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Remembering the Remote:

Family, Memory, and Television in Post-Pinochet Chilean Culture

A Dissertation Presented

by

Elizabeth Osborne

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Remembering the Remote: Family, Memory, and Television in Post-Pinochet Chilean Culture

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This dissertation explores how television, its programs, its status as a domestic material object, its technologies, and its presence as a motif in literature, TV series and film, contribute to theorizations and representations of memory of the dictatorship in post-Pinochet Chile. At the same time, individual and collective memories affect television's representations of the past. Specifically, I look at intersections between familial, generational and medial memory practices of addressing trauma in essays, feature film, television, novels, and documentary films. I identify a range of self-referential and performative techniques of (post)memory particular to the Chilean "children of the dictatorship." Although the texts' meta-textual practices range from self-promotional to self-reflexive, all point to art and imagination as therapeutic processes that work through layers of trauma.

The first chapter analyzes Diamela Eltit's "Las dos caras de la Moneda" through Dori Laub's work on witnessing to propose that television serves as a potential witness. Next, I look at

the multifaceted role of television in the TV series *Los 80* as a porter of restorative and reflective nostalgia (Svetlana Boym). Finally, I apply Allison Landsberg's "prosthetic memory" to *No* to discuss the film's potential for empathic viewership. Chapter 2 examines practices of collecting in the novels *Formas de volver a casa* (Alejandro Zambra) and *Fuenzalida* (Nona Fernández) through Walter Benjamin's ideas on collection. The novels' meta-textual impulses are examples of the performative index and role of imagination in (post)memory (Marianne Hirsch). These novels consciously highlight the fictionalization of memory and vindicate the perspectives of indirect victims. The third chapter studies (post)memory in the documentaries *Mi vida con Carlos* (Germán Berger-Hertz) and *El eco de las canciones* (Antonia Rossi) through José van Djick's "mediated memories" and Stella Bruzzi's "performative documentary." An audiovisual letter, *Mi vida* performs (post)memory associated with the disappeared through a mixture of documents and media. *El eco*, an audiovisual diary, employs performative collage aesthetics to process traumas of exile by juxtaposing materials and technologies. In these narratives, TV becomes a tool of memory and healing, as a family companion, a generational marker, and a source of aesthetic material.

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction

Although the first nationally broadcast television program aired in Chile in 1959, after various years of experiments at national universities, the TV set did not become a coveted household item until the 1962 transmission of the World Cup. Even then, it was not a common domestic appliance. By 1988, however, 75-80% of Chilean homes had a television set, a statistic that was presented as a testament to the country's economic progress under the military dictatorship (Brugnoli et al. 30), effectively coming closer to Pinochet's 1979 promise that by 1985 or 1986, "cada trabajador chileno va a tener casa, auto y televisor. No va a tener un Rolls Royce, pero tendrá una citroneta del '75" (*Radio Chilena* qtd. in "Las frases para el bronce de Pinochet"). Television, as evidenced by these statistics and Pinochet's statement, was incorporated into the dictatorship's strategic discourse of domesticity, family values, and neo-liberal capitalism. Due to television's inclusion in individual households, it became a model member of the allegorical national family put forth by the dictatorship. TV consumption (either through the purchase of sets or program viewing), then, was framed as a common and admirable action that furthered the dictatorial familial legacy.

In its initial years, Chilean television was envisioned as an educational medium rather than a commercial one geared at entertainment and its transmission was rather limited. Nevertheless, this quickly changed when Chile hosted the 1962 World Cup and the three main TV channels vied for broadcast rights because of the rise in numbers of sets in Chilean homes. After that, commercialization of Chilean TV continued to intensify until 1971 when the Unidad Popular government updated the country's television law to reprioritize quality educational and cultural content. Influenced by the tense climate of the time, however, television, along with other media, became politically polarized. These divisive tensions culminated in the 1973 coup,

and television, again, was implicated in the country's political upheaval as the military junta announced its rule through television broadcast shortly following the events of September 11. During the dictatorship, television was the most tightly controlled media outlet because of its perceived ability to impose opinions on viewers. Stephen Crofts Wiley explains that the dictatorship controlled programming through censorship and pro-Pinochet propaganda, "all the while imposing a thorough commercialization of broadcasting and permitting the unregulated private development of cable television…Television, during this period, reinforced the authoritarian project of controlling national public space and reorganizing 'Chile' as a territory of uncontested, transnationally dependent capitalist development" ("Assembled" 671). In the 1980s, although Chile saw an "opening up" of media such as magazines and radio, television continued to be simultaneously privatized and monopolized by the government.[1] Furthermore, it ushered in capitalist models of consumption imported from the US. To date, six of Chile's seven broadcast TV stations are privately owned and operated, the exception being state-run TVN (Julio, Fernández and Sarmiento 164).[2]

This brief overview of the history of Chilean TV reflects the trajectory of broader cultural, economic, political, and social changes within the country. Because of these connections, I propose that television, as broadcast content, archival footage, material object, and recording technology, contributes to and shapes post-dictatorial theorizations and representations of memory in Chile, just as individual and collective memories both change and filter television's representations of the past. Specifically, this dissertation explores the ways that

[1] According to Wiley, Pinochet's government anticipated the democratic transition and thus "initiated a radical transformation of the political and economic framework that had structured Chilean television under authoritarian
[2] Chile's current open, national television stations are: TVN, Chilevisión, Canal 13 (Universidad Católica), Mega, UCV Televisión, La Red, and Telecanal (formerly Rock & Pop). Since the return to democracy, TVN "has been run by a directorate of representatives from every political party represented in the congress. All decisions made at the network need to eb accepted by all political party representatives on the directorate" (Sorensen 37).

recording technologies, in particular TV, intersect with generational and familial memory processes and practices of addressing trauma in essays ("La memoria pantalla" and "Las dos caras de la Moneda" by Diamela Eltit), feature film (*No* by Pablo Larraín), television (*Los 80*), novels (*Formas de volver a casa* by Alejandro Zambra and *Fuenzalida* by Nona Fernández), and documentary films (*Mi vida con Carlos* by Germán Berger Hertz and *El eco de las canciones* by Antonia Rossi). Through my analyses, I identify a range of self-referential and performative techniques of (post)memory particular to the Chilean generation known as *los hijos de la dictadura*, children or adolescents who grew up under the dictatorship, born either right before or during the period of Pinochet's rule. Even though these texts employ varying aesthetic practices and come from diverse contexts of production and reception, they all include meta-textual representations of memory through reflection on the writing and/or filming processes, which often contain therapeutic aims of working through personal, familial, and national traumas. These meta-textual practices range from self-promotional (meta-television promoting consumption of television and family) to self-reflexive (diary, letters). Through the performance of writing and/or filming, these texts provoke dialogic, embodied responses in viewers and readers. In effect, they enact post-dictatorial processing of trauma through different artistic strategies and memories.

I have adopted the temporal marker of post-Pinochet Chile, as opposed to post-dictatorial, transitional, post-transitional, or post-authoritarian, because of the role that Pinochet's death played in motivating this particular generation's engagement with historical memory. Scholars such as Federico Galende, Luis Martín-Cabrera, and Idelber Avelar have opted for the term post-dictatorship to maintain the connection with dictatorship after its official termination.[3] Others,

[3] For more on the term "post-dictatorship," see Galende's essay "Postdictadura, esa palabra" in *Pensar en/la postdictadura*, Martín-Cabrera's book *Radical Justice* or Avelar's *The Untimely Present*. Martín-Cabrera cites

such as Chilean scholars Tomás Moulián and Walescka Pino-Ojeda, propose that Chile's transition to democracy – in reality, a myth or a farce – has not concluded. Speculation remains as to whether Chile completed its period of democratic transition with Michelle Bachelet's election to presidency in 2006 or with "la vuelta a la derecha" symbolized by Sebastián Piñera in 2010.[4] In light of Piñera's win, Pino-Ojeda writes, "podemos aún preguntarnos: ¿ha superado su carácter transitorio la democracia chilena ahora que el ejercicio electoral le ha devuelto el poder a la derecha? Siendo consecuentes con las mismas herramientas críticas ya abordadas respecto a los Estados (no los 'gobiernos') transicionales, la respuesta a esta interrogante no puede ser sino negativa" (96). With respect to the transition to democracy, I agree with Moulián and others that the transition is still in process because of the dictatorship's on-going laws, legacies, and politicians. However, I am skeptical as to whether an accurate timeframe of dictatorship-transition-democracy can be delimited, and whether this would be useful outside of historiography. Because references to transition remain problematic, I opt for the term post-Pinochet, because of the dictator's symbolic death, as a moment that did not "free" the country, but rather proved that the dictatorship had not been dealt with and provoked lingering antagonisms. In addition, his death – without judicial processing or presidential honors – paradoxically represents the on-going legacies that the country continues to face. Historian Steve Stern describes Pinochet's death as a "memory knot" because of the eruptions in the public

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Cristina Moreiras-Menor's criticism of the term transition as a reason for his use of the term post-dictatorship because all history is in transition. He writes that he prefers post-dictatorship because it "opens the field of inquiry to repetition, to the repetition of the uncanny dictatorial past in the present…the 'post' in 'post-dictatorship' indexes the multiple spectral temporalities that haunt the democratic present in Chile, Argentina, and Spain. In other words, the prefix 'post' here does not seal the past, but instead keeps it open to understand the multiple ways in which the uncanny past of the dictatorship inhabits the present" (8).

[4] If Pinochet presented himself as a father for Chile, Bachelet was widely regarded during her first presidency as a mother for Chile. As a torture survivor whose father was killed by the Chilean Air Force (FACh) in 1974, Bachelet represented a close connection with the country's era of violence, which is why some regarded her election to be a decisive moment for the installation of democracy in Chile. The fact that she is a divorced mother of three, one of which was born out of wedlock, has made her seem a "strong" public, maternal figure, ready to mother Chile.

sphere that it provoked (350). Because Pinochet was a self-proclaimed father figure, his death also casts the "children" of the family-as-nation into orphanhood as they search for another "father" to imitate and to rebel against. This time period of the post-Pinochet, like the post-dictatorship, is still haunted by his figure, as evidenced in the texts through references, voices, images, and footage. In the end, I have elected the temporal restriction of "post-Pinochet" because it encompasses the other terms and considerations mentioned above.

With the exception of Eltit's essays, the texts that I analyze were produced or published after Pinochet's death in 2006. In addition to this temporal framework, I have selected these particular films, literary works, and television series for the following reasons: their references to television and media; the authors' or directors' inclusion within the *hijos de la dictadura* generation; their representations of the past, of memory, and of family; their meta-textual techniques. Although the texts all include the characteristics listed here, they do so to varying degrees, some more directly than others. I have organized my dissertation thematically so that each chapter builds on the previous one(s) as points of comparison. The works analyzed move from third-person narration to the first-person autobiographical voice, shifting from less subjective to more subjective, from a masculine voice to feminine sensibility, which may explain differences in the works' national and international reception. Each chapter also addresses different types of families: in Chapter 1, the families portrayed are archetypal, providing a universal framework for audiences; in Chapter 2, families are fragmented by a profound disconnect between children and parents, often due to political ambivalence; in Chapter 3, broken families are the direct result of dictatorial violence and exile. As such, the texts in the chapters progress from feelings of belonging at home to feelings of displacement and longing to belong.

The first chapter of my dissertation, "TV Screen Memories: Television as a Member of the Family," begins with a reading of Diamela Eltit's essay "Las dos caras de la Moneda" through Dori Laub's work on witnessing to propose that television serves as a witness to the 1973 coup, as well as a witness to Eltit's witnessing. I also examine the performance of infantilization and masculinization that may be attributed to the junta's appearance on television. Although this essay falls out of the post-Pinochet framework that is my main concern, it provides an introductory context to how television, memory, performance, and violence are intertwined within Chile. Furthermore, because Eltit belongs to a generation prior to *los hijos*, I am interested in using her text as a point of comparison with how the later texts employ television as a personal and social recording technology and as a metaphor for memory in other ways. Next, I look at the representation and role of television in the TV series *Los 80* and Pablo Larraín's film *No*. I examine how the representation of television, as a bearer of medial memory, changes in each of these texts over time. Svetlana Boym's concepts of restorative and reflective nostalgia provide a point of departure for my analysis of *Los 80*. In particular, I discuss the meta-televisual discourse at work in the series, as both self-promotional and self-reflexive. Finally, I apply Allison Landsberg's notion of "prosthetic memory" to *No* in order to question whether the film's representation of television and politics can create empathic viewership. Both the series and the film approach the past through family and television, recreating past events and scenes produced and directed many years later by *hijos de la dictadura*. However, as recreations, I do not consider them examples of performative (post)memory, which I will address in Chapter 2. Instead, *No* and *Los 80* are audiovisual productions that present meta-televisual representations of consumption and instruct viewers how to watch television, with implications for how television influences family relations and politics through programming and advertising. Additionally,

these audiovisual recreations of the past encourage viewers to construct memory narratives through nostalgia. Despite criticism of how both *No* and *Los 80* avoid reflection from the present on the past, the film and series are important steps to addressing the periods of dictatorship and transition in mediums with wide circulation. The on-going need for revisions of the past in Chile is supported by the film's international recognition and the series' national popularity.[5]

In Chapter 2, "When Children Write: Meta-textuality, Self-reflection and Memory Collection," I analyze how television and media are incorporated into and shape practices of memory and postmemory in two recent novels by well-known authors of the *hijos* generation: *Formas de volver a casa* by Alejandro Zambra and *Fuenzalida* by Nona Fernández. In particular, I cite Walter Benjamin and Susan Stewart to examine practices of collecting in both novels; in the first, of others' memories and stories, including media, and in the second, of trash. Likewise, using Marianne Hirsch's postmemory, I study the uses of imagination to compose memory narratives and fill in the gaps in familial transmission. *Fuenzalida* uses television as a framework for imagining and writing her father's past from discarded trash, whereas *Formas* considers television as an entry into generational and familial memory, as well as an introduction to Pinochet. I argue, then, that television – as footage, object, and imaginative framework – fills in the silences left by the protagonists' families as well as by Chilean society. Finally, both novels employ meta-literary techniques as their protagonist-writers reflect on the process of writing the novels. The novels' meta-textual impulses are examples of what I deem performative (post)memory, to emphasize the performative index that Hirsch attributes to postmemory. These novels move away from the recreation of the past, as seen in the audiovisual texts of Chapter 1,

[5] Another popular Chilean TV series that appeared in 2011 on the state channel TVN is *Los archivos del cardenal*. Although this series has garnered a positive reception within academic circles, it falls out of the scope of my dissertation due to its focus on the human rights work of *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad*. For a recent article that compares *Los 80* and *Los archivos*, see Marian Schlotterbeck's article "Actos televisados: el Chile de la dictadura visto por el Chile del bicentenario."

to more subjective, first-person fiction that casts doubt on totalizing memory narratives. What's more, they consciously draw attention to the fictionalization of memory and vindicate the perspectives of those who were not direct victims of the dictatorship, such as children. With this, they replace the "wounded family" narrative with what I consider a "broken family" narrative that delays homecoming, as in Boym's reflective nostalgia. In contrast to *No* and *Los 80* in Chapter 1, the meta-textual techniques of *Formas* and *Fuenzalida* utilize television and other technologies as (post)memory tools for self-reflection.

"Reemerging Family Fragments and the Disappeared: First-Person Film Letters and Collages of the Post-Pinochet Period," the third and final chapter of my dissertation, considers the theorization and aesthetic representation of performative (post)memory in the documentaries *Mi vida con Carlos* (Germán Berger-Hertz, 2010) and *El eco de las canciones* (Antonia Rossi, 2010) through José van Djick's concept of "mediated memories." Furthermore, in a gesture similar to the novels discussed in the second chapter, these documentaries perform their own construction through meta-cinematic techniques that allow for self-reflection, as outlined in Stella Bruzzi's work on performative documentary. The documentaries incorporate both private and public media into their narratives to criticize what has been left out of hegemonic memory discourse, as well as to recover their own processes of remembering. In *Mi vida*, television stands at the intersection between public and private given the Berger-Hertz's family public role in *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad* during the dictatorship and judicial proceedings during the democratic transition in Chile. As what can be considered an audiovisual letter, this documentary performs (post)memory through a mixture of media. Whereas *Mi vida* approaches the topic of post-Pinochet memory directly through a disappeared family member, *El eco* explores feelings and memories associated with exile. This documentary does not deal with family as directly as

Mi vida, but instead voices collective memory through the juxtaposition of private and public documents through what I identify as a collage aesthetic. This audiovisual collage, I propose, is an aesthetic mode of (post)memory due to its combination of analog and digital technologies and materialities. It also moves away from the dominant family trope seen in *Mi vida* and other texts to create more affiliative connections through performances of (post)memory. Finally, if *Mi vida* can be considered an audiovisual letter, then *El eco* can be considered an audiovisual diary. Both practices of intimate inscription, letter and diary-writing, reinscribe the feminine as a way of calling attention to overlooked, personal experiences of collective trauma as opposed to official memory narratives.

Lenses of (Post)memory

Michael Lazzara, in his book on transitional Chile, proposes different languages, or poetics, for how traumatic experiences are relayed in literature and art. He defines lenses of memory "as a way of referring to the witness's (or artist's) subjective speaking position" (Lazzara 31). The specific ones that he identifies include madness, conversion and reconciliation, *desaparecido*, torture survivor, and returned exile (Lazzara 32). The lens works as a metaphor for the "prismatic refractions (ideological, generic, or otherwise) to which memories are subjected in their telling" and also in how they "shade…distort and alter what filters through them" (Lazzara 31). Each lens, or poetics, that Lazzara identifies implies a varying degree of narrative resolution to the past. While some texts may be more open and ambiguous, others are more closed and present a unified narrative of facts (Lazzara 32). The open modes of narrating "challenge facile resolution to trauma and evidence some degree of metatextual reflexivity in their construction" whereas closed narrative forms "are non-self-reflexive" and "operate from a

desire to smooth over ambiguity and establish narrative harmony" (Lazzara 154).[6] Lazzara's conclusion, similar to other scholars in the field of post-dictatorial studies, tries to answer the fundamental questions that remain: How should one speak the disaster? How does one communicate trauma? Nevertheless, the basic categorization of memory narratives into two dichotomous options – closed or open – reduces the complexity and ambiguity of memory and its representations. Which lenses then, are used for different modes of remembering? Just like there are various forms of remembering, there are various forms of aesthetics that narrate memory. To continue Lazzara's discussion and open it up to different directions, I look to the postmemorial generation in Chilean culture. For the generation that grew up in the 1970s and 1980s, television played a fundamental role in the construction of generational identity.[7] Television lends itself to representations of memory because it embodies multiple lenses of memory, including critical lines of inquiry.

Even though the initial idea behind this dissertation was to analyze representations of television, a closer look at these revealed a two-way relationship between media technologies and memory discourses. In other words, television, along with other technologies, gradually began to appear as a metaphor for memory work in these post-dictatorial texts. TV proves to be a malleable medium that lends itself to both self-promotion and self-reflection in Chilean culture, despite its historical association with the dictatorship. Debates within television studies regarding the role and purpose of TV classify the domestic medium as either a window or a mirror. In my view, however, to combine these positions, TV is a window-mirror that allows us to see what is

[6] Furthermore, there is "a perennial tension between *open* and *closed* narrative forms, between works that try to make 'sense' of the past - to tell a story of the catastrophe or provide resolution to the traumatic moment - and works that, in their very composition, seek to reveal the limits of narrative representation after trauma" (Lazzara 32-33).
[7] Although Weigel states that the media would assume the position of a historical index for the marking of generations" increasingly in the 21st century, his statement is equally applicable to the 20th century (264).

inside and outside, depending on our position. Equally, it allows us to see ourselves in the reflection on the window's glass.

As a medium that straddles both the private and public spheres, television – as footage and object – contributes to the theorization of memory in these texts, which question the notion that a faithful representation of reality may be achieved by challenging the oppositions of reality versus fiction and truth versus invention. Instead, in contemporary memory work by children of the dictatorship, television takes on the role as a mirror for the post-dictatorial subject to represent and contemplate the individual's and nation's present and/in the past. TV contextualizes the individual within the discourse of the nation largely through family and through media. The footage and media formats in these texts approach memory through a more indefinite and therefore malleable perspective, similar to my interpretation of television. Because of this transition in the theorization of memory towards open-endedness, these novels and films use meta-literary and meta-cinematic techniques to bring attention to the formation of various social constructions, including memory, history, family, and childhood. These self-referential and self-reflective techniques engage theories of performance, as the texts perform their own construction (writing or filming) to reveal other notions of truth and reality that hinge on subjectivity. In that sense, the texts function similarly to television – as both window and mirror.

Through this multifaceted, metaphorical interpretation, a close look at how television and other technologies are used by the *hijos de la dictadura* may provide insight into how personal and collective cultural memory is changing in Chile and how private and public spaces of remembrance are negotiated.[8] Because official memory narratives to date have largely focused

[8] José van Djick discusses personal and collective cultural memory in her book on mediated memories, in order to avoid the connotation of cultural with collective and autobiographical with individual. She uses the term "cultural" because it "inherently relates individual and shared memory" (14). She further claims that the term "personal cultural memory" is not redundant because it "indexes the impossibility of insulating the individual from culture at

on the victims of state violence through the image of the "wounded family," TV may forge other possible networks of memory and mourning outside direct family lineage while remaining an object embedded within the family and the home. For instance, public TV footage contributes to medial memory, which may reinforce, contradict, or supplement familial memory. For the *hijos de la dictadura* who grew up under the dictatorship, television and, increasingly, other technologies form part of their post-dictatorial representations of family.

Television has been recognized as contributing to memory formation because of its increased depictions of medial events, or major news events that mark national histories. Because of this, a large number of post-dictatorial cultural texts produced in the 21st century engage with and reference media as a mediator of memory. Additionally, television also constructs generational identities and memories, as, for instance, poignantly reflected upon in Andrés DiTella's film *La televisión y yo*. For these reasons, I focus my analysis on a selection of recent cultural texts produced in post-Pinochet Chile while I also look at how these dialog with previous representations of television in essays by Diamela Eltit and in debates surrounding the plebiscite's TV campaign. Because I concentrate on *los hijos de la dictadura*, I find it necessary to revisit Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory" in light of the particular Chilean context. While postmemory is useful for thinking about generational differences, especially within the Holocaust, I use it in combination with memory, as (post)memory, to refer to the hybrid or in-between position of *los hijos de la dictadura*. In this introduction, I will lay out two of the main theoretical frameworks for my dissertation, José van Dijck's concept of "mediated memories" and Hirsch's "postmemory," to arrive at a theory of mediated (post)memory in the Chilean context of *los hijos* and then evidenced in cultural texts of the post-Pinochet period. Finally, at

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large. Mutatis mutandis, when speaking of collective cultural memory, the term inherently accounts for those individuals creating collectivity and through whose experiences and acts culture is constituted" (14).

the end of the introduction, I will turn to Diamela Eltit's "La memoria pantalla" to examine how an emblematic author of a generation prior to the *hijos* remembers television. This essay in particular discusses the televisual displays during the 2003 anniversary of the coup, one of the memory events that marked the years leading up to Pinochet's death. Eltit's work serves as a point of comparison with the texts that I take up in the chapters of my dissertation to analyze how cultural texts occupy television as a memory tool in different ways, paying particular attention to shifts in (post)memory practices, as opposed to but also drawing from the previous generation's narratives.

Medial Memory, Remediation, and Mediated Memories

At its most basic definition, medial memory refers to how memories, in contemporary media societies, are filtered through media. Medial memory constantly interacts, intersects, and intervenes with individual, institutional, and social memory to constitute cultural memory. Because of this, "cultural memory is dependent on media technologies and the circulation of media products" and ultimately relies on available media (Erll "Cultural" 9). What's more, memory is not limited to only one medium, but is rather the product of an amalgam of media and is constantly changing.[9] Because of cultural memory's dependence on media, it also depends on that technology and the technological changes that produce or reproduce media.

José van Dijck considers the importance that the "mediation of memory" has acquired within cultural theory over the past few decades. She contends that although these theories acknowledge memory and media's intimate union, they often propose this relationship as "contingent on a set of fallacious binary oppositions" (van Dijck 15). In the oppositional

[9] As van Dijck explains, "memory is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other…how changing (digital) technologies and objects embody changing memories" (21).

characterization of memory versus media, memory is considered an internal, human capacity and media as external tools that aid human memory. Following from this, memory is often separated into opposing categories as either real (corporal) or artificial (technological). Finally, media's division into private or public use is aligned with the functions of either personal or collective memory (van Dijck 15). Instead of the "mediation of memory," van Dijck thus arrives at her term "mediated memories" to counter the dichotomies that pit memory against media. Instead of viewing media as external or superfluous to human memory, she sees the two as intertwined because "media invariably and inherently shape our personal memories, warranting the term 'mediation'" (van Dijck 16). Mediated memories encompass both "the activities and objects we produce and appropriate by means of media technologies, for creating and re-creating a sense of past, present, and future of ourselves in relation to others" (van Dijck 21). That said, each text analyzed in this dissertation originates from or forms part of others' personal cultural memories, indicating the intersection between personal and collective, private and public, past and future.[10]

One example of the codependence between technology and memory is the practice of remediation, or the practice of integrating past media into new media. Whereas van Dijck defines remediation in terms of media technology, Erll does so through media as documentation, in her consideration of the term in the practice of integrating past documentary material in new films.[11] Despite these different emphases, remediation recycles past documentation and technologies, as products and processes of memory. Through recycling, remediation creates documentation, representations, and ultimately, memories. Remediation also considers the material construction

[10] "Mediated memory objects and acts are crucial sites for negotiating the relationship between self and culture at large, between what counts as private and what as public, and how individuality relates to collectivity. As stilled moments in the present, mediated memories reflect and construct intersections between past and future – remembering and projecting lived experience. Mediated memories are not static objects or repositories but dynamic relationships that evolve along axes: a horizontal axis expressing relational identity and a vertical axis articulating time" (van Dijck 21).

[11] Van Dijck defines remediation as "the way in which new technologies tend to absorb and revamp older forms or genres without completely replacing the old" (49).

of memory and the possibility of re-using disparate materials and technologies in memory narratives. Both scholars seem to approach remediation through different angles, Erll from that of collective cultural memory and van Dijck from that of personal cultural memory.[12] This dissertation takes both into consideration, although Chapter 1 looks more at representations of collective memory that occlude representations of personal memories, which are addressed extensively in Chapters 2 and 3.

Although van Dijck is primarily interested in personal cultural memory, her work on mediated memories dialogs with the relationship between memory and technology that runs throughout my dissertation. Even though *No* and *Los 80* are not as overtly subjective or personal as the novels and documentaries in Chapters 2 and 3, they both privilege one character's point of view, namely one who belongs to *los hijos de la dictadura*. Since René, the protagonist of *No*, is a young adult in the late 1980s setting of the film, this suggests that he was a child or adolescent during the 1973 coup. *Los 80* largely follows the childhood and adolescence of Félix, ending in the last season with a present-day grown-up Félix with voiceover narration to deliver his perspective. In addition to these aspects, the film and TV series utilize remediation and provide possible modes of remembering to the Chilean public, which are then interpreted privately by viewers, contributing to personal cultural memory.

Defining Postmemory in the Chilean Context: Inhabiting the In-between

[12] Whereas other scholars, such as Marita Sturken and Allison Landsberg, emphasize the collective realm of cultural memory, van Dijck approaches cultural memory from an emphasis on the personal, in order to "acknowledge cognitive or psychosocial dimensions of remembering as complementary to historical, political or cultural dimensions of memory" (van Dijck 23).

Starting around the year 2005, the generation of Chileans born either right before or during the period of Pinochet's rule have created a rapidly growing corpus of texts concerned with post-dictatorial memory.[13] Their narratives are often written from the first-person point of view, and explore issues of memory and trauma. The generational label "children of the dictatorship" signals the persisting association between family and nation even in postdictatorial times. Nona Fernández recognizes this connection in her comparison between her generation and that of 1980, explaining that the earlier generation directly criticized concrete political and social issues whereas her generation "toma todo eso de otro lado, de otro sitio, con una impronta cuestionadora de recriminación a los padres y, en general, al país" ("Nona" 219). Perhaps problematically, these "children" are aligned with the national family, as heirs of a past that has been imposed upon them, even when they may not feel they belong, or refuse to grant the dictatorship the power to characterize their identity. What's more, they recognize the family as important, but it is no longer a defining characteristic of their personhood.

The *hijos de la dictadura* experienced a particularly complex "coming-of-age" during the dictatorship and then later, during the transition, as memories about the past erupted in the public sphere. As Alejandra Serpente explains, "At a time when most young people begin to challenge the authority of their parents and forge their own identities and make their own decisions, young second-generation Chileans were doing so in relation to a difficult past" (149). A number of

[13] The 2002 documentary by Paula Rodríguez uses a similar title, *Los hijos de Pinochet*. In 2007, Nona Fernández describes this generation without giving it a label: "En mi generación todo esto es bastante desordenado, sin sistema, pero sí reconozco cierta ideología que tiene que ver con una rabia con respect a lo que ha ocurrido en Chile en estas últimas d´écadas en lo social y lo politico. Se trata de una rabia muy abstracta, no concretizada en ideas fijas o personas peorque no desarrollamos una escritura política" ("Nona" 219). In this interview with Fernández, Guillermo García-Corales refers to this generation as "La generación de 2000." However, the term los hijos de la dictadura didn't gain popularity until later, possibly consolidated with the publication of *Formas de volver a casa* and an article entitled as such by Luis Fernando Afanador in *Semana* in 2011. http://www.semana.com/cultura/articulo/los-hijos-dictadura/248191-3 The term is now widely used and accepted. The term is also used in an article, also published in 2011, http://www.sye.uchile.cl/index.php/RSE/rt/printerFriendly/15093/15544.

national events that occurred within a few years of each other, seem to have compelled these artists to reflect on their present in relation to childhood experiences and memories of repression, along with their parents' and family's. First, 2003 marked 30 years since the coup and a plethora of events and publications commemorated the anniversary. Next, in 2004, the *Informe Valech* was published, detailing the abuses of the military regime, although with limitations, notably by keeping testimonies classified and unusable in human rights cases. This report, the published result of a human rights commission that sought to address lacunae in the 1991 *Informe Rettig*, marked a change in the Chilean Armed Forces' public stance towards past institutional violence. Because the report established that the tortures, deaths, and disappearances under the dictatorship were results of institutionalized policies and *not* isolated cases, the Commander in Chief of the Army, Juan Emilio Cheyre, offered a public apology for the Army's actions. Despite this, the Supreme Court was pressured by members of the Army to conclude the pending human rights cases against generals and it imposed a six-month deadline to accelerate the judicial process. As with the *Informe Rettig* and other human rights commissions, the *Informe Valech* only accounted for the abuses that had taken place and failed to explain *why* they had occurred (Pino-Ojeda 61-63).[14] The year 2004 also marked an opening in public representations of the past, through the transnational success of Andrés Wood's feature film *Machuca*.[15] Finally, Pinochet's death in 2006 sparked reactions inside and outside of Chile, reawakening old antagonisms from the

[14] See Walescka Pino-Ojeda's *Noche y niebla: neoliberalismo, memoria y trauma en el Chile postautoritario* for an excellent overview of both the Rettig and Valech Commissions and how they provide insight into the post-dictatorial governments' official positions towards past abuses.

[15] Kristin Sorensen dedicates a chapter to what she deems "The *Machuca* Phenomenon," in which she attributes Andrés Wood with an accomplishment "that had previously only been imagined – he created a commercially successful narrative film that was appealing to a heterogeneous, mainstream audience *and* explicitly approached the most controversial moment in Chile's recent history" (102). Sorensen's chapter draws on Steve Stern's attention to *Machuca* as a "cultural phenomenon" because of its ability to connect with many sectors of Chilean society and beyond (Stern 307). He continues, "*Machuca* turned into a memory knot on the social body – a compelling call to see with fresh eyes the past-within-the-present, now in the context of a 'shared tragedy' sensibility while still attracting distinct readings of the legacy" (Stern 310).

dictatorship.[16] In particular, many documentaries that have come out since 2006 by the children of the dictatorship reference at some point Pinochet's arrest and death along with the ensuing protests in Chile and London.[17]

Because of the prioritization of intimate interpretations of the past by a younger generation, Marianne Hirsch's work on postmemory helps to think about issues of transmission, and how later generations attempt to incorporate others' memories, especially familial memories, into their own narratives. She defines postmemory as "the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up" (Hirsch "Generation" 106). The coinage of "postmemory," however problematic in its relation to other "posts" or the term "memory" itself, is necessary, as different generations take on the task of remembering. Furthermore, Hirsch's concept lends credibility to a later generation's memories, to "indirect" memories, but also to childhood experiences and imaginative interpretations. Thus when I use the term, I keep in mind Hirsch's original project that insists on imagination, affect, and family archives, but I translate that to the specific Chilean context of the children of the dictatorship. In accordance with this, postmemory is about more than generational differences; it is also about the relationship between public and private memory, between collective and individual interpretations of the past. The younger generation's direct lived experiences of repression, their present-day interpretations coupled with their past childhood perceptions, mediated by family histories, can *coexist* and inform each other in the same text, creating multi-dimensional memory narratives.

[16] Nicole Senerman's short documentary, *La muerte le sienta bien*, depicts the varied reactions by the Chilean public upon hearing the news of Pinochet's death on December 10, 2006, coincidentally International Human Rights Day and the birthday of Pinochet's wife, Lucía Hiriart. Senerman's film is available at https://vimeo.com/1820383.
[17] Pinochet's arrest in 1998 is also frequently represented in films such as Alejandra Carmona's *En algún lugar del cielo* (2003).

The manipulation of images and narration attests to the role of what Hirsch designates as "imaginative investment, projection, and creation" that mediate postmemory's link to the past instead of direct recall ("Generation" 107). Whereas Hirsch attributes imaginative investment to postmemory in the sense that the second generation attempts to fill in the gaps in familial transmission and what hasn't been told, I argue that imagination also interprets and represents direct, personal memories, especially when associated with childhood, as in the case of these texts. As such, creation and imagination become modes through which both direct and indirect memories are expressed and negotiated instead of ways for memories to be displaced by others, although this may happen as well. In other words, imagination is actively invoked as part of intentional techniques of artistic creations dealing with memory while at the same time imagination is a result of the process of memorialization and the intergenerational transmission of memory. As I've explained, the Chilean context complicates the division between memory and postmemory and because of this, I often use the term (post)memory as a more accurate description of how memory and postmemory are intertwined in Chilean narratives by the *hijos* generation. This configuration of the term includes both, marking their differences and overlaps.

Furthermore, (post)memory hinges on feminist approaches and strategies. In an interview, Hirsch explains that concern with memory, especially the memory of those who are often left out of official discourse, is fundamentally "rooted in movements for social change such as feminism" ("Interview" n.p.). As a result, she employs "feminist critical strategies to connect past and present, words and images, and memory and gender" in order "to understand different roles that gender plays to mediate which stories are remembered and which are forgotten, how stories are told, which tropes make traumatic histories bearable for the next generation" (Hirsch "Interview" n.p.). Closely related to this, I consider "dictatorial debris" to address perspectives

that are often left out of official memory discourse. In these particular texts, "debris" include personal, subjective stories. As such, these texts weave alternative narratives through the very stuff of debris, by rescuing otherwise overlooked aspects of the past, such as childhood and familial memories, performing a gesture similar to Benjamin's ragpicker historian who sifts through the scraps of history. The ragpicker is the figure that represents the task of the materialist historian because he/she "construye –nunca reconstruye– a través de lo que nadie quiere. Lo descartado, lo oscurecido, el lapsus, lo no dicho, lo no revelado es lo que realmente interesa a Benjamin. El potencial de lo obsoleto como una manera de hacer presente el pasado, en un sentido literal, de traerlo al ahora" (Hernández-Navarro 68). Furthermore, the materialist historian recombines images and objects, invested with ideas and ideologies, in order to "crear con ellos una constelación de tiempos y significados capaz de activar las energías del objeto" (Hernandez-Navarro 66). In this way, juxtaposition and montage become critical, artistic strategies to create new, active relationships with memory and history, breaking linear time and embracing decontextualized fragments. These debris objects are, to use a Benjaminian term, dialectical images with the potential to politically invigorate the past-within-the-present (Hernández-Navarro 69-70). In addition to the ragpicker, Benjamin also compares the historian's work to that of a collector, because of the way in which the collector deals with cast-off objects and reordering them.[18] A number of texts analyzed in this dissertation employ the tactics of the ragpicker and/or collector, to expose the constructedness of memory, history, family, and childhood through the very construction of the genres with which they work (novel, documentary, autobiography, history, epistles). Debris and trash are viable metaphors for the memory reconstruction of children's perspectives because of the terms' learned cultural and

[18] "El trapero o el coleccionista, sus dos modelos de historiador, basan su método en manejar y recomponer los desechos del mundo" (Hernández-Navarro 68).

social divisions and their association with death and disgust. A child's interest in the trash of history, then, opens up the texts to topics of social exclusion and disappearance, as related to contemporary Chilean society and the dictatorship. Debris, in this way, is both literal and metaphorical, as we will see. Yet it is reinserted into national and familial histories in these films and novels to reveal feelings of not belonging through the trope of the fractured and destabilized home as an allegorical representation of the violent traces of the past in the present.

Moreover, these texts approach debris in a more literal sense through their recycling of public and private media archives and material objects as part of a self-reflexive or meta-memory practice. As self-reflexive acts, the texts include meta-textual references to their composition, revealing their performance at the moment of construction and of reception.[19] The performance of textual construction further contributes to what I interpret as meta-memory, or a memory narrative that reflects on and theorizes memory through its own composition.[20] The combination of documents and materials from/in the public and private realms echoes Hirsch's description of postmemorial work as "striv[ing] to *reactivate* and *reembody* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression" ("Generation" 111). Even if the narratives themselves are not personal or subjective, they place public media within the viewing context of the home, through television, or they reintroduce this domestic viewing practice by portraying these scenes of viewing, prompting audiences to recall where they were when they saw or heard the original footage. Moreover, this recycling of media (re)creates the practices and

[19] Throughout my dissertation, I use the term "self-reflexive" as opposed to "self-reflective" because I find the first time more aligned with meta-textuality. The latter term, although I appreciate its reference to the mirror, also implies distance and temporal delay, happening after an event, whereas reflexivity occurs during the event, as in performance or meta-textuality.

[20] My definition and subsequent use of "meta-memory" differs from that of neurologists. According to them, meta-memory refers to how people are aware of their own memory capabilities.

performances of viewing that are learned through family negotiations. The repurposing of public media and materials then revalues national history, in a sense "bringing it home" (literally and metaphorically) by closing the perceived distance between national events and domestic daily life.

As already mentioned, Hirsch developed the term "postmemory" in an attempt to adequately describe how the children of Holocaust survivors inherit their parents' memories. In other words, these memories are passed down or transferred to subsequent generations to the extent that they belong to those without direct, lived experience of the traumatic event. Postmemory, like memory, is mediated and vicarious, passed on by parents to children through stories and objects as well as by silences and stutters. However, in the Chilean case, the line is not so clear-cut between generations who witnessed the trauma of the dictatorship and those who did not. Many children of the dictatorship have both direct and vicarious memories of repression, which both inform and contest each other. Finally, too, Hirsch attends to memories of survival, yet in the Chilean texts that I look at, the *hijos de la dictadura* who produce cultural memory narratives are not all descendants of survivors of direct, dictatorial violence.

Because of these differences, I seek to untangle how to interpret Hirsch's term in light of generational memory in the Chilean context.[21] The concept of generations, of course, is in itself complex and not without problems, which many scholars acknowledge. Jürgen Reulecke summarizes the criticisms of the generational approach when he writes, "that it creates – through hindsight and quite arbitrarily – artificial clusters of people, and that it is oriented solely on birth years and thus reduces the continuous passage of time to segments of time constructed retrospectively" (121). What Reulecke describes as an artificial grouping often covers over other

[21] Huyssen warns about applying Holocaust theory to other contexts along with the overuse or misuse of Holocaust studies.

differences (race, class, gender, etc.).[22] Nevertheless, Reulecke along with Sigrid Weigel find usefulness in generational frameworks by thinking of generations as historical constructions instead of as sociological categories. To this end Reulecke explains that the criticisms of generational approaches are inapplicable "if one takes seriously as historically influential phenomena the subjective generational positioning – both the self- and the historically specific external positioning – of people during their lives, including the associated creations of meaning, interpretations, and memory, which are ever changing according to the particular stage of life" (121). Related to this, Weigel proposes to think of a generation "as a cultural pattern for constructing history" instead of as a sociological category (265). This definition that considers generations as symbolic forms "includes the implicit significance of gender relations for the construction of history and cultural memory" (Weigel 265). Both scholars signal the potential in theoretical uses of generations as historical and cultural constructs, with implications for subjectivity, identity, and memory formation. Because of and in spite of the difficulty of drawing categorical boundaries or defining common attitudes in the delineation of generations, generational approaches need "flexible but fine distinctions" and "narrow if shifting boundaries" (Suleiman 284).

Engaging with generational memory, Hirsch's work attests to and answers a need to explain or describe how memory changes throughout time. Original traumatic experiences cannot literally be transmitted to other family members, yet the effects of these experiences on

[22] Lisa DiGiovanni's article on *Mi vida con Carlos* unpacks the issues surrounding the use of the concept of "generation" in Chile. She writes, "In the case of the Southern Cone, the postmemory (or postdictatorship) generation spans over three decades and therefore requires nuanced understandings that take into consideration differences among, for example, those who were born during the Allende years and came of age during the dictatorship as opposed to those born in the context of the 1989 plebiscite. Equally important is the need to distinguish between the heterogeneous understandings of history, memory and representation embraced and contested within such generations" (DiGiovanni 64-65). Fernando Blanco also discusses the generational framework in Chile in his *Desmemoria y privatización* along with his article "La memoria generacional al banquillo de la parodia." In this recent article, he specifically takes up the notion of what he calls "los hijos de la post-dictadura," having grown up in democratic, post-transition Chile.

the lives of others can be. The following statement from Weigel also describes postmemory, although he never mentions the term: "Thus the belatedness of symptoms that, according to Freud, marks all trauma has now entered historical time because it transgresses the period of an individual life, and the formation of symptoms is carried over into later generations" (269). Hirsch concludes that the plethora of terms invented to describe generational memory

> reveal a number of controversial assumptions: that descendants of survivors (of victims as well as of perpetrators) of massive traumatic events connect so deeply to the previous generation's remembrances of the past that they need to call that connection *memory* and thus that, in certain extreme circumstances, memory *can* be transmitted to those who were not actually there to live an event. At the same time – so it is assumed – this received memory is *distinct* from the recall of contemporary witnesses and participants. ("Generation" 105-06)[23]

Despite the subsequent generation's affective connection with a previous generation's memories, that connection is not *literally* memory. However, the second generation feels a need or an urgency to call it memory. Whether or not one agrees with the terminology or the use of the word "memory" is beside the main point of identifying how the next generation feels and connects with what came before. Memory can be transmitted, but is something different from memory of the original traumatic experience, which is why Hirsch invented the term "postmemory." It is related to memory, yet it is also different. Nevertheless, both memory and postmemory are important because they refer to different experiential and generational encounters with the past from the present. They are not mutually exclusive opposites, as if direct experience made for more valid memory. The privileging of experience would discredit inherited

[23] Similarly recognizing the efforts to name generational memory, Suleiman writes that "What all of the attempts to define a historical generation have in common is the concept of shared or collective experience, which in turn influences (or even, as Mannheim suggests, "forms") collective behavior and attitudes" (280).

memory yet the recipients of transmitted memories are not necessarily passive or less legitimate memory-holders.

Hirsch's neologism has received criticisms from a variety of outlets, mainly in its relationship to other "posts" and to "memory." For instance, Argentine scholar Beatriz Sarlo takes up the subjective aspect of memory in her book *Tiempo pasado: Cultura de la memoria y giro subjetivo* (2005) as she revisits the status of *testimonio* and first-person representations of the past in Argentina, claiming that cultural and academic analysis have taken a "subjective turn" that has bestowed confidence once again in the subject's capacity to narrate his/her life in order to remember or heal an injured identity. For her, the subject has taken the place of structures that dominated the "linguistic turn" of the 1970s and 80s (Sarlo 22). She appears critical of the reawakening of the subject (and the rights of the subject) as a result of identity politics and the notion of "subject positions." In one chapter of her book, Sarlo challenges the usefulness of postmemory, wary that it may be a fashionable neologism that isn't any different from memory itself. She takes issue with the exclusive qualities attributed to postmemory: fragmentation, vicariousness, and mediation.[24] She claims, instead, that all past experiences are necessarily fragmented, vicarious, and mediated. It is not the 'post' of the activity – after the original experience – that distinguishes postmemory. Rather, it is the subjective dimension of postmemorial reconstructions of the past that set it apart from others. Sarlo is critical of the first person narrator's protected moral status as a victim, which she argues will eclipse any potential dialogue in favor of a more limited, one-sided perspective. At the same time, through the examples she provides, Sarlo appreciates texts based on autobiographical experiences but that don't directly impose the voice of a victimized "I" on the text, but that instead opt for a more collective narrative voice.

[24] In addition to Hirsch's work, Sarlo criticizes James E. Young's *At Memory's Edge*.

Whereas Sarlo seems to think that postmemory is too similar to memory, Ernst van Alphen claims that memory's indexicality, which implies direct, lived experience and connection with the past trauma, is the term's main problem. In other words, for him, postmemory is not sufficiently similar to memory. Furthermore, he contends that trauma cannot be transmitted, questioning the generational framework in its attempt to bridge the divide between experience and memories of survivors and their children through the idea of continuity between generations (474). Rather, he explains that the desire of survivors' children to connect to their parents' past is frustrated by dis-connection and dis-continuity in terms of intelligibility (van Alphen 487-8). In an article exchange that took place in the journal *Poetics Today*, Hirsch responds to van Alphen's objection to her use of "memory," agreeing that there are different semiotic principles at work in memory and postmemory, in reference to his insistence on memory's indexicality. Clearly, the original event of trauma experienced by one person cannot be passed onto another; however, traces of this traumatic experience can be. As a result, both continuity and discontinuity are evident in the processes of postmemory. Van Alphen's insistence on continuity between the traumatic event and its memory or aftermath, while logical, doesn't afford for non-linear or imagined memories, which is what Hirsch tries to account for. She recognizes that postmemory and memory are not the same when she writes, "Postmemory is not identical to memory: it is 'post,' but at the same time, it approximates memory in its affective force" (Hirsch "Generation" 109). Memory, then, is included in her term not because of indexicality, but rather because of affect.

I argue that the *hijos de la dictadura* encompasses both the continuity and discontinuity that preoccupies van Alphen. As he reminds us, drawing on Hirsch's work, "The fact that postmemory is the result of an imaginative and creative act does not distinguish it *fundamentally*

from memory, because, according to Hirsch, memory is also mediated…There is only a relative difference: memory is 'more directly connected to the past'" (van Alphen 486). He further contends that "the mediatedness of memory, as well as postmemory, does not determine the (dis)connectedness from the past" (van Alphen 486). In this reading of Hirsch, then, postmemory is at a remove from the original traumatic experience; however, imagination is necessary to both memory and postmemory. Because of this, I examine the different strategies of artistic imagination as featured in the selected post-dictatorial narratives, as they theorize the combination of memory and postmemory that corresponds to a perspective that does not fully align with the concepts of first or second generation.

Both scholars, Sarlo and van Alphen, identify the importance of critically examining the differences between memory and postmemory, which I attempt to do in my own use of (post)memory. At the same time, Sarlo astutely identifies a "subjective turn" in post-dictatorial memory culture, which I take up more directly in Chapters 2 and 3. Addressing concerns with the generational framework such as van Alphen's, I attempt to identify the nuances within memory constructions of *los hijos de la dictadura.* Finally, Sarlo's work attests to the need to rigorously question the application of terms that originated elsewhere, in this case from Holocaust Studies, to the Southern Cone context. In an effort to respond to some of these issues, I emphasize the role of performance in (post)memory, which Hirsch herself identifies as the distinguishing characteristic of postmemory as compared to memory. Performative (post)memory highlights the indexical and imaginative differences between memory and postmemory. The index of memory is experience; the index of postmemory is performance; and the index of performative (post)memory, as a concept applied to the *hijos* generation, encompasses both. Performance also emphasizes the therapeutic role of cultural and artistic

creation and imagination, affirming the on-going need to address the past-in-the-present. Finally, art "renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the presence" (Bhabha 10). Because art presents the past as "in-between," it responds to the *hijos*' own liminal position regarding memory and history.

Despite the term postmemory's potential shortcomings, as briefly revisited above, I choose to use "postmemory" because of two main reasons relating to Hirsch's work in *Family Frames*, in which she first coined the term and whose title reflects the importance that I glean from the term: 1) its embeddedness and embodiment in family (and gender) and 2) its material and metaphorical representation in photography and by extension, visual culture. Keeping in mind the slippery slope between memory and postmemory that Sarlo and van Alphen highlight, (post)memory recognizes the differences and similarities between the two while ultimately acknowledging the importance of a distinct concept to address generational memory, especially in the post-Pinochet Chilean context. Hirsch began her work on postmemory through her family photo album. This original use of the term reflects the visual, indexical, and affective nature of photography. Because of such connotations, photography, for her, works as a metaphor of postmemory. Unsurprisingly, the postmemorial texts analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3 revisit visual family memories and archives. In an attempt to build on this, I am interested in components of memory's sensorial experience and embodied reception, that pushes Westernized conceptions of memory beyond the purely visual. Similar to how photography serves as a metaphor for postmemory in Hirsch's work, television is a metaphor for (post)memory in this dissertation.

Postmemory, when applied to the Chilean context, presents other problems. Although some scholars such as Gabriela Nouzeilles, Michael Lazzara, and Beatriz Tadeo Fuica have applied postmemory to Southern Cone memory studies, others like Luis Martín-Cabrera have

completely rejected it for the Southern Cone context (Nouzeilles "Postmemory Cinema" 265; Tadeo Fuica "Documentaries" 302, 306; Lazzara "Filming Loss" 149-150; Martín-Cabrera *Radical Justice* 131-133). Martín-Cabrera is skeptical of applying postmemory to recent documentaries produced in the Southern Cone because he interprets its current use in this context as a "catch-all" phrase for the second generation. Although he agrees with Hirsch's application of postmemory to Art Spiegalman's *Maus*, he claims that filmmakers from the Southern Cone post-dictatorship are responding to something else, "the noisy silence created by the lack of a social link between the previous generations and their own" (Martín-Cabrera 132). Whereas he seems to reject the term "postmemory" to describe this "noisy silence," I believe Hirsch would identify that silence as a potential symptom or effect of traumatic transmission. Finally, Tadeo Fuica's recent article applies Hirsch's concept to two Uruguayan documentaries to establish the need for different theoretical frameworks in the Southern Cone postdictatorial context. She argues that postmemory is an appropriate framework for children of exile since Hirsch's notion of postmemory is closely linked to displacement. According to her, "Postmemory is not always the most effective framework to analyse a first-person documentary directed by a member of the second generation. This is especially the case if the director is not the child of survivors and stayed living where the assassination took place" (Tadeo Fuica 306). While I agree with the need to rethink postmemory in the specific post-dictatorial contexts of the Southern Cone, Tadeo Fuica's association of displacement with exile limits the affective role of postmemory to physical and geographical location (or dislocation). If displacement is central to postmemory, it can be extended to feelings, instead of location, and to insile, for example. Also, the emphasis on "survivors" and their children privileges memories and experiences that are viewed as politically committed and as a result obscures others.

Cecilia Sosa's recent work in *Queering Acts of Mourning in the Aftermath of Argentina's Dictatorship* provides a compelling, innovative application of Hirsch's work to the post-dictatorial period in the Southern Cone, in which she highlights Hirsch's more recent notion of affiliative postmemory as a way of opening up the term beyond tropes of familial memory.[25] Using Hirsch's latest work in *The Generation of Postmemory*, Sosa defines affiliative postmemory as "a critical tool to explore embodied forms of transmission of trauma and living experience that exceed bloodline ties and become available to other contemporaries" (Sosa 118-19). In particular, she looks at performances and cultural texts that address traumatic memory outside of family narratives. Along with Sosa, Alejandra Serpente recognizes the theoretical usefulness of Hirsch's postmemory, because, as I've already noted, it validates and legitimates second-generation experiences and memories of the dictatorships. However, Serpente, as well as Sosa, claim that because postmemory grew out of trauma theory, it "seems to refer directly to the memory work carried out by human rights activists who position themselves in the public sphere as the relatives of the victims of state terrorism" (Serpente 144). Like Sosa, Serpente looks beyond the figure of the "wounded family" to broader connections among members of the second generation, which in her work specifically includes exile communities. Because of postmemory's original focus on direct familial connections, these two scholars turn instead to Hirsch's later work on affiliative memories.[26] Following Sosa's lead, my dissertation considers postmemory in relation to performance, although a number of the texts that I consider still revolve largely around family. I contend that post-Pinochet cultural texts by the *hijos de la dictadura* are still largely tied to family normativity; however, they often contain performative

[25] Martín-Cabrera's use of postmemory could be updated by including Hirsch's more recent work *The Generation of Postmemory*. His bibliography only cites *Family Frames*, which, in my opinion, is more limited in scope.
[26] Serpente explains that transference of memory between generations is not the issue, but rather "whether this connection can also speak about the experiences of a wider generation that is affected by the events of the Southern Cone dictatorships" (133).

practices that lean towards affiliative postmemory. At times, this affiliative postmemory emanates from the universality of the family trope itself. As Hirsch explains in an interview, "Memories are not just personal or familial. They are…more broadly affiliative – mediated by public images and stories that are transmitted to us from overpowering historical events" ("Interview" n.p.). In accordance with this, media and technology are important affiliative connectors of memory. Sosa identifies performance art as a way to forge affiliative memories; along these lines, I look at the performance of mediated postmemories in my dissertation, as texts that reflect on their own construction and materiality through meta-textuality, whether critically or not.

