

Memories of the Dictatorship from Chilean Exiles in Australia: Affect and Positionality in a Complex Mnemonic Field

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I declare that this thesis is my own original work and does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where otherwise indicated. This thesis, in whole or any part of it, has not been submitted to this or any other university for a degree.

Nicolas Villarroel

Date: 10/08/2023

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nicolas Villarroel'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping 'N' and 'V'.

Dedication

Para Rocío

Por siempre en mi memoria y en mi corazón

Acknowledgments

This manuscript is the product of a broader collective and intergenerational process, in which so many people with whom I have talked, worked and collaborated have shaped how I think and feel. All of them, virtually and actually present, made this PhD journey somehow warmer, friendlier, and an unforgettable learning experience. I would like to take a moment to express my gratitude. There are some of you that I cannot name, but hopefully you will know when I am referring to you.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the memory of the Chilean dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) through the voices of Chilean exiles in Australia, who had to migrate due to their political affiliations and activism against the dictatorship. The thesis analyses how emotions, or affective practices, shape how exiles remember the dictatorship. The memory of the Chilean dictatorship is a complex mnemonic field in which remembering primarily involves taking a position in relation to other voices. While previous research has shown that ideological and intergenerational dynamics are key elements that explain the disputes and contestations between different actors and groups, emotion has yet to be the research focus. In developing the analysis, I propose the concept of 'affective-mnemonic practices' to capture the complex articulations of memory, affect, ideology and intergenerational transmission. Emotions or affective practices are a crucial element of mnemonic processes, as they orient the positionality of people when remembering, thus shaping the meaning of the past in the present.

Over 20,000 Chileans migrated to Australia following the civil-military coup d'état on September 11th, 1973, and during the 17 years of dictatorial rule. Most of these migrants stayed in Australia after the restoration of democracy in Chile. In this context, during 2020, in-depth interviews were conducted with 46 participants (28 from the first generation and 18 who were children of exiles), in which I asked them to tell their histories and experiences of the dictatorship and exile. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and a thematic analysis was performed to identify salient topics and emotional patterns.

The findings show that multiple emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship in complex ways. Participants remember with pain and sadness the traumatic events of the coup and the process of forced migration. These emotions are entangled with the ideological positions of participants in the context of the defeat symbolised in the coup and the post-dictatorial structural violence. However, trauma does not define the memory of exiles, as they also remember joyful moments of political activism. Activism before and after the coup is remembered with pride and esteem, in which ideological connections define these memories' 'positive' meaning. Nevertheless, activism was a topic of contestation in exile, as conflicts and tensions between different groups provoked misrecognition. This shows that identifying with left-wing values does not necessarily equate to community homogeneity or

coherence. Additionally, children of exiles relate to the memory of the dictatorship through stories and objects in complex intergenerational transmission processes. A distinction is made between children who had a direct experience of the dictatorship and children born in Australia. The findings suggest that different forms of nostalgia shape the meaning of exile in both groups of children, thus configuring liminal senses of identity. Finally, the thesis explores the relations between the memory of the dictatorship and the imagination of the future after the social uprising of 2019. Participants imagine the future oscillating between fear, pessimism and hope, suggesting that complex emotions mediate between the memory of the dictatorship and the imagination of the future. Overall, the thesis reveals how the memory of the dictatorship is a living process among the Chilean diaspora in Australia. The findings contribute to political debates and contemporary activism, revealing the complex multidirectional relations between memory, emotions, and imagination. The concept of affective-mnemonic practices is offered as a useful tool to analyse complex stories about the past.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

“The problem for us is that we don't belong here, but we also don't belong in Chile anymore. Like, I've been back, you know, six months ago, and I walk the streets, and there is no memory for us. We don't, there's nothing [that] can attach us to that country in a physical sort of sense. You walk the streets, and there's nothing, absolutely nothing.”

(Female participant, 50+ years old, in Australia since the 1970s)

“Cuando volví le dije yo no voy a volver más a Chile, porque ahí no hay nada que me recuerde nuestra lucha, nuestro tono. Yo pensaba, ¿cuánta gente murió? ¿Cuánta gente nos sacrificó toda su vida? Yo conocí a muchísima gente en mi tiempo de lucha. Mucha de esa gente murió, fue presa, y me encuentro con una realidad que es totalmente opuesta a nuestra lucha¹”

(Female participant, 60+ years old, in Australia since the 1980s)

The first time I listened to the memories of a Chilean exile was in the context of a research project in which I was a research assistant. The project explored the autobiographical memory of a Chilean exile in England, Héctor Ormeño² (Haye et al., 2018; Haye & Villarroel, 2023). One of the things that I remember most clearly is the estrangement I felt when listening to his records. Even though I had been working on projects about the memory of the dictatorship since 2011, I had never focused on exiles and their memories. Hence, when I listened to Héctor, it was like hearing stories from another reality. One of his reflections on memory and oblivion has stayed with me: “My mind was in total darkness because of time, like it was losing itself in time and space. As if it was convenient, but it is not convenient that realities are lost” (quoted in Villarroel, 2020, para. 15). These words led me to consider not only the ethics of remembering but also its political value. Forgetting is problematic

¹ “When I returned, I told him [her partner] that I was not going to return to Chile anymore because nothing there reminds me of our fight, our tone. I thought, how many people died? How many sacrificed their lives? I met many people during my days of struggle. Many died and were imprisoned, and I find a reality completely opposed to our struggle”.

² Héctor grew up in rural Chile before the land reform of the 1960s and 1970s. He directly experienced the violence of the landowners and the precarious living conditions of rural workers. While growing up, he became involved in politics and was part of left-wing political parties, supporting the land reforms that sought to free the workers from oppressive working conditions. When the dictatorship came, he was taken prisoner and tortured, and later he went into exile to Sheffield, England.

because we may lose other realities to anchor our mnemonic imagination (Keightley & Pickering, 2012), hindering the possibility of imagining alternative futures. As such, remembering and forgetting have political relevance, and we need to remember to be able to think differently about our present. I never personally met Héctor, I only know him from his recordings, but his words changed how I think about memory.

The present study does not focus on Héctor but on the memory of Chilean exiles who forcibly left Chile after the 1973 military coup d'état and migrated to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. It draws on in-depth interviews with 46 participants, including exiles and their adult children. In many ways, the memories of exiles stand for different realities, as suggested by the opening quotes of the introduction. These words are from participants of my research, and they illustrate the exclusion and the impossibility of 'returning' faced by many Chilean exiles. These quotes show how the home they knew is configured by memories framed by political struggle, comprising the deadly violence and their hopes and dreams of another society. As such, the experience of exiles clashes with the reality of the post-dictatorial years, which is the opposite of the reality they dreamt of before the dictatorship. Therefore, the memories of exiles do not resonate in the post-dictatorial Chilean society (Doña-Reveco, 2020; Rebolledo & Acuña, 2001), and at the same time, the realities of political struggle that shape their memories do not belong in Australia either (Mason, 2014). This dilemma encapsulates the problem of displaced memories of exiles, out of time and space, as an effect of political violence. However, if the exiles' memories do not resonate with the post-dictatorial Chilean society, then we perhaps need to critique such a society, and we need to ask if there is a place for these memories in the Chilean memory culture. In this thesis, I argue that they indeed have a place and an important one. The voice of exile defies the temporal demarcation of the dictatorship by insisting on the continuities of violence in the post-dictatorial years of democratic transition. Additionally, it challenges the geographical limits of the Chilean nation-state by claiming a place in its mnemonic culture. Exiles bring a perspective that has been excluded from the post-dictatorial years precisely due to their insistence on an alternative political project that disrupts the logic of capitalism and neoliberalism. Such a project is incompatible with the 'Chilean way of political reconciliation' (Loveman & Lira, 2007) that has shaped the post-dictatorship period. These issues and concerns shape my work and inform my position and research questions. However, before presenting these, it is necessary

to contextualise my research in the broader historical context of the dictatorship and the years of democratic transition. From this background, I present the case of Chilean exiles in Australia, and after that, I situate myself as a researcher and my work. I conclude the introduction with the thesis argument and the structure and contributions of each chapter.

Historical Background

To understand the memories of exiles, it is necessary to write about the dictatorship and the immediate years before the coup d'état. On September 4th, 1970, an unprecedented event took place when the socialist candidate of the left-wing coalition 'Unidad Popular' (Popular Unity), Salvador Allende, was elected to become Chile's president. This marked the beginning of the '1,000 days' of Allende's government (Gaudichaud, 2020), which aimed to build a socialist country while preserving the democratic system. The exceptionality of this historical adventure contrasted heavily with the Cuban revolution of 1953-59, as Chile aimed to achieve socialism without an armed revolution but a revolution in democracy (Austin Henry et al., 2020). The three years of Allende's government were characterised by multiple initiatives to transform Chile's economic, social and cultural spheres. Some of these included the nationalisation of industries, free access to health and education, a strong literacy campaign, allowing bilingual education for Indigenous people, and improving rural working conditions (Austin Henry et al., 2020). However, in the context of the Cold War's geopolitical and ideological disputes, Allende's election was polemic and problematic to the interests of the United States (Corvalán, 2020). The USA immediately mobilised strategies to destabilise the conditions of governability in Chile (Corvalán, 2020; Kornbluh, 2003/2013). Some of these efforts included making alliances with conservative political parties, the elite class and sectors of the military forces, financing right-wing propaganda in newspapers, applying economic pressure, and cutting diplomatic relations (Corvalán, 2020; Kornbluh, 2003/2013). These measures aimed to increase the political polarisation among the population and create the conditions that would lead to Allende's overthrow. However, despite a general climate of instability, many workers' unions, social and political organisations and parts of the population supported Allende's government (Corvalán, 2020). Despite all this, on September 11th, 1973, the army, navy and air force executed a coup d'état to overthrow Allende's government.

People were arrested and shot that same day, and the air force bombed the governmental palace, La Moneda. Allende died, and thus began a right-wing dictatorship in which Augusto Pinochet, the army's general, took over the government until March 11th, 1990, almost 17 years of right-wing dictatorship. Even though there had been other coups and political conflicts in Chile, Pinochet's dictatorship was the longest (Loveman & Lira, 2007).

The civil-military dictatorship was characterised by structural transformations that paved the way for neoliberalism and by the systematic violation of human rights. On the one hand, the neoliberal policies shifted the state's role as a guarantor of social rights to becoming a subsidiary. Thus, the education, pension, and health systems became privatised. Additionally, the neoliberal model led to a cultural transformation of values, emphasising individualism and consumption, transforming Chilean social relations (Araujo, 2019). On the other hand, the violation of human rights was cruel and systematically targeted at left-wing parties, their leaders, and political dissidents in general. During the years of the dictatorship, the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate, DINA) and later the Centro Nacional de Informaciones (National Information Centre, CNI) acted as the political police in charge of imprisoning, murdering, torturing and disappearing thousands of people. The repression was physical and psychological, creating a general atmosphere of fear and political threat among Chileans (Lira & Castillo, 1991). Official numbers recognise the execution of more than 3,200 people (National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, 1991) and the imprisonment and torture of more than 27,000 (Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, 2004). Additionally, many lost their jobs due to their political orientation and had no source of income. Given all these factors, thousands of Chileans forcibly migrated overseas and were exiled with their families; some estimate that the total was between 400,000 and 600,000 (Cornejo, 2008), whereas others estimate between 800,000 and 1,000,000 (Shayne, 2009; Wright, 1995). Chileans migrated to Argentina³, Spain, Venezuela, Sweden, Germany, Australia, Italy, France, Canada, UK, and Romania, among other countries (Valdés Navarro, 2022). The realities of exiles were diverse, and their political experience differed according to the country to which

³ However, in 1976, a right-wing military junta took over Argentina's government, and many Chileans that lived there were forced to migrate again.

people migrated (Rojas Mira & Santoni, 2013). Notably, in the literature on the experience of Chilean exiles, there is little information about the Chileans in Australia. I will return to this issue ahead.

Multiple measures took place during the dictatorship to ensure the military's impunity and to consolidate Pinochet's power. An amnesty decree was passed in 1978, which guaranteed the impunity of the military involved in the coup, assassinations, and tortures (Loveman & Lira, 2007). In 1980, a new Constitution was drafted, which demarcated the state's role as a subsidiary of social rights, which became social services, and which allowed other abuses, such as Pinochet becoming a lifetime senator after he stepped down as general of the military. However, the same Constitution established that a plebiscite would take place to establish whether Pinochet should continue in power. As such, in 1988, the campaign for the plebiscite was crucial. The options to vote were 'Yes' for him to continue and 'No' to reject his continuity and have presidential elections the year after. With a strong campaign, the 'No' option won; thus, in 1989, Chileans elected Patricio Aylwin as president.

Aylwin was a member of the political party 'Democracia Cristiana' (Christian Democracy) and the centre-left coalition candidate named 'Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia' (Concertation of Parties for Democracy). Ironically, Aylwin and other party members supported the coup in 1973 (González, 2016). Nevertheless, the dictatorship officially ended in 1990, inaugurating the period of transition to democracy, which has been marked by tensions between discourses of reconciliation and social and political organisations that sought to establish the truth and have justice for victims of the coup and dictatorship. However, these tensions are not new in Chilean history. Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira (2007) have coined the term 'Vía chilena de reconciliación política' (Chilean way of political reconciliation) to identify the patterns of impunity, oblivion and political pragmatism to secure the governability of the country after periods of political conflict. This cultural pattern in Chilean politics was challenged by the reports of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1991 and the Commission on Political Torture and Imprisonment in 2003 (Loveman & Lira, 2007). These reports established and recognised, from an official point of view, that the systematic violation of Human Rights was undeniable. However, the results of the commissions could not abolish the amnesty decree, and they were constrained by other limitations to ensure the

country's governability and avoid conflicts with the military. One example of these concessions is that the names of torturers are to remain secret for 50 years after the report of the Commission on Torture and Political Prison (Loveman & Lira, 2007), thus hindering the legal pursuit of justice. Given these tensions of the post-dictatorship scenario, issues regarding how to deal with and remember the dictatorial past became sensitive political problems, shaping the tortuous road to memory (Stern & Winn, 2013). This road has been defined by the ideological divisions between Chileans and the ambivalence towards the dictatorship and Pinochet himself, keeping alive class and political antagonisms (Waldman Mitnick, 2009). As such, the reports of the commissions have been decisive in defining the Chilean memoryscape and were received differently by progressive, left, and right-wing sectors. For example, the victims' organisations were not pleased that the reports would not legally help in pursuing legal justice, and right-wing sectors justified their actions as necessary exceptions in the war against 'communist tyranny' (Loveman & Lira, 2007). Even though the reports have been crucial in shaping an intergenerational discourse on the impossibility of justifying the violation of Human Rights (Loveman & Lira, 2007), their political interpretation is contested. Another example of the ideological tensions can be seen in the continuous attacks on Human Rights memorials throughout the post-dictatorship, which increased after the social uprising of 2019⁴ (Aguilera & Badilla, 2022). These are some examples of a broader process that illustrates how the memory of the dictatorship configures a field of struggle (Stern, 2009), at times with fierce antagonism, between different positions that dispute the meaning of the past (Badilla, 2017).

Considering these antecedents, it is pertinent to return to the question of the meaning of reconciliation and working through the past. As Theodor Adorno (1959/2005) argued, coming to terms with the past does not mean overcoming it, as if it was convenient to put it behind to 'move forward', or as Loveman and Lira (2007) put it, *echarle tierra* (covering it up). Instead, Adorno suggests that it is necessary to critically examine the past to analyse how the present may repeat the conditions that

⁴ The social uprising of 2019, or *Estallido Social*, refers to a series of demonstrations and protests throughout Chile during October 2019 and months after. The protests addressed issues of inequality and demanded better pensions, free health and education, and justice for Indigenous people, among other issues. These protests were brutally repressed by the right-wing government of Sebastián Piñera, who even declared that 'Chile was at war'. I address the *Estallido* in more detail in Chapter 9 from the point of view of exiles and its connection with the memory of the dictatorship.

produce fascist violence (Adorno, 1959/2005). Paradoxically, the insistence on moving forward may reproduce the social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the repetition of the past, as there is no critical examination of the continuation of fascism within democratic systems. These reflections are pertinent to Chilean society when considering the continuation of fascist tendencies during the post-dictatorial years. For example, the creation of the 'Partido Republicano' (Republican Party), a far-right party that is apologetic of Human Rights violations during the dictatorship, as well as the tendency of some Chilean teenagers to approve a dictatorship if it brought order and security (Yévenes, 2018). At the same time, Chile has been experiencing one of its most profound political crises of the democratic transition since October 2019, when demonstrations and protests against the injustices of the Chilean system took over the Chilean territory (Watson, 2019; "Chile Learns", 2019), leading to a national and intergenerational movement (see Chapter 9 for a more detailed account of the uprising). In that context, the right-wing government of Sebastián Piñera brutally repressed the protesters and systematically violated their Human Rights (Amnesty International, 2019; Human Rights Watch, 2019; United Nations Human Rights, 2019). Protesters were killed, abused, and mutilated, among other practices of threat by the police and army. These issues demonstrate the fragility of the reconciliation process and the 'never again' discourse that was reinforced during post-dictatorial years (Stern & Winn, 2014). Moreover, they invite us to rethink the meaning of working through the past and how the continuities of the Chilean way of political reconciliation impede the formation of a new political experience free from the dictatorial legacies⁵.

In this context, why turn to the memories of exiles? As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the memories of exile stand for other realities that have not been part of the post-dictatorial conversation (Doña-Reveco, 2020) and that have been excluded from the Chilean mnemonic culture (Schrama, 2019). Displaced in time and space (Pereen, 2006), their memories may stand for alternative ways of engaging with the past from other currents of social thought (Halbwachs, 1925/1992) that may have been lost in the national territory but survive in other spacetime configurations. Therefore, turning to the memories of exiles responds to an ethical

⁵ The critique could be extended to one of the outcomes of the *Estallido Social*: the possibility to change the Constitution by approving the draft written by the constitutional convention. However, this draft was rejected by a vast majority in a plebiscite in 2022 (see Chapter 9).

position: We need to remember to avoid losing realities that otherwise would be condemned to oblivion. This task also responds to the politically urgent need to engage with other voices to dislocate the Chilean present and imagine other futures. As such, my position is that the voices of exile inform us of the past and provide other anchoring points for the political imagination. With these considerations, I present the case of Chilean exiles in Australia and explain why I focused my research on their memories.

The Case of Chilean Exiles in Australia

I decided to work with Chilean exiles in Australia because of their history and trajectory of political activism. One decisive factor in choosing Australia as my field was a film that does not focus on exiles but on a former collaborator during the dictatorship. The film, 'El Pacto de Adriana' (Adriana's Pact) was released in 2017. It revolves around the relationship between the film's director, Lisette Orozco, and her aunt, Adriana Rivas, who migrated to Australia in 1978 and was the secretary of Manuel Contreras, the DINA's director. Adriana Rivas was arrested in 2019 and found guilty in 2020 due to her involvement in the kidnap, torture and disappearance of seven left-wing militants in 1976, and is now waiting for extradition (Lozano & Blanco, 2022). Adriana's Pact captures the complexity of the relationship between Lisette and Adriana and shows how their relationship breaks once the truth about Adriana's past is out. However, a particular scene caught my eye, in which a group of Chileans do a *funa*⁶ outside Adriana Rivas' apartment to denounce her impunity and demand justice for her crimes during the dictatorship. The film does not focus on this group of protesters but on the person inside the apartment, her fears and her (false) claims of innocence. This scene encapsulates some of the contradictions within the Chilean community in Australia. While some people willingly migrated during the dictatorship (including torturers and people not affected by it), others were forced to migrate due to their political beliefs. In that film, this last group is represented by the people doing the *funa*. However, that group of protesters remained outside of the film's narrative, and Adriana Rivas has become, in time, the

⁶ A *funa* is a public demonstration to protest a person accused of an act and believed guilty. This practice was widespread during the post-dictatorial years in response to the lack of justice against well-known torturers, which explains the famous phrase in Chile, *si no hay justicia, hay funa* (if there is no justice, there is funa).

known face of Chileans in Australia⁷. As such, metaphorically speaking, I decided to focus on the experiences of the people outside Adriana's apartment, who are this thesis's protagonists.

