's small apartment. To solve this overcrowding, Dos Santos offered his property to the Embassy for it to be placed under the diplomatic protection of Panama (Moya 2007: 17). Between October 1973 and January 1974, José Domingo Cañas 1367 was a site of hope for as many as 400 persecuted individuals who gradually made their way out of the country with help from the Panamanian officials (Moya 2007: 19; Salazar 2011: 140). The Chilean authorities had been fully aware of the Panamanian Embassy's activities throughout, and once the house was empty the DINA converted it into Cuartel Ollagüe (Moya 2007: 19-20). Between August and November 1974, Ollagüe became another of the DINA's notorious detention, torture and extermination centres, functioning around the time when operations at Londres 38 were coming to a close and Villa Grimaldi was being established (Moya 2007: 21). During this period, the DINA's main priority was the persecution of the MIR, which culminated in the murder of Miguel Enríquez in October 1974 and, as a result, the majority of Cuartel Ollagüe's 54 victims were part of this focused repression (Salazar 2011: 140, 145-150). After November 1974, the house was no longer used as a detention centre, and the CNI inherited it when the DINA was dissolved in 1977 (Moya 2007: 21).

Following the return of democracy, neighbours of José Domingo Cañas 1367 and victims' relatives mobilised and lobbied the government in support of a form of memorialisation at the house (Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367 2003: 11). In the 1990s, the house was returned by the state to Dos Santos, who then sold it to Pablo Rochet, a neighbouring businessman, in March 2001 ('Recuperación del sitio'). Civil society pressure on the government led to plans to declare the site a national monument in January 2002. Rochet received leaked information regarding the impending declaration, however, and in December 2001 he organised for the house to be destroyed with heavy machinery. The razed site was nevertheless declared a national monument in January 2002, but it remained Rochet's property. Over the next 5 years, the state negotiated with Rochet while Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367 developed its own proposals for the site ('Recuperación del sitio'). In 2006 the state bought the land from Rochet and, following several years of bureaucracy, agreed to carry out the Corporación's project at the site. Since the site was a national monument, the few remains

of the house could not be altered or modified; thus, the original structure could not be rebuilt (Solano 2011: 96-97). The state financed the Corporación's proposed construction of the Casa Memoria on the back of the plot, which contains an office, a small library, a meeting area, a patio, and a terrace on the building's roof.⁸⁶ Finally, in 2010, once the construction was complete, the site was loaned to Fundación 1367, the legal body formed by the Corporación's activists, which would then administer it as a site of memory.⁸⁷

Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas is administered without any direct state funding. It relies on volunteer work and visitors' donations, and must compete with other similar organisations for funding from a range of domestic and international sources. Likewise, the guided tours through Estadio Nacional depend on volunteers and receive no state funding – they are financed by donations from individuals and other institutions such as Embassies.⁸⁸ Estadio Nacional Memoria Nacional has benefited, however, from several renovation projects financed by the state, which have transformed areas of the stadium and the sporting complex in consultation with the Regional.⁸⁹ The lack of stable operational funding hampers professionalisation at both sites, since they are unable to finance administrative teams with relevant qualifications similar to those in Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38. Both Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas and Estadio Nacional have suffered wilful damage in recent years: the Casa Memoria has been victim to several burglaries, and Escotilla 8 in Estadio Nacional was damaged by violent football fans during a game in August 2014 ('Denuncian robo en Casa Memoria...'; 'ANFP llevará a la justicia...'). Such damage aggravates the precarious financial positions of these organisations and is an obstacle to their principal objective of memory activism. In contrast, sites with more financial support, such as Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38, are able to employ private security guards as a preventative measure.

At Estadio Nacional there is a wealth of physical evidence that symbolises and reminds visitors of what occurred there. Inside the stadium itself, the Regional has privileged access to

⁸⁶ Information regarding the financing of the construction of the Casa Memoria and the site's current funding is based on conversations with Bernardo de Castro, a volunteer at Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, during a visit to the site in August 2014.

⁸⁷ Information concerning the site's legal structure, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on commentary by and conversations with a guide at Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, who wishes to remain anonymous, during a visit to the site in August 2014.

⁸⁸ Information regarding the funding of memory work at Estadio Nacional, recent renovations and constructions that have benefited the Regional, the historic use of the velodrome's tunnels, and future plans for conservation and symbolic interventions, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on commentary by and conversations with Manuel Méndez, a guide at Estadio Nacional, during a visit to the site in August 2014.

⁸⁹ The projects include the restoration of a section of benches in the stadium and Escotilla 8 during 2009 and 2010, and the renovation of the outside of old changing rooms and the construction of an events room and a grass area with a memorial sculpture during preparations for the 2014 South American Games (Stern and Winn 2013: 390).

two particular areas – Escotilla 8 and Camarín 3. Escotilla 8 operates as the focal point of memory work in Estadio Nacional and is the most modified of the original structures. Past its original iron entrance gates, it contains contrasting historical photographs, alongside photographs of survivors, quotes from their testimonies, and artwork in support of victims of the dictatorship.⁹⁰ There is also an entrance to the stands of the stadium, a fenced off area in which the benches have been restored to resemble those of 1973. The benches serve as a reminder of the thousands of prisoners who once sat on them, while also invoking the dead and the disappeared by remaining vacant during every event held at the stadium. Camarín 3, the Regional's changing room, on the other hand, is relatively bare. It maintains what appear to be the same benches as those on which hundreds of prisoners slept, and still has bullet holes in the windows. Other than placards with information on the stadium's past, and in direct contrast to Escotilla 8, there is little else to expound the events of the past except the guide's narrative of his 'home for 50 days'.

Outside the stadium, there has been minimal intervention in most of the original structures that form part of the memorialisation project: the velodrome and two nearby circular bathrooms known as 'caracolas', and a swimming pool changing room from the 1970s. The velodrome operated as a holding pen for prisoners selected from the stadium, before they were tortured in either the velodrome's offices or the *caracolas*. Moreover, some of the entrance tunnels into the velodrome were the site of executions or simulated executions by firearms. Both areas are relatively bare and unkempt, particularly the *caracolas*, which contain toilet stalls and sinks unused since those events.⁹¹ The inside of what was the female wing of the prisoners' camp, formerly the male swimming pool changing rooms, has also changed little since 1973. It contains two large posters evoking the memory of women who were held there, but remains in a derelict state. The entrance to these defunct changing rooms was modified as part of the complex's renovations to host the 2014 South American Games, and now includes an area for reflection comprising wooden benches and a water feature. The fact that all three locations (the velodrome, *caracolas*, and changing rooms) have been left empty and relatively unaltered foregrounds the structures themselves and evokes the suffering that took place there. The empty constructions throughout Estadio Nacional also place an emphasis on the specific

⁹⁰ The historical photographs include images of Allende's presidency, popular support for his government, and some of his emblematic programmes, juxtaposed against the destruction of the coup and subsequent mass imprisonment in the stadium.

⁹¹ There are plans, funds permitting, to protect the *caracolas* from further deterioration, and perhaps transform the inside of them and a velodrome entrance tunnel with related artistic endeavours.

victims in each location – male and female detainees in their respective changing rooms-cum-prison cells, and the tortured and the executed in the *caracolas* and the velodrome.

Elsewhere in Estadio Nacional, there are a number of memorial forms which enrich the overall symbolic proposal of the site of memory and the existing structures. Explanatory plaques outside the changing rooms that housed the female prisoners and one of the *caracolas* allude to the areas' historic uses. The first plaque highlights not only gendered repression and the suffering of women, but also their collective strength and solidarity in the face of adversity, while the second focuses on the horrific torture and executions committed by members of the Chilean armed forces, their civilian accomplices, and Uruguayan, Argentine and Brazilian officials. Another key intervention is 'el camino de la memoria', a dusty, winding path that extends from the stadium to the velodrome and *caracolas*. It recreates the prisoners' journey to degrading torture and thus serves as a memorial to the tortured and executed.⁹² Similarly, a sculpture at one of the entrance gates recalls the plight of victims from the stadium. It comprises a live, burgeoning cinnamon tree that is flanked by two parts of a broken path rising parabolically from ground level. Given that the tree fractures the concrete along which trucks loaded with bodies left the stadium complex, it can be read as symbolic of breaking the silence on human rights abuses at Estadio Nacional. Finally, there is artwork and a sculpture on a grass area near another entrance to the complex. It includes a curved stone wall containing the outline of the Andes and the phrase 'Estuvimos aquí', in a sense uniting all the victims of repression in the stadium. In front of the wall lies a shallow, circular pond, out of which another wall rises, displaying two abstract artworks by former prisoner Guillermo Núñez – one with the words 'tiempo oscuro' and the other with the phrase 'una agonía como huella'. This area represents a space for reflection on the principal pedestrian thoroughfare to the stadium.

There is, then, a vast array of representational strategies in Estadio Nacional, between the different original constructions and symbolic interventions designed to draw attention to the complex's past. Although their unity is emphasised at times, a range of different groups of victims are evoked in the diverse memorials, and the overall coherent and constant focus in the project is on the prisoners' experiences in late 1973. However, there is little mention of the equally horrific repression which followed in subsequent years in Chile.

Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas also contains a variety of symbolic representations. These begin on the pavement outside the site with a monument to the victims of Cuartel Ollagüe

⁹² Significantly, this path is infringed upon and broken by a baseball field. This encroachment of baseball, a sport of relatively little cultural importance in Chile, symbolises the competing interests of certain sectors of society with other priorities and attitudes towards the past.

that commemorates the declaration of the site as a national monument in 2002, lists the names of the victims, and quotes Mario Benedetti's poem 'Los inmortales'. It also includes a metal sculpture which represents two human figures and five doves, symbolic of both peace and the dreams of the victims (Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367 2003: 19). The victims' names appear again inside the site, imprinted on wooden boards that cover the floor close to the entrance. Nearby, a selection of black and white photographs of some of the victims temporarily lean against the large 'Casa Memoria' sign. As Estela Schindel has noted, in the absence of physical remains and tombs, photographs of *detenidos desaparecidos* fulfil an important symbolic function for their loved ones in their processes of mourning and their demands for truth and justice (2009: 78). Thus, the victims' names and photographs at the entrance to Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas serve to emphasise the site's function as what Peter Winn has termed a 'tumba virtual' for the *detenidos desaparecidos* (2013: 431).

In terms of the original structures on the site, all that remains are the house's foundations, part of the driveway, an empty, decrepit swimming pool, and a palm tree (Corporación José Domingo Cañas 1367 2003: 30). The driveway and foundations create an outline of the house's floor plan, and the foundations include signs which explain the use of each room. A number of vertical metal beams that vary in height – all but six of them encased in wood – have been set in the ground among the house's foundations. The positions and heights of the wood-encased beams project the three-dimensional form of the original house. The remaining six metal beams extend significantly higher and symbolise the masts of a ship transporting the spirits of the victims.⁹³ These original foundations and signs thus prompt visitors to use their imagination to envisage how the inside of the house used to be, while the props of the wooden beams create a silhouette of the house's overall structure.⁹⁴

Flanking the foundations is another key symbolic form: murals on the walls of the site, containing visual and textual messages of resistance and vindication of the victims. One poignant mural depicts naked, blindfolded and handcuffed prisoners alongside the phrase 'Aquí se asesinó la carne pero no la idea', thereby affirming that the spirit and ideals of the victims of Cuartel Ollagüe were not defeated. Other murals incorporate the images of Che Guevara,

⁹³ Visitors are told by guides that this ship, either departing from or arriving at port, is where victims' loved ones come to be reunited with them or say goodbye to them.

⁹⁴ Given this act of imagination (or memory, in the case of individuals who saw the house before its destruction), the original structure of the house can be considered a ghost, absent yet still, with some effort, present. This, in turn, reflects the ways in which the dead and the disappeared are kept alive and present despite their physical absence through the workings of imagination or memory. On another level, the active attempt by visitors to construct the house in their mind's eye replicates the experience of blindfolded prisoners, who were forced to imagine the structure in which they were being held.

Victor Jara and Nelson Mandela; the Mapuche flag; and a United States' flag with skulls instead of stars, alongside a vulture devouring a dove of peace.⁹⁵ The militant approach of the murals is consistent with the personal histories of the victims of José Domingo Cañas, who were in their majority revolutionary left-wing MIR militants (Moya 2007: 34-83; 'Detenidos Desaparecidos en Chile'). These murals set this site of memory in stark contrast to the relatively tranquil suburban setting outside its walls and gate. From this perspective, Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas can be read as a left-wing occupation or *toma* of a razed site in the surrounding petit bourgeois neighbourhood, evocative of the land takeovers of yesteryear promoted by the MIR and whose militants' memory the site seeks to preserve.