Hirsch claims that in postmemory the second generation faces the problem of having one's own memories displaced by those of a previous generation. However, in the case of Chile's *hijos de la dictadura*, memory and postmemory coexist, albeit uncomfortably at times. In the texts selected for analysis in this dissertation, I look at how the *los hijos* generation's direct experiences and memories of dictatorship connect them with and separate them from their parents'.[27] Because of this, I propose to think of the children of the dictatorship as a hybrid or 1.5 generation. I borrow the notion of 1.5 generation from immigration studies, which uses this term to describe a generation of immigrants who came to the US during adolescence, thus not fully pertaining to the first generation nor the second. Similar to my interests, Suleiman has applied this term to children who lived through the Holocaust but were "too young to have an adult understanding of what was happening to them" (277). Drawing on Suleiman's work, Tadeo

[27] Carlos Gamerro outlines four stages in Argentine literature that address dictatorship: 1) during the dictatorship (avoiding censorship for example) 2) return to democracy: direct participants (testimony and novels, at times that gave voice to the perpetrators) 3) bystanders/witnesses (witness-observer rather than witness-participant, often children) 4) no personal memory (postmemory, his examples largely include film) (Gamerro 111-13). In Chile, these last two stages often coincide. Now, the "children of the post-dictatorship" or "children of democracy" will exclusively contain postmemory. Whatever the term, national allegory lingers in these labels.

Fuica uses the 1.5 generation to describe the children of survivors of the Uruguayan dictatorship whose direct memories may be similar to their parents' (303). In dialog with these approaches, I claim that the idea of the 1.5 generation may serve as an appropriate framework that includes the complex range of experiences and memories that coexist in the *hijos de la dictadura* in Chile. Despite the problems of using generational concepts to categorize and encompass heterogeneous populations, such a notion may help identify ways in which memory and postmemory practices shift over time and within the same group. As a hybrid generation, the *hijos de la dictadura* occupy the limits of memory narratives; without completely fitting into the first or second generation, they inhabit an in-between or liminal zone, as evidenced in the texts this dissertation will discuss.[28]

Screen(ing) Memories

Marita Sturken applies Freud's concept of screen memory to media texts, to consider how cultural memory (and forgetting) is formed. Freud's screen memory is a false or exaggerated memory from childhood that covers up another, more profound, or underlying emotional memory. Screen memories, for him, were ultimately fantasies. Emphasizing the dual meaning of "screen," she explains, "Cultural memory is produced through representation – in contemporary culture, often through photographic images, cinema, and television. These mnemonic aids are also screens, actively blocking out other memories that are more difficult to represent" (Sturken 8). Media, thus, impacts how individuals and cultures remember and forget. I would argue, too, that other alternative, artistic productions attempt to materialize and highlight the difficulties of representation. Similar to this play on "screen memory," Diamela Eltit's essay "La memoria

[28] Serpente, in a similar vein, refers to Bhabha's theory of hybridity in the context of Argentine and Chilean post-dictatorship, remarking that postmemory should address hybridity as a challenge to dominant narratives (151).

pantalla" approaches how television publically represented and remembered the coup 30 years later in 2003. I conclude my introduction with a brief analysis of her essay to underline the complicated intersection between memory and media in the post-dictatorial era that my dissertation attempts to address.

As noted, in Chile, television carries particularly violent connotations because of its role in the coup, in which the junta appeared to announce the military takeover of the government on September 11, 1973. Thirty years after the coup, Chilean TV repeated the well-known images of the bombing of La Moneda.[29] The background of this footage is particularly interesting, especially given how widely it now circulates and has been re-used in a variety of contexts. Originally filmed by TVN cameraman Manuel Martínez, the images of La Moneda were not publicly screened until October 1973 in front of the UN, to show what had happened in Chile. This footage was approved and applauded by the regime, in fact. The now-iconic image, however, was not shown on Chilean television until December 31, 1973. Patricio Guzmán and his team filmed this footage on the TV screen, later incorporated into *La batalla de Chile*. Andrés Wood's film *Machuca* uses the same footage to suggest that it was shown live on September 11, 1973. As Claudia Bossay points out, the accidental footage is a document rather than a documentary. Despite this, the footage becomes part of documentaries and other visual texts (Bossay 181).

Eltit's brief essay "La memoria pantalla" criticizes these TV reports because they formed what could be called a fleeting spectacle of trauma. She describes the footage as "Nada más que un estallido de imágenes," referring to the explosion of the presidential palace along with the explosion of its images on screen (Eltit "La Memoria" 30). The repetitious barrage of the

[29] For more, see http://www.24horas.cl/especial11deseptiembre/asi-se-grabaron-las-historicas-imagenes-de-la-moneda-836186 and an interview with Martínez available in *Las dos caras del golpe: 11 testimonios del 11* by Alfredo Barra.

bombing ends up paradoxically blinding the viewer, or erasing memory (blanqueamiento), because "no permiten ver nada" beyond the images themselves (Eltit "La memoria" 30). Like Freud's screen memory, the TV screens block or forget. The images arrived too late (very late, or sufficiently late, depending on one's perspective), and now, they have established a touristic and voyeuristic glimpse of the past (Eltit "La memoria" 31). Paradoxically, after so many years of silence, an excess of images now occupies public media. However, at the same time, "Justamente porque ahora producen las imágenes y los discursos, resulta perceptible el prolongado silencio" and that silence becomes evidence of trauma and amnesia (Eltit "La memoria" 32). The "flow" of television's format therefore presented the coup as "un episodio más. Uno de tantos" (Eltit 33). Appealing to audiences, the 2003 TV programs focused their "attention [on] the human and the nostalgic" in recreations of September 11 (Stern 284). Ultimately, she concludes, the media, specifically television, divided memory into hierarchical categories of first and second-class. The day's repetitive recreations of the past were fleeting media trends that failed to sustain or promote audience engagement with history and memory. Even though Eltit is critical of television's erasure of the nuances of the past, she engages with it as a medium that shapes, or tries to shape, collective memory.

Chapter 1

TV Screen Memories: Television as a Member of the Family

This chapter analyzes the multifaceted role that TV (as a presence in the family, a disseminator of news and entertainment, a mode of cultural production, and a home appliance), has played in shaping the vision of Chile's dictatorial past since this country's return to

democracy. I will focus on different depictions of television in three literary and visual texts (Diamela Eltit's essay "Las dos caras de la moneda," the TV series *Los 80*, and Pablo Larraín's film *No*). These texts reflect on the role of TV during the dictatorship along with how TV is currently being used to look back. Moreover, the texts' selection, edition, and presentation of TV memories becomes a guide to the way both the media and its programs were received, to how television is viewed in the present and how the past is remembered. By selecting which medial memories to conserve or reuse, these cultural texts also offer their readers models of remembering. I approach these texts chronologically, by release date and portrayed historical event, in order to draft a history of how television evolves and affects memory within national and familial discourse. All three texts access the reality of the country through media (TV, radio) and personal experience, albeit to different degrees. Furthermore, multiple temporalities are at work in the texts: the present looking back at the past, looking at the present with the excuse of looking at the past, and also the present impact of/on the past (what has been deemed "the past-in-the-present"). In each text, I analyze the representation of different moments and events in the dictatorial period: first, the coup itself in "Las dos caras de la moneda;" second, the advent of color TV in the 1980s as portrayed in *Los 80*; and finally, the end of Pinochet's rule, marked by the 1988 plebiscite, in *No*. In addition, television in these examples explores specific roles for citizens aligned with Chile's political and economic trajectory, including witness, consumer, and voter.

Collective television memory often forms around news events with national specificity, resulting in a "media memory canon" (Holdsworth 11). For instance, the bombing of *La Moneda*, has become one of those shared memory images in Chile. Televisual footage included in post-Pinochet films and television series attest to the impact of these televised historical

events. As Holdsworth points out, scholarly work has tended to privilege traumatic news events, resulting in "a polarized commentary, which reproduces models of trauma and therapy, and to the neglect of television's diversity and the various televisual forms, uses and experiences of both memory and nostalgia" (11). Following this line of inquiry, I focus on the traumatic media event of the junta's TV appearance on September 11, 1973 in Eltit's essay along with the perhaps less traumatic media event of the plebiscite in *No*. Looking beyond traumatic news events, I also turn to TV as an archive and object implicated in familial memories in *Los 80*.

By exploring the positioning of TV as a metaphorical family member in these narratives, I propose that it forms part of family frameworks, including those put forth by the dictatorship. TV becomes one more actor in the family drama that unfolds around national politics. At the same time, however, TV can destabilize dominant memory narratives of the traditional nuclear family because it creates broader representations and collective identifications of memory through medial archives. Television is malleable; it can uphold and reproduce dominant ideologies while it can also criticize and destabilize them, indicated by how narratives represent and remember television. I propose that TV expresses certain tensions at play in Chilean society between how to remember and what to remember, especially since the television set has become increasingly imbued with nostalgia. Even though these texts are not as overtly subjective or open-ended as the novels *Formas de volver a casa* and *Fuenzalida* analyzed in Chapter 2 or as the documentary films *Mi vida con Carlos* and *El eco de las canciones* discussed in Chapter 3, they present other ways in which the *hijos de la dictadura* remember and represent the past, connected with nostalgic representations of family often filtered through a child's or generation's perspective.

The first section of this chapter revisits the coup's televisual representation through an analysis of Diamela Eltit's essay "Las dos caras de la moneda." In this essay, she approaches September 11, 1973, to reflect on the political, personal, and corporeal memories of that day. She emphasizes the importance of remembering the economic impetus behind the coup, as hinted at in the title. Originally published in *Nueva Sociedad* in 1997, the essay was republished in *Revista de Crítica Cultural* a year later. Then, in 2000, it was included in a collection of Eltit's essays, *Emergencias: Escritos sobre literature, arte y política*.[30] Throughout the essay, Eltit remembers the televisual image of the military junta on the day of the coup, a personal yet collective media memory. Furthermore, she employs cinematic language to describe the violent staging of the coup and the junta. I look at this example of televisual memory as a point of departure and comparison for how the other texts to be analyzed in this dissertation theorize memory and postmemory in the post-Pinochet context. Specifically, using Dori Laub's work on witnessing, I identify TV and the viewer (in this case the self-identified writer, Eltit) as witnesses to the coup and to the viewer's potential victimization. Her memory of television on September 11 is tied to direct experience, whereas the *hijos de la dictadura* lack direct memories based on experience, but have inherited memories from familial, generational, and medial versions of the past. However, these memories can be transmitted to later generations and may form part of both personal and collective postmemories.

The chapter moves on historically to analyze Canal 13's television series *Los 80: más que una moda* (Wood Productions 2008-2014), which depicts an "average" middle class family, los Herrera, living during the dictatorial 1980s. *Los 80* was part of the preparation for the 2010 Chilean bicentennial celebration, in which TV channels broadcast various programs to recuperate

[30] While Eltit's fiction has generated a significant amount of attention from academics, this essay is most often cited to situate Chile's historical context and characteristics of the dictatorship.

Chilean history (Fuenzalida et al. 97). Imitating the Spanish series *Cuéntame cómo pasó* and the American series *The Wonder Years*, *Los 80*'s familial saga within Chilean history appealed to a wide range of viewers because it avoided appearing overtly political.[31] The story of a "universal" family resonated with local audiences, resulting in the series' unprecedented success. Part of the popularity of *Los 80* is due to the all-star cast of Chilean actors including Daniel Muñoz and Tamara Acosta.[32] One of the most expensive series ever made in Chile, *Los 80* was produced by director Andrés Wood's production company and its aesthetic is reminiscent of Wood's *Machuca.* Similar to what Kristin Sorensen and Steve Stern have deemed the "Machuca phenomenon," *Los 80* was the first fictionalized TV series in Chile to revisit the dictatorship on an open channel.[33] Marian Schlotterbeck explains that although *Los 80* was created for mass consumption, accounting for its prime-time slot and marketing, it played an important role in fostering an intergenerational transmission of memory (137). In fact, *Los 80*'s production team members often admit to using their childhood experiences and/or work in media under the

[31] Spain's *Cuéntame* is an adaptation of the US series *The Wonder Years*. All three series (*The Wonder Years*, *Cuéntame*, *Los 80*) were produced following national traumas (Vietnam War, Franco's dictatorship, Pinochet's dictatorship). The transnational potential for this television format is evident in a comparison between *Cuéntame* and *The Wonder Years*. Both use "una formula de expresión discursiva transnacional, ideada para todos los públicos, cuyo eje de apelación es la familia. Desde ahí, se establece un marco de afinidad, que permite relacionar el tratamiento televisivo de dos espacio geográficos, económicos y sociales distantes" (Rueda Laffond and Guerra Gómez n.p.). Now we can also add *Los 80* to this successful transnational model.

[32] *Los 80* concluded after its seventh and final season in 2014, totaling 78 episodes, an atypical occurrence for Chilean TV. Most Chilean series only have one season, again attesting to the series' popularity.

[33] Stern writes that "*Machuca* was a cultural phenomenon" because of its box office success and its popularity among various sectors that "embraced it as a moving and insightful story – evocative of something important belonging to everyone" (307). Drawing on Stern's discussion, Sorensen claims that the film "works through posttraumatic Chilean memories that have been sanitized by other forms of media in a manner that is deeply affective yet also inclusive of a diverse and divergent audience. An investigation of the manner in which *Machuca* represents Chile's recent history and sparks audiences' memories is important because Wood's film managed to appeal to a mass audience in a deeply divided society and has received critical acclaim inside and outside Chile" (83). As the first fictionalized representation of the coup, *Machuca* began a new conversation about the past in Chilean society and culture. *Los 80*, now, has carried this conversation to the TV, opening the way for other televisual representations.

dictatorship as a source of inspiration and motivation in the series.[34] In this sense, the series opened up Chilean TV to representations of the dictatorship and discussions of the past.[35]

The series conspicuously places the TV in the family home to comment on family, history, home, society, and television itself. Because of the role of TV in *Los 80*, this section of my dissertation will analyze the first season's use of meta-television and nostalgia to present consumer practices to the viewer as TV remembers and renovates itself in the face of changing technology. Drawing on Svetlana Boym's work on nostalgia, I argue that *Los 80*'s instances of restorative nostalgia are self-promotional. Nevertheless, reflective nostalgia in meta-television may stimulate self-reflection. Boym argues that restorative and reflective nostalgia are not dichotomous; instead, multiple manifestations of nostalgia exist in contemporary culture. In accordance with this, I use her theories of nostalgia to interpret television as a malleable memory framework/concept/technology that may reveal the changing dynamics of the interrelated workings of memory, family, and technology.

The last section of this chapter looks at the portrayal of Chile's 1988 plebiscite in Pablo Larraín's film *No* (2012). In this film, politics (democracy) becomes a spectacle through the 1988 plebiscite's TV campaign and the spectator-consumer is sold the possibility of being a voter-participant. Based on Antonio Skármeta's unpublished play *El plebiscito*, *No* presents a fictionalized account of the NO's successful TV campaign, through the eyes of an advertising agent, René, played by Mexican actor Gael García Bernal. René is hired by the NO campaign for

[34] Despite the series' possible limitations, its ability to "transportar al público hacia el pasado, generando así la sensación de haber vivido una experiencia lejana, hizo posible, según ellos, que las futuras generaciones – aquellas que no vivieron la dictadura chilena en carne propia o la vivieron de niños –, pudiesen identificarse con los sujetos del pasado y sentir empatía hacia ellos" (Schlotterbeck 137-38).

[35] Although not included in my dissertation, the series *Los archivos del cardenal*, which has garnered more critical acclaim from scholars and also proved popular with Chilean audiences, came out after *Los 80*. In Schlotterbeck's article, she compares both series: "Ambos programas se atrevieron a mostrar desde la ficción un periodo por todos conocido, pero que fue silenciado por muchos años; el que la dictadura pudiese ser el escenario de fondo de dos series tan distintas marcó un hito en la histórica batalla por la memoria en Chile, pues en el Chile del 2010 la dictadura era finalmente reconocida como tal en la esfera pública" (137).

the 1988 plebiscite while his boss (Alfredo Castro) organizes the SÍ campaign. Due to this connection between marketing and democracy, the film projects the on-going legacy of capitalism from the dictatorship into post-dictatorial times. Centered on the campaign itself, there isn't much more plot to the film. The few conflicts that arise tend to be familial: René's separation from his wife, her arrest for political activism, and her relationship with another man; René's son was used to threaten him if he does not put an end to his work for the NO campaign. The film received substantial international attention, garnering a nomination for an Academy Award.

Despite the film's international popularity, it has also received various criticisms. One repeated objection to the film is that it portrays the plebiscite as a publicity ploy, without paying adequate attention to the rest of the NO campaign that occurred off screen. For example, the film fails to mention the massive outreach programs that sought to educate the Chilean public about the validity of the plebiscite and to encourage citizens to vote since voting was voluntary. The director has defended the film against these arguments by explaining that it is not a documentary, but rather a piece of art. Because of this, many aspects of the plebiscite are left out. Filmed using Super 8mm, to imitate 1980s cinematic and TV aesthetics, *No* includes a substantial amount of archival footage from the original campaign. Furthermore, the film often reenacts scenes from the TV campaign with the original actors (now older), in seamless transitions from archive to fiction. Larraín's audiovisual editing is precisely what scholar Wolfgang Bongers identifies as the film's main problem (205).[36] In this section, I will first explain the background of the

[36] Larraín has also been criticized because of his family's right-wing sympathies, despite the recognized fallacy in biographical interpretations of cultural production. Hernán Larraín, Pablo's father, was a close friend of Jaime Guzmán and became leader of the UDI when Guzmán was assassinated in 1991. Because of his friendship with Guzmán, he has also been associated with Colonia Dignidad, former Nazi Paul Schaeffer's German cult in Chile that served as a torture center under the dictatorship. Larraín has served as President of the Senate and is currently a Senator. His wife, Magdalena Matte, comes from a powerful Chilean family (Matte) and is a descendant of former presidents Arturo and Jorge Alessandri. She also served as a member of Sebastián Piñera's government before

plebiscite and the TV campaigns to provide contextual information that the film lacks, in an attempt to address criticisms of the film's editing of archival footage. I will compare these critical receptions with articles published around the time of the plebiscite. Finally, I will analyze *No* through Alison Landsberg's work on prosthetic memory, to analyze the possibilities and limitations of the commercialization and commodification of the memory of the plebiscite.

Chilean TV: From Window-Mirror to Family Member

If TV serves as a mirror, then the subject is made aware of his/her presence in the world and his/her subjectivity, especially in relation to other subjects. Carrying this idea even further, TV is also a mirror for the formation of the family unit. In addition to the blank, unplugged TV serving as a mirror, the TV set when turned on functions as a mirror for the individual and for the family since viewers may identify with the images and programming they see on screen. Viewers recognize themselves as others, while they also search for a reflection of themselves in the others seen on TV. As a result, TV shapes families, by providing them with models and practices of domestic life. Just as technology and culture change, so do representations and memories of family: "Family is remembered through mental, technological, and cultural means of mediation, and every generation chooses its own tools to understand and reframe that concept" (van Dijck 145). Families thus are more than just social constructs and screen representations; they also involve "a mental projection of family life," influenced by home and Hollywood (van Dijck 145).

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resigning in 2011 due to her implications in a financial scandal. Pablo Larraín has responded to remarks about his family's political affiliations by stating that he has his own opinions independent of his family. While his family's history may reveal potential tensions between the content of his films and his ideological background, this is insufficient reason to interpret his body of work as sympathetic to right-wing Chilean politics. Instead, my analysis will focus on the film's aesthetics.

As a mirror, TV both distorts and reflects reality. As such TV has the potential to engage viewers in a critical assessment of what they see on the screen and in themselves. I propose, then, to think of TV as a window-mirror, combining the ideas above with the notion that TV is a window to distant realities from the world outside the home. Windows, however, also allow who is outside to see inside. In addition, the glass pane of the window serves as a mirror that reflects the image of the viewer, often superimposed on the object of the gaze.

In addition to its similarity to the mirror, the TV set contains a certain degree of mystery and haunting effect, through the empty black space behind it (*Figure 1*). A cartoon from a 1976 issue of *Semana TV* humorously depicts the mystery behind how TV works ("Sin Palabras"). In addition to offering comic potential through the unknown, TV also transforms the domestic space into a haunted space full of loss, longing, and absence.[37] This is especially true when the TV program portrays another home from a particularly traumatic context, such as the Chilean dictatorship. In other words, TV may bring the dictatorship and its dead leader into the viewer's living room, perpetuating their haunting presences by keeping them "alive" yet distant, locked in a box. These types of programs that recreate historical moments reflect on how the present interprets the past, at times filtered through how practices of TV viewing change. Depictions of TV therefore allow for reflections on how technology, family, and memory intersect in domestic daily life.

[37] I foresee this changing in the near future with the advent of technologies that make TV programming readily available through the Internet. Perhaps the computer will become, or already is, the next haunted object of the domestic space.

Figure 1. **A couple gazes, awestruck, as little men emerge from inside the TV. (Unknown Author, *Semana TV*, 1976)**

A significant portion of television studies has concentrated on how TV brings public space into the private domain. However, as Roger Silverstone points out, the division between public and private has never been static, and "domesticity is the product of a historically defined and constantly shifting relationship between public and private spaces and cultures, a shifting relationship to which television itself contributes" (25). Family and television are closely intertwined with the concept of home. Television is viewed primarily at home, part of everyday life. To briefly speak of home, it is a place that tends to be idealized and romanticized as a place of security and attachment. Individuals construct ideas of home depending on their circumstances and cultural contexts. As such, home marks the intersection between the individual and the social, between private and public spheres. Much of the power of home derives from the emotional attachment that the individual feels to that place (often constructed at a particular time). Yet, it is also susceptible to instability, to change, to loss and abandonment. Home can equally be a place of fear, danger, or threat as it can be one of security and peace. In

its role as family member and "homemaker" TV performs a variety of affective tasks in the texts that I analyze in this chapter, ranging from threat to comfort. Television, in its connection with home and family, can fluctuate between security and danger, thereby a potential source of instability in the traditional nuclear family.

Following the allegorical implications of family-as-nation, then the nation, too, fluctuates between threat and security, evident in Chile's dictatorship. Although Pinochet positioned himself as a father for the Chilean nation, destined to protect the country and maintain its unity, he undid his own claims by injuring members of the national family. The dictatorship engaged in a rhetorical maneuver that deprived certain Chileans of their home and of their humanity. By denying these citizens their home (the nation), the dictatorship implied that they were not human. Considered "cancerous" non-humans, these persons did not belong in the Chilean home. Because some Chileans were excluded from the national home, the national family was torn apart by the removal of some of its members and by the threat to everyone who tried to leave the family/nation unit. Also, the dictatorship's intervention in the Presidential Palace on the day of the coup destroyed any semblance of unity and security. The event of the coup, in this sense, revealed the contradictions of the national allegory and undermined the order that the dictatorship would try to impose over the next 17 years.

Although not traditionally considered part of the nuclear family, I propose that television appears in *Los 80* and other Chilean narratives as another member of the family. Considering TV a family member, then, I ask where it fits within allegorical depictions of the nation. In his work on television and daily life, Silverstone agrees that television is a family member, both metaphorically and literally "insofar as it is integrated into the daily pattern of domestic social relations, and insofar as it is the focus of emotional or cognitive energy, releasing or containing

tension for example, or providing comfort or a sense of security. It also becomes a member of the family insofar as it is expressive of the dynamics of a family's interaction" (40). He lists a number of ways that television becomes part of the family, and, in a way, a mirror for the family itself. As such, television reflects the changing family unit, as well as how social and cultural norms affect the family and its individuals.

Family relationships are largely maintained through repetition and routine; that is to say, familial interactions hinge on daily life. As such, daily life within the family (and the home) relies on a number of material objects, including television. Increasingly, television often accompanies mealtimes and occupies a space and time that families spend together. TV, as a material object rooted in daily life, contains a Benjaminian "aura of the habitual" (*Arcades Project* 461). Because aura fundamentally arises from perception, it grants the object, in this case the TV, the ability to look back at the person who contemplates it. In this way, TV becomes the spectator's other, or, a member of the family. As an integral member, television mediates relationships between family members, and its uses within the home and daily routines reflect notions about power and gender, contributing to identity formation.

If television is thought of as a member of the family, then it becomes more malleable and less a threatening extension of official discourse that cannot be contested. Simultaneously, this is a more efficient form of control because TV's ideology becomes invested with affective power, within the home. Within the family, television can be ignored or incorporated into daily life. By incorporating the TV set and interpreting TV programming, the family humanizes what seems non-human and subsequently engages with it. What's more, the debate over whether TV is education or entertainment is complicated by its placement in the home because it can also be a way of "engaging in social interaction with others" (Morley 22).

Televisual Witnessing in Diamela Eltit's "Las dos caras de la moneda"

The economic impetus behind the Chilean coup is embedded in the country's history of television. Furthermore, the military junta's use of TV to announce the regime's rule physically and symbolically displaced television's previous social and educational purposes in Chile. The intrusion of the military commanders on the television set displaced the previous government and installed the dictatorship within the home. In this way, the coup metaphorically extended to Chilean homes. As such, television lost its mirror-like quality that was supposed to reflect viewers' realities. Claudia Bossay explains that the indexicality of TV's "liveness" was reversed under the dictatorship due to censorship (180). Whereas TV and radio previously recorded live broadcasts, these were now subject to post-production silencing. However, media claims to project reality through live broadcasts are always delayed, even if only by a few seconds. Censorship added another layer to this representation of reality by preventing certain representations. Paradoxically, at the same time, the act of censoring made evident the reality of dictatorship. Augusto Góngora, one of the directors of *Teleanálisis*, wrote in an article on alternative videos in Chile that before the coup, TV channels "intentaban reflejar la diversidad de la sociedad chilena" but under military control, "[e]l país real se quedó sin imágenes que lo reflejaran, que expresaran su existencia" (155). Instead, television channels tried to hide the daily conflicts and tensions within the country, although these permeated Chilean everyday life. They offered an idyllic vision of the country to viewers, ultimately trying to sell television's images as reality (Góngora 155). I contend that, in conjunction with other factors, this historical instance of televisual violence complicates Chilean TV's disassociation from authoritarianism and neo-liberal economics. As such, TV is inhibited by its own history.

In this section, I propose a reading of the televisual coup that places the viewer and the TV in the role of witness, according to Dori Laub's three levels of witnessing: "the level of being a witness to oneself within the experience, the level of being a witness to the testimonies of others, and the level of being a witness to the process of witnessing itself" ("An Event" 75). Television viewing is a multi-layered experience, as evidenced by these different levels of witnessing. In this essay, too, the witnesses are not clearly distinguished. For instance, what does the viewer witness and what does TV witness? Taking Laub's text as a point of departure, the process of narrating or telling a traumatic event is fundamental to witnessing. In the junta's televisual address, the traumatic event of the coup is the motivating force behind the junta's declaration, yet it is obscured. Chilean TV first covered the coup on December 31, 1973, more than three months after the attack on La Moneda. The now iconic image of La Moneda in flames was not shown live on TV. However, the bombing of La Moneda and Allende's death, symbols of the coup, are present absences in the junta's September appearance. As a result, the viewer witnesses her own experience of her country's trauma, in that historical moment, in line with Laub's first level of witnessing. The viewer experiences helplessness when watching violence at a temporal and geographical remove through the TV set.[38]

Diamela Eltit's essay, "Las dos caras de la moneda," then, attempts to address the absent registration of the coup, to testify to its existence. According to Laub, the human mind cannot completely register the impact of a traumatic event when it happens, such that the victim's narrative begins by addressing the event's absence. The process of bearing witness to that event "does indeed begin with someone who testifies to an absence, to an event that has not yet come into existence, in spite of the overwhelming and compelling nature of the reality of its occurrence" (Laub "Bearing Witness" 57). In other words, the essay offers a testimony of Eltit's

[38] Although not addressed here, this distance is also characteristic of remediation of the original event.

personal, televisual memory of the day of the coup. Simultaneously, the reader of the essay is placed at Laub's second and third levels of witnessing: first, as a witness who receives a victim's story and second, as a "witness to the process of witnessing itself" that occurs through the essay ("An Event" 75). Finally, I add, television becomes a potential witness, too. After discussing these layers of witnessing, I will examine the treatment of televisual performance and infantilization in the essay, as associations of authoritarianism with Chilean TV that persist in post-dictatorial memories and possibly complicate TV's representation of the past. Although not typically analyzed or included within the literary canon of Eltit's writing, I have chosen this essay because of the text's reflection on television and the coup.

The title of Eltit's essay, "Las dos caras de la moneda," cleverly hints at two associations of the word *moneda* in Chile: representing both "coin" and the seat of government, the economic nature of the coup and the symbolic space where the coup occurred are inextricably intertwined. Eltit's reflective piece also evokes television as the connection between these two *monedas* and as what informs the intersection of personal and collective memory of the coup. She recalls how the government invaded the home and family through the TV set after the coup in 1973:

> La imagen televisiva de los cuatro jefes de las ramas militares los introducía en el interior de las casas cuando esos mismos cuatro uniformados ya habían tomado el control de lo público mediante la inoculación programática del miedo ciudadano para reducir así la civilidad al espacio doméstico. Espacio doblemente domesticado luego que la implantación del Estado de sitio había dictaminado toque de queda total y la suspensión del ejercicio de todos los derechos civiles. (Eltit "Las Dos Caras" 22)

Through this media intervention, the home becomes "doubly domesticated" due to the curfew imposed by the military, restricting citizens to their homes. This domestication was complemented by further limitations on behavior, with clear consequences for gender roles.[39] As such, the home – traditionally a space of refuge – now became a prison cell, confirming Silverstone's assertion that home (the context of TV viewing) is not always a safe haven.

Just as she highlights the play on "moneda," Eltit begins her essay by contemplating the multiple meanings associated with another word bound to September 11: *golpe*. She chooses the term as a response to the problem of how to refer to Chile's political history, which is also personal and corporeal (Eltit 17). She writes,

> Digo *golpe* en los sentidos múltiples que esa palabra alcanza en el siquismo de cada sujeto, en la diversidad de resonancias que esa palabra tiene en el interior de cada sujeto, digo golpe pensando, por ejemplo, en cicatriz o en hematoma o en fractura o en mutilación. Digo golpe como corte entre un instante y otro, como sorpresa, como accidente, como asalto, como dolor, como juego agresivo, como síntoma. El golpe, territorio privilegiado y repetido de la infancia, cuya frecuencia ocurre bajo la forma de la caída o del ataque, es quizás la primera memoria. (Eltit 17)

The repetition of her writing repeats the multiplicity of meanings that she describes; yet it is also a species of working through or processing the term *golpe* in her own memory.[40] By associating the coup with a child's first memory, she alludes to the role of trauma as a liminal experience in memory and the violence of the coup as scarring the nation's incipient memory, a sort of lost or

[39] For instance, the military would cut women's pants in the street, because they were seen as men's wear. Also, women could not wear skirts above a certain length and men had to keep their hair short.
[40] The English appropriation of the French term *coup*, unfortunately, lacks the variety of meanings attributed to *golpe* in Spanish or *coup* in French.

interrupted innocence, as well.[41] Furthermore, the phrase "corte entre un instante y otro" may repeat cinematic terminology, extending violence to film editing and applying audiovisual language to describe a memory of violence. Lastly, the body is implicated in the term: it is the recipient of violence, that which bears the mark of memory. A wound – the product of a *golpe* – is evidence of trauma. As Caruth explains, the original meaning of "trauma" referred to a wound inflicted on the body; however, later on, the term became associated with mental and psychological wounds as well (3).

The narrator-viewer is a witness to her own trauma in the sense that she sees herself as a victim of the junta on the screen, in the present and in the future. She witnesses her own victimization and demonization by the coup.[42] In sum, she witnesses the possible violent torture, deaths, and disappearances that may affect herself and her fellow countrymen, the disintegration of the national and familial allegory. The nation loses its familiarity, its family-like quality of "safety" and instead is a place where no one is safe. All persons and homes were vulnerable; as the planes flew over the city, "parecía que de un momento a otro se iban a venir cuesta abajo para despeñarse sobre el techo de una casa (de mi casa, de la de mi vecino – cómo explicarlo – de todas las casas)" (Eltit 19). In a sense, the viewer recognizes her potential homelessness, and loss of recognition as human or as belonging to a place. The recognition of someone else's vulnerability makes that person human, because vulnerability means that a person is capable of loss (Butler 30). Thus when the viewer recognizes herself as vulnerable, she sees her capacity for loss and her humanness, denied by the coup. Television, as a window-mirror, relays what has happened (coup), what is happening (victimization/dehumanization) and what could potentially

[41] Eltit's interest in the word *golpe* and childhood surfaces in *Los vigilantes* as well, as the son in the novel constantly hits his head on the wall because of his autism or other mental retardation.

[42] Eltit writes of this realization, "ese enemigo iniciaba su inserción en un pedazo del cerebro de cada uno de aquellos que estábamos horririzados por lo que estaba sucediendo y en medio del horror y de la pena, ya nos habíamos convertido simbólicamente en ese enemigo extremista que buscaban" (19-20).

happen (homelessness). In a paradoxical fashion, the viewer can be a witness to herself through TV viewing, by seeing herself as other, as others see her, and this enables her to recuperate or maintain the humanity that the junta denies her.

The TV as a window-mirror allows the viewer to see the country's polarization: "La integridad nacional se inscribía en las proclamas televisivas que incitaban a la delación como signo de una valiosa muestra patriótica. El nosotros (esa alianza cívico-militar) fue construyéndose contra los otros, los enemigos, que iban a victimarlos desde no se sabía cuál método" (Eltit 23). If we apply Laub's work on witnessing to Eltit's essay, the viewer can be considered self-reflexive (and self-reflected) in a TV that is turned on (because of the material reflection, along with seeing oneself in the program's content), and in the memory of the historical viewing experience. Similarly, the viewer is a witness to the country and to herself, as she works through her memory of the coup. She is also a post-dictatorial witness to her witnessing during the dictatorship. This final act of witnessing touches on the haunted aspect of the television set, not as a black box, but as one that foreshadows violence. For viewers, TV appears to foretell the future by expressing the past as present, given the lag between recording and transmission. The televisual memory of the junta described in this essay marks the beginning of two parallel cultures in Chile – of death and of survival. Consequently, Eltit realized her position as a potential victim upon viewing the TV coup. Because of this, a witness materializes as the reader of the essay, allowing her to work through the trauma and witness the process of witnessing. She defines her personal position in relation to the dictatorship as resistance from within, a tactic that many members of the opposition chose, including those who worked on television, as evidenced in *Teleanálisis* and the NO campaign, to be discussed later in this chapter.

Following the premise that television can be considered another family member, it is also capable of witnessing, through its presence. It becomes a two-way device that transmits the image (in this case, official and violent), to a viewer who witnesses her own victimization. TV is an instrument of that same violence, while it is also a witness of the viewer's witnessing of herself. The TV's role, thus, becomes muddled, and is caught between the two sides of Chile's polarized climate. At the same time, because of this, TV works to break down the polarization, moving between the two. Although television is typically associated with more conservative messages, largely due to its mass audience, it is more than just programming as it is placed in the home.

From the beginning, television under Pinochet's dictatorship sought to reproduce the traditional familial allegory to reorganize the country. Television in this instance became an extension of the patriarchal figurehead, the armed forces, and/or Pinochet. Eltit, furthermore, draws attention to the theatricality of this authoritarian, patriarchal performance; the Chilean nation-as-family is a farce. She describes Pinochet as "un padre arcaico que, desde la convincente teatralidad de su enojo, parecía decidido a tomar cualquier medida para demostrar la plenitud de su poder patriarcal" in the first appearance when he flaunts his power (Eltit 22). However, his non-personable presence creates a rather ridiculous and grotesque figure, reflecting the theatrical dominance that he exhibited. Comparing the junta's address on TV to a suspense film, Eltit employs cinematographic and theatrical language to describe the coup by referring to montage, stage, and scenography.[43] In addition to repeating the terms "espectáculo," "escenografía," "escenario," and "puesta en escena," she explains that "La forma de guerra se había consolidado en un montaje imposible de eludir" (Eltit 20). The soldiers armed and ready to attack created "una atmósfera de guerra que parecía provenir de una conocida cinematografía

[43] "A la manera de un film de suspenso que administraba tensamente sus materiales protagónicos" (Eltit 21).

hollywoodense" (Eltit 18). This comparison reveals the impact of film on memory, as well as the importation of foreign models, perhaps alluding to the CIA's involvement in the coup. Cinematography and reality are indistinguishable: the soldiers were "montados en tanques y camiones con poses en las que ya era imposible distinguir la posible impostación (cinematográfica), de un real deseo de eliminar a cuanto 'enemigo' se cruzara por el camino" (Eltit 19).

Performance is an inherent characteristic of both TV and the dictatorship in their reliance on the gaze of others and possibly themselves, in the mirror-like quality of TV already discussed. The masquerade performance of the dictatorship continues in September 11th's *escenario*, both stage and scene, "una escenografía ornamentada, tiznada, travestida de valores patrióticos" (Eltit 23). The coup used patriotic discourse of "la patria, el orden y la integridad de la familia chilena" to cover up the real cause behind the country's violence: economics (Eltit 23). The bombing of La Moneda destroyed one political system only to impose another; "sólo buscaba la implantación de un capitalismo radical," disguised, camouflaged, hidden by patriotism and nationalism (Eltit 23). The capitalist impulse behind the coup extended to the family, citing family unity as the ultimate inspiration and goal of capitalist progress. However, behind the public façade of national unity and order, was another reality: "los espacios de la reclusión y el despido masivo de trabajadores no adictos al sistema" (Eltit 23).

The televisual appearance of the junta infantilized the nation, a practice that the dictatorship continued. Viewers, and citizens, were treated as children who needed saving from Marxism. On the day of the coup, Chilean television emitted cartoons to distract from the tragic events of September 11. With an ironic twinge (what Eltit deems "tragicómico"), the cartoons

were intended to distract from the day's political violence and to regulate the children-citizens of Chile:

> Así, las imágenes oficiales de las primeras horas fueron los dibujos animados que, bajo el pretexto de distraer a la población infantil, daban cuenta, a la vez, de una didáctica, de la voluntad irónica por infantilizar a la población o bien de la mirada jerarquizadora de los nuevos poderes que emergían, cuya voluntad era mantener la civilidad en un estado de control y dependencias infantiles, supeditados a los avatares de los dibujos animados que, con sus voces distorsionadas, dejaban al final de cada cápsula una moraleja edificante. (Eltit 20)

Furthermore, Eltit cites Donald Duck and friends as the cartoon figures, which, according to Dorfman and Mattelart, were ambassadors of US capitalism, enforcing racial, class, and gender stereotypes and divisions. Dorfman and Mattelart's work ironically foreshadowed the US-backed coup and the parallel between Donald Duck and the Chilean armed forces. Later in the day, the cartoons were interrupted with the news that Allende had committed suicide, "una información escueta, emitida con una marcada indiferencia para así politizar la nueva hegemonía y presentar como absoluto e impenetrable el dominio militar" (Eltit 21). Allende's suicide, in other words, was not included in the spectacle of TV; rather it was offered as a threat to those who didn't conform to the new regime's installation of order and discipline in the country. It also served to displace the previous father figure of the nation, a sort of patricide, in order to replace him with another.

Paradoxically, although the junta infantilized the Chilean population, the coup itself is infantilized through its association with childhood, as Eltit describes through her contemplation of the term *golpe*. She explains that because the term is applied to the coup, "implica de una u

otra manera la reedición de ese primer tiempo, una regresión hacia las pulsiones primeras, hacia los primeros miedos, hasta retroceder a los momentos en que se desatan las incontenibles iras iniciales" (Eltit 18). In this maneuver, the junta infantilized the coup, in a sense evading responsibility through an "excess" of boyhood violent impulses. At the same time, Eltit also infantilizes the coup by describing the dictatorship as "un sistema de un violento autoritarismo, que pensado desde el presente no puedo dejar de asociar, lo repito, más allá de la multiplicidad de sentidos posibles, con niños tiranos" (18). To her, the junta generals are comparable to bullies, in the infantilization of the Chilean coup.

Eltit concludes her essay with the importance of remembering September 11 and its implications. She writes, "no deja de ser significativo recordar que el día 11 de Septiembre se produjo – histórico, histérico – el bombardeo a la moneda. A La Moneda esa. Otra" (Eltit 24). By describing the bombing of the *monedas* as hysterical, Eltit recognizes the violent and emotional excesses of the coup, perceived from all sides. By associating historical with hysterical, Eltit breaks down the traditional hypermasculinity of the military dictatorship and history itself, to feminize their actions, as hysteria was originally considered a woman's disease. At the same time, this move signals the performative and theatrical aspects of the coup and the junta – as masculine performances of power, which capitalized on image, spectacle, and emotion.

Television is imbued with a ghostly presence because of the violence that it represents within Chilean history. As part of the domestic space, and by extension the family, television can be considered a ghostly family member. It, too, faces (and faced) disappearance. I do not suggest a correlation between the disappearance of television and the *desparecidos* under the dictatorship at the expense of trivializing the latter. Rather, I present this idea to rethink television's place within the family, as an apparatus that contains multiple and often contradictory discourses and

memories. Holdsworth builds on Jeffrey Sconce's notion of television as "haunted apparatus" when she signals that TV is potentially a site of horror because it "doesn't lose sight of these [domestic] spaces as potential *sites* of violence and trauma as well as *receivers* of images of violence and trauma" (28).[44] What's more, because TV is potentially violent, it further disturbs the supposed division between a threatening and hostile public world and a private realm that offers safety and shelter from outside dangers.

Returning Home to the TV: Self-Promotional and Self-Reflective Nostalgia in *Los 80*

Because TV viewing takes place within the idealized context of the home, TV lends itself to nostalgia. As previously mentioned, the television set straddles the public and private realm, and signals their overlapping layers. This section will look at the Chilean series *Los 80* as a meta-televisual narrative that uses both self-promotional and self-reflexive nostalgia. In particular, television's inclusion in familial memories signals the intersection between personal and social memories. These gestures to TV viewing within the family home connect with a generation that grew up with television, in which it became part of the routine and ritual of daily life. TV viewing, when depicted in a TV series, is a representation of an experience filtered through memory (Holdsworth 24). When viewers see TV spectatorship represented on screen, they identify with the common act of TV viewing, along with familial structures and domestic settings in which this activity takes place. As a result, viewers connect with what and who is depicted. These meta-televisual moments also provide room for the viewer's critical self-reflection. The politicization of later seasons of *Los 80* effectively underlines how daily life is inseparable from political context. As a result, viewers are prompted to question how their daily

[44] For more on TV as a haunted apparatus, see Jeffrey Sconce's *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (2000), cited in Holdsworth p. 27.

experiences in the past and present were affected by social and political circumstances. The series connects with local audiences, proved by its popularity, through nostalgic TV memories.

Nostalgia refers to homesickness, or a longing for home. Even though it is often thought of as a debilitating force, meaning that someone was stuck in the past, Svetlana Boym effectively rethinks nostalgia away from this notion of paralyzing sentimentality.[45] In her work, she proposes two types of nostalgia: restorative and reflective. She associates these with nostalgia's seduction and manipulation, echoed in how *Los 80* and *No* use archival footage. Boym explains, "Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately" (*The Future* xviii). Because of this, restorative nostalgia looks to rebuild the mythical home and reflective nostalgia delays homecoming, remaining in the distance. Following this, restorative nostalgia focuses on universal truths that present the world as Manichean whereas reflective nostalgia dwells on ambivalences and contradictions, challenging universal truths. Despite their apparent differences, these two types of nostalgia are not absolute binaries (Boym "Nostalgia" 13). Instead, nostalgia is plural, with multiple manifestations that overlap and intersect. Because of this, I look for examples of both types of nostalgia in *Los 80* and *No* through their use of TV, in an attempt to determine whether restorative nostalgia, despite its limitations, may open up potential dialog about the dictatorship in post-Pinochet Chile.

Echoing Boym's work on the screen as off-modern mirror, Amy Holdsworth thinks of the television screen as a "black mirror" that presents television as a "magical device" and an ordinary material object (7). By thinking of television in this way, it is "embedded within the

[45] She explains that "Nostalgia is something of a bad word, an affectionate insult at best," what she equates to a "taboo" for some (Boym *The Future* xiv).

sensual aspects of the domestic environment, producing memories which are forged from a network of sense impressions and allowing television to be seen within a network of memories" (Holdsworth 7). As such, it is a source of embodied reception that may forge empathetic relationships between different persons, which I will discuss in the next section of this chapter on prosthetic memory in *No*.

A parallel between home and television emerges through the motif of the television-as-mirror/reflection and through its characterization as nostalgic technology. First, because the television set acts as a black mirror, it is mimetic but it is also uncanny, familiar and strange, close and far (Holdsworth 15). The uncanny, as well as nostalgia, utilize a notion of home; uncanny, or *unheimlich* in German, literally means unhomely, while nostalgia refers to a longing for home. The TV as object, then, is imbued with a tension between disturbing the home (the uncanny) and evoking a desire for home (as nostalgic). Holdsworth finds that the concept of the TV as an uncanny and nostalgic object "highlights a series of additional responses to television's place in a domestic environment. It is evocative of the potential threat posed by the merging of the private and the public, interior and exterior, and expressive of a dynamic of closeness and distance, which includes the recognition of, and estrangement from, the self" (27). Her description of the TV's nearness and distance, implying self-recognition and self-estrangement, echo Benjamin's work on the trace and the aura.[46]

The nostalgic twinge with which television appears in post-Pinochet narratives like *Los 80* seems to be at odds with the traumatic experience of the coup. However, Amy Holdsworth recognizes TV's nostalgic tendencies as symptoms of security and loss: "Here we see how

[46] I will address this again in Chapter 2 in relation to the photo-as-trash-object. Benjamin writes, "The trace is the appearance of a nearness, however far removed the thing that left it behind may be. The aura is the appearance of a distance, however close the thing that calls it forth. In the trace, we gain possession of the thing; in the aura, it takes possession of us" (*Arcades Project* 447).

television is at once both cosy and old-fashioned yet invested with culturally specific anxieties, and it is as a paradoxical symbol of both security and potential loss that it has become a deeply nostalgic technology" (Holdsworth 126). TV's nostalgia, I would add, reflects other tensions surrounding family, home, and memory. As a "paradoxical symbol of both security and potential loss," TV also expresses anxieties about displacement, as seen in the texts analyzed in this dissertation. This topic of belonging (or not belonging) refers to both place (home, nation) and time (past, present).

Similar to Susan Stewart's work on dollhouses in *On Longing*, watching another family or home through the TV set is similar to having a mini-home in your own home. Television is a memory text, in the sense that it

> operates as part of a system of *everyday* memory-making, drawn from its role in daily life and the dynamics of the home. The space of the home is also often filled with the fragments of memory…Television often sits within this everyday memory network and this could indeed have consequences for the viewing experience of, in this instance, family dramas about personal history and memory viewed within a family space covered with history and memory. The ghosts invoked by the stories told might very well be our own. (Holdsworth 47)

Even though TV families tend to be more simplified representations that do not fully align with the complexities of real families, they may start conversations about family, memory and television. As representations that favor the ideal nuclear family and uphold traditional family values, viewers may become aware of the disjuncture between their lives and the images before them.

To begin, I will look at the first episode of season 1 of *Los 80*, when color TV arrives at the Herrera household, to analyze nostalgia as a meta-televisual discourse that is largely self-promotional. As a series that appeals to nostalgia, *Los 80* uses object placement and setting details like clothes, makeup, and popular culture to recreate a *mise-en-scène* reminiscent of the 1980s, in line with Boym's restorative nostalgia.[47] The absence of critical reflection on the past in favor of a faithful recreation that transports viewers to the moment presents an ethical dilemma that is further complicated by the characters' self-proclaimed political "neutrality" in the first season. In the restorative details of the series, TV promotes consumption of itself and how TV is to be consumed, with implications for power dynamics within the home, closely related to economic systems and gender prescriptions. After considering the self-promotional aspects of meta-television in *Los 80*, I will analyze how the politicization of subsequent seasons grants TV a potentially self-reflexive mode within the series. This nostalgia, more along the lines of Boym's reflective nostalgia, works to renovate the past and brings it into the present by "winking" at the present audience in order to make evident the present-ness of the series' production despite its historical setting. At the same time, this difference in time may lend itself to more self-reflection as opposed to trying to blend present and past.[48]

Los 80 reinterprets traumatic history through a mixture of fictional narrative and real historical documentation, primarily televised.[49] While fomenting nostalgic remembrances of the

[47] Schlotterbeck writes that "*Los 80* invitaba al espectador a re-habitar la vida cotidiana ochentera, ubicándose a sí mismo dentro de la historia reciente" (137).

[48] Whereas *No* "vive precisamente de las puestas en escena de varios niveles temporales y materiales de las imágenes, como transportadoras de efectos de realidad producidos por las imágenes mediáticas," *Los 80* incorporates audiovisual archives into a temporary TV format and *Los archivos del cardenal* uses reenactment instead of archival material (Bongers 200).

[49] *Los 80* uses a large amount of archival TV footage from the UCTV archives. UCTV was the previous name of the TV station run by the Pontificia Universidad Católica. It has changed names a number of times and is currently Canal 13. Under the dictatorship, TVN and UCTV were the two stations that most supported the regime's official stance. Whereas TVN was the official channel for the government, UCTV's Catholic mission was heralded by the

past by focusing on daily dramas and family life, *Los 80* also features archival footage, reenactments, and cultural objects from the 1980s in Chile, allowing it to be categorized as docudrama.[50] The series' emphasis on a fictional idealized family, particularly in the first season, limits the majority of the plot to within the private domestic sphere rather than revisiting and exposing repression under the dictatorial regime. By using the genre of the docudrama, the program is able to introduce the traumatic past, carefully selecting the historical images that the twenty-first century audience sees. *Los 80* utilizes the dramatic aspect of the docudrama to introduce political conflict within the family, at times forced and non-realistic, albeit significant because it politicizes the domestic routines of daily life. Simultaneously, the prioritization of family instructs audiences how to interpret the historical visual archives and how to consume television (particularly within a familial home setting). This use of television-within-television lays the groundwork for a revision of meta-television in a self-promotional scheme rather than in a self-critical role. In turn the television serves as a mirror for the family and for viewers, exposing values and relationships expected and idealized by the family, an allegory for the nation.

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dictatorship's proclaimed values. Traditional sources like the newspaper *El Mercurio* and UCTV are not objective sources, but rather "voceros de su tiempo" (Bossay 183).

[50] The inclusion of documentary footage in these series departs from other aesthetic approaches to TV series. In an attempt to recognize this important difference, I use the term "docudrama" at times, in accordance with Paget's definition of the documentary drama. He writes that the documentary drama "uses an invented sequence of events and fictional protagonists to illustrate the salient features of real historical occurrences or situations" (Paget 82-83). The other terms that Paget explains are drama-documentary and faction. He claims that "dramadoc" and "docudrama" are "contemporary shortened terms that describe television programmes that mainly follow the drama-documentary methodology" (Paget 83). I use the term "docudrama" because it is the abbreviated term most like documentary drama. Paget rightfully recognizes the rigidity in his categorization and I would combine both his explanations of drama-documentary and documentary-drama to produce a definition more suited to *Los 80*. Although the analysis Paget presents is effective, he concentrates on the reenactment of historic moments, either through fictionalized accounts or through "real" accounts. My use of the term broadens it to include television dramas that intersperse fictional accounts with historical documentation but that are not committed to only one concentrated public event as is the case for many docudramas. In comparison, each episode of *Los 80* approaches a different public event but always with the same recurring characters.

The family of *Los 80* is comprised of Juan Herrera and his wife, Ana López, along with their children (oldest to youngest) Claudia, Martín, Félix, and Anita (born at the end of season 2). When the series begins, Claudia is a first-year medical student at the university and Martín is preparing for high school graduation. He hopes to be a pilot in the air force for the love of flying and not politics. After an accident prevents him from flying, he eventually finds work as a cameraman for *Teleanálisis*, an underground news source. Claudia becomes progressively more involved in protests as the series continues, even dating a member of the MIR who is killed, in the most politically charged season of the series. After her boyfriend dies, however, she retreats from political activism and dedicates herself to studying, although she later attends meetings for the *Agrupación de familiares de detenidos desaparecidos*. The audience watches Félix's coming-of-age throughout the series, as he grows from a young boy into a teenager. As such, he struggles to find his place in his family and in society. Even though his childhood is largely devoid of politics, especially when he is younger, some of his experiences directly relate to the country's political climate: his first girlfriend lived in exile in Europe; he listens to the rock band Los Prisioneros whose critical songs were used to protests the dictatorship; and later he distributes flyers for the NO campaign.

Los 80 portrays daily life under the dictatorship as both removed from and directly affected by politics, presenting home as potentially dangerous. Social issues such as abortion, alcoholism, divorce, domestic violence, and single motherhood arise in the series; however, they are often resolved with overtly Catholic messages due to the TV station's association with the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*. Although family conflicts are often the center of the series' plot, some of the episodes directly address politics through Claudia's involvement in militant activities and Martín's work with *Teleanálisis*. By placing Martín on the *Teleanálisis*

team, the program is able to include footage from alternative videos, outside of the UCTV archive.