The case of Chilean exiles is shaped by tensions and contradictions between political activism, conformism with Australian capitalism, ideological conflicts and continuous involvement with Chilean politics despite not returning after the restoration of democracy. To further situate my interest in this case, I offer a brief and partial reconstruction of how Chilean exiles arrived in Australia⁸. Their arrival was entangled with different cultural and political processes in Australia, facilitating and hindering the Chilean migration. These processes also shaped the solidarity campaign to denounce the Human Rights violations and boycott the economic operations between Chile and Australia (Jones, 2014). Despite the political affinities between some sectors of the Australian Labor Party⁹ and the public condemnation of the Human Rights violations in Chile, there was an ambivalent relationship between the Chilean dictator and the Australian government during the dictatorship (Jones, 2014; Martín Montenegro, 1994, 2004).

More than 21,000 Chileans migrated to Australia between 1973 and 1990 (Kuhnel et al., 2019). However, some estimate there could have been more Chileans than the officially recognised number by the Australian government (Martín Montenegro, 2004). Chilean migration to Australia was facilitated during the years of the Labor governments of Gough Whitlam (1972-1975) and Bob Hawke (1983-1991) due to their political affinities with left-wing Chileans who were being persecuted by the dictatorship (Martín Montenegro, 2004). This contrasts with the years of Malcolm Fraser's¹⁰ (1975-1983) government, in which the Chilean migration decreased in response to the government's politics, especially between 1978 and 1983 (Martín

⁷ For example, during a conference where I spoke of my research, another researcher from Chile confessed that they did not know about the experience of Chilean exiles in Australia, as they only had heard about Adriana Rivas.

⁸ If the reader should want to know more, I direct them to Gustavo Martín Montenegro's (1994, 2004) work on the history of Chilean migration in Australia and the Chilean solidarity campaign, as well as Ann Jones' (2014) work on the relationships between Chilean and Australian left-wing activists during the dictatorship.

⁹ The Australian Labor Party could be defined as centre-left. During the 1970s, the Labor Party had internal divisions between sectors more aligned with the left and others more aligned towards the political centre (Jones, 2014).

¹⁰ Malcolm Fraser was a member of the Liberal Party of Australia, which at the time was aligned with the centre-right.

Montenegro, 2004). This political cycle produced two 'waves' of Chilean exiles during the years of the dictatorship, which is a relevant antecedent for my research findings. The 'first wave' comprehends the period immediately after the coup to 1978, in which more than 8,000 Chileans arrived in Australia. From 1978 to 1983, Fraser's policies directly impacted the decrease in Chilean migrants, as less than 2,200 were admitted to Australia. With the return of the Labor Party in 1983, the 'second wave' of exiles arrived, and more than 10,000 Chileans were admitted between 1983 and 1990 when the dictatorship officially ended¹¹. I distinguish between both waves of migration following the interviews with participants, who mentioned the tensions between both groups due to their political trajectories (see Chapter 6).

In addition to the cycle of Australian governments, Australia's cultural and political atmosphere partly helped Chileans who arrived to continue their political activism. Different Australian left-wing parties and union activists were attentive to Chile's political experiment with Allende. When the coup came, they immediately started to organise themselves to demonstrate solidarity with Chile (Jones, 2014). Australian activists organised committees in different cities and opened these spaces for the Chileans that arrived. Chilean exiles participated in these committees and started forming others, albeit not without conflicts and divisions due to political differences (Jones, 2014). Despite some of these issues, the general Australian audience was receptive to the Chilean solidarity campaign, as there was a generalised sympathy with Allende being both democratically elected, and brutally overthrown (Mártin Montenegro, 1994). Additionally, the multiculturalist discourse, which gained more force during the 1970s (Lopez, 2000), could partly explain the positive reception by Australians. However, it is important to note that despite Australian multiculturalism, there was still racism and discrimination towards Chileans (see Chapters 7 and 8). Multiculturalism is based on a simplistic concept of culture and cultural diversity (Erll, 2011), understanding that different groups embody their own culture and that there are diverse cultures in Australian society as there are different cultural groups. Therefore, each group is, essentially, culturally homogeneous. However, this same concept of cultural homogeneity is the basis of

¹¹ All the numbers were calculated following Gustavo Mártin Montenegro's (2004) document on the Chilean migration in Australia. His report was based on documents from the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, and it coincides with other reports, such as the one elaborated by Kuhnel et al. (2019).

racist and xenophobic discrimination (Erll, 2011; Haye & González, 2021). Additionally, multiculturalism tends to ignore the power differences between groups, such as white Australians and Latin American migrants and leaves little room for critique from migrants to the Australian sociopolitical project, thus limiting the migrant voice (Davidson, 1997; Jakubowicz, 1989; Mason, 2014; van Krieken, 2012). Despite these issues and the reasons behind the Australian positive reception to Chilean solidarity, exiles successfully coordinated their efforts with unions, political parties, and other grassroots activists to denounce the dictatorship (Jones, 2014). In the process, exiles founded different cultural centres and clubs that enabled the formation of a connected community and the organisation of political activities (see Chapter 5).

Considering these antecedents, the case of Chilean exiles in Australia presents a unique configuration of histories of activism and the formation of a community that was not exempt from political conflicts. Additionally, most exiles brought their families with them, and a majority had children born in Australia, therefore presenting the possibility of intergenerational transmission (or forgetting) of the memory of the dictatorship. Hence, Chilean exiles in Australia represent not only an excluded voice from the post-dictatorial years but also the experience of a community that was (and in some cases still is) politically organised (see Chapter 9). Therefore, it is worth exploring their memories in more depth, as the experience of Chilean exiles in Australia reveals some of the tensions of political activism, intergenerational transmission in the context of multiculturalism, and the effects of the dictatorship in their engagements with the past and present political landscape in Chile.

Situating the Research: Positionality and Questions

All research is partial and situated (Haraway, 1990), as it is always done from a position (Qin, 2016) that shapes the design, data production, analysis and writing. Therefore, before outlining my question and objectives, I present and delineate myself as a researcher considering my social, political and epistemic positions. I have been interested in the dictatorship for a long time, and my history partly explains it. I was born in April 1990, after Aylwin had formally assumed Chile's presidency, which makes me part of the post-dictatorship generation (Badilla Rajevic, 2019). Even though Pinochet was no longer the president, he was still

around in the 1990s. His presence as the army's general was a constant reminder of the possibility of another coup, as the army responded to him and not to the interests of social and political justice. Growing up in Chile during the 1990s was a tense experience. I remember seeing graffiti in favour and against Pinochet near my school. I also remember being called a 'communist' for defending Human Rights or democracy, which, even if it was a joke, it is still telling of how the dictatorship re-defined the parameters of common sense and the meanings of 'communism', 'right', 'left', and other keywords. Even if these situations are mere anecdotes, they all signalled the dictatorship. More critical in developing my interest in the dictatorship is my family history. My father used to be part of the *Jota*, that is, of the *Juventudes Comunistas de Chile* (Communist Youth of Chile) during the 1960s and 1970s, which is the youth wing of the Communist Party of Chile. He spoke fondly of those days and the work they did in shantytowns. He used to remember the excitement he felt when participating and the feeling that he was making a difference with the people suffering the consequences of poverty and class injustice. However, after the coup in 1973, he stopped his participation completely. He hid his identity as a former Jota member and even changed how he looked and never participated in a political party afterwards. The shock of the coup and violence impacted him deeply. Growing up, I could understand why he did not continue his participation in the party. However, he never stopped us from participating and becoming involved in political issues. He did not directly transmit the traumatic dimensions of his experience, but he aimed to transmit the meaning of his involvement in political activism.

The everyday life in the 1990s and 2000s and the history of my father shaped my interest in wanting to know more about the dictatorship. It was from 2011 onwards that I became involved in research projects about the memory of the dictatorship with Marcela Cornejo (Cornejo et al., 2013b; 2018) and later with Andrés Haye (Haye et al., 2018; Haye & Villarroel, 2023), including broader research teams. For me, understanding the dictatorship is about understanding the current Chilean society and what place there may be for people like me or my generation to fight against the dictatorship's legacies. In this sense, my political position tends to be aligned broadly with the left, understanding the need for social and economic justice, which cannot be achieved with the neoliberal model. I cannot talk for my whole generation, but I consider that my place in the struggle for a better future is to insist

that our present is not the only historical possibility. As such, memory is the tool to dislocate the present and shape hope to imagine a different future.

Considering these antecedents, it should come as no surprise that my epistemic position is heavily informed by critical theories that emphasise the relationships between power, ideology, and our concepts of social reality (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002; Marx & Engels, 1932/1998). Thus, how we conceptualise reality and social relations are not neutral but respond to historical and social trajectories in which we participate and shape us as subjects. Just as history and cultural processes shape how we conceptualise reality, the concepts we use affect reality by shaping praxis in descriptions and actions, among other possibilities (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002). This does not mean that reality is a mere subjective projection but that it is not possible to have a neutral and, even less, a total perspective of reality (Haraway, 1990). Furthermore, our concepts respond to particular sociohistorical configurations, and society is not homogeneous, as it is shaped by intercultural processes and interactions between multiple groups with different class interests (Billig et al., 1988). Hence, class and ideological struggles shape our concepts, and power relations situate some of these as more socially and politically valuable than others, thus legitimating social relations of oppression (Freire, 1970/2000; Santos, 2018) and exclusion. However, given the historicity and social grounding of knowledge, there is no final and incontestable way to conceive reality (Vološinov, 1973/1929). From this general epistemological position, I position myself in the social tradition of memory (Connerton, 1989; Halbwachs, 1925/1992; Middleton & Brown, 2005; Olick, 1999), understanding that society shapes how we remember and forget, and that memory is a complex process that changes in response to social and cultural transformations (see Chapter 2). In this context, I situate my research project with Chilean exiles in Australia in a broader line of work on the social memory of the Chilean dictatorship, which I outline in the next section.

Social Memory Studies of the Dictatorship

The memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship present different trends and concepts that inform my research project, which I broadly summarise here. I further develop some of these topics in Chapter 2, where I elaborate on my conceptual approach. One of the most relevant research topics focuses on State violence and its effects on victims and across generations. One early contribution was developed

by Lira and Isabel Castillo (1991), who analysed how the dictatorship shaped a climate of threat in Chilean society in which fear became the dominant emotion of Chileans. Over the years, the studies on trauma have broadened to include other dimensions. Studies have focused on the technologies of register of state violence (Bernasconi et al., 2019), the transmission of trauma to victims' descendants (Faúndez et al., 2014), the impact of torture on other actors, such as the professionals of truth and reconciliation commissions (Cornejo et al., 2013a) and clinician professionals (Morales & Cornejo, 2013). Other works have focused on the effects of truth and reconciliation commissions (Cárdenas et al., 2015), and a recent study (Cárdenas Castro & Arnosó Martínez, 2018) argues that the unequal social structure inherited from the dictatorship impedes the process of reconciliation.

Another research topic focuses on ideology. As Steve Stern (2009) argues, the memory of the Chilean dictatorship is a field of struggle of different ideological positions, as Chileans have no agreement on how to remember the dictatorial past (Manzi et al., 2003). Therefore, the configuration of antagonistic memories (Waldman Mitnick, 2009) reflects the divisions in Chilean society. For example, the study by Jorge Manzi et al. (2003) shows the differences between left and right-wingers when remembering the dictatorship. The study of Roberto González et al. (2013) shows how ideology differentiates the attitudes of Chileans towards reparation policies. Other research shows that depoliticising conversations about the dictatorship is a strategy that Chileans use to maintain a dialogue between people of different ideological positions (Reyes et al., 2013), which suggests that ideological differences between the left and right divide how Chileans remember the dictatorship.

Social research has also focused on intergenerational dynamics and the transmission of memories of the dictatorship. Different studies show the differences between the generations who directly experienced the coup and the post-dictatorship generations, as the first position themselves as the protagonists of the past and the second as the protagonists of the present (Cornejo et al., 2013b; Reyes et al., 2015). Other studies show differences in the emotional tone of the commemorations performed by younger generations, which contrast with the older ones (Badilla Rajevic, 2019; Frei, 2016). Finally, there is also research on the contexts of transmission of memories, such as familial spaces (Cornejo et al., 2021; González et

al., 2021) and dialogical transmission among participants in collective actions (Jeanneret Brith et al., 2020).

Gender has also been the focus of research, as different studies show that it shapes how Chileans remember the past (Pérez Troncoso & Piper Shafir, 2015). For example, Angélica Cruz Contreras (2018) found that women tend to acknowledge more than men the relational influences that marked their trajectories of political participation. In addition, in the context of exile, Julie Shayne (2009) studied the resistance and the articulation of the solidarity movement from a gender lens. Her study shows how political labour was divided according to gender and how women's work was vital in articulating political resistance through emotional labour and cultural performances (Shayne, 2009).

Another research topic has focused on memory sites, showing how different sites transmit and construct diverse versions of the past (Klep, 2012; Piper et al., 2017) and how visitors experience empathy and complex emotions in sites of memory (Hite, 2016). Other studies show how memorials are ideologically segregated (Aguilera, 2015) and how the presence of sites of memory in the city provides more opportunities for younger generations to engage with the dictatorial past critically and reflectively (Lojo & de la Mata, 2019).

Other studies have focused on emerging and frequently invisible voices in memory studies of the dictatorship. For example, Leith Passmore (2015) researched the memories of ex-conscripts who were forced to do military service during the dictatorship, whereas Daniela Jara et al. (2018) focused on the exclusion of the experiences of the Mapuche, one of the main Indigenous communities in Chile, from the truth commissions.

Finally, there is research on territorial differences and the Chilean diaspora. Lira (2016) studied the effect and particularities of the dictatorship in the extreme south of Chile. In a similar gesture, Lessie Jo Frazier (2007) focuses on the north of Chile, particularly in the symbolic experience of Pisagua, a former communist concentration camp and a detention centre during the dictatorship. Research on the Chilean diaspora demonstrates the difficulties of Chileans when facing the undetermined duration of their time out of Chile (Hirsch, 2012; Shayne, 2009) and the shock of returning after the end of the dictatorship (Calandra, 2013; Hirsch, 2015). Other studies show that, in exile, the resistance against the dictatorship was mobilised through material culture (Simalchik, 2006) and that there were gender

differences in political participation (Hirsch, 2012; Shayne, 2009). There is also research that illustrates how the second generation of Chileans born in exile have a personal relation with the past (Serpente, 2015), producing a complex diasporic constellation of multidirectional memories. Finally, it is worth noting that the cited research on exiles does not include the case of Chilean exiles in Australia.

Research Question

The memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship constitute a rich field that has opened numerous research questions, acknowledging the effects of the dictatorship on Chilean society while recognising the complexities involved in the ways Chileans remember and engage with the past. However, research questions about emotions seem to have been limited to trauma and painful emotions. Even though there are exceptions to this tendency (see Chapter 2), no research specifically addresses how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. Furthermore, this question has not been asked in the context of the Chilean exiles in Australia. Considering these antecedents, I arrived at my research question: How do emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia?

My research aimed to explore how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles. With this question and general aim, I consider emotions beyond trauma and left-wing melancholia (Traverso, 2016) to include diverse forms of engaging with the past, such as joy and hope (Andersen & Ortnier, 2019; Rigney, 2018a). I also consider possible interactions between emotions, ideology and intergenerational dynamics while incorporating gender as a criterion for recruiting participants. Therefore, my research engages with debates on ideology and intergenerational transmission in the context of Chilean exiles. Additionally, approaching these debates from the perspective of emotions contributes a conceptual novelty to the memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship (see Chapter 2).

Initially, the research was to have a comparative component that would have included data gathered in Chile. However, the closing of Australia's international border in 2020-22 in response to the COVID-19 pandemic meant the thesis had to refocus on Australia only. Hence, the data I am drawing on consists of 46 in-depth interviews with first and second-generation Chileans and includes fieldnotes and observations while participating in events of the Chilean and Latin American

communities. Most of the data was produced during 2020, which meant adjusting the project methods in response to the pandemic (see Chapter 3 for the methodological design).

Argument and Chapter Structure

My research focuses on the memory of the Chilean dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia, specifically on the relationship between emotions and remembering. My argument is that emotions shape the ways of remembering the dictatorship interacting with ideological and intergenerational dynamics. More specifically, it argues that emotions unveil a complex and polyphonic field of ideological positions among the exiles, which configure not only contested meanings of the past but also contested imaginations of the future. Additionally, it argues that emotions configure varieties of nostalgia among the children of exiles, demonstrating differences and commonalities between the ones who were born in Chile and those who were born in Australia. These different arguments demonstrate the fluid temporality of the dictatorship, which invites us to challenge notions of post-dictatorship and the possibility of political reconciliation.

I explore this argument throughout the different chapters that compose this thesis. Chapter 2 focuses on my conceptual approach to memory and emotions, encapsulated in the concept of *affective-mnemonic practices*. By principally drawing on different conceptual formulations by Maurice Halbwachs (1925/1992, 1950/1980), Sue Campbell (1994, 2006) and Margaret Wetherell (2012), I argue that emotions shape how we remember by framing the production of meaning of the past in the present. In other words, memory is an affective practice (Wetherell, 2012). To position this argument, I discuss theories of social memory and emotions, distancing myself from trends in affect theory (Massumi, 2002) and positioning with theories that articulate discourse and bodily reactions. At the same time, this informs how I approach memory as the practice of reconstructing the past in the present, which is oriented by our concerns and evaluations. This connects with problems of ideology and discourse, as well as with problems of the weight of generations in the transmission process. I also explore how the relationship between emotion and memory has not been researched thoroughly in memory studies of the dictatorship nor memory studies with Chilean exiles.

From the conceptual elaborations in Chapter 2, I move towards the methodological implications of approaching memory as an affective practice (Wetherell, 2012), particularly by focusing on how emotions shape participants' discourse when they remember the dictatorship. Thus, Chapter 3 outlines the methodological underpinnings of the study. Based on a qualitative approach that considered the ethical issues involved in the research on sensitive topics (Cornejo et al., 2019), I invited participants to tell their histories and experiences of the dictatorship. The instrument to produce data was based on research with life stories (Cornejo et al., 2008, 2018) and consisted of an in-depth interview with an open prompt, *tell me your history of the dictatorship*. This allowed participants to freely recount their experiences, producing rich and complex data. I interviewed 46 participants (28 from the first generation and 18 who were children of exiles), and analysed the material inspired by dialogical theories of discourse (Bakhtin, 1929/1984; Briggs, 1986; Vološinov, 1929/1973). The analysis focused on the verbal content of explicitly articulated words, as well as the non-verbal discourse of participants communicated in gestures, shifts in tones and volume, contextualisation and stylisation, among other speech indicators of affective practices. From that initial coding, I did a thematic analysis to identify patterns and common themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which allowed the structuring of the research findings.

After the theoretical and methodological chapters, Chapters 4 to 9 focus on the findings and the analysis of the interviews. These chapters are divided in two broad overarching themes: Chapters 4, 5 and 6 focus on ideology as an overarching theme among exiles, showing ideological and emotional complexities of traumatic experiences, as well as the joys and conflicts of activism. Afterwards, even though ideological cross through the remaining chapters, Chapters 7 and 8 are concerned with intergenerational dynamics of transmission and focus on the voices of the children of exiles. After this, Chapter 9 focuses on the Estallido Social and illuminates the relations between memory, emotions, and imagination.

Chapter 4 deals with the traumatic memories of the coup and dictatorship in a broader discussion with theories of trauma. The findings show how participants remember the dictatorship with a constellation of pain and sadness associated with being forced to leave against their will. As such, the coup and dictatorship symbolise an ideological defeat in which the exiles' dreams and projects of social change were shattered. However, these emotions are not restricted to the past but extend to the

post-dictatorial years, denouncing the continuation of injustice and inequality. Therefore, these findings challenge ideas that reduce traumatic memories to compulsive repetition and the unrepresentable (Caruth, 1996). Instead, I situate these memories as political statements that insist on pain and suffering to communicate how they continue after the restoration of democracy. Hence, it is not possible to separate the painful memories of exiles from their ideological position.