Beyond the house's foundations and the murals stands the Casa Memoria, a relatively plain construction extending the width of the site, from which victims' names and faces hang on large banners. Behind the Casa Memoria is a patio that contains more symbolic elements, including the silhouettes of victims' faces on metal plaques, and some salvaged remains of the original house. To one side is 'Almacén Verdad y Justicia', a small exhibition on Operación Colombo and its 119 victims, around a quarter of whom were held in Cuartel Ollagüe (Sepúlveda Ruiz 2005: 563-565; Moya 2007: 34-83). The exhibition comprises four shelves of tin cans, and is accompanied by an enlarged reproduction of the front page of *La Segunda* from 24 July 1975, which reported the deaths of these MIR militants under the headline 'Exterminados como ratones' (Sepúlveda Ruiz 2005: 15-16). The shelves of the 'Almacén' are stacked with a total of 82 tin cans, and each can's label has been replaced by a modified 500 escudo note.⁹⁶ The choice of bank note is significant: the 500 escudo note entered circulation in 1971, during Allende's presidency, and was the only note not to bear the image of a notable Chilean historical or political figure. Rather, it portrayed an anonymous Chilean miner in commemoration of the nationalisation of copper in 1971, a reform promoted by Allende's government and unanimously approved by Congress (Errázuriz and Leiva Quijada 2012: 66). The note thus celebrated and immortalised this political act of Chilean sovereignty over its most important natural resource. The modified bank notes in the exhibition maintain the neck, shoulders and hard hat of the original miner, but feature the faces of victims from Operación Colombo superimposed within this outline. Other changes to the notes include the serial numbers, which all read '110973 CIA', and the phrase 'Banco Nixon de Chile' instead of 'Banco Central de Chile'. Finally, all notes include the code '119 DD.DD.' close to the faces

⁹⁵ The Mapuche flag can be understood as a gesture of solidarity with the Mapuche political movement, elements of whose discourse are poetically incorporated into the work of David Aníñir, as discussed in Chapter 2.

⁹⁶ The escudo was the currency of Chile between 1960 and 1975.

of the miner-victims. These modifications denounce the influence of the United States in the coup and the dictatorship, given the juxtaposition of the date of the coup, the CIA, Richard Nixon, and the disappeared victims of Operación Colombo.⁹⁷ The bank notes clearly link the left-wing militants to Allende's presidency – the commemoration of the nationalisation of copper operates as a vehicle to celebrate the victims' political convictions – as well as alluding to the dictatorship's imposition of the neoliberal economic model, including the part-privatisation of Chilean copper. Thus, this artwork at once encompasses the landmark achievement of the nationalisation of copper during the Allende era, the persecution and suffering of those who had fought for this, and its undermining during the dictatorship.

Overall, then, Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas seeks to question the broader political and historical contexts of the dictatorial era in several ways. Firstly, the vast majority of victims at Cuartel Ollagüe belonged to the MIR, a point emphasised during guided tours and subliminally underscored through the repeated use of the red and black colours of the MIR's flag across the site. The foregrounding of the victims' political commitment bears testament to the DINA's primary objective during the period in which Cuartel Ollagüe functioned – the complete disarticulation of the MIR – which demonstrates the movement's importance at the time. Secondly, as Almacén Verdad y Justicia recalls, the majority of the victims from Cuartel Ollagüe formed part of the dictatorship's cover-ups that attempted to conceal its institutionalised human rights violations. The attempted cover-ups of the murders of both Lumi Videla, the only victim from Cuartel Ollagüe whose remains were recovered, and the disappeared in Operación Colombo demonstrate the dictatorship's collusion with media outlets to misinform the population.⁹⁸ These two aspects of the dictatorship's broader repression thus progress from a specific focus on what occurred within the confines of Cuartel Ollagüe to painting a more global, contextualised picture of repression during the dictatorship's first four years.

⁹⁷ For details on Nixon and the CIA's covert action in Chile during Allende's presidency, as well as some of the close links between the CIA, the dictatorship, and the DINA, see Salazar Vergara (2013: 52-58, 69-72).

⁹⁸ Videla's body was dumped by the DINA in the grounds of the Italian Embassy, where a significant number of Chileans were seeking asylum. The dictatorship then attempted, in collaboration with influential media, to paint her death as the result of an orgy in the Embassy (Salazar 2011: 150; 'El terrorífico cómic...'). Carmen Castillo, whose works are discussed in Chapter 3, refers to Videla by her alias 'Luisa' throughout *Un día de octubre en Santiago*: she briefly describes Videla's life and her role in the MIR in the first chapter and details her detention in Cuartel Ollagüe in the second chapter (1982: 40-45, 59-86). Similarly, in Castillo's documentary *La flaca Alejandra*, Castillo and Marcia Alejandra Merino enter the original house at José Domingo Cañas 1367 and talk at length about Videla.

Rural Sites of Memory: Paine and Neltume

Paine and Neltume are two rural localities which suffered various forms of repression during the dictatorship. In recent years, a range of symbolic representations that testify to these events have been developed in both places. This section examines Memorial Paine and Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume with a focus on the symbolic portrayals of victims and local history, as well as the expansion of sites of memory in these areas. It should be noted that despite their rural and isolated locations, both sites are integrated into networks of sites of memory: Memorial Paine is a member of the International Coalition of Sites of Memory and the Red de Sitios de Memoria in the Región Metropolitana; and Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume is part of the Red de Museos de la Región de los Ríos.

Paine, located approximately 35 kilometres south of Santiago on the edge of the Región Metropolitana, was traditionally an agricultural community in which a small group of wealthy landowners employed many labourers to work their land. This latifundio system dictated the political, social, and economic relations in the area for decades until it was challenged by agrarian reforms in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which saw Paine's labourers begin to mobilise (Hite 2012: 67). By 1970 they had carried out several occupations, living on and working the lands as their own and under their own organisation.⁹⁹ This altered the economic, political and cultural power systems in the area (Maureira Moreno 2009: 79). Following the coup, Paine was the site of severe repression against participants or supporters of the local agrarian reform movement. Between September and November 1973, 70 men were detained and murdered in operations conducted by the military, the police, and civilian collaborators (Maillard Mancilla and Ochoa Sotomayor 2014: 60-64).¹⁰⁰ This repression was not just revenge against certain individuals, but an attempt to reinstate the previous political and social order in the area (Maureira Moreno 2009: 83). During the dictatorship, while the search for victims by their families met with numerous legal and judicial obstacles, it also saw the development of a collective relationship among the widows, mothers, siblings and children of the victims (Maillard Mancilla and Ochoa Sotomayor 2014: 86). This group would later formally constitute the Agrupación de Familiares de los Detenidos Desaparecidos y Ejecutados de Paine (AFDD-

⁹⁹ Information regarding the history of land occupations in Paine, recent funding grants the site has received, networks of sites of memory to which the Memorial belongs, the process of creating the mosaics and their arrangement in the memorial, and the former perimeter wall of the local sports field, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on commentary by and conversations with Diego Cabezas, a guide at Memorial Paine, during a visit to the site in August 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Given the population of Paine at the time, the number of men murdered represents the highest proportion of mortal victims per capita in a Chilean locality throughout the entire dictatorship (Hite 2012: 67).

Paine), established in the 1990s to continue their search for truth and justice (Stern and Winn 2013: 338).

Around the turn of the century, the Agrupación began to reconsider its objectives, extending from truth and justice to various other forms of memory activism in its local community (Maureira Moreno 2009: 107-108). AFDD-Paine successfully lobbied the state to support and finance Memorial Paine, and work on developing the project began in 2000 (Maureira Moreno 2009: 111). While construction began in 2003, serious delays meant that the memorial was not finished until 2008. There were also deficiencies in the memorial's infrastructure – for example, the site's main office is made from a shipping container, originally a temporary solution which has become a permanent fixture (Stern and Winn 2013: 359). The project received significant support from the highest authorities in the country – President Lagos attended a 'symbolic inauguration' in March 2006 and President Bachelet officially inaugurated the memorial in May 2008 (Stern and Winn 2013: 343). The memorial is administered by Corporación Paine, *Un lugar para la memoria*, a parallel organisation to AFDD-Paine, which is open to the whole community, not just relatives of the victims.¹⁰¹

Neltume is a small rural locality in the Andean foothills of the Región de los Ríos, some 880 kilometres south of Santiago. Between the mid-19th and the early 20th century, Chilean and foreign colonisers arrived in the area and acquired what had been indigenous lands; from the 1930s, they began to develop the forestry industry in the area (Barrientos 2003: 114-117). This necessitated a large number of a peasant workers, who had to endure harsh conditions and faced repression when they protested against their treatment (Barrientos 2003: 116-117; Bize Vivanco 2012: 28-29). During the 1960s, the forestry workers mobilised in coordination with left-wing political movements, particularly the MIR, to demand their rights (Bize Vivanco 2012: 29). In November 1970, following Allende's election, the workers and militants occupied the Carranco forest estate, before taking over 21 other estates (Comité Memoria Neltume 2003: 31). These were then expropriated in 1971 by Allende's government and converted into the Complejo Forestal y Maderero de Panguipulli (COFOMAP), which comprised approximately 360,000 hectares of forest with over 3,500 workers (Bize Vivanco 2012: 17, 30-31). Notably, COFOMAP was administered by the workers themselves in consultation with government-appointed representatives (Bize Vivanco 2012: 31). Following the coup, there was severe

¹⁰¹ Information regarding the administration of Memorial Paine, the vandalism it has sustained, the study preceding the construction of the memorial, and the way it can be seen to represent a vision of the community of Paine some 40 years ago, unless otherwise cited, is based on conversations with Juan René Maureira, vice president of Corporación Paine, *Un lugar para la memoria*, in Santiago in August 2014.

repression in and around Neltume, the operative centre of COFOMAP, and a military occupation of the area ensued (Bize Vivanco 2012: 16). Approximately 44 people from Neltume and other nearby localities who had been involved in COFOMAP were executed in the first month of the repression (CODEPU – DIT-T 1991: 11, 53-55, 92, 109, 124-125). The military also intervened in COFOMAP, removing administration of the complex from its workers.¹⁰²

In 1980 the MIR organised the clandestine return of 15 militants to the area around Neltume as part of its Operación Retorno. This group, known as Destacamento Guerrillero Toqui Lautaro, was a ‘guerrilla’ front in the loosest sense of the term. The scarcely armed men were tasked with constructing underground bunkers and mapping the dense and isolated forest, from which a foco could then be launched to combat the dictatorship (Comité Memoria Neltume 2003: 114, 120-121). They were discovered in late June 1981 by the Chilean authorities and were pursued by a massive CNI-led military operation; 11 of the MIR militants were murdered in the following months (Comité Memoria Neltume 2003: 161, 166-168, 299-305). The military deployment during this period effectively placed the area under a state of siege (Bize Vivanco 2012: 17).

Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume was originally conceived as a space to exhibit research on forestry and local wood production conducted at the Universidad Austral de Chile in 2002.¹⁰³ Thanks to the support of the local mayor, in 2004 the state loaned a building in Neltume to a community organisation to house the exhibition.¹⁰⁴ That same year the Centro Cultural opened to the public, and today it comprises space for cultural events, the museum and a small library (Cornejo 2013: 41).

While Memorial Paine initially struggled financially, it successfully lobbied the local municipality to secure funding for the site’s upkeep (Hite and Collins 2009: 391). Between 2012 and 2014, it received grants from a number of domestic and international organisations to work collaboratively on fixed-term projects. In February 2015 Memorial Paine became only the third Chilean site of memory managed by civil society groups, and the first rural site, to gain permanent state funding through DIBAM (‘Memorial Paine firma convenio...’). This has

¹⁰² In 1987, COFOMAP was privatised, parts of it were divided up, and its name was changed to ‘Compañía Forestal y Maderera Panguipulli’ (Espinoza Cuevas 1999: 39-40). In the following decades, the forestry companies derived from COFOMAP closed.

¹⁰³ Information regarding the original conception of Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, the political support that it has received, and details of the Centro’s lease, unless otherwise cited, is based on personal communication with Angélica Navarrete, president of Agrupación Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, in June 2015.

¹⁰⁴ The building once belonged to one of the owners of forest estates in the mid-20th century, and had also been used as a COFOMAP office (Cornejo 2013: 41).

led to the creation of a number of remunerated positions at the memorial, representing an important step towards the professionalisation of the site ('Resultados de llamados...'). The Centro Cultural in Neltume, on the other hand, has been almost entirely administered by volunteers, including some young professionals and university students.¹⁰⁵ In recent times it has received two grants from the Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Regional to renovate its museography. Moreover, President Bachelet visited the Centro Cultural in June 2015 and extended its lease of the building from the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales for a further 30 years ('Presidenta Bachelet realizó emotiva visita...'). Both sites, like the aforementioned Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas and Estadio Nacional, have suffered vandalism: during the construction process Memorial Paine was burgled and parts were set fire to, while the Centro Cultural was broken into and one display set alight in 2013.