Juan and Ana, the parents, struggle throughout the series to make ends meet. When Ana must work outside of the home to help pay the bills, her success is the cause for conflict with her husband. The couple experiences a number of ups and downs, including a separation during which both form romantic relationships with other partners. Despite the separation, the couple reunites at the end of the final season, in a reconciliatory gesture that can be interpreted as an allegory for Chile's transition to democracy. The family's unity reinforces the memory politics espoused by the *Concertación* government to overcome divisions regarding Chile's past and look to the future.[51]

Just as meta-fiction is self-critical by often "deconstruct[ing] the illusion that the world presented in literature is a 'real' one," meta-television performs a similar process by exposing the devices that create the illusion of realism, thus deconstructing television's naturalism (Olson 284).[52] In this way, viewers become more aware of their own participation in television. Meta-television in *Los 80* does not appear critical of the televisual medium, yet it does present self-references that serve as self-promotion or self-publicity, instructing the present audience how to consume television (and thus the docudrama) and how to interpret history. By using televised

[51] While Schlotterbeck doesn't mention the connection between the series' reconciliatory gesture and the Concertación government, she does explain how the reunited family attempts to overcome divisions within the country regarding the dictatorship:

> Se nos presenta a los Herrera como gente que buscaba mantenerse 'neutral' o más bien al margen del conflicto durante la dictadura, cerrándose al exterior y enfocando su mundo en la familia como estrategia de sobrevivencia, una postura que tuvo eco en gran parte de la población. De esta manera, lo que reivindica Los 80 es una visión expiatoria del carácter chileno. Los Herrera pasan por tiempos malos, pero los superan por medio de los lazos de familia y las redes de sostén informal de parentesco como 'los compadres.' Tras presentar la historia de una familia chilena como algo universal, el Canal 13 buscaba superar las divisiones de un pasado conflictive. (140)

[52] Olson further writes, "When television undermines its own conventions it attacks its own illusion of naturalness" (284). The self-aware exposure of the construction of TV, outlined by Olson, echoes Stella Bruzzi's definition of performative documentary, which also deconstructs its claim to reality and which will be discussed more in Chapter 3.

documentation through a TV set, the viewer watches family members watching television, informing viewer expectations for familial and televisual relationships. Furthermore, the TV protagonists' reactions offer preferred interpretations of historical footage, informing the viewer's relationship with the audiovisual archives. Of course, the influence that the series exerts over audiences ultimately depends on the individual viewer, an aspect that reception studies have aptly theorized. But regardless of whether viewers produce dominant, negotiated, or resistant interpretations, their readings are affected by the series' presentation. I would also add that the insistence on TV's protagonism within the series creates a paradoxical relationship between the medium and memory, as TV remembers itself through past footage. In this sense then, although the series is not overtly self-critical, it does present room for reflection on the history of TV within Chilean society and family, and its role in constructing memories of the past.

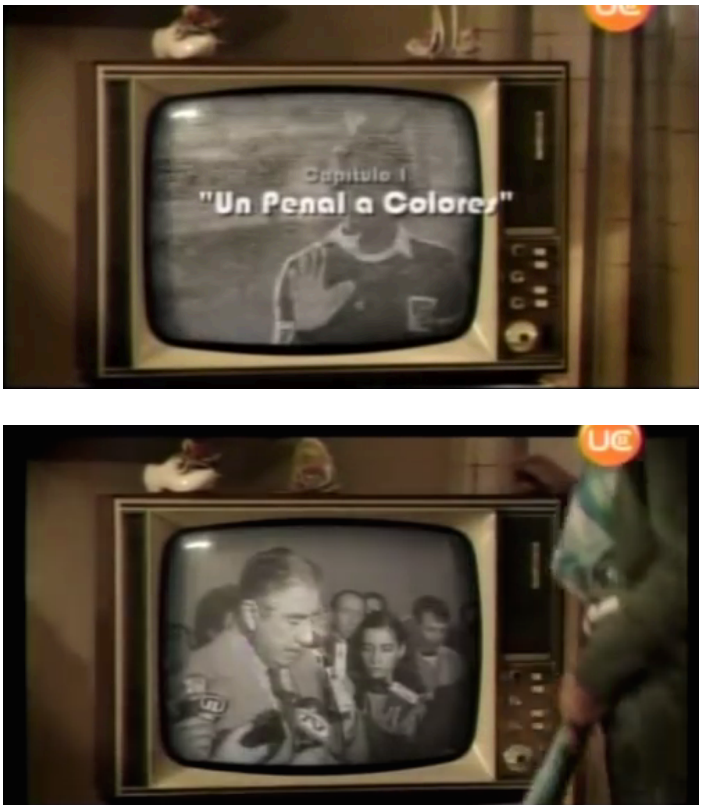
As Olson says, "television is confessing the illusion it has created over more than five decades: that it is not real. Meta-television makes it clear that television can tell and that it usually *is* telling" (298). Meta-television in *Los 80*, however, contains another dimension: audiovisual archives. Meta-television has the potential for self-criticism and in fact, it could open doors to revisit history and reflect on TV's role in memory discourses, especially if one considers the camera a possible witness. Nevertheless, television's role in *Los 80* seems to only confirm this history as secondary and illusory. On the other hand, the program's selective inclusion of history could open the way for future discussions and revisions of the past in both public and private spheres.

The first shot of episode 1 of *Los 80* shows the television within the frame, allowing the viewer to see the frame of the old set (*Figure 2*). Placed within the Herrera home and visible from the dining table, TV is often the center of the family's attention. By beginning with an

image of the TV set, the series presents TV as a narrator-protagonist, a "mediator of nostalgia," in contrast to the adult male voice-over that narrates the US and Spanish versions (*Wonder Years* and *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó*) (Schlotterbeck 141). The archival footage in this first frame is of the presentation of the Chilean soccer team for the 1982 World Cup, including Pinochet wishing them good luck (*Figure 3*). The footage frames the temporal and political setting for the series, while it also inserts national events and authoritarianism in the fictionalized domestic setting. The family members' reactions to this footage reveal their differing attitudes: Félix is only interested in soccer; Claudia shakes her head at Pinochet's image and makes a sarcastic remark about his presence; Ana tells Claudia not to start with her political commentary. The focus of the episode is on the malfunctioning black and white television set. The family thus upgrades and buys a color set to see the soccer games in higher quality. The color test screen of different lines without moving images mesmerizes the family members. This shot reflects the value of color TV for the family and it ridicules their visual consumption of a non-moving image. Viewing the old TV set connects with present-day viewers through hindsight.[53] Scenes like this one serve as winks to the present-day audience, underlining the non-realistic TV presentation of history.[54] In addition, this first episode introduces the issue of credit to purchase commodities, in this case the TV set. Juan had never before bought anything on credit until the TV. In later seasons, purchasing items with credit continues to be an economic pattern within the family. Given the positive value attributed to TV and consumption in the series, debt becomes a new characteristic of the Herrera family and of Chilean society that is accepted and encouraged.

[53] In his review of *Cuéntame*, Smith writes that the docudrama's use of hindsight "gently flatter[s] the modern democratic and consumerist audience" (Smith 372).

[54] The series' website allows users to post comments and reactions to episodes. A number of viewers mention that they remember life in the 1980s as how it is portrayed in the series. Interestingly, spectators view the series as "reality," or project their own memories and experiences onto what's depicted on screen.



***Figures 2-3*. Opening shots from the first episode of *Los 80* showing archival footage on a TV set. (Boris Quercia; Wood Productions, *Los 80*, 2008)**

The physical television set in *Los 80* takes on the role of another protagonist, embedded in the family. Often, the camera aligns with the television set's perspective through as point-of-view shots or over-the-shoulder/console shots, once again personifying the television's presence as if in dialogue with the family (*Figures 4-6*). In addition to dissolving divisions between public and private space, the television blurs the boundaries between past and present and between consumption and reception, similar to the camerawork in *Cuéntame*: "El movimiento de la cámara resalta el hecho de que tanto los personajes de ficción como los televidentes tenemos un papel simultáneamente activo y pasivo; somos receptores y consumidores" (Estrada 559). Without the television (set and programming), the family is incomplete. As an indispensable character, the television often moves the plot along, providing conflicts and resolutions for the household, as evidenced by the first episode. Complementary to *Los 80*'s use of well-known

national actors and actresses to attract viewers, the series also uses television, a universally recognized domestic commodity to promote the show through self-references. In the historical setting of the series, TV networks and guides instructed families how to consume television, a new and relatively unknown commodity on the market. For example, *TV Todo* was a free TV guide paid for by advertisers that provided viewers with program information. The first issue's introductory letter to the reader presents TV as entertainment, to help viewers "pasar un buen fin de semana o un instante agradable" ("Estimado Amigo Lector" 2). Furthermore, its mission was to "servir GRATUITAMENTE a todo el grupo familiar" composed of "la dueña de casa, el marido o los niños" ("Estimado Amigo Lector" 2). The programs listed were divided according to the family members and were scheduled accordingly, even providing a message for children to go to bed before 9pm ("Hacer tuto con Ito e Ita"). Finally, the ads in the magazine include the lottery, jeans, Coca Cola, and TV, all available through credit. An article on Linda Carter describes her as "Mujer Maravilla en la escena y en el hogar," emphasizing the woman's role within the house ("Linda Carter" 24). Even though analog TV is no longer a dominant technology, the series instructs its viewers to purchase and consume objects and technologies as their predecessors did. Products for sale may change, but patterns and practices of consumption remain largely unaltered.

In addition to performing the role of another member of the family, the television set is also a privileged object within the home. It is often presented as a sacred site, in what could be considered a TV altar. Often at the center of the room because it is the center of attention, domestic space is rearranged around the TV set. In the images below, the antenna frames the shots of the family. Here, too, the ability to watch the TV becomes important – giving the viewer a certain amount of power at possessing the gaze (and the object) while the viewer is also a

receiver of the messages and images transmitted through the screen. The construction/placement of the TV altar within the home reveals its significant symbolic power and memorial function – not only as a memorial to itself (as it is now dying) but also as a source of memories (Holdsworth 29). Even when it is turned off, the TV is personified in *Los 80*. Often the altar is placed among family relics and photos and forms part of what Holdsworth deems a "domestic memory network" which is both material and immaterial (like the TV itself) (30). This same idea of holiness and religious importance attributed to the TV within the family, the home, and by extension the nation.[55]

[55] Pedro Lemebel's *crónica* "La virgen obesa de la tele" ironically points out this connection by equating TV personality Don Francisco with the Virgin Mary.

***Figures 4-6*. The camera positions the viewer in line with the TV set, making the viewer see the family as the TV would (Boris Quercia, *Los 80*, 2008)**

Television, as an ephemeral form locked in the set, is at tension with itself as object and programming. The fleeting flow of programs, dependent on in-the-moment spectatorship, is trapped in a material form that is quickly dated. As technology advances and the Internet increasingly streams TV broadcasts, this tension changes, as one can watch programs repeatedly in different contexts and through different platforms. TV's dependence on live programming is less than before, although live TV continues to play a significant role in certain contexts such as emergencies or breaking news. The lack of archives of the first television programs points to its perceived transience. Later, as time progressed, the importance of recording and maintaining TV archives became apparent. Television, like memory, is fleeting and intangible yet it is also material. According to Holdsworth, "The ephemeral and transient practices of television as a popular cultural form find a material base in the routine and everydayness of the domestic home" (142). Television becomes rooted down through its physical presence in family, home and daily life.

The setting of *Los 80* provides a pretext for presenting the story of fictional protagonists. In other words, reflections on and representations of past realities are few, due to the selection of

audiovisual documentation as well as the use of melodramatic acting. Interestingly, the documentary aspects of the program largely contain television clips from the past, but they are used mostly to provide temporal and social context. For instance, the historical visual documents include many advertisements from the period that are largely nostalgic. The series features national and international events witnessed by the protagonists and members of the audience from those years through TV footage. These media events underline the importance of a national historical memory and creating an imagined community united by a common media experience. However, this type of documentation may trivialize memory. In the first season of *Los 80*, television's capacity for showing footage of the past to engage in critical memory reflection is deterred by its self-referential relationship with the present audience along with the limits of the UCTV archives, shifting the focus onto family dramas within the private sphere of the home even though the political context is full of tensions leading up to the May 1983 protests. *Los 80* sometimes fills the silences of a repressive past missing from the historical visual documentation through the familial drama although direct visual references to violence are few in the first season. However, in following seasons, Claudia's activism and involvement with a member of the MIR lead to her escape in Argentina and subsequent torture. Although the scenes of torture are unrealistic, the series directly touches on political issues of the time, affecting each member of the Herrera family.

Although not pure melodrama as in soap opera due to its hybrid format as a docudrama (combination of documentary/documentation and drama/melodrama), *Los 80* leans more to the dramatic than the documentary, by incorporating melodramatic moments into its narration. As a genre, melodrama is fluid and can take on various forms. Melodramatic performances are most known for their over-dramatization or over-emphasis on gestures and their play on pathos to

elicit an emotional response or connection from the spectator. Much of this over-dramatization comes from "the effort to make the 'real' and the 'ordinary' and the 'private life' interesting," a possible explanation for the melodramatic conventions used in *Los 80* (Brooks 14). Paul Julian Smith argues that the material objects (including not only the *mise-en-scène* but also historical visual documentation) in *Cuéntame* underline "emotional cognition" (372) and "embody ways of seeing, beliefs, and the attribution of values" (373). In other words, the visual documentation of *Los 80*, like *Cuéntame*, can complement melodrama by provoking emotions and representing values.

Although some, such as José Miguel Palacios, have criticized the series' use of nostalgia for its prioritization of individual experiences and memories that idealize the past, nostalgia can also open up viewers to collective experiences that have affected their surroundings. Palacios claims that this type of nostalgia in the series makes the viewer ask "Where was I when…" certain media events took place, such as the 1982 World Cup or the 1985 earthquake (n.p.). However, Schlotterbeck argues that this "no necesariamente implica quedarse con una memoria histórica atomizada. El simple ejercicio de preguntarse dónde estaba requiere que el individuo se ubique dentro de la historia, dentro de un proceso más amplio que la vida de uno" (142). In accordance with Schlotterbeck, the tropes of family and television may open viewers up to conversations about the past. Even if the series falls short of more explicit references to politics, the context is ever-present and places the topic of the dictatorship for the first time in fictional television, an important part of public life. As such, the series recognizes the dictatorship as a still unsettled question (*un tema pendiente*) that has not been sufficiently addressed. Nostalgia, then, whether restorative, reflective, or both, can be a way to recover the past "en tanto apunta al

deseo de elaborar una narrativa colectiva que sostenga un sentido compartido para la comunidad de televidentes" (Schlotterbeck 144).

Nostalgia is a reflexive mode, in which spectators see themselves and potentially look back at the past from the present. Television, as a reflexive apparatus given its mirror-like qualities and position within daily life and family, serves as a complementary medium for nostalgic representations of the past. By focusing on the family, *Los 80* avoids certain human rights issues while it politicizes daily life as part of dictatorial history and memory. The effects of this series are still undetermined, as Schlotterbeck concludes: "Aún queda por determinar qué tan profunda fue esta apertura y qué tan impactante es el potencial transformador de series de ficción para generar empatía hacia sujetos e hitos históricos. Lo que sí está claro es que en el Chile de 2010 y 2011 existió un espacio—o mejor dicho un mercado—que estimuló la creación de estos productos mediáticos de la memoria y una nueva apertura hacia el consumo del pasado en el presente de quienes los vieron" (153). As Schlotterbeck's words confirm, nostalgia *in Los 80* may promote both empathy (and potentially critical reflection) as well as consumption of history. In this way, *Los 80* is an example of the possibility of forming prosthetic memory from the commodification of memory, with all the contradictions and tensions this intersection between capitalism, memory and nostalgia entails.

Consuming the Vote: Prosthetic Memory of the Plebiscite in *No*

Television has been criticized as an instrument of capitalism that instructs viewers how and what to consume.[56] Nevertheless, drawing on reception theory, some scholars such as John Fiske have attributed freedom, creativity, and agency to viewers' practices of TV consumption. Silverstone has attempted to find a middle ground between these two poles by acknowledging

[56] "We consume television, and we consume through television" (Silverstone 108).

that, "In consumption we express at the same time and in the same actions, both our irredeemable dependence and out creative freedoms as participants in contemporary culture" (105). Following this, he suggests that television, and I would add other forms of mass media, "provides both the models and the means for this participation" (Silverstone 105). This section will examine this debate through the film *No*'s portrayal of Chile's 1988 plebiscite and the strategies that each side used. In particular, I look at two commodities that are promoted in the film: first, democracy, in which the original viewer became a voting citizen during the dictatorship, and second, the filmic re-presentation of the plebiscite, in which the post-Pinochet viewer consumes a commodified form of memory. I approach the former through historical sources that discuss the plebiscite as well as recent articles on the film. To discuss the latter, I rely on Alison Landsberg's notion of prosthetic memory to examine whether the film enables viewers to acquire memory of the plebiscite, especially when they did not experience it themselves. Politics on TV, after all, signals that "consumers are intermittently also citizens" (Silverstone 177).

Historical Background: *Teleanálisis* and the plebiscite

May 1983 marked the beginning of a series of protests against Pinochet's regime as Chileans pushed for more freedom of expression under the dictatorship. In 1984, the oppositional magazine *Análisis*, funded by the Catholic Church, decided to create an audiovisual record of national events that would disseminate another version of social reality to the public, rather than TV's propaganda.[57] This initiative resulted in the formation of *Teleanálisis*, an underground operation of alternative news copied onto VHS tapes and distributed free-of-charge to whoever

[57] On October 30, 1984, a number of journalists protested the censorship that the military government placed on media. A week later, in reaction to the protests, the government declared an "estado de sitio" that greatly restricted the media and stated that only official outlets could comment on politics, protests, etc.

dropped off a cassette.[58] Viewership largely consisted of human rights organizations, student leaders, and church members. In addition to financial support from *Análisis*, *Teleanálisis* received funding from international human rights organizations and NGOs (mostly European). Considered an illegal news source, each episode opened with the disclaimer "Prohibida su difusión pública en Chile" in order to protect the production team. Under the censorship laws at the time, if a video was made in Chile and destined for distribution outside the country, it did not have to pass the censors. The *Teleanálisis* journalists decided to include their names on the tapes, to accept authorship and in turn, to gain credibility.

Ironically, *Teleanálisis* was in part possible due to the dictatorship's capitalist leanings that had "opened up" the market to items like video cameras. The video camera was considered a domestic appliance ("electrodoméstico") and the *Teleanálisis* team decided to use the dictatorship's weapons against them. Furthermore, the home movie camera was taken to the streets, highlighting the instability of the barrier between public and private. As a technology that made home videos to remember moments of family life, the camera employed by *Teleanálisis* also recorded national life. Allegorically, the domestic technology recorded a nation-as-family. In these videos, daily life, family, and the nation emerge as unstable and fractured, composed of multiple experiences. In Chapter Three, I will return to the technology of home videos that have become prevalent in a new generation of post-Pinochet autobiographical documentaries. The home movies in the documentaries that I discuss in Chapter 3 signal a turn to the personal, whereas the use of the home movie camera by *Teleanálisis* turned to the public. The post-Pinochet films appropriate home footage and *Teleanálisis* appropriated home-recording technology.

[58] In the later seasons of *Los 80*, Martín works as a cameraman for *Teleanálisis* and the siblings view the VHS tapes at home.

In contrast to typical news formatting, the journalists of *Teleanálisis* remained largely absent from the recordings, in a practice similar to direct cinema, in an effort to give a voice to the Chilean people. Although the *Teleanálisis* team had a high turnover rate, the audiovisual productions evolved in terms of content and aesthetics, becoming more documentary in nature towards the latter years and experimenting with alternative formats, influenced by video-art. Eventually the team was asked to participate in the section "Las NOticias" for the 1988 plebiscite's NO campaign, which was largely composed through the collaboration of creative directors from advertising firms. Although this caused friction among the team members, they eventually elected to participate in the campaign and to register to vote.

The plebiscite not only divided the country into those who supported one of the two sides (SÍ and NO), but it also divided the opposition itself, as evidenced by the division of the *Teleanálisis* team. Some members of the opposition objected to the plebiscite because they believed that it was manipulated by the dictatorship (as the 1980 plebiscite had been) and that they would automatically lose. Moreover, as an illegal operation, *Teleanálisis* had more freedom of expression since it was not subject to censorship. By joining the NO's TV campaign, it would be subject to approval from the dictatorship as well as from the coalition of political parties campaigning for democratic elections. However, as articles from the time suggest, the NO campaign didn't have much to lose by participating in the plebiscite.[59] If the NO supporters won, it would be a great victory, but if they lost, it would be rather insignificant since they were expected to lose anyway.

The mere existence of the NO campaign impacted Chileans because it was based on the ability to disagree publicly. This "no", furthermore, was a positive negation: it was a "no" in

[59] "Estaba claro que si la oposición perdía el Plebiscito, perdía poco, porque fue un Plebiscito lanzado por un dictador que controla todos los medios del poder y aparece apoyado en trucos y trampas tendidas de antemano en su favor. La oposición al perder efectivamente, perdía poco. Por el contrario, si ganaba, ganaba realmente" (Lefort 57).

order to say "yes." A number of scholars recognized the campaign's use of the fissure created within TV, previously monopolized by official discourse.[60] The NO campaign succeeded in creating a space for dissidence, through its mere presence. The following quote from Silverstone supports the notion that television may allow for space (or fissures) in which consumer-citizens may participate in the public sphere: "Television extends rather than deepens, and its capacity to mediate politics involves a thinning of the fabric of control within the public sphere, such that holes can and may appear: challenges, mobilized through the same media that have previously and successfully been used to contain them, but which offer scope for both focused and unfocused, and occasionally successful, participation of private consumer-citizens in public affairs" (177). By rejecting Pinochet, the NO campaign represented disobedience; it delegitimized the other side by making evident the authoritarian and obligatory nature of the SÍ and the previous 15 years of dictatorship. In this way, the NO campaign exposed the contradictions and inconsistencies of the dictatorship itself. Instead of being a radical criticism of authoritarian order that looked to install another in its place, the NO campaign took advantage of the weaknesses within the existing system to give another meaning to Chilean reality. The NO campaign effectively gained a small amount of space within Chile's authoritarian TV, an example of the dictatorship's proclaimed patriarchal power. As Nestor Olhagaray points out, "Así fue como la TV se recuperó no sólo para la democracia, sino para sí misma también" (17). This repeats an earlier idea by Martin Hopenhayn; for him, the votes weren't the most important aspect of the plebiscite, but rather that Chilean TV had been defeated, further highlighting the significance attributed to television (Brugnoli et al. 35).

[60] In a roundtable on "La guerra de las franjas" in 1988, Nelly Richard and Martin Hopenhayn discuss the TV campaign as interstitial, occupying a small opening within the authoritarian control of the media. See the proceedings published as "Mesa Redonda: Guerra de las franjas" in *Ojo de Buey* No. 3, 1989 2nd semester, p. 30-40.

The 15 minutes allotted to the NO's TV campaign represented one minute for each year of the dictatorship. The disproportion between how much time and space the NO campaign was allowed on TV was made evident in its reduced 15 minutes per day for the 27 day campaign when Chilean television had been completely controlled by the government for 15 years. That breadth of space, including its limits, was simultaneously the campaign's advantage and its disadvantage. The unfairness, injustice, and absurdity of the authoritarian regime became tangible. In this sense, the regime's own rules for the campaign undid the SÍ's expected dominance by exposing the regime's and the campaign's contradictions. Because the NO's TV spot was so brief with relatively low stakes, the campaign was more relaxed and its directors were more creative. The SÍ campaign relied on repetition, repeating official discourse already heard for the past 15 years throughout the country, but the NO campaign presented something *new* because of its previous absence and exclusion from television. In this sense, it capitalized on the dictatorship's neo-liberal economic message of individual consumption and taste for the latest product. In other words, the dictatorship undid itself, as Hopenhayn pointed out; the NO forced the SÍ to commit an "autogolpe" by opening it up from inside (Brugnoli et al. 34). Hopenhayn writes, "Se trata de buscar el suicidio del otro mediante un mínima ocupación de su propio territorio," eerily evoking the bombing of La Moneda and Allende's suicide (Brugnoli et al. 34). Despite being a subtle strategy, it proved to be powerful. The SÍ ultimately set up its own demise by failing to use the same publicity that the dictatorship had introduced and instead focusing on pre-1973 images.

Olhagaray uses the phrase "sentido y sensibilidad" to refer to the strategies adopted by the SÍ and NO campaigns, respectively. According to him, the SÍ campaign appealed to sense (*sentido*) even when there was none. In contrast, the NO campaign used feeling (*sensibilidad*)

(Olhagaray 16). To begin, the reactionary SÍ campaign primarily looked to the past, using fear as a way to gain votes. The campaign presented the problems from the UP years, such as lines for food rations, as the consequences of what would happen if the NO won. In this way, the SÍ failed to promise anything new or innovative; instead it was built on a rather Manichean scheme of good versus evil, focusing more on the opposing side's negative characteristics. In contrast, the NO campaign avoided references to the UP years. Instead of presenting a reactionary campaign like the SÍ, the NO often used humor and even mocked Pinochet, chipping away at his power and the fear he inspired. For example, one clip presents two of Pinochet's televised addresses within the same frame to highlight his contradictory speeches and appearances. In one, he is dressed in military uniform and the other in civilian clothes (*Figure 7*). The campaign voiceover concludes, "No calza. Un día de carpa y uniforme, al otro, con ropa de civil. Después de tanto odio y amenazas, ahora ofrece la paz. Habla solo." Other clips presented wordplays with the word "No," encouraging voters to remember this option.

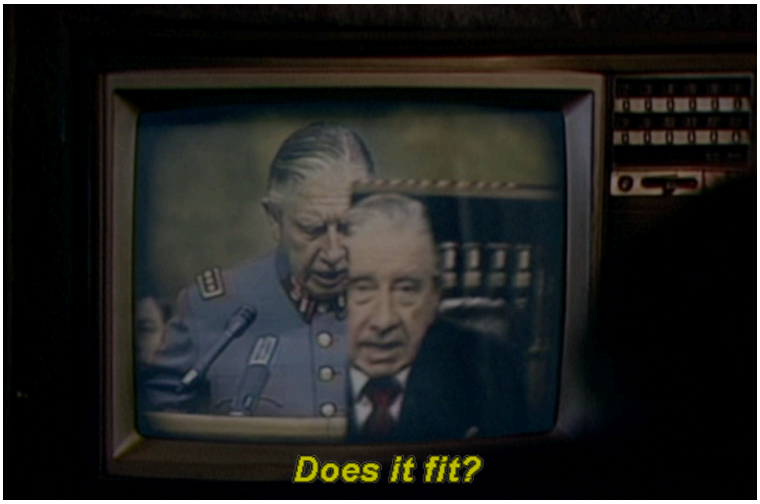


***Figure 7*. Footage from the NO campaign that mocks Pinochet's contradictions. (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**

The movie focuses on how the NO campaign relied on depicting in its ads an all-encompassing emotion with positive, forward-thinking connotations – *alegría*. The jingle itself,

"La alegría ya viene," embodies both of these aspects: happiness and future. The power and strength of the NO campaign were perhaps most perceived in the SÍ's reactions: as the SÍ waned in popularity, the campaign imitated the NO's strategies, further debilitating their cause by exposing their vulnerability. For example, as a response to the NO's jingle, the SÍ also composed a jingle, "Diga que sí." The NO's emphasis on pleasure was not limited to the jingle or the humorous tone of its spots: it also used bright colors, perhaps most recognizably in the campaign's symbol itself, a rainbow.[61]

Finally, the NO campaign tried to continue *Teleanálisis*' mission by giving a voice to people previously excluded from television. By doing so, the campaign was envisioned as the result of a collective effort by the community. In only one instance was an individual's name credited with the design of a particular spot; other than that, the names of individual authors or directors never appeared. The intended focus was the artistic and creative presentation of the campaign's product (democracy) instead of its authors. Whereas the SÍ campaign used a paternal voiceover to narrate its spots, the NO campaign opted for the presence of a newscaster, Patricio Bañados, who previously had been banned from Chilean television. As a result, the newscaster could give the semblance of a relationship or dialogue with the audience, and his presence also exposed the censorship and manipulation of news programming in Chile under the dictatorship. The SÍ campaign failed to offer a mirror to the viewer for self-reflection whereas the NO campaign presented television as a window-mirror in which viewers could feel represented and reflect on their place in Chilean society, in contrast to authoritarian television that hadn't corresponded to lived reality for the previous 15 years.

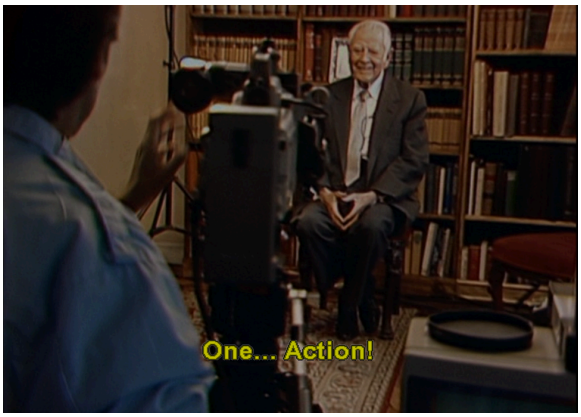
[61] The rainbow used by the NO campaign referred to Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign symbol.

Prosthetic memories of consuming the vote in *No*

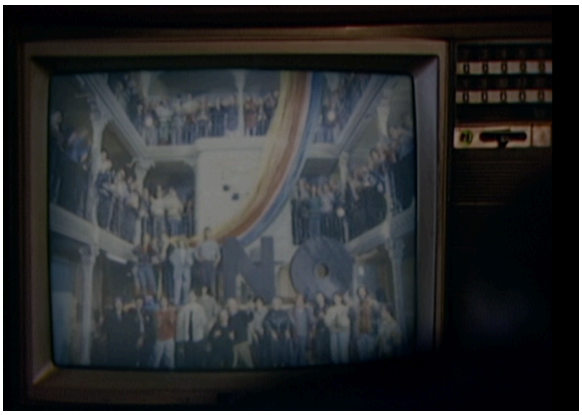
Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the film *No* is its substantial reliance (30%) on documentary footage from the time period, in what is often a seamless transition from original footage to the film's story, resembling techniques from *Forrest Gump*.[62] Nelly Richard approaches this point in her article on the film through what she calls "memoria contemplativa" and "memoria crítico-transformadora," echoing similar concerns in Boym's division between restorative and reflective nostalgia (n.p.). In this sense, Richard classifies *No* as an example of "memoria contemplativa," similar to restorative nostalgia, in that the film "se propone *recrear un ambiente de época*" by using the same U-matic technology that was used in the original footage from the 1980s, which would in turn "darle a la imagen que se filma hoy la misma textura de entonces" (n.p.). By matching the images so closely, differences between time periods are erased, which "impide la reescritura de las huellas entre lo anterior y lo posterior, entre lo históricamente consignado y el presente-en-curso, entre lo *factual* (el pasado archivado) y la *potencia electiva de lo virtual* (lo que ese pasado guarda de latente para responder a las expectativas del presente-futuro" (n.p.). In dialog with Richard, Wolfgang Bongers describes the film's U-matic technology as "un anacronismo voluntario mediante el cual confunde y mezcla las temporalidades históricas del cine, de la televisión y del video; sus propias imágenes existen, por así decirlo, en el mismo nivel cualitativo que las del archivo fílmico con el que trabaja" (198). Although Larraín claims that his film speaks about the present through its depiction of the past, Richard and Bongers argue that the film negates any such temporal contemplation by making the present (act of film-making) appear seamless with the past (archive).

[62] This point divides criticism: the film is heralded for the quality of its aesthetic technique that achieves such seamless transitions; this same quality is ethically questionable for others. From the articles and reviews published to date on *No*, I perceive a trend that these opinions tend to be divided between those outside Chile (more favorable) and those within Chile (more critical).

One scene of this technique of welding past and present footage portrays former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin greeting the 2012 film crew, shot through 1988 aesthetics. Present-day Aylwin becomes a character in Larraín's film, but when the camera switches to show Aylwin from 1988 on television, he addresses both the (historical) viewers of the NO campaign along with the 2012 audiences (*Figures 8-9*). Although the images succeed in masking the temporal differences by matching technological and material formats, Aylwin's body betrays this seamlessness (Bongers 199). The bodily difference contradicts the visual effect of the TV archive used in the film. In addition, many scenes that join the campaign footage with the film mark their differences by presenting the archival material within the frame of the TV set (*Figures 10-11*). What's more, the act of filming distinguishes the cinematic representation of the campaign from the historical campaign footage as the finished product (*Figures 12-13*). In other words, when a camera appears on screen, it is filming a reenactment in *No*. Often presented as over-the-shoulder shots from behind the camera, these scenes first align the viewer with the film crew and then with the TV viewers of the 1988 campaign. This juxtaposition has the potential to examine the relationship between past and present, either because of or in spite of the similarity between the images. The audience and the film crew (of the NO campaign and of the film), in these instances, are placed in analogous positions. Finally, too, García Bernal's star presence disrupts the seamlessness of past footage and present reenactment.



***Figures 8-9*. The juxtaposition between Patricio Aylwin as a character in *No* and as a spokesperson in the historical NO campaign (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**

***Figures 10-11*. An example of the reenactment (left) and the original footage framed within the TV set (right). (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**


***Figures 12-13*. Actor Gael García Bernal and the cameraman distinguish the cinematic representation (left) from the final product of the campaign footage (right). (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**

Building on this, Bongers criticizes the film for its selective use of archival footage from the campaign. According to him, Larraín selected the archival materials that were most

"publicitarios" and proceeded to mix them with his own audiovisual registers, thereby presenting a skewed version of the campaign. *No* leaves out important social issues that were brought up in the campaign, or only tangentially refers to them. For instance, the film depicts the mournful dance *La cueca sola*, performed by female family members of the disappeared, but René's reaction is rather ambivalent, if not doubtful, as to the advertising capability of the footage.[63] Although this attitude is problematic given the pressing human rights discussions surrounding the *desaparecidos*, it calls attention to how advertising manipulates footage and presents images that sell, instead of ones that disturb viewers. The film's selection of audiovisual materials leads to a "cynically skeptical" view of the plebiscite (Bongers 203). As a result, *No* fails to take a clear stand towards the plebiscite and is ideologically ambiguous (Bongers 204). Finally, the film questions "cualquier construcción de memoria en tiempos del espectáculo globalizado [que]…muestra la imposibilidad de construir memorias colectivas desde el archivo audiovisual, sin recurrir a la espectacularización, en la cual está inscrita la misma producción del filme" (Bongers 205).

To complete Bongers' and Richards' observations, however, we need to include certain information they do not include in their analysis such as considerations of the reception of the TV campaign at the time. In fact, some of their qualms about the film were points in favor of the TV campaign in 1988, as I discussed in the historical background to this section. Bongers identifies the film's failure to differentiate between the products (soda, democracy, soap opera) that René pitches as a testament to its ideological and political ambiguity. At the same time, he

[63] The women who danced the song were *arpilleristas*, or tapestry weavers, who protested the dictatorship through their portrayal of collective memories and mourning of the disappeared in their art. The women later performed *la cueca*, Chile's national dance, alone to bring attention to their missing partners. The mournful performance garnered international attention; for instance, singer Sting composed the song "They Dance Alone (Ellas danzan solas)" and Marilú Mallet's 2003 documentary of the same name, *La cueca sola*, portrays how the violence of the dictatorship affected women. For more on the arpilleristas, see Marjorie Agosín's book *Tapestries of Hope, Threads of Love: The Arpillera Movement in Chile*.

describes the film's ambiguity as its most scandalous, seductive, and disturbing aspect, echoing the title of Olhagaray's article "Esta es la historia de una seducción" (Bongers 205).

Some of these concerns repeat similar discussions that circulated at the time of the plebiscite; however, the TV campaign's impact on voters is indisputable because many undecided voters were swayed by the TV campaign towards the NO. The film speaks to television as a powerful medium; furthermore, it shows how television (even in the realm of publicity) can be used for social good. One has to take into consideration how democracy was sold to the public and the creative language behind the jingles and the slogans. It was not about necessarily manipulating the audience (as perhaps it was for the SÍ campaign). Clearly there are ethical tensions between television marketing and voting for democracy in times of dictatorship, by making a spectacle of politics. Yet as Olhagaray expressed, there was no other alternative for the TV campaign's strategy and those tensions or conflicts had to be left unresolved (Brugnoli et al. 37).

Despite claims by critics about the apolitical nature of the film, its emphasis on the marketing strategy of the plebiscite indicates the medium's increasing ideological and political influence, and whether the director's intention or not, provides a direct commentary on the role of television in Chilean society. By depicting media's growing impact on society, the film also reflects on post-Pinochet media in Chile, because of the moment in which it was filmed and released. It signals that some of the same tools and strategies used by the dictatorship to legitimate and maintain its rule – media and capitalism – have switched hands, bringing to light the underlying dictatorial structures that the transition to democracy attempts to hide. As many Chilean critics wrote at that time, the NO campaign didn't have any other choice but to use publicity strategies since the Chilean public was familiar with them, having learned them over

the past 15 years.[64] In 1989, the ARCOS Institute held a roundtable in which several cultural critics gathered to discuss the televisual campaign. The panelists' discussions were edited and published in an issue of *Ojo de Buey* in the same year. In the proceedings, Francisco Brugnoli writes that

> En algunos sectores jóvenes, incluso en este instituto, se ha criticado el estilo spot coca-cola que la caracterizaría y justamente para mí, ese es uno de los elementos más interesantes de su composición ¿cómo podría ser de no ser así? ¿cómo instalarse sin asumir en el hecho, la existencia de un hedonismo televisivo? La existencia de un imaginario coca-cola es un hecho real después de 15 años, entonces su proceder no es sino proceder a partir de un imaginario internalizado, y sólo me parece posible hablar hoy, y de hoy, de las imágenes de hoy. (Brugnoli et al. 31)

The selection of footage in the film, along with the inclusion of the camera and film crew taping campaign spots, are performative instances of meta-cinema that highlight the film's own production. As will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 in relation to textual montage and cinematic collage, selection – the act of editing – contains violent connotations. Bongers describes the film's selection as "un acto performativo que determina la visión y la enunciabilidad de toda la película" (201). In accordance with this, the texts created by the *hijos de la dictadura* that represent the past and reflect on memory often employ performative techniques. However, these techniques differ in their self-reflexive, critical capacity.

Given *No*'s international success, it arguably belongs within the commodity and mass culture forms that Allison Landsberg analyzes to arrive at her term "prosthetic memory." As

[64] "La batalla contra una dictadura militar que se atreve a <<comerse>> la democracia como valor propio a nivel ideológico del plebiscito, solo se gana en el ámbito publicitario con un lenguaje moderno de un *marketing* neoliberal y consumista, promovido, paradójicamente, por la misma dictadura militar" (Bongers 204).

such, I approach *No* through the lens of prosthetic memory in order to assess whether the film opens up or creates memories for audiences who did not experience the plebiscite themselves, whether due to temporal or geographical distance.[65] Although Landsberg's proposal presents some problems, for instance whether one can actually *acquire* another's memory, I look to her Cultural Studies-based analysis of mass culture as a way to approach the commodification of memory in Chile. Although Landsberg herself considers prosthetic memory as overly idealistic or utopian, I appreciate her commitment to the political origins of Cultural Studies and her optimistic renewal of reception theory. She writes, "What I am describing here is a utopian dream, a dream where ethics and politics converge…The utopian dream that I have named prosthetic memory is a call to take seriously these technologies, these sites for the production of prosthetic memories, as they might well serve as the ground on which to construct new political alliances, based not on blood, or family or kinship, but on collective social responsibility" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 158). Prosthetic memory, in this way, is a relevant basis for thinking beyond direct bloodline victim narratives and testimonies, as Cecilia Sosa has proposed in another context that Chapter 3 explores in more detail. In the post-Pinochet era of convergence media, cultural representations of the past are more readily and extensively accessible to a broad spectrum of viewers.[66] Critical, cultural analysis thus discerns how social and personal memories are shaped by and shape commodified memories and their technologies.

Prosthetic memories are not the same as collective memories; whereas the latter tend to be tied to specific geographies and group identities, the former do not belong to one single group.

[65] Landsberg's proposal of prosthetic memory echoes similar concerns that Hirsch takes up in her notion of postmemory. In particular, both are concerned with the memory formation for those who have no direct lived experiences of past events. Along these lines, she writes, "It has become possible to have an intimate relationship to memories of events through which one did not live: these are the memories I call prosthetic" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 147).

[66] "And yet it is the very pervasiveness of commodification – reaching as it does into the realm of mass cultural representation – that makes images and narratives about the past available on an unprecedented scale" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 150).

As a result, prosthetic memories "conjure up a more public past, a past that is not at all privatized," moving beyond collective memories to "open up the possibility for collective horizons of experience and pave the way for unexpected political alliances" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 149). Because of this, even though *No* presents an event specific to Chile, its use of publicity and television creates prosthetic memories across varying geographies and ethnicities. What's more, the continuation between past and present within the film may resonate with international audiences to reflect on how other communities similarly struggle with authoritarian legacies.[67]

Landsberg lists four basic characteristics of prosthetic memory. First, prosthetic memories are not authentic or natural because they are the product of an "engagement with mediated representations" that originates from watching a film or a TV program ("Prosthetic Memory" 149). Here, she challenges the notion that only those who lived through a particular moment in the past have the right to remember it. Memories of direct lived experience are not inherently more legitimate or real; memories can also belong to those who did not directly live the past experience.[68] Second, Landsberg equates prosthetic memories to an artificial limb, because of their embodied or corporeal presence: "these memories are actually worn on the body; these are sensuous memories produced by an *experience* of mass mediated representation. And like an artificial limb, these memories often mark a trauma" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 149). The notion of "wearing" memory refers to embodied reception, related to Laura

[67] Boym characterizes nostalgia in contrast with melancholia. She writes, "Unlike melancholia, which confines itself to the planes of individual consciousness, nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory" (Boym *The Future* xvi). Although this definition of nostalgia complements Landsberg's "prosthetic memory," I disagree that melancholia is confined to the individual, as I explain in Chapter 2.

[68] Landsberg rejects the notion that memory can be privatized. Instead she claims, "prosthetic memories cannot by owned exclusively. Despite the fact that these memories are made possible by a commodity culture, and circulate like commodities, they can never be owned as private property, and as a result they occupy a unique position within and yet implicitly opposed to capitalism" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 151).

Marks' work on haptic cinema. Third, prosthetic memory is marked by its status as a commodity. As commodified images and forms, these memories are interchangeable and exchangeable. Here, Landsberg recurs to reception theory when she states that these images "are not capsules of meaning that spectators swallow whole, but rather the grounds upon which social meanings are negotiated, contested, and sometimes constructed" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 149). Lastly, prosthetic memories are useful in that they help to form an individual's worldview. They potentially engender empathy and ethical relationships between different individuals (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 149).

Landsberg's theory complements Larraín's film because it takes a similar stance regarding commodity culture: "So instead of simply condemning commodity culture, as many cultural critics have done, I will argue that the only way to bring about social transformation is by working within the capitalist system" (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 150). This same argument of working within a system to work against it was used by a variety of media productions during the Chilean dictatorship. As previously discussed, Teleanálisis and the NO campaign used instruments introduced or promoted by the dictatorship, namely home video technology and TV spots, to undermine the dictatorship's authority.

The first and last scenes serve as a guide to the role of TV within the movie at large. After the initial slides of text outline the historical context of the plebiscite, the film's first shot is a close-up of the protagonist René, played by actor Gael García Bernal, who delivers the following advertising pitch for the soda *Free*: "Antes que nada, quería mencionarles que lo que van a ver a continuación está enmarcado dentro del actual contexto social. Nosotros creemos que el país está preparado para una comunicación de esta naturaleza. No hay que olvidar que la ciudadanía ha subido sus exigencias en torno a la verdad, en torno a lo que le gusta. Seamos

honestos. Hoy, Chile piensa en su futuro" (*Figure 14*). However, the product is only revealed after the speech, through the TV set that plays a spot for the company representatives. The montage of this first scene thus decontextualizes the ad pitch; because of the historical context from the slides, the viewer associates the soda pitch with the plebiscite. Even though this particular instance of the speech refers to soda, an almost verbatim repetition of the pitch will be repeated later on in the film, for the No campaign and for a soap opera. In this way, the opening scene foreshadows the rest of the film and its advertising language. The close-up of René also leaves out any other contextual clues from the surroundings, and immediately presents him as the protagonist of the fictionalized narrative. This first sequence imitates the home video technology of the campaign itself, shot with a handheld camera. The shaky camera films in one continuous shot, René's pitch, his hand turning the TV on, and then the commercial on the TV. After René turns off the TV, the camera cuts to show the room where everyone is sitting, around minute 3 (*Figures 15-16*).

Figure 14. **Close-up shot of René starting his ad pitch in the film's first scene. (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**

***Figures 15-16*. After the camera closely follows René and his pitch, the viewer sees the rest of the room. (Larraín, *No*, 2012)**

Because of this scene's decontextualization of the product, the pitch fools the viewer, signaling TV's manipulative power used throughout the film. At the same time, the words of the pitch indicate that people ("la ciudadanía") influence marketing. The two brief remarks by René and his conservative boss Lucho reveal what will be their different approaches in the NO and SÍ campaigns, respectively. René first says, "Hay que confiar en nuestro producto. Tenemos un producto distinto al de la competencia. Tenemos un producto que te invita a ser joven, que te invita a ser valiente. Si eres valiente, eres *free*." Immediately following this, Lucho states, "Esto es todo lo que nuestra juventud necesita. Música, rebeldía, romance, pero en orden y respeto." Although these two statements work in tandem to sell the ad, they also maintain subtle differences. René addresses the buyer in the second person, recognizing him/her as another person. Also, the soda is presented to the buyer as a choice ("te invita"). Lucho, on the other hand, generalizes the buyers into a group and appropriates them as other "nuestra jueventud." He also fails to give them a choice (freedom) but prescribes the soda and by extension its commercial ("necesita"). Lucho's last words present a contradiction – the young people's need for both rebelliousness and order – which indicates the hypocrisy behind the dictatorship's free market policies and later promotion of democracy. Although both René and Lucho are trying to

sell a product, these brief examples foreshadow the two campaign strategies they develop in the film.

In a cyclical manner, René and Lucho (possibly together to represent the new coalition) deliver the same pitch once again in the final scene of the film, this time for a local James-Bond-esque soap opera, *Bellas y audaces*, which imitates the Brazilian soap *Locomotivas*. In the film, the soap opera is depicted as occurring after the plebiscite (October 1988), but it actually aired before the plebiscite (March-August 1988) to distract audiences from the campaign. When René presents the ad for *Bellas y audaces*, he is heralded as the genius behind the victorious NO campaign and a series of extreme close-ups reinforces the importance of the individual behind the creation.[69]

This privileging of the individual author that takes place through the protagonist in *No* contradicts the campaign's self-proclaimed mission to prioritize a community voice. However, the film's focus on the plight of an individual protagonist portrayed by an internationally-recognized star may be an important factor in engendering prosthetic memory for audiences. Although García Bernal may help sell more tickets, his foreignness was written into the film: René is a Chilean who grew up in exile in Mexico, thus explaining his accent and a certain degree of distance from the local context, which international audiences may be able to identify with. René, as a single father struggling to care for his son, enables audiences to have an emotional viewing experience that, in turn, is capable of producing prosthetic memory. The film, like other texts analyzed in this dissertation, resorts to a familiar family structure to create empathy with viewers. Landsberg carefully distinguishes between empathy and sympathy to

[69] The English subtitles to the film translate the title of the soap opera *Bellas y audaces* as *The Bold and the Beautiful*, which may mislead the English-speaking viewer, specifically the American viewer, by using the same title as a long-standing American soap opera. Although an accurate translation of the title, its potentially displaces the influence of Brazilian soap operas to the US.

explains that empathy is "a feeling of cognitive, intellectual connection – an intellectual coming-to-terms with the other's circumstances" instead of a feeling based on an emotional connection ("Prosthetic Memory" 147).[70] Empathy involves an ethical commitment to recognize "the profound difference and unknowability of the other" and despite these differences, remain committed to the other without appropriating the other (Landsberg "Prosthetic Memory" 147). Thus, René's exile places him at a certain distance from Chile and enables viewers to identify with him while they also recognize their temporal, geographical, and/or cultural differences with the situation portrayed by the film. Furthermore, García Bernal's popularity reinforces the temporal distance of the film and the time period portrayed.

The film uses the same advertising speeches to promote food (in this case a beverage that has little to no nutritional value), politics, and melodrama. They clearly demarcate time within the film as before, during, and after the plebiscite; because of this the viewer expects a change after the NO campaign wins the plebiscite. Nevertheless, the beginning and end of the film are repetitive, in terms of the speech and the film's aesthetics. The meaning of René's speech can be interpreted differently because of changes in context, but the words remain the same. The film's aesthetic choice to seamlessly join original campaign footage with the 2012 filming potentially underlines the continuity of the past into the present through close attention to *appearances*.

In all three cases, the US's cultural influence is apparent – *Free* is the English brand name for the beverage that imitates Coca-Cola; René pitches his commercial for *Free* by comparing it to something that would only be seen in the US; the US contributes funds to the No

[70] Elsewhere, she writes, "Empathy, unlike sympathy, requires mental, cognitive activity, it entails an intellectual engagement with the plight of the other; when one talks about empathy one is not talking simply about emotion, but about contemplation as well. Contemplation and distance, two elements central to empathy, are not present in sympathy. Empathy takes work and is much harder to achieve than sympathy. In part, empathy is about developing compassion not for our family or friends or community, but for others - others who have no relation to us, who resemble us not at all, whose circumstances lie far outside of our own experiences" (Landsberg "Memory" 223).

campaign, along with American actors who deliver speeches in the campaign. The fact that the US switched sides in Chile – first the CIA backed the coup through *Operación Cóndor* and then 15 years later, decided to support the NO campaign – alludes to the determining role of capitalism in Chilean history and US-Chile relations. Lastly, the soda name, *Free*, is ironic. Freedom is what TV promises (and the products it markets), yet by the end of the film, the viewer wonders if freedom has been attained in Chile, or if it really is attainable. To a similar end, I ask what prosthetic memory is generated from the film, and to whom it belongs. The audience may empathize with René's character, and as a result, form a prosthetic memory of the plebiscite, but it is at the expense of other realities, for instance of women and of grass roots campaign efforts. Similarly, the plebiscite is largely decontextualized due to a lack of explanation of the dictatorship and the transition to democracy, thus potentially leaving audiences under-informed. Given the topic of the film and its international appeal, *No* may create prosthetic memories, but they may be limited in scope. The issue remains as to what types of memories these are, as Richard and Bongers have explained. Finally, similar to the NO TV spots, the film's aesthetic also uses marketing strategies, appealing to international audiences through nostalgia. In any event, due to its popularity and international success, *No* warrants a closer look at its potential to foster dialogs about memory of the Chilean dictatorship within the public sphere.

Conclusion

As a family member that remembers, a domestic object that rose to common status in the 1980s, an emblem of the coup and the dictatorship's capitalist economy, and an archive for cultural representations, television transmits and mediates competing memories. All three texts discussed in this chapter remember TV as programming and object, as well as through TV as

metaphor. Diamela Eltit's essay reflects on the junta's televisual coup, in which she and TV are witnesses to national trauma, violence, and victimization. Although the dictatorship sought to infantilize citizen-viewers through TV programming, Eltit infantilizes the members of the junta by comparing them to bullies, or "niños tiranos." Finally, too, her memory of the coup is described with cinematic or televisual language, highlighting the theatrical performance of the dictatorship's hypermasculinity that sought to submit the country to its power. In this essay, TV is a window-mirror in which the viewer can contemplate herself and what she sees. In contrast to *Los 80* and *No*, Eltit's essay lacks the focus on direct, familial representations. However, her essay engages with the allegorical representation of family-as-nation when she compares Pinochet to a father figure. Furthermore, she addresses the role of televisual memory and reception within the home.

The reflective nature of television is taken up by *Los 80* as well, as an example of meta-television. Despite the self-critical potential of meta-television, this TV series largely employs television as part of a nostalgic *mise-en-scène* to attract viewers. Because of this, I identify the series' restorative nostalgia as self-promotional, instructing viewers to consume the series itself. As a docudrama that recycles historical audiovisual footage, *Los 80* superficially addresses history and satisfies the demand to revisit the past, yet without digging up graves or confronting ghosts. In other words, the docudrama is a comfortable archive of the past – remembered yet forgotten. Despite these shortcomings, meta-television has the potential to critically reflect on traumatic pasts. This critical representation hinges on the selection of available archives. The series, in this sense, complements the restrictions of the UCTV archives by introducing *Teleanálisis* footage in later seasons. Often the audience has to read between the lines in order to produce a critical re-reading of the past. Nevertheless, *Los 80* has created opportunities for

reflective nostalgia in the public sphere through television, as never before. Furthermore, as a TV series, *Los 80* is limited in format and production by its need to attract a range of viewers. Therefore the appeal to nostalgia, family, and national identity creates a loyal viewing public. Although I am critical of the series' prioritization of family over history, television and media play an important role in familial memories. Holdsworth explains that television (as a kitsch object) is "[a]n object of mass production yet historically associated with the intimate space of the home" (124-125). Subsequently, "the object and its iconography draw upon collective identity *and* individual autobiography," turning television into "an icon of nostalgia" (Holdsworth 125). Through TV's placement in the home and its role in family relations, TV informs autobiographical, cultural, and social memories. Thus TV, as nostalgic object and footage, becomes a way to both sell itself and to reflect on its contribution to family and memory constructions.

No also addresses televisual consumption and marketing, albeit in relation to politics. Although the film fails to present a complete background of the plebiscite and the TV campaigns, it portrays a key moment in Chilean history with which younger generations and international viewers may not be familiar. Like *Los 80*, *No* has the potential to connect with a broader audience. *Los 80* and *No*'s commercial success suggest that there is an ongoing need and a space for public representation of the dictatorship in post-Pinochet Chile. Furthermore, the prevalence of TV and of family in these representations suggests that both continue to hold a privileged spot in Chilean culture, linked to national identity and economics. Even though scholars tend to interpret them as narratives that oversimplify the dictatorship, they are starting points for public discussions about memory and its representations, of politics and media. Nostalgia, in this way, may be a way to approach the past in the public sphere, even when

associated with the commodification of memory. As a mainstream, commercial film, *No* creates a prosthetic memory of the plebiscite. But as Landsberg's term suggests, if the memory is prosthetic, it may also be removed. The issue to consider in each text, then, is *how* television is used to construct memory and history. Despite the texts' differences, they address the central role that television and televisual consumption played during the dictatorship, to introduce, maintain, and bring down the regime. As a result, TV proves malleable, able to contribute to a variety of memory narratives and present subjectivities, as will be explored further in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 2

When Children Write: Meta-textuality, Self-reflection and Memory Collection

Moving to recent novels written by well-known authors and *hijos de la dictadura*, this chapter analyzes Alejandro Zambra's *Formas de volver a casa* (2011) and Nona Fernández's *Fuenzalida* (2012) as (post)memory texts that continue to revisit family relationships. Both novels focus on representations of fractured families that offer potentially allegorical models for the effects of dictatorship in post-Pinochet Chile. Narrated in the first person by *hijos de la dictadura*, the novels explore how members of the 1.5 generation construct memories through family and media, with implications for how remembering the dictatorship changes. Furthermore, both novels break with the "wounded family" model of victimization that has largely characterized official memory narratives in Chile associated with human rights activism. Instead, they present post-Pinochet families as broken, even when these are not direct victims of state violence, and create potential affiliative (post)memory. As such, the novels dispute Pinochet's model of the united, nuclear family as a direct representation of Chile while they also explore a paradoxical longing to belong at home. Now, the fractured homes and unknown parents that figure in the novels create connections with other *hijos* who have inherited the legacy of Chile's dictatorship and the orphan complex of the 1990s. Paradoxically, and whether intentionally or not, the protagonists have to come to terms with the loss of the patriarch (either Allende or Pinochet) and of a prior sense of collectivity that characterized the previous generation's political and social movements. In these meta-textual novels, the artistic practice of writing serves as a way to work through the past, understand the present, and look to the future.