However, memories of pain and suffering do not define the memory of the dictatorship, as participants also remembered their history of political activism in Chile and Australia in the context of the solidarity campaign. Thus, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the memories of activism from different affective practices. Chapter 5 is about joyful and hopeful memories (Andersen & Ortner, 2019; Rigney, 2018a), showing the articulation of a joyful emotional constellation that includes recognition, pride, nostalgia and solidarity, thus going beyond trauma. When exiles remembered activism in Chile, they emphasised the relevance of shared values and a joint struggle to achieve a sociopolitical project based on equality and social justice. In Australia, exiles emphasised solidarity and the relevance of forming a community where they felt recognised. As such, establishing relationships with others who shared their values and went through similar experiences was vital to the configuration of activism in Australia.

Nevertheless, the memories of activism are not only remembered with joy and happiness but may also be riven with tensions due to conflicts within the Chilean community. Hence, Chapter 6 focuses on ambivalence in the memories of activism and on relational ambivalence more broadly. The conflicts and tensions reveal that the Chilean community was far from homogeneous and uniform. For example, participants referred to the political and ideological differences between the first and second waves of Chilean exiles. These conflicts led to further divisions, misrecognition, and the formation of alternative social and political organisations. Other dimensions that generated conflict and ambivalence refer to machismo, traditionalism, and conformism with Australian capitalism. Furthermore, ambivalence also configures tense relationships, including contested feelings of belonging and non-belonging in the Chilean community in Australia. The tensions of ideology and ambivalence invite us to question broader political issues concerned with solidarity, diversity, and the possibilities of imagining activism otherwise.

Chapter 7 focuses on the '1.5 generation' (Kebede, 2010; Suleiman, 2002), children born in Chile who migrated with their parents due to political violence. The 1.5 generation grew up in a context of political socialisation and political conversations with their families. Fear became the predominant emotion with the coup and the dictatorship, and they learned to become silent about their family's political activities. They also faced the threat of political violence in their everyday lives, as well as anxiety concerning the lives of their families and friends. Even though they were directly affected by the dictatorship, they were not the protagonists or the ones making the decisions in Chile. Hence, the decision to migrate to Australia was made for them by their parents. Exile marked a before and after in their lives, as they had to cope with the cultural shock and assume more responsibilities within their families, finding themselves estranged from their Australian peers as their lived experiences were radically different. All these issues configure the nostalgia of the 1.5 generation, which is defined by the sense of a lost home that went away with their childhoods after the exile.

Chapter 8 focuses on the second generation, or children of exiles born overseas who grew up in Australia. In contrast to the 1.5 generation, the second generation did not have a direct experience of Chile; as such, their memories of the dictatorship are mediated by the voices of their parents, peers and by media. The findings show the relevance of conversations in the transmission process, both within familial spaces and with others while participating in political events. Additionally, the findings show how cultural artifacts participate in transmission processes, producing prosthetic memories (Landsberg, 2004, 2009) and eliciting processes of intergenerational communication. Thus, media helps the second generation make sense of their familial past and works as a mediating agent with their families and other community members (Erll & Rigney, 2009). The findings of this chapter show how children are active in the process of intergenerational transmission by seeking answers and connections with the dictatorial past to position themselves and their identities in Australia. At the same time, by forming their memories of the dictatorship, the second generation also develops a complex emotional experience of ambivalent nostalgia (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002). This concept encapsulates the tension of feeling that their homes are in Chile, but at the same time, it is a home that does not exist beyond what they imagine from the stories and conversations. Thus, their actual lives in Australia produce feelings of disconnection

from their identities, imagined homes, and possible lives if the dictatorship had not happened.

Chapter 9 focuses on the social uprising of 2019 and how the different generations of Chilean exiles imagine the future from the memories of the dictatorship. The findings show how exiles interpreted the uprising from the frameworks of the dictatorship and feared the possibility of another coup and dictatorship in Chile. As such, faced with uncertainty, the participants imagined the future from two contrasting positions: pessimism and hope. Pessimism is based on certainty and consists of anticipating a future in which the social demands of Chileans would not be met, as the political violence of the ruling class would impose itself over the desires of the protestors. If pessimism is based on certainty, hope, in contrast, is based on possibility. Hope consists of a position where there is no certainty of victory in the future, but instead, there is openness and the desire that more people will join in the struggle for justice and equality. Both pessimism and hope resonate with the memories of pain and sadness and with the joyful memories of activism, respectively, which shows how memory shapes the imagination of the future (Keightley & Pickering, 2012). Additionally, the findings of Chapter 9 dialogue with ideas of utopia and imagination, as the uprising changed what was possible to envision for the future.

The final chapters discuss the findings, limitations, and future possibilities following this research project (see Chapter 11). Chapter 10 discusses the findings by revisiting the concept of affective-mnemonic practices and how emotions shape the discourse of exiles when remembering the dictatorship. It also discusses the problem of ideology and agonistic politics (Mouffe, 2013). As the findings reveal the ideological diversity among exiles, they invite us to challenge assumptions in social identity theory to imagine solidarity otherwise. Another thread in the discussion is the issue of the children of exiles and the problem of simplistic concepts of culture involved in multiculturalism. As the 1.5 and second generation show, their memories are shaped by varieties of nostalgia and a liminal sense of identity and belonging. These findings invite us to challenge notions of culture as uniform or homogeneous, to give way to concepts of intercultural interactions and question the practices of homogenisation and uniformity involved in traditional concepts of culture. Finally, the last point of the discussion concerns how emotions reveal the fluid and restless temporality of the dictatorship (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). As such, the overall findings

invite us to challenge the possibility of finalising the dictatorship, both from a temporal and ideological point of view. If the dictatorship is unfinalizable (Bakhtin, 1929/1984), then we need to question the meaning and the possibility of reconciliation.

Chapter 2 Towards a Concept of Affective-Mnemonic Practices

This chapter outlines the concept of affective-mnemonic practices to argue that memory is inseparable from affect or emotion. Drawing inspiration from Maurice Halbwachs' (1925/1992, 1950/1980) concept of social frameworks of memory, and Margaret Wetherell's (2012) affective practices, I argue that memory is a practice in which we selectively reconstruct the past by positioning ourselves within a field of social relations. More specifically, we orient ourselves through that field and take a position regarding the values of groups with the aid of emotions. My argument also draws from Sue Campbell's (2006) elaborations on the role of emotions in selecting the significance of the past when remembering. Throughout these arguments, I position myself in a sociocultural tradition of social theory. With this, I understand that the individual and the social cannot be understood as separate entities; we become persons with particular personalities with the internalisation of social practices that shape our ways of thinking and feeling (Mead, 1930; Vygotsky, 1925/1971, 1930/1999). Halbwachs was aware of these arguments when elaborating his concept of social frameworks, but contrary to Campbell, he did not emphasise these ideas' political and ethical implications. Hence, by bringing Halbwachs, Campbell, and Wetherell together, I emphasise that emotions are central in remembering, which has ideological implications when we consider the values with which we reconstruct the past (Middleton & Brown, 2005; Wertsch, 2002), as well as the intergenerational dynamics involved (Badilla, 2017, 2019; Jara, 2016). The concept of affective-mnemonic practices is useful for my thesis' central argument that emotions shape how Chilean exiles remember the dictatorship. The chapter argues for a concept of memory that because it is social and relational, it is affective.

The following section examines the relationship between Halbwachs' (1925/1992) concept of social frameworks and remembering. I then define the concept of emotion or affect, distancing my arguments from those of Brian Massumi (2002) by discussing the dualism of affect and emotion in his theory. I introduce the concept of affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) and explore the relationship between memory and emotions (or feelings) in the work of Sue Campbell (1994, 2004, 2006). The following sections explore the ideological and intergenerational implications of the concept of affective-mnemonic practices. The last section reviews current research on the memory of the Chilean dictatorship, focusing on memory, emotions and research with Chilean exiles. These antecedents position this work in the

broader context of critical debates in memory studies and memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship more specifically.

Memory and Social Frameworks: Relationality and Positioning

As David Middleton and Steven Brown (2005) argue, there are multiple ways of understanding memory from different disciplines, theories, and emphases. Memory has to do with the survival of the past in the present (Bergson, 1896/1988), whether it is in the forms of habits (James, 1890), tradition (Connerton, 1989; Halbwachs, 1925/1992), heritage (Smith, 2006, 2021), among other possibilities. The general definition is that memory is an activity that consists of remembering and forgetting (Connerton, 1989; Middleton & Brown, 2005). There is endless literature on memory, especially considering the multiple concepts from diverse theoretical traditions.

However, I follow a social tradition of memory (Connerton, 1989; Halbwachs, 1925/1992; Middleton & Brown, 2005; Olick, 1999), understanding that remembering and forgetting take place within social and historical contexts that shape how we remember through the concepts that shape our interpretations of the past (Schiff, 2023). There is a lot to unpack here, particularly on how is it that social groups shape memory. With this in consideration, I turn to the writings of Maurice Halbwachs, who was one of the first scholars to propose the notion of collective memory as a tool to understand the interpenetration of the personal and the social when people remember and forget. Considering Sarah Gensburger's (2016) arguments, Halbwachs' ideas have been oversimplified in memory studies literature. However, his contributions are rich and complex, involving multiple dimensions such as language and emotions. Therefore, his ideas about social frameworks and the centrality of feeling in memory are relevant to this work.

Halbwachs (1925/1992) posits that every one of us has personal memories, but at the same time, all memory is social or collective. Therefore, it is necessary to dissolve the duality between individual persons and social groups, as every person is a product of social interactions that shape their subjectivity. This does not mean that persons are passive products of groups or that there is no singularity; instead, it is impossible to understand any human process, such as remembering or forgetting, by isolating persons from the social groups in which they are formed. All memory is social, which does not exclude that individuals remember in personal and creative ways. According to Halbwachs (1925/1992), memory is the activity of reconstructing

the past while attending to the needs or interests of the present. Therefore, memory is not an abstract faculty or a de-personalised process and is not an accurate reproduction or static representation of the past. Memory is a process in which people actively and constantly select and modify aspects of the past in response to the present context (Halbwachs, 1925/1992). These ideas resonate with Paul Connerton's (1989) argument that remembering and forgetting are part of the same process by which societies maintain traditions alive, thus excluding or forgetting others.

Memory is also a dynamic process that changes over time, over a person's lifespan, and Halbwachs' (1925/1992, 1950/1980) concept of social frameworks of memory is helpful to understand this more deeply. Social frameworks are not individual inventions but social processes. No one owns social frameworks, and they are not located in the brain or body. These frameworks are "concatenations of ideas and judgements" (Halbwachs, 1925/1992, p. 176) that groups embody and transmit through communication and socialisation. More importantly, social frameworks allow individuals to remember their past. Groups provide the means that individuals use to remember, upon the condition that the individual adopts the group's way of thinking. As Halbwachs (1925/1992, p. 38) puts it, "It is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection". He also explains that "a person remembers only by situating himself [sic] within the viewpoint of one or several groups and one or several currents of collective thought" (Halbwachs, 1950/1980, p. 33). Thus, people remember by establishing a relationship with other people's points of view, that is, by participating in currents of collective thought. This does not mean a person is condemned to merely repeat the group's thinking when remembering and forgetting. Instead, it is possible to think of this activity as establishing a dialogue with other points of view (Haye & Larraín, 2018) in which we take a position and contribute to the ongoing current of social thinking. Hence, there is repetition and novelty in memory work (Rigney, 2018b), a tension between tradition and change.

According to Halbwachs (1925/1992) and other scholars (Olick, 1999; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Wertsch, 2002), memory is a discursive activity. It is through language and communication that we can reconstruct the past. In this sense, as discourse varies according to the ideology and history of social groups (Fairclough, 2010; Vološinov, 1926/1976), there are multiple ways of remembering in society

because members of groups position themselves using different frameworks. Diversity is also relevant to explain why people of one group produce different memories of shared events. Just as societies are not uniform, groups are not homogeneous. Halbwachs (1950/1980, p. 48) claims that each personal memory “is a viewpoint on the collective memory” and that “this viewpoint changes as my position changes”; therefore, “this position itself changes as my relationships to other milieus change”. In explaining how this happens, Halbwachs (1950/1980) argues that there is a combination of social influences or of different currents of thought. Persons do not stay the same during their life, nor do their memories, because they transition and participate in multiple social groups, and their memories transform as their position in these social milieus changes. This explains that groups do not remain homogeneous and that the individuals who form those groups remember the events they have experienced together differently. As James Wertsch (2002) emphasises, collective memory is about memory *in* the group, not *of* the group. Groups produce frameworks that allow reconstructing the past, and individuals take a position regarding these frameworks when remembering. It is also relevant to note that frameworks are not fixed, reified things, but are currents that change and intersect.

More recent theoretical contributions (Badilla, 2017; Haye, 2012; Haye & Larraín, 2018) approach memory as positioning in a social field. This is particularly salient when it comes to a contested topic, such as the memory of the Chilean dictatorship (Stern, 2009). For example, Haye (2012) remarks that contextualisation is a fundamental part of memory-making processes. More precisely, he invites us to think that social contexts are not forced upon memories from the ‘outside’. He argues that “social fields are the collective frames mediating the microgenesis of memory in each interaction” (Haye, 2012, p. 29), and every act of memory produces the social field of distributed positions from ‘within’. In this sense, remembering implies anticipating and taking an attitudinal stance toward other positions, which links memory and imagination in anticipating future scenarios (Keightley & Pickering, 2012) or positions that may respond to ours (Haye & Larraín, 2018). This is similar to Manuela Badilla Rajevic’s (2017) arguments about the memory of the dictatorship as a field in which different actors dispute the hegemonic meaning of the past (Molden, 2016). As fields are historically and culturally situated (Haye & Larraín, 2018), they are susceptible to change and transformation while remaining stable over time. The

argument that memory is not a mere repetition of social frameworks has also been stressed by Ann Rigney (2018b) and in the work of Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering (2012). Memory is a creative activity of establishing new connections between narratives and events, making sense of the past and imagining the future using signs and symbols in novel ways. Hence, memory is not fixed and determined by social fields or frameworks, as acts of memory can also change and transform the currents of thought in society.

With these concepts, it is possible to understand that remembering is a relational practice in which we encounter the positions and voices of the people of social groups. However, how do we keep ourselves aligned or 'close' to specific groups and not others? Why, among so many possibilities, do we link ourselves with the voices of the people that feel closer to us? Affect and emotion help explain this phenomenon; nonetheless, we need to first unpack the concept of emotion.

Affect and Emotion

When discussing emotions, affect and affection, different thinkers refer to the bodily modifications in our encounters with others (Deleuze, 1980/2008; Descartes, 1649/1989; James, 1890; Vygotsky, 1925/1971). Contemporary social research has deepened and developed further problems and novel ways of understanding these concepts from different theoretical traditions (for example, Ahmed, 2004/2014; Burkitt, 2014; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Massumi, 2002; Wetherell, 2012). The field of study of affect is diverse, interdisciplinary, and vast.

In the thesis, I use the terms affect and emotion interchangeably, distancing from Brian Massumi's (2002) arguments about the distinction between affect and emotion as two different concepts. According to him, affect would be a pre-subjective modification of the body; that is, a modification that takes place before the subject is conscious of the change (see also Thrift, 2008). He interprets the findings of Sturm and Grewe-Partsch (in Leys, 2011) as evidence supporting the idea of a gap between bodily and conscious reactions to one's feelings (see Leys's 2011 article for a discussion about Massumi's interpretation). This gap, Massumi (2002) interprets, indicates that before there is consciousness or a thinking subject, there is an autonomous process of affect that orients bodies in particular ways. While affect refers to this autonomous, pre-reflexive modification, emotion is a conscious, discursive process of taming affect's autonomy, as discourse labels and controls its

novelty and unpredictability. In this sense, affect implies an excess of the subject's boundaries, as there is no awareness of how the body is modified by currents or flows of affect. Thus, the subject's reaction always comes after to regain control, as affect dislocates and modifies without them knowing about it.

Massumi's (2002) argument has differentiated two research fields, in which 'affect' usually relates to post-structuralism and humanities research and 'emotions' to research in psychology and social sciences. His argument seems appealing because it puts bodies at the centre of the question, especially when social research has focused on texts and linguistic notions of discourse, leaving bodies aside as if people were only text-producing beings (Wetherell, 2013). However, I disagree with Massumi's (2002) argument because it draws on a notion of affect that is dualist and not useful for social research. I argue that, in the end, the distinction between affect and emotion is unnecessary.

Margaret Wetherell (2012) argues that Massumi's distinction makes affect a mystical force that eludes research. Suppose affect is pre-reflexive and always escaping consciousness, and it is no longer affect when people talk of it. In that case, it cannot be an object of social research, as people cannot respond to affect as it eludes discourse and consciousness (Wetherell, 2013). Thus, if affect cannot be researched with people, researchers are forced to believe that invisible affective flows do essential work without being able to put that force in context or describe it in detail. In addition to Wetherell's critique, Ian Burkitt (2014) suggests that the division of affect and emotion draws on an underdeveloped concept of language or discourse. Discursive practices are more complex than labelling and do not involve intellectually applying a linguistic structure. Instead, every discursive act is firstly an evaluation, an act of positioning in relation to other people's positions (Bakhtin, 1935/1981). Andrew Sayer (2011) argues that evaluations imply an emotional relation to an object. Thus, when people talk about their emotions or give them a name, they are positioning and producing a feeling that asks for interpretation and response (Campbell, 1994), involving a relationship with others in social interactions (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2012).

Another problem of Massumi (2002) is that he implies a dualism of mind and body. As affect would correspond to bodily modifications, emotions would correspond to another instance, somehow detached from the body, that would be able to control or tame affect from 'above' or a disaffected state. Possibly inspired by

Baruch Spinoza's claim that the mind only knows about the body through ideas of its modifications (Brown & Stenner, 2009), Massumi ends up arguing for a problematic dualism. According to Gilles Deleuze (1980/2008), we must consider Spinoza's ontology as a world of relations. Individuals are a composition of relations of bodies, and in turn, individuals are related to other existing beings, living and non-living. In these relations, beings are affected and can affect others, thus modifying their relations. Spinoza assumes that each living being is composed of one substance and that this substance has two attributes: thought and extension. Minds and bodies are the same thing, but we talk about bodies under the attribute of extension, and under the attribute of thought, we speak about minds (Brown & Stenner, 2009). Following Brown and Stenner (2009, p. 116), our ideas, "personal experiences, perceptions, feelings and sensations depend entirely upon the physiological functioning of our personal bodies", which means that our minds are constituted "around the finite object of the body". Our minds are situated in time and space, given that we are in a constant relationship with our bodies and other beings. Therefore, Massumi's (2002) distinction is problematic as it assumes that consciousness, at some point, can be disaffected from bodily encounters.

Concerning Massumi's (2002) argument about the unpredictability of affect, it is helpful to situate ourselves in the Spinozian philosophy, understanding that bodies are situated in complex causal relations with other bodies (Deleuze, 1980/2008). In this sense, when Spinoza states that "no one has yet been taught by experience what the body can do merely by the laws of nature" (quoted in Brown & Stenner, 2009, p. 117), he refers that bodies can be affected in many ways and can be entangled in causal relations that open the possibilities of bodies to unpredictable acts. Thus, affect is entangled in complex causal relations with unforeseeable outcomes. Instead of mystifying (Wetherell, 2012) affect's unpredictability and giving up the analysis in complicated abstractions of affect as a pre-individual force (Massumi, 2002), it would be more fruitful to situate affect in complex chains of relations, opening the possibilities for greater analytical scope. Analysis of affect may extend to relations that exceed the present and the immediate, reaching the past and others not physically present.