The conception of Memorial Paine's representational strategy is based around a study conducted in 2000, which measured the emotional toll and aftermath of the murders of the 70 men in Paine in 1973 (Maureira Moreno 2009: 107). It concluded that around 1,500 individuals, up to and including the third generation of the men's families (their grandchildren), were directly affected by the repression. Memorial Paine symbolically embodies these findings through its 'forest' of wooden logs, which serves to represent the victims' families. While there is space for 1,000 upright logs, only 930 stand tall.¹⁰⁶ The 70 absent posts represent the executed and the disappeared, and in their places are unique mosaics, one for each of the victims. The logs are of different heights, and guides emphasise how their arrangement represents the topography of the region – the central valley flanked by two mountain ranges – with which the locals have been familiar for generations. The posts' varying heights also serve to underline the heterogeneous nature of the local people and of the victims from Paine. The forest thus symbolises a diverse community with strong ties to the local geography. Almost all of the mosaics in memory of the victims were created by their families, who were free to portray them as they saw fit. The creation of the mosaics represented a cathartic process for families, who used this activity to work through their traumatic experience. It was also an opportunity for the intergenerational transmission of stories and memories at a time when the younger

¹⁰⁵ Information regarding the fate of the local forestry industry following the dictatorship, the history of the building housing the museum, the administration of the site, recent funding grants it has received, the network of sites of memory to which it belongs, vandalism the site has suffered, the annual visit to the memorial at Remeco, and the military's persecution of MIR militants following the capture of the guerrilla campsite, as well as the content of guided tours, unless otherwise cited, is based on commentary by and conversations with Daniela Belmar, a guide at Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, during a visit to the site in September 2014.

¹⁰⁶ Juan René Maureira has noted that in the imaginary of a small rural community like Paine, 1,000 people is representative of about half of the local population (Maureira Moreno 2009: 107).

generation of the victims' grandchildren was beginning to become actively involved in AFDD-Paine (Collins and Hite 2013: 144-145).

The mosaics themselves provide space to present the story of each individual, which is further emphasised in guided tours that advance mosaic-by-mosaic. The visual depictions in the mosaics range from personal aspects of the victims' lives such as family life, love, work, political commitments, hobbies and sports, to their detentions and executions, their loved ones' search for them, loss and mourning, and those they left behind. The intention behind the representations is thus to humanise each victim and allow visitors to gain an appreciation of each victim's biography and his family's suffering, and these diverse representations seek to create a vision of the community of Paine over 40 years ago. It is also notable that the mosaics have been ordered amongst the wooden posts in accordance with where each victim lived or worked. This differentiates Memorial Paine from other memorials that order victims' names alphabetically, and can be understood as another aspect of the site's attempt to portray victims' lives, realities, and communities. Although each mosaic represents an individual victim, there a number of common motifs across them. Some of the repeated images include depictions of the rural landscape such as hills, green fields, and grapes to represent the vineyards in which some of the men worked, as well as watermelons, horses, tractors, spades, and *chupallas* (straw hats typically used by men in rural areas in Chile). These motifs foreground the agricultural roots of Paine and can be seen to somewhat idealistically symbolise the local worker identity. They also recall the social and political activism in which the men were involved in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, for which they were targeted and murdered following the coup. In this way, the mosaics arguably seek to represent the community during the time in question, and may serve as an expression of individual memories, trauma and loss, as well as collective identity and history.

In Paine, however, memory work is not limited to the confines of the Memorial itself. Memorial Paine and its civil society organisations have sought to defend the memory of the victims of repression by reaching out from their foothold within the community to develop other symbolic projects that change the face of their local setting. This serves to overcome the Memorial's somewhat peripheral location on the outskirts of the town and takes the memorial and its values directly to the community. Considering the range of memorials in the area, it can be argued that a 'geography of commemoration' has been developed in Paine.¹⁰⁷ In the town

¹⁰⁷ The term 'geography of commemoration' is borrowed from Cath Collins and Katherine Hite, who use it in their analysis of urban sites of memory in Chile (2013: 137).

centre, the ‘Paseo de la memoria’ was inaugurated in 2013, comprising colour portraits of each victim by a local artist. The portraits are attached to brick pillars around the perimeter of the local sports pitch, and are accompanied by an explanatory plaque in memory of the victims (‘Emotiva inauguración del Paseo de la Memoria...’).¹⁰⁸ This further roots the image of the 70 men in the local imaginary as a permanent fixture of daily life, making their human qualities and plights visible. Furthermore, the warm colours and nostalgic style of the portraits of the men – some young, others older – lend them a somewhat intimate quality. They seek to instil not only a sense of peace and tranquillity in coming to terms with the past, but can also be interpreted as representing the men as founding fathers or martyrs of Paine.

In April 2015, another collective community project organised by the Memorial and financed by DIBAM and the regional government was publicly inaugurated – a giant mosaic wall, named ‘Memorias de Paine’ (‘Memorial Paine inauguró mosaico colectivo...’). The colourful mosaic wall builds on the techniques of mosaic creation that were developed in the construction of Memorial Paine and thus taps into Paine’s renown for its use of mosaics as a collective form of expressing its local identity and history. The creation of the mosaic wall was open to the whole community, and it holds a privileged location on one of the main streets in the town (‘Memorial Paine inauguró mosaico colectivo...’). The mosaic wall contains a number of symbolic elements that are deeply engrained in the local identity as a rural community, and repeats images from the mosaics in the Memorial such as watermelons, *chupallas*, horses, tractors and the local landscape. It also portrays a chronology of the community’s history by tracing the organisation and education of labourers in the mid-20th century, dictatorial repression, the mobilisation of victims’ families searching for their loved ones, and the rearticulation of the community following the return to democracy, and even includes an image of Memorial Paine (‘Memorial Paine inauguró mosaico colectivo...’). In this sense, ‘Memorias de Paine’ can be read as an attempt to foster a sense of community and shared history that is built around the local human rights movement’s values and vision of the past. Moreover, its visibility in the town centre highlights the belief that the community must confront the past in order to come to terms with it. Memorial Paine can be understood as the

¹⁰⁸ Previously, the perimeter wall of the sports pitch had contained murals that alluded to Allende, denounced the repression in Paine, and listed the names of the 70 men. This wall collapsed following the February 2010 earthquake in Chile (Maillard Mancilla and Ochoa Sotomayor 2014: 101). In this sense, the ‘Paseo de la memoria’ represents an evolution of the previous memorialisation efforts on this perimeter wall.

cornerstone of this geography of commemoration in Paine, defying its physical limits to spread its message and symbolic representations.¹⁰⁹

The exterior of Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume features a colourful mural façade that provides a nuanced picture of local identity and history through a range of visual symbolism and textual messages. The mural contains a number of images which are closely connected to the local identity, founded in its natural landscape and its history. For example, it displays the typical landscape of the green forest, snow-capped mountains and a sapphire sky, alongside wild cats and birds native to the area. There is also an allusion to the region's indigenous heritage through the *kultrún* (Mapuche ceremonial drum), which is juxtaposed with the image of a forestry worker.

The mural's textual messages further emphasise the museum's local focus: 'Neltume. Grito de libertad donde el bosque brota de los árboles caídos', and 'Usted entenderá en milímetros, yo entiendo en pulgadas'. 'Grito de libertad' is connected with the meaning of 'Neltume' in Mapudungun, 'ir hacia la libertad', and represents an acknowledgement of the area's indigenous roots (Correa Camiroaga 2011: 12). References to the forest and the felling of trees also allude to the primary industry in the area for the majority of the 20th century. Furthermore, this first phrase is closely linked to the history of struggle and repression in Neltume: the 'grito de libertad' can be interpreted as an allusion to local social and political movements' objective of 'freedom' in the second half of the 20th century, while 'los árboles caídos' evokes the militants who were murdered during the dictatorship. Despite this allusion to repression, the life-affirming vision of a forest blossoming from fallen trees appears to suggest a sense of hope in the present. The second phrase, 'Usted entenderá en milímetros, yo entiendo en pulgadas', emphasises the deep-rooted significance of forestry to the way of life in Neltume. The word 'pulgadas' refers to the standard measurement in wood processing in the local area (*una pulgada de madera*), which is further highlighted by the nearby image of a forestry worker. This phrase also alludes to the existence of a diverse range of worldviews based on individual and collective experience, particularly given the turbulent social and

¹⁰⁹ There are a number of other memorials in and around Paine created parallel to those organised by Memorial Paine which further consolidate the geography of commemoration in this area. These include: Villa José Calderón Miranda and Villa de los Ríos, which contain streets and recreational spaces named after 20 of the 70 victims from Paine; a memorial and a mausoleum in two local cemeteries; and two memorials for victims in remote locations where executions took place in September and October 1973 – five white rocks on Cerro Collipeumo and 14 large wooden crosses on Cuesta de Chada (Maillard Mancilla and Ochoa Sotomayor 2014: 100; Sanhueza Olea 2010: 3; Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos 2013; 'Ruta de la Memoria...'; 'En la Mira [...] (Parte 1)'; 'En la Mira [...] (Parte 2)').

historical context of Neltume. In this sense, ‘yo entiendo en pulgadas’ can be interpreted as affirming a markedly local way of understanding the world.

The museum contains four rooms, each with a specific focus, and presents local history in a clear and chronological manner. The first three rooms formed part of the original museum that opened in 2004. The first room acknowledges the original inhabitants of the region: Mapuche communities. It details the history of Mapuche autonomy in the south of Chile until the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ and the confiscation and colonisation of their lands. This room also includes a map of the region and explanations of Mapuche beliefs, traditional ceremonies and evangelisation. This initial presentation of Mapuche as the ancestral inhabitants of the area not only demonstrates cultural respect for them, but also opposes the official discourse which downplays the economic and social consequences for Mapuche of their subjugation by the Chilean state.¹¹⁰

The focus of the second room shifts to the early exploitation of the forest. It deals with both the characteristics of the natural forest and the technical processes of felling trees and transporting them, as well as the arrival of workers to the area, their lives in the mountains, and the harsh treatment they received from their superiors. All of this is further illustrated by a range of photographs and artefacts from the era, including saws, instruments, and everyday tools and objects. This room seeks to highlight the role of the labourers in the field and preserve local knowledge of the techniques used in the forests in the past. It also establishes the background for the workers’ subsequent organisation and mobilisation by highlighting the conditions they had to endure. The third room then progresses to the industrial side of wood production in the area – sawmills and processing factories. Besides explaining the productive process and operation of the factories in significant detail, it also introduces the issue of worker organisation and unionisation in the factories. These two rooms on the local history of wood processing take on an even greater significance given the current economic climate in the area: in recent years since the privatisation and closure of COFOMAP, the principal economic industry in the local area has shifted from forestry to tourism.

The Sala de la Memoria, which opened four years after the rest of the museum, presents the political struggle in the area from 1970 onwards. One wall includes a timeline that focuses on the most important dates and events in the area’s recent history, beginning in 1970 with the expropriation of estates and the creation of the worker-run COFOMAP, thereby completing

¹¹⁰ In this sense, the discourse in this room of the museum complements several of the elements of the Mapurbe worldview portrayed in David Aníñir’s poetry, which were analysed in Chapter 2.

the story of the wood processing industry. It continues to detail events during the coup d'état, both nationally and locally, and subsequent repression in the area. Finally, the timeline presents the return of MIR militants and their 'guerrilla' in 1980-1981, as well as contemporary struggles for truth and justice regarding repression in the region. The other three walls contain murals which were created by a community initiative. These complement the exterior mural in the sense that they also interact with the broader theme of local identity and history, and they lend colour and a certain intimate quality to the room. The first mural alludes to the era of the COFOMAP, and portrays the images of forestry workers and doves of peace. The second mural comprises the portraits of two important figures from social and political struggles in the area: José Gregorio Liendo or 'Pepe', and Miguel Cabrera or 'Paine'.¹¹¹ The final mural focuses on the guerrilla project by depicting the snow-dusted forest and photographs of the 11 men who were murdered by the military. The frames of these black and white photographs have been painted so that they blend in with the mural of the forest, echoing the last year of the men's lives spent undercover, and this symbolically positions them in the local forest. Their faces offer a sense of humanity and warmth, juxtaposed against the harsh, cold external environment portrayed in the mural. The identification-style photographs, one even complete with an alias, also allude to the documentation in which these photographs were probably kept, which was found by the military in the guerrilla campsite and used to track down and murder the men (Comité Memoria Neltume 2003: 162-163).