Although the dictatorship is not the primary focus of these novels, both texts offer complex reflection on the construction and processes of (post)memory in post-Pinochet Chile.

An unnamed protagonist narrates *Formas* from a first-person perspective to reflect on different moments in his life, dividing the text into four parts ("Personajes secundarios"; "La literatura de los padres"; "La literatura de los hijos"; "Estamos bien").[71] Similar to other texts by the *hijos de la dictadura*, *Formas* includes autobiographical references. For instance, the protagonist is a writer who grew up in Maipú, like Zambra. In fact, the protagonist is writing a novel that forms part of what we read, or is presumably, the novel that we read, further aligning Zambra with the fictional character. Through the protagonist's profession, the novel employs meta-literary techniques as the protagonist reflects on the writing process, an example of what I call "performative (post)memory." The novel he writes stems from the first chapter's recollections of childhood in Maipú under the dictatorship and subsequent events in his adult life. Although the novel moves away from the orphan trope of 1990s Chilean literature, it still focuses on family and home as allegorical figures for the protagonist's and his generation's encounters with the past-in-the-present. In addition to dysfunctional familial relationships, the protagonist reflects on two failed romantic relationships, one with his ex-wife (Eme) and another with a childhood friend-turned-lover (Claudia).[72] These relationships often form the plot and

[71] Roos attributes the protagonist's lack of name as contributing to the allegorical potential of the family and of the home in the novel, as units where the individual, social and national intersect: "El hecho de que el lector ni siquiera se entere del nombre del protagonista, aumenta el argumento del fuerte componente sociológico presente en el texto, dado que no se trata de un caso único, sino que la relación paterna-filial descrita en el texto podría ser cualquiera de una familia chilena de clase media de los años ochenta y de hoy en día" (348). No character in the novel has a last name, detaching the last name's association as a marker of class, common in Chilean society. Furthermore, this lack of surname makes the characters "nobody" while simultaneously they can represent "everybody," in line with what Roos says about the protagonist.

[72] "Eme" is never named. Rather, she is a letter, M. This could possibly be a reference to other post-dictatorial texts, such as the Argentine documentary *M* or *Los planetas* with the character S, and X in Peri Rossi's *La nave de los locos*.

subject matter of the novel, while their stories also provide a pretext for the protagonist's self-reflection on his experience under the dictatorship.

Similar to *Formas*, an unnamed protagonist whose autobiographical details coincide with the author's life narrates *Fuenzalida* in the first person. For example, the protagonist works as a television scriptwriter, like Fernández, and in her spare time she writes a novel that forms part of *Fuenzalida*. In fact, Fernández wrote the novel at the same time she was working on the series *Los archivos del cardenal*, which revisits the human rights work of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad during the dictatorship. Abandoned by her father as a child, the protagonist writes a novel about her unknown father, in which she imagines him as the hero of a martial arts movie. As a result, the novel includes contemplations on the writing process and the construction of memory through meta-textual techniques, analogous to the performative (post)memory found in *Formas*. The protagonist's real and imagined memories are mixed together in the novel to give form to her father, Fuenzalida, and to provide familial history to the protagonist's young son, Cosme. Equally important, the novel reflects on the processes of memory and the role that imagination plays in performing (post)memory. Her mother's silence regarding her father and the little that she knows about him are complemented by her imagination and projection. This familial saga, in a sense, parallels the histories of Chile and many Chilean families, as a nation of *desaparecidos*, the silence surrounding them, and recent generations' attempts to fill in the gaps. The language used to describe the protagonist's father equates him with the *desaparecidos* since he, too, has disappeared from her life during the time of the dictatorship when she was a child. The novel suggests that other Chilean families suffered the effects of dictatorial violence and were thrown into crisis, even if they were not directly or literally broken apart by the dictatorship. Through

tropes of disappearance, the novel resurects the haunting presence of the *desaparecidos*, albeit distanced from the privileged human rights narrative.

As discussed in the Introduction, the "wounded family" figure has dominated official memory discourse used by human rights narratives to seek justice for direct victims of the dictatorship's violence towards family members. One particular representation of this family was communicated through the orphan trope, identified by Rodrigo Cánovas as characteristic of the Chilean novel of the 1990s transitional period. However, although themes of abandonment and displacement abound in *Formas* and *Fuenzalida*, I identify a move away from the orphan narrative towards a dysfunctional, broken, fractured, and shattered family home. Once again, Boym's work on nostalgia provides a useful theoretical framework for rethinking this return home.

In addition to collecting family memories and stories to compose their literary works, or literary homes, the protagonists of both novels employ medial memories to create imaginative texts that therapeutically perform (post)memory. This practice is what I deem "performative (post)memory" as the texts reflect on their own construction through meta-textual references and intertextuality, or intermediality. According to Mary Lusky Friedman, post-Pinochet, meta-textual narratives "posit literary creation as a therapeutic, restorative act" (614). The concept of performative (post)memory thus mixes therapy with imagination, considering memory "as a category of the imagination emerging from the convergence of experience and creativity" (Pérez Melgosa 179). Both novels engage in the aesthetic practice of collecting as performative (post)memorial practices. The protagonists in the novels collect and compile histories, stories, memories, and objects. The act of collecting mirrors Benjamin's project of the historian-as-ragpicker, related to childhood activities, interests, and practices. Just as Benjamin's historian

looks at the detritus of History, these authors rescue daily experiences of dictatorship, marginal sites of the past (including childhood), and the debris of others' experiences and memories. Here, both childhood and memory-making converge in collecting, with nostalgic undertones. The product, or the edited collection, is the text that we read. However, the texts are never completely finalized because collecting, like remembering, is a process, which the novels themselves suggest is ongoing.

I will apply Benjamin's and Susan Stewart's work on collection to examine the performative process of collecting as an aesthetic writing technique, or perhaps what we could consider writing-as-collecting in *Formas de volver a casa*. In the novel, this practice deconstructs and reconstructs the home and childhood through a mixture of genres, memories, and media, ultimately struggling through ambiguity to give voice to the "secondary characters" of history. Then, I turn to *Fuenzalida*, which also reflects on the writing process, albeit through trash collection, writing about a trash dump and finding inspiration for story from a discarded photo in the street. Once again, I cite Benjamin, on the concept of aura, in conjunction with theories of trash, to analyze the intersection of the everyday, garbage, and photography in Fernández's novel. The protagonist subsequently composes her novel using the photo and other found documents, all filtered through the TV soap opera genre, metaphorical "trash" according to her.

Family Allegories of Post-Pinochet Chile: From the Orphan Complex to the Broken Home

Family allegory lends itself to Ignacio Álvarez's notion of the allegory of temporality, which, according to him, is concerned about how the present constructs or reconstructs history (through literature). In other words, the importance of the temporal allegory rests on its ability to

express the interaction between the past and the present, or how the present reveals itself through the past.[73] Because of family's ability to span various time periods through its members and its relationship with intergenerational transmission of trauma, it has become a common trope to represent the tensions surrounding postdictatorial memory in Chilean culture. The familial conflict between parents and children in particular "sirve de metáfora para representar la herencia (política, social, económica y psicológica) con la que los chilenos nacidos durante la dictadura deben lidiar hoy en día" (Willem "Narrar" 56). Because of this, contemporary Chilean literature that explores issues of postdictatorial memory often employs family allegory. Academic work on post-dictatorial Chilean literature has already engaged the topics and interpretative framework of family, in particular that of the *huacho* and *mestizo* (Montecino Aguirre) and the orphan (Cánovas). These theories emerged in the 1990s, in the wake of the transition to neoliberal democracy and the consolidation of the *Concertación* coalition, and attempted to identify trends in Chilean literature that represented the dictatorship. As allegories themselves, the theories reflect a similar line of work as seen in Avelar's *The Untimely Present*, which mourns the lost political project of the past. In Montecino's work, this mourning takes place in the relationship between mother and bastard child, while for Cánovas, the orphan mourns the loss of his/her father/mother (albeit mostly fathers).

Despite the limitations of Cánovas' categorization of the orphan as post-dictatorial figure *par excellence*, the allegorical family structure remains in many Chilean texts of the twenty-first

[73] Álvarez explains that instead of being pure representations of reality, literature is "el modo en que discuten y elaboran…nuestras construcciones de lo social" (17). This idea – that texts are unable to truthfully represent reality, yet can dialogically reveal social constructions – is similar to Stella Bruzzi's notion of performative documentary, which I will discuss in Chapter 3. To this end, Benjamin's idea of the dialectical image, which Bruzzi often cites, may illuminate Álvarez's work even further. Since *Fuenzalida* and *Formas de volver a casa* are "aware" of their construction and of the limits of their genre, then perhaps they can be considered performative allegories.

century, including *Formas* and *Fuenzalida*.[74] However, these post-Pinochet allegorical representations have moved away from the orphan complex towards fractured families and broken homes. Perhaps we could consider the lingering family allegory as "residual," just as Álvarez claims the national community in literature to be.[75] This subtle shift from abandoned orphan to ruptured family emphasizes the collective remembrance of dictatorial violence since more than one figure (the orphan) is affected. Instead, a community or social unit is shaken. Scholars have pointed out that the literature written by *los hijos de la dictadura* avoids political issues and focuses "instead on blighted families and failed intimacy," using the dysfunctional family as the dominant trope/topic (Friedman 613). Epple differentiates these more recent narratives from Cánovas' work in particular when he explains that the orphan narrative was "orientada por el sueno de la filiación, por la búsqueda secreta de una suerte de pacto o 'concertación' intergeneracional" (108). He makes an astute comparison between these transitional literary works and those of the nineteenth century, such as *Martín Rivas*, which sought to represent the founding of a nation through political alliances. During the transition of the 1990s, Chilean literature was said to be re-founding the democratic nation. As a result, the protagonists distance themselves from extreme political projects such as communism and neo-liberalism. In the literature that Epple discusses, however, this unified, national identity is

[74] First, Cánovas' task is virtually impossible, as he groups together over 100 Chilean authors and leaves out important voices such as Pedro Lemebel and Desiderio Arenas. Second, he fails to consider the "orphan" figure as a longstanding trope in Chilean literature and attributes to it instead a symptom of crisis for the period 1980-1995.[74] Finally, his analysis of the novels, especiallly those written by women, fails to consider underlying theoretical influences, such as feminism or postmodernism.

[75] Using Raymond Williams' concept of "residual" structures, Álvarez proposes that national community is something from the past that nevertheless remains active in the present (17). This seems to dialogue with a notion of "debris" or "remains" as well.

irreparably fractured. Consequently, the dissolution of the family contract that these narratives expose entails the dissolution of inherited memories as well.[76]

In the post-Pinochet shift towards performative (post)memory, Chilean cultural texts from the 2010s still includes an abundance of displaced protagonists (largely children) and familial frameworks. Recent articles cite Cánovas's work as an important predecessor to the theorization of family and childhood in contemporary Chilean literature.[77] For instance, Sarah Roos claims that these literary works are "relatos de filiación," or filiation stories, that mix literary genres, located somewhere "en el límite borroso entre lo biográfico, lo autobiográfico y la ficción" (336).[78] The filiation story, as the name indicates, focuses on family narratives and prioritizes subjective and intimate points of view. This subjective turn, still allegorical, maintains a relationship to the traumatic history of the country: "El *relato de filiación* tematiza y testimonia también las marcas y huellas, a veces traumáticas, que deja la historia universal de un país en la convivencia familiar y en la historia subjetiva, narrada desde una perspectiva íntima" (Roos 339). These works, written by *los hijos de la dictadura*, are often narrated by a child-turned-adult whose voice represents marginalized perspectives excluded from the adult world. Additionally, the child's alternative point of view is debris that is rescued from historical, totalizing narratives of the past.[79] Writing about parents, families, and friends often provides these children with a pretext to reflect on their own memories, positions, and subjectivities.

[76] "Lo que la narrativa femenina explora no es la búsqueda del sustituto del *pater familis* como figura emblemática de un eje de identidad nacional, sino la disolución del contrato familiar, y con ello de ciertas formas heredadas de la memoria" (Epple 109).
[77] In Chapter 3, I will discuss the idea of "audiovisual testimony," which cites Cánovas as a precursor (Johansson and Vergara).
[78] Along these same lines, later in her article, she explains that these texts are both semi-referential and semi-fictional (Roos 341).
[79] "La estrategia literaria de usar un niño como narrador, que a lo largo de las obras de filiación suele convertirse en una voz adulta, representa también una mirada y perspectiva alternativa y a la vez marginal hacia los macroeventos históricos de un país, ya que no es tomado en serio por el mundo adulto" (Roos 340).

Collecting as a (Post)memory Practice

Collecting is a private practice that connects the individual to the social through objects and stories collected. Embedded in the social, the collection metaphorically reveals social constructions, including history and memory, through which the pieces can be reassembled, moved, discarded, and substituted. These acts of edition, selection, and ultimately creation are perhaps what differentiate the purpose and effect of each collection. Because of this, I interpret the performative act of collecting as part of (post)memory work. Even though the items' chronological acquisition is divorced from the moment of production, they are retrieved or accessed non-linearly, like memories.

As Benjamin explains, collecting is reminiscent of childhood; it creates an independent world made up of objects that come from outside. In this way, through the practice of collecting, a child can form his or her identity and subjectivity by creating, reorganizing, and interpreting given objects. Frequently, collected objects are donned with an air of autonomy since they are not "chosen" but rather "appear" independently. In Benjamin's essay on book collecting, he emphasizes the collector who searches for certain items and stumbles upon others. The collected objects accidentally appear, and in turn, construct another story. Stewart, drawing on Benjamin's work, describes the magical acquisition of the collection:

> We 'luck into' the collection; it might attach itself to particular scenes of acquisition, but the integrity of those scenes is subsumed to the transcendent and ahistorical context of the collection itself. This context destroys the context of origin. In the souvenir, the object is made magical; in the collection, the mode of production is made magical…The souvenir magically transports us to the scene of

> origin, but the collection is magically and serially transported to the scene of acquisition, its proper destination. (164-165)

Stewart compares the souvenir with the collection, differentiating their auras by claiming that the context of origin is displaced by the context of acquisition. In other words, the souvenir object is attached to its site of origin (we buy souvenirs to remember the places where we bought them), yet the collectable object does not recall its original place of production, but rather where it was acquired. The collectable object's original use-value and production are forgotten, as the object is incorporated into an independent world, or narrative, of collection. Although Stewart is critical of the collection, because of how it obviates production, the practice of collecting holds aesthetic potential as a way to remember. In my reading, acquisition is a potentially creative endeavor, in that what is done with the object posteriorly is of the utmost value, especially in terms of how these objects evoke memories and histories. By stressing the idea of origin, as Stewart does, then the indexicality of memory is privileged and room for postmemory is limited. Yet, in performative (post)memory, origin (or experience) can be critically contemplated upon acquisition and during the creative process as part of the on-going processes and practices of inheritance, memory, narration, and transmission.

What's more, "'Earning' the collection simply involves *waiting*, creating the pauses that articulate the biography of the collector" (Stewart 166). Because of this, the protagonist of *Fuenzalida* is often depicted waiting in transitory places whereas the protagonist of *Formas* occupies liminal sites and wanders throughout Santiago, unable to settle down. I interpret these moments of waiting and wandering as potential instances of inheritance since in order to inherit one must wait. Itinerancy, too, lacks a specific route or destination and appreciates accidental encounters along the way. Finally, "the pauses" characteristic of waiting for the collection are

pregnant gaps, silences, and stutters that are filled with postmemory's projection and imagination. In other words, the collection's pauses allow for the fragmented representation of (post)memory. When a piece of the collection arrives, the protagonists must find a place for it within their stories, explaining how waiting and actively creating are complementary actions in collecting. As memory narratives, these writing-collections produce what Avelar deems "*memory value*," escaping Marx's dichotomy of use-value versus exchange-value because it resists exchange (5).[80]

The construction of self-identity or autobiography materializes in the practice of collecting. Benajmin writes that "for a collector…ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them" (*Illuminations* 67). Similarly, Stewart also associates collection with the articulation of the collector's identity.[81] Collecting potentially destabilizes hegemonic notions of autobiography, similar to the audiovisual letter and diary that I will discuss in Chapter 3, because of the collection's inclusion in the collector's intimate world and its open-endedness. Because the collection is never completed, it lends itself to representations of the processes of identity construction, unlike autobiography, which privileges a cohesive and finalized narrative.

[80] Stewart's work on the collection is written from a Marxist focus on the collection's production and relationship to use-value and exchange-value. I find Avelar's term extremely compelling, but, unfortunately, he doesn't offer a detailed explanation of it. Luis Martín-Cabrera develops it a bit further in connection with the *desaparecidos*. He explains that the *desaparecidos* represent the non-exchangeability of death since there is no body, placing it outside the logic of the market: "we can conclude that here is a memory value, among other things, because the disappearance of political prisoners implies an excess of death, a mortuary performance that breaks the limits of the market/state duopoloy" (Martín-Cabrera 56).

[81] "The ultimate term in the series that marks the collection is the 'self,' the articulation of the collector's own 'identity'" (Stewart 162).

Secondary Characters and Affiliative (Post)memory in *Formas de volver a casa*

Zambra's novel could possibly be considered a "(post)memory knot," to adapt Steve Stern's term, "memory knot," which he defines as people, events, and places that demand attention to memory (4). Stern focuses on how "memory-truths" erupt in the public sphere, looking at the "social actors and human networks" that seek to "find and shape meaning of the traumatic past-within-the-present, that is, to push the memory-truths they considered urgent into the public domain" (4). In a similar vein, Zambra's novel expresses a particular concern with the memory-truth of *los hijos de la dictadura*. Although members of this generation had previously published other novels and films dealing with post-dictatorial or post-Pinochet memory in Chile, the generation of l*os hijos* was collectively named for the first time upon the publication of *Formas*. In addition to, or perhaps because of, its commercial success, *Formas* formally placed *los hijos* on Chile's (post)memory map. The title of the novel alludes to the 1.5 generation's various modes of nostalgia, or ways to long for and possibly return home. What's more, *Formas* addresses a specific section of this generation: those who were children under the dictatorship and have direct memories of repression, but were at a remove from the more politically committed atmosphere of their parents' generation. The novel also addresses the legacies of families who abstained from politics. The title *Formas de volver a casa* alludes to nostalgia, as a yearning to return home, yet the title also refers to ways of returning to the past, of remembering, and of representing and writing memory.

In addition to the family circle, this political remove extends to horizontal affiliations through Claudia's story of her father's militancy. However, the protagonist's distance from politics is nebulous since, as a child, he tangentially participated in Claudia's search for her father, who was hiding from authorities. He only becomes aware of his proximity to politics in

adulthood, when Claudia returns to Chile from exile following her father's death. Bieke Willem claims that the narrator uses Claudia's story as a way to make his story more interesting since her family was involved in the political opposition whereas his proclaimed a lack of political affiliation ("Pero en mi familia no había muertos ni había libros") (Zambra 105). However, in Claudia's opinion, her family didn't suffer as much as some did (Willem "Metáfora" 33).

Despite their difference of opinion regarding Claudia's family, both Claudia and the protagonist reveal a contradictory and problematic longing to be martyred protagonists of the past. Their attitudes seem to mourn a lack of political commitment, in both the past and the present.[82] This new generation isn't mourning the past per se, but rather the present's lack of political and social awareness, which the protagonist and Claudia read in their own family histories.[83] A quote from *Formas* reveals this concern for the present's amnesia, when the narrator reacts to the 2010 presidential election of conservative candidate Sebastián Piñera: "Me parece horrible. Ya se ve que perdimos la memoria" (Zambra 156). Likewise, in another moment, the protagonist laments the oblivion of the present caused by non-reflective nostalgia. He worries that no one knows how to discuss films or books anymore; instead, everyone speaks of where they were or what they were doing when they saw the film or read the book (Zambra 103).[84] He laments that literature and film have lost their central role to contribute to social dialog and instead encourage one to go back to his/her youth (another way of going home). He observes, "Porque ya no podemos, ya no sabemos hablar sobre una película o sobre un libro; ha

[82] "Moving beyond earlier works that portray failed intimacy, or prescribe remedies for political trauma in the personal, psychic sphere, these three novels [by Fernández, Bisama and Zambra] diagnose the harm that political apathy has done to human relationships and call for a collective acknowledgment of it" (Friedman 621)

[83] This echoes a sentiment similar to one that Avelar identifies in other postdictatorial literature. He explains that "the unaccomplished past" becomes "the very allegory of a present in crisis" in the texts he analyzes (Avelar 17). Although Avelar discusses literature primarily from the 1980s and 1990s, more contemporary postdictatorial literature continues to engage in criticizing the present through the past. Ignacio Álvarez's categorization of allegory in Chilean literature follows a similar line of thinking.

[84] This concern for a non-reflective nostalgia echoes Pedro Lemebel's sentiments in his crónica, *Dónde estabas tú*, a scathing criticism directed at Pablo Larraín and his film *Tony Manero*.

llegado el tiempo en que no importan las películas ni las novelas sino el momento en que las vimos, las leímos: dónde estábamos, qué hacíamos, quiénes éramos entonces" (Zambra 103). The "where were you" type of nostalgia is restorative, longing for a specific place and moment in the past instead of critically looking at the past from the present. The content of the films and books no longer matters since they form part of the *mise-en-scène* of the present's reconstruction of the past. The protagonist pushes for another type of nostalgia that would be able to dialogically engage with these texts and to reflectively undertake their study.

Along similar lines, the novel explores "political exclusion as the kind of exclusion from adult affairs that frustrates and bewilders any child" (Friedman 619). In one instance, the narrator metaphorically refers to this exclusion in terms of abandonment, and later, acting on a stage:

> Los padres abandonan a los hijos. Los hijos abandonan a los padres. Los padres protegen o desprotegen pero siempre desprotegen. Los hijos se quedan o se van pero siempre se van. Y todo es injusto, sobre todo el rumor de las frases, porque el lenguaje nos gusta y nos confunde, porque en el fondo quisiéramos cantar o por lo menos silbar una melodía, caminar por un lado del escenario silbando una melodía. Queremos ser actores que esperan con paciencia el momento de salir al escenario. Y el público hace rato que se fue. (Zambra 73)

Parents and children here both inevitably leave each other; their actions and responsibility are mutual. The narrator then shifts to a collective voice, of "nosotros," in the latter half of the passage, presumably speaking for *los hijos*. By concluding that all is unfair, the distinction between parents and children is no longer clear. The desire to be performing protagonists – singing, whistling, or acting – also comes from both the inability to understand and the seduction of language, whether political or otherwise. This example of performative (post)memory joins

the unknowable dimension of trauma with the creative practice of art, emphasizing the importance of embodied expression. Nevertheless, the conclusion that there is no longer an audience for these actors returns to the notion of abandonment, highlighting the novel's melancholic tone. Furthermore, the "público" is undefined: it could specifically refer to the children's parents, to other members of the same generation, or to Chilean society, for instance. Regardless, the child generation waits to perform, largely in vain.

The metaphor that runs throughout the novel – equating children of the dictatorship with secondary characters in the parents' literature – communicates this desire to participate emanating from feelings of exclusion. For instance, the protagonist states "éramos justamente eso, personajes secundarios, centenares de niños que cruzaban la ciudad equilibrando apenas los bolsos de mezclilla" (Zambra 58). The narrator occupies what he describes as a "secondary" role in the drama of the dictatorship because of his generational remove from the political action and events of his parents' generation. This is further complicated by his "depoliticized" home since his parents never took a clear stance on the dictatorship, a lack of action that the narrator identifies as complicity. Additionally, as a child, he occupied the role of involuntary witness rather than active participant in history. "Secondary" also connotes temporal order; in other words, the narrator and his generation are considered secondary because they were born after the previous generation. This secondary characterization aligns them with (post)memory, as inheritors of the country's dictatorial legacies and familial memories. Consequently, the narrator negotiates his position in terms of Chile's past, trying to figure out where he fits. By writing the story, he asserts himself as a protagonist-author of memory and history, moving away from the marginalized position of a secondary character.

Despite the lack of political commitment by the protagonist's parents, the novel does not "suggest that abstention from politics trapped the children of dictatorship in a debilitating state of arrested mourning" (Friedman 619). Instead, the novel explores the relationship between two generations, and ultimately, the protagonist uses writing as a way to work through the past, rather than be trapped in it. In one scene, he repeats the oft-heard accusation that silence entailed complicity with the dictatorship. He accuses his parents when he tells his mother, "Todos estaban metidos en política, mamá. Usted también. Ustedes. Al no participar apoyaban a la dictadura – siento que en mi lenguaje hay ecos, hay vacíos. Me siento como hablando según un manual de comportamiento" (Zambra 132). In a sense, this statement contributes to the totalizing (often Manichean) historical frameworks that the novel tries to avoid. Yet at the same time, it depicts the contradictions of such a black-and-white interpretation, presenting such a homogenous history as false, stiff, and ultimately impossible. Instead, there are echoes, silences, and gaps, which the narrative attempts to relate, but which often remain as what they are.

The protagonist vindicates the experience and perspective of childhood as a legitimate lens through which to narrate the Chilean dictatorship, which is typically interpreted by adults.[85] The novel melancholically expresses the children's marginalization in this period of Chilean history because it has been considered the parents' story to tell:

> La novela es la novela de los padres, pensé entonces, pienso ahora. Crecimos creyendo eso, que la novela era de los padres. Maldiciéndolos y también refugiándonos, aliviados, en esa penumbra. Mientras los adultos mataban o eran muertos, nosotros hacíamos dibujos en un rincón. Mientras el país se caía a pedazos nosotros aprendíamos a hablar, a caminar, a doblar las servilletas en

[85] Some of the texts that revisit the dictatorship project adult perspectives onto children either allegorically or literally. *Machuca* was the first Chilean film to present the dictatorship in this way.

> forma de barcos, de aviones. Mientras la novela sucedía, nosotros jugábamos a escondernos, a desaparecer. (Zambra 56-7)

This passage reveals a sense of guilt for occupying the "penumbra," a liminal, marginalized position. The protagonist communicates mixed feelings regarding his generation's role in Chilean history: the children of the dictatorship cursed their parents for excluding them, but, at the same time, they felt relieved. The irony is that while the country and its citizens were suffering, the protagonist and his generation were learning to grow up and playing. In this passage, the juxtaposition of the country's situation and the children's activities expresses loss, sadness, frustration, and anger. The repetition of *mientras* followed by verbs in the imperfect tense implies parallel actions by the two different groups, parents and children, which nevertheless affected each other. The traumatic experiences were transmitted to the children through speech and play, affecting how they express themselves. Equally, they were learning how to occupy the margins, metaphorically represented through the corner of the house. Yet the last sentence that refers to children playing hide and seek, and eventually disappearing, hones in on the passage's ironic sentiment. In an attempt to disappear, the children played at hiding, reflected in their position on the margins of history. This seems to imply that while the children may blame their parents, they are also responsible, or at least feel responsible, for playing games in the corner. Finally, the child's game of disappearing is tragically misplaced as some of the "true" protagonists were disappeared, and all were under the threat of disappearance. As is often the case, the children's game echoed reality, although they only became aware of this fact later.

Collecting Secondary Scenes of the Everyday

In addition to childhood games, the novel engage with the childlike curiosity of collecting, looking for clues in the mundane and in silences. Populated by silences and omissions, the narrator's childhood was characterized by the transmission of trauma in which he had to gather together and interpret broken phrases that inform his (post)memory. Rather than having to decode Claudia's silences and broken phrases as in childhood, the protagonist is surprised to find that she wants to speak about her past as an adult. He explains, "Esperaba un encuentro cargado de silencios, una serie de frases sueltas que luego, como hacía cuando niño, en soledad, tendría que juntar y descifrar. Pero no, al contrario: Claudia quiere hablar" (Zambra 99). The narrator recognizes the difference between how he received information in the past and Claudia's openness. With her, he no longer has to imagine or guess what happened, because she is ready and willing to talk to him. As a child, the narrator had to collect the phrases, put them together, interpret them, and figure out their meaning, which perhaps, differed from their original intention. What's more, his childhood actions of collecting and deciphering silences and fragments of phrases were done alone, *en soledad*, but now, with Claudia, he is no longer isolated.[86]

Although the novel is narrated from the first person, creating intimacy between reader and text, the narrator's inclusion in a family without political compromise and his use of Claudia's story afford him a certain distance from the dictatorship to instead reflect and comment on it. The collection functions in a similar sense: it grants the collector a sense of intimacy, to create his/her own world, yet with a distance from the actual production of the objects. In the case of *Formas*, writing is a practice of collecting memories and stories, equating the writer with

[86] Work has been done on the relationship between the detective novel and post-dictatorship, as a format that lends itself to searching for clues about the past. Cánovas' work touches on this for instance, and one need only think of authors such as Vásquez Montalbán in the Spanish context.

the collector who forms an intimate yet independent narrative composed of these various *other* memories.[87] And in a self-referential fashion, the writer-collector is also the reader-observer of his collection, creating intimacy with himself and his text. Because the protagonist's novel can be viewed as a type of collection, writing, or producing, the novel is a performative (post)memory act that revalues memory and collecting. The writing-collection then becomes part of the narrator's life story while it also incorporates others' stories and memories.

In *Formas*, the act of collecting juxtaposes experiences, objects, and texts in the novel that the protagonist writes and the ones that we read. The stories and memories that the protagonist collects are both the "attached documents" that inspire his novel and the narrative material itself.[88] They are both imagined and real, further blurring the line between public and private, collective and individual. In one scene, the protagonist revisits his bedroom at his parents' house to find that it is now a *bodega*, a storage room, filled with disparate memory objects: "Al fondo hay una repisa llena de DVD y los álbumes de fotos arrinconados junto a mis libros, los libros que he publicado. Me parece bello que estén aquí, junto a los recuerdos familiares" (Zambra 78). The combination of DVDs, photo albums, books, and memories visualizes the juxtaposition of experiences, stories, and temporalities within the novel. Instead of being an arbitrary accumultion of words, collecting involves various layers of self-aware precision and purpose: "El simple hecho de escoger, ordenar y concederles cohesión y sentido no solamente a los propios recuerdos, sino también a los de los padres, pone de manifiesto la naturaleza híbrida y a la vez la gran tensión entre lo real, verdadero, referencial y lo interpretado,

[87] *Formas de volver a casa* is devoid of quotation marks or punctuation that indicates dialogue when characters speak. The seamless prose seems to support my reading of the text as a "collection" in the sense that there is no separation between or outright indication of who says what.

[88] I am using the translation of "material adjunto" which figures prominently in *Fuenzalida,* the next novel that I will discuss in this chapter. I prefer to think of this as an optional attachment, akin to footnotes, indexes, or appendixes. Interestingly, Zambra's recent collection of short stories is entitled *Mis documentos* (2014) and his current writing project is about personal book collections.

imaginario y ficcional inherente al *relato de filiación*" (Roos 341). Even though Roos does not use the word "collect," she describes the actions involved in creating a collection of memories ("escoger, oredenar, concederles cohesión y sentido"). The narrator of the novel collects his memories (including the banal, the everyday, the medial), those of his peers (Claudia, Eme, other friends) and his parents, real and speculated. By combining these memories to weave his narrative, another interpretation of the past is possible through fiction, one that becomes equally as "real" or believable.[89] To collect implies that he chooses, creates, and grants order and meaning, as in writing.

Formas de volver a casa is interested in minimal stories that may seem too insignificant to appear in the grand narratives of dictatorship and postdictatorship. The climax of Claudia's story doesn't amount to much, which she confirms when she laments that her family didn't suffer as much as others did. Her story serves as an excuse to revisit the dictatorship in many ways, yet its tangential relationship with the dictatorship lacks the punch that previous testimonies, for instance, may have had. Claudia's story, in the end, is a way for the protagonist to tell his own. In what follows, his description of her story is his novel's theory of (post)memory. He writes that Claudia's story "No era mía. Sabía poco, pero al menos sabía eso: que nadie habla por los demás. Que aunque queramos contar historias ajenas terminamos siempre contando la historia propia" (Zambra 105). In other words, how the protagonist collects and rearranges the memories and stories of others, in this case, of Claudia, reveals more about himself and his own identity, memory, and subjectivity. Towards the end of the novel, he tells Claudia that she's recuperated her past after her trip to Chile as an adult. She explains that she's not sure, but that at least she told him about it. She also states that he only listened to her because he wanted to be with her, in

[89] The protagonist often reflects on when he lied as a child, and also on the truth that destroyed his relationship with Eme. This tension between lies and truths in the novel deserves more attention in future work, especially in how they are learned at home and with family.

a sense fulfilling his childhood crush: "Me has escuchado solamente para verme. Sé que te importa mi historia, pero más te importa tu propia historia" (Zambra 140). Her comment presents the ethical questions of why we tell our own stories and how we use other people's stories. Susan Stewart remarks that the collector's fantasy is to be the producer of the collected objects, because "The collection says the world is given; we are inheritors, not producers, of value here" (164). In accordance with this idea, the protagonist fantasizes with producing and appropriating others' memories, or with having had them himself, since he and his generation have been relegated to the realm of "inheritors, not producers" as children, or secondary characters. Even though the protagonist may be more interested in his own story, Claudia's story nevertheless forms part of his. The narrator's writing-collection, as a theory of (post)memory, is never isolated to the individual.

Many of the accumulated moments that the protagonist collects come from everyday life. These daily activities serve as an anchor point to hold onto when feeling out of place. Furthermore, as memories, they form another home to which one can return, in the form of writing, or narrative. The everyday, along with childhood, become realms of politics or of political potential, resistant to dominant narratives. Childhood moments of daily life are what the narrator describes as "las escenas de los personajes secundarios" (Zambra 122). As a result, according to him, he and Claudia are united forever by a desire to remember and to recover these scenes. Their mission to become protagonists of their own stories, instead of secondary characters in their parents' or others' stories, resonates with other memory projects that seek to give voice to marginalized or overlooked narratives. The narrator proceeds to describe these "secondary" scenes as "razonablemente descartadas, innecesarias, que sin embargo coleccionamos incesantemente" (Zambra 122). The protagonist and Claudia collect scene-

memories that have been cast aside and overlooked, deemed unnecessary, to form another look at the past, perhaps to hold onto something that was really theirs – the everyday. They become characters who perform (post)memory, interpreting the past and present through novelistic structures and fiction writing. Finally, the everyday emerges as part of the literary structure of *Formas* itself. Thus although the novel flirts with politics as a topic, its format is largely what gives it political undertones, for by concentrating on daily life and banal activities, the novel opposes totalizing versions of the past, as in official history or human rights narratives that attempt to convey some sense of truth.[90] Towards the end of the novel, the protagonist mentions that he hasn't written in his diary in a while, indicating that his novel is a diary. Although a minor comment, "Semanas sin escribir en este diario. El verano entero, casi," the reference that equates his novel with a diary highlights the format and process of the novel (Zambra 162). Fragmented and open-ended, diaries are intimate, collected writings that describe daily occurrences. In this way too, the diary is a way to remember, to work through the past, and to return home.

Some of these memories of the everyday emerge in the novel through media and images. Literature and music are important cultural and generational referents that inform the construction of the novel's main characters. Additionally, Valeria de los Ríos recognizes the vital role that photographic and cinematographic images play in the novel, in conjunction with the characters' constant movement, when she writes "La infancia es descrita como un viaje (141), mientras que los protagonistas de la novela dentro de la novela se describen a sí mismos como

[90] This insistence on the everyday can be interpreted as a political position (Willem "Narrar" 66). Lazzara explains that truths are constructed in a variety of settings: "Truths are constructed over dinner tables and in popular culture, just as they are in political speeches, university debates, or in the realm of high art. And sometimes, as I have shown, the truth in discourse stems not from *what is told*, but from the emphasis a given textuality places on the very *difficulties of telling* or on the impossibility of establishing transcendental meanings" (*Chile in Transition* 155). Following this, the form of Zambra's novel becomes its source of truth and politics, more the plot, or what is told.

turistas (137), es decir, como sujetos móviles y en estado de transición, aunque también desarraigados, que coleccionan imágenes" (150). De los Ríos explicitly refers to the act of collecting here, in particular, of images. By comparing the main characters to tourists, the novel emphasizes the visuality and ephemerality associated with remembering. Furthermore, tourists collect souvenirs, *recuerdos*, of the places they visit.

One important audiovisual referent for the protagonist is Patricio Guzmán's *La batalla de Chile*. He remembers seeing the film for the first time and specifically recalls the setting of the film in Maipú, where he grew up. However, the scene in the film is politically charged whereas he remembers his street, Pasaje Aladín, as history-less. The protagonist highlights the contrast between the past and the present in Maipú, between the film's portrayal of workers defending their land and arguing with an official from Allende's government to the his neighborhood named after a storybook character. He connects Allende's Chile, Pinochet's Chile, and post-Pinochet Chile when he describes Maipú as "Las tierras en que luego aparecieron esas villas con nombres de fantasía donde vivimos las familias nuevas, sin historia, del Chile de Pinochet" (Zambra 67). Although he recognizes the disjunction between the time periods, he politicizes his childhood home of made-up names by imagining the country's past through the film. De los Ríos describes this particular technique as montage (a filmic technique): "Así, la película se enlaza con la topografía y por medio de la escritura se realiza un montaje de temporalidades en que el pasado y el presente se unen" (151). Building off of this, I propose the technique be thought of as collage since the juxtaposition is medial, spatial, temporal, and visual. The literary rendering of the filmic montage serves as an appropriate metaphor for the workings of (post)memory.

Montage, as put forth by Sergei Eisenstein, is a visual trope in which the juxtaposition of two images creates a new meaning that did not exist before nor was part of the initial two

images. As a dialectical image, montage places two other images in a dialogic relationship to create new meaning. Textual montage, or collage, in the novel also politicizes childhood. For example, the protagonist recalls how his friend and poet Rodrigo made copies of *La batalla de Chile* on VHS for underground distribution by his parents. Because of this, he knows the documentary by heart. Ironically, while copying the videos, Rodrigo would only pause to watch *Robotech* on TV. However, as a child, the two aesthetics, of *La batalla de Chile* and *Robotech*, seemed compatible, "se encuentran en un mismo nivel, incluso montadas en la experiencia de Rodrigo" (de los Ríos 152). Only later, the adult's present revision of this daily experience perceives childhood as ethically and politically charged. In other words, the juxtaposition of copying the clandestine, political documentary and viewing the imported, animated TV series become politicized through another juxtaposition, of present and past. By extension, TV, as a domestic medium entrenched in daily routine, proves that family and the everyday are also political.

Additionally, TV is a source of national history and personal memory for the protagonist. The novel begins with his memory of the 1985 earthquake on TV, which he claims was the moment when he first thought of death. In retrospect, he recognizes that "La muerte entonces invisible para los ninos como yo, que salíamos, que corríamos sin miedo por esos pasajes de fantasía, a salvo de la historia. La noche del terremoto fue la primera vez que pensé que todo podia venirse abajo. Ahora creo que es bueno saberlo. Que es necesario recordarlo a cada instante" (Zambra 163). The protagonist's memory of the earthquake and his subsequent awareness of pain and death stem from media footage: "La tele mostraba el puerto de San Antonio destruido y algunas calles que yo había visto o creía haber visto en los escasos viajes al centro de Santiago. Confusamente intuía que ése era el dolor verdadero" (Zambra 19). Through

the TV set, the protagonist observes the earthquake's destruction and debris in different parts of Chile. Through these medial observations, he learns about real pain. Yet he did not directly suffer as his compatriots did; rather, he became aware of their suffering through intuition and what was filtered through TV. Ironically, too, other countrymen were suffering from disasters that were not natural, but political, and these were not portrayed on TV.

In addition to forming a medial memory of the 1985 earthquake, TV also introduces Pinochet to the protagonist. In fact, he describes the dictator as a bothersome television personality, who he initially hated for interrupting TV programming:

> para mí era un personaje de la televisión que conducía un programa sin horario fijo, y lo odiaba por eso, por las aburridas cadenas nacionales que interrumpían la programación en las mejores partes. Tiempo después lo odié por hijo de puta, por asesino, pero entonces lo odiaba solamente por esos intempestivos shows que mi papá miraba sin decir palabra, sin regalar más gestos que una piteada más intensa al cigarro que llevaba siempre cosido a la boca. (Zambra 21)

Again, the text uses irony to highlight the political atmosphere surrounding the child's routine of watching TV, even when he felt detached from adult life. As explained in the Introduction, TV contributes to memory-making, in connection with national history and family life. This brief description of the protagonist's memory and perception of Pinochet could also serve as an allegorical representation of what Pinochet did to the country. In other words, his manipulation of television, which interrupted regular programming at the best moments without warning or scheduling, could be likened to his control over the country through the coup and the subsequent dictatorship. In particular, this scene serves as an example of Pinochet's compulsion to repeat the coup. Through television, Pinochet performed his own montage through these interruptions that

juxtaposed his image with various other images, potentially any other image. By doing so, he demonstrated the extent of his power, creating a new meaning out of the juxtaposition of images that did not exist in Pinochet's image alone, or in the interrupted programs. Even though the protagonist as a child didn't hate Pinochet for explicitly political motives until later, as a chile, he still was able to perceive the dictatorship's bothersome presence. The last image of this passage presents the protagonist's father, impotent to a certain degree, similar to how the protagonist feels regarding his writing. The father's watchful silence, accompanied by his intense smoking, is a source of contention for the protagonist throughout the novel. This silence forms part of the protagonist's performative (post)memory, in which he uses writing to fill in the depoliticized gaps of his family's history. What's more, the protagonist associates writing with looking, an action that his father also performed.

One passage from the novel poignantly expresses how performative (post)memory is aesthetically conveyed in contemporary Chilean culture:

> Recordamos más bien los ruidos de las imágenes. Y a veces, al escribir, limpiamos todo, como si de ese modo avanzáramos hacia algún lado. Deberíamos simplemente describir esos ruidos, esas manchas en la memoria. Esa selección arbitraria, nada más. Por eso mentimos tanto, al final. Por eso un libro es siempre el reverso de otro libro inmenso y raro. Un libro ilegible y genuino que traducimos, que traicionamos por el hábito de una prosa pasable. (Zambra 151)

The sounds of images, an impossible and contradictory concept, are the representation of memory. They are the residue or debris that is left over, and they are the alternative imageries that escape language, but that the writer attempts to describe. Fiction (lies) becomes a way for the writer to remember; it is a way to translate (and betray) the other book (stories, histories,

memories). In this sense, fiction relies on the notion of acceptable prose, yet it also leaves out other "manchas" or "ruidos" of memory and of images. The statement that "un libro es siempre el reverso de otro libro inmenso y raro" explains why the novel employs meta-literary techniques, including intertextuality. Drawing on Bakhtin's work on dialogism, Julia Kristeva defines intertextuality as "a mosaic of quotations" since "any text is the absorption and transformation of another," including social and historical context (66). In addition, intertextuality hinges on memory, as a text looks both forward and back from its present enunciation. The narrator articulates a form of intertextual or dialogical relations, through the metaphorical mirror in this quote: the novel is a *mirror*, a reverse image, of another (text). Since the book metaphorically represents home for the writer-protagonist in *Formas*, here, his comments extend from the book to the home. Because Bakhtin's theoretical work lends itself to a metonymical interpretation of human relationships and social constructions, the narrator's notion of the book (text) can also be thought of as a theory of social relations, more explicitly, familial, national, and generational relations.

The above quote eloquently describes aesthetic approaches to representing performative (post)memory in contemporary post-Pinochet culture through the synesthetic juxtaposition of the aural and visual in "los ruidos de las imágenes." Postmemorial practices, in particular, are concerned with reverberations and aftereffects of the previous generation's history. The other texts to be discussed in this and the following chapters, especially the documentary *El eco de las canciones*, also expose the emptiness of language, or the inability to fully express memory and history, opting instead for other sensorial and affective techniques. Synesthesia, as evidenced in this passage, is a possible way to perform the embodied experiences of (post)memory in

literature and film.[91] Because of this emptiness of language and literary conventions, the texts approach memory through more performative practices of writing and filmmaking, undoing the privileging of memory's visual connotations through therapeutic sensory experiences.

Nostalgia to belong

The protagonist's struggle to write is a common topic throughout *Formas*. The writer's feeling of impotence – of not being able to engage texts, of not knowing what to write – mirrors his sensation of not belonging, of not feeling at home. His sterility could be interpreted as a trace, or symptom, of dictatorial effects within the family that produced uncomfortable silences inherited by the children of the dictatorship. Writing, then, becomes a way to combat that discomfort associated with both impotence and displacement. However, even though he writes that he is blank (with political resonance in Chile's "blank" memory), he is *writing* memories, putting them into evidence, and not avoiding them. He creates from that blank spot; his writing is formed from empty space, and he gives shape to the empty space.

The following passage makes evident the hardships of the writing process, drawing the reader's attention to the act of writing (and by extension, reading) that brings the text "to life" in a dialogical fashion. The narrator describes his writer's block after Eme left his house in the following way:

> Intenté después seguir escribiendo. No sé muy bien por dónde avanzar. No quiero hablar de inocencias ni de culpa; quiero nada más que iluminar algunos rincones, los rincones donde estábamos. Pero no estoy seguro de poder hacerlo bien. Me siento demasiado cerca de lo que cuento. He abusado de algunos recuerdos, he

[91] Laura Marks briefly mentions synesthesia as related to cinema spectatorship in *The Skin of the Film* (214-15). Although she claims that because of its relationship to the world, cinema is more prone to synesthesis and mimesis than writing, synesthesia is also present in literature, especially in relation to memory-writing.

> saqueado la memoria, y también, en cierto modo, he inventado demasiado. Estoy de nuevo en blanco, como una caricatura del escritor que mira la pantalla con impotencia. (Zambra 64)

This passage follows a discussion that the protagonist had with Eme, in which they decide to live apart while they try to work on their relationship. He recognizes how difficult writing is without Eme to listen and give him feedback. Although this passage specifically refers to writing without Eme, it provides insight into his writing process in general, especially when dealing with his childhood, his family, and the past in general. First, the writer's confusion (intenté, no sé, no estoy seguro) as to how to proceed is related to the uncertainty of his position as a secondary character forging his own story, a project that seeks to avoid blame. Instead, he simply wants to shine light on his generation's overlooked experiences that take place in darkened corners. The following observation by the narrator reflects the ambiguity of (post)memory for a generation that falls outside polarized versions of the past and of childhood offered up to this point by those who have come before them, "Es como si hubiéramos presenciado un crimen. No lo cometimos, solamente pasábamos por el lugar, pero arrancamos porque sabemos que si nos encontraran nos culparían. Nos creemos inocentes, nos creemos culpables: no lo sabemos" (Zambra 138). Once again, the oscillation between innocence and guilt results in uncertainty, a product of the transitory nature of time ("solamente pasábamos por el lugar").[92] The writer-protagonist also questions the violence and ethics of how he uses memories (abusado, saqueado, inventado). All of this confusion and unknowability results in his *blanqueamiento* and impotence. His interactions with memory seem to indicate excess ("demasiado cerca," "he inventado

[92] These dominant, polarizing narratives come from both sides of the political spectrum. They reflect the political climate of the 1970s, in which ideological opposition was reduced to largely two camps: for or against the dictatorship. One of the problems with this is that ambiguity was not tolerated or given room for expression. The polarization of politics in Chile seems to have affected cultural production for many years.

demasiado," "como una caricature") but to the point that there is nothing ("estoy en blanco"), in a paradoxical cycle.

The protagonist's feelings of being trapped and lost in the writing process are mirrored in his wandering throughout Santiago, as a child and later as an adult.[93] In his travels, he searches to construct or find another sense of home; in other words, home is not the house or the physical structure but his interpretation of it. Notably, the memories that he narrates mostly take place away from or outside the home (in the street after an earthquake, on vacation, walking Claudia home, taking the bus around the city, at school, in the car). However, the home's absence highlights its traceable imprint on the narrator. In one particular scene, the narrator recalls when Eme, his ex-wife, left their house: "De alguna manera siento, todavía, que este espacio es suyo. Por eso me cuesta tanto vivir aquí" (Zambra 55). After his separation from Eme, the protagonist remained in the house, yet he no longer feels at home. This feeling is analogous to his struggle to write without Eme. Consequently, the protagonist longs to belong in his own home, just as he longs to be able to write and to accept his memories. His feelings of displacement also extend to his parents' home and his relationship with them. He fails to "feel at home" in his parents' past and struggles to occupy the corner of their house. Reading the family home as a metaphor for Chile, the protagonist experiences nostalgia for filiation, for belonging, to a national home that has displaced memory from public conversation (Friedman 613). However, unlike national

[93] Towards the beginning of the novel, the narrator reflects on the freedom with which he roamed the streets as a child under the dictatorship: "Ahora no entiendo bien la libertad de que entonces gozábamos. Vivíamos en una dictadura, se hablaba de crímenes y atentados, de estado de sitio y toque de queda, y sin embargo nada me impedía pasar el día vagando lejos de casa" (Zambra 23). The confusion he expresses throughout the text surfaces here as well. Furthermore, he explains how "pero con arrogancia o con inocencia, o con una mezcla de arrogancia e inocencia, los adultos jugaban a ignorar el peligro," thereby infantilizing the adults (Zambra 23).

allegories that promote reconciliatory alliances through family relationships, Zambra's novel maintains and inhabits broken relationships.[94]

Considering the home as a metaphor for nation, the corner along with "la penumbra," reappear time and again as the locations reserved for children, the "secondary characters," during the dictatorship. These places end up also becoming metaphors for the children's emotional position towards their parents. They represent the children of the dictatorship's mixed feelings towards their parents; they cursed their parents for excluding them, but at the same time felt relieved. The paradox of this polysemy also extends to both the interior and exterior of the house: "Ambas entidades se revelaban como algo a lo que se tenía que volver y al mismo tiempo algo de lo que cabía huir" (Willem "Metáfora" 39). The two-way pull of nostalgia on the protagonist – both toward and away from home/nation – causes his feelings of displacement, entrapment, and impotence. In other words, he longs to return home while he simultaneously wishes to run away.

One way to look at history from the present is through nostalgia; however, nostalgia has various manifestations, which Boym's work has aptly begun to explore. Just as there is no singular form of nostalgia, nor is there only one way to return home (indicated by the plural "formas"). The novel directly comments on nostalgia and its complexity in the following passage narrated by the protagonist:

> Pero estoy contra la nostalgia.
>
> No, no es cierto. Me gustaría estar contra la nostalgia. Dondequiera que mire hay alguien renovando votos con el pasado. Recordamos canciones que en realidad

[94] Friedman sees a parallel between the narrator's relationship with Eme and his parents' relationship with the dictatorship: "if his father and mother have not wanted to expose themselves to the wrath of the regime, he is unwilling to risk a passion Eme might reject. His hard-won self-knowledge permits him to 'go home again,' not to change the imperfections of the past, but to settle into a new way of loving his parents ad his estranged wife" (621). Therefore the novel does not "reconcile" the family (allegory) as the literature of 19th century nation-building did.

> nunca nos gustaron, volvemos a ver a las primeras novias, a compañeros de curso que no nos simpatizaban, saludamos con los brazos abiertos a gente que repudiábamos.
>
> Me asombra la facilidad con que olvidamos lo que sentíamos, lo que queríamos. La rapidez con que asumimos que ahora deseamos o sentimos algo distinto. Y a la vez queremos reírnos con las mismas bromas. Queremos, creemos ser de nuevo los niños bendecidos por la penumbra. (Zambra 62)

The narrator begins the passage by contradicting himself to unveil his complex relationship with nostalgia. Longing for a past such as the 1980s in Chile when there was a dictatorship, is quite problematic, as evidenced in criticisms of kitsch approaches to the past. As previously mentioned, the narrator is critical of the present's appeal to a "where were you when" restorative nostalgia instead of reflectively engaging with cultural texts such as film and literature. Here, he is critical of how nostalgia's twinge on reality makes people enjoy or believe they enjoy things they never liked before. Nevertheless, the narrator admits that his novel, too, is stuck in the paradox of nostalgia. Although the protagonist wants to avoid nostalgia for the dictatorial period, he also admits the impossibility of doing so as he rewrites his childhood past in his novel. The experiences of his childhood interwoven with the dictatorship trigger a complex relationship with nostalgia, family, and home. As a result, the narrator both rejects and relishes nostalgia at the same time, leading to his disorientation. His way out of the impasse is to write.

Similarly, the protagonist wants to be in his book, as if it were a home. Following this metaphor, the act of writing is compared to inhabiting. He explains, "O es que me gusta estar en el libro. Es que prefiero escribir a haber escrito. Prefiero permanecer, habitar ese tiempo, convivir con esos años, perseguir largamente imágenes esquivas y repasarlas con cuidado. Verlas

mal, pero verlas. Quedarme ahí, mirando" (Zambra 55). Through the book-as-home figure that is presented in this passage, writing is equated with living in or belonging (estar en, permanecer, habitar, convivir, quedarme). The text allows the writer to occupy time, highlighted by the syntactic predominance of verbs. By emphasizing actions, the protagonist reveals his heightened interest in the process rather than the product. What's more, by lingering in the process of writing, the protagonist-writer reveals his melancholia. In Freud's oft-cited work on mourning and melancholia, he proposes "that melancholia is in some way related to an object-loss which is withdrawn from consciousness, in contradistinction to mourning, in which there is nothing about the loss that is unconscious" (245). In other words, the mournful subject is fully aware of the loss while the melancholic subject lacks such awareness. Consequently, Freud suggests that for mourning to take place, the lost object needs to be replaced whereas in melancholia, the melancholic subject becomes obsessed with recuperating that lost object, or obsessed with its absence. That is to say, melancholia occurs when the subject remains stuck in loss, incorporating the lost object instead of substituting it (the latter substitution overcomes loss, which is the work of mourning). By applying this idea to the novel, if the protagonist-writer has finished the text, then it remains closed off in the past. Yet by preferring actions and process, the protagonist can keep the past open in the present through his melancholic writing.[95] Although Avelar cites Freud to claim that "what is most proper to mourning is to resist its own accomplishment, to oppose its own conclusion," I associate this persistent openness with melancholia, in accordance with Christian Gundermann (4).[96] Applying Butler's work on mourning and melancholia in *The*

[95] Although the writer differentiates between writing and having written, the latter being relegated to the past, the product of the text itself is continually remade through the reading process and thus the text (which is the result of having written) is not locked within the past.