However, what happens with emotions? To argue that affect and emotion refer to the same process, I consider William James' (1890) theory outlined in the *Principles of Psychology*. James (1890) argues that every modification of mental life

is accompanied by bodily changes, and human bodies are flexible and plastic, able to adapt and create new connections and reflexes, as shown in the formation of habits. Thus, James (1890) does not think of bodies as mechanical automatons like in the Cartesian tradition but as flexible bodies that acquire a specific shape and trajectory through practice. He argues that subjectivity is grounded on habit; memory and anticipation constitute our subjective lives, as we anticipate the future based on the memory of previous activities. This means that experience is a continuum and that we are situated in the world from an interested, non-neutral perspective. As Sayer (2011) argues, people approach the world as a matter of concern or with interest, and these, as personal as they are, have their genesis in the social milieus in which we develop as persons. As the world interests us, we approach it passionately or emotionally, which is a fundamental quality of experience. Following James' argument, objects interest us as they relate to our practical way of living, inviting our bodies to move or react. Hence, habit and anticipation are intertwined in experience.

In this context, James' theory of emotion is central. He explains that "bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur IS the emotion" (James, 1890, p. 1065, his emphasis). He argues that the objects of the world excite bodily changes in infinite ways, and "changes are so indefinitely numerous and subtle that the entire organism may be called a sounding-board, which every change of consciousness, however slight, may make reverberate" (James, 1890, p. 1066). In this sense, our relationship with objects produces various bodily changes, and emotions refer to the process in which we feel our bodies changing. The fact that our bodies change in response to objects makes emotions different from a purely intellectual evaluation of the world. Again, a purely intellectual, disembodied evaluation does not exist; instead, every aspect of mental activity is bodily felt, no matter how subtle. Hence, an elaborate concept of emotion does not present any dualism of mind and body. In contrast to Massumi (2002), James' (1890) theory of emotions implies the impossibility of thinking about emotions detached from the body and mental processes without body modifications.

Based on this philosophical position, I treat affect and emotion as indistinct concepts. With James and Spinoza, it is possible to understand affect or emotions focusing on bodies and processes, disregarding dualism based on a relational understanding of the world and subjectivity. However, in their theories, it is unclear

what role language, culture, and the social in general may have. As discussed above with Halbwachs, culture and social context are central to memory, and we need a concept that considers the social and cultural dimensions to argue that emotions shape memory. Thus, the following section turns to contemporary social theory to explain how emotions are biological, social, and discursive.

Emotions and Social Life

First, I agree with Wetherell's (2012, 2014a) and Burkitt's (2014) rejection of the *basic emotions* paradigm. This paradigm, inspired mainly by the works of Paul Ekman (1992, 1999), claims that there are distinct and universal emotions that do not depend on cultural and social contexts. The argument is that there are ready-made emotions that every human possesses from the moment of birth and that relations embedded in cultural, social, and historical patterns do not influence these basic emotions (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2014a). This has been widely criticised, given evidence from social studies showing that emotions are not universal and depend on the meaning of situations that rely on different discursive, historical, and cultural patterns (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). Therefore, it is impossible to strictly distinguish between the biological and social (Burkitt, 2014), as bodies are shaped by cultural ways of living and relating to others (Ahmed, 2004/2014). Hence, the discussion of emotions needs to consider power (Abu Lughod, 1990), gender (Lutz, 1990), discourse (Edwards, 1997; Irvine, 1990), rhetoric (Wetherell, 2014b), and historical dynamics (McCreanor et al., 2017). That is, we need to bring the complexity of social worlds into the theory of affect. Considering these issues, I focus on two approaches that emphasise the articulation of emotions and social life: Ian Burkitt's concept of *complex* emotions (2002, 2014) and Margaret Wetherell's *affective practices* (2012).

Ian Burkitt (2002, 2014) approaches emotions as multi-layered patterns connecting biological, personal, social, cultural, and discursive dimensions. More specifically, Burkitt (2002) posits that emotions emerge from our practical activity of relating to people and objects in our worlds. Therefore, it is necessary to locate emotional experiences in concrete situations (Burkitt, 2014), but situations are not naturally defined. When making sense of a situation, we take an evaluative or affective stance by relying on our past, sense of self, and cultural and social meanings (Burkitt, 2014). Thus, interpreting affective evaluations demands that we

consider the interlinking patterns of multiple layers that shape our feelings in a particular situation. However, Burkitt (2014) considers that this does not mean taking a social deterministic approach in which every emotional reaction is mechanic and predictable. Considering emotions as complex patterns makes room for the unpredictability of emotional engagement in every situation and the novelty of emotional reactions.

In a similar vein, the work of Margaret Wetherell (2012) stresses the articulation of affect and discourse and the unity of the biological and cultural dimensions in human experience. Wetherell (2013) is critical of approaches that overemphasise the linguistic dimension of discourse, leaving aside bodies and the performative dimensions involved in sense-making. She uses the concept of assemblage (Wetherell, 2012), which means that affect articulates multiple modes of signification that are not limited to the immediate present moment. Affect is a situated activity that connects with the historical and cultural currents of social life, and in this sense, Wetherell (2012) approaches affect as a practice. The concept of practice stresses that before there are individuals, there are social techniques and social ways of acting (Schatzki, 2001). Practice allows thinking about how social orders and individuals are connected without implying any fixed determinism of one over the other. Theodore Schatzki (2001) argues that the social order is grounded in individuals through habit; hence, human bodies are the “point of connection between individuals and social manifolds” (Schatzki, 2001, p. 17). Although the activities of individuals are shaped by social practice, mainly through learning shared skills and procedural knowledge, individuals shape and modify social practices in their activity, opening the field of practices to novelty and change while keeping degrees of stability in time. As Wetherell (2013) claims, this concept of practice implies that the activity could be otherwise; hence, it is not entirely determined, although it is constrained by habit. Considering these arguments, understanding emotions as affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) implies that emotions are organised, public, performative, and relational. As affect assemble multiple modes of signification in complex articulations (Wetherell, 2012), it is possible to conceive that affective practices can remain stable and form patterns while changing with the flows of social life. This makes it possible to research affect or emotion by attending to patterns in discourse, gestures, and bodily movement, among others (see Chapter 3).

Recapitulating, these different theories adopt a complex and relational approach to bodily reactions, in which the cultural and the biological are intertwined. Taking this approach as the basis to understand emotions means that bodies are not isolated beings but deeply connected to society, thus making emotional life open to social relations and history, following patterns from complex articulations in social life (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). From this concept of emotion, the next section focuses on the relationship between memory and affect, arguing that emotions shape memory by orienting ourselves through the voices of the past, giving form to the meaning or significance of the past in the present.

Memory as an Affective Practice

This section argues that memory is an affective practice, as it involves a constant conversation with the groups we are connected to. Halbwachs (1925/1992, p. 49) remarks, “When people think they are alone, face to face with themselves, other people appear and with them the groups of which they are members.” Being alone does not mean being isolated, as we are constantly populating our surroundings with the voices and values of those groups that are significant to us. This has the effect that we are constantly conversing with others who are significant to us, even if they are not immediately present (Archer, 2003). For example, families can be such a relevant part of our lives that we can constantly dialogue with them for years, if not a lifetime. In this sense, it could be any other group or relation if it produces an affective bond that makes them a significant part of our lives, a living connection (or framework) through which we see and feel the world. Halbwachs (1925/1990) argues that this bond is mainly emotional or affective, as we feel connected to groups and their values, holding continuous conversations with them throughout our daily lives. He also argues that it is through their eyes that we react, think, and feel, as “our most personal feelings and thoughts originate in definite social milieus and circumstances” (Halbwachs (1950/1980, p. 33) because there is no personal experience that is not simultaneously social.

These arguments suggest that our way of being in the world is made of our relations with significant others. Thus, we have constant conversations and feelings with those that populate our world, which means that affect underpins our position in social life. However, it is not entirely clear in Halbwachs’ theory how emotions shape how we remember (and forget). The closest we get is an example that illustrates the

work of social frameworks in determining the significance of a situation, which may shape the recollection of the situation afterwards. He describes an imaginary scene in which a group of friends, meeting for the first time after a long period, make a trip where they pass through roads and landscapes. However, the story's protagonist is not thinking about the trip like their friends. Moreover, the protagonist has been conversing inwardly with other people, carrying "feelings and ideas originating in other real or imaginary groups" (Halbwachs, 1950/1980, p. 31) unknown to the rest of their companions. By holding this internal conversation, the protagonist has "peopled the passing landscape with other human beings, and a certain place or circumstance gained a value not present" for the rest of their friends (Halbwachs, 1950/1980, p. 31). Thus, the affective value of an event or situation is produced by the internal conversation with the group in question, shaping the trip's significance. Even though we may be physically sharing the same space, the value of an event or situation is determined by the relationships with groups with whom we share a point of view or conception. Therefore, our reactions and feelings, mediated by our conversations or connection with social groups, determine the significance of events and shape how we reconstruct the past.

Sue Campbell (2006) offers a similar account of the relationship between memory and emotions. She argues that emotions determine the significance of the past for the present. Hence, memory cannot be separated from emotions, as they are an intrinsic part of reconstructing the past. In her words:

[I]t is often the emotional meaning of memory which determines the significance of the past to the present, and the affective side of memory is part of how we represent the past in remembering, not a quality of memory somehow external to its representational character. (Campbell, 2006, p. 366)

Emotions, then, orient the process of reconstructing the past in the present by identifying that which has an emotional meaning in the current circumstances. Therefore, memory is always selective and partial. Following Sara Ahmed (2006), emotions involve forms of orientation and reorientation, turning our attention towards certain aspects of reality and turning away from others. In this way, emotions shape memory by orienting ourselves through the multiple positions that configure a social field of voices in the present (Badilla Rajevic, 2017; Haye, 2012; Haye & Larraín,

2018). Emotions orient us towards what is of significance or concern, which is in dialogue with the values of our social groups. Hence, emotions shape how we position ourselves in relation to the position of others in a social field, forming our attitudes or evaluations towards them. Another passage of Campbell's (2006, p. 364) suggests a similar interpretation: "An important way in which we are guided by the past is through the emotion in memory that both represents the significance of the past, and, in its evocation, continues to give the past power." Emotions are not external to memory as they are intrinsic to the process of recollection, and this shows that memory is an embodied activity and not a mere intellectual, abstract exercise. Emotions give power to the past as they show how the past survives in the present in our body's modifications and reactions. In this way, Campbell (2004) argues for an embodied and relational concept of memory. Memory is an activity that involves social and material contexts, language, and bodily modifications. Campbell's arguments are vital for my thesis, and it is useful to elaborate more on her concept of feeling and emotions, as it illuminates her argument about memory.

Campbell (1994) talks about affect, and in particular, she develops an argument that touches upon *expression* as the main activity involved in forming (i.e., shaping) feelings in social interaction. According to her, expressing a feeling is an attempt to articulate to someone else something what is of significance or importance to us. She emphasises the expressive quality of our emotional lives, stating that "without acts of expression that are publicly interpretable, we have no feelings" (Campbell, 1997, quoted in Scheman, 2000, p. 120). When we express our feelings to another person using language and gestures, among other resources, it is with their collaboration and interpretation that meaning is individuated or formed (Campbell, 1994). Hence, expression becomes central in Campbell's theory as it is with the collaboration of others that we shape and give form to our feelings. Campbell's theory of feelings shows how affect or emotion is relevant as it marks the significance of something for a person. Then, given that memory is a reconstructive and selective activity, emotions are central to memory as they point to what is relevant, concerning, or of significance. Campbell argues that the affective does not represent an individual's private or pre-social dimensions but is interpersonal and

only formed in social interaction¹². To connect this concept with previous arguments, Wetherell (2012) argues that emotions are sense-making practices. This approach implies comprehending that neither memory nor emotions are inner or private states of an individual (Wetherell, 2012), but activities of interpersonal negotiation of meaning (Wetherell, 2014a) and acts of engaging in cultural and historical human processes (McCreanor et al., 2017). Thus, affective-mnemonic practices are processes permeated by power dynamics; they are political processes, as multiple groups dispute the meaning of the past in the present.

Deepening this issue, Campbell (2006) argues that the past becomes valuable in the present through emotional accuracy (Morton, 2002). Thus, remembering is about selection and not about having detailed accounts of the past; being selective is not arbitrary as it responds to the context of recollection. Furthermore, what is selected is a statement about what is worth remembering (Campbell, 2006). Hence, as memory is guided by emotions that select the valuable aspects of the past, memory is an evaluative practice. Campbell's (2006) argument stresses issues of ethics concerning memory and emotion. Given that emotions frame the selection of the reconstruction of the past, the problem of misrepresentation and ideology becomes relevant (Billig, 1991) as emotions follow patterns that can be aligned with interests that reproduce the existing social order as the only possible one (Wetherell, 2012). Therefore, accuracy configures the ethics of remembering, as we may select aspects of the past that orient routes for action that are futile or that perpetuate the present's vices. However, emotional accuracy is contestable. More precisely, every account of accuracy is challengeable by others, as the significance of the past is a matter of dispute between different groups. Hence, how "we represent the world through our emotional responses is challengeable by others" (Campbell, 2006, p. 369), making the selective patterns of

¹² In a similar line of argumentation, Lev Vygotsky (1971) proposed a theory that put art, or creative expression, at the centre of emotional experiences. He emphasised the social mediation of human emotional life, mainly through art, stating that "Art is the social technique of emotion, a tool of society which brings the most intimate and personal aspects of our being into the circle of social life" (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 249). In short, Vygotsky states that the psychology of art is inseparable from the emotional life of humans because art facilitates the discharge of emotional energy through imagination, which allows the remainders of bodily energy to find a way of being elaborated psychologically. In this sense, art modifies the body's orientation, allowing emotions to become personal "without ceasing to be social" (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 249). Campbell's and Vygotsky's positions share the central idea of the inseparability of emotions (or feelings) and their social or interpersonal expression, which completes or shapes an emotion.

significance also challengeable. Contesting the ways of representing the past implies reshaping and reconfiguring the past's meaning, thus reorienting and re-mapping possibilities for action in the present.

In this sense, Campbell's (2006) argument implies understanding ethically and dynamically the demands for emotional accuracy. Given that affective practices or emotions are not fixed, memory evolves "through the emotion with which recollection is imbued" (Campbell, 2006, p. 372). That is, memories change in response to the ways we feel and to the purposes of remembering (Urry, 1995). Given that the ways of feeling are not a product of isolated individuals but have their genesis in social processes (Burkitt, 2014; Halbwachs, 1950/1980; Wetherell, 2012), these changes in memory are also related to our relations with groups. When people reconstruct the past, it is necessary to think about accountability and responsibility as a response to social relations in that others can rely on the memories we tell, as how we remember becomes "a contribution to a social grasp of the significance of a shared past" (Campbell, 2006, p. 374). Thus, remembering is a social activity with ethical consequences as it orients others, and given that society is a complex formation of different groups, memories may clash in conflict and/or agreement, thus reinforcing and challenging different accounts, opening and closing further possibilities for memory in the present and future. In this context, we may struggle with the ways we feel as our relationship with groups changes, and this struggle would reflect how the past is changing for us in the present. With Campbell's (2006) and Halbwachs' (1950/1980) arguments, it is possible to understand that memories are grounded in affective communities, although they are not homogenous or static. There is tension, ambivalence, conflict, and struggle about the significance of the past. Memory is shaped by dynamic and diverse emotions, reflecting the changing relations with the past in the present. In this way, Campbell (2006) shows us that the value of the past is never a settled dispute.

Recapitulating, I have outlined Campbell's concepts (2006) to argue that emotions shape memory by orienting us through the past, aiding in selecting what is meaningful in the present. With Halbwachs (1950/1980), it is possible to understand that what is significant is connected to the concerns and views of the social groups in which we participate. As making memory involves positioning ourselves in a social field of multiple positions (Badilla Rajevic, 2017; Haye, 2012), emotions orient us in this process and shape our attitude towards others. Hence, we may adopt the points

of view of the groups in which we participate and turn away from other positions. With all of this, memory is not merely an intellectual process but an embodied activity of making meaning of the past that is culturally and historically situated (Campbell, 2004). Hence, it is necessary to consider that social groups might pose constraints and limits to affective-mnemonic practices just as they enable memory. Following these considerations, I note two relevant tensions to the thesis: the problem of values and ideology and the problem of generations and intergenerational transmission.

Ideology and Values

The first tension has to do with values and ideology because affective-mnemonic practices are discursive and grounded in social relations (Billig, 2008; Fairclough, 2010; Vološinov, 1926/1976), which implies that social structures, power differences, authorities, among other political dimensions are present when we remember and forget (Fairclough, 2010; Hall, 1997). Following this, affective-mnemonic practices are not neutral activities; rather, the ideologies and values of groups enable and constrain them (Middleton & Brown, 2005). With constraints, I do not think of external control or violent means that limit memory (although this could happen in social settings); instead, constraints are part of the habitual practices of everyday life that we repeat and shape memory. This resonates with Halbwachs' (1925/1992) argument that, at certain times, society demands that individuals shorten or leave aside some details of their remembrances to adapt to the present's interests. This is similar to Connerton's (1989) argument that societies demand forgetting to remember the traditions that keep people together. Therefore, the problem of ideology and values points to the ambivalence of social mediation of memory.

Wertsch (2002) also emphasises this tension, arguing that remembering relies on social tools, symbolic instruments that people use to retain aspects of their past in the present. He focuses on narrative templates as tools for remembering, which are abstract narrative traditions that differ between groups. In Wertsch's (2002, p. 62) words, "Collective remembering is grounded in a generalised narrative tradition defined in terms of schematic narrative templates." This means that people remember not by learning or accumulating specific narratives, but instead, people remember using general narrative principles from which they construct their memories. Collective memory would be textually mediated by narrative templates,

which allow the reconstruction of the past differently for individuals within groups. However, these same templates also constrain other possibilities of remembrance, as we do not adopt just any template but those that respond to the values of our groups that become embodied in our habits in everyday practice.

However, even though social constraints and powers shape discourse and affective-mnemonic practices, it is important to consider Margaret Archer's (2003) argument that social constraints and affordances are mediated through internal conversations. This means that social powers are not merely accepted, as we actively reflect on social situations, evaluate them, and anticipate courses of action according to personal concerns through inner dialogue. As internal conversations are dialogical, we can reflect and respond to social values, which may lead to changing our position or the position of others in relation to social frameworks (Larraín & Haye, 2012). Indeed, the social mediation of memory is always ambivalent, as the values and ideologies of groups enable and constrain our points of view, but this does not mean that memory is an irreflexive process. Shaped by affect and emotion, we can contest and dispute the meanings of the past, just as we can perpetuate them, thus contributing to the transformation or stability of currents of social thought.

Research on the memory of the Chilean dictatorship illustrates how the ideology and values of groups shape the memory of the dictatorship. Following historian Steve Stern (2009), the memory of the Chilean dictatorship is a field of struggle between ideological positions, which is reflected in the ideological differences when left and right-wingers remember the dictatorship (Manzi et al., 2003). In this context of antagonistic memories (Waldman Mitnick, 2009), questions of how to remember and what is worth remembering divide Chilean society. An example of this is provided by the study of Jorge Manzi and his collaborators (2003), which showed that Chileans who identified as right-wingers tended to perceive more support for the coup and justify the state violence during the dictatorship, compared to Chilean left-wingers. Other studies have shown the ideological differences in the attitudes of Chileans towards forgiveness and reparation policies (González et al., 2013). These antagonisms are also present in the study of Reyes et al. (2013), as they found that the depoliticisation of the past is a relevant strategy when Chileans of different ideological positions attempt to maintain a calm dialogue. Thus, all these studies suggest that ideological positioning makes a salient difference in how

Chileans remember the past and that these differences are rooted in the political values of groups.