This room also contains a range of artefacts from the era, including newspaper clippings justifying the execution of Pepe, lists of the individuals executed in the area following the coup, and objects from the guerrilla operation, including backpacks, kitchen utensils, document folders and items of clothing. This highlights the politically-charged aspects of local history by demonstrating the successful worker management of COFOMAP and defending the actions of the militants who lived and worked in the area at the time. It also depicts the severe repressive violence following the coup and sets the local violence within a framework of globalised repression in the country. By reclaiming the history of the men who formed part of the 'guerrilla', the Sala de la Memoria attempts to rehabilitate the memory of the MIR in the area, both during democracy and the dictatorship. This, in turn, counters the dominant narrative which persists today in labelling MIR militants as subversives, terrorists and extremists.

¹¹¹ Pepe, a MIR militant, was a leader of the workers' mobilisations in the early 1970s. He was murdered by the military as part of the 'Caravana de la muerte' operation in Valdivia in October 1973 (CODEPU – DIT-T 1991: 52-53; González 2012: 436). Paine was the leader of the clandestine guerrilla operation and was killed by the military in 1981 (Comité Memoria Neltume 2003: 304).

In a similar way to the range of memory projects in Paine, Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume can also be seen as a focal point of a geography of commemoration in its local area. The main street in Neltume, on which the Centro Cultural is located, contains two different memorials in its median strip. The first comprises several wood carvings of human figures and natural objects: one is of a man beside a partially carved tree trunk, seemingly in the traditional local role of a forestry worker, while another depicts two flowers, one of which is the copihue, the national flower of Chile. They both relate to the local identity which is founded in the natural landscape – working with wood among the region’s flora. The carvings also mirror the use of wood in the museum, both as a medium to present information (maps or texts printed on wooden slats) and to demonstrate technical and artistic abilities in detailed carvings. The second memorial, erected in 1999, pays homage to the victims of repression during the dictatorship, and comprises a metal sculpture on a stone base, flanked by two stone pillars with plaques. The sculpture depicts a forestry worker, naked from the waist up, with his arms stretched out wide and a bird resting in one of his open palms. This pose conjures the image of both a welcoming embrace and a crucifixion. It thus physically and emotionally draws viewers in to the statue, while also reinforcing the idea of sacrifice and martyrdom attached to the victims of the dictatorship in the local area. The plaque at the base of the sculpture reiterates the local motto of Neltume (‘Grito de libertad donde el bosque brota de los árboles caídos’) and dedicates the memorial to the executed, disappeared, and those from COFOMAP killed in combat.

Two and a half years later, two more plaques were installed on either side of the sculpture. They contain the names of individuals from the local area, grouped by where they were executed (either in Valdivia, Chihuío or Liquiñe), as well as others from COFOMAP. They also list the men from the guerrilla operation in 1981 and four others with links to the area who were killed in the dictatorship’s repression.¹¹² By explicitly listing the men from the area who were executed in Valdivia, this categorisation denounces the ‘Caravana de la muerte’ military operation.¹¹³ Secondly, by separating the lists of individuals killed in Liquiñe and Chihuío, as well as others who worked at COFOMAP, the plaques implicate the different military operations in the area, and group victims by the general location where they worked or lived. This constitutes a reminder of their qualities in life, their backgrounds and the

¹¹² For more on the victims from Neltume and nearby settlements in 1973, see CODEPU – DIT-T (1991).

¹¹³ The ‘Caravana de la muerte’ travelled to the south and the north of Chile with Pinochet’s authorisation in September and October 1973, and ordered the execution of 98 men to set an example of the dictatorship’s ‘justice’ (González 2012: 436-437). For more details on the ‘Caravana de la muerte’ after its visit to Valdivia, see Verdugo (2001).

communities of which they formed part. The addition of these names at a later date represents an evolution in the memorialisation and reveals an aspect of coming to terms with the past in which the victims could finally be publicly honoured and have their names cleared.

Furthermore, in an area of dense forest around Remeco, the location that was the underground base camp of the guerrilla group has also been preserved. It contains some recovered items from the operation and is the site of a yearly pilgrimage in the summer months, which is attended by up to 60 people. Near the base camp is a wooden memorial that lists the operative aliases of the 11 men beneath the phrase ‘Viviendo un sueño de corazones y montañas por un mundo de hermanos’ (Correa Camiroaga 2011: 13). This memorial and another in the village of Choshuenco (a short, oblong wooden stump topped with a metal plaque dedicated to Paine, the leader of Destacamento Guerrillero Toqui Lautaro, on the spot where he was killed) explicitly exalt the MIR militants in the locations where events occurred in 1980-1981. The quote incorporated into the base camp memorial can be read as an allusion to the men’s motives for combatting the dictatorship (‘por un mundo de hermanos’), and the use of the men’s aliases from the guerrilla operation attempts to foreground their identities as clandestine political and social fighters. Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, then, is by no means an isolated site of memory in the area, but rather forms a central part of a larger geography of commemoration which radiates out from Neltume. The diverse memorials alluding to wood processing, COFOMAP and the ‘guerrilla’ all reinforce the overall message and purpose of the museum by physically inscribing these local memories and identity in the public domain.

The Concept of ‘Trauma Sites’ in Chilean Memorialisation

There is a pivotal distinction between the urban and rural sites of memory in Chile examined in this chapter. Those in Santiago have all been developed in and around specific locations where detentions, torture and executions were carried out; such sites have been defined by scholars as ‘trauma sites’ and ‘sitios testimoniales’ (Violi 2012: 38; Schindel 2009: 70). In contrast, the principal sites of memory in Paine and Neltume are not places where atrocities occurred.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the urban memorials have generally received significantly more scholarly attention than those in rural areas. This section critically examines the concept of ‘trauma sites’ and other related notions, as they have been applied to urban sites of memory, to explore the significant distinctions between urban and rural memorialisation in Chile.

¹¹⁴ Some of the remote sites of memory that form part of the geographies of commemoration in Paine and Neltume could be classified as trauma sites, however. These include the memorials on Cerro Collipeumo and Cuesta de Chada near Paine, and the memorials close to Neltume in Choshuenco and Remeco.

In the face of rapid growth in memorial museums and sites of memory in recent decades, critics have sought to enhance their analyses by categorising memorials based on a range of criteria; one of these relates to the previous uses of the location where the sites of memory have been developed. For example, Patrizia Violi makes a conceptual distinction between ‘memorial museums created *ex novo*’ and what she refers to as ‘trauma sites’, ‘places originally designated for imprisonment and extermination’ which have been converted into museums (2012: 38, italics in original). She also recognises a partial overlap between the two categories when ‘a completely new museum is being built on the site of a massacre’, that is, without making use of remains (if there are any) on the site (2012: 38). Analogously, Estela Schindel distinguishes between two groups of sites of memory in her study on memory and the urban sphere: ‘sitios testimoniales’, and ‘monumentos, museos, [y] memoriales’. She makes this distinction in a similar way to Violi – the former are clandestine detention centres that were once the scene of human rights violations, while the latter are sites of memory created in locations with no ties to historic trauma (2009: 70, 76). This perspective regards the two categories as mutually exclusive. Victoria Baxter also differentiates between sites of memory that are ‘publicly built centres or institutions’, including parks, museums and gravesites, and ‘unconstructed or found sites’ such as former torture centres or sites where massacres took place. In a similar manner to Schindel, Baxter conceives of these two ‘genres’ of sites of memory as mutually exclusive categories (2005: 125).¹¹⁵

The binary opposition between trauma sites and *ex novo* memory museums and memorials, as constructed by Violi, Schindel, and Baxter, may initially seem logical, but on further reflection can be seen to be misleading and somewhat ambiguous. Their differentiation between the two categories of sites of memory assumes a relatively clear-cut distinction between concrete places where repression took place and others that were not ‘witnesses’ to

¹¹⁵ In their studies of Chilean sites of memory, Marivic Wyndham and Peter Read have employed terms such as ‘sites of conscience’ and ‘sites of infamy’ to refer to memorials in locations where human rights violations were committed (Wyndham and Read 2014: 165, 178-179; Read 2012: 215). These effectively correspond to Violi’s ‘trauma sites’ and Schindel’s ‘sitios testimoniales’. Wyndham and Read use these terms relatively uncritically, however, as they do not evaluate their appropriateness besides noting that ‘sites of conscience’ is an internationally recognised term (employed by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience) (Wyndham and Read 2014: 178-179). Moreover, since their work focuses on specific sites of memory developed in places where atrocities occurred, they do not critically consider the implications of the conscious decision to distinguish between sites that were previously used for repressive purposes and those that were not. Read and Wyndham’s 2016 book *Narrow but Endlessly Deep: The Struggle for Memorialisation in Chile since the Transition to Democracy* examines ‘seven infamous Sites of Conscience (sic), all within Santiago’ (2016: 2). Their work thus overlooks rural sites of memory in Chile and reinforces the overbearing focus in academic studies on Chilean memorialisation in Santiago. In their most recent work, Read and Wyndham also continue to utilise the term ‘sites of conscience’ in the same manner as they had previously, defining it as a ‘term used by the human rights movement to describe centres of torture or execution, usually carried out by the state’, without any critical reflection on any implications of the term (2016: xii).

trauma and therefore bear no ‘testimony’ to the past, as both Violi and Schindel posit (Violi 2012: 39; Schindel 2009: 70). In doing so, these critics discount the possible existence of sites which were not exact locations used for torture or execution but are still linked to traumatic events in their area in different ways. Moreover, the use of the terms ‘site’ and ‘sitio’ in ‘trauma site’ and ‘sitios testimoniales’, respectively, emphasises an arbitrary physical size limit imposed on the space in question. They point towards a bounded area as big as a site on which an urban property sits, thus establishing an upper limit for a trauma site’s physical size. However, a historical trauma may not necessarily be confined to a specific site with clear limits, but, rather, be spread across a much larger area. There is, therefore, arguably a case to establish a third category that is not taken into account in the division Violi and Schindel make between *ex novo* museums or memorials and trauma sites: a place or area of historical trauma where imprisonment, torture and executions were carried out, which is more extensive than what is traditionally considered a property site and contains one or more memorials. The emphasis here is on the transition from a bounded ‘site’ to a more extensive area. This is not to conflate the concept of trauma so far as to claim that all Santiago or all of Chile constitutes an area of trauma in this sense. Rather, it recognises some of the unique and particular realities of the repression in more isolated rural areas that allow them to be understood as trauma sites without set boundaries.

In Santiago, repression was in many cases confined to specific locations, such as the DINA’s many clandestine detention, torture and extermination centres, some of which have been recovered and converted into trauma sites. In contrast to this enclosure of trauma and violence in the city, rural areas were subjected to blanket repression that was not limited to certain places. Instead, the military and local police generally used more traditional and official detention centres such as police stations, military barracks and prisons, before carrying out executions in relatively secluded, secret locations.¹¹⁶

The repression and trauma in these rural areas was also further fuelled by their very nature as small communities. In Paul Connerton’s comparison of cities and villages, he notes that villages lack the physical and performative spaces that abound in the city. That is, in the urban sphere individuals have a certain degree of freedom to perform or present a role in a given situation, since it is highly likely that other people with whom they come into contact will be unaware of their backgrounds or origins. In villages, however, such a performative

¹¹⁶ For accounts of the characteristic repression in the rural areas in question, Paine and Neltume, see Weitzel (2001: 137), Amorós (2004: 106), Maillard Mancilla and Ochoa Sotomayor (2014: 52-53, 60-66), CODEPU DIT-T (1991: 55), Espinoza Cuevas (1999: 29), and Comité Memoria Neltume (2003: 282-284, 286, 288).

space does not exist to the same extent because there are considerably fewer gaps in the local ‘shared memory’ – everyone in the village knows or knows of everyone else and their business (Connerton 1989: 17). The binding substance in the village space, Connerton argues, is gossip, through which ‘a village informally constructs a continuous communal history of itself’ (1989: 17). This village gossip added to the pervasive sense of collective trauma and fear in rural areas during the regime’s repression, which has been documented in different accounts on the localities studied in this chapter. For instance, a social health project in Neltume in the 1990s noted that despite little open communication in public about the experience of the coup and dictatorship in the area, everyone knew what had occurred there through the spreading of rumours and gossip (Rojas Baeza 1999: 133). Similarly, evidence of village gossip in Paine is found in one of the key accounts that reconstructs the repression there (Weitzel 2001: 20, 28).