[96] "Avelar, al no trabajar con un marco psicoanalítico, no diferencia entre melancolía y duelo…De hecho, reconozco la similitud entre el concepto de 'trabajo melancólico' (que propongo como alternativa al clásico concepto freudiano de 'trabajo de duelo') y la mayoría de las características afectivas y sus consecuencias sociales que describe Avelar

Psychic Life of Power and *Antigone's Claim* to the melancholic protests and activism of the Madres y Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the organization HIJOS in Argentina, Gundermann insists on "trabajo melancólico" as opposed to mourning (16). According to his definition, melancholic work involves "una incorporación cruda y física del objeto muerto en vez de una simbolización des-materializada como le corrresponde al duelo" (Gundermann 17). Because of this, mourning – specifically in the Southern Cone context – relegates the past to the museum, whereas melancholia brings up the unfinished past, similar to the protagonist-writer's insistence on his unfinished manuscript.

In the writing process, the writer watches images of the past, or memories. Throughout the novel, writing privileges the "look" or "gaze" of the protagonist-writer. Yet this visual practice is translated into text through writing, an embodied, performative act. Just as the protagonist is caught between forsaking and embracing nostalgia in his return home, he perceives his task as a writer as equally complex and contradictory. On the last page of the novel, he describes his job as an "oficio extraño, humilde y altivo, necesario e insuficiente: pasarse la vida mirando, escribiendo" (Zambra 164). The description of writing, as a *strange* process, complements the protagonist's feelings of being out-of-place. Instead of rejecting his in-between, itinerant role, however, he occupies it, recognizing that it is essential and inadequate. Nostalgia, home, family, and memory thus are like his writing: they do not have to conform to one interpretation or version, but are multiple and contradictory.

Nostalgia is more than just a longing for a home, family, or the past in the novel; it is also a longing for representation.[97] Bieke Willem even suggests that the protagonist's nostalgia is for

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como propias del duelo, sobre todo una obstinación intransitiva, un 'no ceder' a las posibles remuneraciones del sistema neoliberal y la reconfiguración radical del espacio cultural y psíquico" (Gundermann 21).

[97] The novel treats "el papel del silencio como huella que ha dejado un sistema totalitario en la convivencia familiar, aunque en un contexto muy distinto" (Roos 346).

"un hogar fracturado que representara quizás mejor los años de la dictadura" ("Metáfora" 39). In other words, the protagonist longs to belong to a home that was a direct victim of dictatorial violence, like Claudia's, a home *with* dead people and books. In *Formas*, this representational crisis becomes a generational problem: "la dificultad de manejar el vacío en el que consiste la herencia de los padres. De ahí la melancolía que impregna las historias de Zambra: dan cuenta de una pérdida, de un vacío, sin que se sepa muy bien qué se ha perdido, qué es lo que no se puede representar" (Willem "Metáfora" 39). The protagonist's struggle for representation of his experiences echoes theories of allegory, which attempts to make palpable the breach between representation and meaning, or signifier and signified. The impossibility of representation is a necessary component of allegory, according to Avelar.[98] However, allegory is more than just a defeat of representation, but is also a failed reading, as Willem argues, citing Paul De Man ("Metáfora" 39). The gap that represents the inability for a one-to-one relationship (in terms of both representation and interpretation) is another "in-between" that expresses the place of the children of the dictatorship generation. Following this, allegory, in its most basic definition, is a mode of representing the unrepresentable, with clear implications for the narration of trauma.[99]

I would add, too, however, that even though the protagonist's home was not overtly shattered by the authoritarian regime, the protagonist's discomfort at home is an aftereffect of his country's violent past and neoliberal present since he still struggles to understand his place in it.

[98] "The impossibility of representing the totality is one of the sources of allegory, because allegory is a trope that thrives on breaks and discontinuities, as opposed to the unfractured wholeness presupposed by the symbol" (Avelar 11). Willem explains that Zambra's novels differ from the postdictatorial texts that Avelar analyzes because they are full of banality and lack the "aura" that Avelar seeks. She claims that Zambra lacks the dramatic, tragic dimension of the ruins that Avelar discusses ("Metáfora" 38). Perhaps this is where debris could provide a more apt description of the residues of dictatorship that Zambra addresses.

[99] Cathy Caruth put forth the idea that trauma defies complete comprehension and hence, representation in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996). Willem, however, proposes that *Formas* challenges the idea that there is something left unsaid, or that something is not representable. The example of the absence of dead people in the protagonist's family, for her, "insinúa que no hay nada indecible, que los narradores de Zambra simplemente no tienen nada que decir. O mejor dicho: ya no tienen nada que decir sobre ese dolor que afectó a sus padres" ("Metáfora" 38).

Nostalgia, then, is a way for the protagonist to express a lack of representation of his ambiguous position in the present, which he ultimately attempts to work through in his writing. Willem suggests that he is nostalgic for a more adequate representation, for fitting in better with his past but also with his present. But his "not fitting in" is precisely what makes him fit in with those of his generation. In other words, the "in-between" space that the narrator occupies as he wanders through the streets and plays in the corners of the house creates a common identity that hinges on displacement and not belonging.

Fuenzalida: Trash Collection and Televisual Imagination

Building on Benjamin's work on the collection, I apply this to trash collection in Nona Fernández's *Fuenzalida*. Whereas both *Formas* and *Fuenzalida* engage in collecting and arranging minimal histories, memories, and stories, the latter also takes up discarded and found material objects as traces of the past-in-the-present. Because of this attention to materiality and daily life, I look to Benjamin's concept of aura to explain the presence that trash acquires in the novel. What's more, the various usages of aura shed light on the photo-as-trash-object, the material remainder that is the starting point for the protagonist's memory and narration in *Fuenzalida*. The notion of aura, from Benjamin's work, is unstable and unclear, changing throughout his writings and often encompassing incompatible ideas. As "a cluster of meanings and relations…in various configurations," aura has been understood differently depending on which text is cited (Hansen 339). The two most oft-cited definitions of aura from Benjamin have either equated it with a unique distance surrounding the phenomenon or with the way perception grants the phenomenon the ability to look back at the person who contemplates it. In addition, Hansen proposes a third usage, which describes the aura "as an elusive phenomenal substance,

ether, or halo, that surrounds a person or object of perception, encapsulating their individuality and authenticity" (340). This "halo," however, is not the aura that may be granted to an object because it is unique, either artistically or artisanally. Rather, it refers to a proletarian, everyday aura that pervades objects because of their use and material relationship with the user. Citing Benjamin's "Little History of Photography," Hansen remarks, "The aura of objects such as clothing or furniture stands in a metonymic relation to the person who uses them or has been using them" (340). This definition of aura, according to Hansen, is related to "the logic of the trace, the indexical dimension, or existential bond, in photographic signification" (340). Because of this last definition's relationship with the indexical quality of photography, I prioritize what Benjamin describes as the "aura of the habitual" due to the primary role that photography plays in *Fuenzalida* (*Arcades Project* 461). At the same time however, because the object of interest in *Fuenzalida* is a photograph, it occupies the other two usages of aura as well. A photograph, as a piece of art from the past grants the object and its image with a unique distance, both near and far. In this sense, the photograph contains both trace and aura, from Benjamin's later definition of both in *The Arcades Project*: "The trace is the appearance of a nearness, however far removed the thing that left it behind may be. The aura is the appearance of a distance, however close the thing that calls it forth. In the trace, we gain possession of the thing; in the aura, it takes possession of us" (447). Although this particular definition sets up the aura and the trace as opposites, they are intertwined in some of Benjamin's earlier writings. Nevertheless, I contend the photograph in *Fuenzalida* is an example of the tension between this nearness and distance that hinge on perception. It also echoes the complexity of the in-between that the generation of *los hijos de la dictadura* experiences, both near and far away from the dictatorship. By interpreting collecting in these novels as creative and therapeutic performances of (post)memory,

I read the collection of memory objects and stories as expressions of the novels' and their protagonists' struggles between possessing their own memories and having the memories of others take hold of them.

Photo as Trash Object

After finding a photo of a Kung Fu fighter in the trash on the street outside her house, the unnamed protagonist of *Fuenzalida* is convinced that the man in the image is her father – Fuenzalida – and she begins to imagine her father's possible story years after he left her and her mother for another family that he had formed. She proceeds to imagine her father's life as a martial arts master. She describes the photograph, as it appeared in the street, grabbing her attention because of its reflection in the light, "una especie de voz de auxilio desde el cemento húmedo" (Fernández 17). The personification of the photo appeals to the protagonist and echoes a usage of aura that grants the object the ability to respond. The photo is in need of rescue so that its history can be reimagined and narrated. Upon closer inspection, the glow disappears and the faded paper is all that remains. The protagonist describes the image:

> La imagen velada de algo que ocurrió en otro momento, lejos de esta calle vacía, el destilado de una escena imposible de resucitar. No hay forma de saber el camino que recorrió antes de llegar aquí. Cuánta gente la vio, por qué cajones anduvo, qué bolsillos cruzó. Tampoco se puede precisar en qué momento y por qué razón se transformó en basura. Cuándo dejó de estar expuesta en un marco o en las páginas de un álbum para ir a dar a un tarro con el resto de las mugres que ahora la acompañan. (Fernández 17)

In the novel's first paragraph, the protagonist mourns the impossibility of bringing the image to life again ("una escena imposible de resucitar;" "No hay forma de saber;" "Tampoco se puede precisar") while she also recognizes the impossibile task of fully reconstructing the image's history. The narrative explores those imposible moments, through imagination. By bringing to the forefront the impossibility of historical truth, the narrator undoes expectations of veracity and verisimilitude; yet at the same time this recognition of impossibility lends her a more credible voice. As a material object, the photograph contains history, or rather, aura, in its image and in its circulation between people and places (drawers, pockets, streets, frames, albums). The life of the photograph-as-object and the life of the photograph-as-image remain a mystery. In the end, the protagonist's novel is constructed from the writer's imagination of what the photograph represents. As a result, the novel becomes an act of faith in the protagonist's father, granting him a particular aura in the sense that he responds to her.

Trash is excess that is no longer needed. However, paradoxically, that which has been discarded defines what one has and who one is, as a literal and metaphorical component of capitalist logic. Yet if a photo is a trash object, as in the case of *Fuenzalida*, its status as an object that has been discarded from the capitalist (life) cycle is somewhat altered. The photo is a personal aesthetic object, a material memory, yet as both material object and waste, it is inserted into the seemingly perpetually present cycle of capitalism, devoid of history.[100] Gillian Pye, in her article on rubbish in Wolfgang Hibish's literature, describes trash objects as "repositories of memory, metonymically recalling their past lives by bearing the imprints of the bodies of their users and/or operating in a Proustian sense by triggering spontaneous and involuntary memory.

[100] The photo-as-trash-object signals its status as both commodity and non-commodity: "The consumption cycle, perhaps more of a spiral in its dialectical movement, acknowledges that objects not only move in and out of commodification as such but that their status as commodities (and their meaning as a commodity) is constantly in flux. Objects can be, and are, simultaneously commodities and non-commodities" (Silverstone 124).

Here the rubbish object offers a springboard to a contiguously related memory. Unless the viewer has intimate knowledge of the lost other, however, the rubbish object as metonym must lead towards emptiness and absence" (263-64). Although trash objects are considered discarded items from daily life, such as food scraps or used paper products, the photograph in the novel is also identified as trash, found amongst quotidian waste in the street. Because of this I ask, how can we think of a photo as a trash object? If trash indicates excess, that which is not needed, the photo, on the other hand, as an intimate index, is not usually considered common waste. What's more, a personal (family) photo is not usually included within the "capitalist" or "consumerist" system in the same way as ordinary, everyday trash, due to the photo's low use-value or exchange-value outside of an intimate circle. Otherwise priceless objects, photos escape normal currency and contain instead memory value. Related to this, too, is the Benjaminian aura that pervades the objects through their material relationship to users. As such, the photo-as-trash-object contains multiple connotations of aura, as art, index, material, memory, and mirror.

Memory value escapes the market logic of exchange-value and use-value through its excess, a common trait of photography and trash. Both lie outside, beyond the threshold, which, in its extreme, is death. Photography and trash are reminders of eventual death and mortality through their lived materiality that communicates time past. Trash is a mirror for our inescapable end "because we have been waste material since the very beginning of time" (La Porta 282). As a result, trash can cause greater self-awareness: "'trash,' which nowadays can be translated into language and knowledge, can bring us (if considered carefully) to a greater awareness of the truth of the human condition, our abandonment and waste" (La Porta 282). In the novel, the protagonist's self-contemplation often takes place when she is waiting for the trash to be collected. In the trajectory of garbage she reads a rather hopeless analogy of progression towards

death: “La basura es un pozo ciego del que no se puede salir. De un tarro basurero se pasa a una bolsa plástica. De la bolsa plástica a un camión recolector, del camión a una estación de transferencia y de ahí a un relleno sanitario o a un vertedero” (Fernández 69). Following this same route, the novel’s progression moves from initially finding the trash object in the street to finally arriving at the garbage dump.

Garbage’s potential to provoke self-contemplation thus expands exponentially when a photo is the trash object because of photography’s mirror-like and indexical qualities. Death is twofold in the photo-as-trash-object, provoking its narrative to engage in self-reflexive memory practices.[101] In Barthes’ seminal work on photography, *Camera Lucida*, a deep reflection on and mourning of his mother’s death, he brings attention to photography’s juxtaposition of life and death: “For the photograph's immobility is somehow the result of a perverse confusion between two concepts: the Real and the Live: by attesting that the object has been real, the photograph surreptitiously induces belief that it is alive, because of that delusion which makes us attribute to Reality an absolute superior, somehow eternal value; but by shifting this reality to the past (‘this-has-been’), the photograph suggests that it is already dead” (79). The same tension between life and death surfaces in *Fuenzalida*’s use of the photograph. For Barthes, every photograph reminds the viewer of the photographed subject’s death (actual or imagined) as well as his/her own death. As Hansen has explained, Barthes’ work on photography echoes Benjamin’s work on the aura; here, “the ominous aspect of aura” emerges in the photograph’s ability to produce “self-alienating encounters with an other, older self” (Hansen 342). Photographs represent, then, the

[101] Pedro Lemebel uses a similar trope throughout his *crónicas*, of the *doble desaparecido* or *doblemente desaparecido*, doubly disappeared.

passage of time, even if death has occurred or is merely foreshadowed.[102] It is thus not surprising that the protagonist's father dies towards the end of the novel, for in a sense, he was already dead to her. She alludes to her father's metaphorical death when she contemplates attending his funeral: "Un fantasma que vive en un pasado confuso, penando a veces en los escasos recuerdos que tengo, no puede ser enterrado. La verdad es que no se puede enterrar dos veces al mismo muerto" (Fernández 165). As this last sentence states, her father, at least for her, was already dead, a ghostly presence that haunted her.

Likewise, a photo-as-trash-object further blurs the lines between public and private, by straddling both. The photo of her father – an intimate image-object in the novel – becomes a matter of public waste by being discarded in the trash bin. Yet the photo is collected and reinserted in the protagonist's private world to then become part of the novel's public circulation. Trash occupies a grey area and blurs the boundaries between metonymical and metaphorical and functions as both "immediate (emotional) trigger" and "material to be interpreted or re-used by the cultural historian" due to its "precarious position…at the threshold between private and public" (Pye 264). The novel further accentuates the photo's liminal position as trash object by spanning both reality and fiction as well as past and present. Although photos and trash serve as memory objects, trash is associated more with everyday, routine memories. Trash objects serve as witnesses to daily life and they attempt to prevent amnesia by bringing attention to their lived purpose. Because of this, the photo as trash object intertwines "special" big memory moments with ordinary, daily ones.[103]

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[102] "In front of the photograph of my mother as a child, I tell myself: She is going to die: I shudder… over a catastrophe which has already occurred. Whether or not the subject is already dead, every photograph is this catastrophe" (Barthes 96).

[103] It's important to keep in mind how photography has changed with digitalization. The theorization of photography that I cite refers to an older type of photo, in which the everyday was not as prominent. Now, with digital technologies, the everyday is photographed as well and photographs are "dumped" into cyberspace at a much higher rate than they were discarded before.

When the protagonist's memory is uncertain, she creates memories to the point that she believes them and incorporates them into her story. The photo portrays a man who looks directly at the protagonist, "[e]l hombre me mira desde la fotografía" (Fernández 18). The photo's aura, here, stems from its ability to return the protagonist's gaze, and as such, "Whether conceptualized in terms of a constitutive lack, split, or loss, this other gaze in turn confronts the subject with a fundamental strangeness within and of the self" (Hansen 345). The photograph's "gaze" accounts for the protagonist's subsequent self-exploration and feelings of alienation. As a result, she embarks on a journey to write her novel, to work through this "strangeness" within her self and estrangement from her father.

The protagonist begins to remember or believe she remembers what she sees in the photo in order to narrate her father's life, in an attempt to explain why he abandoned her. In the end, although the details of the photo are fuzzy or even left out of the image, she remembers them: the caps on his teeth, the chain around his neck: "Tiene una corona de oro en alguno de [sus dientes]. En los de arriba, creo. Eso no se ve en la foto, pero yo lo recuerdo. Un par de patillas gruesas le enmarcan la cara y una cadena metálica le cuelga del pecho. Al final de ella hay un toro. Eso también lo recuerdo. Un toro de plata o de oro, no lo sé. Qué importa" (Fernández 18). By mentioning the crowns in her father's teeth, the protagonist convinces herself of her own memory because it is a detail that escapes the visual reproduction of the man in the photo. At the end of this passage, however, the protagonist isn't convinced, "no lo sé," and gives up "Qué importa." In the end, her attempt to remember reality is futile, yet by placing that impossibility on the page, she performs memory's combination of reality and fiction. On the back of the photo, there is indistinguishable handwriting, words that appeared to have been written by a child a long time ago. Unable to make out the words on the back, the protagonist explains that "El recuerdo

solo me permite descifrar una palabra demasiado reconocible: *Fuenzalida*" (Fernández 18). In this instance, the protagonist is aware that the story she narrates is based on the desire to remember. Her memory pushes her to see what she wants to see – her father's name – not necessarily what is actually there, as she claims she was the child who wrote on the back of the photo. As in *Formas*, the protagonist engages in the act of decoding (*descifrar*), a childlike activity that pieces together mysterious details similar to a detective. At the same time, by placing herself in the position as creator of the writing, she partakes in the fantasy of being the "producer" of the collectable object.

The protagonist owns no photos of her father, which is why she treasures the one from the street. As a child growing up in her mother's house, she had no photos of her father either, because her mother had cut off his head in all the pictures. The protagonist describes these as mutilated photos, with "hoyos negros tijereteados. Espacios en blanco, interrogantes. Muchos Fuenzalidas cercenados, decapitados, eliminados" (Fernández 35). As blank, questioning spaces, the photos and decapitated bodies ask to be filled. The violence of cutting the photos also repeats the silences that communicate trauma within the family and allegorically, within Chile. Fuenzalida's removal from the photos was meant to erase him from the family, yet it provides traces of his existence, a possible metaphor for the disappeared in Chile. Instead of discarding the photos completely, the protagonist's mother elects to selectively dispose of uncomfortable reminders of the past in order to preserve the images of her daughter. In this way, the heads are trash fragments of the photograph. These excess reminders are missing, thrown into the trash, similar to the remains of the disappeared. At the same time, the fragmented photos in the novel haunt Fuenzalida's family just like the fragmented bodies of the disappeared haunt Chile's social landscape, as present absences. The photos, although personal, along with Fuenzalida's history,

lend themselves to collective identification through their non-specificity. At the same time, this non-specificity or unknowability also creates utopian undertones in the protagonist's reimagination of her father's life. The novel suggests that these "holes" in national and familial history have to be reckoned with and that the disappeared and mutilated need to be imagined when their stories have not surfaced.

At one point, the protagonist imagines her father's heads from the photos in a garbage can: "Me pregunto dónde habrán ido a parar todas las cabezas de Fuenzalida que mi madre tijereteó de sus fotos. Imagino un grupo grande tirado en el tarro de la basura de su cocina. Muchas caras de Fuenzalida mirándome desde ahí dentro mezcladas con cáscaras de huevo y restos de arroz" (Fernández 137). The pieces of photos that form Fuenzalida's body for the protagonist, more specifically his head, are also pieces of trash. In a sense, they represent Fuenzalida's absence and his death for his daughter. Yet, her creative imagination transforms the mutilated photos as pieces of daily trash, mixed with food scraps. The trash bin is also a place of renewal that materializes through the protagonist's writing by highlighting trash's potential transition from death to life, Garbage embodies contradictory and conflicting symbols: waste materials "are dangerous and fascinating, the apocalypse, seduction, the *beauty* of the *unsightly*, and a relic and reminder of what is human. They are the sign of a threatening, ambiguous, creativity since they are unpredictable and therefore unavoidable" (Vergine 23). Salvaging trash in the novel, then, becomes a way of rescuing Fuenzalida and the protagonist herself by creating a memory narrative. I link the protagonist's imaginative act of collecting her father's heads with mourning and melancholia, since both the mournful self and the collector "make a rescuing operation of the act of remembrance" through "his/her mute and melancholy stare upon an object" that "detaches it from all connections, turns it into an emblem of what has been lost, an

allegorically charged monad" (Avelar 4). Here, especially, the heads are literally *detached* from the bodies and from the photos, becoming representations of the lost object, mourned through narration.

After discovering this photo in the street, the protagonist shows it to her ex-husband, Max, and tells him that the man who appears is her father. Incredulous, he questions if she's sure it's her father, asking her "¿No te estarás pasando películas?" an appropriate question since her work writing *culebrones* informs her imaginative creation of Fuenzalida (Fernández 30). She refutes Max's disbelief by explaining that she took the picture, gave it to her father, and signed the back over 30 years ago. She continues to assume that it's a personal relic that fell out of her father's trash, meaning that he lives on her street even though she knows this is false because they have never crossed paths in the neighborhood. Max asks her if she would even recognize Fuenzalida if she ran into him in the street, and she begins to wonder what her father looks like. She tries to remember his appearance, but is unable to do so, as she states "No hay más respuesta que las imágenes sueltas deambulando en mi cabeza…Ni siquiera puedo resucitar un rostro definitivo. Se me escapan las facciones, los colores, las formas. Solo quedan retazos de Fuenzalida. Un ángulo de su ojo derecho, un primer plano de sus bigotes. El resultado es una imagen difusa. Fantasmagórica, como la de esta fotografía" (Fernández 31-32). Like a photo, her father is a haunting, absent presence, a trace. She is unable to give him a complete form, but rather can only remember him in bits and pieces. The protagonist's attempt to describe her father theorizes memory as fragmentary, ephemeral, and spectral. The narrative explores and inhabits these fragments of the protagonist's memory and becomes an on-going exercise instead of a completed action. By proposing the possible story of the photo to her ex-husband and her mother, the protagonist engages in a form of research for her writing, testing the audience. She is

consistently aware of the construction of her story, and the creative process guides her writing. She casts doubt on her own story by saying "creo que recuerdo" or "quizás" because she's not sure that she remembers, forcing herself to remember potentially false memories from the pictures (Fernández 35). This doubt is similar to the protagonist's insecurity about writing. In this sense, memory is never completely reality or fiction, truth or lies, but rather is both.

Aesthetically, memory's description as "una imagen difusa," resonates with *Formas*' "ruidos de las imágenes" mentioned in the first section of this chapter. Memory is a hybrid and malleable concept – as both truth and/or lie – that allows the protagonist-writers of both novels to navigate different aspects of the past and the present and to effectively explore the therapeutic aspects of writing. At times, memory may allow for a type of "redress" of reality's errors, and in turn, becomes more "true" than reality. In other instances, memory reveals trauma and its effects. As a result, memory becomes an unwanted truth that the protagonists reject, making it seem more like a lie. Ultimately, memory's subjectivity affects how the protagonists interpret its role, as truth and/or lie, with implications for how they invent memory and how memory relates to reality (if they coincide or not). Reality, too, consequently, becomes malleable and performative.

Materiales adjuntos: Attached, Adjunct Material

As a scriptwriter of *culebrones* (soap operas), the protagonist enumerates the following for a successful *culebrón*: "romance, ajuste de cuentas del pasado, una muerte y, en lo posible, la presencia de un niño" (Fernández 21) (love, revenge, death, child). Later in the novel, the protagonist adds another item to her list of necessary ingredients for a successful *culebrón*:

materiales adjuntos.[104] Explaining that the ideas and inspiration for writing a story come from these materials, she equates them with the story's "bing bang." According to her, anything can serve as one of these materials: "Una fotografía vieja, una película en la tele, una noticia escuchada en la radio, un recuerdo confuso, un chiste, todo puede llegar a ser un material adjunto. Pedazos de realidad, astillas de lo cotidiano que quedan clavadas en algún lugar de la cabeza. No tienen protagonismo en la historia porque no participan de ella, son más bien una excusa para convocarla" (Fernández 119). Similar to how the protagonist of *Formas* uses Claudia's stories as a pretext to narrate his own, the *materiales adjuntos* serve as a pretext for the protagonist of *Fuenzalida* to tell her own story and to write her novel. The arrangement of these collected materials informs the format and structure of *Fuenzalida*, as a narrative divided into sections that address multiple temporalities and combine a variety of texts, moods, genres, and voices.

Fuenzalida's aura is intrinsically attached to how the photograph (as *material adjunto*) was acquired. In the novel, the protagonist describes the "luck" of finding *materiales adjuntos* in the following way: "los materiales adjuntos no se encuentran, llegan solos, sin que se les busque" (Fernández 120). They seem to have their own life, "llegan solos," attributing them with a magical aura that is reflected in the protagonist's opinion of her father. The protagonist's narrative of the *materiales adjuntos* as one of luck aligns her with Stewart's description of the collector, who "constructs a narrative of luck which replaces the narrative of production" (165). In the novel, the "truth" the protagonist knows is the one associated with her acquisition of the photo, not the history behind the photo, or its "production." Instead, the "narrative of production" is imagined, to the point that it becomes equally believable.

[104] "Adjunto" can be translated as attached or adjunct. Although the more obvious meaning in this context is attached, as in an attached document, I also want to consider the precarious position embedded in the other definition, adjunct.

The novel's description of *materiales adjuntos* resembles collection in many ways: the *materiales adjuntos* are mysterious or mystical because they arrive own their own instead of being sought out; they are autobiographical; they require imagination. These characteristics further allow us to examine the work of (post)memory in the novel, as inherited and created, indexical (directly experienced or lived) and imagined. Similar to found footage, the novel's *materiales adjuntos* are found objects that are rearranged or repurposed to create another narrative. In what follows, I will discuss the novel's first *material adjunto*, a photo found in the street outside the protagonist's house, after having been thrown in the neighbor's trash and missed by the trash collectors.

In *Fuenzalida*, only the writer-protagonist knows how the *materiales adjuntos* are used within the story. The protagonist compares them to delicate artisanry, which echoes memory's materiality and ephemerality: "Solo el autor maneja esas delicadas piezas de la artesanía. Solo él sabe la estrecha relación que tienen con lo que se cuenta. Porque lo que importa en un culebrón es la historia y no de dónde viene ni cómo se conjuró. Ese lugar de conjuro personal, ese pedazo de realidad con el que se convoca el relato es, y será siempre, un material adjunto" (Fernandez 120). What matters in the *culebrón* is the personal story, the intimate source of inspiration based on the writer's reality. At the same time, the protagonist offers a new perspective on the *culebrón*, personalizing it and challenging its association with dominant narratives that emphasize morality and escapism.

The imaginative use of *materiales adjuntos* is an example of how memory narratives hinge on the mixture of reality and fiction, which Ana Ros confirms when she writes "El espacio híbrido entre verdad y ficción es propio de la literatura de memoria" (341). In *Fuenzalida*, the protagonist explains that she knew she would write about her father when she found out he had

died. That's when she decided she would write both things at once: "documental y culebrón, realidad y ficción, verdad y mentira, o más bien mentira sobre mentira, porque al final de la historia qué otra cosa es escribir. Como fuera, el punto de partida sería una foto que me llegó a la casa y que efectivamente fue la llave para entrar a este relato. Uno de mis materiales adjuntos reales, no inventados" (Fernández 259-260). The photo, once again, appears as a *material adjunto*, a real-life object that serves as a starting point for the protagonist's imagination. Although she begins by naming different dichotomies such as reality and fiction, truth and lie, she realizes that all writing is fictional, or lies about lies. Furthermore, she mentions that *materiales adjuntos* can be both real and invented. *Fuenzalida*'s mixture of reality and fiction complicates straightforward readings of the novel and encourages readers to critically engage with the text; the welding of these two supposedly separate spheres is performed through the protagonist's reflections on the process of writing the novel that is being read. This repeats a similar idea seen in *Formas*, in which the mixture of reality and fiction produces authentic inventions, enactments, and performances, through the truth of subjective memory.

Near the end of the novel, after finding out her father has died, she receives a letter from her half-brother with a couple of photos that Fuenzalida had kept of her. The protagonist had given the photos to her father years ago. Her half-brother, Ernesto, sent the photos back to her because he thought she would know what to do with them. The protagonist describes one of the photos as the same one she found at the beginning of the novel outside her house. She calls the photo "Un ayudamemoria de la persona que alguna vez conocí" (Fernández 262). Consequently, this photo was signed on the back by the protagonist as a little girl with the same inscription she imagined seeing in the photo she found in the street. Ending with this photo, once again, the novel mixes fiction with reality (within the narrative). Where fiction begins and reality ends

remains unknown; their interpretations depend on personal experience and imagination. This cyclical return to the photo – as an index of reality, of a past moment – questions the narrative's plausibility and requires that the reader critically engage with the memory narrative, as a writerly text. The novel, in this way, underlines its construction by undermining its logic. At the same time, the photo's "actual" existence at the end of the novel lends credibility to the protagonist and her story. This move is what I include in the performative or meta-textual tendency of (post)memory narratives written by the *hijos de la dictadura*.

Photography is more than just material and visual matter in the novel. It is also a metaphor for the protagonist's fading memories and the life (or minilives) that she never experienced with her father. As she waits for the garbage truck to collect her trash after her son has been taken to the hospital, the protagonist confuses various scenes and temporalities. This moment of waiting is analogous to a photo that was never taken with her father:

> Una fotografía que aún no ha sido tomada. En ella Fuenzalida y yo posamos juntos para la cámara. Una escena a punto de ocurrir u ocurrida hace mucho tiempo. Una que ya no existe o que quizá nunca existió, pero que está ahí, molestando. Si la conozco, ya no me acuerdo. Si participé de ella, ya no lo sé. Es una escena perdida. Continuamente creo tenerla en la punta de la lengua, al filo de la memoria. A veces hasta puedo sentirla en la yerma de los dedos, lista para ser escrita, pero cuando trato de convocarla, la muy tramposa desaparece. Se va. Vuelve a perderse entre recuerdos viejos. Se mezcla con imágenes inventadas, con espejismos del futuro y del pasado…Tanto tiempo esperando este momento y todavía no estoy preparada. Nunca lo estaré. Siento que es demasiado temprano

para que se lleven mi basura. Vuelvo a tener doce años en el frontis de mi casa. (Fernández 70)

First, the scene begins at the threshold, a liminal site or experience evoked by remembering and imagining. The passage also ends with the threshold, literally, in the doorframe of the house, as the protagonist identifies with her twelve-year-old self once again. As a scene that is about to happen or that already happened, it occurs in a liminal place and time. It may or may not be true, but it is the protagonist's reality. In the end, the memory scene's verisimilitude, truth, authenticity, or reality is unimportant; what matters is how it affects the protagonist. Even though the scene is a mirage, disappearing and tricking the protagonist and mixing with other invented memories, it feels real, and that perception makes the memory authentic. The reference to trash in the passage also alludes to memory as an ephemeral trace or remnant of the castaway objects or scenes that are classified as disposable. The protagonist rescues these marginal and peripheral memories from oblivion and repurposes them through imagination. Her work is unfinished, evidenced by her statement that it is too early to have her trash taken away.

Controlling the TV Script: Imagination and Reflection

Although the protagonist's life seems out of her control at various moments in the novel, she is able to control the TV script of the *culebrón* that she writes. In the narration of the novel, TV runs parallel to real life. It often provides the background noise to moments of waiting that abound in the novel.[105] For example, while the protagonist waits for her son to come out of surgery at the hospital, she is painfully aware of her lack of control over what's happening to him. On the other hand, she knows what's will happen in the *culebrón* that she wrote, *Unidad de*

[105] For instance, the television programming in the hospital waiting room plays in the background: "Solo se escucha el ruido interminable de un televisor emitiendo la programación del día. El noticiario, notas de farándula, el culebrón de turno, los comerciales" (Fernández 127).

Urgencias, which plays on the television in the waiting room. However, when the last episode of the series is interrupted in the waiting room, the reader doesn't know what happens to the characters; instead, we find out that the protagonist's son survived his operation. The TV series' conclusion was ultimately irrelevant to the events in the protagonist's life.

Towards the beginning of the novel, the protagonist explains that the *culebrones* follow a certain logic while life doesn't: "En un culebrón yo sé reaccionar, sé lo que debo hacer, cómo actuar, qué decir. Adivino quién es el bueno y quién es el malo, sé dónde está el peligro, lo esquivo o me enfrento a él, pero sé dónde está porque yo misma lo invento" (Fernández 21). Accordingly, the style of the novel approximates a screenplay or a script at times. For example, the first time that the series plays on TV, we read a description of the action that is undifferentiated from the family's drama due to a lack of introduction or contextualization. Only later when the protagonist viewing the screen stops watching the show, does the reader realize that the text referred to a *culebrón* and not the protagonist's life. The mixture of both provides commentary on the role of TV in people's lives, and also draws attention to the novel's textual montage. As an arrangement of the text, montage attempts to give order to the various narrative pieces that compose the novel, similar to the protagonist's organization of collections in his writing and his home in *Formas*.[106] The protagonist's attempt to give order or control to a moment in her life where there was none (her son's hospitalization) was only a temporary

[106] Max stands in front of the TV at the hospital, but the protagonist can distinguish what is shown on the screen: "Por detrás de su cabeza intuyo el fin de un capítulo y luego el comercial de una nueva línea de cosméticos antiarrugas. La historia de Genoveva Urmeneta o Urqueta, ahora creo que es Urqueta, quedará pendiente para otro momento" (Fernández 117). Interestingly, although the protagonist wrote this series, she doesn't remember details (or speaks as if she doesn't remember them), such as Genoveva's last name or what happens at the end of the series. These details create another line of suspense in the novel, which in the end, aren't the focus of the plot. This type of distraction seems to challenge the reader to engage in a more critical reading of the novel, in order to determine what is being included and what is being left out and why. This reading practice clearly has implications for memory exercises.

distraction from the truth that she had to confront: life, as well as memory, often follow their own logic and are ultimately fleeting.

The television format allows the protagonist to imagine the past. Through the series, or collection, of episodes, the mystical and mythological world of Fuenzalida (father and novel) is built. The practice of writing a TV series is mirrored in the novel's structure, which is divided into five parts, with enumerated subdivisions, *capítulos* (episodes), like a *culebrón*. The novel even begins with the narrator's description of a successful TV drama's components and proceeds to use them as she imagines and writes her father's past. The protagonist uses her televisual imagination to construct the memory narrative of her father, along with material objects such as family photographs, newspaper articles, and trash. The juxtaposition of media highlights memory's ephemerality and malleability. Similar to the practices of textual montage discussed in the first part of this chapter on *Formas*, *Fuenzalida* repurposes and reappropriates the past through public and private documents as well as genres in order to create new meanings.

The protagonist's writerly imagination is influenced by TV and by movies that were, coincidentally, often seen on a TV set. The protagonist compares her father to a martial arts' movie hero and inserts him as a participant in the politics of the dictatorship. However, when she imagines him, she's not sure whether he would be the bad guy or the good guy. The protagonist explains that if she had to remember her father, it would be "Como el héroe o el villano de una película de acción añeja" (Fernández 60). The story that she develops thus presents Fuenzalida as a hero, while the right-winged lieutenant, Fuentes Castro, is also described with the same language as her father.[107] This description, which repeats at least three times in the novel,

[107] Both Fuentes Castro and Fuenzalida are politically ambiguous. In the story, Fuentes Castro is a military lieutenant who is also trained in martial arts like Fuenzalida. Because he let too many detained persons go, a higher ranking official, a colonel, is ordered to kill him. However, Fuentes Castro anticipates the planned assassination and goes into hiding since now he has enemies on both sides (military and opposition). Another military official, Luis

addresses the men's athletic agility: "Fuenzalida se mueve como un animal. Posee la asertividad de un tigre, la elegancia de una cobra, la ferocidad de un dragón. Es extremadamente económico en sus movimientos, sabe lo que hace y no necesita actuar de más" (80, 103, Fuentes Castro with same description: 179). The novel also repeats Fuenzalida's speech that encourages a good fighter to know his enemy/adversary as well as himself, in addition to scenes with his family (diving into the pool, sitting inside the church). These repetitions serve a few different purposes: first, repetition has been traditionally associated with acting out trauma; second, repetition is a form of rehearsal, related to performance; third, repetition is a characteristic of TV format, as series and flow, and also as a way to create tropes and cues that communicate messages to viewers; finally, the repetitions are ambiguous because they can apply to either a hero or a villain. Although this ambiguity is largely a result of the protagonist's complicated relationship with her father, it additionally undoes the binary opposition of victims versus perpetrators that has dominated interpretations of the dictatorship. By oscillating between the roles ascribed to her father, the protagonist hints at the unknowability of memory and history. She further communicates this uncertainty through words like "probablemente" and "quizás."[108] *Fuenzalida* contains various possible roles for the protagonist's father, instead of one sole truth or interpretation. By doing so, the novel undoes the notion of an "imperative truth" and presents a multitude of truths. The protagonist's interpretation of the past exceeds a simple Manichean framework that polarizes two sides, or reduces history through restorative nostalgia, as is often the case in official history and in melodrama (what she writes).

Leonardo Gutiérrez Molina, supposedly Fuentes Castro's subordinate, tries to recruit Fuenzalida to use his martial arts expertise for missions that would ensure the dictatorship's dominance. When Fuenzalida recuses, Luis Leonardo threatens him and his family to the point that Fuenzalida is forced to comply.

[108] Similar terms that cast doubt or question reality and memory are used by writers when imagining what happened to the disappeared. Pedro Lemebel repeats similar words in his *crónica* "El Informe Rettig" for example, to imagine where the bodies are.

The protagonist projects her illusions of an ideal relationship with her father onto distinct father-daughter relationships, in what seem to be rehearsals for her own. These moments shed light on the fantasy or mythologization of certain relationships, as well as on their impossibility. In addition, the protagonist practices (rehearses) performative (post)memory, in which each scene is possible, plausible, and desirable, even if illogically repetitive. These repetitions, or rehearsals, of scenes and language continually make the reader aware of the novel's (and memory's) construction. Repetition also brings attention to language's arbitrariness, ultimately questioning which the "real" scene or relationship is. The question of interpretation and memory, then, lies with how the protagonist (or reader) *wants* to interpret or remember. Because the protagonist lacks concrete memory of prolonged experiences with her father, she is able to choose which elements to hold onto and how to form that memory. As a result, the protagonist's present relationship is informed more by her imagination than what "actually" or "really" happened. Furthermore, the protagonist's imagination extends to all the father-daughter couples that she describes.

The two main father-daughter relationships that serve as models for the protagonist's relationship with Fuenzalida remark on the ambiguity of paternal roles because they represent two ends of the political spectrum and are both martyrs for their families. The protagonist fantasizes with her father's sacrifice through other characters that represent different facets of the same idea. She longs for her father's martyrdom because it would signal the love and devotion that he denied her.

One of the father figures is Sebastián Acevedo Becerra, a father who burned himself in the Plaza de Armas in Concepción to protest his two children's arrest by the authoritarian regime in 1983. His daughter, María Candelaria, was released shortly thereafter and was able to visit her

father in the hospital before he died from severe burns. The story of Sebastián is a historical case that the protagonist recalls, having heard the news about him on the radio in the car with her father. In addition to the radio news broadcast, Sebastián's story is presented through other *materiales adjuntos* such as newspaper articles. One of these sections, "Material Adjunto: Sargento Candelaria," imagines the personal relationship between Sebastián and María Candelaria, which serves as a model for the relationship that the protagonist longs for with her own father. Sebastián in particular serves as a "modelo heroico, modelo posible para el avatar que construirá de Fuenzalida: un padre que se enfrenta con valentía a la dictadura, mientras el verdadero padre de la protagonista desaparece sin dejar rastros" (Amaro Castro 123). Unable to find information about Sebastián's relationship with his daughter in archives of newspaper articles, the protagonist invents the details about the father-daughter bond.

Whereas Sebastián's character development is based on both conjecture and historical documents, the humanized military lieutenant Fuentes Castro is pure invention. A fervent supporter of the coup, he is later forced into hiding when he disagrees with the regime's orders of continuing violence. When he abandons his family, his wife and daughter throw out all photos of him. The letter that he writes to his daughter includes no names (it is signed "tu papá"), allowing the sentiments expressed to apply to each father-daughter relationships in the novel. A passage from this letter repeats the novel's introductory quote, which I previously discussed. In his letter, Fuentes Castro invites his daughter to create her own memory collage/montage: "Convoca imágenes sueltas, recuerdos olvidados, olores y sabores añejos, y organízalos a tu gusto. Inventa un cuento que te sirva de memoria. El resultado será una especie de relato, una historia mitad verdad, mitad mentira, en la que el protagonista se disfraza, se traviste de ti y de otros, será uno y todos al mismo tiempo" (Fernández 236). This passage describes both the novel that the

protagonist writes about her father and *Fuenzalida*. The overlapping novel-within-a-novel is an example of *Fuenzalida*'s self-reflexive meta-literary techniques. Like *Formas*, meta-textuality provides a mirror for the text, as well as for the writer and reader. Ultimately, the protagonist writes her own story, along with her father's, including the ending. The writer-rememberer must collect affective pieces (imágenes, recuerdos, olores, sabores) and attempt to give them order. In the end, however, that order is illusive: the protagonist is unable to conclude anything definitive about Fuenzalida, except that he is unknowable. Fuentes Castro also recognizes this by explaining that the protagonist will perform (se disfraza, se traviste) as others and will embody every position at the same time. Fuenzalida performs this very notion through the multiple possibilities for Fuenzalida, and for the repetitive descriptions of all three father figures I have discussed.

The varying descriptions of the protagonist's father demystify the patriarch as both villain and hero. The protagonist imagines him according to the expectations that society and media have created of the father-daughter relationship, the father figure, and masculinity. At one point in the novel, she compares her father to the American movie star Charles Bronson: "Todo el mundo decía que era idéntico a Charles Bronson, que aunque no era actor de película de artes marciales, igual era actor de películas de acción…Podría haber sido el héroe o el malvado de una serie de acción filmada en esos tiempos en que lo recuerdo. Desgraciadamente no tengo claro cuál de los dos roles le habría calzado más. Me pierdo en el casting, como en general con él, me pierdo en todo" (Fernández 58).[109] Once again, even though the protagonist can identify her father's physical appearance, she is unclear of his role. She says that she gets lost in the casting,

[109] Carl Fischer's dissertation discusses the local appropriation of Charles Bronson in Carlos Flores' documentary *El Charles Bronson chileno* (1984), which profiles a Chilean man, Fenelón Gaujardo López, who resembled American actor Charles Bronson. Fischer concludes that Fenelón's "appropriation of the foreign is, paradoxically, the very thing that makes him autochthonous and unique" (203).

as if she has to assign him a role (from TV or film) that may or may not correspond with reality. This passage reveals how intertwined media and memory are, and also how our performative roles of gender and family are influenced and informed by medial representations.

Fuenzalida loved martial arts movies, partially explaining why his daughter imagines him as a Kung Fu fighter. Her first "real" memory of her father is watching a martial arts movie. In the movie that they watched together, part of the plot included "el hombre de kimono negro [que] luchaba con su propio reflejo" (Fernández 244). This scene serves as the basis for the repetitive description of her father (and other father-figures) fighting in the novel, along with his motto about knowing one's enemy. Her dad gets worked up in the plot of the film to the point that

> Parecía querer entrar a la pantalla, estaba dispuesto a vivir lo que la historia traería después. Yo lo miraba imaginando que perfectamente podía ser uno de los personajes de esa película que estábamos viendo. El héroe o el villano, los dos eran igual de poderosos, los dos merecían ser Fuenzalida. Traslapé las caras, lo disfracé en mi cabeza, y a partir de ese momento el tipo del kimono negro de la televisión fue mi papá. Esa fue la elección que hice. Siempre había sido él. (Fernández 246)

Towards the end of the novel, the protagonist reveals that her memory (or her creation of memory) of her father is based on this one scene in which they watched TV together, possibly explaining why television occupies such a privileged position in her life, including her career. Yet, in this film, the hero had to fight his own reflection in the mirror since he was his own worst enemy, embodying both extremes. This passage also performs the novel's introductory quote, repeated by Fuentes Castro to his daughter, to invent a memory. The protagonist executes the

instructions, disguising the characters so that the story becomes personal. Her characterization of Fuenzalida reflects what she thinks and feels; she appears to create his story to actually express her own situation, similar to how the protagonist in *Formas* tells Claudia's story to tell his own.

The protagonist is unable to remember the end of the martial arts film, so she writes "Quiero creer…" before proceeding to describe the ending that she projects on the film, similar to how she imagines her father. This same action, of leaving the ending open and inconclusive, recurs throughout the novel: there is no conclusion to her relationship with her father besides his death; the soap opera, *Unidad de Urgencias*, is interrupted in the last episode; how the protagonist ends her own novel about her father is never revealed; this film's "real" end is never relayed. The protagonist chooses not to write the end of the film nor does she remember it, she can only imagine: "Supongo que lo que pasó después fue que me dormí al lado de mi padre real. Me acurruqué tomando sus manos reales, esa única vez que cuidó de mí realmente, y tapada por el chal cuadrillé real, oliendo su perfume real, a lo mejor sintiendo el peso de una caricia real, me olvidé del combate, dejé atrás la pelea, y entré en el sueño" (Fernández 247). In this particular scene, there is a mixture of reality (the repetitive insistence of the real through *realmente* and *real* as well as the bodily impressions of feeling and smelling) and fiction (*supongo*), imagination (*a lo mejor*) and dreams (*sueño*), which is the novel's imaginative aesthetic practice of performative (post)memory.[110] She responds to the novel's introductory quote and Fuentes Castro's instructions to his daughter, to collect images, memories, and sensations, and arrange them to her own liking. In other words, she performs the memory scene. The protagonist leaves behind the conflict, between Fuenzalida and his multiple roles, or perhaps of her own estranged relationship with her father but will remember them as soon as she awakens, evident in the novel.

[110] Nona Fernández's recent novel, *Space Invaders* (2013) continues to explore the relationship between dreams and memories. In this novel, dreams and memories are analogous.

The protagonist explains why she remembers this particular scene from when she was ten years old: "Perfectamente podría haber olvidado esa imagen televisiva como he olvidado tantas otras cosas, pero supongo que la presencia de mi padre en mi pieza marcó la diferencia y ahora hace que esa escena me persiga en los recuerdos y aparezca en medio de este combate final, de este capítulo de cierre para un culebrón que solo se transmite en mi cabeza" (Fernández 242). Her life, then, in her mind, becomes a *culebrón*, only visible to her, in her mind. Television, in a sense, substitutes her father, or at least becomes a way to create a relationship with him. Television is also her first memory with her father and she struggles to discover him by creating scripts and roles for TV.

Imagined Families

Similar to *Formas*, *Fuenzalida* focuses on troubled family relationships to theorize how post-Pinochet Chile approaches and remembers the past. Performative (post)memory again emerges through meta-literary techniques, as the protagonist of this novel is also a writer in the process of composing a novel. Although not the focus of *Fuenzalida*, the dictatorship serves as the setting of the narrator's memories of her father. How she imagines her father hinges on this setting, as she places him in the political tensions at the time and tries to decide how he would have acted. By doing so, the protagonist destabilizes Manichean interpretations of the dictatorship through imagination and fiction, as opposed to a direct testimony to what happened.

The novel's introductory quote explains its therapeutic ambition of working through the past and creating memory through fiction:

> Cierra los ojos y sueña conmigo. En esos pasillos mi reflejo puede moverse y hasta bailar. Toma los hilos de esa marioneta, préstale tu voz y pon en mi boca las palabras que necesites.
>
> Inventa un cuento que te sirva de memoria. (Fernández 13)

Neither the speaker nor the recipient is made clear; yet after reading the novel, the quote could be applied to various subjects. For instance, the more obvious reading of this would be that Fuenzalida is speaking to his daughter, the protagonist, giving her free reign over his story so that she may have a memory of him. However, later in the novel, a scene between the antagonist Fuentes Castro and his family mirrors the relationship that the protagonist imagines for her father and her. A letter from Fuentes Castro to his daughter echoes what the protagonist would like to hear from her father, even repeating the line "Inventa un cuento que te sirva de memoria" (Fernández 236). But at the end of the novel, the protagonist performs a similar action with her son, calling her deceased father on the telephone and pretending that he answers. Finally, the words could also be from the book to the reader and to the writer, making it a dialectical practice of reading, aligning the novel with what Barthes would call a "writerly text." The passage's multiple interpretations address various characters, including the author and reader, and as such, reveal the novel's allegorical potential. If we transpose this example of performative (post)memory to Chile's memory politics, it suggests that one way to confront both personal and collective silence is through art and imagination. By doing so, the country and its citizens may begin to work through the lingering effects of national trauma.

Like the writer-protagonist of *Formas*, *Fuenzalida*'s protagonist constructs a fictional "home" in the form of a novel. Both protagonists recur to fiction to attempt to build what they have lacked. In the latter case, the protagonist longs for security and an intimate relationship with

her father. Instead of embracing the real memories of her father, which are few and far between, she prefers to imagine him as a hero on a mission to fight the dictatorship. Fuenzalida is built up to such epic proportions in the mind of the protagonist "hasta erigirse en religión, en mito, en patria" (Amaro Castro 124). The protagonist clings to her father is if he were an idea or a set of values, the product of which is a novel that replaces connections of affect and protection that the father is traditionally expected to provide (Amaro Castro 124).

The protagonist experiences what I have described, in the context of *Formas*, as nostalgia for belonging to a national home. In order to satisfy this longing, she creates Fuenzalida the country, even though she knows this is impossible. The protagonist's creation is an example of what Boym describes as "creative rethinking of nostalgia," serving as "an artistic device" as well as "a strategy of survival, a way of making sense of the impossibility of homecoming" (*The Future* xvii). Because of this, nostalgia and performative (post)memory are complementary creative processes that work through the tensions between belonging and longing.

The extent to which the protagonist believes in and invents her father is explicitly described in the following passage:

> Todo se resume a una cuestión de fe. Creer en Fuenzalida es un acto de voluntad. Fuenzalida como una opción, una convicción necesaria que hay que sustentar de la misma forma como lo hacen las religiones o los partidos políticos. Con ideas. Con éticas. Con historias. Establecer una mitología Fuenzalida. Una historia fundacional. Inventar una moral, un código de buenas o malas costumbres. Una legislación, una señalética, un oráculo, un horóscopo, una brújula, un norte. Fuenzalida como un norte, un sur, un este o un oeste. Fuenzalida como un límite de cualquier tipo. Un mapa que guíe por calles, avenidas, plazas,

> circunvalaciones, rotondas y comunas de un mismo territorio. Entrar y habitar el enigmático país Fuenzalida. Descubrirlo, fundarlo, construirlo como se construye una buena escena. (Fernández 164-165)

This passage describes how the protagonist invents her father, to the point that he is built like a country. Once again, family and country are identified together. In this particular case, the protagonist finds her way out of a difficult, undesired present by reinventing a father, and by extension a country, for herself, to which she can belong. Believing in him is like believing in religion or a political party, sustained by faith. In order to believe in him, she has to create a myth about her father. That myth, in turn, is dependent on the invention of ideas, ethics, and stories, which convert her father into a moral compass or a guide of any kind. He grows, from specific terms like horóscopo and brújula, to "un límite de cualquier tipo." Finally, he becomes an enigmatic country that she wants to enter and inhabit. But in order to do so, she must discover, found, and construct Fuenzalida (the country and the man), like she does when she writes scenes for television scripts. The performative aspects of the novel, its meta-literary elements, are brought to light in this passage, especially in the last line that equates her father's discovery and construction with those of a scene.[111] Although the protagonist describes how she invents her father, and her relationship to him, the passage also describes how other myths are created and believed, such as the father figure and the nation. Fuenzalida could be substituted with various other names or nouns, which the protagonist does by equating him to different things: myth, map, country. As a metonym, he becomes substitutable, as well as fundamental, like nationalism. The name, Fuenzalida, is also the protagonist's last name, and she is writing her own family story. The country/man-as-Fuenzalida *is* the protagonist's novel, evidenced in the

[111] References to the scene, or the stage, underline the performative aspect of (post)memory texts. As previously discussed, *Formas* alludes to the stage and the actors in the story. Other novels contain similar references, such as Andrea Jeftanovic's *Escenario de guerra*.

title itself. Accordingly, the list of nouns that describe Fuenzalida attributes significant power to the act of writing. Fuenzalida thus refers to a name, a literary text, and a country, all of which are performative constructions of identity and memory.