Intergenerational Transmission

The problem of intergenerational transmission is like the problem of ideology as it touches upon the tensions between difference, stability, and change. As Daniela Jara (2016) argues, memory is not purely reconstructive or always flexible and creative. Frequently the weight of previous generations constrains and shapes memory, pushing for the continuation of traditions and specific ways of remembering through processes of intergenerational transmission. Therefore, new generations are not entirely free to reconstruct the past in any way, but they encounter older generations' traditions and affective-mnemonic practices that are transmitted in communicative practices (Achugar, 2016; Cornejo et al., 2021; Welzer, 2010). However, communication is not a passive process of depositing content (Welzer, 2010), which means that transmission is not equivalent to memories becoming static and unchangeable (Jara, 2016). Transmission involves discussing the past in evaluative meaning-making processes (Achugar, 2016) and in which both older and younger generations are active (Bietti, 2010; Cornejo et al., 2021).

Research on intergenerational transmission shows that the family is a crucial setting (González et al., 2021) in which older and younger generations actively elicit conversations of the past (Cornejo et al., 2021). Additionally, research shows that younger generations challenge and make memory different to older generations. Cornejo et al. (2013b) and Reyes et al. (2015) found generational differences, especially between the older generations, who position as the protagonists of the past, and the younger generations, who position as the protagonists of the present. Despite these differences, Reyes et al. (2015) found that ideology functions as a factor that unites the different generations against the ideological 'others', thus attenuating the generational effect in some scenarios. Additionally, Badilla Rajevic (2019) showed that younger generations produce ludic memories when engaging with the past, which contrasts with the melancholic emotional tone in which older generations tend to remember the dictatorship. Raimundo Frei (2016) found a similar phenomenon regarding the nostalgia of older and younger generations. His study shows how older generations long for the collective experiences that shaped the opposition against Pinochet's dictatorship during the 1980s. Given that the solidarity

of those years cannot be found in the present, Frei (2016) argues that older generations are resigned and pessimistic regarding the future. In contrast, younger generations recover the aesthetics of the left-wing protest in a utopic envisioning of the future. These generations differentiate from previous ones by calling themselves the generation without fear, as they did not experience the fear fostered in dictatorial times and are not afraid of challenging the neoliberal project.

All these findings suggest that the tensions involved in affective-mnemonic practices revolve around the problem of stability and change or repetition and novelty. The ideology of groups constrains the possibilities of mnemonic practices through discourse and affective engagements. However, at the same time, people are active and reflect upon these social values in their internal dialogues, which opens the possibility of change and transformation. The same can be argued about intergenerational transmission. Research shows that older and younger generations actively make meaning of the past and that while traditions are kept, new meanings emerge with the change in social conditions. I reflect on some of these tensions throughout the findings of the thesis, as the relations of memory and activism (see Chapters 5 and 6), as well as the positions of younger generations (see Chapters 7 and 8), configure salient tensions in the mnemonic field of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia.

Finally, to situate and justify my research question, the following section examines the literature on memory and emotions concerning the Chilean dictatorship, including research on the Chilean population that stayed in the national territory and Chilean exiles that stayed overseas. The last section focuses on studies with Chilean exiles in Australia, where the present research is based.

Social Research on Emotion and the Memory of the Dictatorship

As mentioned in the previous chapter, research about the memory of the Chilean dictatorship has been prolific throughout the years. During the regime and in the post-dictatorial years (Jara Leiva, 2020), research has opened new questions while acknowledging the effects of the dictatorship in Chilean society and recognising the complexities involved in the memory of this complicated past. In addition to ideological differences and intergenerational transmission, researchers have explored other topics about the memory of the dictatorship, such as gender differences (Cruz Contreras, 2018; Pérez Troncoso & Piper Shafir, 2015),

experiences and the effects of memory sites in urban contexts (Aguilera, 2015; Hite, 2016; Klep, 2012; Lojo & de la Mata, 2019; Piper et al., 2017), as well as the differences in the memory of the dictatorship along the national territory (Frazier, 2007; Lira, 2016), which also touches upon the testimonies and memories of Indigenous people and their historical exclusion (Jara et al., 2018). Other works have focused on the effects of the truth and reconciliation commissions (Cárdenas et al., 2015) and the reconciliation process over the years (Cárdenas Castro & Arnoso Martínez, 2018). Some research focuses on the 'grey zones' of memory (Lazzara, 2011), such as the memories of ex-conscripts forced to do military service during the dictatorship (Passmore, 2015).

However, when it comes to studies that focus on the relationship between memory and emotions, the majority focuses on trauma. Most of these adopt the concept of psychosocial trauma proposed by Salvadorean psychologist Ignacio Martín-Baró (1988). This concept helps to understand that the locus of trauma is not on the individual but in the social context that inflicts damage on people through political violence and the militarisation of everyday life. This reasoning is salient in the early work of Lira and Castillo (1991), who argued that fear became the dominant emotion of Chileans in response to the climate of threat produced by the dictatorship. In more recent times, studies of trauma have broadened to include other dimensions, such as the technologies to register state violence (Bernasconi et al., 2019), the transmission of trauma to victims' descendants (Faúndez et al., 2014), and the indirect impact of torture on professionals who listen to these accounts (Cornejo et al., 2013a; Morales & Cornejo, 2013). Thus, the main emotional dimensions shown in these studies concern pain, fear, grief, and mourning. However, considering Lira's (2011) and Rigney's (2018a) arguments, pain and grief are not the only emotional dimensions involved in memory; there is hope, ambivalence, and nostalgia, among other affective expressions. I attempt to dislocate memory from trauma throughout the thesis to open the field of research of affective-mnemonic practices to other forms of emotional engagement. This is not to say that trauma and pain are irrelevant (see Chapter 4), but this does not define all the memory of the Chilean dictatorship.

As mentioned above, memory differs according to ideological positions. Research by Manzi et al. (2003) showed that Chileans, who identify with the right-wing, tend to report varied emotions about the coup and the dictatorship, including

indifference and negative and positive emotions. Chileans who identify with the political centre, with the left, and those who do not identify with any political position report predominantly negative emotions (Manzi et al., 2003). These results suggest that the emotions with which people remember the dictatorship are differentiated according to ideology. These results are similar to Australian and New Zealand research that shows that ideological positions differentiate affective-mnemonic practices (McConville et al., 2017; McCreanor et al., 2017; McCreanor et al., 2018; Wetherell et al., 2019). The study of Badilla Rajevic (2019), discussed in previous sections, illustrates how generational dynamics also produce emotional differences. Specifically, she argues that young people challenge the traditional narratives of memory that focus on the victims of political violence and create enclosed and solemn spaces of remembrance (such as museums and memorials, among other sites). In contrast, she analyses how the post-dictatorship generation makes ephemeral acts of memory, creating ludic interventions with a joyful tone. If the official/traditional ways of remembering the dictatorship are characterised by sadness, grief, mourning and nostalgic resignation (Frazier, 2007; Frei, 2016), younger generations create interventions that are ludic and colourful, aiming to foster other emotions, interactions, and constructive dialogue in the streets with the people with whom they participate (Badilla Rajevic, 2019). These antecedents are relevant to my research question, but it is necessary to consider the context of exile and its effects on affective-mnemonic practices.

Research with Chilean Exiles

Chilean sociologist Cristián Doña-Reveco (2020) argues that it is necessary to acknowledge the history of exiles, as it touches upon the problem of exclusion from history and memory (see Schrama, 2019 for a similar argument) and thus points to the fractures of the post-dictatorial national narrative of reconciliation. For example, exile was not considered in the Valech and Rettig reports (Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, 2004; National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, 1991). Another example concerns the left-wing parties' attitudes towards the exiles, who were perceived as comrades who fled (Rebolledo & Acuña, 2001), so most exiles preferred to remain silent about their experiences and difficulties overseas. In this context, and following Doña-Reveco (2020), I argue that Chile has not come to terms with the history of exile.

Different studies with Chilean exiles show the difficulties of adjusting to new ways of living, social norms, and political cultures. For example, studies in the UK during the 1980s illustrate Chilean men and women's difficulties adjusting to their new lives. Liliana Munoz (1980) understands these difficulties as bereavement, as exile brought depression, anxiety, and a sense of personal loss among Chileans. The study by Diana Kay (1987) also examines how exiles and their families had to reshape their lives completely, both inside and outside their homes, producing almost different selves in public and private domains. Kay (1987) emphasises how gender was significant in developing different strategies to face the challenges of exile, which included changing the ways of thinking about and doing political work (Hirsch, 2012). Other examples have illustrated how resistance to the dictatorship was mobilised through material culture (Simalchik, 2006) and that women's contributions were vital in articulating political resistance through their emotional labour and cultural performances (Shayne, 2009).

Additionally, research shows that exiles had to cope with anxiety and difficult emotions concerning the uncertainty of their return to Chile (Hirsch, 2012; Shayne, 2009). Many Chileans hoped that they would be able to go back to Chile shortly after their departure. However, as the dictatorship continued, decisions to remain overseas were often not easily made (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, once the dictatorship ended, many hoped to return to the country they left, which was idealised in exile. However, the country they encountered upon their return was immensely different, which was a shocking and challenging experience (Calandra, 2013; Doña-Reveco, 2020; Hirsch, 2016; Rebolledo & Acuña, 2001).

Finally, Alejandra Serpente (2015) has shown that the second generation of Chileans born in exile have a different relationship with the past compared to their parents. Serpente (2015) argues that second generations elaborate their discourses based on their own experiences, which creates a complex diasporic constellation of first-generation memories and postmemories (Hirsch, 2008).

Research with Exiles in Australia

There is a vast literature on Latin American research in Australia. The research includes not only the Chilean but also the Latin American communities more broadly, touching upon topics such as the experiences of settlement in Australia (Abascal,

2021; Rodríguez Castro & Muraca, 2022), south-south connections (Peñaloza & Walsh, 2019), among other varied topics.

Regarding the Chilean diaspora in Australia, research has focused on creating collections of personal testimonies so that the voices and stories of Chileans will remain publicly available and registered (Embassy of Chile, 2005; Parada, 2013). Historical investigations on the solidarity campaign have been another key focus of these studies (Jones, 2014; Martín Montenegro, 1994). Research has shown exiles' agency and political strategies, as they collaborated with unions and Australian political parties, organising cultural events in which, for example, music played a crucial role in appealing to broader Australian and Latin American communities (Díaz Gómez, 2010; Ross, 2019).

In a different vein, the study by Mytoan Nguyen (2005) speaks more directly to my research. Her analysis of the 2003 public commemoration of the coup organised by Chilean left-wingers in Melbourne shows that there are complex emotions related to the memory of the dictatorship. Just as there is grief and mourning, there is nostalgia and pride when remembering activism and complex processes of postmemory among the 1.5 and 2nd generations (Nguyen, 2005). However, her analysis predominantly focuses on the trauma among the first generation and on the relation between politics and memory as a way of making sense of the act of commemoration. Even though her work reflects on the emotions involved in remembrance, she does not offer more insights into emotional nuances and transmission processes among the 1.5 and second generations. Despite this, Nguyen's (2005) work is a relevant antecedent for this thesis, as it shows how the exiled Chilean left in Australia has a connection with the past and is active in their efforts to remember the dictatorship in the post-dictatorial years.

Besides Nguyen's study, there are few critical memory studies of the Chilean exiles in Australia. Moreover, among the memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship, not many focus on how emotions shape memory or expand the emotional scope to consider dimensions other than trauma and pain. Hence, my research question addresses this gap in the literature by asking how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have laid out the main arguments that sustain my conceptual approach to the relation of memory and emotions. Following the work of Halbwachs (1925/1992; 1950/1980) and Campbell (1994, 2004, 2006), I argue that memory is an affective practice (Wetherell, 2012), which means that emotions shape memory by orienting the process of making meaning of the past, selecting that which is significant for the present, which responds to groups' values and ideologies. Considering other antecedents, and despite the ideological and intergenerational constraints, memory does not consist of repeating social frameworks (Rigney, 2018b). Rather, it involves positioning (Haye, 2012) and being creative (Keightley & Pickering, 2012), opening the possibility of reinventing and modifying social ways of thinking and imagining the future otherwise.

Following these conceptual underpinnings, the literature on memory studies of the Chilean dictatorship reveals that not much research focuses on emotions other than trauma and pain (for exceptions, see Badilla Rajevic, 2019; Frei, 2016; Manzi et al., 2003). The literature on Chilean exiles predominantly focuses on trauma, the difficulties of adapting to a new culture (Kay, 1987; Muñoz, 1980) and returning to Chile (Doña-Reveco, 2020). Other memory studies have focused on the memories of activism while overseas (Shayne, 2009) and, more recently, on second-generation postmemories (Serpente, 2015). Studies with Chilean exiles in Australia follow the general tendency of the literature, apart from Nguyen (2005), whose study with the Chilean left in Melbourne considers emotions without being the focus of her research.

Considering these antecedents, my research question responds to a lacuna in the literature. By asking how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia, this thesis argues that focusing on the emotional significance of remembering may illuminate the complexities and nuances of mnemonic practices. Thus, I seek to explore the possibility that trauma does not entirely define memory, despite being a relevant dimension of the memory of the dictatorship (see Chapter 4). As developed in the following chapters, expressions of hope within memories of activism highlight how struggle and political values are still present and rehearsed in affective-mnemonic practices shaping the imagination of the future (see Chapter 9). However, there are diverse and complex positions among Chilean left-wingers, demonstrating that despite sharing general ideological values,

diversity and disagreements configure tensions and ambivalence in the memory of activism (Chapters 5 and 6). Additionally, the intergenerational transmission is a complex process with commonalities and differences between the 1.5 and second generations (Chapters 7 and 8). Despite sharing similarities in living complex childhoods and expressing nostalgia, a crucial difference relies on having first-hand memories of life in Chile, configuring a different relationship with the dictatorial past.

Finally, the concept of affective-mnemonic practices implies considering different methodological questions. I heed Wetherell's (2012) caution that researching affective practices risks falling into general and mystified descriptions of affective forces and atmospheres. Additionally, there is the risk of focusing solely on the researcher's interpretations and points of view. Thus, based on the concept of affective-mnemonic practices, the next chapter develops the methodological and analytical approach, and discusses the rationale that oriented this research.

Chapter 3 Methodological Considerations

The previous chapter delineated the concept of affective-mnemonic practices to define my theoretical position. I argued that emotions define the significance of the past in the present by orienting our positionality towards others that populate a mnemonic field. This chapter outlines the methodological design of my research to study how affective-mnemonic practices shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles. Following Wetherell's (2012) concept of affective practice, it is possible to study emotions by attending to patterns in verbal and non-verbal discourse. This means attending not only to the words in an utterance but also to gestures and bodily movements, as well as to broader contextualisation practices in which speakers anticipate and respond to the voices of others (Haye et al., 2018). Nevertheless, before presenting the analytical approach, it is necessary to explain the rationale of my research and the different dimensions related to my positionality as a researcher exploring a sensitive topic. This chapter delineates the design and aims of the study, and explains the nuances associated with my position as a Chilean researcher in Australia working with Chilean exiles and the ethical and methodological implications. After these considerations, I describe the participants of the study, the instrument, and the recording process, to later return to the analytical approach, the limitations, and the affordances of the methodological design.

Design, Aim and Objectives

I defined my research question as how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia, considering the ideological and intergenerational dynamics involved in affective-mnemonic practices. Given that this question has not been explored in-depth in the Australian context, this research was designed from an exploratory and qualitative approach characterised by flexibility and reflexivity (Lincoln et al., 2018). This approach also considers that this study is historically and culturally situated (Haraway, 1990), configured by the encounter of different perspectives and positions (the participants' and mine, among others). These characteristics imply that the purpose of the study was not to make statistical generalisations but to produce conceptual tools to interpret the complexity involved in this phenomenon (Small, 2009). These tools, in turn, may be re-situated and useful to illuminate questions and problems in other contexts.

Following the research question, I defined the general aim of the study as exploring how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia. Subsequently, the specific objectives of the research were:

- 1) Analyse how ideology and emotions intersect in the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles.
- 2) Analyse the intergenerational memories and the emotional dimensions involved in the intergenerational transmission of memories of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles.
- 3) Analyse the relations between the memory of the dictatorship and the imagination of the future after the social uprising of 2019 among Chilean exiles.

These objectives respond to the exploratory nature of the research and the conceptual framework outlined in the previous chapter by explicitly addressing the emotional, ideological, and intergenerational dynamics. Additionally, the third objective responds to the political circumstances that erupted in 2019, the Estallido Social, which moved the Chilean community in Australia, leading to demonstrations and meetings, as well as a general activation of the memory of the dictatorship among the exiles. Even though I presented my thesis research project in September of 2019, I decided to add the third objective when the protests started in Chile in October of 2019, given the evident relationships that exiles expressed between the dictatorship and the police brutality that was seen during the protests. Furthermore, as I note below, the Estallido was present in most of the interviews and in the conversations with the broader Chilean community. Although the focus of the interviews was on the dictatorship, the comparisons with the Estallido, as well as the differences, were notable and shaped the data production (see Chapter 9).

Participants and Recruitment

Before describing the participants of the research, it is relevant to note some external circumstances that shaped the scope of the study: the Chilean social uprising of 2019 and the COVID-19 pandemic. The social uprising modified the research objectives, as it implied considering the actuality of the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles, which added more complexity to the study. Thus, I modified the design and added an objective to address the social uprising and its relations with the memory of the dictatorship. The COVID-19 pandemic modified the research logistics, as the Australian government set a series of restrictions closing the

international borders. This changed the initial project of making a comparative study between Chileans in the national territory and exiles in Australia (see Chapter 1). Additionally, some restrictions impeded travelling between States in Australia. Even though I could travel inside of Canberra (where I was based during my research), the bigger cities where Chileans live are Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Hence, I had to adjust to these conditions and undertake digital fieldwork and online interviews, which limited the number of people who could participate. I ended up meeting participants in person in Canberra and Sydney¹³ and met participants online using Zoom and calling them by phone. Even though the pandemic limited the scope of the research, it set conditions that allowed me to maintain a rigorous approach while being flexible in response to this extraordinary scenario.

When recruiting participants, I aimed to have diversity in terms of generations, moment of arrival in Australia, and gender. Most of the participants that I interviewed positioned themselves as part of the left and/or agreed with ideas of justice and democracy, which came as no surprise as most of them participated in political parties or social movements against the dictatorship before migrating. I attempted to contact some right-wingers who migrated to Australia before and during the dictatorship (although they were not forced to do this). However, these attempts were unsuccessful because the people I could contact were unwilling to participate, so the research focused on an in-depth analysis with the exiles only.

I started recruiting participants at the beginning of 2020, even though I met some during the demonstrations in solidarity with the protesters during the social uprising in 2019 (see Chapter 9). With the help of some academics and members of the Chilean community, I contacted participants by phone, e-mail, and Facebook. I invited them to an individual interview to talk about their history and experience of the dictatorship and invited them to bring objects that they associated with their history and that they thought were meaningful (for example, photographs, newspapers, and music, among other possibilities). The first participants were Chileans whom I met in the demonstrations in Canberra, and some of them helped

¹³ I was able to travel in December 2020, during a brief time in which the restrictions ceased. During my weeks in Sydney, I met new participants, and met with ones that I had previously interviewed online. I also visited the monument dedicated to Salvador Allende with participants of the research and attended to an event organised by a Latin American group. I kept in touch with some of these participants through other projects and informal communication and travelled again to Sydney in 2022 for an event organised by a group of the Chilean community.

to contact other community members, starting a snowball process. To recruit second-generation Chileans, I asked participants who had children to help me contact their sons or daughters to invite them for an interview. This allowed me to (separately) interview some dyads of parents and children, and I started a snowball process with the help of second-generation participants to recruit other younger Chileans.

I interviewed 46 participants distributed between Canberra, Sydney and broader New South Wales, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Of the 46 participants, 28 were adults when they migrated; and of the remainder 18, six were part of the '1.5 generation' (Kebede, 2010; Suleiman, 2002)—they experienced first-hand the events of the dictatorship and migrated as children with their families. The remaining 12 belong to the 'second generation' born overseas. Additionally, 24 participants identified as male and 22 as female. An emerging criterion that was relevant to differentiate participants was the year of migration. As explained in Chapter 1, there were two waves of migration during the years of the dictatorship: the first one from 1973-1978 and the second from 1983-1990. Following this, I balanced the sample with participants from both waves. Of the 28 participants who were adults when they migrated, 13 arrived during the first wave (1973-1978) and 15 during the second (1983-1990). Of the 18 children, 10 had parents that migrated during the first wave, and 8 had parents that migrated during the second. Table 1 summarises the participants of the study and their characteristics. I do not disclose the participants' names to maintain their confidentiality.