Among the critics who draw the distinction between urban trauma sites and other types of memorials, Patrizia Violi is the most overtly celebratory towards the former, and makes her case from the perspective of semiotics. The principal significance of trauma sites, Violi argues, is the fact that these sites contain a ‘real spatial contiguity with the trauma itself’, which she terms the sites’ ‘indexical character’ (2012: 39). The concept of trauma sites as indices relies on Charles Sanders Peirce’s theorisation on three types of signs: icons, indices and symbols. An index, according to Peirce, possesses a ‘dynamic connection’ with the object itself and comprises a sensory feature that correlates with and implies something else to the person for whom it is operating as a sign (1932: 170). Thus, indexicality in trauma sites comprises specific sensory characteristics, generally visual, which remind visitors of their past uses. Violi refers to these sensory markers in trauma sites as ‘traces of the past, imprints of what actually happened there’, and claims, with reference to Umberto Eco’s work, that trauma sites’ ‘traces or imprints are endowed with a direct, causal connection with the particular embodied instance that, at a particular time, produced them’. Consequently, she argues that trauma sites ‘maintain, so to speak, an embodied memory of the actual agent’ that caused these traces or imprints and reveal acts which they have ‘directly witnessed’ as ‘testimonies of the past’. For these reasons, Violi considers trauma sites to be much more powerful and effective than ‘a reconstruction or a “re-evocation” of what is no more’, as is found in other museums and memorials (2012: 39). Schindel also emphasises the testimonial quality of urban trauma sites by describing them as ‘testimonio directo’ of the crimes committed there, as well as through her use of the terminology ‘sitios “testimoniales”’ (2009: 70, 76). While not as explicit as Violi in expressing a preference for trauma sites over other forms of memorialisation, Schindel plays devil’s advocate by questioning the need to create ex novo monuments while trauma sites exist, thus

implying the superiority of the latter. She goes on to propose that the creation of ex novo memorials in the Latin American context ‘ofrece un modo alternativo de mantener activa la memoria y posibilitar el homenaje hasta tanto una coyuntura política favorable permita la recuperación de los sitios testimoniales’ (2009: 76). This once again implies that ‘sitios testimoniales’ are the quintessential form of memorialisation.

Both Violi and Schindel’s arguments regarding trauma sites and their testimonial qualities raise a number of questions. First, the notion put forth by Violi that a physical site can ‘maintain’ a memory is essentialist. Even though this scholar qualifies her assertion in this regard by noting that this ‘embodied memory’ is not ‘a property “naturally” embedded in the physical place’ but is acquired through a semiotic process, it nevertheless implies that an inanimate object is able to contain a singular memory (Violi 2012: 39). A similar claim could also be inferred from Schindel’s description of trauma sites’ testimonial qualities. It is important to remember that memory is a subjective cognitive process: it stems from associations that individuals make with an object which conjure a certain vision of the past. Therefore, rather than arguing that trauma sites maintain an embodied memory, it would be more accurate to recognise that they operate as a form of mnemonic device. This effectively corresponds to a notion developed by Steve J. Stern, a ‘memory knot’, one manifestation of which is ‘haunting remains and places’ which are ‘so bothersome, insistent or conflictive’ that they forcefully affect and move humans, even if only temporarily (2006b: 121, 124). Similarly, Christopher Tilley uses Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s reversibility thesis from a phenomenological perspective to argue that ‘perception [...] involves reciprocity between the body and the world and a continuous interchange between the two’. Tilley thus emphasises the way in which ‘the object world provokes our senses’ (2004: 18). That is, in contrast to Violi’s argument, objects act as a mnemonic device rather than holding memories within them. Moreover, given the fact that it is generally accepted that there is no singular memory in society, these trauma sites ought not to conjure one memory but many; the memories that a trauma site evokes will vary among different people and they also depend on the time period in the site’s history on which individuals choose to focus.

Other scholars on Chilean memorialisation have also critiqued the indexicality of trauma sites and their bounded nature, and have discussed the consequences that this can have on the accessibility of memory. This not only serves to counterbalance Violi’s celebratory approach to urban trauma sites but also provides another useful point of distinction between them and rural sites of memory. In her work on memorialisation in Santiago, Nelly Richard considers trauma sites in the urban sphere that have clear, physical boundaries. While

introducing her subject matter of specific memorials, Richard contrasts the ‘cruel and tormenting past’ of the former detention, torture and extermination centres with the ‘forgetful everyday malaise of neighbourhoods’ surrounding them. She thus refers to the ‘impassability of walls’ that seemingly cordon off and distance these sites from the general population, and also cause the ‘traumatic remembrance of human rights violations’ to gradually lose intensity (2009: 175). For Richard, the continued adherence to the physical limitations of these trauma sites, originally imposed by the DINA’s conscious decision of where to carry out detentions, torture and murder, is an obstacle to the ability of trauma sites to have a profound effect on Chilean society. In this case, these ‘impassable walls’ seal off the memories of trauma from a wider audience, hermetically encapsulating what Violi refers to as their ‘indexical’ links to the past in which their power resides (2012: 39). In other words, the overwhelming focus on trauma sites’ traces and imprints, combined with their concrete limits, results in an inability to reach out to Chilean society as a whole and arguably perpetuates the ‘forgetful’ attitude towards both recent Chilean history and contemporary Chilean memory politics. This critical perspective undermines the celebratory approach to urban trauma sites espoused by Violi and Schindel, and instead suggests that trauma sites must overcome an introverted approach that is centred solely on their perceived direct links to the past in order to fulfil the potential they have to transform society.

Cath Collins and Katherine Hite have also critiqued urban trauma sites such as former clandestine detention centres by arguing that artefacts placed or conserved within them ‘tend to create or reinforce a peripheral geography of commemoration’ in Chilean society by restricting this commemoration to specific places which ‘are not part of everyday civic or political routine’.¹¹⁷ As a consequence, they propose that this ‘physical relegation’ at urban trauma sites and cemeteries ‘adds to the sense of a fragmented memory landscape’. In their view, all of this contributes to ‘the enactment of commemorative policies that almost deliberately avoid engaging the public more meaningfully in collective explorations of the past’ (2013: 137). Collins and Hite’s criticism thus echoes Richard’s insofar as it highlights the detrimental effects that an overreliance on trauma sites and the traces enclosed within them can have on societal examinations of the past. Moreover, they argue that this can create a disjointed urban memory-scape and, consequently, an incoherent discourse of memory, which can then undermine the overall mission of recovering these sites and making pedagogical use of them.

¹¹⁷ While Collins and Hite do not specifically refer to trauma sites in the city, just ‘places of clandestine detention’, it is justifiable to qualify these trauma sites as urban since the majority of the DINA’s operations and its clandestine detention centres were located in Santiago and other urban centres.

However, some of these critiques regarding trauma sites do not apply equally to the rural sites in Chile discussed above. Their lack of fixed boundaries means that they do not enclose the local experiences of trauma within their physical limits; rather, the memory of trauma and human rights violations in these rural areas is spread throughout the community. Furthermore, as noted, both Paine and Neltume contain geographies of commemoration, a proliferation of sites of memory that has served to improve the visibility of the commemoration of human rights violations. The fact that these sites have been developed by human rights activists from the same local community and associations also means that they are all coherently and cohesively linked together, in contrast to the ‘fragmented memory landscape’ in the city to which Collins and Hite refer (2013: 137). These rural geographies of commemoration are thus unavoidable and become a fixture of daily life. In addition, there is no discernible distancing of rural sites of memory from the local population, but rather a conscious attempt to insert these sites into the community both physically and as part of the local social imaginary. Indeed, the evolution of rural memorialisation that has created these geographies of commemoration attempts to actively engage the local community by critically exploring the past through issues of local relevance.

Violi also discusses the conservation of urban trauma sites in her analysis of three such sites.¹¹⁸ She notes the plural character of trauma sites, as they encompass the functions of museums, cemeteries, places of worship and monuments, but argues that they are primarily places where extermination was once carried out. There is, therefore, an ‘overlap between what the place once was and what it is now’ (Violi 2012: 42). In the same way, there is an overlap between what the place was throughout different stages in its history – for example, before, during, and after the dictatorship – which implies the existence of different memories that a place is able to evoke. For example, the little that remains of the physical ruins at José Domingo Cañas 1367 can recall not only memories of horror and repression in Cuartel Ollagüe but also memories of hope by evoking the time in early 1974 when the house was occupied by the Panamanian Embassy and used to ferry individuals out of Chile. This again underscores the fact that there is no one ‘embodied’ or embedded memory in trauma sites, as Violi claims, but rather a range of potential memories that a site can evoke. Moreover, the argument that trauma sites principally evoke memories of trauma, since they were ‘first and foremost, [...] places of extermination’, effectively implies that such memories are intrinsically more valuable than

¹¹⁸ Violi’s study examines Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi, the Tuol Sleng Museum of Crimes of Genocide in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and the Ustica Memorial Museum in Bologna, Italy (2012).

others at this category of memorials (Violi 2012: 42). This poses an important dilemma regarding how the past is portrayed at trauma sites, namely whether it would be more effective to place an equal amount of focus on the more positive, life-affirming experiences for victims at trauma sites as that which is placed on the horrors of repression.¹¹⁹

Violi's assertion that trauma sites maintain an embodied memory, while debatable, nevertheless alludes to the productive notion of the 'actual agent' who left mnemonic traces at each site (2012: 39). Violi's overall thesis, which is that the cogency of trauma sites resides in their links to the past, suggests that a focus on these 'agents' at trauma sites would improve their efficiency, since it would highlight a clear connection with the past. The fact that these agents are human may also provoke a strong emotional response in visitors. It is, however, somewhat ambiguous as to who might be deemed to be 'agents' of a trauma site: this could refer to the victims of repression, the perpetrators, or both. Nonetheless, the crux of this issue is the foregrounding of the memory of people in the site, and what they represent.

The ways that the memory of people is employed at sites of memory in Chile reveal several important distinctions between the representational strategies at urban trauma sites and rural memorials. Urban sites' symbolic representation generally centres on the image of the victims at each particular site, primarily those murdered, but also those who were detained and tortured. This focus on victims foregrounds the specific period during which each site was used for repressive means, and highlights the repressive operations carried out by the perpetrators. For example, Villa Grimaldi is primarily concerned with the DINA's use of Cuartel Terranova there between 1974 and 1978, while Estadio Nacional focuses on its use as a concentration camp by the military between September and November 1973, as mentioned previously. Furthermore, these sites of memory frequently allude to the victims' political commitment and identity in an attempt to emphasise the conscious political and ideological decisions for which they were persecuted. This is the case, for example, in the iron plaques laid in the street outside Londres 38, which include the victims' political affiliation, the foregrounding of the MIR at Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, and the four monuments to militants of different political parties at Villa Grimaldi. Such representations serve as a counterpoint to more traditional and detached portrayals of victims that use their names, ages and dates of death or disappearance,

¹¹⁹ This point was made by the Chilean historian Gabriel Salazar, who was held prisoner at Villa Grimaldi, during a presentation at the Primer Encuentro de Archivos Orales e Historia Oral in Santiago in August 2014. He noted that despite the horrors of torture, there were a number of acts of solidarity, fraternity and affection among prisoners at Villa Grimaldi. In his view, these positive qualities and resistance in the face of terror also merit remembrance.

and which act like a roll call.¹²⁰ These allusions to political orientation also seek to create a sense of community among the victims from this vast metropolis. As Beatriz Sarlo notes in her analysis of memorials in Buenos Aires, the militant-victims at clandestine detention centres in Southern Cone dictatorships, in contrast to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, ‘no fueron miembros de una comunidad, sino una amplia y diferenciada constelación social con varias líneas políticas’ (2009: 514). Thus, the trauma sites acknowledge some of the differences between victims’ political beliefs but also capitalise on the one common quality which bound them all together: their position under the broad umbrella of the political Left in 1970s Chile. This vision of the imagined community of the Chilean Left, with its nuances and distinctions among parties and movements, also reveals the DINA’s attempted systematic annihilation of left-wing militants over the course of several years, chiefly by demonstrating how its persecution initially targeted the MIR, and then progressed to the Socialist Party and, later, the Communist Party.¹²¹

While this representational focus on the victims at each urban site can be seen to emphasise the sites’ indexical links to the traumatic past, it also has several drawbacks. In the first instance, it creates a relatively narrow temporal focus, as each site is predominantly concerned with the period during which repression was carried out there. This means that these sites fail to provide detailed information about the wider historical and political context in Chile before and after this repression. For example, there are limited allusions to Allende’s presidency at Villa Grimaldi, and Estadio Nacional contains minimal references to events before and after the period it was used for repressive means. Second, the centrality of the victims in each site’s representational strategies also produces an overriding focus on the repression in Santiago. The vast majority of militants killed at Londres 38, José Domingo Cañas 1367 and Villa Grimaldi were from the capital, and were in many cases linked to the national leadership of political parties and movements.¹²² This, in turn, foregrounds the style and forms of repression against party militants in one city, rather than reflecting the

¹²⁰ Examples of such forms of memorialisation include the state-funded Memorial del Detenido Desaparecido y del Ejecutado Político in Santiago General Cemetery and the Muro de los Nombres at Villa Grimaldi.