Trash Collection as Memory Work and Trash Dumps as Memory Sites

By comparing garbage's trajectory with a funeral, the text's description of the movement of trash through the city explicitly equates trash with death: "El recorrido dura lo mismo que un funeral. Los cuerpos son velados en bolsas negras, permanecen ahí durante un tiempo, en las veredas de las casas donde antes habitaron, y luego son trasladados a una gran fosa común. De ahí ya no es posible rescatar nada" (Fernández 69). If the trash objects are corpses, then the black trash bags are caskets, likening the trash dump to a mass grave. The reference to the "gran fosa común" is another allusion to the *desaparecidos*, the unfound bodies that represent the excess of death and of memory value. Although the site of the trash dump seems largely hopeless ("ya no es posible rescatar nada"), the protagonist's waiting and writing prove otherwise, because a story can unfold from discarded objects (*materiales adjuntos*). At the end of the novel, the protagonist imagines a "ceremonia de la basura" which she joins, hopping on the garbage truck with her bags of trash and eventually ending up at the dump. In this scene, she performs a funeral for Fuenzalida, her father, and *Fuenzalida*, the novel. By making the analogy between trash and death, the novel itself partakes in the burial ceremony, an act of public mourning

Near the end of *Fuenzalida*, the protagonist imagines the ending to her novel at a trash dump. She even metaphorically compares herself and her writing to her bags of trash.[112] To this

[112] For example, the protagonist waits for her trash to be collected, ultimately comparing herself and her writing to trash in a self-deprecating manner: "Son las 21.05, la hora en que la mayoría de mis vecinos comienza a sacar sus bolsas de basura. Yo ya ubiqué las mías en la vereda. Son dos. De supermercados porque se me acabaron las negras. No hay nada muy interesante en ellas, solo restos de comida, un ramo de flores secas, un sinfín de páginas impresas

point, I have discussed trash objects and trash collection, but the site of the trash dump also deserves close attention as the site of trash culmination. In particular, the dump is a site for memory work because of its relationship with the past and present. Furthermore, the dump's melancholic aura opens it up to the self-reflection ideal for artistic recycling.[113]

Composed of material trash objects removed from the cycle of everyday life, the dump seems to exist outside of time. Consequently, the trash object at the dump is independent, a "thing-in-itself, which appears to have the power to reveal deeper truths" (Pye 266). In this sense, the trash dump becomes magical and provides solace in its isolation. For this reason the photo found at the beginning of *Fuenzalida* contains special powers to conjure real and invented memories. Like trash and photography, the collection, too, has an aura. Following this logic, the trash dump appears to be the ultimate collection that creates its own magical world.

As noted, the trash dump is a fecund spot for artistic endeavors for various reasons. First, the dump's marginalized location on the periphery or outskirts of organized society "offers a literal space of freedom" while it also "signifies spirituality and (poetic) creativity" (Pye 271). Its mystical appeal, like Fuenzalida himself to his daughter, makes the trash dump an appropriate place to imagine her novel's ending. Literary creation is a process of both construction and deconstruction, converting the trash heap into the metaphorical home of the writer. The trash dump masks historical relationships in the sense that everyday life is separated from "the official presentation of that life" (simulacrum), thus resulting "in the dumping of history and, ultimately, the rejection of everyday experience…It is the narrator's (writer's) responsibility to witness the

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con posibles desarrollos para mi pésimo culebrón. Personajes anodinos, historias ya hechas, diálogos infames, un lugar común tras otro. Todo horrible. Basura absoluta. Mis bolsas están ahí, atiborradas de esa mugre y tranquilas, lo mismo que yo, esperando que venga compañía" (Fernández 48).

[113] Similar to the trash object, the trash dump functions as both metonym and metaphor: "On the one hand, as the location for the literal remains of the past, but yet also the evidence of a continuous present of consumption…the rubbish heap exercises a powerful metonymic attraction for the writer who wishes to reconnect past and present. On the other hand, the potency of the rubbish heap lies equally in its metaphorical tendency, ambiguously connoting both the status of the melancholy reject and the creative freedom of recycling" (Pye 266).

detritus of society as evidence of its everyday activities and functions and therefore its (political) reality" (Pye 270). The political, in other words, is embedded in the everyday, and the trash dump affords the writer a space to rescue the discarded elements of the everyday, relegated to the trash bins of official history. This, too, resonates with memory politics, in that the everyday is often overlooked in official memory discourse or narrative. These statements also burden the writer with a responsibility to uncover the debris of history, and potentially, of memory.

As the protagonist contemplates how her novel should end, she describes how it *should* have been, or how she had imagined it to be. Specifically, she wanted a "spectacular" ending, full of the drama typical of *culebrones* or action series. She describes what she had previously imagined would happen in the conditional tense. This final scene begins at her house, at midnight, as she waits outside her house with the trash bags for the garbage men to come around in their truck and whisk her and her trash away in what she deems "la ceremonia de la basura" (Fernández 265). As she describes her neighborhood, she clarifies some details as to what was imagined and what was real, correcting some of her previous inventions, such as her father having been a resident at a nursing home in her neighborhood, negated when she states "en el que Fuenzalida nunca estuvo" (Fernández 265). She would jump onto the garbage truck and become a trash collector, with her own gloves and fluorescent suit. Her trip around the city, collecting trash, ending eventually at the dump, is described with language that mixes reality and fiction: "Me alejaría de mi propia casa. Vería mi frontis naranjo, las rejas de mis vecinos, el hogar de ancianos, la panadería de la esquina que no existe, la camioneta del viejo del cloro que sí existe, y me iría con mi basura, con todo lo que ya no me sirve adonde me lleve ese camión" (Fernández 266). Whereas the protagonist waits for her trash to be collected at other points in the novel, by the end of the novel she participates in the trash collection.

In contrast to the rest of the novel, here the protagonist differentiates between what does and does not exist. After ending up at the dump, the protagonist joins the trash, since "Toda la basura caería y yo caería con ella" (Fernández 266). She waits for dawn among the rubbish at the dump: "Imagino latas, cenizas, cáscaras de naranja, papeles higiénicos, caras recortadas con una tijera bajo mi cuerpo, entremedio de mí…solo voy a elucubrar la escena imposible por la que se inició este relato. En ella un hombre vestido de kimono negro emerge de entre los desperdicios cuando los primeros rayos del sol comienzan a iluminar la basura…Llego a su lado y nos miramos el uno al otro como quien se mira en un espejo" (Fernández 266-7). She proceeds to imagine the dialogue that would take place between her and her father, using phrases like "quizás, o tal vez no" because she is uncertain how the scene would be, since, after all, it is impossible. Some things cease to be, or never were, and imagination has to recreate them. The two main options for her novel that she discusses are a "happy" ending, reuniting with her father, or a fight between the two, "el gran combate final" (Fernández 268). When contemplating the fight scene, the protagonist admits that since she isn't a good fighter, the combat would be symbolic. At this point she discards the ending and recognizes it as metaphorical trash. Although the Kung Fu style fight appeals to the writer because it would provide a dramatic ending that recalls her first memory with her father, she abandons it: "La tiré al tarro de la basura lo mismo que muchas otras cosas más" (Fernández 268). The writing process that the protagonist engages in throughout the novel, culminating in the scene at the trash dump where she imagines the novel's final scene, is one of rejection and discarding. The protagonist explores how to end her novel at the trash dump, the mecca of creativity and innovation, imagining different scenarios.

The protagonist also invents the story about her father because she wants to be able to tell her son, Cosme, about him one day.[114] She recalls one day when her son asked about her dad and describes her lack of memory through photographic technology: "Mi memoria estaba en blanco, como un rollo fotográfico velado, no arrojaba ninguna imagen. La verdad es que no arrojaba nada de nada, así es que nada respondí. No había historia, no había relato" (Fernández 37). After her son's hospitalization, she concludes that she will always have something to tell him, always provide an answer, even if it is made up. She believes that with will (voluntad) and imagination, it is possible to answer every question without fear of silence or not knowing. Through her writing, the protagonist teaches her son the imagination necessary to remember.

In the last chapter of the novel, the protagonist removes herself from her imagination and observes Cosme drawing dragons, an emblematic and ideal ending to her own saga. She asks her son if he wants to call her father; even though Cosme knows his grandfather is dead, he plays along with his mother's game. The protagonist observes her son's quickness to adapt to the game, "No necesito explicarle las reglas del juego, maneja el código, lo conoce mejor que yo. Como quien se lanza un piquero del trampolín más alto de la piscina Tupahue, Cosme me quita el teléfono de las manos, se lo acerca al oído y comienza a hablar" (Fernández 269).[115] In these last sentences of the novel, postmemory's imaginative investment is passed down to Cosme from his mother. Whereas the protagonist tapped into the work of (post)memory through the performative process of writing fiction, her son is more adept at it since childhood includes imagination and play. The protagonist had to unlearn the separation between adulthood and childhood so that her childlike imagination and memory could create a believable story. Perhaps

[114] This need to relate stories to the next generation is characteristic of many works of postmemory.
[115] The reference to the dive at the Tupahue pool was a scene that the protagonist wrote to describe Fuenzalida with his other family (wife and son). It was described much earlier in the novel. Yet here, she recognizes something from the fictional Fuenzalida in her son.

because of the connection between childhood and imagination, performative (post)memory often invokes childhood memories and protagonists.

Conclusion

Amaro Castro claims that the dictatorship made the home a cell of both protection and imprisonment, when she writes that the home "[s]e transformó en un lugar de encierro y su umbral, en un límite terrible" (125). However, in my reading, the dictatorship accentuated the multiple, even contradictory roles of home because it has always had the ability to both protect and threaten. The contradictions of home (as reality and as allegory) abound in post-Pinochet narratives and explain why the families that inhabit these homes are largely unstable and dysfunctional. In both novels, the protagonists return home, a place that is supposed to offer protection, but that leaves them exposed and vulnerable. In the end, they accept familial relationships the way they are, instead of searching for reconciliation. The writer-protagonists inhabit the writing process, to construct a metaphorical home – "the alluring object of nostalgia" – that at the same time is never complete, and is "notoriously elusive" (Boym *The Future* xiv). By embracing the process and practice of writing as opposed to the product, these writers occupy an in-between place that is often strange or uncomfortable, more in line with Boym's reflective nostalgia. The meta-textual narratives are thus examples of performative (post)memory, as the protagonists reflect on writing as therapeutic and creative acts of dealing with the past.

Chapter 3

Reemerging Family Fragments and the Disappeared: First-Person Film Letters and Collages of the Post-Pinochet Period

This chapter continues to analyze representations of memory and postmemory by the children of the dictatorship but in documentary films. In particular, I explore practices of collection and letter-writing in the documentary *Mi vida con Carlos*, which attempts to reconstruct a disappeared father's life through various documents such as family photos, letters, and public media footage. The director of this film, too, like the protagonists of the novels discussed in Chapter 2, performatively inserts himself into the documentary by appearing in the film, manipulating images, and writing and reading letters. He constructs on screen what I consider an epistolary film, or an audiovisual letter to his father. In a more experimental vein, the documentary *El eco de las canciones*' aural and visual collage composes an audiovisual diary from the director's collected stories and histories of children of exile. I propose that the film's collage of disparate media from both digital and analog sources, recomposed through digital technology, provides a metaphor of the children of the dictatorship's (post)memorial processes. Finally, both documentaries reinscribe the feminine through their audiovisual appropriation of literary genres – letters and diaries – that are traditionally associated with women's writing and daily life. By doing so, they emphasize the role of communication in memory and the aftermath of collective trauma. Finally, too, strict gender roles with implications for divisions between public and private, collective and individual, or historical and quotidian, are blurred, as the films present "feminine" genres through the "masculine" medium of cinema. The feminine also challenges the naturalization of family, and feeling completely at home. Instead, feminine

enunciations allude to alternative ways of inhabiting. Family is still central to the protagonists, but they reveal their inability to identify as a "complete" family member because of the dictatorship. Because this chapter looks at documentary films as examples of performative (post)memories, I combine Stella Bruzzi's work on performative documentary with José van Dijck's work on mediated memories to theorize the self-reflexive use of audiovisual formats and footage that pertain to personal cultural memory.

Similar to the autobiographical elements of the novels discussed in Chapter 2, recent Chilean documentaries produced after Pinochet's death have been characterized as "autobiographical" or "subjective," as a new group of filmmakers begins to reflect on their childhood during the dictatorship. Often children of left-wing militants and activists, these filmmakers expose the obscured corners of official memory by searching for *desaparecidos* and opening up the past through familial memories, narratives, and archives. The filmmakers also aesthetically portray the pain of exile through cinematic techniques that recreate distance, displacement, and estrangement. The directors explore cinema's potentially alienating effect on audiences as a medium that draws attention to film's inaccessibility, as an imitator of reality trapped in technology. Paradoxically, the distance felt creates an affective connection with the first-person narrative of exile and the processes of (post)memory.

Family is "an accessible lingua franca easing identification and projection across distance and difference" which may explain why family documents and stories compose a large amount of artistic expression of the aftermath of trauma (Hirsch 115). At the same time, though, family representations may cause an over-personalization of traumatic memory, which Hirsch questions when she writes, "Still, the very accessibility of familial idioms needs also to engender suspicion on our part: does not locating trauma in the space of family personalize and individualize it too

much?" (Hirsch 115). Despite this reservation about the family trope in memory narratives, I identify the family as precisely what allows individual and collective memory to mutually inform and construct each other. Although these memories are presented or represented as individual and personal, they are embedded within family and society. Susana Kaufman insists that family transmission includes interpretations "que exceden el espacio de lo íntimo para tomar densidad en relatos e interpretaciones colectivos de determinados hechos, que a su vez volverán a las interpretaciones privadas, permeando así los límites entre memorias personales y memorias compartidas" (69). The broken families and fractured identities in the texts analyzed represent the lingering effects of dictatorial violence while the effort to expose national wounds in a personal and familial way, is a response to and a modification of dominant narratives, including traditional family allegory.[116]

Both documentaries deconstruct the notion of all-encompassing truth, by exposing the fractures and silences in family pasts, but by doing so, they establish another paradoxical truth: that complete truth and knowledge is impossible, in both private and public spheres. Finally, the texts explore the feelings of uprootedness and displacement, of not belonging, particularly in relation to Chilean history and at times familial exile from Chile to escape threats of disappearance, torture, and imprisonment. There is a feeling of distance and disconnect between the authors/directors/protagonists and Chile that they search to express and if possible, understand. These feelings of being out-of-place are reflected in the silences within their families along with inhospitable landscapes and homes, which each text incorporates to varying degrees.

[116] Roos explains postmemorial work in Chile in similar terms: "[S]on los hijos, los que a pesar de que no protagonizaron la historia reciente de Chile, reclaman el derecho, más de veinte años después, de narrar su versión personal de los acontecimientos vividos durante su infancia…Los recuerdos de los padres son hasta tal punto interiorizados por los hijos que parecen sus recuerdos propios. Es la única manera posible de reconstruir el pasado, para aclarar zonas que quedaron hasta entonces en la penumbra, para rellenar el vacío, es decir, los huecos de la memoria familiar, las partes silenciadas en la transmisión familiar" (346).

This complicated and tense relationship with the "motherland" and with family is prevalent in all four texts, despite differing experiences with exile (internal or otherwise).[117] As such, Chile appears to belong to the protagonists as if by accident, because their families happen to live there. The texts thus expose the ambiguities surrounding the impossibility of a linear relationship between geography, birth, and belonging. An example of reflective nostalgia, this impossible homecoming is aptly described in cinematic terms as "a double exposure, or a superimposition of two images—of home and abroad, of past and present, of dream and everyday life" (Boym "Nostalgia" 7). Instead of restorative nostalgia that returns to origins, reflective nostalgia is non linear, "inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones" (Boym "Nostalgia" 13). What's more, reflective nostalgia "loves details, not symbols," and "can foster the creation of aesthetic individuality," aligning it with the creative, feminine practices of letter and diary-writing used in *Mi vida* and *El eco* (Boym "Nostalgia" 13, 15).

The films' feelings of not belonging signal tensions between national identities and familial structures. Cinema, as a construction, probes how other constructions – of nation and of family – serve as metaphors to explain each other's learned practices of belonging. In this way, the contradictions in the Chilean dictatorship's espousal of unified, nuclear families become apparent through the filmic depictions of families that were torn apart by the authoritarian regime's violence. The directors' individual and familial histories interrupt or challenge dominant, totalizing histories that attempt to explain the past through dichotomies (good and bad; victims and tormentors). According to Alejandra Serpente, "It is precisely the sacred Catholic familial space containing these private memories that the dictatorships in Argentina and Chile wished to exult, while at the same actively destroying it as part of their plans for national

[117] Here, Spanish provides a more adequate vocabulary to describe these feelings of estrangement from one's country: *exilio* (exile), *insilio* (internal exile) and *desexilio* (returning from exile).

reorganization" (140). Furthermore, the dominant, official human rights discourse has maintained the promotion of the nuclear family by prioritizing family members of the victims of the state in what Cecilia Sosa identifies as remembering through the figure of the "wounded family" (1). As both scholars posit, memory, especially of collective trauma, expands beyond familial frameworks. Nevertheless, some films, such as *Mi vida con Carlos* and *El eco*, may actually use family to move beyond familial postmemory and to foster affiliative postmemory that functions along a horizontal axis between members of the same generation. As a result, these films depict memory as partial, relative and questionable, as reality proves to be more complex and ambiguous than Manichean frameworks (Barril 18, 77). In addition to questioning the use of family by the dictatorship and by official memory discourse, the films challenge the common perception of documentary as a genre that attempts to reveal a pre-existing reality or truth. Instead of offering direct answers or resolution, these performative documentaries (Bruzzi) artistically contemplate the lacunae of knowledge, making visible the constructed nature implicit in the processes of memory, personal identity, family, and childhood.

Memory materializes through the different aesthetic performances that both of these documentaries employ. In what follows, I will analyze the uses of imagination along with the poetic and aesthetic elaboration in *Mi vida* that work to compose an audiovisual letter collage. Then, I move on to discuss *El eco* to think about cinematic collage's use of digital and analog technologies as they theorize (post)memory and postdictatorship in temporal and spatial layering. Whereas I propose to think of *Mi vida* as an audiovisual letter, an example of epistolary cinema, I consider *El eco* an audiovisual diary. Both genres (epistolary and diary) are traditionally associated with the intimate and feminine because of their attention to daily life and detail. Coincidentally, the intimate and often overlooked aspects of daily life have also been the focus

of the practices of collecting in *Formas de volver a casa* and *Fuenzalida*, elaborated in Chapter 2. Through my reading of these *Mi vida* and *El eco* as audiovisual letter and diary, I propose that they reinscribe the intimate and the feminine within the public space of national memory and within family. These personal voices perform a feminist gesture of uncovering what has been obscured by official history and memory. What's more, they further blur the lines between traditional divisions of masculine/feminine and public/private, with repercussions for memory practices that may break down the mourning/melancholia dichotomy that has structured memory debates for decades.[118] The documentaries' use of the intimate genres of letters and diaries represents "an impulse to subvert these dichotomies," in which these filmmakers from the *hijos de la dictadura* generation "make aspects of the past typically considered private accessible to public debate and situate public life in its private contexts" (Ros 204). As a result, the division between the two realms is presented as porous, and by challenging their boundaries, the films unsettle other dichotomous characterizations tied to the public and private. For instance, they unsettle supposedly opposing notions of collective versus individual, rational versus emotional, masculine versus feminine, reality versus fiction, and active versus passive.

Considering the "feminine" as a cultural signifier instead of a woman's "essence," these genres split open national representations of family, from the regime's contradictory discourse to 21st century uses of familial allegory including the "wounded family" human rights narrative, even when the protagonists form part of the latter. Similar to the novels previously analyzed in Chapter 2, both documentaries search for an elusive home, literally within the family and

[118] Lisa DiGiovanni approaches this debate through melancholia and nostalgia when she writes that "the ever-widening landscape of postmemorial films has the potential to effectively problematize reductive binary definitions of both nostalgia and melancholia, rendering visible the interrelations and oscillations between individual nostalgic longings to rehabilitate severed familial roots in the interests of engaging with a mobilizing melancholic suffering and the broader collective desire to understand and reconnect with the political struggles that have been rendered irrelevant by the defenders of neoliberal capitalism" (66).

allegorically within Chile. As such, they embark on rather impossible searches rooted in the present moment of filmmaking, as incomplete processes that never find the lost object because it is intrinsically unknown. They do achieve, however, the knowledge that the lost object (person, family) was taken away by the same dictatorship that encouraged Chileans, the directors included, to define themselves in relation to their families. That knowledge allows the directors/protagonists to understand familial memories in a different light and ultimately enables them to forge their own identities and memories in the present. The unified family unit heralded by the dictatorship thus proves to be an illusion that is cinematically performed in public by the films.

Following Hirsch's insistence on "imaginative investment" and creativity for the postmemorial generation's relationship with the past, I will look at the performative processes of writing and filming (creating) and the aesthetic practices of collection and collage as subjective expressions of memory/interpretations of experience, both the parents' and the children's. Hirsch mentions imagination as a way for children to fill in the silences of traumatic transmission from previous generations, however, imagination can be used to interpret or fill in the child's own silence as well as more horizontal affiliations between members of the same generation. In particular, I look at the self-reflective uses of collection and collage as practices that express the tensions in postmemory and intergenerational transmission of trauma in the Chilean context. Additionally, these aesthetic practices construct meta-narratives that are concerned with the self-referential processes of writing and filming. Postmemory practices in particular lean more towards the performative than memory practices, perhaps because of the distance from trauma.[119]

[119] Postmemory practices are performative: "the index of postmemory (as opposed to memory) is the performative index, shaped more and more by affect, need, and desire," (Hirsch "Generation"124).

Not only do these novels and films perform memory and postmemory, they also theorize both concepts through this performance and meta-memory reflection.

Postmemory, which hinges on the debate of experience versus memory, can be enlightened by Benjamin's concern with experience: experience as lived-through (*Erlebnis*) versus "experience as something that can be accumulated, reflected upon and communicated (*Erfahrung*)" (Highmore 67). The "shock experiences" (*Erlebnis*) of trauma remain outside "the shared discourse of experience" or representation, yet the 1.5 generation attempts to give those traumatic experiences an interpretation or representation, which "would allow for both critical attention and critical practice" (Highmore 67). This is where I identify collage and collection as critical practices that attempt to decipher and communicate the accumulated experiences, of the everyday, of family, and of trauma. In Highmore's explanation of *Erfahrung* above, he attributes three characteristics to it that are theorized and put into the practices of (post)memory in these post-Pinochet texts: accumulation (collection), reflection upon (meta), and communication (transmission through media and/or family).

Audiovisual Performances of Mediated (Post)Memories

As one of the first theorizations of documentary film, Bill Nichols' categorization of documentaries into different modes (expository, observational, interactive, reflexive) is often cited but also criticized.[120] The traditional notion of documentary practice is to faithfully portray reality as much as possible, which often implies hiding the production process, as in direct

[120] Nichols elaborates these modes in his *Representing Reality*. However, his more recently updated book, *Introduction to Documentary*, adds the performative and poetic modes. Regardless, I have decided to use the first text's categorization since that is what Bruzzi cites in her *New Documentary*.

cinema.[121] Expanding such a "commonsense definition," Nichols arrives at a working definition of documentary as a film that "speaks about situations and events involving real people (social actors) who present themselves to us as themselves in stories that convey a plausible proposal about, or perspective on, the lives, situations, and events portrayed. The distinct point of view of the filmmaker shapes this story into a way of seeing the historical world directly rather than into a fictional allegory" (*Introduction* 14). Film scholar Stella Bruzzi, on the other hand, is critical of the claims for documentary's truthful depiction of reality because it is impossible. Instead, she identifies what she calls performative documentaries, which "herald a different notion of documentary 'truth' that acknowledges the construction and artificiality of even the non-fiction film" (154).[122] These documentaries are reflexive because they reflect on their own construction. Performative documentaries extend traditional documentaries' aims of representing reality, yet they are "more aware of the inevitable falsification or subjectification such representation entails" (Bruzzi 155). In addition to, or rather as a result of being aware of, the limitations of documentary-making, the director of performative documentaries also reveals his or her own self-awareness about the filming process and is able to stage this on screen, often by physically appearing in or interfering with the film, making his/her presence noticeable. As such, we could classify these post-Pinochet Chilean films as meta-documentaries that employ self-referential as well as performative techniques, similar to the meta-literary techniques in the novels by Zambra

[121] Patricia Aufderheide offers the following definition of documentary in *Documentary Film: A Very Short Introduction*: "A documentary film tells a story about real life, with claims to truthfulness. How to do that honestly, in good faith, is a never-ending discussion, with many answers. Documentary is defined and redefined over the course of time, both by makers and by viewers. Viewers certainly shape the meaning of any documentary, by combining our own knowledge of and interest in the world with how the filmmaker shows it to us. Audience expectations are also built on prior experience; viewers expect not to be tricked and lied to. We expect to be told things about the real world, things that are true" (Aufderheide 2-3). She continues, "We do not demand that these things be portrayed objectively, and they do not have to be the complete truth…But we do expect that a documentary will be a fair and honest representation of somebody's experience of reality" (Aufderheide 3).

[122] Bruzzi's use of the term "performative" draws on work by J.L. Austin and Judith Butler. In this, she differs from Nichols' definition of the performative mode of documentary.

and Fernández as discussed in Chapter 2. The performative elements of these documentaries engender two possible effects: first, they destabilize conventional documentary's aim of representing reality "because the elements of performance, dramatization and acting for the camera are intrusive and alienating factors" and second, they suggest that documentaries should acknowledge and accept performance's inevitable role in non-fiction film ("the enactment of the documentary specifically for the cameras") (Bruzzi 155). Performance, too, suggests imperfection and openendedness, as a present, live rehearsal or re-presentation. Sosa, in her work on post-dictatorial mourning in Argentine art, film, and theatre, also draws on performance studies, "to address non-verbal and non-conscious dimensions of experience" (5). For her, considering trauma as performative as well may engage with audiences outside the direct bloodline victims of dictatorial violence. Performances of memory and mourning, then, may in a sense rehearse trauma, re-staging it for the present moment. Both Bruzzi and Sosa offer valuable insights into the notion of performance, applied to documentaries and to the subject of Southern Cone memory. Because of this, I conclude that the first-person performances in *Mi vida* and *El eco* attest to the mutually constitutive relationship between media technology and memory practices. As performances, technology and memory are subject to change, dependent on the present interaction between subject, text, and representation. Thus my characterization of the documentaries in this chapter as performative is twofold: as self-reflexive filmic constructions and as rehearsals of traumatic memory.

As aptly noted by Nichols, documentary is a mode of representation, and as such, there is always distance between the filmic components (their images, sounds, narratives, and perfomers) and the events portrayed. Performative documentaries bring that gap into relief as constitutive of documentary practice. We can think of this, too, in relation to memory. There is spatial,

temporal, and/or generational distance between the memory-image (or sound) and the original experience. Therefore the documentaries that include performative elements while aiming to represent memory, simultaneously engage in the theorization of memory, creating what we could think of as a meta-memory documentary discourse. In other words, the documentaries and their technologies are documents of specific theories of memory at specific moments in time. As Bruzzi remarks in various instances, "documentaries are performative acts whose truth comes into being only at the moment of filming" (7).[123] Memory materializes through the performance of documentary (especially as a past object since film is always an index of the past). I would add that the moment of viewing further recreates the stage or scenario of memory-making.[124] The relationship between technology and memory, however, is twofold. Media technologies (and their aesthetics) affect memory processes, while memory also affects technological and aesthetic practices. As previously discussed in this dissertation's introduction, José van Dijck's notion of mediated memories "help[s] theorize the *mutual shaping* of memory and media" (2). Furthermore, this reciprocal relationship between media technology and memory is evident in metaphors of both.[125] For instance, memory is often explained through film and video terminology; conversely, filmic conventions depict memory through flashbacks or slow motion.

Performative documentary puts into tension the attempt to represent (image) and the event (reality), or as Bruzzi puts it, "a dialectical relationship between aspiration and potential," because of the impossibility of this goal (180). This dialectical relationship references Benjamin's work on the dialectical image, which I will take up in this chapter in my analysis of

[123] "Documentaries… perform the actions they name" (Bruzzi 155). Citing Butler and J.L. Austin's definitions of performative, Bruzzi claims that these documentaries "function as utterances that simultaneously both describe and perform an action" (154).
[124] Similar to how literary texts come into being at the moment of reading, films do the same upon the moment of viewing.
[125] "Metaphors are not simply means of expression, but are conceptual images that structure and give meaning to our lives. As media have become our foremost tools for memory, metaphorical reciprocity signals their constitutive quality" (van Dijck18).

audiovisual letter-writing in *Mi vida con Carlos* and visual and aural collage in *El eco de las canciones.* These aesthetic techniques further demonstrate the directors' awareness of genre conventions because they push the boundaries of traditional documentary to incorporate other (decontextualized) art forms that push the visual into other sensory realms, such as the auditory and the haptic.[126] These films look elsewhere, outside of the documentary, to create their memory narratives, yet it is all supposedly contained and presented within the films. Finally, in addition to exploring the tension between the aims and construction of documentaries, these two films also highlight how mediated memories inform connections between personal and collective practices through home media and mass media. Their aesthetic and technological choices further reveal differences in cultural memory processes, and how memory and technology are intertwined. These documentaries are inherently dialectical because they place multiple components in dialogue with each other.

Mi vida con Carlos, an Audiovisual Letter

Germán Berger-Hertz's film, *Mi vida con Carlos* (2010), belongs to a body of autobiographical narratives by children of the dictatorship who search to reconstruct the past of a disappeared parent, such as *En algún lugar del cielo* (2003) by Alejandra Carmona. A broader group of documentaries by the children of the dictatorship approach post-dictatorial memory through personal experiences of family, either politically involved or not. For instance, Macarena Aguiló's *El edificio de los chilenos* (2010) describes her childhood memories of the communal housing project for children of MIR militants while the parents returned to Chile to fight the

[126] Van Dijck explains that "Although most of our media technologies privilege a particular sense…that does not mean there is a one-to-one relationship between specific sensorial aspects of memory and the preferred instrument of recording" (20). In the case of film, both the visual and aural are privileged, although other sensory perceptions arise through the cinematic medium, put forth by Laura Marks in her *The Skin of Film*.

dictatorship. Family narratives devoid of political compromise also shed light on the processes of memory in *La quemadura* (2010) by René Ballesteros and *Reinalda del Carmen, mi mamá y yo* (2006) by Lorena Giachino. Ballesteros searches for his mother after she abandoned Chile for non-political reasons under the dictatorship and Giachino searches for information on her mother's disappeared friend as her mother's memory fades due to health complications. Additionally, this body of autobiographical films of (post)memory is transnational, including Argentine documentaries such as *M* by Nicolás Prividera, *Papá Iván* by María Inés Roqué, and *Los rubios* by Albertina Carri.

In contrast with many of the documentaries directed by *hijos de la dictadura*, Berger-Hertz's documentary was eventually shown twice on open Chilean TV. After premiering at the Biarritz Festival and winning the Best Documentary and Audience Awards, it was shown at various international film festivals in Europe, Chile and the US. In a 2009 interview, the director explains that finding a local (Chilean) distributor had been difficult.[127] However, he also states that "es muy importante para mí llegar a alguna sala" in Chile; he adds that it would be interesting to show the film on TV (F. Fernández n.p.). He eventually achieved these goals when the Museo de la Memoria, the Centro Cultural La Moneda, and TVN screened his documentary (Carmona n.p.).[128] In January 2012, *Mi vida con Carlos* ran on TVN at 11:45pm, hardly a "primetime" slot. Nevertheless, and perhaps because of this, over a year later, it was replayed at 5:30pm on a Sunday afternoon when more audiences would be able to watch ("Tvn Vuelve a Emitir Documental 'Mi Vida Con Carlos'"). The TV screenings suggest that the documentary's format maintains the well-known "wounded family" discourse of memory; otherwise, it may not

[127] *Mi vida con Carlos* was a Spanish, French, and Chilean co-production, financed through grants from the Chilean government (CORFO; Fondo de fomento audiovisual), Programa Ibermedia, and TVE.
[128] Berger-Hertz lived in Barcelona when he made his film. In 2011, however, he relocated to Washington, DC to work for the OAS until 2014 when he moved back to Chile. He currently works for TVN.

have been accepted, especially by the state channel. At the same time, however, because of the televisual medium, the documentary is more widely accessible to Chilean audiences, thus opening up possible affiliative connections.

Mi vida con Carlos presents the director's search for his father, Carlos Berger, who was killed during the so called *Caravana de la Muerte*, Pinochet's death squad that traveled the length of Chile by helicopter directly following the 1973 coup, killing over 70 people and burying the bodies in unmarked graves in the Atacama Desert (DiGiovanni 62; Stern 13).[129] The non-linear structure of the film mirrors Germán's search, the uneven process of memory, and the silences surrounding his father's life and death. Described as a film "organized around the memories of memories," *Mi vida con Carlos* approaches family biography, history, and genealogy through interviews with Germán's mother, Carmen Hertz, a human rights lawyer, and his two uncles, one who remained in Chile and the other exiled in Canada (Gómez-Barris 10).[130]

Germán begins his search through his mother who has remained largely silent about her husband within the home despite having dedicated herself to human rights advocacy in the public sphere. However, even when the family doesn't speak about the past, transmission is present in silences. As a result, family lives the tensions between sharing and silencing trauma that permeates daily life (Kaufman 50). Claudia Barril relates the experimental and imprecise nature of first-person documentaries like *Mi vida* to the work of mourning, in which silence plays an

[129] DiGiovanni cites 75 victims whereas Stern cites 72. Carmen Hertz, in archival footage used in *Mi vida con Carlos*, cites 75, too. In any event, the details that Stern summarizes are confirmed by the details of Carlos Berger's particular story in the film: "the massacres claimed seventy-two victims, their bodies often mutilated by multiple gunshots and brutal hacking. Their imprisonment had been public knowledge. Most victims were local functionaries of Allende's Unidad Popular government or state enterprises, or they were elected officials. Many prisoners had actually turned themselves in" (Stern 13).

[130] Ricardo, Germán's uncle who remained in Chile, was involved with the Chilean Socialist party until his brother was killed. Germán's other uncle, Eduardo, also removed himself from politics when he relocated to Canada. Dying of cancer, he returns to Chile with Germán to reunite with his family and say goodbye. The director explains that each of his uncles represent something, "Uno, el silencio, y el otro, la huida. Pero uno no puede callarse ni huir eternamente" (Fernández n.p.). The documentary was therapeutic for the family members, as they began to talk about Carlos' life instead of his death.

essential role: "[estos documentales] se logran articular nuevos lugares para la historia y que al ser visitados iluminan realidades colectivas. Relatos del pasado tentativos e imprecisos, donde los descendientes buscan ensayando versiones posibles de ese pasado. Y los vacíos y silencios terminan siendo importantes hallazgos" (38).[131] Imaginative projections by later generations fill the silences, as Hirsch has explained, but what's more, these voids are representative in themselves. Family is at the center of Germán's past, present and future: he delves into his father's past because of his own position as a father, in which he sees his daughters growing up.[132] At the same time, Germán inserts himself into a long family history of exile and suffering beginning with his paternal grandparents' immigration to Chile as Jews fleeing persecution. In a sense, Carlos's disappearance serves as a pretext to explore the family's past and the director's present in connection with the country's silence surrounding the on-going search for *desaparecidos*. The film depicts this search towards the end through footage of family members digging for the remains of their loved ones in the desert (*Figures 17-19*).[133] The liminal, hostile site of the desert becomes a source of community for those who have lost, as the family members engage in a never-ending search together. In fact, the desert's barrenness preserves the remains

[131] In Chapter 2, I discussed the rehearsal of possible versions of the past in *Fuenzalida*. The verb "ensayar" highlights the performative element of these narratives.

[132] In addition to mentioning this in the film through voiceover, Germán also emphasizes his paternal role in interviews and the importance of passing on familial memory to his daughters. For instance, in one, he says, Yo diría que el nacimiento de mi primera hija, Greta, marcó una inflexión en mi vida, porque me enfrentaba con la paternidad, con mis propios miedos, ausencias y quizás me dio la fuerza y me generó más necesidad de poder saber sobre mi padre. De poder sanar en lo personal un poco este dolor que me había acompañado toda mi vida, para poder transmitirle a ella quién era su padre en lo íntimo. Las consecuencias de este tipo de crimen en los familiares son interminables. Y una de ellas es que la víctima desaparece del entorno familiar. La familia deja de recordar a la víctima porque hay mucha pena y una gran incertidumbre. Entonces la persona desaparece y desaparecen su historia, los recuerdos, los sueños" (Chernin n.p.). In addition to the dictatorship's disappearance of persons, family members further disappear *los desaparecidos* by avoiding memory because of pain. As trauma studies have elucidated, this silence is a form of transmission.

[133] These images in particular may remind the viewer of similar scenes from Patricio Guzmán's *Nostalgia de la luz* (2010). Although there is a clear resemblance between the desert shots in the films, it is unlikely that Berger-Hertz's film directly refers to Guzmán's since both were released in 2010. Nevertheless, the films' similar images attest to their national recognition. In other words, the stories of the *desaparecidos* and the women searching for remains are well-known throughout Chile, and form part of the country's history and its present. The fact that the documentaries came out at the same time demonstrates the need to continue this on-going search.

of the disappeared. Aditionally, the desert is a nationally recognized landscape, yet its barrenness, mysteriousness, and threat undo the constructed welcoming image of the nation-as-home. Instead, the nation, like family and home, is simultaneously a source of protection and of danger.

Figures 17-19. **Family members of the disappeared looking for remains.**
(Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)

Along these lines, Bernardita Llanos writes that "La visión del crimen político como tragedia nacional y familiar articula la experiencia de Germán Berger tanto a nivel individual como colectivo, pues su caso es el de muchos en Chile y en otros países" (223). The director himself claims that he aimed to provoke reflection within Chilean society on the country's tragic history, through his family's personal experience: "Es una manera de universalizar una tragedia personal, pero muy colectiva en Chile; de hacer reflexionar a la sociedad chilena en torno a esto, desde una perspectiva emocional y cercana" (F. Fernández n.p.).[134] In another scene, Germán and his uncles mirror the previous shots of the family members searching in the desert (*Figures 17-18*). One of the film's publicity images depicts Germán in the desert, emphasizing the broader implication of the film's personal narrative. This imitative visual further connects the national with the Berger family's particular history (*Figure 19*).

[134] In another interview, Germán remarks on the challenge of making his family's personal story communicable to wider audiences in Chile: "Pero el desafío era poder contar, a través de un relato familiar, la historia de miles de chilenos que en la dictadura padecieron en anonimato. Hacerlo fue un proceso difícil, porque significó exponer la vida de Carlos para universalizar esas nociones más íntimas. Y lo quiero dejar en claro, porque si no me habría hecho una terapia. Y no una película" (Chernin n.p.). Although he insists on the importance of this connection, between the intimate and the collective, as a motivation for his film, instead of therapy, *Mi vida con Carlos* also perform the therapeutic act of working through for the individual family members.

***Figures 17-18*. Germán and his uncles in the desert at the end of the film. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

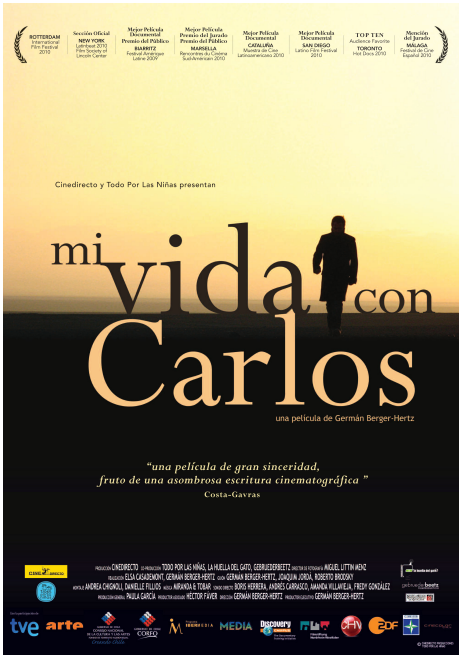
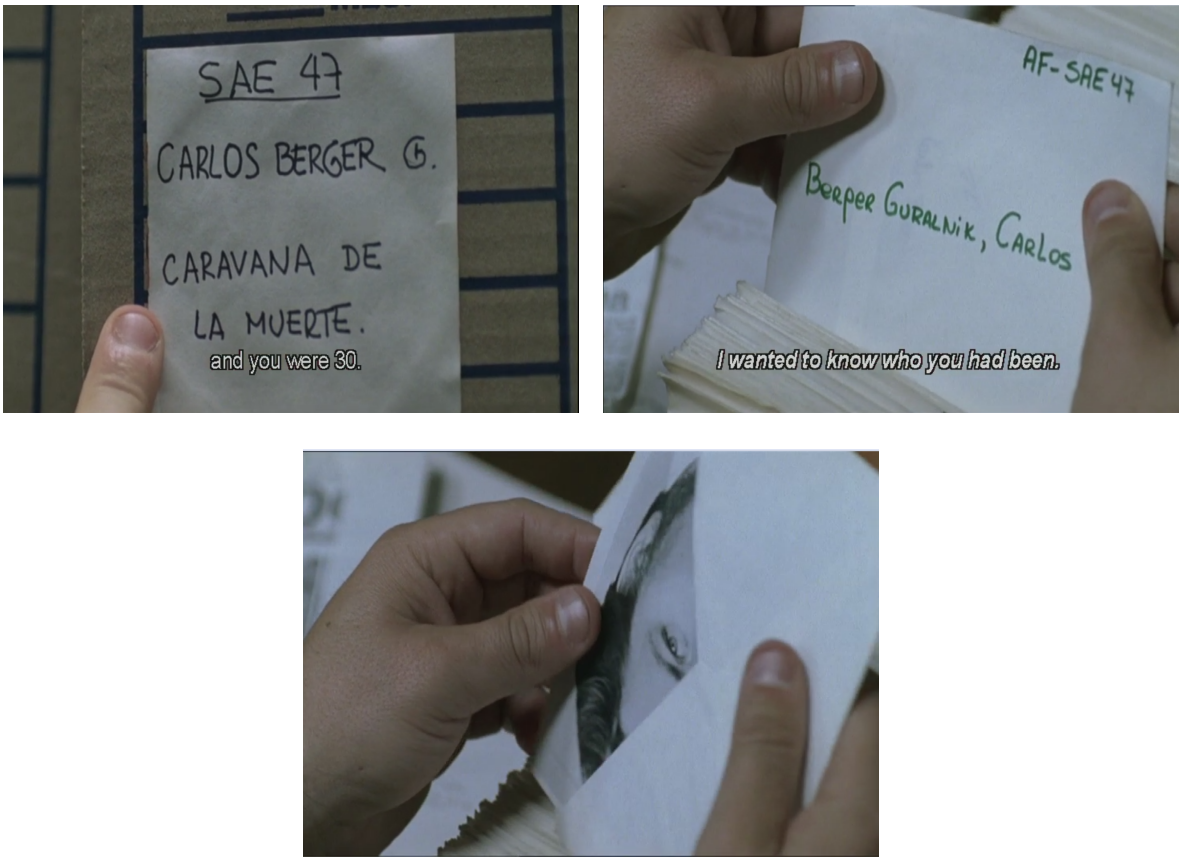


***Figure 19*. Poster for *Mi vida con Carlos*, depicting Germán alone in the desert.**

Introducing a set of motifs borrowed from detective narratives, the documentary performs "una investigación en el contexto familiar o cercano, que se enmarca en la experiencia colectiva de la dictadura" (Johansson and Vergara 92) . To carry out this investigation, the film privileges interviews from Carlos' family and friends as opposed to traditional documentary's reliance on

specialists or voices of authority.[135] The director, Germán, places himself physically in the film and searches to construct his own subject position in the present by exploring his past (*Figures 20-22*).



***Figures 20-22*. Germán searching for his father's file at the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

In the film's beginning sequence, the camera closes up on Germán's hands as they search through the archival materials of his father's case at the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, before finally landing on a photo.[136] Germán presents himself as a detective, looking for clues in the archives. The photo connects two back-to-back scenes, first in the archive, then at Carmen's dressing

[135] The "official" perspective is communicated through archival news footage, but these clips are informed or contradicted by the opinions from the intimate circle.
[136] As previously noted, touching things and naming are considered childlike modes of acquisition (Benjamin).

table, in her bedroom (*Figures 23-24*).[137] The photo's linkage of these initial scenes evocatively represents the connections between Germán's personal and familial search with a national one.[138]

***Figures 23-24*. Carlos' photo connecting the archive with the family home. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Presented as an ideal revolutionary by the Berger-Hertz family, Carlos achieves mythical proportions in the film, supporting the mythologization of the family as well. The portrait photo that is widely used throughout the film as well as in public demonstrations depicts Carlos as a Che Guevara-style militant. His wife confirms this idealization when she states that he was an exemplary revolutionary, "era un joven comunista ejemplar." Carlos' figure haunted Carmen and her son in its continual presence, as Germán's voiceover at the beginning of the film explains,

[137] See Lisa Renee DiGiovanni's article "Visual archives of loss and longing in Chile: *Mi vida con Carlos* by Germán Berger Hertz" for an excellent close reading of the film's beginning (68-69). In particular, she identifies this opening sequence as "an audiovisual representation of nostalgia" (DiGiovanni 68). The audience, in this sequence, has a limited view due to the extreme close ups.
[138] Another of the documentary's publicity posters is a drawing of Carlos' photo.

"Antes de tu muerte, nuestra familia era como cualquier otra. Mi madre tenía 27 años cuando enviudó. A partir de ese momento, la familia fuimos solo ella y yo, y entre nosotros, tu fantasma, tu figura heroica." Through death and disappearance, Carlos becomes a ghost and a hero – figures that Germán only perceives at a distance. Germán's comment from the film's opening implies that he recognizes this distance along with his father's mythical presence as a "heroic figure." His second person narrative, directly addressed to his father, attempts to bridge this distance while at the same time it recognizes Carlos as "other." Carlos becomes a recipient of Germán's audiovisual letter, aligning the viewer with Carlos. At the same time, Germán also tries to understand his own position as a father by communicating with Carlos. His father, as a "other," plays a role in the constitution of Germán's dialogical self. In my interpretation, then, the audiovisual letter is a personal mode of communication that serves as a form of catharsis and as a mirror. Germán, too, may be seen as a substitute for the lost objects that Carlos and his destroyed family represent. Germán becomes, in effect, the father figure that he has lacked, missed, and mourned; the lost object is both incorporated and substituted in the process.

Carlos' wife and brothers participate in restorative nostalgia (Boym), a mythologization of the past or home, through their idealization of Carlos (DiGiovanni 69). I would add to this that the family members also mythologize the family. The film prioritizes and yearns for a particular type of family, mainly a heteronormative nuclear family, even deemed "normal" by Carmen at one moment in the film. Carmen also explains that she chose to remain single after Carlos' death because remarrying would be the equivalent of forgetting her husband. Because of this privileging of the nuclear family, the film fails to surpass what Cecilia Sosa describes in Argentina as "the human rights tradition in the country (and beyond) that still champions a conservative idea of the family" (2). Germán, too, finds the family security that he previously

lacked, with his wife and daughters. In a way, he reaffirms the traditional family structure through his present desire for family and his mourning of the loss represented by his fractured family. At times, instead of addressing the fractures and problematic silences within the family, Germán and his mother long for a unified family to make up for what was impossible in the past. Along these same lines, by staging his broken family through the film, Germán yields a sort of pleasure in exploring its fissures, akin to "the forms of pleasure that may arise in the rehearsal of trauma" and build a sense of community beyond immediate bloodlines (Sosa 5).[139] He also stages the impossibility of a "normal" family in his own search, thus exposing the contradictions of certain ideas of family. Despite these tendencies towards a restorative nostalgia for the family, the film also provides moments of reflective nostalgia. For instance, by highlighting the family's silences in Germán's struggle to understand his father's life, the film undermines Carlos' idealized image in favor of a more human portrait (DiGiovanni 69). Image manipulation plays an increasingly important role in autobiographical memory narratives, for autobiography is a "mixture of memory and desire, of actual pictures and idealized images, of constantly evolving input and output" (van Dijck 107). Because of this mixture, Germán concentrates on the images of his father and his children, mixing restorative and reflexive nostalgia along the way.

Similar to how nostalgia works in *Formas de volver a casa,* where it emanates from a yearning to re-establish familial lineage, as discussed in Chapter 2, this documentary presents a longing for martyrdom and self-sacrifice, in part due to the loss of political commitment, comradery and community following Chile's neo-liberal turn. This longing could also derive

[139] *Formas* works in a different direction; instead of craving the unified family, the protagonist desires a broken family allegory. Nevertheless, in both cases, the protagonists want what they don't have in their families. This suggests that impossibility underlies these narratives.
Pleasure appears as a fresh approach to Southern Cone memory studies in Sosa's work. Too, van Dijck remarks on the pleasure of mixing both preservation and creation in mediated memories of the digital age. Perhaps as digitization increases and takes on new forms, pleasure will be addressed more fully.

from the uncompleted process of mourning that envelops the country and the Berger-Hertz family. The present crisis of social institutions (family and political parties, for example) that previously provided the subject with a basis for identification with and integration in the community has caused a comparative reflection on society and subjectivity (Llanos 218).

Directors, like Germán Berger-Hertz, who are children of dead or disappeared parents reinsert their parents into the social or public realm of recognition through the medium of audiovisual biography (on film), which Johansson and Vergara interpret as a way to displace the "condición de orfandad de los hijos" as outlined by Cánovas (97). The directors reclaim their (lost) parents in order to no longer be seen as orphans. In this way, they reject the label imposed upon them. This shift away from the orphan label, Johansson and Vergara continue, originates from two factors: first, the repositioning of the parents' image and story, and second, the relationship between the children and their parents generated in the present act of film-making (97). Whether viewing the film under the light of nostalgia (restorative/reflective) or *testimonio* (literary/audiovisual), these different types of performative representation coexist and comingle, signaling an in-between generation. These films demand that the directors' families as well as Chilean society recognize this particular generation's experiences.

Johansson and Vergara propose that *Mi vida con Carlos*, along with other similar documentaries, represent a new "audiovisual *testimonio*," as a move away from the prominent orphan figure in postdictatorial literature of the 1990s outlined by Rodrigo Cánovas.[140] They relate Carlos' heroic portrayal with "una inicial retórica testimonial literaria" which, in their opinion, is now "desplazada por la representación de imágenes más cotidianas y familiares" (Johansson and Vergara 100). According to them, Berger-Hertz's documentary abandons the

[140] In their article, Johansson and Vergara specifically analyze the documentaries *Mi vida con Carlos* and *En algún lugar del cielo* (Alejandra Carmona, 2003), but their conclusions can be applied to other documentaries that approach similar topics.

traditional testimonial genre adopted by a previous generation that uses the narrative-literary style of articulation. Instead, *Mi vida* adopts the format of an audiovisual testimony "que escenifica una nueva posición de enunciación y trabaja una diversidad de procedimientos, como acentuar el carácter performático del discurso o reinsertar la imagen y la historia de sus padres en la vida pública" (Johansson and Vergara 91). Although these scholars fail to cite Bruzzi's work on performative documentary, they touch upon similar ideas in their analysis.

Because of *testimonio*'s demand for justice in response to the repeated denial of recognition by those in power, *testimonio* forms part of human rights discourse. As already mentioned, the fight for human rights is predicated on family relationships. For example, in Chile, the relatives of those killed, disappeared, tortured, and exiled have been privileged as victims of the dictatorship through the image of the "wounded family." In agreement with Johansson and Vergara, there certainly has been a shift in first-person narratives produced over the last ten years in Chile, especially by the children of the dictatorship. Despite this shift, *testimonios* produced during the 1990s provide background knowledge and genre expectations for subsequent post-dictatorial texts. *Testimonio* from the dictatorial and transitional periods strives to expose a certain "truth" in order to claim justice. Since the early 2000s, however, first-person narratives have moved away from this human rights goal of exposing "truth" in order to claim justice. Instead, they espouse a more personal and subjective performance of the individual, familial, and every day, which undoes the stable notions of truth inherent to the literary *testimonio*.

Although the fight for justice remains relevant, the main motivations for the *hijos de la dictadura* differ from previous *testimonios*. The children-narrators do not bear witness to the original crimes of the dictatorship, but rather to the effects of these violations. Germán, for

example, was not a witness to his father's disappearance; his *testimonio* offers the story of the effects of that disappearance on his life. Also, whereas literary *testimonio* is a first-person narrative, it relates a collective experience. Similarly, Germán's story echoes the effects on other children of disappeared or family members, and more broadly, on the *hijos de la dictadura* and on Chilean society. Despite these similarities, Johansson and Vergara claim that *Mi vida*'s "testimonio audiovisual" abandons the "discurso narrativo-literario" (91). However, I do not find the literary and the audiovisual to be mutually exclusive. Although John Beverley defined testimonio as a printed novel "told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience," other scholars such as Linda J. Craft and Marc Zimmerman recognize the difficulty in easily defining or categorizing testimonio because of the intersection of its literary and social aims (31).[141] Craft even states that the form of testimonio "may vary, adopting narrative discourses such as autobiography, historical novel, interview, photographs, prison memoirs, diary, chronicle, letter, newspaper article, anthropological or social science documentary; it can be fiction or nonfiction" (22). The literary is, in my opinion, still present in *Mi vida con Carlos* and other documentaries. A more literal example of literature, the letters in *Mi vida* dissolve clear divisions between literary and audiovisual representations. The proposal of audiovisual *testimonio* attests to the intermediality of documentary films and of memory. Intermediality, like intertextuality, is an on-going relationship between present and past media technologies, including literature and video.

Like *testimonio*, these first-person documentaries reinsert personal tragedies into the public sphere, in hopes that they will be acknowledged and remembered. In the case of *Mi vida*,

[141] Beverley's definition limits *testimonio* to printed texts, which Johansson and Vergara's discussion on audiovisual *testimonio* attempts to address. Beverley's definition, too, attempted to grant legitimacy to testimonio as a literary genre.