Instrument and Data Production

As mentioned above, participants were invited to bring objects to the interview that were meaningful to their history. This was inspired by Pickering and Keightley's (2015) work, which argues that people use media meaningfully, such as music and photographs, by articulating memory and imagination. Similarly, Per Linell (2009) argues that objects open virtual spaces of dialogue with other voices by mediating the speaker's relation with a subject. In this way, the interview setting was meant to be a scenario for participants to creatively tell their histories using objects or artifacts to mediate their relationship with the past.

For the interview, I was inspired by Marcela Cornejo's work with life stories (Cornejo et al., 2008; Cornejo et al., 2018) and decided to make an adjusted version

for my study. I opted for this mode of interviewing because it gives participants the floor to express themselves with little direction from the interviewer. Being an open field, the life stories approach allows participants to shape their history with their own words. This allowed me to listen and follow the participants' speech, asking questions to better understand some details and explore other dimensions of their stories. With that approach in mind, different phases structured the encounter with participants:

1. Days before the interview, I would talk with participants about the study, usually via phone call or text message, explaining the aims and objectives of the study and what their participation entailed. I reassured them that the interview was confidential and that they could opt out at any moment without any consequence¹⁴. This would usually lead to longer conversations in which they would talk about their experience and ask some questions. After this conversation and agreeing on a time and date, I sent them the information about the study and the ethics documents for them to review.
2. On the day of the interview and meeting face-to-face, I would start by asking if they had any questions and if they could read the information sheet. If they had not had the time, I would walk them through the information, discuss their questions, and then start the interview and the recording. When the interview was in person, I met participants at a place of their choosing, and we usually had an informal conversation before starting. Participants sometimes would ask me questions about myself, my university, funding, and political beliefs. When I met participants at their homes, we usually had tea or coffee before starting, which was part of getting to know each other and building trust.
3. Once the interview started, I would ask participants to present themselves, including their name, age, occupation, ideological position, and other general information.

¹⁴ Only one person decided to opt out of the study a few days after the interview. I deleted their audio and video files, and they were not counted as part of the final number of participants.

4. After the presentation, I would start with an open and general prompt: “Tell me about your history of the dictatorship”, and I let participants take control and tell their stories on their own terms and pace. I followed Cornejo et al.’s (2008) guidelines and had a non-directive style when interviewing. When participants were unsure of how to begin, I would tell them to start from wherever they wanted and to take the interview as an informal conversation in which I would ask some questions to better understand some events and moments of their stories.
5. I explored, with all participants, the spatial, temporal, interpersonal, and emotional dimensions of their experiences. It is worth noting that, after the first interviews, I noticed that the participants’ stories involved not only the experience of forced migration and their lives in Australia but also their lives in Chile before migrating, as well as discussing the Estallido Social of 2019. Given that the Estallido was a topic that initial participants brought up spontaneously, I decided to ask subsequent participants about the uprising and if they saw any relationship between it and with their history of the dictatorship.
6. If participants brought objects, I would ask about their meaning and why they chose what they had. When participants did not bring anything, I would ask about meaningful objects for them in relation to their history, which would generate a conversation about the objects that mediate their relationship with the past.
7. Finally, I would close the interview by asking them if they had told their history to anyone else in the past and how they had felt telling me their history that day. I would also offer the opportunity to add anything else they felt was important. After this moment, I would stop recording and proceed with the goodbyes and tell them about the next steps of the study. When the meeting was in person, I would usually stay with participants for a longer time, having coffee, dinner and meeting their families.

Table 1*Descriptive Summary of the Participants of the Study*

Participant	City	Migration wave	Gender	Generation	Age	Case	Reference	Duration	Virtual
Participant 1	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	80+	FW1	M, G1, 80+, FW1	1hr 57min	No
Participant 2	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	70+	FW2	M, G1, 70+, FW2	2hr 17min ^b	No
Participant 3	Canberra	First Wave	F	G1	70+	FW3	F, G1, 70+, FW3	2hr 17min	No
Participant 4	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	80+	FW4	M, G1, 80+, FW4	2hr 17min	No
Participant 5	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	70+	FW5	M, G1, 70+, FW5	2hr 11min	No
Participant 6	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	70+	FW6	M, G1, 70+, FW6	1hr 43 min	No
Participant 7	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	70+	FW7	M, G1, 70+, FW7	1hr 8min	No
Participant 8	Canberra	First Wave	M	G1	70+	FW8	M, G1, 70+, FW8	1hr 27min	No
Participant 9	Canberra	First Wave	F	G1	70+	FW9	F, G1, 70+, FW9	3hr 1 min	No
Participant 10	Sydney	First Wave	F	G1	60+	FW10	F, G1, 60+, FW10	1hr 14min	Yes
Participant 11	Sydney	First Wave	M	G1	60+	FW11	M, G1, 60+, FW11	1hr 56min	Yes
Participant 12	Sydney	First Wave	F	G1	80+	FW12	F, G1, 80+, FW12	3hr 18min	No
Participant 13	Melbourne	First Wave	F	G1	50+	FW13	F, G1, 50+, FW13	1hr 14min	Yes
Participant 14	Canberra	Second Wave	F	G1	60+	SW1	F, G1, 60+, SW1	1hr 35 min	No
Participant 15	Canberra	Second Wave	F	G1	70+	SW2	F, G1, 70+, SW2	1hr 18min	No
Participant 16	Canberra	Second Wave	M	G1	60+	SW3	M, G1, 60+, SW3	1hr 2min	No
Participant 17	Sydney	Second Wave	F	G1	50+	SW4	F, G1, 50+, SW4	1hr 55min	Yes
Participant 18	Sydney	Second Wave	F	G1	50+	SW5	F, G1, 50+, SW5	1hr 33min	Yes
Participant 19	Sydney	Second Wave	M	G1	50+	SW6	M, G1, 50+, SW6	1hr 58min	Yes
Participant 20	Melbourne	Second Wave	M	G1	60+	SW7	M, G1, 60+, SW7	53 min	Yes

Participant 21	Brisbane	Second Wave	F	G1	60+	SW8	F, G1, 60+, SW8	1hr 41min	Yes
Participant 22	Melbourne	Second Wave	M	G1	60+	SW9	M, G1, 60+, SW9	3hr 36min	Yes
Participant 23	Brisbane	Second Wave	M	G1	70+	SW10	M, G1, 70+, SW10	2hr 56min ^b	Yes
Participant 24	Brisbane	Second Wave	M	G1	50+	SW11	M, G1, 50+, SW11	No recording	Yes
Participant 25	Brisbane	Second Wave	F	G1	60+	SW12	F, G1, 60+, SW12	3hr 28min	Yes
Participant 26	Sydney	Second Wave	F	G1	60+	SW13	F, G1, 60+, SW13	No recording	Yes
Participant 27	Sydney	Second Wave	M	G1	60+	SW14	M, G1, 60+, SW14	1hr 24min	No
Participant 28	Sydney	Second Wave	F	G1	50+	SW15	F, G1, 50+, SW15	54 min	No
Participant 29	Canberra	First wave son	M	G 1.5	50+	FW4 son	M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son	1hr 43min	No
Participant 30	Sydney	Second wave daughter	F	G 1.5	40+	SW10 daughter	F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter	1hr 22min	Yes
Participant 31	Brisbane	Second wave daughter	F	G 1.5	30+	SW12 daughter	F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter	1hr 54min	Yes
Participant 32	Sydney	First wave daughter	F	G 1.5	60+	FW daughter	F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter	1hr 47min	Yes
Participant 33	Melbourne	First wave son	M	G 1.5	50+	FW son	M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son	1hr 7min ^b	Yes
Participant 34	Sydney	First wave son	M	G 1.5	60+	FW son	M, G 1.5, 60+, FW son	2hrs	Yes
Participant 35	Canberra ^a	Second wave son	M	G2	30+	SW1 son	M, G2, 30+, SW1 son	46 min	Yes
Participant 36	Canberra	Second wave son	M	G2	20+	SW1 son	M, G2, 20+, SW1 son	1 hr	No
Participant 37	Goulburn	First wave son	M	G2	40+	FW1 son	M, G2, 40+, FW1 son	1hr 37min	Yes
Participant 38	Sydney	First wave daughter	F	G2	40+	FW2 daughter	F, G2, 40+, FW2 daughter	1hr 38min	Yes
Participant 39	Melbourne	First wave daughter	F	G2	30+	FW13 daughter	F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter	56min	Yes

Participant 40	Sydney	First wave son	M	G2	40+	FW son	M, G2, 40+, FW son	1hr 13min	Yes
Participant 41	Melbourne	Second wave daughter	F	G2	30+	SW7 daughter	F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter	1hr 17min	Yes
Participant 42	Sydney	Second wave daughter	F	G2	20+	SW5 daughter	F, G2, 20+, SW5 daughter	1hr 23min	Yes
Participant 43	Canberra	First wave son	M	G2	40+	FW7 and FW9 son	M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son	2hr 5min	No
Participant 44	Sydney	First wave granddaughter	F	G3	30+	FW granddaughter	F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter	1hr	Yes
Participant 45	Sydney	Second wave son	M	G2	20+	SW son	M, G2, 20+, SW son	1hr 28min	No
Participant 46	Brisbane	Second wave daughter	F	G2	30+	SW daughter	F, G2, 30+, SW daughter	1hr 49min	Yes

Note. The table summarises the information of the participants that were interviewed throughout the research. The city refers to the city of residence of the participant when I interviewed them. The migration wave refers to the period in which participants migrated: The first wave refers to the period between 1973 to 1978, and the second wave refers to the period between 1983 to 1990. Gender refers to female or male participants. The generation refers to three different groups: G1 are the participants who migrated when they were adults; G 1.5 refers to children of exiles who have a first-hand experience of Chile before migrating; and G2 refers to children of exiles who were born overseas (the single G3 case is a granddaughter of an exile who migrated during the first wave). The age column represents a range of the participants' ages. The case is useful to identify dyads of children and parents, as well as their moment of migration (FW stands for first wave, and SW for second wave). For example, participant 42 is "SW5 daughter", and SW5 refers to her mother, who migrated as part of the second wave. The reference designates how an specific interview is cited throughout the findings. Duration is the length of the recording of the interview, and the "virtual" code designates whether the interview was done using Zoom (Yes) or if it was in-person (No).

^a The participant was raised in Canberra but was overseas when I interviewed him.

^b I had a second encounter with these participants, which was also recorded.

I followed this same structure with second-generation Chileans but modified the general prompt to “Tell me about your history *or experience in relation to* the dictatorship”. I developed this modification after some interviews with second-generation participants, in which they were unsure if they were telling their history or the history of their parents. Despite this being an interesting question, I decided to modify the prompt so they could feel comfortable talking about the history of their parents if they thought it was pertinent, and then I would ask them more directly about their relationship with the topic. The other modification was that with second-generation participants, I added a question related to intergenerational transmission: ‘How did you find out or get to know about this history?’ This allowed to have an idea of the contexts of transmission, who initiated the conversations, and relevant people in the transmission of these stories.

Ethical Considerations

There are different ethical dimensions to consider in my research. As Kirsten Bell (2014) argues, ethics exceeds the formality of obtaining informed consent, as ethics touches upon relationships and the care involved in cultivating them. Following this, a central concern involves defining my ethical position and the research traditions that inform it. As a general framework, my position is informed by Latin American critical theories, dialogical theories of language and interactions, and qualitative research traditions, particularly from research on life stories about sensitive topics (Cornejo et al., 2019) and ethnographic approaches (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). My ethical position assumes that power dynamics shape the relationships between myself as a researcher and the participants, understanding that power produces our positions and shapes our expectations in asymmetrical ways (Freire, 1970/2000; Montero, 2006; Santos, 2018). However, these dynamics are neither as simple as assuming that participants are passive subjects in the process nor that we can ignore the differences based on assuming that researchers and participants are on equal footing. Instead, a dialogical perspective is helpful as it emphasises that it is impossible and undesirable to erase the difference between oneself and the other (Bakhtin, 1990). Therefore, more than attempting to be in an equal position with participants, I assumed my position as another or an external listener who was there to understand and learn from what participants wanted to say based on the questions that I brought. This does not mean I was a ‘neutral’ listener; instead, I

brought concerns, previous knowledge, and interests (Fersch, 2013). However, I was not seeking to 'prove' preconceived concepts or theories but to immerse myself in the narrative participants brought and understand their position as narrators of their stories (Cornejo et al., 2013; Cornejo et al., 2018). Hence, I did not deny my subjectivity in the process (Cornejo et al., 2019), and I assumed my position in the field as partial and situated (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). This enabled me to position myself from not knowing and being open to what participants wanted to say and ask, framing the encounter as a conversation and a dialogue.

Furthermore, it is crucial to remember that the dictatorship is a sensitive topic for Chilean exiles. As Cornejo et al. (2019) explain, having conversations about a difficult past implies touching upon a trauma that affected Chilean society (Lira & Castillo, 1991). In that sense, it puts participants in the position of talking about issues they might still be working through, bringing painful emotions and trauma. Therefore, building trust and a personal relationship of care and empathy is necessary so that participants can recount their experiences in a safe and secure context. Forming this trusting relationship involved me as a researcher in terms of my subjective and political position (Qin, 2016) and recognising myself as an outsider in the context of the community of Chilean exiles in Australia. Even though being Chilean provided a degree of familiarity and common ground with participants, my generational position and growing up in the post-dictatorship Chile configured many differences. These issues generated a sense of strangeness with the older participants who lived in Chile from the 1940s to the 1980s and a distance from younger participants who grew up in Australia as the children of exiles. Even though I had experience researching the memory of the dictatorship from previous projects (e.g., Cornejo et al., 2018; Haye et al., 2018), I felt the sense of being a stranger in the Australian context. Following these issues, I built relationships with participants to 'enter' the field (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), and I had to familiarise myself (Montero, 2006) with the experience and context of exile to be able to listen and understand their stories. In turn, the familiarisation process also implied that participants had to know about me. Thus, I was transparent and honest when contacting participants throughout the research, answering their questions and taking the time to know and talk with them during the interviews and in other informal contexts (when the circumstances allowed it).

Additionally, all participants were given an information sheet with the details of the research and what participating in the study implied. When participants did not have time to read this document, I would discuss the information and what their participation entailed. I asked participants to sign an informed consent document as well. However, as Bell (2014) argues, it is impossible to aspire for a fully informed participant and consent is not defined by their signature. Therefore, I approached informed consent as a process, gave participants the opportunity to withdraw, not answer questions, and reminded them that they did not have to talk about certain topics and could leave information out if they preferred. In this sense, participants are agentic, and the interviews did not account for all their experience or memory, which is not detrimental to the research. Instead, it shows how every research encounter is unique and unrepeatable.

As mentioned above, the Estallido Social allowed me to meet participants. It was a crucial event that facilitated the familiarisation process, as I attended different protests and meetings with the Chilean community in Canberra (see Chapter 9 for a detailed account). I was surprised that many exiles attended these events, which opened the door for me to talk with some of them about my research and exchange contact information. Even though I started recruiting participants in 2020, it helped that they knew me in 2019, as it meant that I was not a complete stranger. I developed personal relationships with some participants through familiarisation, which facilitated me contacting more people and getting to know other Chilean and Latin American groups across Australia. This required, at times, having a 'slow approach' (Wüstenberg, 2023), taking the time to build relationships instead of frantically pushing the pace to interview more participants. However, I believe this was an ethically informed approach, as building trust was crucial for the research process. In this sense, even though the limits of 'the field' are not as easily defined (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), exiting Australia involved saying goodbye to some participants who became friends. Even though I feel I am still in the field by keeping in touch with some of them through social media, part of the process closed when I left Australia. As a devolution for participants (still in the process of making), I agreed to send them a copy of the thesis with a transcription of their interview, as well as a shorter report summarising the research findings.

Concerning data production, I understand that telling stories and bringing materials to tell them involves labour from participants (Reading, 2019, 2021). In that

sense, I was careful and respectful in my approach to their stories, listening to their voice while attempting to understand the commonalities and uniqueness of each story. In this sense, the interviews were emotionally intense, as participants would recount distressing moments of their lives, talking about complex issues concerning their families and their relationship with the dictatorial past. Participants would usually cry and express their feelings with other verbal and non-verbal expressions, such as raising the volume or speed of their speech or changing the tone to express anger, frustration, and indifference, among others. When participants were distressed, I would offer them the opportunity to stop or to continue once they were comfortable to do so. However, all of them preferred to continue, and by the end of the interview, most participants expressed themselves as feeling good and found the experience cathartic. Even though they said it was hard to talk about these issues, they appreciated the instance to remember and talk not only about the pain and trauma but also about other dimensions of their experiences. During the interviews, I adopted a disposition of empathic distress (Cornejo et al., 2019), in which I would prioritise the safety and trust of participants over my feelings of discomfort and let participants decide what they thought was the best for them at the moment. Additionally, following Ayata et al. (2019), interviews are situated affective and processual encounters shaped before, during and after the actual encounter between the researcher and participants. Thus, I took fieldnotes before the interviews to register some issues that emerged during the contact phase, questions from participants, and other observations. I also wrote fieldnotes after the interviews to analyse salient themes and contents and reflect on the instrument and methodological options to implement in the upcoming encounters. These fieldnotes were written or recorded immediately after the interview, as well as days after. I also followed the recommendations of Cornejo et al. (2011) and kept a reflexive notebook to analyse some of my emotions after meeting with participants to gain a better understanding of my attitudes, reactions and position in these encounters. This was not only useful to anticipate and prepare myself but also to channel emotions that I did not express during the interviews. With these different devices, I was not only registering results or data but also being aware of my positionality and working with my subjectivity throughout the process.

Finally, there are ethical issues concerning language and translation. I told participants that, in the interview, they could speak the language of their preference,

which meant that some preferred speaking in Spanish and others in English. Given that the thesis is written in English, I had to translate different participant quotes. However, as it is impossible to achieve a word-for-word translation (Al-Amer et al., 2015; Fersch, 2013) due to the particularities and specificities of each language, I opted to translate the sense. This process was not fully transparent, as particularities of Chilean expressions lose part of their meaning in translation. To deal with this issue, when participants spoke in Spanish, I quoted their interviews by preserving the Spanish original followed by the English translation in brackets. The quotes from participants preserve most of the 'actual' ways in which they talked, including the repetition of words and cursing, among other expressions. The extraverbal content was also transcribed in parenthesis, including volume shifts, tone, and bodily movement.

Analytical Approach

The interviews were completed between March and December of 2020. All interviews were recorded in audio¹⁵, and 36 were also video recorded. I did 26 online interviews and 20 in person. On average, the interviews with first-generation Chileans lasted 1 hour and 56 minutes, the longest being 3 hours and 36 minutes long and the shortest 53 minutes. With children of exiles, the interviews lasted, on average, 1 hour and 27 minutes, with the longest lasting for 2 hours and 5 minutes and the shortest 46 minutes¹⁶. I transcribed all the interviews and used an automated transcription service (Sonix.ai) to aid me in this work. Even though the software helped, I checked the text of all the transcriptions with the audio and video, not only to correct some words (the Chilean accent and speed are even hard for me as a native speaker!) but also to include intonation marks and other forms of non-verbal discourse. In this sense, the transcription was also an initial analysis of the content of the interviews.

After transcribing the interviews, I coded and analysed them using NVivo 12 (QSR, 2018). From the concept of affective-mnemonic practices, I focused on

¹⁵ Except for two whose audio could not be recorded due to technical reasons. In those cases, I took notes during the interview of the contents and the emotional tones of the participants.