¹²¹ It should be acknowledged, however, that there are some efforts to expand beyond an exclusive vision of victims from each particular site of memory. This includes the foregrounding of Operación Colombo in Londres 38 and Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, which breaks from the mould of solely highlighting the period the sites were used by DINA and broadens the focus on victims from different sites. Similarly, the rose garden at Villa Grimaldi includes a rose for all female victims in Chile during the dictatorship, although, notably, this symbolic project originally began as a memorial for the female victims at Villa Grimaldi and was later expanded.

¹²² For lists of victims at each of these sites and short biographies of most of them, see ‘Víctimas y protagonistas’, ‘Registro por orden alfabético’, ‘Listado de detenidos(as) y ejecutados(as) políticos(as)’, ‘Detenidos Desaparecidos en Chile’, and ‘Ejecutados Políticos’.

dictatorship's repression more broadly across the whole country. Such a near-exclusive focus on the victims at each trauma site can be attributed to their administrations' attempts to emphasise the sites' 'indexical links' to the past, yet it runs the risk of producing a severely limited and reductionist vision of the dictatorship's repression during a specific time and against certain individuals.

While rural sites of memory also focus on the time period during which the repression was carried out and their individual victims, they take a freer approach compared to their urban counterparts, which allows them to present a broader range of issues connected to the past. The sites of memory at Paine and Neltume, for example, engage with their local stories of repression in 1973 at the former, and in 1973 and 1980-1981 at the latter, yet also progress beyond these fixed periods and expand their temporal focus. More specifically, both sites allude to the burgeoning political and social movements in their areas in the late 1960s and during the Allende era, principally the local worker struggles. They thus explain the local events preceding the coup and set the foundations for an understanding of the repression that followed during the dictatorship. This also places a focus on the worker-led administration of industries in Paine and Neltume and foregrounds the Unidad Popular era, which Peter Winn has described as 'la verdadera memoria prohibida' in Chile today (cited in Vargas Rojas 2014). By presenting the local workers' mobilisations within the context of Allende's presidency and as a prelude to the dictatorial repression, the memorials commemorate broader historical, political and social processes in their areas.

At the same time, these rural sites of memory do not overlook the specificity of the victims from their areas and, like the urban memorials, present elements of the victims' political militancy to illustrate their biographies and create a vision of political community. This is done, for example, through visual symbols such as the hammer and sickle, Allende's glasses, and the MIR's flag in some of the mosaics in Paine and in references to the MIR and the Movimiento de Campesinos Revolucionarios in the museum in Neltume. These rural memorials, however, explicitly contextualise victims' political ideals within a broader framework of concrete political actions in their local area in which they were involved. They are thus portrayed as grassroots militants who directly participated in land occupations or the administration of the local agricultural or forestry industries. Moreover, the rural sites present a broader representation of local working-class identity through the victims: by using a variety of symbolic and visual motifs, they reinforce aspects of the typical rural culture and the history of the working masses in these areas. As has been shown, this is achieved in Neltume through the references to the area's Mapuche heritage and its long history entwined with the forestry

industry. Similarly, a number of Paine's memorials, including the mosaics in Memorial Paine and the mosaic wall 'Memorias de Paine', allude to the predominant agricultural industry and the history of the local working class.

Given the above arguments, it is worth considering some of Violi's concluding remarks to her analysis of three urban sites of memory in Chile, Cambodia and Italy:

...in all three trauma sites there is a general lack of factual information and any other kind of instructional materials. As a result, it may become rather difficult to understand the historical, cultural and political network of reasons and causes that underlie these events, as well as their internal dynamics. All this is largely left up to the evocative power of the place itself, to its unique capacity for bringing events of the past forward into our present time by way of its indexical links with what happened. But emotional evocation is something quite different from deep understanding. In this sense the power of indexicality as a signifying device may become a limit, a sort of mono-dimensional enclosure system, lacking any active links to the wider historical, cultural and political context that produced the traumatic event. (2012: 71)

Violi's brief admission of a potential limit to trauma sites is somewhat surprising, given her overall argument consistently praising the efficacy of trauma sites. She notes that in lieu of a historical, political and cultural explanation, trauma sites rely predominantly on 'the evocative power of the place itself', that is, the material traces at the site (2012: 71). In many ways, this over-reliance on the traces at trauma sites effectively becomes their fundamental flaw, as Violi tentatively posits. This is because the sites then neglect the equally important role of presenting visitors with a contextualising historical discourse, either taking visitors' knowledge of the historical and political backgrounds for granted, or consciously choosing to focus on the particularities of the site and not a more global history, perhaps in an attempt to emphasise each site's point of difference from the others. In either case, the ensuing limited vision ultimately hinders visitors' deeper comprehension of the history of repression at the site, and even in the country. To further underline this point, Violi notes that 'emotional evocation is something quite different from deep understanding' (2012: 71). In other words, trauma sites cannot solely rely on the emotive powers of their indexical traces to comprehensively educate visitors. Similarly, Elizabeth Jelin has argued that material ruins or traces at sites of memory do not constitute memories in themselves; rather, these ruins must be 'evoked and placed in a context that gives them meaning' (2003: 18). Thus, the mere existence of a trauma site does not predicate the successful transfer of memory to its viewers; some form of contextualisation is necessary for them to activate their educative potential, which can then lead to a broader questioning of the past.

Another productive aspect of Violi's theoretical discussion is her assertion that trauma sites 'strictly speaking [...] do not *represent* anything', but rather seek to 're-present' the past, given the fact that the traumatic events took place *in situ* (2012: 41, italics in original). This forms one of the key aspects of trauma sites which renders them, in Violi's view, more 'cogent' than other types of museums or memorials (2012: 39, 41). This claim, however, contradicts her assertion that imprints at trauma sites are transformed into comprehensible traces through a double semiotic process involving interpretation and enunciation. Through interpretation, Violi argues, the visitor gains an understanding of the role and significance of the imprints, which then turns them into traces; subsequently, enunciation by each site's administration converts these traces 'into a memorial or museum' with a meaningful narrative (2012: 39). But this process of interpretation and enunciation involves both re-presentation and representation, not just the former. First, to recognise the material imprints of the past as traces, they must be re-presented to visitors in a new context. Subsequently, their insertion into a historical and memory discourse gives them a representational value, as they stand for the horrors that took place there. Without any representation, a re-presentation of the material relics is simply an acquaintance or re-acquaintance with an object, but the object itself has no intrinsic value. As Violi herself states, it is enunciation that transforms the traces or 'indexical nature' of a trauma site 'from a purely causal contiguity into a meaningful element' (2012: 39).

The house at Londres 38 is a useful example of the dual process of interpretation and enunciation. The building is converted into a trace through the understanding that this house, originally constructed in the 1930s, was occupied by the DINA during the dictatorship. The enunciatory or representational function that converts Londres 38 into a site of memory are the explanations offered to visitors of how the building formed part of the DINA's operations: for example, detailing the way in which each room was employed for repressive means, and providing biographical information on the people tortured and killed there. This is then further developed to represent the wider context of the grave human rights violations of the dictatorship era. Similarly, the material imprints at José Domingo Cañas 1367 re-present the house's original foundations. Without any representation, however, they are unable to stand for the pain and suffering which occurred there.¹²³

¹²³ In the hypothetical case of a trauma site that had been completely demolished, there would literally be no material traces left, and consequently no indexical elements, to present or re-present. The empty site would still be valuable, however, in the sense that it would represent or symbolise both the repression that was conducted there, and the attempts to whitewash the past through the structure's destruction.

Nevertheless, Violi later acknowledges that there is a complex interplay of representation and representation at trauma sites. On the subject of how to represent the past at such sites, Violi notes that there is a paradox in the sites' perceived inability to portray 'the life-experiences of the real people who encountered their final destiny there' despite the innate indexical links at each site (2012: 43). She then posits two representational strategies that respond to these sites' seeming incapacity to tell the story of the victims in each location:

The first is to assume as unavoidable the impossibility of recreating the past, emphasizing the distance that separates us from the traumatic events and, possibly, allowing that time gap to create a new space for critical thinking. The second alternative is of an opposite sign, and tries to obliterate the distance between present and past: the past is made present and re-actualized through a variety of devices aiming at strong emotional involvement on the part of the visitor. (2012: 43)

Violi subsequently asserts that the second of the two options is more prevalent among trauma sites today and 'is generally adopted and diffused with the aim of not only preserving the basic *authenticity* of the sites just as they were, but also of recreating a complex *authenticity effect* by way of a wide range of different enunciatory strategies' (2012: 44, italics in original). Once again, however, this raises a number of questions. Firstly, authenticity at sites of memory is a complex issue, with debates around issues such as who decides or has the authority to decide what is 'authentic' at these sites, and how an 'authentic' form of memorialisation for some may not necessarily be so for others. Such issues are elided in Violi's discussion. There also appears to be an inherent contradiction in the idea that removing the distance between the past and the present preserves the sites' authenticity. In this regard, Violi details the 'authenticity paradox', which implies that attempts to conserve the authenticity of sites through their material forms when they are transformed into museums can actually alter the meanings of the site, and thus undermine its authenticity (2012: 42-43). This 'paradox' is essentially intuitive: any transformation of traces at a trauma site necessarily alters the site's meaning, as it adds another layer to its palimpsest. Moreover, the impossibility of re-actualising the past also implies that any attempts to do so result in a lack of authenticity. Violi describes the 'authenticity effect' that she claims is produced by the attempted erasure of the distance between the past and the present as 'a meaning effect produced in the experience of visitors rather than an abstract form of correspondence with some pre-existing reality' (2012: 44). This ultimately emphasises the emotional impact of the site and the effects that the internalisation of this impact causes in visitors; in this case, this representational strategy that attempts to re-actualise the past is closely tied to the emotional effect of sites. Emotional involvement is arguably a desirable

quality in sites of memory, and particularly trauma sites, as a means to convey their messages. Attempts to produce this emotional response through mere recreation of the past, as Violi suggests, however, can create a form of sensationalism and superficial identification with victims. Therefore, it is arguably less a case of making the past present in this strategy, as she originally posits, and more of an attempt to make the past accessible from the present by appealing to visitors' emotions.

The counterpoint to this strategy of emotional involvement is the promotion of critical thinking and debate, which allows sites of memory to fulfil an educative purpose in society. It also acknowledges the distance between the past and the present and is, in this regard, arguably more 'authentic' by virtue of being less idealistic or essentialist. This alternative is closely linked to James Young's notion of the 'counter-monument'. Young defines counter-monuments as 'self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being'; they challenge and stimulate viewers, potentially change over time, and explicitly place the 'burden of memory' back on viewers (1992: 271, 277). Young argues that they embody the unresolved debate over which memory or memories should be memorialised, and how and why this should be done; in this sense, he considers that they may even constitute the best type of memorial (1992: 270). That is, the counter-monument effectively goes hand-in-hand with the instilling of critical thinking in viewers and, potentially, society.

While Violi presents the two potential responses of emotional involvement and critical thinking as mutually exclusive, it is nevertheless possible for both to operate in the same site of memory. For example, a site could seek to involve visitors and position them in a way that attempts to bring the past to life and 're-actualise' it, whilst recognising that this artificially conflates the past with the present. In this case, it would acknowledge the temporal distance between past events and the present, and could therefore operate as a counter-monument, promoting critical thinking about the matters at hand.¹²⁴ Ultimately, in contrast to Violi's assertion, there are not two mutually exclusive representational strategies. Rather, there is a careful balancing act to which these sites have to attend: to remain true to the past and provoke an emotional response, yet to also play a role in fomenting critical thinking and debates in contemporary society coming to terms with a traumatic past.