Germán presents an intimate family situation through a first-person narrative that attempts to voice the concerns of other relatives of those missing or dead. Because of this, his documentary largely privileges the lineage of family victims. Cecilia Sosa duly identifies artistic performances – on stage and in film – that open up post-dictatorial memory to affiliative connections outside of the "wounded family." Although *Mi vida* presents the "wounded family" trope, I contend that the director's performance in the film opens (post)memory up to affiliative connections as well. What's more, family connects the individual with society because "Family life, even in its most intimate moments, is entrenched in a collective imaginary shaped by public, generational structures of fantasy and projection and by a shared archive of stories and images that inflect the transmission of individual and familial remembrance" (Hirsch "Generation" 114). Sosa does not dismiss the victims who were directly affected by dictatorial violence, but rather she challenges the cultural privileging of direct experience over other forms of memory and loss or "less obvious zones of injury" (3). Looking around and beyond familial relationships, she argues that "seemingly less implicated witnesses can also adopt and partake in loss" (Sosa 3). Although *Mi vida con Carlos* still privileges the family narrative of loss, I contend that, drawing on Sosa's work, the performative elements of this documentary open up the narrative to alternative practices of affiliative postmemory.

As already mentioned, Johansson and Vergara identify *Mi vida con Carlos* as a move away from the orphan literature that Cánovas described in the 1990s. However, Llanos explains that Berger-Hertz presents himself as a real and symbolic orphan. I would add, too, that he seems to have an "orphan complex" in the sense that he privileges the "unified" family. He appears haunted by his broken family's past, which extended to his uncles who had not seen each other in years. What's more, he appears obsessed with building his own nuclear family to reestablish a

sense of normalcy he never felt. Germán hones in on his father's ghostly presence and the silences felt in his family throughout the film. His work seems to be a direct response to that silence, to try and combat or fill it, but also to explain that his own family will not perpetuate the silence, hence his emphasis on communicating with his daughters about Carlos. Instead of the fractured family he has with Carmen, he longs for and constructs a unified family. Nevertheless, that same family would be impossible without the broken one. Ultimately, what I interpret as Germán's conflicted feelings towards family in general, in his oscillation between and belonging to both the fractured and unified family, offer another vision of family allegory to be extended to the nation, in which family is neither completely whole, nor completely dissolved, but remains somewhere in between.

As analyzed in chapter 2, the novels *Formas* and *Fuenzalida* deploy meta-literary techniques. Similarly, *Mi vida* highlights the director's role in the documentary and his construction of the narrative through meta-cinematic techniques. Additionally, the director uses letter-writing to performatively compose a memory narrative for him and his family. Because of this, the documentary can be considered an audiovisual letter directed to Germán's father, Carlos. In this cinematic letter, the director plays with real and fictional letters, authorship and readership, and the conventions of film and literature. Meta-cinema, like meta-literature, implies reflection, an act that resembles looking in the mirror. In this performative documentary, Germán stages the confusion and contradictions surrounding his identity and memory by filming himself. Writing and directing contain the illusion of control and identity that ultimately escape the writers and directors. Film provides another venue for first-person memory narratives because of its dialogic juxtaposition of genres (reality/fiction), time (past/present), media (private/public), technology (material/immaterial), and embodiment (visual/aural/haptic).

Similar to other subjective documentaries by children of the dictatorship, Berger-Hertz's documentary utilizes two different types of primary materials: from the public domain and from the private sphere. Public images and audio include photos and footage from official and alternative mass media, as well as from international organizations. Private sources consist of home movies, letters, and personal photographs, often from the family album. A rather limited view on the mediation of memory sets home media and mass media up in an oppositional framework, equating home media with individual memory and mass media with collective memory. However, as van Dijck argues, this focus fails to take into account "how individual and collective memory are shaped in conjunction, with media serving as relational means connecting self to others" (18). The division between home media and mass media, therefore, is flawed because it conceals how individuals obtain first-person memories from both personal and collective sources, as well as how individuals contribute to the collective media that influences and forms their individuality (van Dijck 19). In the end, *Mi vida* displays the reciprocal relationship between different media sources filtered through an autobiographical memory narrative. The public archival materials establish context for viewers and aesthetically demonstrate historical violence, while they also reveal the need for personal revisions of the past through memory. The re-appropriation of home videos and photos in the films revalues them as collective, public documents. The film's use of different collective and personal cultural memories dissolves the hierarchy that privileges one over the other, or claims that only media shapes memories. The film, instead, as a memory product and process, proves that memory also shapes media.

Alternating between different archives, *Mi vida* blurs the lines between the division between the political or non-political roles traditionally assigned to the private and public

spheres. For example, domestic documents and shots of the house's interior open the home and family up to outside views. New relationships are possible and the subjective materializes through the juxtaposition of media. Even though footage from *Mi vida* includes home movies, Rufinelli argues that the documentary is superior to the "home movie" because it is not just limited to the domestic space. Instead, the subjective documentary "se realiza con una conciencia narrativa y con un objetivo de difusión que va más allá del ámbito doméstico. Lo que no desaparece, en todo caso, es el ámbito. Se modifican los recursos, la habilidad compositiva, la búsqueda de relato y de significación" (Ruffinelli 62). Since film is destined for public consumption, the director consciously decides to place an otherwise private story in public through a technological medium that remembers and records. The documentary expands beyond the immediate family circle and forms part of a public project and, in this way, contributes to a shared, collective memory. How the documentary and its mediated memories are received and perceived, however, will change over time along with the changes in social and cultural landscapes.[142]

These private materials enter into crisis when they are used to approach past trauma, revealing the gaps in family histories and archives. The apparent happiness in the family images contradicts what we know to be the political reality and violent fate of individuals, especially for Carlos. In *Mi vida*, Germán, his uncles and his mother watch footage of Carlos at the beach; they laugh and smile as they reminisce, yet there is an underlying tension since Carlos remains disappeared (*Figure 25*). In another scene, Carmen touches the album with photos of her husband, an image of how the past remains and intervenes in the present, affecting individuals (*Figure 26*). Personal and familial images, like these, bridge distances and facilitate empathy;

[142] "In any case, mediated memories never remain the same in the course of time but are constantly prone to the vagaries of time and changing relations between self and others" (van Dijck 24).

they contain an “intimate material and affective connection” (Hirsch “Generation” 116). The family documents physically and emotionally unsettle the family members, the domestic space of the home, and the present. The film, in this way, may engender empathic unsettlement in viewers watching the family’s troubling and uncomfortable reminiscence (LaCapra 41). Similar to how the family members’ reactions to home movies change in time and differ among themselves, the family itself is never fixed either (van Dijck 146). The meaning and impact of this footage is equally unstable; the viewer’s perception is unfixed, opening up the documents to future reuses, reinterpretations, tensions, and discrepancies.

***Figures 25-26*. Family members interact with the past through family objects. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Throughout the film, Germán accesses his father's life through two images that are repeated consistently: the close-up photo of Carlos' face and the home movie at the beach. These images, along with others, reinforce Germán's inability to reach his father. This embodied experience of alienation provoked by the visual recording technologies of cinema and photography is reiterated in the film's last shot of two separate photos of Carlos (the one seen constantly throughout the film) and Germán as a baby. Whereas the shot from the beginning of the film only depicted Carlos' framed photo, in this final shot, both father and son are depicted. Notably, Carlos' photo is contained within a frame (*Figure 27*). Carlos remains trapped in the

materials available to Germán (photos, movies, letters); the son's project focuses on giving form to his father's body and life through those same materials to free his father's mysterious and ghostly existence.[143] In other words, Germán attempts to *reappear* his disappeared father.

***Figure 27*. Last shot of the film, depicting Carlos' photo beside his son's on Carmen's dresser. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

The first time Germán sees the image of his father's body moving is in the home video taken at the beach. In the footage, an adolescent Carlos runs towards the water and dives in. Claudia Barril describes the home footage as "instantes mágicos en que su fantasma se personifica. Evocación poética y dramática, donde el súper 8 ha capturado lo efímero y se convierte en medio de conocimiento de la figura ausente y de actualización del vínculo genealógico" (62).[144] The home footage replays in slow motion as the director manipulates the

[143] As Goméz Barris explains, "The notion of the image is a central trope of the film, where the time, space, and embodiment of the paternal figure are approximations and experiments, rather than memories that emerge from physical encounter" (12).

[144] *Mi vida con Carlos* was shot using 35mm, and the home movies reproduced in the film are in 8mm. In the US, when families began to buy 8mm cameras, the acquisition of the camera communicated "the newly acquired material wealth that was prominently showed…in television series and home movies of these decades" (van Dijck 133). Families with disposable income were able to purchase such cameras. Paradoxically, even though the families that were imitated were "ideal" (TV), the video camera allowed the portrayal of "real" families. In comparison with *El eco*, which was digitally shot, *Mi vida*'s use of 35mm could be an example of restorative nostalgia, recreating the past through analog technology.

original footage to contemplate the ephemeral existence of his father on film.[145] The montage of this scene deliberately shows Germán controlling the image and touching the projector *(Figure 28)*.

***Figure 28*. Germán pauses and rewinds the home video of his father as a child. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Germán remains on the floor, like a child, as he pauses and replays the footage. This shot-countershot of Carlos' projection and of Germán watching him places the two men face-to-face while it also emphasizes the distance between them. In part due to Carlos' inaccessibility and the family's reminiscence, this (literal) projection invests Carlos with a mythical aura, yet it simultaneously highlights the fractures and silences within the family about his eventual disappearance. Carlos' ghost ultimately materializes at a distance through his on-screen appearance since he remains inaccessible, trapped in the desert and in the screen. In addition to re-constructing his father, Germán seeks to identify his place within the reunited family, with his uncles, his mother, and ultimately, his father. The home video camera serves as a mnemonic tool that preserves "visual evidence of family life for later reference" while family members may "funnel conscious perceptions of family into desirable or idealized (moving) images" (van Dijck

[145] This footage, in normal and slow speed, is depicted in various moments throughout the film, similar to Carlos' photo. In this way, Carlos materializes through photographic and cinematic media, for Germán and the viewer.

124). Because of this, the private camera may contain traces of the individual's desire to belong to a family and to recognize or materialize that belonging in the images.[146]

Although *Mi vida* privileges family images and personal documents over historical sources, it contains other sources that join the private stories with national history. The continuity between images reveals how the past is embedded in the present, and how the individual is entrenched in the social.[147] In addition to the examples previously discussed, *Mi vida* recreates a photo of the volunteers at *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, where Carmen worked under the dictatorship and where Germán researches his father's files. The photo of *La Vicaría* is introduced through a seamless sequence of audio and media clips with a shot of Germán in the archives, joining past and present, but also exposing the construction of the documentary and of memory. First, original media footage of protests depicts police violence during the dictatorship. The last image of these clips is a police officer spraying the camera with tear gas; the liquid on the camera breaks the illusion of the fourth wall and places the cameraman in the scene (*Figures 29-30*).

[146] "People may create movies as future memories, and they edit moving images shot in the past to attune them to current views of family. Our memories of the past change along with our expectations of the future; memories are constantly prone to revision just as memory objects are constantly amenable to alteration" (van Dijck 173). Technological changes provide new ways for memory's imagination and projection to be represented. Germán in *Mi vida con Carlos* and the protagonist of *Fuenzalida*, discussed in Chapter 2, construct their fathers' images to fit their children's present and future narratives.

[147] For example, the photo and home movie footage of Carlos are motifs that repeat throughout the film in different contexts, including personal and national.

***Figures 29-30*. Liquid spray on the camera from a protest breaks the fourth wall. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Mi vida presents this image in slow motion, further highlighting the performative characteristic of the documentary. Both *Mi vida* and the archival footage attest to how the filmmaker's presence affects documentary-making, through editing and through embodied presence behind the camera. Both destabilizing techniques (spray, speed) converge to depict the enactment of "truth." As the image blurs from the spray and then cuts, the audio footage continues into the next scene, connecting the two frames. The next shot is of Germán in a room with different archival materials, mainly photographs (*Figure 31*). The camera never reveals his face but shows his hands holding documents at the top of the screen as the camera slowly zooms in on a photograph of *La Vicaría* on the table. The materials on the table appear to be in disarray, but the

camera's movement suggests otherwise: they form a filmic composition and each piece is purposefully arranged on the table. What's more, the camera guides the viewer on the search that Germán is conducting, imitating the detective's search the film stages. The camera finally pauses when the photo of *La Vicaría* takes up the entire screen, before dissolving to the more recent reenactment of the photo (*Figures 32-33*). This reenactment, however, is not a photo, but a cinematic staging, similar to a *tableau vivant*.

***Figure 31*. Germán goes through files related to his father's disappearance at *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad*. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

***Figures 32-33*. The archival photo of the workers at *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad* and its restaging for the film. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Additionally, various media images reference moments in national history remembered by Chilean citizens since "even the most intimate familial knowledge of the past is *mediated* by broadly available public images and narratives" (Hirsch "Generation" 112). One such significant moment for Chilean history and Germán's family is Pinochet's death.[148] Germán's voiceover explains that he had mixed feelings about Pinochet's death: "Por un lado, se cerraba una etapa muy oscura para Chile. Por otro lado, esa clausura significaba también una invitación al olvido. Políticos de todas las tendencias llamaban a dar vuelta a la página, a mirar hacia el futuro como si la insistencia en la memoria fuera nada más que una manía." His film, however, contributes to the country's memory of what happened, a mission his mother also claims is essential. This sequence begins with footage of the protests in the streets of Santiago with masses of people celebrating Pinochet's death. The people's chanting and singing provides the background noise

[148] As mentioned earlier, Pinochet's arrest and subsequent death appears in many of the films made by the *hijos de la dictadura*, as a point of reflection and impact on society and on the directors personally. The following remarks from Antonia Rossi attests to the influence of Pinochet's death on her film: "vuelve a nacer la idea de la película a partir de la muerte de Pinochet, porque yo -quizás ingenuamente- pensaba que de alguna manera había mutado el entendimiento de los sucesos históricos del país. Pero cuando vi salir a toda esta manada de gente a favor de Pinochet volví a sentir la misma violencia que sentí en el momento en que llegué a Chile… y ahí dije: esto no ha desaparecido, ni en mí ni en el país. Es algo que hay que desentrañar, porque creo que es una violencia muy socavada, a pesar de que se manifiesta, es algo que recorre otros caminos" (Rossi n.p.).

to Germán's voiceover of the quotation reproduced above. These scenes highlight the performativity of the documentary as the camera follows Germán and his assistant filming in the middle of the celebrations in downtown Santiago, an instance where Germán actually appears holding the camera (*Figure 34*). Likewise, his father's photo reappears once again, at the end of the sequence, on a wall with other *desaparecidos* (*Figure 35*). Carlos's photo, in this shot, inserts his individual and familial story within national history, and the documentary participates in an important moment for Chilean collective memory.

***Figure 34*. An example of performative documentary, Germán appears in his documentary filming. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

***Figure 35*. Carlos' portrait on the wall with other *desaparecidos* on the day Pinochet died. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Because of the Berger-Hertz family's public image, public footage of Carmen and Germán also forms part of their familial memories and narratives. One particular scene in the documentary reuses footage from the 1980s in which nine-year-old Germán appeared on television to discuss life without his father. The documentary's meta-cinematic techniques enable self-reflection in these images of Germán's complicated and uncomfortable position as a potentially public figure discussing a private matter. Although a child at the time, his position has not greatly changed, in the sense that his visible role as the son of a *desaparecido* and human rights activist informs his adult subjectivity. In his childhood interview, he reflected on how he felt when he was younger ("cuando era más chico, cuando era más niño"), already distancing himself from himself in a self-reflexive manner.[149] Additionally, as a child, he brings his personal feelings into the public through the interview, placing himself as a public figure in the history of the *desaparecidos* and their family members. His words from this footage haunt the film, as he explains, "No entendí por qué lo habían matado sólo por pensar distinto entonces no podía meterme en la cabeza esto todavía. Pero por qué, por qué lo hizo? Creo que a nadie le gusta que tu padre muera fusilado." Art, as the director explains in an interview, provides an outlet, or a space, for him to reflect on his emotions and on his life, exemplified by this scene in which the present-day director confronts his past self-image.

As both object and footage, television, in this scene, serves as a mirror and window of two temporalities. It literally provides Germán with an image of himself, in which he can view himself as other. However, this self-image is at a distance, separated by the screen of time and television. This footage also places the director and the audience in a similar position as both watch the director as a child on television. Germán is presented through a public image of

[149] "Asimismo, en *Mi vida con Carlos*, Germán Berger-Hertz, con nueve años de edad, aparecerá entrevistado en un programa televisivo hablando de la muerte de su padre con un vocabulario y un distanciamiento poco comunes en el lenguaje infantil" (Johansson and Vergara 102).

orphanhood that contradicts and reinforces his internal troubles. He confronts how he has been presented to the outside world and struggles to negotiate that position. At times he confirms the orphan narrative of parental abandonment and childhood isolation, reinforced by media footage; yet at other times his documentary challenges this narrative through his relationships with his mother and his father's ghost. The original footage begins by depicting Germán upside down due to his reflection from the glass coffee table (*Figure 36*).

Figure 36. **Germán's reversed reflection from the footage of his TV interview as a child. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

This beginning is striking, because of the reflection's distortion of Germán's face. Like looking in the mirror, there is room for continuity and difference, for recognition and disavowal. First, the TV footage literally depicts a mirror at the beginning of the interview, and then it serves as a metaphorical mirror, as a reappearance of the director's past self. Coincidentally, the camera shows his reflection before it shows him, implying distance between his role, his discourse, and himself. The self-representation, a screen on a screen, is similar to *mise en abyme*. This footage, which presents Germán as a public figure, is performative, not only in the material sense that it is part of the film, but also as a piece of Germán's identity. He fails to completely fill any of the roles he has been ascribed by his family, society, and historical circumstance. He laments his role

as an orphan, but also reappropriates it to delve into his father's past, to make his documentary, and to construct his own family and sense of self. The title of the film itself asserts and reclaims Germán's life with his father, which has routinely been denied by the orphan discourse.

Similar to her son's appearance on television, the film includes original footage of Carmen Hertz on television demanding human rights justice in Chile.[150] Germán's voiceover to his father explains the court case of *La Caravana de la Muerte* in which his mother played an essential part, "en su doble rol de abogada y familiar querellante." This public information that forms part of Chilean history is thus personalized through Germán's audiovisual letter to his father as he re-narrates national events. In addition to searching for information *about* his father, Germán also relays information *to* his father. While the camera slowly advances down the hallway of *El Palacio de Tribunales*, Germán's voiceover describes his mother's role in the case against Pinochet, followed by audio footage of her voice directly accusing Pinochet of having murdered her husband. Next are various clips of media footage depicting Carmen's fight for justice (*Figures 37-40*). At the end of this "mash up," the audio archive of Carmen's voice links one frame to the next, serving as an extra-diegetic "voiceover" while the camera films Carmen alone in the court (*Figure 41*).

[150] Andrés Wood directed a mini series on the life of Carmen Hertz entitled *Ecos del desierto* that deserves further attention in dialog with *Mi vida con Carlos*. The series was released on the open TV station, Chilevisión, in September 2013, and later throughout Latin America on TNT.

***Figures 37-40*. Shots from Carmen's televisual appearances as a human rights lawyer. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

***Figure 41.* Carmen alone in court. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Interestingly, Carmen, the mother, is the "personaje políticamente comprometido, racional y emocionalmente 'inquebrantable,'" who questions, transgresses traditional notions of gender through her actions as well as her role in the public sphere as a human rights lawyer

(Johansson and Vergara 101). Carmen provides access to the "ámbito público/político que coincide con el espacio y la voz de la madre, lo cual se ve tanto en la visita a la Vicaría de la Solidaridad como en las declaraciones a la prensa por los casos Caravana de la Muerte y Pinochet" (Johansson and Vergara 101). However, a tension between Carmen's public persona and her personal life emerges throughout the film. In an interview Germán remarks that it was difficult to speak with his mother in front of the camera for his documentary, because she had adapted a particular public discourse for so many years.[151] Carmen's inability to separate her public performance from her son's film may explain why she is conspicuously absent in the more emotional scenes of mourning, for instance when Germán and his uncles read letters to Dora and/or Carlos at different moments. As a result, Germán negotiates his memories along with his mother's, trying to make sense of and room for both instead of displacing them. He attempts to understand his mother's memories and decisions through his own. Like a detective, he wants to figure out how they fit together to compose an image of his father.

The Berger-Hertz family – a publicly wounded figure – has adopted these public images as part of a personal past while at the same time the personal stories figure into a larger network of national injustices. Although the family's loss of Carlos was public, at home, this was not discussed as openly. In one particular scene, Germán's uncle, Ricardo, and his family sit in a semicircle for the camera as they discuss how the past has been communicated within their home.[152] Setting the stage of the family conversation, the camera performs a slow, circular pan of all the family members before they begin to speak. One of Germán's cousins addresses his family's silence regarding Carlos's death and the country's history by pointing out that he learned more about the past in a 20-minute televisual report on *La Caravana de la Muerte* than

[151] He say, "me costó mucho hablar con mi mamá y no con Carmen Hertz frente a la cámara" (Fernández n.p.).
[152] Germán also films his other uncle, Eduardo, and his family in their home in Canada. Eduardo's family gathering is equally as staged as Ricardo's.

20 years at home. He states, "Hace un par de años me acuerdo de haber visto en el Canal 13 un reportaje de la Caravana de la Muerte. Y en ese reportaje supe, fueron 15, 20 minutos, en que supe la historia mucho más completa de lo que había sabido en los 20 años que había vivido." The tensions between the parents and children surface as Ricardo and his wife explain why they never discussed the past at home. Whereas the children want to know, they are confronted with their parents' profound pain and subsequent unwillingness to share. Ricardo explains that he tries to forget the sad things that happened in his life, and that to bring them up again would be masochistic. His children appear bothered by his attitude, when one of his daughters challenges his explanation when she says, "Depende de las preguntas." She doesn't accept silence as a blanket response to all questions regarding the past. Germán's film responds to this situation, as he explains in an interview, "Me decidí a hacer *Mi vida con Carlos* con el objetivo de romper el silencio de mi familia" (Chernin n.p.). In addition to breaking the silence within the director's family, the film offers answers to Germán's daughters, even when he doesn't know them all.

The voiceovers and letters in *Mi vida con Carlos* illustrate the imagination and projection that Hirsch attributes to the performative processes of postmemory, to fill in the gaps in the transmission of memory from one generation to the next. Germán speaks to his father throughout the film, and reads letters to and from Carlos. Moreover, Germán collects stories, letters, and audiovisual archives of his family's memories of Carlos to weave another narrative of his father and their relationship. The documentary inserts Germán's letters into his family's history of letter-writing, by reproducing them on screen and rereading them through voiceovers. The performances of letter-reading and writing are multiple: Carmen rereads a letter that she wrote in exile in Buenos Aires to her mother-in-law Dora; Germán rereads his father's last letter to Dora; at the cemetery, standing by the graves, Germán's uncles read letters they have written to Dora

and Carlos; Germán writes and reads a letter from Carlos' point of view to his daughters in Spain. Finally, the film culminates in a scene of Germán and his uncles in the desert, where Germán tearfully reads a letter that he wrote to his father, performing the work of mourning. Germán recognizes this act as a memory exercise when he states, "Hoy estamos aquí, haciendo un ejercicio de la memoria" (*Figure 42*). As he reads, Germán glances directly at the camera with tears streaming down his face, addressing the recipient of the letter. In this scene, the audiovisual letter and the material letter along with the performances of filming and reading converge in the direct address to the recipients: the viewer and Carlos.

***Figure 42*. A close-up of Germán in the desert, emotionally performing the work of memory. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

As I have previously suggested, the entire film can be seen loosely as an audiovisual letter written to Carlos from his son given the predominance of letters in the film along with Germán's direct address to his father through the voiceover. The letter-writing is an act of imagination and performance that creates relationships between family members, the present and the past, and reality and representation. Such imaginative investment produces "truthful/authentic inventions," what Barril refers to as "invenciones veraces." Instead of being faithful to facts, the imaginary or imprecise stories contain the truth of memory. In them, the past

adapts to the interpretative conditions of those who remember in the present. Despite this imprecision, the child is able to narrate a version of the parent's past that has been left out of previous representations (Barril 38).[153] The notion of "truthful invention" dialogues with what Bruzzi calls "a new definition of authenticity" that emerges in performative documentaries (6). This new "truth" is a result of the performance itself, "because [these documentaries] acknowledge the construction and artificiality of even the non-fiction film and propose, as the underpinning truth, the truth that emerges through the encounter between filmmakers, subjects and spectators" (Bruzzi 8). Barril's and Bruzzi's notions of truth in performative documentaries affirm the audiovisual *testimonio*'s search for truth, albeit different from literary *testimonio*.

Also related to *testimonio* is *Mi vida con Carlos*' therapeutic use of letter-writing. Considered a "feminine" genre because of its production within the intimate sphere, letters are another way that the film subverts traditional gender expectations and inserts the private within the public. The nineteenth and twentieth-century association of letters and diaries in the Western world with the "private" reflects the experiences and societies of those time periods. Before, during the Renaissance for instance, letters were publicly read and circulated as a way for writers to demonstrate their rhetorical skills. However, the industrialization process of the nineteenth century divided experience, society, and space into private and public spheres. As a result of the feminization of the private sphere, the personal writing of diaries and letters became equated with the feminine and female self-expression. Letters were a way for women to communicate when they were relegated to the domestic domain. Paradoxically, the letter is both composed, or formal, and "natural," or conversation-like. It is versatile because its "length, content, structure,

[153] Barril writes that when the directors attempt to explain their parents' past, "Sus búsquedas derivan en relatos imaginarios e imprecisos que no pretenden ser fieles a los hechos y que contienen la verdad del recuerdo. Son 'invenciones veraces', donde el pasado, al ser recordado y reformulado, se adapta a las condiciones de lectura de estos exploradores, en el momento de la rememoración, en el presente. Pero, a su vez y a pesar de esta imprecisión, el hijo logra devolver al padre un relato sobre su pasado" (38).

and intended readership are all context driven," making it a privileged site of self-expression (Higgins 55). The "natural" or fluid form of the letter lends it to realism, a popular genre in the nineteenth century, and also a reason why epistolary novels rely on an intimate voice and structure to appear more realist. Diary novels also use genres of intimate expression to approximate realism. Letter-writing granted women a voice of authority, based on gender, to voice her feminine experience. Furthermore, the intimacy of women's writing lends itself to the construction of (female) identity as a social process (Higgins 35). Because of these parallels, there are a few Chilean documentaries that classify as what I call "epistolary films" or "epistolary documentaries," such as *Mi vida* and Tiziana Pazzini's short films *Carta remitente* and *Dear Nonna*.[154] Because *Mi vida* uses a combination of letters within the cinematic letter addressed to Carlos, I liken the film to an audiovisual letter collage (letters on top of letters), or an epistolary *mise en abyme* (letter within a letter). Despite the difficulties in identifying a clear definition of the epistolary genre because of its fluidity, William Decker writes, "a true letter is communication that figures successfully in an interpersonal relationship" (Decker 19). Applying this to *Mi vida*, it is a filmic letter that establishes communication between Germán and Carlos, as well as between other members of the Berger-Hertz family. Finally, the epistolary form suggests that the viewer accesses genuine self-expression, an important component of documentary's claim to realism. At the same time, the letter makes the viewer experience both the author(s)' voice and the intended recipient(s)' presence. The letter also allows the writer to

[154] The most extensive discussion of "epistolary film" that I encountered was in Teri Higgins' doctoral dissertation entitled "Attention to Detail: Epistolary Discourse and Contemporary Cinema." Her interests, however, lie in the use of letters in contemporary, mainstream romance films. Despite her different focus, her literature review explains the history of letters and diaries as feminine and private forms of written expression, hinging on the feminine detail, daily life, and identity as a process. Another term that circulates is "audiovisual letter," which Pazzini uses in her own film.

become a witness to his/her self, as I explored in Chapter 1 through Eltit's essay "Las dos caras de La Moneda."

Letters, as private exchange and public statement, blur boundaries between individual and collective memory, especially through their appearance in the public forum of film. In the film, rereading these personal archives of the past traces Germán's familial history. However, he displaces the original embodied act of reading and writing through various voiceovers. For instance, Carmen provides the voiceover that reads her letter to her mother-in-law Dora, written during exile in Argentina. The content of the letter reveals Carmen's doubts about her relationship with Germán. At the same time, by reading the letter, Carmen reembodies and reperforms the earlier moment when she struggled with her position in exile and as a mother. Although the letter was destined for Dora, Carmen now reappropriates the letter for her son's film by reading it out loud. What's more, the material presence of the letter and its writing is translated to an audiovisual medium. By giving voice to letters such as Carmen's, the film performs mourning in public, culminating with Germán's epistolary address to his father at the end of the film. As an outdated medium of exchange transplanted to an audiovisual representation, the film presents a technological rendition of (post)memory, or a performatively mediated (post)memory. The use of family letters also expresses a longing to belong to the network of communication between family members. Germán claims his place within family remembrance through his film and letters.

In *Mi vida*, the voiceovers that read letters challenge common preconceptions about documentary. As personal correspondence, the letters' subjective presence disturbs documentary's claim "that to show is more real than to tell, that the image contains a truth that a narration actively interferes with, that any subjective presence destroys the possibility of

objectivity completely" (Bruzzi 64). Germán's voiceover at the beginning of the film reconfirms this as he addresses his father as "tú." A personal father-son relationship serves as the basis of the film, and the audience observes and partakes in this relationship. As the recipient of the film, the viewer potentially identifies with Carlos, a *desaparecido*. At the same time, the audience may also identify with other members of the family, especially the director-protagonist, leading to empathic unsettlement. Furthermore, the film allows "a concomitant diversity of reaction and thought" from viewers through its artistic representation of letters and voices that challenge voiceover norms (Bruzzi 64). *Mi vida* rejects the "voice of God" mode of narration, aligning it with Bruzzi's performative documentary. This type of documentary that avoids traditional voiceover "comes out of an acknowledgement, refinement and rejection of how commentary and its supposedly inherent didacticism is conventionally perceived" (Bruzzi 64). Playing with the conventions of voiceover, *Mi vida* resists hegemonic practices of film-making, history, memory, and family. In this way, a dialectical relationship between the film, director, and viewer materializes through the documentary's techniques and technologies of narration.

Phantasmal figures are granted legitimacy in the documentary as both letter-readers and writers. As mentioned, the voiceovers that read letters displace the original bodies, voices and moments of correspondence. Nevertheless, these messages find another place in the present through the film's rereading. When Germán reads his father's last letter to Dora, Germán occupies his father's place and voice, symbolically reconstructing a connection that he has missed throughout his life. What's more, his voice vicariously brings his father back to life, freeing Carlos from words on a page, one of the materials that contains him. Here, again, Dora is re-imagined and given form as the recipient of various letters. By reading and writing letters, Germán performs the documentary as well as familial history, memory, and legacy.

The original archival letters are reread through voiceovers whereas the present-day letters written by Germán and his uncles are performatively read on screen. That is, in the case of the former, the moment of enunciation is disembodied (timeless) as the archival letters are read during poetic scenes that depict photos floating in water.[155] These acts of reading intimate, family communication accompanied by the emotionally charged family photos symbolize how the silence within the family is dissolving, specifically through the act of film-making. By contrast, the present-day letters are given an embodied presence through the writers/readers since the (original) moment of enunciation is recorded on film. Although the more recent letters occupy a specific place and time in the film, they can also be regarded as "timeless" because they are recorded and preserved by cinematographic technology. Germán's uncles write a letter to Dora and Carlos that they read at the cemetery. When Eduardo starts to read, addressing his dead mother and brother, "Dorita y Carlos, los siento tan cerca mío, en otro mundo." The film communicates the brothers' intense emotion through extreme close-ups of their faces, the paper the letter was written on, and the tombstone. Physically overcome with grief, Eduardo begins to cry and has to start the letter over. At this point, the camera cuts to another shot, interrupting the letter, its conclusion unread. One of the film's final scenes is equally as emotional; Germán and his uncles return to the Atacama Desert to read a letter that Germán wrote to Carlos. As Germán reads the letter, he cries, visibly mourning the loss of his father and working through his grief.[156]

These letters written by Germán and his uncles to Carlos and Dora perform the processes of memory and of imagination as a way of working through loss. There is another letter,

[155]The reading of the letters is disembodied in the sense that the physical body of the narrator is not visible on screen. Clearly, however, the voice suggests the presence of a body.

[156] Carmen is conspicuously absent from these acts of reading and writing. This could due to multiple reasons: first, because she already has a strong public voice; second, she is not part of the Berger lineage; third, she is not a direct male relative of Carlos. By excluding Carmen's female presence from scenes of emotional mourning, the film subverts the gender norms that the dictatorship sought to uphold. At the same time, the dictatorship's espousal of Catholicism is undone through the Berger family's Jewish heritage.

however, that serves as an example of postmemory, as Germán writes and reads a letter from Carlos' point of view to his daughters in Spain. In this scene, Germán takes his young daughters to the countryside with his wife where they search for candy that Carlos supposedly left there as a gift for the girls. When his daughter finds her lollipop, Germán reads a letter to her from Carlos, as a way to insert her grandfather's absent presence into her life. In this way, too, Germán teaches his daughter about postmemory and includes her in a network of familial memory and communication. Letters literally and metaphorically circulate (post)memories, as a form of communication that mediates vicarious memories and experiences.

The most poetic moments of the film are when family photos and letters are placed in water, with a mixture of sounds (thunder, child's voice, reading letters) that accompany the floating materials. These images compose and inform Germán's memory and mourning since he has no direct memory of his father.[157] The nebulous water represents postmemory, as experiments and conjectures that hinge on imagination rather than clear definition or direct access.[158] Because of this, only private images circulate within the water, whereas images from public archives are absent because their materials and hegemonic narratives are more easily accessed. The floating photos mirror Germán's feelings and communicate a sensation of disorientation when the director faces his family's history of violence and dispersion. In the first of these scenes, Germán once again speaks directly to his dead father. The photos do not have any order to them; removed from the family photo album they freely float, blocking and disturbing one another, providing only partial views. As photos move in the water upside down

[157] Hirsch is particularly concerned with the maternal figure and the privileging of the child's reunion with the mother in Holocaust postmemory. The film by Berger-Hertz adds a gendered twist to the story by stressing the father-son relationship. The director also draws a parallel between Carlos's relationship with Dora (Carlos's mother) and Germán's relationship with Carmen (who raised him as a single mother).

[158] Postmemory's connection to the past] "is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue in the present" (Hirsch "Generation" 107).

with no logical movement, blank backsides are exposed. The camera, as well, follows one photo and then becomes distracted by another (*Figure 43*).

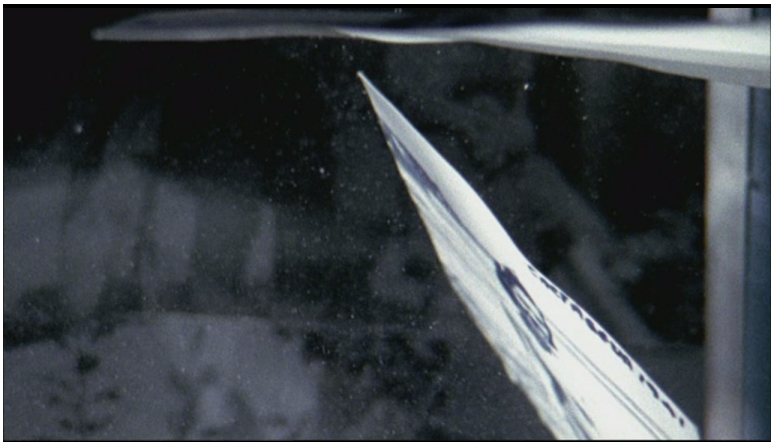


***Figure 43*. Germán's family photos floating in water. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

The camera's movement imitates the process of postmemory in which different memories coincide and collide. Germán's voiceover explains that a sheet of ice was installed over his family regarding Carlos' life and death, yet the photos freely floating throughout the water suggest that perhaps, now, this silence is being addressed and that memories are allowed to surface and be shared. Germán's voiceover describes his family's silence to his father: "Después de tu muerte, todo cambió. No se pudo hablar más de ti. En nuestra familia, el silencio era una frágil capa de hielo que podia quebrarse en cualquier momento." His film, attempts to break this silence. In tandem with this, the floating photos in these sequences are similar to the development of photos in a dark room, bringing to light what was once obscured. Photography in this film is privileged, perhaps because, as Hirsch says, "Photography's promise to offer an access to the event itself, and its easy assumption of iconic and symbolic power, makes it a uniquely powerful medium for the transmission of events that remain unimaginable. And, of course, the photographic meaning of *generation* captures something of the sequencing and the loss of sharpness and focus inherent in postmemory" ("Generation" 107-108). The processes of

generating and developing photos are reproduced in these scenes in the documentary, performing memory through filmmaking. Additionally, the film stages the manipulation of the photos by placing them in water, an action that has always been inherent to photography and, also, memory. What's more, photography occupies a central role in *Mi vida* because of its connection with family.

In these sequences and throughout the film, water is a prominent trope of access to Carlos. The water in these sequences and in the home movies symbolizes a contrast to the desert where Carlos's remains are scattered. Water becomes the source of life for Carlos in Germán's reconstruction. Nevertheless, water conversely conjures up memories of death and torture, since victims of dictatorial violence were dumped in the sea. Macarena Gómez-Barris explains that "The sea and water symbolize, throughout the film, the challenge posed by generational memory where water is nebulous and the motion of the waves successive, repetitive, and without definition" (12). Taking this imagery a step further, Germán remembers both death and life, of his father and of his family. He looks at the death of his father in order to look to the future of his daughters' life. Germán's and his uncles' tears in the film also repeat the trope of water. In particular, Germán's mourning towards the end of the film produces water, a source of life and growth, in the dry, haunting space of the desert where the bodies of the disappeared remain (DiGiovanni 71). Both desert and sea represent the continual search for the disappeared as well as the constant displacement and wandering that this search implies. Just as water contains various potential meanings – life as well as death – , its inclusion as a visual trope alludes to Carlos' placement in both. Water represents the liminal space-time, a ghostly threshold, of *Mi vida con Carlos*, Germán's postmemorial life that contains both direct experiences and memories of repression along with Carmen's transmitted memories and silences.

Towards the end of the film Germán visits Chuquicamata, where his father was last seen alive. He describes the torture carried out on his father's body and how his cadaver was kept apart from the mass grave where the other corpses were buried, perpetuating his disappearance still today.[159] As a response to the silence, violence, and burial of his father's body, sand is depicted being blown away (a technological manipulation) to uncover a photo of Carlos (*Figure 44*).

***Figure 44*. Sand blown away to reveal Carlos' photo. (Berger-Hertz, *Mi vida con Carlos*, 2010)**

Cinematic technology unburies the index of Carlos' existence because the government refuses to uncover the body.[160] What's more, the photo replaces Carlos' body. Therefore, Germán's search ends at the photo, as the source of Carlos' presence. The digital wind reveals the photo, alluding to the ability of imaginative manipulation to recover and create a memory narrative. By staging the discovery of his father through the photo, Germán reenacts a sort of justice for Carlos' disappearance by making him reappear. Germán and his film thus serve as necessary witnesses, while they also ask the viewer to become a witness, especially when taking into consideration the various testimonies layered throughout the documentary. The photo is all that Germán has (and

[159] As the camera slow pans the desert ground, Germán's voiceover states "Según consta en el proceso, tú pediste que te sacaron la capucha antes de ser fusilado. Exigiste mirar la cara de tus asesinos, a lo que por cierto no accedieron. Tal osadía tuviste que pagarla con mayores torturas y un castigo pósthumo. Te flagelaron con armas pequeñas y corvos. Te torturaron y te arrancaron los ojos. Cuando lanzaban los cuerpos a la fosa clandestine, fuiste apartado."

had) of his father, since the body's location remains unknown. Yet, Germán has unburied his father, at least in a poetic and symbolic gesture for his personal memory and for justice in the face of the military's silence.

Whereas the film opens as the camera pans the apparently empty Atacama Desert, filled with bones underneath the surface, it ends at home with a close-up of Carlos' portrait photo. This image reappears one last time in the films' final shot, displaying Germán's photo as a baby and his father's beside it in a frame on Carmen's dresser, a setting repeated from the opening sequence of the film. As the camera slowly zooms in on the pair of photos, the viewer hears a voiceover dialogue between Germán and his daughter. He asks her if she knows who is in the picture, to which she responds "Carlos." Then, when he asks her who Carlos is, she replies "tu papá." The audiovisual letter to Carlos serves as a platform for Germán to communicate with his daughters, passing on his family's history so that it will not be lost. What's more, Germán's daughter closes the distance felt between father and son when she correctly identifies Carlos as "tu papá". Similar to the ending of *Fuenzalida* discussed in Chapter 2, *Mi vida con Carlos* ends with the next generation. Both the female protagonist of *Fuenzalida* and Germán teach their children the practices of postmemory; in particular, they emphasize imagination as a tool to remember.[161] Finally, the children in both texts' final scenes speak to or about the dead. They learn to communicate with a remote past, encouraged and mediated by their parents and technology. In *Fuenzalida*, this communication occurs through fiction and photos, and in *Mi vida*, through letters, photos, and home movies. In the end, each child knows who their grandfathers are, whether through imagination, media, or family archives. In both cases, the

[160] Four years following the film's release, in 2014, Carlos' remains were identified along with five other victims of the *Caravana de la Muerte*. Each person had been shot to death. http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/482635-caravan-of-death-in-chile-6-victims-identified-including-journalist-carlos-berger/

[161] Both *Fuenzalida* and *Mi vida* compose a story around a photo of missing fathers.

children motivate their parents' searches and creative journeys of composing a novel and a film, familial legacies and memories.[162]

Audiovisual Collage and Diary in *El eco de las canciones*

In contrast to *Mi vida con Carlos*, Antonia Rossi's *El eco de las canciones* (2010) departs from the more traditional documentary format through a more experimental aesthetic that can be likened to collage. Perhaps because of this, the film has not circulated as widely as *Mi vida con Carlos*. Rather, its screenings have been limited to film festivals in Chile and Europe along with projections at the Centro Arte Alameda. The film approaches issues of memory in Chile's post-dictatorial context from the perspective of a fictional woman, Ana, who was born in Italy where her parents were exiled, similar to the director. In interviews, Rossi explains that the film's script is based on interviews she conducted with other children of exile in Italy and found footage she acquired by asking everyone she knew for videos and photos from the time period, because she found that they mirrored her own experience.[163] The narrator Ana represents the common feelings of displacement and not belonging experienced by the children of exile that Rossi interviewed. The film doesn't question the parents' decisions or actions nor does it try to figure out the past in order to discover some truth about what happened, but rather it attempts to express feelings towards childhood exile and its effects in the present. Composed of different visual,

[162] Ana Ros identifies two kinds of intergenerational transmission: active and passive. She claims that the heritage of trauma is complicated because "on the one hand, to know and reaffirm what came before us, and choose to keep it alive; on the other hand, to behave freely in relation to the past, which implies interpreting, assessing, and critically selecting what to continue and what to abandon. To receive, yet to select, to accept but to reinterpret – these are the contradictions implied in the act of inheriting" (Ros 9). These texts concerned with subsequent generations (*Mi vida con Carlos* and *Fuenzalida*) voice the tensions Ros identifies in the transmission of trauma between different generations.

[163] In one instance, the director discusses her goal to create a film that expresses the experience of her generation, which has been marginalized in the parents' stories, similar to Alejandro Zambra's insistence on recovering the voice of the "personajes secundarios." Rossi explains that her film "[b]usca constituir un viaje por nuestra historia, dibujando a través de elementos diversos un mapa identitario del nosotros. Un mapa que contenga las experiencias particulares que marcan nuestro sello en tanto sujetos y en tanto pueblo" (n.p.).

aural, and narrative pieces, the film collects that which official history has discarded and marginalized in a gesture similar to Benjamin's rag-picker historian. In the end, the non-linear documentary is at times chaotic, fragmented, and confusing, yet the film's disorienting character reflects the individual and collective experiences of constant movement, of leaving and returning.

The poster for the film recreates many of the tropes that communicate these feelings of childhood exile and the cinematic aesthetic of combining disparate elements (*Figure 45*). Notably, a girl's legs are disproportionate to the neighboring trees and boat, making her appear as a giant who is out of place in her surroundings. The trees and the wind are ominous, covering up the legs and pushing the skirt, while the bright colors contradict such foreboding symbols. Whereas the publicity image for *Mi vida con Carlos* depicts a photo of a solitary man in the desert, a nationally recognized landscape of disappearance, *El eco* uses a drawing of a faceless and ageless woman in an unspecified landscape. In the latter, the writing is unpolished, imitative of a child's handwriting. *Mi vida*, too, appears to have more public appeal because of its specificities and polished format, whereas *El eco*'s more open-ended form does not provide such a clear or digestible/marketable narrative. Despite these differences, in gender and in landscape, both films attempt to reach Chilean audiences beyond the personal scope of the stories that they narrate.

***Figure 45*. Poster for the film *El eco de las canciones*.**

Rossi's documentary employs techniques similar to those found in Albertina Carri's *Los rubios*, which the director cites as an inspiration for her film. However, Rossi's film differs from Carri's through her collage aesthetic. Furthermore, whereas other post-memorial documentaries, such as *Los rubios* and *Mi vida con Carlos*, present the documentaries' construction and performance through the directors' physical appearance in the films, Rossi never appears before the camera or through the voiceover. Instead, the voiceover is performed by an actress and the narrator's body is never portrayed on screen.[164] Similar to *Los rubios* and *Mi vida*, *El eco* reflects on and challenges the audience's preconceptions of documentary film. However, *El eco* achieves this through the constructed composition of disparate materials rather than an actor's

[164] The use of an actress to portray autobiographical elements of the film is similar to Albertina Carri's use of an actress to represent her in *Los rubios*. However, in contrast to the absence of a body in *El eco*, Carri actually appears in her film as the director.

performance. In other words, the material components (photos, postcards, home videos, official footage, audio clips) become the performers of the documentary, revealing its construction. The background information about the basis of the film is available through published interviews with the director but is not explicitly revealed in the film itself. In this way, *El eco* blurs the lines between fiction/invention and reality/truth because the context of the images and the familial story are unknown to the viewer. Just as the film's design is unknowable, so too are history, memory, and subjectivity, creating chaos and confusion, which the film translates through its mixture of images and sounds. The combination and juxtaposition of different sources ultimately forms another memory-story that is inseparable from the other pieces. The film lends credibility to each part as separate and as a unit by presenting individual parts linked together to form a collective narrative.

Through collage, memories acquire a particular texture as their materials and technologies highlight their embodiment in both time and space. The heterogenous and disparate parts of the film challenge the notion of an all-encompassing vision of history often available in documentaries and in official memory. Instead, the film aesthetically portrays a third space that the 1.5 generation of the children of the dictatorship inhabits. This particular position is further construed by the use of both digital and analog media, which presents intermediary and intermedial memories. Digital and analog forms are not mutually exclusive; instead, they coexist. Digital objects are often considered immaterial due to their invisible digits. Also, digital objects can be infinitely manipulated without a trace of the changes wrought. Under this perspective, the idea that digital objects are immaterial consequently suggests that analog objects are rather static, material reminders of the past. As van Dijck reminds us, digital objects are also material, "even if this materiality is different from the analog objects that we are used to and that are still very

much part of our personal cultural memory" (47). The choice to implement digital and/or analog practices and objects for filmmaking thus reveals the changing configurations of cultural memory. I interpret *El eco*'s use of both as a way to express the hybrid space-time of the children of the dictatorship and their (post)memory practices. This documentary in particular is an example of the "[n]ew hybrid forms and fused practices" that result from the mixture of digital and analog forms and "are likely to inform the larger cultural tendencies that propel their use" (van Dijck 49). In other words, *El eco*'s digitization and remediation provide metaphors for processes of post-dictatorial memory. Digitization fails to obliterate analog technology, but rather shows how these new technologies build off of preceding ones without completely replacing them, as in intertextuality, remediation, and postmemory.

The destabilization of hierarchies and the coexistence of different experiences and memories materialize in the collage aesthetic employed by *El eco*. I interpret Scanlan's claim that "Media remake human memory as a kind of cultural kaleidoscope," akin to my reading of "collage" as a particular memory aesthetic (23). The visual and the auditory straddle the realms of the material and the immaterial, located at the junctures of time, space, and body. This aesthetic portrayal attests to a layering of times, spaces, objects, stories, and histories to compose the present's account of the past, and the present itself.[165] Moreover, given the lack of physical body of the narrator together with the director's corporeal and vocal absence, the accumulation of images and sounds form the material of memory and the director's presence, exposing the film-making process and providing a venue for self-reflection. Finally, collage-making as a

[165] Practices of collage resemble Walter Benjamin's aim as a historian. For instance, *The Arcades Project* was constructed out of fragments, in hopes that "such fragments, when placed in the right combinations and juxtapositions, would allow the dead world of modernity past to come into its own" (Scanlan 24). A similar sentiment is expressed in *El eco*, which would allow something new to emerge from the debris (as stated explicitly in the film).

psychological practice has been identified as a useful tool for constructing life stories, especially in adolescence, the time period of exile in *El eco* (van Schalkwyk 680).

The critical work on *El eco de las canciones* has largely focused on its relationship with performative, autobiographical documentaries. After a brief overview of this work, I will discuss the film's aesthetics in dialog with similar concerns of memory and subjectivity in the film. While many of the articles on *El eco* refer to Bruzzi's performative documentary and Lejeune's concept of autobiography, they do so to concentrate on the performative "yo" which is both individual and collective, and blends fictional and non-fictional genres. In relation to this, I look at the film's collage aesthetics as an expression of (post)memories and of postdictatorial representations of the past. I propose that the film's memory practice approximates sampling, a musical practice related to collage, which creates and theorizes an in-between or intermediate site for the hybrid generation of the children of the dictatorship.

In her work on *El eco*, Claudia Barril compares the film to autofiction, or a fictionalized autobiography. She writes that the creation of the character Ana who narrates the film is "un 'yo' inasible que juega con lo individual y lo colectivo, con lo propio y lo ajeno, que otorga la sensación de un distanciamiento del lugar del que se narra para indagar en una pulsión que remite, más bien, a la exploración del inconsciente" (Barril 49-50). A close analysis of the film's collage aesthetics (both visual and aural) will inform the connections and spaces between the binaries that Barril elucidates. As previously mentioned, Johansson and Vergara propose that these contemporary documentaries by the 1.5 generation have opened *testimonio* up to a new "testimonio audiovisual," to open up the past in a self-reflexive manner, rather than to reveal universal truths. Clearly this notion has ties with Bruzzi's concept of performative documentary, placed in the realm of the intimate. This film is a combination of the director's memories and

those of others', and it is also a mixture of documentary and fiction. Like the materials, the memories and genres coexist without hierarchy or distinction (Donoso Pinto 28).

Ana's first-person narration describes her life poetically and reflexively.[166] As a voice without a body or a name, the poetic voiceover contributes to the film's aestheticization of memory.[167] While Fernanda Carvajal identifies traces of autobiography in the film's voiceover, I argue that the film approximates the form of a diary, replete with self-contemplation instead of a coherent narrative as in autobiography.[168] Since "documentary becomes a negotiation between the film and its subject, of which the narration is a constituent part," *El eco*'s disembodied diary narration is crucial to the film's theorization of memory (Bruzzi 65). The film's narration allows for the voiceover to explore memory, instead of reaching a particular conclusion. What's more, the intended recipient and speaker are never clear, but remain open to interpretation. The diary's expression of the self is closely related to van Dijck's assumption about memory: "we remember because we want to make meaning out of life. Memory makes meaning by mediating between disparate abstract and concrete entities: the self and the world, the mortal individual and the immortal collective, the family's past and the future generation" (181-182). Similarly, the diary negotiates a meaning of self with social and cultural expectations of a specific time and place. Because of this, the diary attempts to make meaning and to understand the speaking/writing subject's present position through memory.

[166] The voiceover, for instance, guides the film through "una palabra que se da en un registro poético antes que en la economía del argumento" (Carvajal 2).

[167] As previously mentioned, the film never states the narrator's name. This information is available through interviews with the director and articles on the film.

[168] The diary, like other literary forms, is difficult to classify or define in terms of genre because the boundaries are not well-defined. Whereas autobiography is typically characterized as finished, polished, and carefully constructed, the diary is considered fragmentary, associative, and everyday (trivial, ephemeral) (Hogan 96). Because *El eco* is a "finished" product and is not continuously written chronologically, it departs from the format of the traditional diary. However, the terms used to describe the diary (and *l´écriture feminine*) equally apply to the documentary. The filmic diary will, by nature of its audiovisual medium, depart from the written diary in some of the more formal aspects.

Considered a "lesser" genre, the diary communicates details of private life typically associated with the feminine and the everyday. The diary is an accumulation of entries, although not necessarily daily, that provide a "cyclical, repetitive and cumulative structure, their capturing of a series of 'present moments' in the diarist's life, their unfinishedness" (Hogan 98). Because of this, diaries represent the *process* of the diarist's life, not its product, as in autobiography. Because of the diary's prioritization of memory constructions and fragmentations, the diary format resists expectations of cohesion or conclusion. As a result, (post)memory, as an open-ended, multi-directional process, is poignantly represented through the audiovisual diary.

The modern idea that the diary is a private object is itself a public construction that coincided with the confinement of women to the domestic sphere in nineteenth-century industrial societies. As an extension of this, diaries were largely seen as written by the self, for the self, a secret text never intended for publication or wide readership. The notion of the diary's lack of addressee has largely been dispelled, as scholars recognize the multiple and even contradictory purposes and intensions of the diary, and its writers and readers. Rebecca Hogan mentions that the diary "has a wide range of audiences on a continuum from a confidante for the private self to the wider audience of a published diary" (97). Similarly, van Dijck dispels the myth that the diary is a private object written for oneself, because she recognizes the varieties of the diary genre. She concludes, however, that all diaries have an addressee, whether real or imagined (van Dijck 68). Because of this, diary-writing is an act of communication that "signals the need to connect, either to someone or something else or to oneself later in life" (van Dijck 68). Therefore, although diaries are largely considered private modes of self-expression, they are also social. This connection between the individual and the social in diary-writing echoes Rossi's aim to create a film that expresses both her experiences and those of others. Finally, the notion of

having an addressee, whether this be the self or an intended recipient, is therapeutic in both the diary (*El eco*) and the letter (*Mi vida*). The addressee serves as a witness and also serves as a mirror for the writer/director to witness him or her self.