¹⁶ Only three participants requested a second encounter. Two of them wanted to add more information they remembered after the interview, and the remainder because the first encounter ran short due to domestic issues.

discourse's verbal and extra-verbal components (Vološinov, 1926/1976). The verbal dimensions included words and explicit utterances that interviewees expressed about a topic. For example, "I felt like really proud to be Chilean and proud to be a granddaughter of somebody that fought for their beliefs" (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter). In this example, the explicit verbal content refers to the participant being proud of being related to someone who fought for their socialist beliefs.

However, following Charles Briggs (1986), the analysis of interviews should not focus on the explicit content only but more on the form of speech, which constitutes a solid ground for interpretations. Additionally, he explains that speech "provides an ongoing interpretation of its own significance" (Briggs, 1986, p. 106), which is communicated in stylistic terms through verbal, visual and prosodic means. Hence, the non- or extra-verbal components are crucial to interpret discursive practices, so I attended to two non-verbal components in the analysis. The first is context and contextualisation. Words have meaning in the situation of the interview and make sense in the contexts that participants create for their utterances through narrative and storytelling. Following Briggs (1986), contexts are made in the ongoing interaction and are not static features 'outside' of discourse. From dialogical theories (Bakhtin, 1929/1984; Haye, 2012; Vološinov, 1929/1973), contextualisation is interpreted as a way in which participants brought other voices and audiences, positioning themselves and responding to the positions of others.

The second non-verbal component was stylistics, particularly tone, gestures, and bodily movements. These were interpreted, in conjunction with the verbal components, as participants' reactions to their own speech that shed light on their positions and the overall meaning of their utterances. For example:

Entonces mi nombre es (nombre) llegamos el 26 de junio (pausa, se quiebra su voz y llora). No es. Bueno, ¿por qué llegamos a Australia? Porque tuvimos que salir como refugiados políticos. Mi marido y yo, (nombre marido), y bueno, fue algo muy abrupto, muy, muy duro, muy, muy duro.

[So, my name is (name), we arrived on June 26th (pauses, her voice breaks and cries). Is not. Well, why did we come to Australia? Because we had to

leave as political refugees. My husband and I, (name of husband), and well, it was very abrupt, very, very hard, very, very, very hard.] (F, G1, 60+, SW1)

In this example, the non-verbal components and the verbal content provide the ground to interpret the participants' discourse. When she recalled the moment she and her husband arrived, she paused for a moment and cried, suggesting that what she was saying was emotionally intense. Additionally, the repetition of the words 'very hard' emphasises the overall interpretation of the utterance, that is, that leaving Chile and coming to Australia was difficult for her. The rest of the interview provides further context to understand why this was hard when she later explained that neither she nor her husband wanted to leave Chile. This, and considering other interviews as well, illuminates that political exile was indeed a painful, undesired experience for most participants. This example illustrates how I analysed the participants' affective practices in the interviews. Attending to discourse's verbal and non-verbal components allowed me to have a ground for interpretation without detaching myself from the empirical material.

Following this, I coded each interview and conducted a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to identify patterns across the interviews. These patterns reflected the emotions of participants when they talked about certain topics when remembering their history of the dictatorship. More specifically, the analytical approach consisted of the following phases:

First, I coded and analysed the interviews and started identifying emerging topics that participants discussed.

Second, after coding a significant number of interviews and starting to reach saturation, I identified general topics in the histories of participants. These included their lives in Chile; the process of migration; the activism in Chile and Australia; the Chilean community in Australia; the generational differences between Chileans in Australia; the transmission process; and the social uprising of 2019.

Third, after identifying these topics, I did a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and identified the patterns of affective practices that participants performed when discussing a topic. When analysing, for example, the emotional evaluations of activism in Australia, I was interested in the common agreements and in the differences, both positive evaluations and negative ones. In this sense, there were patterns of affective practices when participants talked about a topic, and those

patterns configured a 'theme' (for example, 'conflicts in the memory of activism'). I did not focus on consensus only but on the diversity of accounts so that each theme would reflect complexity and nuance. Following this, I organised the thesis chapters, so each would focus on a salient theme or affective practice, and ended up with six chapters that reflect different emotions that shape how participants remember the dictatorship in their histories. I opted for this analytical strategy because it allowed showing the complexity and diversity of the affective-mnemonic practices that shape the memory of the dictatorship and respond to the research question.

Methodological Limitations

As in every study, mine has different limitations that need to be addressed. The first one is related to the participants' ideological diversity. As explained in the previous chapters, ideology differentiates the memory of the dictatorship between left and right-wingers. However, I only interviewed participants ideologically aligned with the left or progressive ideas. Even though the focus on Chilean exiles implies that most participants would be left-wingers, it would have been interesting to have contrasted with right-wingers to make comparisons and be able to distinguish the particularities of the memory of exiles.

A second limitation comes from the territorial focus of the study, as it is situated in Australia, which raises the question of how much of the findings can dialogue with other realities. Even though the study does not aim to make statistical generalisations, there are potentialities for comparative analysis with Chile and exiles in other countries. Even if comparison is not always feasible or pertinent, it is a promising question to explore in future research.

The third limitation came with the pandemic and had to do with the use of technology. Some potential participants did not participate because they did not want to be interviewed online or had problems with their computers. Even though the interviews on Zoom were not a problem regarding their quality, there was a bias in excluding participants who could not or did not want to use their electronic devices to be interviewed. In the same vein, the pandemic also posed the problem of being unable to travel to all the cities where Chileans lived. Even though I could travel to Sydney and do some in-person fieldwork, I could not travel to Victoria or Queensland due to the policies of both States to close their borders during 2020. This limitation meant I could not do field interviews or have informal conversations with the

Chileans living there, which could have enriched the study. Despite this limitation, the interviews reached a degree of saturation and provided the most substantial data for the thesis.

Other limitations are related to the recruitment of the children of exiles. Even though I managed to interview 18 of them, the recruitment strategy had limitations. Given that I relied on parents to give me the contact of their children, some parents acted as gatekeepers, which meant that they sometimes preferred that their children did not participate in the study or did not give me the information to contact them personally. Additionally, when contacting the children of exiles, there was a limitation that came with the information of the study, in which I invited them to an interview to talk about their *memories* of the dictatorship. Even though this invitation was offered as an instance to talk about their experience and personal relationship with the topic, some participants interpreted this as talking about their first-hand experiences. This latter interpretation meant that some people questioned whether they were eligible to participate or if their experience was relevant to the study because they did not directly experience the dictatorship. Others initially interpreted the interview as a test of their knowledge of the topic. I addressed these questions by clarifying to them that the interview was not a test, clarifying that I wanted to know about their personal experience of the dictatorship and that this was not constrained by having a direct or first-hand memory. Despite these clarifications, fewer children of exiles participated than the first generation. Future studies in the field could address this limitation by changing the research's phrasing or focus to make it more welcoming for the children of exiles.

Finally, there was a limitation related to my position as a young researcher from Chile and not having a personal experience with exile. This usually motivated questions and even suspicions from some participants, which meant that I had to explain my position and reassure them about their safety. With children of exiles, this meant that some of them were insecure when talking about their experience, as not all of them had been to Chile or had a strong connection with Chilean culture. I addressed those insecurities by reaffirming my intentions and my research plans. In the future, researchers could partner with first- and second-generation exiles as co-researchers, which could open opportunities for collaboration with the community and respond better to their interests, concerns, and needs.

Methodological Affordances

Despite these limitations, I was able to produce data that was useful in answering my research question. The life-story approach to the interview allowed participants to tell their histories in their preferred ways. Most participants talked about events from the past, their relevant personal relationships, their lives in the present and their concerns for the future. Despite this diversity, the interviews shared many common themes and contents. Thus, it was possible to analyse patterns of affective practices that shaped the different contents of the memory of the dictatorship, including trauma, joy, tension, ambivalence, nostalgia, pessimism, and hope.

At the same time, even though most participants were positioned as left-wing or progressive, there were differences related to different concepts of political activism that were nested in different historical experiences of resistance or political organisation. The flexible and reflexive approach of the qualitative design helped to pick up these differences and adjust the recruitment strategy, including the wave of migration as an emerging criterion. This led to more diversity and nuances in the analysis, adding more complexity and richness to the study.

Additionally, interviewing participants from different generations allowed exploring the dynamics of transmission and differences between generations. This also included emerging differences and nuances between the positions of the 1.5 and second generations.

Finally, participants discussed and brought different objects, including music, films, newspapers, documents, and photographs. Given space limits and prioritisation, I only present results on how the exiles' children used or talked about objects. Participants from the first generation brought objects and documents that were mostly used as 'witnesses' of their lives and their involvement in different events (for example, photographs that showed them with relevant people or newspaper clips in which they were named). Even though there are interesting potential analyses of these objects, I focused on the children of exiles, who used objects in a symbolic way to connect with the dictatorship or to emotionally connect with their familial past (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Conclusions

This study adopted a qualitative approach designed to respond to the exploratory nature of the research question and respond to the theoretical framework of

affective-mnemonic practices. Even though it has limitations, particularly regarding issues of generalisation, it is also responsive and responsible, considering that the dictatorship is a sensitive topic. Considering my position as a stranger among Chilean exiles, it is also an adequate approach, as it focuses on building a trusting relationship with participants. Additionally, the flexibility of the qualitative design allowed me to respond to some of the circumstantial events that shaped the research, as well as to the emerging findings, adjusting the recruitment strategy and implementing virtual fieldwork techniques. The analytical approach, focusing on verbal and non-verbal discourse, allowed the identification and categorisation of different affective practices, analysing the common patterns and the diversity among participants while considering ideology and generational differences as overarching categories of interest. As explained in Chapter 1, Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 9 touch upon ideological issues and Chapters 7 and 8 deal more directly with intergenerational transmission. However, both overarching categories are present in all chapters but with different levels of focus. Each of the following chapters has its own corresponding conceptual framework that connects with the general concept of affective-mnemonic practice, framing the specific conceptual context and the chapter's contribution to the thesis argument.

Chapter 4 The Aftermath(s) of Political Violence

The man [sic] who surrenders to tears in music that no longer resembles him at the same time allows the stream of what he himself is not—what was dammed up back of the world of things—to flow back into him. In tears and in singing, the alienated world is entered. ‘Tears pour, the earth has taken me back’—this is the gesture of music. Thus, the earth reclaims Eurydice. The gesture of returning, not the feeling of waiting, describes the expression of all music, even in a world worthy of death (Theodor Adorno, 1949/2006, p. 99).

When participants told their histories or experiences of the dictatorship, they talked about multiple dimensions of their lives. From stories during the Popular Unity to stories of their experiences of activism in Australia, there was a wide variety of topics and themes, but also many patterns and convergences. One of these patterns was remembering episodes related to political violence. Some participants gave detailed accounts of the horrific events they went through, whereas others preferred not to talk about details. Some talked of their personal experiences, and others talked about their comrades and friends who were victims of State terrorism. This chapter explores the affective-mnemonic practices when participants remember the days of the dictatorship, focusing on State violence and its psychosocial effects.

The aftermath(s) of political violence consider the participants’ painful and traumatic experiences. However, I hesitate to use the concept of trauma and the adjective *traumatised* to refer to the participants, especially when considering the usual association of trauma with ideas of ‘victim’ and ‘victimisation’ (Olick, 2016; Traverso, 2016). This is especially problematic considering the words of a participant, who talked about her experience of political violence during the dictatorship. She was a member of the *Juventudes Comunistas* [Communist Youth of Chile] and was involved in activities of resistance against the dictatorship when she was arrested, tortured, and abused by members of the military forces. However, when speaking about this, she remembered an interaction with another person who was pushing her to write a book about her experience of political imprisonment. In this context, she said: “A mí eso no me define le dije yo, yo no, no me interesa que la gente sepa cómo me torturaron” [“That doesn’t define me, I told him, I don’t, I’m not interested in people knowing how they tortured me”] (F, G1, 50+, SW4). Her words suggest a refusal to be defined by her traumatic experience, which is a refusal

to be seen as a victim only. In this sense, the participant's words challenged the conceptual constellation of trauma, victims, and perpetrators. This is not to say that there are no victims and perpetrators in the history of the dictatorship, but that we need to challenge the idea that the experience of victims is defined by trauma and that their memory can only be understood within the lens of trauma and victimhood.

Considering this, this chapter focuses on the traumatic emotional constellation consisting of pain, fear, and the melancholia of defeat, and approaches this from a concept of trauma that is less about victimhood and more about recognition. In this sense, Adorno's (1949/2006) words at the beginning of the chapter are helpful to think about pain and suffering otherwise. In that quoted essay, Adorno discusses how music can mobilise thinking in a way that can be transformative, in opposition to the industrialised forms of music that are characterised by repetition, condemning listeners and composers to the same formulas. If music in the cultural industry is characterised by entertainment and non-thinking (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002), Adorno (1949/2006) is interested in music that can break habitual patterns of thinking. However, this requires breaking the boundaries of subjectivity to let the world flow back in, thus confronting the horrors of modernity and capitalism with all their violence and barbarism¹⁷. Thus, even though Adorno's argument is about music, it applies more generally to pain and suffering. The gesture of returning or grounding produces tears, an experience in which thought and feeling are mobilised when entering a world that is no longer indifferent to us.

The argument of this chapter resonates with this image of music. It argues that when participants recounted their traumatic experiences they were not merely repeating their trauma. Rather, they are confronting the world in which those painful experiences were born, and in doing so, they communicated a message to an audience that was broader than myself (the 'third participant', in Vološinov, 1926/1976) and to whom they addressed their words. This message communicates a position about the State violence during the dictatorship and how that violence has remained uninterrupted in the post-dictatorial years. By insisting on these painful memories, participants present a critique of the structure that perpetuates suffering

¹⁷ Thus, the emphasis of surrendering to 'tears in music that no longer resembles the person' allowing 'the stream that was dammed up back of the world of things to flow back into them'. In other words, it is about the possibility that music, instead of removing people from reality, brings them back to let the social world back into personal experience. Thus, it shapes a return and not a departure from reality.

and injustice in Chilean society. At the same time, this critique could be a form to continue their engagement with a political project that is more just, fair, and compassionate.

The following sections introduce conceptual antecedents of trauma and painful experiences in contexts of political violence. After this, the chapter focuses on salient topics when participants remembered their encounters with political violence: the fear and insecurity during the dictatorship, the pain of leaving Chile against their will, and the sadness of a lost and unfulfilled political project. The last section examines the participants' resistance, or stubbornness, to forget these painful memories as an ethical mandate of memory and due to the spacetime configuration of exile. The findings in this chapter contribute to my thesis argument that emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. Specifically, the findings show how fear, pain and sadness shape the significance of the memories of State violence and how these affective-mnemonic practices cannot be disentangled from the participants' ideology and hope for another world.

Political and Psychosocial Trauma

The concept of trauma has a long history, which can be traced to psychoanalysis, and has evolved and transformed in psychological literature over the years (Leys, 2000). Trauma can be broadly understood as the result of a distressing and shocking event that causes terror and surprise. These emotional experiences are so intense that the person "is unable to recollect and integrate the hurtful experience in normal consciousness" (Leys, 2000, p. 2). Even though trauma is not conscious, it comes back to haunt the subject with traumatic memories in dreams, flashbacks, among other repetitive phenomena (Caruth, 1996; Leys, 2000). Hence, trauma presents a problem to memory as it constitutes a psychic wound that is only known due to its painful effects but escapes the voluntary recollection of the subject. This is why some theorists claim that trauma involves a failure of representation¹⁸ (Caruth, 1996), as it

¹⁸ Leys (2000) examines other conceptual problems of the concept of trauma, which I argue are ultimately related to a representational model of memory. This model implies that, in 'adequate' conditions, people could represent the past faithfully and accurately. However, the problem with trauma is that this possibility is negated, whether due to a problem with the psychological mechanisms of the person or because the external conditions are so extreme that they deny the possibility of accurate recollection. I prefer not to deepen this discussion given that my starting point is that memory is about the meaningful reconstruction of the past, in which emotional accuracy plays a

is an event that cannot be fully grasped and is constantly experienced in the present, despite its occurrence in the past. Thus, traumatic experiences rupture the sense of continuity and stability and the ordinary expectations of everyday life (Hutchison & Bleiker, 2008).

In the Latin American context, especially during the 1970s and 1980s, in contexts of civil-military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, different thinkers started to formulate concepts of trauma that could work better in conditions where violence and threat were targeted towards particular individuals due to their political beliefs. Ignacio Martín-Baró (1988), a Salvadorean psychologist who was murdered due to his political ideas, proposed the concept of psychosocial trauma to address how traumatic experiences can have their genesis in social conditions of political violence. Instead of putting the genesis of trauma in the personal and subjective dimension, Martín-Baró analysed how a general climate of violence creates trauma for every person in a society, although in different ways according to their social positions (Cornejo et al., 2007; Lira, 1993). Specifically, political polarisation and everyday violence contribute to the dehumanisation of social relations and the militarisation of the psyche, with the result that other citizens with different beliefs are seen as less-than-human enemies (Martín-Baró, 1988). It is in this sense that Lira (1993, p. 99) writes about political trauma because, in the context of the Chilean dictatorship, the political threat becomes a “constitutive factor of social relations under the conditions of violence and State terrorism” (my translation). Thus, as Lira and Castillo (1991) analyse, the predominant emotional climate during the dictatorship was defined by fear. Given the multiple demonstrations of violent repression, murder, and disappearance of political dissidents during Pinochet’s dictatorship, Chileans learned to remain silent and repress their thoughts on politics and ideology to avoid becoming victims of political violence. The concept of psychosocial trauma makes visible the sociogenetic roots of psychic distress, showing how trauma can be caused by objective social conditions in which the threat is part of a political strategy of extermination.

Even though trauma is a relevant concept to speak about and address the subjective effects of political violence, recent literature (Jara, 2016, 2020; Lira, 2011;

vital role in selecting what is significant and worth remembering. The point is not about precisely representing the past but about meaningful reconstruction and trustful listening in the present.

Olick, 2016; Rigney, 2018a) has criticised the utility of this concept for memory studies. As argued above, the focus on victimisation often diminishes or obscures the agency of the people affected by violence, which produces the risk of depoliticising their lives. When people are treated as victims, their ideologies, as well as their dreams and projects of social change, become less important than the fact that they were victims of violence. Therefore, civil organisations, such as Londres 38 (2009), propose to remember the past revindicating the political and ideological projects of the people who suffered State terrorism during the dictatorial years. Shifting away from the focus on victimhood permits us to see the broader political landscape, which shows that the construction of Chilean society has been crisscrossed with conflicts and political struggles (Loveman & Lira, 2007). Alternative societal projects have been quieted with political violence. In turn, State violence has defended a particular organisation of class relations and an economic model based on an unfair distribution of wealth. Thus, if memory is to be useful in imagining alternative futures (Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Lira, 2011; Rigney, 2018a), it is necessary to consider other affective-mnemonic practices in which the past can be used to envision what we desire to achieve, and not only what we do not want to repeat.

Even though the criticisms of the association between trauma and victimhood are convincing, the question concerning pain and suffering lingers. As Jeffrey Olick (2016) remarks, this question cannot be answered from theodicy: the belief that there will be an ultimate justification and meaning to suffering. Even so, why do the participants of this research insist on remembering pain and suffering? Is this a symptomatic repetition of a psychic wound located 'elsewhere', away from consciousness? Or is this communicating something else? As argued in the introduction of this chapter, Adorno's (1949/2006) words are a relevant source of inspiration. He shows that returning to the social reality and confronting the pain and suffering is not the same as repeating; rather, the gesture of return enables the possibility of critique and, with this, of creation and novelty. In other words, if we are to imagine a different future, it is necessary to be grounded on social reality and confront the source of suffering. The affective-mnemonic practices in this chapter are shaped by such a gesture of returning, in which tears flow as the past enters the present once more. In this case, a past that reminds participants that their wounds are still open as the political violence still lives in social and class injustice. At the

same time, some dreams and political projects are grieved when remembering violence. Returning to this past is an overflowing and tearful affective-mnemonic practice in which political violence touches upon the pain of negated dreams of social change.