In the trauma sites studied, the two representational strategies are used and juxtaposed to varying effects. In Violi's assessment, there are few signs of the atrocities at Villa Grimaldi,

¹²⁴ Such a site would not be purely 'counter-monumental' in accordance with Young's definition, however, since it would also elicit an emotional response in a way more traditionally associated with memorials.

and the decision to create a park there produces an ‘unbridgeable distance’ between the past and the present (2012: 55). In this sense, the park deviates considerably from its original use as a torture centre. Violi attributes the choice of this design to the ambiguity and complexity of the Chilean transition in the 1990s, and notes the multiple readings of the site developed by scholars, which demonstrate that the park stimulates a range of critical responses from visitors (2012: 60-61). In spite of this, there is arguably an attempt at Villa Grimaldi to remove the distance between the past and the present through the reconstructed structures of the Torre and the Casa CORVI, both of which aim to confront visitors with objects used for torture and, thus, produce an emotional response. In this regard, Nelly Richard notes that these belated reconstructions attempt to give material anchorage to the physical memory of Villa Grimaldi’s sinister past. Her overall opinion of Villa Grimaldi, however, is critical of several of the symbolic and representational strategies employed, and she criticises how the Torre and Casa CORVI lack ‘toda contextualización narrativa e histórico-documental que las haga parte de un relato de lo sucedido y que le devuelva espesor y densidad al recuerdo’ (2010: 265). For Richard, the Torre and Casa CORVI constitute superficial attempts to emotionally involve visitors, since they do not delve sufficiently into the facts nor the reasons for the repression. This critique reiterates the earlier assessment that there is a general lack of contextualisation at the urban trauma sites of memory.

Moreover, Richard questions whether these reconstructions successfully counteract the pacifying slant of Villa Grimaldi, which beautifies the ruins of the site to promote a message of life and hope. In her opinion, by decoratively presenting the site’s past, it makes the memory of the abject completely inoffensive and does not use it with a ‘dramatically accusatory’ purpose (2010: 256). In other words, Richard questions both of the two approaches that Violi sets forth – the conscious effort to distance the site from the past and the emotionally-charged reconstructions and symbolic elements. This ultimately invokes a more profound question regarding representation at trauma sites in general, which Violi clearly articulates: ‘is it possible to maintain and transmit memories of past atrocities while moving away from direct representation of them, and from an explicit aesthetic of “realism of horror”?’ (2012: 60). Richard’s overall critique is based on the relative absence of this aesthetic of horror in Villa Grimaldi, even when some of the structures used by the DINA have been recreated, since they do not refer explicitly enough to the repression. This criticism has been echoed by other scholars. Michael Lazzara, for example, argues that the predominant ‘beautification and smoothing over’ of the park’s aesthetic forms fail to effectively portray the limit experiences prisoners faced and do not allow visitors to ‘really sense the barbarity of the horrors perpetrated

there' (2006: 139, 141-142). While this position is valid, it overlooks the interaction between the two approaches at work at Villa Grimaldi, which both fulfil different, complementary purposes: the reconstructions aim to provoke an emotional response in visitors, while the park as a whole looks to convey a message of life and hope as a form of thinking critically about the past.

A number of the features at the less-studied Estadio Nacional also attempt to bridge the distance between the past and the present, by either recreating them or making minimal changes to them in the time that has passed since the events. The most obvious examples of this are the restored benches in the stadium, which appeal to the emblematic vision of the stadium as a concentration camp and, more specifically, to the thousands of prisoners who were kept among those seating areas. They thus seek to entice an emotional response from visitors who, while attending a range of events at the stadium, can empathise with the victims' plights. Likewise, the velodrome, the *caracola* and the interior of the swimming pool changing rooms have had minimal interventions. These squalid structures evoke the horrors of the past by effectively positioning visitors in a similar environment to those used for detentions and torture. In this way, there appears to be a conscious move away from decorativeness or beautification and, instead, a foregrounding of the buildings' decrepit states. These areas of Estadio Nacional therefore represent the dark acts that were committed within them, and arguably bring to light the horrors of the past in the confronting manner that Richard and Lazzara consider to be lacking at Villa Grimaldi.

The two other urban trauma sites, Londres 38 and Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, both acknowledge the distance between the past and the present and attempt to construct a form of critical thinking about the past. The fact that Londres 38 maintains the original house used by the DINA emotionally confronts visitors as they occupy the same spot where victims and perpetrators once stood. At the same time, the building's bare rooms and the lack of reconstruction of any elements of the past emphasise the temporal distance between past horrors and the present, distinguishing what the house was and what it is. For example, the deterioration of part of the building or stains from the outlines of framed pictures placed on the walls by the Instituto O'Higiniano have been left as they were found, and they foreground the passing of time and the building's palimpsest nature during its history. There is thus a juxtaposition between the emotional positioning of visitors to tap into the building's sinister past and a focus on the evolution of the house's uses. This approach considers the house as the principal object of study and places the focus less on representational forms and more on how Londres 38 can be used to interrogate the past, or, as Nelly Richard puts it, interweaving the

questions of ‘qué hacer con este lugar’ and ‘qué hacer desde este espacio’ (2010: 249). In this vein, Londres 38’s work is not limited to the site itself, but emanates out from it, both literally (placing the informative panels outside the house) and figuratively, in terms of the contemporary issues of memory and human rights in Chile that it questions. In this way, there is a further promotion of critical thinking using the trauma site as a base on which to build.

Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas has had no real reconstruction by virtue of the fact that its administration inherited a razed site and is not permitted to rebuild the house. It attempts to create an emotional connection through the only remaining features of the house – the foundations and the floor plan they demonstrate. This site’s promotion of critical thinking is also grounded in projects that question the dictatorship and its *modus operandi* on a broader level, particularly through the denunciation of the emblematic cases of Operación Colombo, which is also highlighted at Londres 38, and the cover-up of the murder of Lumi Videla. It is noteworthy that these final two sites are less preoccupied with representational forms and more concerned with attempting to instil critical thinking. This is largely attributable to the fact that they are administered by organisations considered to be among the more militant civil society groups, and thus their administrations have been more critical of the state and government, less reconciliatory in their memory struggles, and more explicitly political in their missions and visions.¹²⁵

It should be noted that while Violi presents emotional involvement and critical thinking as two opposing representational strategies at urban trauma sites, critical thinking does not equate to ‘deep understanding’, a term she employs elsewhere as a counterpart to ‘emotional evocation’ (Violi 2012: 71). Deep understanding requires the repressive events to be set in their historical context, which may not necessarily form part of the critical thinking prompted at trauma sites. Tzvetan Todorov’s work on ‘memory as a remedy for evil’ offers a window into the importance of contextualisation to promote a deeper understanding of past events. Todorov argues in favour of a move from emotional involvement, which produces empathy with victims, towards active thinking and reflection about past atrocities, including questioning the perpetrators’ motivations and the conditions which cultivated them – that is, placing the atrocities in their historical contexts. This form of active thinking and reflection represents what Todorov ultimately deems to be a constructive use of the memory of historical abuses insofar as it produces an understanding of the past and its lessons in order to influence the present and

¹²⁵ Several academics have detailed the different civil society groups involved in the recovery of Londres 38 and its conversion into a site of memory, some of which are closely tied to a revolutionary-left worldview (Lazzara 2011: 81-84; Wyndham and Read 2012: 45-47; Winn 2013: 437).

prevent similar events from occurring again in the future (Todorov 2010: 19, 79-80). It is arguably this contextualisation which allows lessons to be drawn and the educative potential of sites of memory to be fulfilled; without it, the past events can be contemplated but not fully understood. By means of illustration, the urban trauma sites analysed above often promote critical thinking from a relatively superficial standpoint. They question aspects of the dictatorial repression in relative isolation, such as the use of cover-ups and the role of the media, and consider how this affects contemporary society, but they lack a detailed contextualisation of events leading up to the coup. They thus present these issues more as isolated episodes than as consequences of a series of political, historical and cultural events. Therefore, while the urban sites of memory do force visitors to critically engage with aspects of the repression, they do not necessarily succeed at fomenting a deep understanding of the period in question.

There are, then, a number of different ways that the trauma sites in Santiago attempt to overcome the obstacles to telling the story of their victims. These include the way they approach the temporal chasm between the past and the present, and how they then seek to produce emotional responses and critical thinking. As has been demonstrated, most of them simultaneously approximate and distance the past and the present, thus emotionally involving visitors and prompting critical reflection to different degrees. These strategies, originally examined by Violi with specific relation to trauma sites, are not necessarily limited to the urban sites studied, however. Although rural sites of memory, as previously discussed, fall somewhere into a third category between ‘trauma sites’ or ‘sitios testimoniales’ and ‘ex novo museums’ and memorials, they also present some of the trauma sites’ traits in their representational forms (Violi 2012: 38; Schindel 2009: 70). Once again, these rural sites incorporate elements that simultaneously respect the distance between the past and the present and promote critical thinking, and also try to approximate the two through a number of emotive devices.

An important feature of the rural sites’ representational forms, particularly their promotion of critical thinking, resides in the fact that these rural areas suffered the collective trauma of widespread repression during the dictatorship. Thus, the sites of memory can be regarded as a central tool for both victims’ families and the wider community to work through past trauma.¹²⁶ Dominick LaCapra notes that processes of working through may diminish the competing urge to act out, since they involve forms of mourning and ‘critical thought and

¹²⁶ The concept of ‘working through’ follows Dominick LaCapra’s theoretical elucidation on two psychological responses to trauma, acting out and working through, which were discussed in Chapter 3.

practice' which allow the creation of a past-present distinction (2001: 22). By this definition, memorialisation that promotes critical thinking can be understood as a form of working through the trauma of the past. Moreover, LaCapra posits that working through 'requires going back to the problems, working them over, and perhaps transforming the understanding of them' (2001: 148). This idea of transforming the understanding of past trauma resonates particularly with the processes of memorialisation in rural areas, given the ways previously analysed by which they provide a detailed contextualisation of the historical periods in question and may thus produce a deep understanding of this past.

A further framework to consider the promotion of critical thinking at rural sites of memory is the distinction Elizabeth Jelin draws between literal and exemplary memories, two concepts originally developed by Tzvetan Todorov. Literal memory, Jelin notes, 'stays closed within itself'; that is, all memories are focused purely on past horrors (2003: 42). This is similar to acting out, insofar as the victim has no sense of perspective and can only think about the past. Exemplary memories, on the other hand, are successfully contained so that the pain of the past is bearable (Jelin 2003: 42). In order to contain these memories, the individual must differentiate between the past and the present and therefore have worked through past trauma. Exemplary memories also involve the additional task of moving from a 'private and personal level to the public realm', where they are used to draw lessons from the past across a broader sector of society to influence the present and the future (Jelin 2003: 42). This shift from personal commemoration to the public realm is particularly pertinent to rural areas because of the way in which their sites of memory form coherent geographies of commemoration, in contrast with urban sites of memory which have been criticised for reinforcing a 'peripheral geography of commemoration' (Collins and Hite 2013: 137). Moreover, the clear contextualisation at rural sites emphasises their attempts to draw lessons from the past in a collective manner as a community, as they attempt to articulate how the repression fits into their local history.

Therefore, rural sites of memory attempt to promote critical thinking since their very creation emphasises the distance between the past and the present. This distancing from the past at the rural sites in question, which forms part of the process of working through and is inherent in the construction of exemplary memories, has opened up space for a re-articulation of the community's identity and values. In other words, it has produced a form of locally-centred critical thinking. In Paine, for example, the creation of a memorial formed part of AFDD-Paine's objectives to consolidate the historical memory of the repression there, and to promote reflection on human rights violations, the lives of the victims, and the local identity

(Maureira Moreno 2009: 108, 112). In a similar way, a psychiatric and mental health project in Neltume by the Chilean NGO CODEPU posited in the 1990s that the reconstruction of local history in Neltume, which the museum can be seen to embody, would help promote societal healing in the community (Ortíz Rojas 1999: 166).

At the same time, these rural sites of memory bridge the temporal distance between the past and the present through the emotional appeal of their representational strategies. These memorials arguably have less of an imperative to incorporate the aesthetics of horror into their representation, given that they are not constructed upon the exact physical location of torture and murder. In the case of the urban trauma sites discussed above, their emotional response is guided through material traces, primarily the sites' physical remains. Such evidence is absent at rural memorials, however. Their attempts to effectuate an emotional response thus centre on a greater focus on the individual victims and their biographies, steeped in a deeper contextualisation. This form of providing greater details regarding the local social and political movements in which the victims were involved creates a different kind of empathetic response on the part of the visitor and, potentially, a more nuanced identification with these political subjects. The principal focus is, therefore, less on a physical structure or a place and what this represents (as is the case with trauma sites, given it is the structure which serves as a mnemonic device and a link between past and present), but on the actual victims themselves. The rural sites' emotional appeal is also a form of the community working through the trauma of the victims' fates by examining their lives in detail. This is clear in both Paine, with its individual mosaics for each victim, and in Neltume, with its focus on some of the leaders in the local movements like Pepe and the guerrilla group. It is notable that the explanation of victims' biographies in the local context also facilitates critical thinking about the historical processes in which the victims moved, particularly workers' organisation and their administration of the principal local industries. Thus, this theorisation on strategies to represent the past, which was originally developed with regards to urban trauma sites, also holds true for the rural sites of memory in question. They demonstrate a complex interweaving of the two representational responses, and this consequently serves to expand the area of critical study to incorporate these rural memorials.