As a digital diary, the film presents how technology "may ultimately redefine the sensory ways in which we catch and store memories" (van Dijck 51). The filmic diary frees its memory objects from their sensory modes (visual, auditory, verbal) and recombines them through imagination and invention, essential to (post)memory. As a result, "diary writing may no longer be 'a matter of script' – an utterance contained by its material and technological parameters – but could yield innovative ways of expressing the multimodal self" (van Dijck 51). Although van Dijck refers more specifically to blogs as the digital equivalent to diaries, her words apply to other digital diary formats, like cinema. Similar to the diary, collage-making is a way for the individual to establish his/her identity and position in the present by incorporating the past. Moreover, collage-making is a performance of self-realization that places the individual's different characteristics in dialog.[169] Furthermore, the diary, like cinematic collage, is an aesthetic object of memory value.[170] The digitization of collage, like the digitization of the diary, moves beyond the constraints of material formats, and imagines memory and identity in new ways.

Rebecca Hogan asks "Is the diary feminine?" in her adaptation of Naomi Schor's question "Is the detail feminine?" (95). Since Schor concludes that the detail is feminine, by extension Hogan identifies the attention to everyday detail and the ornamental in diaries as indications that the diary is also feminine (96). Ultimately Hogan answers her question in the

[169] "It is a performance of positioning the dialogical self, involving cognitive, motivational and affective aspects of autobiographical memories as the individual emerges in collage making" (van Schalkwyk 680).
[170] Marilú Mallet's *Diario inacabado* (1983) is an important predecessor of the audiovisual diary in Chilean film. A comparison between these two films deserves further attention.

affirmative through an analysis of diary as a feminine writing strategy or literary form, looking at the feminine as a cultural signifier instead of in an essentialist sense. She reads the diary's abundance of details as a perspective that emphasizes immersion as opposed to the neo-classical aesthetic privileging of distance, which possibly accounts for the diary's low status in the literary canon. In particular, details in diary-writing "threaten orders based on dominance; they get too close; we become immersed" (Hogan 98). The detail, as such, contributes to the diary's "structure and perspective which have been culturally and historically seen as feminine" (Hogan 99). Because the detail threatens hierarchical or hegemonic order, it is "contained" within the private sphere and tagged as feminine, another force to be feared.

As a feminine form in the socially and culturally constructed sense, the diary draws on traditional gender divisions between private and public, yet it also recognizes these parameters within which it must function in order to undo these hierarchies. By translating the diary to the audiovisual realm of cinema, *El eco* reworks the traditional exclusion of the intimate in the public sphere and its associations with the feminine.[171] Parallel to this, the family model that places the father as the dominant, public figure or voice of the family unit is displaced. In contrast to the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*, who were tolerated in public because they were vindicating their familial roles, the feminine voice in Rossi's documentary does not maintain a traditional maternal role, seen as the only acceptable role for women within Chilean society under the dictatorship.

The film exposes the construction of memory by blurring fiction and reality and by challenging the conventions of autobiography through a disembodied voice.[172] Just as the images belong to many people, the voiceover also represents various individuals. The voiceover,

[171] In this sense, *Mi vida* could also be considered to approximate the form of an audiovisual epistolary diary.
[172] Once again, like the protagonists in *Formas de volver a casa* and *Fuenzalida*, the narrator lacks a complete name.

in this sense, echoes multiple voices that construct an imagined subjectivity (Carvajal 3, 17). As a result, the director's presence is "finalmente la acumulación de otras imágenes, de otros sonidos y, sobre todo, la superposición laberíntica, si se quiere, de un estado interior no permanente" (Donoso Pinto 26). The "estado interior no permanente" reflects the itinerancy and unrest of exile's in-between. Additionally, these multiple voices and images compose the narrator's collage identity. Ultimately, the film's labyrinthic structure is created through the intersections between individual and collective, intimate and public, and singular and plural.

According to Hogan, diary-writing can be described with the same language used to describe women's writing (*l'écriture feminine*) because of both practices' insistence on the blurring of boundaries. Her description of diaries pulls from work on *l'écriture feminine*, which can in turn describe *El eco*, as an audiovisual collage that performs life-writing. Specifically, the (audiovisual) diary is "a potentially subversive form of writing because it tends to cross and blur boundaries between things traditionally kept separate," including "the thoughts and feelings of past selves and present self without necessarily privileging one voice or stage of life over the others," which *El eco* accentuates through its non-linear mixture of tenses and memories (Hogan 100). Additionally, the documentary-diary "crosses the boundaries between self and others" and "between author and reader" through its use of stories and archives that connect the individual with the collective (Hogan 100). If the diarist is considered to also write for herself, then the divisions between authorship and readership are further confused. In dialog with theories of memory, diaries both record and reflect, further "cross[ing] the boundaries between text and experience, art and life" (Hogan 100). *El eco*, like the diary, is elastic and inclusive, in the sense that it makes space for "ordinary" events rather than privileging "amazing" ones. It also "treats 'small' details at the same length as 'big' events" (Hogan 103). As a result, "experience flows

metonymically into the diary; things are put down one after another as they occur to memory" (Hogan 103). This practice is equated with parataxis, the theory of the diary put forth by Hogan. Although originally used to describe grammatical structures, parataxis also describes the organizing principle of the diary because there is no subordination of ideas or events. The inclusive, non-hierarchical form of the diary, and of *El eco*, thus dialogs with Benjamin's ragpicker who searches for history in the ordinary events and the small details. Collage, too, can possibly be described as parataxis, because even though parataxis is inclusive, it involves selecting, sorting, and ordering, actions necessary to diary-writing and collage-making. In El eco, too, the voiceover's phrases often lack connection and shift in verb tense. Selection is involved in any creative process, yet selection in diary differs from selection in autobiography for instance because the basis for selection in the diary differs according to each time the diarist writes (more related to the present moment). Finally, the diary occupies the space of the in-between, as well as the process and practice of inhabiting the in-between, like the 1.5 generation. Structurally and metaphorically, "things in diaries happen *between* – between entries, between events, between diarist as writer and diarist as reader" (Hogan 103).

Despite the director's physical absence, *El eco* is equally as performative as *Mi vida con Carlos*. Whereas the latter makes evident the construction of the film through the director's participation in the film, *El eco*'s construction materializes through the layering technique of collage. Other hints of embodiment emanate from the voices and camera angles, implying bodily movement and perspective. Bodily presence is conveyed through shots from inside houses or apartments looking out. For example, the camera shoots what is outside the window, leaving the frame in the shot. This imitation of the first person perspective of looking out communicates a feeling of being trapped within the home and disturbs the construction of an idyllic home

(*Figures 46-49*). Other first person shots wander down hallways; the camera shakes due to the movement of the person moving. In other footage, especially home movies, people in the videos directly speak to or look at the camera, to address the person filming. The presence of the person behind the camera in these shots materializes through this acknowledgment, but at the same time, remains at a distance since we never see the person filming (*Figures 50-51*).[173]

***Figures 46-49*. Various shots look out the window to communicate distance and entrapment. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

[173] Although the following passage from Hirsch's introduction to *The Familial Gaze* is on photography, I believe it holds implications for the cinematographic image as well: "The photograph is the site at which numerous looks and gazes intersect: the look exchange between the photographer/camera and the subject; the looks between the subjects within the image; the look of the viewer, which often exceeds and complicates that of the camera and which, in itself, is an infinitely multiple and contradictory series of looks; and the external institutional and ideological gazes in relation to which the act of taking pictures defines itself. The photograph is a document in which this complex exchange of looks and gazes is reflected and can be read" (Hirsch *Familial* xvi). In particular, the filmic images from home movies captures the intersection of these multiple gazes.


***Figures 50-51*. Individuals in home videos address the person filming.**
(Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)

The voiceover in *El eco* links all of the disparate images together, as parts of the narrator's memory, similar to the narrative voice of a diary. Yet at the same time, that voice refuses to offer a complete interpretation or vision; instead it exposes unknowability. As a result, the disembodied voice that narrates the film becomes a ghostly presence. Bruzzi proposes that the female voiceover exposes the impossibility of documentary to faithfully depict reality or a universal truth. Whereas she characterizes the traditional male voiceover as "one of the symbolic substitutes for [the documentary's] loss of control and omniscience," the female voiceover "draw[s] attention to the frailty of the documentary endeavor to represent reality in the most seamless way possible" by being a voice of (gendered) specificity (Bruzzi 59). The female voiceover, therefore, highlights the impossible aim of documentary to give an authentic representation of reality, which the single male voiceover often seeks to hide. In *El eco*, the voiceover undermines the notion of objective reality in two ways: it is more than just a woman's voice; it is also a collective voice that encompasses the experiences of many. In this way, individual and collective memory prove inseparable and the traditional yet impossible aim of documentary-making is exposed, along with the construction of the film itself and its own "reality" of exilic memory.

The film's title and exilic tropes of movement and emptiness allude to the void that is in-between, outside, and within the intersection of different spaces and times. Many images and sounds repeated throughout the film simultaneously communicate emptiness and movement. For instance, the abundance of desolate landscapes, hallways, and moonscapes refers to emptiness while wind, walking, and rockets convey movement in or towards these spaces (*Figure 52-56*). Similarly, the sea conveys both movement and void, along with clips of moving trains, cars, and buses that cross seemingly hostile, open spaces (*Figure 57-59*). These examples are not limited to one interpretation, but rather are open to various meanings. Similar to *Formas* and *Fuenzalida*, *El eco* portrays a journey towards an elusive home that offers both protection and danger.

***Figures 52-56*. Examples of liminal spaces such as desolate landscapes and hallways. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

***Figures 57-59*. Shots that convey movement and emptiness.**
(Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)

Likewise, the film's reference to echoes also implies emptiness, since these auditory reverberations bounce off of surfaces in hollow spaces. Literally and metaphorically, echoes are the audible traces of the past. Often weaker in volume, because echoes maintain a connection with the original sound, they serve as a relevant metaphor for the self-reflective processes of memory and postmemory. The voids' seemingly stagnant presence affects the subject, similar to how gaps appear in the transmission of trauma. In the end, the film attempts to fill the illusion of emptiness through imagination with heterogeneous sounds, stories, and images. To show the past in its entirety (the archives, testimonies, and sheer ability to narrate fall short) is impossible. Instead, the past's echoes and traces form the basis for speculating about the past and imagining its narration from the present.

Because this documentary is entrenched in its own materiality, it denies the notion of a preexisting reality and instead only uses what is in the film itself. As such, *El eco* doesn't attempt

to substitute something outside cinematic language, and accepts that film is "un relato, tal como lo son la infancia, la identidad y la memoria" which when "puestos en diálogo pueden reivindicar en el cine el derecho a mirarse a sí mismo" (Donoso Pinto 29). Film, then, is self-reflexive, and in turn, reflects on the other constructions (childhood, identity, memory) identified by Donoso Pinto. Although film is always historical because it is filmed in the past, compared to the present moment of viewing, film is incapable of *showing* the past (or reality). Instead, film can only construct that past (or reality) through representation. Specifically, *El eco*'s collage-making and sampling practices create an intermedial space-time (chronotope) that reflects on the film's own construction, along with other social constructs, including the subject's identity.

Rossi's film explores the topics of memory, exile, and childhood through a unique aesthetic mixture of sounds and images that come from various accounts: individual and collective, official and unofficial, fictional and historical.[174] Other documentaries made by the post-memorial generation assume more traditional approaches and often search for a lost parent or attempt to explain parents' decisions under the dictatorship. Although *El eco* discusses family members and familial memories throughout, family and home do not seem to be the motivating force for the film's narrative, as is more the case in *Mi vida con Carlos*. Even though the narrator's story is a result of her family's exile, the voiceover departs from the tendency of post-dictatorial documentaries to understand the consequences of a parent's decision. Instead, the documentary inhabits the fissures of memory and identity, focusing on the experience of exile and childhood as perceived in the present. Despite the differences between the representation of family in *Mi vida* and *El eco*, both films attempt to negotiate the hegemonic family narrative by vindicating the experiences of children.

[174] The only other Chilean films with which I am familiar that use a similar aesthetic are Tiziana Panizza's short films *Dear Nonna* and *Carta remitente*.

Because of this insistence on childhood, collage is a rather apposite aesthetic mode for *El eco*, given that collage-making, as a psychological practice, "offers a narrative space in which to negotiate past, present and a potential future providing a structure for (co)constructing an integrated sense of self-in-the-adult-world and ideological becoming" (van Schalkwyk 692). Collage destabilizes the boundaries between intimate and public, singular and collective, fiction and reality, along with the hierarchical division between childhood and adulthood. Instead, childhood perspectives inform the narrator's present subjectivity.[175] Traditionally children have been constructed by adults through dichotomies – present versus past, vigilance versus autonomy, the power of language versus the inability to speak – in order to integrate, subject, and redeem the chaos of infancy (Donoso Pinto 25).[176] The mixture of director's memories with those of others' and of other archives destabilizes adult-child hierarchies. Instead, the divergent memories and archives coexist within the film, proving that social structures are unable to fully contain and explain individual experiences.

Similar to the way in which *El eco*'s fictionalized voiceover presents the construction of childhood, the combination and juxtaposition of "official" sounds and voices with fictional images also destabilizes traditional hierarchies and vindicates the experiences and interpretations of childhood. The film draws attention to continuity between childhood and adulthood within individual subjects, within communities, and between generations. Continuity, in this sense,

[175] "Rossi elabora de tal modo su personaje que en él se cuestiona la división tajante entre adultez e infancia y las jerarquías de la experiencia que dicha división lleva implícita, mostrando cómo ciertos modos de codificación y percepción que suelen ser asociados a la niñez constituyen claves de pensamiento que no son privativos de otros momentos biográficos" (Carvajal 8).

[176] Donoso Pinto explains how childhood, as a construct of Western modernity, is closely related to structures of power and control. She explains that it has been conceptualized through contradictions: "el presente opuesto al pasado, la vigilancia a la autonomía, la potencia del lenguaje a la prohibición de hablar; estas oposiciones funcionan justamente en el intento 'adulto' por integrar las fuerzas caóticas y desbordadas del infante, a una lógica sociocultural que lo sujete y lo redima" (Donoso Pinto 25).

becomes another way to think about transmission, inheritance, and legacy. Kaufman explains that childhood memories, considered from other moments in life, allow one to look at the nebulous past from the present. That reconstructed past is composed of layered meanings and narratives from one's life that contain traces of past experiences and present constructions (57). This idea resonates with the practice of collage-making, because of the insistence on the superimposition and traces of experiences, meanings, and narratives. Furthermore, what Kaufman describes is essential to the narration of a life-story, or in the case of *El eco*, an audiovisual diary, as a process that uses memory to negotiate the present position of the self in relation to social and cultural structures.

Historically, as an artistic practice and technique, collage undoes traditional binaries – individual/collective, public/private, everyday/historical, or memory/oblivion – to create something new. The post World War II collage movement found its champions in surrealist artists, who, resisting neoliberalism and disillusioned with postwar politics, made use of abandoned public spaces in cities that were reorganized and rationalized to encourage labor, production, and consumption (Buchloh 98). Collage was a form of aesthetic resistance to the sense of confinement and containment that resulted from mass consumption. Emphasizing random acts, collage worked with found objects and images to create a collective expression. This collective aspect distinguished collage from the traditional conventions of painting (Buchloh 106).[177] Given collage's origins in resisting postwar consumer cultures, collage in *El eco* recuperates some of these same ideas translated to the post-Pinochet context of neoliberalism and democratic transition. Likewise, *El eco*'s collage negotiates feelings of entrapment and

[177] Buchloh's article focuses on the decollage movement, comparing it as a "second generation" of artists who built on and departed from collage techniques.

displacement, in time as well as in space. Finally, collage is a collective representation, composed through the images, sounds, and stories that are the material basis of *El eco*.

Although collage is usually considered visual culture, it can also apply to the auditory world, especially in *El eco*.[178] Not by any means a new concept, sound collage finds a contemporary companion in sampling. John Scanlan also discusses collage in relation to sound and music, particularly in the *musique concrète* movement, which used noise as the basis of artistic creation. He writes that "the goal of collage was to mine the detritus of everyday life for its aesthetic potential," as in *musique concrète* (Scanlan 24). Songs, too, may be found objects (as material analog or digital files) entrenched in individual and collective imaginaries and technologies.[179] To insert this debris of the auditory world into the present alters memory (Scanlan 25). The aural is brought to the forefront in the film's title. Songs, sounds, and voices play an important role in the film's narration, either as diegetic (original, given, direct) or extradiegetic (additional, imagined, superimposed). The film's aural collage mixes voices, radio announcements, original and archival songs, and sounds of nature. Together, the aural and visual aspects of the film create a cinematic collage that represents (post)memory. Because of this, and in an effort to avoid privileging cinema's visual representation of memory, I read the images and sounds together as dialectical relationships.[180] The sounds inform the images and vice versa, at times prioritizing different sounds by making them louder, or emphasizing certain images

[178] Cinema, in general, loosely draws on collage given its use of disparate images and sounds that are layered to compose the film. Films are made of sound superimposed on image (or images superimposed on sound) when they use extradiegetic sound.

[179] Similarly, van Dijck writes that "Engaging in shared listening, exchanging (recorded) songs, and talking about music create a sense of belonging, and relate a person's sense of self to a larger community and generation" (76). Because of this social role of listening to music, *El eco*'s use of a variety of audio clips potentially builds affiliative memory connections. However, whereas van Dijck specifically addresses popular music, *El eco* shies away from such songs. Rather, the audio clips of collective memories are from official addresses or media footage.

[180] Both Spielmann and Scanlan cite Benjamin's dialectical image for cinematic collage and aural collage.

through color and position. These tensions between the aural and the visual create a unique sensorial experience and affect in the viewer.

Cinematic collage, according to Yvonne Spielmann, is "another form of the moving image where montage techniques that usually transport continuity are crossed with matte and layering techniques" (139).[181] Whereas Spielmann is interested primarily in the visual realm of collage, I combine her ideas with Scanlan's work on aural collage to arrive at another, perhaps more complete, definition of audiovisual collage. In particular, *El eco* theorizes and materializes (post)memory aesthetics through the combination of both aural and visual collage to create an audiovisual diary. Collage is a particularly appropriate form of representing the postmemories of children of the dictatorship, because it allows for multidirectional memory across generations (time) and geographies (space) (Rothberg). Spielmann explains that "collage structurally presents a concept of difference that becomes visible in the shape of the image itself. With regards to digital cinema's spatialization, this means that temporal features are not considered to be simply dissolved, but rather transformed, reworked, reshaped, and finally changed in directionality" (140). Film, in general, pieces parts together through montage to create linear continuity and narrative cohesion. Yet in audiovisual collage, this linear progression is thwarted and space becomes the film's organizing principle, instead of time.

Memory's ephemeral and fragile texture, capable of changing or dissolving at any moment, is confirmed by the voiceover's references to water near the end of the film. Before the voiceover speaks, the images shift from trash on the streets, to the airport, to a fly trapped in the window, and finally back to the first-person perspective of the camera peering out the apartment window as seen at the beginning of the film. This sequence suggests that the narrator returned to Chile, confirmed when she says that once again she is sitting on her couch, thinking about her

[181] *El eco* doesn't use matte in the form of a green screen, but it does layer and splice photos and footage.

last trip. In what follows, it seems that she describes the task of returning from exile with collected documents and stories: "Cargo todas las fotografías y los sonidos. Llueve en todos los pasadizos. Todos los caminos se mojan. Las imágenes y las canciones se deshacen. Los atardeceres eran así en la cubierta del barco, adivinando el sonido de la lluvia sobre la tormenta." The path is unclear and slippery as the songs and images fall apart, possibly due to temporal distance. The last sentence switches to the past tense, describing the boat deck, which is where the narrator imagined her parents going into exile towards the beginning of the documentary. Here, too, the narrator imagines their experience, guessing the sounds that surrounded them, in order to compose her own story. The last image that the voiceover's words describe is a metaphor for the film: "adivinando el sonido de la lluvia sobre la tormenta." Usually the storm is heard over the rain, or is imagined to overpower the sounds of the rain. Here, however, the sound of the "weaker" of the two – the rain – is prioritized, yet it has to be *imagined*. Furthermore, the voiceover, announced through the "I," becomes equated with the filmic medium. There is a transient responsibility and burden to the act of carrying the photographs and sounds, as well as a threat to the materials. According to van Dijck, the decay or decomposing of material objects is a transformation "that becomes part of a mutating memory: the growing imperfect state of these items connotes continuity between past and present" (37). Although van Dijck refers to analog materials in this statement, she also notes that digital technologies are material and equally susceptible to damage. Returning to the documentary, the image evoked by the rain dissolving the images and sounds highlights the materiality of technologies, which are intimately tied to the memories they evoke.

The ephemerality of memory and materiality is reflected in media, and the fleeting moment of reception that *El eco*'s repurposing of media suggests. This sampling of media,

similar to collage, mixes the director's personal account of exile with the country's political and natural disasters, and with the stories of other Chilean citizens, based on her interviews of other exiled children. In this way, the construction of memory and subjectivity is intertwined with the country's political events. In addition to media sampling and collage, Van Dijck's discussion of the mixtape provides a metaphor for *El eco*'s combination of media. She explains that "people invent their own memory products" by "rerecording, mixing, and remixing ready-made formats (such as albums)" (93). Similar to a mixtape, *El eco* is affective and personal, yet it is made for sharing. Although van Dijck refers specifically to mix-and-burn software on the Internet, she describes the digital formats of the mixtape as "musical collages to generate, incite, or control certain moods," including "concrete feelings or experiences" (93). These mixes create narratives that inscribe these impressions within memory.

Media filters how members of the 1.5 generation remember political, national, and familial events that occurred during their childhood. In *El eco*, memory is mediated through visual and aural recording technologies, as the entire film is composed of different media clips. The found footage, or material of memory, that composes the film, "no solo ortorga el testimonio de la existencia de un pasado colectivo sino que su valoración de material antiguo es actualizado a partir de la experiencia personal y es puesto al servicio de un lenguaje onírico, fragmentario y poético, recontextualizando y transformando el sentido original de las imágenes de documento público a privado" (Barril 65).[182] These materials and technologies also are integrated into the filmmaker's narrative of self at the same time that they inform subjective frameworks, similar to diary writing. Private documents, as used in the film, however, are never completely contained

[182] The similarities between dreams and memories are a observations that deserves further exploration. Nona Fernández's recent novel *Space Invaders* (2014) equates the two.

within the private sphere. Rather, the ways in which they are produced, received, and interpreted are products of social practices.

Conversely, the use of family videos and photos reevaluates them as collective documents, placing the private within the public. The transformations, alterations, and manipulations that the documents undergo in the cinematic medium highlight and parallel the tensions and contradictions of the transmission of trauma. As with any revision, film editing involves erasing, adding, and redoing. For example, film editing practices delete particular scenes, thereby repeating the violence of memory, trauma, and daily life (Barril 65). *El eco*'s collage aesthetic brings attention to documentary construction and edition through the arrangement of different elements that purposefully cut and cover up other images. Choosing to expose the edges and layers of these images incites reflection on what has been left out and why.

One example that brings attention to the film's edition and selection of private documents is a sequence of family photographs cropped to only reveal fragments of the subjects' bodies.[183] The photos depict limbs of individual bodies in daily activities such as cooking and eating at the dining table. These images, along with others, reveal scenes of daily life, routines that constitute the subject matter of diary composition. Because the faces are never revealed, the body parts are fragmented representations of "nobody." Paradoxically, however, their participation in daily routines makes them potentially anybody or everybody. Additionally, the domestic setting of the photos lacks specificity, meaning that they could be of any home. In a sense, every home is opened up to the outside as well as to potential danger through these images. The film's relinquishment of specificity in many instances thus has the potential to create empathic

[183] "As a quotidian habit, diary keeping gives meaning and structure to someone's life, and therefore it is important to regard this activity in the context of everyday activities…Quotidian acts such as diary writing should thus be regarded not only as stilled reflections but also as ways of constructing life. They always coexist amid a number of other communicative habits and culturally determined practices" (van Dijck 69).

interpretations among viewers.[184] Another sequence of cropped family photos reveals limbs of bodies and non-identifiable persons, yet now in public settings with groups of people, for instance at the beach and the park. In these examples, the images are selectively collected to create another collective narrative that is independent of the photos' original context (*Figures 60-66*).[185] The photos interrogate the viewer, asking who or what has been left out of these images and by extension, memory. The alterations to home videos and photos as they are incorporated into the film highlight the contradictions and contrasts of the transmission of traumatic experiences (Barril 65). As the voiceover states, she is unable to remember the past or her feelings just as they were. In a sense, the narrator is haunted by that which has faded or disappeared, along with what she never knew: people, feelings, experiences, and memories.

[184] Along these lines, Cecilia Sosa cites Jans Andermann's rereading of postmemory "as an empathic form of transmission of trauma" (94).

[185] For an overview of the differences between collected and collective memory, see Jeffrey Olick's *The Politics of Regret*. Although they are distinct concepts, I argue that the artistic practice of collecting may create alternative archives, narratives, and representations of collective cultural memory.



***Figures 60-66*. Cropped family photos, revealing anonymous fragmented bodies. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

The documentary's use of family photos and home movies complements the voiceover's first-person perspective, related to the speaking subject's autobiographical performance. Similar to the personal documents, the clips of official media recycled in the documentary are also altered. However, in contrast to how the family photos and movies are cropped to frame headless limbs, creating an "anonymous" face-less body, the camera zooms in on media clips to perform extreme close-ups of faces (*Figure 67*).

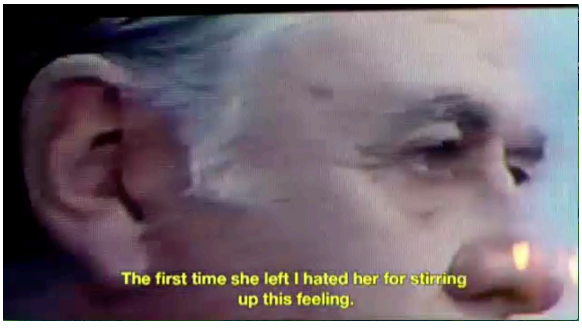


***Figure 67*. Extreme close-up of a politician's face. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

This perspective is also conveyed through moments of "excess," in which the viewer sees the film's construction. Television, in this way, provides a mirror for reflection, while it is also a blank screen to fill with imagination and projection. For me, this scene is an example of what Donoso Pinto considers a *mise en abyme* "de los mecanismos de la memoria, a partir del mismo ejercicio reflexivo del aparato cinematográfico; porque no es solo la posibilidad de recordar lo que se cuestiona, sino las posibilidades del filme para representarla" (24). Whereas televisual footage is interspersed throughout the documentary, there are specific moments that the voiceover introduces as memories from television viewing, with her cousin, sister, and/or father at home.[186] In particular, one scene depicts original news footage of the change of command from Pinochet to Aylwin playing on a TV that is filmed by the camera, evident due to a light's reflection on the TV screen and the border of the TV set that slips into view as the camera zooms in and out (*Figure 68*). Despite the significance of this moment for Chilean history, as the beginning of the transition to democracy after 17 years of military rule, the narrator's sister remains with her back to the screen, refusing to watch. She, similar to many others, eventually decides to live outside of Chile even after the 1988 plebiscite. In this scene, although the viewer never sees the person filming, the light is proof of the film's construction and the filmmaker's presence. What's more, the light on the screen signals the interaction between the documentary's performing subject, the archive, the narrative, aesthetics, and the viewer. Finally, the presence of a TV screen evokes practices of TV viewing within the domestic space and family setting of the home, referenced in other instances when the narrator describes her memory of watching news

[186] The voiceover directly mentions the following memories of moments linked to news on television: protests in Chile, the 1985 earthquake in Chile, the attempted assassination of Pinochet in 1986, the announcement that exiles could return to Chile, and the 1990 transition to democracy. When the voiceover describes Pinochet on TV after his attempted assassination, she says "Fue como observer su cara por primera vez. Me quedé viendo los gestos, escuchando la voz." Like the protagonist of *Formas de volver a casa* discussed in Chapter 2, the narrator's memories of Pinochet are largely mediated by television. As she signals here, his voice left a mark on her, perhaps explaining why so many audio archives are featured in the documentary.

about Chile on TV with her father or other family members. Regardless of whether this recorded moment is from the original transmission, or is made by the documentary's camera filming a recording of the footage, the layers of filming, recording, and viewing are made evident. This scene of taping the TV further exemplifies the relationship between digital and analog media, in which historical, archival footage informs present technologies of mediated memories.

***Figure 68*. The TV set's frame and the reflection of a light on the TV screen reveal the documentary's filmic construction. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

The beginning of the documentary illustrates how archival media opens up space for reflection. The film begins with a black screen accompanied by the audio of Pinochet's conversation with another military official's regarding Allende's death, in which the official states "el suicidio era falso." The conversation fades into the background as instrumental music and the female voiceover is layered over it. The film's beginning disconnects Pinochet's body from his voice, undoing his authority while at the same time granting him a ghostly presence to introduce the film. In this opening sequence, Pinochet's voice compares exile with God's banishing the demons to Hell, a statement that associates Chile with a heavenly home and that equates Pinochet with God (*Figures 69-70*). In this audio clip, Pinochet justifies why some Chileans were sent into exile: "Fueron malos chilenos. Quisieron vender a su patria. Quisieron entregarnos como colonia a los rusos. Y lógicamente de ahí ser castigados. Cuando Dios se irritó y lanzó a los demonios al infierno, ¿no fue una extradición? ¿un exilio?" This speech upholds the

"us vs them" rhetoric, while it also places Pinochet as the father who had to punish his misbehaving children. Similarly, he finds a parallel between his position and God's, thus using religion to justify exile. By opening with just Pinochet's voice, the film displaces him, or, according to his own words, sends him to hell. Recorded sound displaces embodied presence, as in other technologies of inscription and memory. The act of inscription (writing, recording, shooting) on different materials "permits a ghostly presence to become part of how we then perceive ourselves and the world around us" (Scanlan 20). The documentary's archival materials carry a ghostly trace of the past, as well as in the medium itself. Film, as an always-past-product, is infused with ghostly matter, of society and of the self. What's more, as Scanlan so aptly points out, these spectral presences are incorporated into social representations and self-constructions.

***Figures 69-70*. Visual images that accompany the audio of Pinochet's comparison of exile to Hell. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

The film's first visual image following this audio collage is an out-of-focus shot that mirrors the voiceover's description of dreaming and waking up. The camera (fused with the first person perspective) looks out the window at what appears to be a mirage, an unknown place. From the beginning, then, collage represents the speaking subject's fragmentation, confusion, and estrangement on multiple levels, connected to the military coup and the narrator's exile. The viewer is in an immediately disoriented position, as the camera slowly comes into focus, imitating the eye's movement upon awakening (*Figure 71*). Images of urban construction and

high-rise buildings in Santiago are seen through the window as the voiceover begins to narrate her dream.

***Figure 71*. The camera imitates how the human eye adjusts to light upon awakening. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

A juxtaposition of various images visualizes the voiceover's narration of her dream. In a way, the images are from a visual soundtrack to the film's audio narration. The dream is translated through three harrowing images that communicate a frenetic escape: first, a cartoon of Gulliver, then a guitar player at a concert, and finally animated rabbits jumping through a storm. Then, the camera cuts to guinea pigs in a cage (*Figure 72*). These images elicit feelings of helpnessness, entrapment, and ensuing danger. The randomness of dreams and the fragmentation of memory are expressed in collage's rearrangement of found objects. The film's beginning further expresses this connection between collage and fragmentation through the supposedly random images that are joined through the narrator's dreamscape.

***Figure 72*. Entrapment conveyed through the guinea pig in a cage. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

This dream sequence becomes a particularly poignant starting place for the filmic memory narrative given Benjamin's metaphoric association of waking up with his proposed dialectical method of history. Benjamin even suggests that the act of becoming conscious – waking up –is similar to remembering: "The new, dialectical method of doing history presents itself as the art of experiencing the present as waking world, a world to which that dream we name the past refers in truth. To pass through and carry out *what has been* in remembering the dream! – Therefore: remembering and awaking are most intimately related. Awakening is namely the dialectical, Copernican turn of remembrance" (*Arcades Project* 389). This waking world is the present, bringing the material historian into the now-moment (*jetztzeit*) of existence, instead of to the past, dream form of mythology. For Benjamin, the latter dream world was associated with "homogenous, empty time," whereas awakening would rupture linear thinking and allow for a dialectical engagement with the past-in-the-present (*Illuminations* 261). Because the past is full of unfulfilled promises and possibilities, waking up makes those dreams come alive. Memory, then, allows for the sleeping past to awaken. Hernández Navarro summarizes the paradox in Benjamin's thought regarding dreaming and awakening: "Es un movimiento

contradictorio, porque lo que Benjamin pretende es que se despierten, que se liberen, y que se cumplan esos sueños no cumplidos. Y para eso, paradóxicamente, hay que desperatar" (51).[187] As such, upon awakening, one becomes aware of the dream believed to exist in the present, but which escapes rationality and historical reality, and may pursue unaccomplished dreams left in the past (now brought to the present).[188] This juxtaposition between dreaming and awakening is the crux of the dialectical relationship essential to collage: "the realization of dream elements in the course of waking up is the canon of dialectics" (Benjamin *Arcades Project* 464).

For Benjamin, aesthetic fragments (of modernization's debris) "when placed in the right combinations and juxtapositions, would allow the dead world of modernity past to come into its own" (Scanlan 24). Benjamin writes that modernization's progress leaves behind in its wake a pile of debris that continues to accumulate. The interruption of that flow is achieved through "the historicity of the everyday" in the dialectical image, "specific constellations that can awaken thought and history from its slumber in the mythic realm of the 'dream'… What this requires is the arrest of the flow of history (particularly its representation as the march of progress) so that it can be recognized as a specific experience of a moment" (Highmore 62). *El eco de las canciones* engages in and creates dialectical images through collage, or constellations, of different aural and visual samples. Collage negates the progress of history by rescuing everyday experiences and placing them in relationship with each other. What's more, national events are reinscribed through the everyday, just as the everyday is reinscribed through collective memory.

[187] Before this, he writes, "Despertar el pasado dormido, el de los sueños, el de las posibilidades. Ése es el sentido de la historia: despertar a los sueños –no despertar "de" los sueños–" (Hernandez Navarro 51).
[188] As Hernández Navarro explains, "La clave de la historia que quiere contar el filósofo no está en los hechos, sino en los no hechos, es decir, en las posibilidades. Como sugiere Werner Hamacher, el verdadero objeto histórico es irreal, es decir, no ha sido. Lo posible es más importante para Benjamin que lo real. El tiempo posible. El tiempo como algo no finalizado y, en consecuencia, activo en el presente" (52).

Some moments of collective memory that figure prominently in the film are natural disasters and catastrophes. The voiceover explains describes the catastrophes she experienced as a routine of disasters, supporting the argument that the film is a diary, accounting for daily routines, even if in this instance, they are disasters. These include Chile's 1985 earthquake and the Chernobyl disaster along with decontextualized footage of other disasters and catastrophes, including cartoons, movies, and TV shows (*Figures 73-78*). These images relay the narrator's emotions, which largely escape verbal language. Furthermore, by oscillating between specific places (Chile, Italy) to unknown locations, the viewer may identify with the feelings communicated through the images and sounds. Echoing Benjamin's messianic energy, the voiceover explains that something emerges out of the debris in her fantasies of disaster. After the narrator saw images of the houses destroyed by the 1985 earthquake in Chile, she maintained hope for the future, as the voiceover reflects "Es possible que de los escombros salga una tierra nueva."

***Figures 73-78*. Images of disasters or their effects. (Rossi, *El eco de las canciones*, 2010)**

The notion of the "dialectical image" overcomes the dichotomy of experience versus memory because, as Scanlan proposes, image is more than visual, rather akin to a "*thought-image*…a kind of dreamlike synthesis" (24). As such, "The dialectical image thus fuses time, experience and memory to suggest new possibilities or an otherwise concealed reality" (Scanlan 24). Benjamin's notion of the dialectical image is essential to both collage and performative documentary. Scanlan and Spielmann, when discussing either aural or cinematic collage, emphasize the importance of the dialectical relationship. By placing them in dialogue, I trace *El eco*'s theorization and aestheticization of (post)memory through the dialectical relationships in the film's materials and technologies. First, I summarize Scanlan's explanation of how changes in sound technology have affected memory and experience, asking, too, how we can apply the history of media technologies to the theory of postmemory. Next, I look at Spielmann's description of the play between analog and digital cinema, in digital cinematic collage. Finally, I link notions of performance and more specifically, performative documentary to these two discussions of dialectical relationships between media technologies and materials.

John Scanlan, in his article "Fragments of Time and Memory," attempts to understand material culture through media technology with a focus on sound. He claims that media affects how we occupy time, with repercussions for memory and self-identity (Scanlan 20). Although he traces the evolution of sound technology from the phonograph to the cassette tape to digitization,

his work connects with visual collage in his attention to Benjamin's dialectical image, memory, experience, and the everyday. Previously, memory was conserved through oral tradition, which included a smaller world of experience, closely linked to presence. However, the premodern soundscape was defined by time instead of space: "Sound is there and then it is gone; its repetitions reflect the largely unchanging nature of life and remain always rooted in temporal presence" (Scanlan 22). The phonograph's recording of isolated sound, as displaced fragments of memory and time, introduced sounds that could come from another time and place, no longer connected to one's experience.

Whereas the photographic camera is a machine that materializes the image of a time and place, the cassette tape (magnetic tape) materializes sound in a plastic sense. Due to sound's materialization and subsequently increased artistic potential, Scanlan sustains that the cassette tape produced a soundscape of dialectical images. In comparison with the hard format of earlier sound media such as the phonograph, the cassette tape is more pliable; it can be "cut, spliced, looped and doubled" (Scanlan 23). Similar to how photography captures the image of a seemingly continuous flow of time, audio recording technology detains sound as an abstracted fragment of the flow of time (Scanlan 20). Through new media technologies, those seized fragments (bits and pieces) form another continual flow and as such, reconfigure memory and experience. Despite Scanlan's attention to how media influences memory, he fails to engage with memory's effects on media technologies. Importantly, memory and media partake in a dialectical relationship, in which they mutually inform each other.

With the advent of modern technological changes, the world of experience has expanded exponentially. As a result, technology has changed the way memory works, suggesting that we can escape death through the continual present of new media technology. Instead of sound being

tied to place and time, it now materializes in bodily sensations (feeling, mood, emotion) (Scanlan 26). Although digital media suggests the eternal preservation of the past through a "mega-archive," it simultaneously encourages oblivion (Scanlan 26).[189] Whereas analog technology "was weighed down with actual hard, solid, matter," digital technology dissolves this material presence, or physical reality (Scanlan 26). Instead, sound now materializes in the human body. Digital media therefore facilitates affective memory.

The modern recording device (camera, tape machine, etc.) makes the invisible and the imperceptible a material reality, as a combination of elements in a constellation, Benjamin's metaphorical representation of the dialectical image (Scanlan 23). This constellation, or dialectical image, then, produces a "flash" or a "spark" that enables new types of perception and communication (Highmore 71). Collage-making as well as sampling create and engage dialectical images in relational reading practices, which can awaken dormant memories and histories in their material and affective presence (Fernández Labayen and Rodríguez Ortega 89).[190] Sampling, like collage, hinges on editing – collecting, selecting, leaving out, and putting together – actions that mirror the work of memory. In the digital era, with virtually unlimited access to so many recordings divorced from context, editing requires more precision. Sampling works with songs that are already there, similar to collage's use of found materials. Collage-making is an artistic performance that creates meaning out of the detritus of everyday; likewise, sampling potentially empowers individuals since they can mash up songs of their choice. Echoes, like samples, are copies, and they too can be edited or altered.

[189] Earlier in his essay, Scanlan discusses the archive and writing based on Derrida's attention to similar tensions between remembering and forgetting. Scanlan explains that there is a paradox at work in mediated experience: "to record or inscribe is to preserve time and experience, but also, in a sense, to forget in the very act of 'outsourcing' memory" (22). One writes down to remember, but upon doing so, relieves him or herself of having to keep the memory in the mind. This tension is at work in the texts analyzed, especially in their reflections on writing and filmmaking, explaining why they preserve the "process" and not the "product" of memory work.

[190] Sampling has the "capacity to abolish spatiotemporal linearity, proposing a relational reading culture" (Fernández Labayen and Rodríguez Ortega 89).

Digital cinematic collage expresses (post)memory constructions because it can "create open-ended structures and incoherence," that depend on cinema's ability "to achieve continuity upon incoherence" in montage (Spielmann 138). Cinema is able to be open-ended because of the established cinematic expectation of a linear narrative. Therefore, cinematic collage challenges cinema's dominant framework by using parts of it. Comparable to this, the diary contests social constructions of gender divisions and hierarchies through its "open-ended, unfinished and incomplete" composition that focuses more on the process of writing (Hogan 100). Because of this, I interpret the open-ended format of *El eco*'s audiovisual collage as an aesthetic expression of the feminine diary, analogous in its mission of destabilizing hegemonic power structures and narratives. Similarly, documentaries are not thought to be "necessarily determined or closed, but rather as dialectical and open to reinterpretation" (Bruzzi 180). The open-endedness of collage, documentary, and the diary allows *El eco* to represent and perform (post)memory as an ongoing process.

Despite changes in media technologies, newer, digital forms contain traces of older media, materials, and technologies, including how these affect experience and memory. Digitization manipulates audio and visual materials "without leaving a trace of its processes" in the material object or recording machine itself (Turim 52).[191] However, although there is no "proof" of the changes wrought, obviating production and the work behind the art, *El eco* leaves traces of its construction through collage and manipulation, as performative moments of memory.[192] In contrast to Turim, van Dijck rescues the materiality of the digital, explaining that digital technology only creates the illusion that there is no trace. The intermediality between

[191] What's more, as Spielmann notes, the dialectical relationship between analog and digital in digital collage is constructed through digital manipulation (Spielmann 133). Digital collage also combines previous medial, artistic, and artisanal techniques, such as painterly collage, mise-en-scene, and filmic montage (Spielmann 140; Turim 52).
[192] The previously mentioned images of the camera filming a TV screen are examples.

analog and digital is thus a feature of the digital (because analog did not exist *after* digital). Yet it is also true that post-digital analog productions may imitate the digital, in a cyclical manner.[193] All media is intermedial, like all texts are intertextual.[194] Looking at media technologies as a metaphor for how memory works, then memory constantly cites itself, too, contributing to what I proposed as "meta-memory" in the Introduction. *El eco* utilizes analog and digital audiovisual sources, albeit recomposed or filtered through digital technology. This technique corresponds to the director's reworking of the past from her position in the present, to create spatial density or texture where previously there was only time. What's more, collage is built on separation and connection, on continuity and difference, similar to how intermediality sustains difference while it also mediates and closes the gap between different media.[195]

Towards the end of *El eco*, a sequence of clips and sounds from the results of the 1988 plebiscite composes one of the more dense moments of cinematic collage in the film. The audio of the official announcement of the No campaign's win opens the sequence, followed by visual footage of the celebration in the street. In such an intense moment for Chilean history, the screams and car honking are rather muted, with an original composition of stringed instruments dominating the soundtrack. The displacement of sounds through layering emphasizes the narrator's disconnection from her country. The noise of a boat creaking and images of muted shouting overshadow an important event in collective memory. Such a powerful moment is

[193] Although *Mi vida con Carlos* was filmed using 35mm, the film imitates digital technology in the manipulation of Carlos' photo uncovered by the wind.

[194] "At this particular point we may say that the digital inherits analogue features, but this is only true if we consider both sides of simulation against the background of the analogue. In other words: when we consider the interrelationship between analogue and digital in terms of continuities and discontinuities, we no longer have to deal with the question of transformation, but with the simulation of transformation, namely with an interrelationship that is completely encompassed in the digital. To conclude: what characterizes the intermediality between analogue and digital features, such as the shift towards spatialization in collage, is actually a feature of the digital itself; more precisely intermediality in the digital is a quality of simulation" (Spielmann 144).

[195] "The technique of layering produces spatial density and thereby sustains the mode of connecting elements, whereas the mode of separation is sustained insofar as the structure of merging remains visible" (Spielmann 136).

eclipsed by feelings of confusion and dislocation, throwing the narrator into *desexilio*. However, the collective victory remains present as a trace. With the No's win, as later with Pinochet's death, the future remained uncertain.

What interests Scanlan and Spielmann are the changes in media technologies and the dialectical relationships that these may produce. Although they approach different aesthetic realms – aural/visual/cinematic – from varying perspectives, they can be read together to effectively theorize memory and postmemory through media technology. Analog technology, whether audio or visual, or audiovisual for that matter, is rooted in a material product of recording. With digitization, this materialization of sounds and images is relocated to the body. This change in recording practices translates to changes in memory practices as well. I do not privilege analog over digital, or digital over analog, but rather hope to analyze how media affects and theorizes memory, and vice versa, especially in the context of Chilean post-dictatorship. Returning to van Alphen's criticism of postmemory because of its inclusion of the word "memory" that implies a certain indexicality only applicable to the original traumatic event, the indexicality of memory is tied to the material traces on objects through recording technology, as evidence of the original experience, rooted to a time and place. Now, with digital technology, there is distance from the original experience, in what is a continual present. However, sounds and images now materialize in the body, through affective and performative memory, which is precisely the stuff of postmemory, according to Hirsch. We focus so often, in discussions of memory and postmemory, on the differences between generations and their access to the original traumatic event. In addition to this, I ask how access to different media technologies affects memory and its representations. How do media technologies affect generational relationships to trauma? Has the evolution of media technology influenced not only how we remember or

experience, but also how we conceive of memory and postmemory? Perhaps, as Hirsch has posited in her term, (post)memory no longer depends completely on original experience for legitimacy, since memory is transmitted and mediated through other sources, whether these be people, media, or other. Considering this in conjunction with van Dijck's affirmation of the bilateral relationship between technology and memory, I suggest that these documentaries offer examples of the constant negotiations between both. In the particular context of Chile's post-dictatorship, the *hijos de la dictadura* translate the literary genres of letters and diaries, traditionally associated with the private sphere, to the audiovisual medium of film, a more public mode of representation. By doing so, their performances illuminate how practices of (post)memory change through both time and technology.

Conclusion

These two documentaries reveal a more self-reflexive, personal cultural (post)memory than the audiovisual texts discussed in Chapter 1 (*Los 80* and *No*). As a result, their selection of audiovisual archives includes both private footage and public media events. They do not try to recreate a mise-en-scène from the dictatorship, but actively engage in the present and theorize memory construction through artistic practices of image manipulation and collage. Moreover, these documentaries perform (post)memory, and, like the novels analyzed in Chapter 2, they engage in meta-textual performances of memory-making. The performative elements of the films are what open them up to more affiliative representations of (post)memory. Finally, as I have argued throughout the dissertation, drawing on van Dijck's work, technology and memory serve as metaphors for each other. As such, changes in technology are reflected in how memory is portrayed and described, while memory affects how technology is perceived and used. Where I

identified textual montage as an example of this mutually dependent metaphorical relationship between technology and memory in Chapter 2, *Mi vida con Carlos* and *El eco* apply literary genres to audiovisual productions. *Mi vida*, as an audiovisual letter, and *El eco*, as an audiovisual diary, rescue daily life and the feminine detail from oblivion, constructing alternative narratives that rub against official memory discourse, as seen in the male-dominated, reconciliatory texts of *Los 80* and *No*. By doing so, the documentaries propose ways for *los hijos de la dictadura* to grapple with a close, yet distant past.

Final Conclusions

In this dissertation, I have explained how different cultural texts produced by *los hijos de la dictadura* in post-Pinochet Chile represent the past and theorize memory and postmemory. Two recurring motifs are family and media, both of which construct and inform memory representations in private and public spheres. As a result, each cultural memory narrative explored here also mediates collective and individual memories within Chilean society and culture. Furthermore, the narratives attempt to therapeutically process personal, familial, and national traumas. As I have discussed, each chapter addresses different types of narratives produced by members of this 1.5 generation, which I characterize as hybrid, since its members grew up during the dictatorship and have inherited the previous generation's memories as well. The nuances in these works prove the hybridity of the generation and its memories. The differences that I identify between the narratives confirm the oft-cited pitfalls of generational frameworks (that generations obscure differences), yet I am able to detect recurring themes and concerns running throughout a number of texts by the *hijos* generation. I employ the generational label, then, to analyze how individuals who came of age during the dictatorship and its aftermath have interpreted their experiences and responded to Chile's memory politics.

This project originated from an interest in Chilean television's representation of the dictatorship and what I call "dictatorial debris." Although these two lines of inquiry appear at odds with each other, they surface throughout the dissertation as points of comparison. Whereas the TV series *Los 80* processes the past through an archetypical family, thus covering over more personal stories often left out of official memory discourse, the documentaries *Mi vida con Carlos* and *El eco de las canciones* turn to the remains of personal memories to reflect on the

past and the present. Despite the universality of the Herrera family in *Los 80*, the series opens dialogs about the dictatorship in the public sphere by reaching such a large audience through television. That said, the contexts of production and reception, along with the constraints and opportunities afforded by varying textual mediums and intended audiences, must be taken into consideration when analyzing how each text presents and theorizes memory. Despite their differing approaches and receptions, the texts I have selected point to an on-going need to address personal and collective traumas in post-Pinochet Chile.

Because of the texts' repeated invocation of family and media, I perceive television, in particular, as an affective object that may be considered a metaphorical family member. The changing representations and roles of television, and other media, within these narratives are potential indicators for how memory and postmemory will be constructed in the future. Television and media become material and metaphorical representations of memory in these narratives, through meta-textual or self-reflective tendencies. From Diamela Eltit's essays to mainstream TV and cinema to novels and documentaries, each text theorizes memory and/or postmemory through different aesthetic techniques and materials. Despite their differences, the texts performatively construct themselves, revealing their processes and contradictions, through meta-literature, meta-cinema, and meta-television.

The term "mediated memories" lends itself to various interpretations I have identified in these texts: memory is often inherited and influenced by different generations and temporalities; memory is often taught or filtered through official outlets of discourse such as museums or even the media itself; and finally, memory is transmitted through artistic and visual representations. Memory is thus a complex and multi-layered phenomenon subject to change and instability. I want to end this dissertation with the concept of mediation as a state of reflection, but also a state

of connection.[196] A witness to trauma, one who listens and remembers what the victim relates, is a mediator. We, as viewers, readers, and critics, also become mediators. Therefore I ask how we interpret others' trauma and memory narratives, but perhaps more importantly, I also inquire how cultural representations mediate between us.[197]

By tracing the production of disparate cultural texts, from third person to first person narratives, and from self-promotional to self-reflexive meta-textuality, I have demonstrated how dictatorial legacies continue to haunt Chile's contemporary cultural landscape, which many members of the 1.5 generation have addressed through art. Literature, film, and television place the past and memories into the public sphere, while they also may achieve therapeutic aims for the creators. At the same time, the 1.5 generation's artistic approaches may foster more critical engagements with the past-in-the-present, depending on the role of nostalgia in their texts.

Finally, the texts' sites that represent memory's configuration for this hybrid generation tend to include allegorical homes, non-places, and third places, as sites of abandonment, emptiness, displacement, and trauma. For instance, being trapped and looking out the window (of a home) to the outside is repeated in these narratives. These scenes represent the liminal sites the children occupy and the liminal experience of memory. The house is not the only place that holds allegorical potential, but rather the threshold, the window, and the corner have become the allegorical spaces of postdictatorship and postmemory. The subject's position within the house mediates his/her relationship with and contemplation of the outside world. Despite the traditional tendencies of family allegories to portray home (and nation) as safe haven, the protagonists of

[196] Avery Gordon briefly outlines a similar concept of mediation as well, as "the process that links an institution and an individual, a social structure and a subject, and history and a biography" (19). Annette Kuhn's statement about memory work reflects a similar idea to Gordon's: "Memory work makes it possible to explore connections between 'public' historical events, structures of feeling, family dramas, relations of class, national identity and gender, and 'personal' memory" (5).

[197] Mieke Bal aptly states, "Art - and other cultural artifacts such as photographs or published texts of all kinds - can mediate between the parties to the traumatizing scene and between these and the reader or viewer" (x).

the novels and documentaries in Chapters 2 and 3, in particular, "se hallan a la intemperie, interrogándose sobre las esquirlas de la noción de familia introyectada por la dictadura a través de su propaganda ochentera. Se vuelve a casa, pero herido(a)" (Amaro Castro 125). In other words, the 1.5 generation's relationship with Chile's memory landscape is full of tension and discomfort, which the texts explore. Television, too, belongs in the families of these memory texts, as a major contributor to the *hijos*' therapeutic art. As both object and footage placed at the intersection between individual, familial, and national memories, television is a malleable, memory medium.

In his description of a stairwell in Renée Green's installation *Sites of Genealogy*, Homi Bhabha writes that the "insterstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (5). In Chapters 2 and 3, liminal sites or thresholds such as the corner or the hallway serve to represent the feelings of displacement that the 1.5 generation experiences. What's more, because these liminal sites foster hybridity, they destabilize the hierarchization of memories, whether official such as the wounded family discourse, or within individual families themselves. Ultimately, the 1.5 generation in Chile alludes to the affective and embodied memories of childhood that result in out-of-placeness. This same sensation of not belonging produces critical irony within the 1.5 generation.

Although each text has considerable differences, I have identified various common tendencies in Chile's post-Pinochet memory narratives by *los hijos de la dictadura*. I do not wish to gloss over their nuances, but instead, I hope that by trying to theorize memory production, we can look to how memory will be addressed in the future as generations, politics, and technologies change, as well as how the theorization of memory (such as Hirsch's post-memory) can be

updated and adapted to take into consideration other geographical regions such as Latin America. What's more, these texts problematize previous representations of memory, family, and media, and in themselves, theorize all three. I suggest we consider these texts as critical sources for memory studies in Chile and beyond, with a particular attention to the role that media plays in shaping memory narratives in the era of convergence media.

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