In sum, although a number of scholars have made the distinction between trauma sites and other memorials, and have based their subsequent analyses around this, there are a number of issues with their arguments. These range from the binary opposition between trauma sites and ex novo museums and memorials, and the notion that trauma sites maintain embodied memories, to whether trauma sites re-present or represent the past. The present analysis has

built upon these theoretical contributions to propose a critical space for the consideration of rural sites of memory in Chile, examining their symbolic representations alongside urban trauma sites. While the trauma sites in Santiago generally focus on their respective victims and periods of use, the memorialisation projects at rural sites of memory such as Paine and Neltume have been shown to focus more on the local social and political climate before the dictatorship and also portray aspects of their local working-class identities. The geographies of commemoration in rural areas provide a coherent message of remembrance across their communities, which attempts to cement this vision of the past in the local imaginary and make it a permanent fixture of everyday life. Furthermore, through the detailed contextualisation they provide, the rural sites of memory also seek to imbue visitors with a deep understanding of their local history and the way in which repression has affected their communities in recent decades. Thus, these rural memorials offer a distinct yet complementary vision to urban trauma sites in the overall Chilean memory-scape.

Conclusion

Two key episodes of conflict have marked Chile's history since independence: the subjugation of the Mapuche and the coup d'état and Pinochet's subsequent dictatorship. These events and the historical trauma that they produced through repression, dispossession and marginalisation continue to be relevant today: they are the origins of contemporary struggles in Chilean society around issues such as indigenous rights, human rights abuses, and the economic, political and social legacies of Pinochet's dictatorship. This thesis has examined a range of cultural forms that embody and respond to these traumatic episodes and their consequences in a variety of ways.

The historic roots of David Aníñir's poetry can be traced to the military defeat of the Mapuche by the Chilean state in the 19th century, which led to their mass urban migration. In recent times, many works of Mapuche poetry have been co-opted and folklorised by the state and the cultural establishment to effectively assert cultural dominance over Chile's indigenous peoples. Aníñir's poetic discourse subverts these processes by portraying an urban Mapuche worldview that encompasses a wide range of disparate and, at times, mutually conflictive cultural elements and influences. Notably, his work engages with traditional Mapuche culture both in its original context and in a resignified form in the modern city. Aníñir's poetry does not conflate these manifestations of rural and urban Mapuche culture, and his treatment of a dual Mapuche political discourse also maintains a clear distinction between issues of direct relevance to rural and urban Mapuche. At the same time, these political references form part of a much broader discourse that engages with issues of both national and international concern. Furthermore, Aníñir's poetry interacts with a variety of Western-derived cultural forms in a number of ways, drawing inspiration from some and parodying others. Given this range of divergent cultural elements and socio-political discourses that coexist within Aníñir's poetic Mapuche worldview, his work reveals a hybrid, heterogeneous contemporary Mapuche identity that is firmly rooted in the city. Such heterogeneous hybridity is further confirmed in the Mapuche characters of his poetry, who exhibit fragmented and unresolved identities and are frequently portrayed as suffering from oppression and inequality.

The work of Carmen Castillo offers insight into the traumatic consequences of the dictatorship's repression. Her written and filmic endeavours frequently centre on her personal experiences of loss and suffering, including her detention and exile, and the murder of her partner, Miguel Enríquez. There is a notable evolution in the way she approaches these

experiences throughout her work. Castillo's first book, *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, demonstrates her obsession with the traumatic past, as she is trapped in a paradigm of acting out and is unable to come to terms with the trauma she suffered. In the documentary *Calle Santa Fe*, produced over two decades later, she reflects on this same trauma and confronts both her personal experiences in the past and those of the political collective of the MIR. In this sense, she engages in the processes of working through the past and working toward a new narrative in the present. This evolution in Castillo's response to trauma suggests that with the passing of time she has effectively come to terms with her traumatic experience.

Another cultural response to atrocities during Pinochet's dictatorship is memorialisation, a developing phenomenon in Chile in recent decades. One particular type of memorial is the 'trauma site', a location previously used for repression that is converted into a site of memory, which is most prevalent in urban centres and, above all, in Santiago. Although there are a number of nuanced distinctions among the symbolic representations at the four studied trauma sites in Santiago, significant parallels between them suggest that they tend to depend significantly on physical ruins or indexical links to the past. This results in a limited historical vision that hinders a broader contextualisation and deeper understanding of repression during the dictatorship, and produces a fragmented memory landscape in the capital. In contrast, rural sites of memory in locations such as Paine and Neltume offer an alternative approach to memorialisation, by conveying a contextualising historical discourse that pays particular attention to the specificities of each local area. These rural projects have also extended across their local communities through the creation of a variety of diverse memorials, which has produced coherent geographies of commemoration in Paine and Neltume. From this perspective, rural sites of memory and their representations of the past constitute a noteworthy counterpoint to urban trauma sites and have the potential to make a valuable contribution to the Chilean memory-scape.

This thesis has drawn together these three forms of cultural production that, while diverse, converge in the way they dissent from hegemonic discourses of the two foundational conflicts in Chile's history. While each cultural form has a predominant focus on the recollection of one of these historical conflicts and its consequences today – the domination of Mapuche in the case of Aníñir's poetry, and dictatorial repression in Castillo's work and sites of memory – all three allude to and interact with both episodes of conflict.

In the first instance, the historic plight of Mapuche that Aníñir's poetry frequently evokes is alluded to in Castillo's documentary *Calle Santa Fe*. Among the video archives the film employs is a brief clip of a Mapuche land occupation in the south of Chile in the early

1970s, in which a branch of the MIR, the *Movimiento de Campesinos Revolucionarios*, also took part. It thus attempts to highlight the MIR's historic support for the Mapuche cause.¹²⁷ Likewise, several sites of memory allude to the contemporary Mapuche political agenda. Casa Memoria José Domingo Cañas, for example, displays the Mapuche flag in one of its mural walls as a demonstration of solidarity with the contemporary Mapuche movement. Centro Cultural Museo y Memoria de Neltume, for its part, acknowledges this indigenous group as the original inhabitants of the local area, outlines aspects of their culture, and denounces the usurpation of Mapuche land in the south.

Similarly, the critical vision of the dictatorship that is portrayed in Castillo's works and at the sites of memory in question, which emphasises the plight of victims and the traumatic impact of repression on survivors and victims' families, is echoed throughout Aníñir's work. His poetry alludes on more than one occasion to murdered and disappeared victims of the dictatorship, and their loved ones who were indelibly marked by such events.

The three forms of cultural production also denounce Pinochet's legacy and foreground ongoing struggles against it in Chilean society, particularly by highlighting the political, social and economic structures that endure from his rule. Aníñir's poetic discourse criticises the imposition of the neoliberal model on society and its negative impact – in particular, the increasing poverty and social inequality that it produced in Chile. Castillo's texts highlight the marginalisation of the Left in contemporary politics, in stark contrast to their prominent role in pre-dictatorship society, and allude to the pervasiveness of neoliberal thought and consumerism in Chile. Sites of memory, for their part, represent a central element of human rights activism that continues to demand greater truth and justice from the Chilean government and state institutions regarding the dictatorship's crimes. The fact that these sites of memory are contested in Chilean society (for example, regarding the state funding that some sites receive and their forms of memory activism) also points to ongoing struggles around the role and significance of the memories of past conflict.

Moreover, the cultural texts examined in this study all attest to the ethnically, politically and culturally disjointed nature of Chilean society in the wake of these episodes of conflict through a range of nuanced identities that they present. The Mapuche characters of Aníñir's poetry, for instance, are clear examples of heterogeneous hybridity. They do not depict a harmonious fusion of Mapuche and non-Mapuche culture, but rather reveal deep inner

¹²⁷ An extended clip of the archive footage in question underscores the participation of Mapuche in this land occupation, which is not made explicit in Castillo's documentary ('Toma de fundo...').

confusion and fragmentation as a consequence of their attempts to articulate an identity that straddles these two distinct and conflictive cultures. Castillo's disjointed identity is evident throughout *Un día de octubre en Santiago*, and is a result of her traumatic experiences during the dictatorship. In this sense, her personal inner conflict can be read as representative of the experiences of victims of repression throughout the dictatorship and their traumatic scars. While *Calle Santa Fe* demonstrates that such trauma can potentially be overcome by working through the past, it also imbues a sense of political fragmentation in contemporary society given the way that it depicts a left-wing worldview that has been excluded to the margins of formal political debate. Such political divisions are further emphasised through the varying portrayals of the identities of victims of the dictatorship at a number of sites of memory, which arguably clash with the dominant political outlook in Chile today.

A final parallel between the cultural forms is their suggestion of a variety of ways to confront the past. Aníñir's poetry promotes a certain level of solidarity among rural and urban Mapuche in their nuanced political agendas. Furthermore, by illustrating a range of long-standing cultural and political grievances that Mapuche harbour, his poetic discourse attempts to foster a greater understanding of their current predicament in Chilean society. Castillo's work and sites of memory advocate critical re-examinations of past atrocities, both on an individual level and among groups of activists, as a means to subvert official discourse and practices that seek to gloss over the cracks of the conflictive past.

To sum up, this thesis has challenged several tendencies in criticism on Chilean forms of cultural production and has proposed alternative ways of critically approaching the subject matter, which then inform a range of potential future avenues of study. First of all, the study has highlighted the prevalent tendency in scholarship on Chile to chiefly focus on the trauma of the dictatorship and cultural reflections of that period. It has also outlined the comparative disregard in criticism of cultural responses to the subjugation and oppression of Mapuche and has challenged the folklorising inclination of works that examine Mapuche cultural forms. It is hoped that the juxtaposition of cultural texts related to these two distinct conflicts can stimulate new and original critical reflections on contemporary Chilean cultural production and its relation to the past.

The analysis in this thesis of David Aníñir's poetry has undermined a narrow perspective in scholarship that almost exclusively focuses on his work's links to and creative re-signification of Mapuche tradition. Rather, this thesis has highlighted the multifaceted nature of Aníñir's work and the way that it deals with a vast array of cultural elements and political discourses. It is hoped that future researchers of Aníñir's poetry will pay more attention to this

multiplicity and heterogeneity of influences in his work, rather than treating it as a solely 'Mapuche' cultural form. Given that criticism to date has primarily focused on just one of Aníñir's collections, further research into his ongoing poetic production will develop a more detailed and nuanced critical vision of his work. Future studies could also examine Aníñir's Mapurbe poetry in conjunction with the work of other urban Mapuche poets, and perhaps look to establish whether, in the face of changing Mapuche demographics and cultural realities, Mapurbe poetry constitutes a legitimate sub-genre of Mapuche poetry. Alternatively, studies could also consider the parallels between Aníñir's Mapurbe poetry and that of other indigenous poets who write from and within an urban context.

This thesis has broadened the scope of scholarship on Carmen Castillo's work by contrasting two of her works that have been produced in distinct formats and eras, yet share a common theme in their responses to the traumatic past. Given that *Calle Santa Fe* is the only of Castillo's works to have received substantial critical attention to date, it is hoped that this study prompts scholars to take a broader critical and comparative approach to her corpus, including several of her lesser-studied works to which this thesis has alluded. One potentially productive line of inquiry that builds on this research is to further explore the connections between written and filmic works that reflect on political upheaval and repression in 20th century Latin America. This could particularly focus on testimonies written by survivors of repression and political and social documentary films, which frequently coincide in their subject matter regarding political and social processes of change and are inextricably linked to Latin America's conflictive past.

Furthermore, this study has been the first to explicitly analyse and contrast the differing approaches to memorialisation in urban and rural areas in Chile. It has thus challenged the predominant focus in criticism on memory projects in Santiago, with the exception of Paine, and has proposed a new, critical space for rural sites of memory in scholarship. It is hoped that future research will further develop this line of inquiry and critically examine other memory projects outside of the capital. This could include sites of memory in other rural locations with histories of repression, such as Pisagua and Chacabuco in the north of Chile, to assess whether they contain parallels with those found in Paine and Neltume. It could also consider memorialisation in regional cities such as Concepción, and examine how they relate to similar memory projects in Santiago and rural areas. The critical evaluation of the concept of trauma sites also invites further debate regarding its relevance and potential shortcomings in studies of memorialisation in Chile and further afield.

Finally, it is worth noting that although this thesis has focused on Chile, the issues that it raises are pertinent to a range of contexts in Latin American nations, with their shared history of indigenous domination, military dictatorships and political repression. It is hoped that this thesis' analysis and conclusions prove valuable to studies on analogous cultural forms related to the repression of indigenous groups and human rights abuses during dictatorships in other Latin American nations, and even possibly on a supranational scale.

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