Remembering Vital Insecurity

Participants remembered how political violence and insecurity became part of their everyday lives after the coup and during the dictatorship, mainly in two forms: first, as the impossibility of securing the means of maintaining a basic livelihood, and second, as the anticipation of State violence. Therefore, vital insecurity refers to the difficulty of staying alive when there is no source of income as participants were denied of their right to work and when threats and political violence shaped their everyday life. As such, the affective-mnemonic practices that shape this topic are characterised by uncertainty and fear.

In the first sense of vital insecurity, participants remembered how they could not find any means to work after the coup due to their political affiliations. For instance: “A mí me prohibieron, porque me quitaron el mismo día 11 (de Septiembre), fui, prácticamente, el día del 15 cuando entregamos la industria yo sabía ya que no iba a tener trabajo” [“I was banned, because they took away on the 11th (of September), I was, practically on the 15th when we surrendered the industry I knew that I was not going to have a job”] (M, G1, 70+, FW6). Another participant reflected on a similar process when he referred to losing his job after the coup and how hunger became part of the everyday: “Pero igual no había cómo echarle al buche, así que había que limpiar eh culos y había que limpiar cualquier cosa por ahí para poder, que llegara un mendrugo de pan” [“But there was still no way to get something to eat, so you had to clean eh asses and you had to clean anything out there to be able to get a crust of bread”] (M, G1, 70+, FW8). Both accounts reflect how exoneration carried uncertainty and anxiety as they were unable to feed their families (and themselves). Not being able to secure the means of their survival implied that many participants became desperate and started to look for a way out of the country. As Martín Montenegro (1994) remarks, even though these Chileans were not technically political refugees, as they were categorised as economic migrants when they entered Australia, they are part of the same phenomena of forced migration due to political reasons. Given their political affiliations, they were

forced out of Chile due to the pressure and the impossibility of securing their and their families' lives.

The second sense of vital insecurity refers to fear and political threat, which were the dictatorship's means to control and repress any form of political resistance and organisation. Participants talked about being careful and not talking too much about their political activities, as anyone could be a *sapo*, that is, an informer of the dictatorship. One participant talked about this and the general suspicion that became part of everyday life: "Porque tú no sabías quién eran tus vecinos, ¿no? (...) Mucha gente cayó por los vecinos" ["Because you did not know who your neighbours were, right? (...) Many people fell because of their neighbours"] (M, G1, 70+, FW2).

Another participant talked about a similar experience: "We knew that we could not talk to other people because if we said anything, we share anything, it would put us, you know, will get us into trouble and you could not trust anyone" (F, G1, 50+, FW13). In this sense, the general climate of fear and threat implied that people could not trust one another, and hence social life became much more private and secretive.

In the case of imprisoned or physically abused participants, the fear was more intense. For example: "Entonces el miedo, después de que nos detuvo la CNI, el 85 al 88, yo pasé un montón de miedo en Chile, aterrorizada que me iban a llevar de nuevo" ["Then the fear, after the CNI¹⁹ took us, from the 85 to the 88, I had a lot of fear in Chile, terrified that they were going to take me again"] (F, G1, 60+, SW8). This participant later explained that her terror of being taken prisoner intersected with the fear of not knowing what would happen to her children in that scenario. Thus, she became suspicious of every person she met, even the people she had known for years, such as her neighbours and people from her neighbourhood. Her account reflects the anxiety of many participants regarding their families' safety and the generalised insecurity. Another participant illustrated the threat and danger that was installed when she remembered when her sister was arrested:

¹⁹ As stated in the Introduction (see Chapter 1), the *CNI* was the acronym of the Central Nacional de Informaciones (National Information Centre), the secret police operating during the dictatorship. The CNI was the successor of the initial secret police, the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate, DINA).

Justo veníamos saliendo, y una misma vecina que ellas eran, eran, eran mormones y no nos queríamos mucho y la esposo de ella era de la CNI y eran eran sapos, y ella nos vio que veníamos caminando, paró a conversar. Llegaron en el auto, empezaron a seguarnos y salimos todos corriendo y a mi hermana la llevaron presa.

[We were going out, and a neighbour that, were, they were Mormons, and we did not love each other too much, and her husband was from the CNI, and they were *sapos*, and she saw that we were walking, and stopped to chat. They arrived with the car, started following us, and we all ran, and my sister was arrested] (F, G1, 50+, SW4).

This participant's account shows that the suspicion and mistrust of other people, including neighbours, was justified in most scenarios. Everyone could be a *sapo*, so people involved in political resistance were constantly followed and could not trust other people easily. This also illustrates how political threat and fear were tools to control the Chilean population during the dictatorship. As people could not trust each other, the social fabric became increasingly loose, and the possibilities of social organisation were reduced. Even though not every participant explicitly talked about fear, the knowledge and sense of threat were common in their stories. As such, the fear of political threat is an affective-mnemonic practice that informs how participants anticipated the political violence, whether because of being exposed by the *sapos* or being captured by the police. In this way, remembering the days of the dictatorship implied returning to that sense of threat, of being careful, of “tener que callar la boca porque no podías [hablar], es parte de tu seguridad” [“having to keep your mouth shut because you could not [talk], it is part of your security”] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). These stories show how, for years, the feeling of vital insecurity was part of the participants' everyday lives, structuring their psyche and worldview. This resonates with Martín-Baró's (1988) ideas of how the general climate of violence shapes how people relate to and perceive each other. In this case, as informers, potential enemies, and threats.

Forcibly Leaving Chile

In this context of political violence, different participants talked about the circumstances that led them to leave Chile. However, most did not want to leave, as migrating had never been part of their plans or desires. The affective-mnemonic practices that characterise this topic are shaped by pain and regret, as leaving Chile was a painful decision that participants were forced to make. This decision would change their lives, as well as the lives and futures of their children (see Chapters 7 and 8).

As living in Chile became unviable, for the reasons explained in the previous section, many participants tried to stay in Chile before arriving at the critical moment when they had to leave. In multiple ways, they expressed that this decision was forced or was taken for them. For example, one participant remembered how the decision to leave came at a critical moment in which the police were persecuting her and harassing her family. She remembered that she was in hiding and in a very tense relationship with her parents. Following this, her mother took her to the Vicariate of Solidarity,²⁰ where they told her she had to leave because she was risking the lives of her family: “Yo realmente no tenía idea a donde iba a ir ni por qué; no estaba en mí, no tenía interés. Sin embargo, mi madre me dijo, ‘Por favor, ándate’” [“I really had no idea where I was going to go or why; it wasn't in me, I had no interest. However, my mother told me, ‘Please, go away’”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). And so, she left Chile and travelled to Australia in the 1980s. It is notable how, in her way of narrating these events, there is a sense of her running out of options and precipitation of the decision to leave once her mother told her to. Using her mother's words, she makes clear that it was not her own decision but that she was forced to leave Chile. This story resonates with other participants' experiences. For example, one participant remembered how the political persecution did not stop even after she was imprisoned, tortured and released. Instead, the sense of threat was still part of her everyday life. In this context, her mother arranged for the whole family to leave and go to Australia: “Estuve presa entre Agosto y Octubre del 87, y en Marzo del 88 nos vinimos a Australia. Y mi hermana y yo no queríamos” [“I was imprisoned between August and October of 1987, and in March of 1988 we came to Australia.

²⁰ The *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* [Vicariate of Solidarity] was a human rights organisation of the Catholic church in Chile. The Vicariate helped many Chileans who were being persecuted by the dictatorship, protecting, and aiding them to safety.

And my sister and I didn't want to"] (F, G1, 50+, SW4). She explained how she felt this contradicted her ideology, as she thought they had to stay and fight in Chile and not go somewhere else. However, the decision was forced upon her following the violence and political persecution, which is why she remarks that her sister and she did not want to go.

A different participant, who left in the 1970s, narrated a similar experience. After the police had raided her home and her parents' house multiple times, she, her husband, and their children migrated to Argentina in 1974. This was a common destination for many Chileans who were being persecuted. They wanted to stay in Argentina and wait for the dictatorship to end in Chile. However, on March 24th, 1976, a military coup d'état installed a military junta that took over the government in Argentina. Like Pinochet, they also persecuted, imprisoned, disappeared, and tortured political dissidents. She remembered how the police raided the house where she and her family were staying in Argentina:

A él le pegaron, a otros compañeros les pegaron también, ¡dentro de la casa donde estábamos viviendo! (...) Así que ahí ya la, la ACNUR se empezó a apurar que había que sacar la gente de esa casa rápido. Y ahí nosotros tuvimos, no nos quedó ninguna opción, salir. Y llegaron visas de aquí de Australia para, para nosotros, y (pausa), mírame po (apunta su brazo), me da piel de gallina cuando me acuerdo.

[They hit him, other comrades were hit too, inside of the house where we were living in! (...) So there and then, the UNHCR began to hurry because people had to be quickly removed from that house. And there we had to, we had no other option, get out. And visas arrived from here from Australia for, for us, and (pauses), look at me (points to her arm), it gives me goosebumps when I remember] (F, G1, 70+, FW3).

The circumstances became extreme in this case, as she and her family were forced to migrate twice due to political persecution. At different points in her narrative, she remarked how she and her husband did not want to leave. However, leaving Argentina was the defining moment in her trajectory, as she characterises

this as 'having no other option' and, hence, having to receive Australian visas from the UNHCR. Notably, when talking about this episode, she made me note her body's reaction to the narration, getting goosebumps. Her bodily reaction informs that this episode in her life is shaped by emotional intensity, exemplifying how affective-mnemonic practices work in extraverbal discourse. Additionally, I interpret her reaction in a similar fashion to other ones, such as crying, as they illustrate how remembering these episodes involves feeling, in the present, the reactions to political violence.

Like the previous account, many participants talked about how they were eagerly waiting to return to Chile as soon as possible. Many thought or were hoping that the dictatorship would not last long, so they kept hoping to return soon. As one participant mentioned: "Yo no quería [salir de Chile]. Yo estuve, como dice mi señora, diez años con las maletas listas para (pausa) partir en cualquier momento" ["I did not want to [leave Chile]. I was, as my wife says, ten years with the suitcases ready to (pause) leave at any moment"] (M, G1, 80+, FW1). This expression of 'having the suitcases ready' was a common phrase in many of the interviews. It reflects both the uncertainty of not knowing how long they were going to be in Australia and the hope that it would be for a short period. As another participant mentioned: "tú siempre piensas que vienes por un ratito, pero una vez que tú sales de Chile, tú nunca sabes cuando vuelves" ["You always think that you're coming for a little while, but once you leave Chile, you never know when you'll come back"] (F, G1, 60+, SW8).

The affective-mnemonic practices that shape how participants reminisce leaving Chile are shaped by pain because they did not desire to leave the country, but at the same time, the circumstances forced them to make the decision. Hoping that they would come back soon, the reality that the dictatorship extended for 17 years made them stay, producing a complex sense of belonging and non-belonging in Australia, which is further explored in Chapter 6. Hence, the coup and the dictatorship marked the first rupture in their lives, completely changing their worlds. In that context of rupture and crisis, the decision to migrate was forcibly taken, marking a painful before and after in their lives as they became estranged from Chile.

Feeling Defeated

In the interviews, different participants communicated a melancholic sense of ideological defeat and sadness that came after their forced migration. For example, one interviewee invited me to his house to have a long conversation and talk about different parts of his life. At one point, during lunch, he remembered seeing helicopters taking away people, probably to dump them at sea, so they could not be found. At that moment, he and his partner realised that the illusion of a different Chile died. After that, they were victims of political persecution and followed a similar pattern of critical circumstances that made it impossible for them to continue living in Chile. They sought refuge in an international embassy, where they helped them migrate. This sense of a 'dying illusion' is what characterises the melancholic sense of defeat, as the dreams of change and the ideological horizon they were working towards were violently shut down. This does not mean that Chileans who migrated became right-wingers or embraced neoliberalism; rather, it means that the process in which they participated and their hopes to see an alternative model of society in Chile slowly faded away. One participant illustrates this:

Estaría 10, 10 o 15 años enajenado que nosotros íbamos a triunfar [N: Ya]. Y cuando digo enajenado porque estábamos convencidos, Chile va a triunfar; y ahí tú lo tienes, sometido, ¿ya? Peor que antes, que Pinochet fue mejor en cierto sentido, lo que esta pseudo democracia, ¿ya? Porque por lo menos se sabía, hay un enemigo directo, dictadura militar; y después nos entregan un poder, que de, que es dictadura social.

[I would have been alienated for 10, 10 or 15 years that we would succeed [N: Ok]. And when I say alienated because we were convinced, Chile will succeed; and there you have it, subdued, ok? Worse than before, in a sense Pinochet was better than this pseudo-democracy, right? Because at least it was known, there is a direct enemy, a military dictatorship; then they give us a power, a social dictatorship] (M, G1, 70+, FW8).

He then explained that what he meant by a social dictatorship referred to the continuity, in the post-dictatorial years, of the structural changes imposed during the

dictatorship, as the neoliberal model was not challenged during the years of democratic transition. He then explained: “Entonces cuando digo yo que [estuve] 15 años enajenado que íbamos a triunfar y me fui sacando las vendas, la venda de (pausa), eh, de la careta diciendo que no va a suceder (sonríe) [“So when I say [I was] 15 years alienated that we were going to succeed and I started taking off the bandages, the bandage of (pause), eh, of my face, saying that it is not going to happen (smiles)”] (M, G1, 70+, FW8). In this sense, the concepts he uses of being alienated and the metaphor of the bandage informs how his ideals were covering his eyes, as a bandage that impeded him from seeing what the reality in front of him was. Taking the bandages off is the vanishment of the illusion and of the conviction that the left would win and lead the way to a different Chile. The affective-mnemonic practice that shapes this memory is defined by the sad realisation that Chile did not change with the end of the dictatorship. Even though the same participant still assists to demonstrations and protests, the convictions with which he does so are not the same as they were years ago. He concluded this by clarifying: “No es que yo haya cambiado, ¿ya? De izquierda a centro, y menos a derecha, solo que (pausa) Chile no ha cambiado” [“It's not that I've changed, ok? From left to centre, even less to the right, it's that (pause) Chile hasn't changed”] (M, G1, 70+, FW8). This idea of Chile not changing after the dictatorship was also mentioned by many other participants. As individualism and a general climate of conformism became prevalent, the melancholic sense of defeat became more acute.

Following this, the experiences of travelling to Chile during the post-dictatorship years were disappointing for participants. There was a general sense that the neoliberal ideology absorbed Chilean society, as solidarity and comradeship were substituted by individualism and personal gain. If the Chile they dreamed of was characterised by strong communities and local organisation, the dictatorship debilitated the social fabric in such a way that the population, especially the youth, became depoliticised and conformist. One participant illustrated this phenomenon: “Las veces que he ido a Chile digo, ¿cómo es posible que se esté viviendo peor que en dictadura? En la parte económica, educacional, de todo. ¿Y el pueblo no se movilice?” [“The times that I have gone to Chile, I say, how is it possible that the way of living is worse than in the dictatorship? In the economic, educational, everything. And the people do not mobilise?”] (M, G1, 60+, SW9). This participant's words illustrate this sense of shock at seeing that the Chilean people lived in precarious

conditions and that nothing was being done to change the situation: “No hay nada, el pueblo se está mamando (pausa) todo lo que venga, no hay cambio. Sigue todo igual, o a lo mejor peor. Y no hay nadie haciendo nada” [“There is nothing, the people are sucking up (pause) everything that comes their way, there is no change. Everything is the same, or maybe worse. And no one is doing anything”] (M, G1, 60+, SW9). Similar to the participants quoted in previous sections, he expressed his concern about how Chilean society started to conform to a life that was not good and accepted it without protest. He later explained that whenever he went to Chile, he returned to Australia with low hopes, as he could not see anywhere in Chile anything close to the reality that he and his family fought for during the dictatorship (see opening remarks of Chapter 1 as well). The project of another, more just society remained an illusion of the past, nowhere to be found in the presence of neoliberalism.

This melancholic sense of defeat, then, is an ideological reaction to what Chilean society became after the end of the dictatorship. As a participant explained, this sadness is historical, as it comes as a reaction to how history was made and how the dictatorial process was the negation of dreams of social justice and equality. In the following passages, the word the participant uses is *pena*, which is translated as sadness:

Para mí es una pena histórica porque se podría haber hecho. Se podrían haber logrado esos cambios que ahora tanto añoramos, y esas igualdades. Entonces esa pena bien, es una pena de historia, ¿no? Eh, de que no, de que no fue, por la maldad, el egoísmo (pausa) (N: Claro). Porque no les importaba el pueblo. El egoísmo, pero en absoluto. Y ahí vamos torturando y vamos machacando. Vamos matando y vamos, vamos, vamos, vamos. Para, entonces, esa es la pena. Una pena histórica.

[For me, it is a historical sadness because it could have been done. Those changes that we now yearn for could have been achieved, and those equalities. So, that sadness, well, it's a historical sadness, right? Eh, that no, that it wasn't, because of evil, selfishness (pause) [N: Yeah]. Because they

didn't care about the people. The selfishness, but absolute. And there they go torturing and crushing. Killing, and they go, go, go, go. For, then, that's the sadness. A historical sadness] (F, G1, 60+, SW8).

The concept the participant brings, *historical sadness*, articulates her position regarding the post-dictatorship, being an example of how affective-mnemonic practices can take shape in explicit verbal discourse. More specifically, this concept condenses different processes that shape the participant's position and are worth unpacking in more detail. The first is how the dictatorship negated the Unidad Popular's ideological project of justice and class equality. Then, sadness refers to mourning for a project torn apart by violence. Second, sadness is a reaction to selfishness and evil, as the coup and the dictatorship were implemented to defend the interest of the dominant class, who resisted Allende's project of social justice and class equality. Therefore, the sadness of history is about the prevalence of selfishness, of the imposition of the dominant class's interests. Third, historical sadness refers to political violence, which was used as a tool to defend the selfishness of the ruling class. Furthermore, this emotional expression does not only remit to the past but is also a response to how the present continues to reproduce the conditions that engendered this sadness:

Y esa pena que se transfiere desde el 73. Y esto es la pena que es un poquito de lo que estábamos hablando en toda la historia que me ha sucedido a mí, ¿no? Y la pena de haber dejado mi país, es la pena de ver a mi Chile, que es un Chile sufrido. La pena de ver lo que está pasando en Chile, ¡por Dios! ¿no? En las poblaciones, lo que está pasando, ¡la pena de que la gente se está [jubilando con] 200.000 pesos por la concha su madre! (se quiebra su voz).

[And that sadness that is transferred from 73'. And this is the sadness that is a little bit of what we were talking about in the whole story that has happened to me, right? And the sadness of having left my country, is the sadness of seeing my Chile, which is a suffering Chile. The sadness of seeing what is happening

in Chile, my god! No? What is happening in the *poblaciones*²¹, the sadness that people are [retiring with] 200,000 pesos, for fuck's sake! (her voice cracks)] (F, G1, 60+, SW8).

The participant's words illustrate how the events that took place in the lives of Chileans who forcibly migrated are part of a broader historical process that continues uninterrupted. As she notes, her circumstances are part of a historical sadness that has dragged on since 1973. The continuation of selfishness, obscene accumulation, and violence in the post-dictatorial years explain the prolonged historical sadness when she sees today the *poblaciones*, the denigrating pensions, among other social issues. This image of a continuing historical sadness is similar to Walter Benjamin's (1940/2003, p. 392) image of the angel of history: "Where a chain of events appears before us, he sees *one single catastrophe*, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it at his feet" (my emphasis). In this sense, the participant's words signify how the process of violent domination remains uninterrupted. Thus the tears of historical sadness keep pouring in the present: "A mi me da una pena enorme porque (pausa), no sé, yo siento que para ver cambios reales, Nicolás (pausa), habría que cambiar la historia. Y la historia está cagada" ["It makes me enormously sad because (pause), I don't know, I feel that to see real changes, Nicolás (pause), we would have to change history. And the history is fucked up"] (F, G1, 60+, SW8). Again, another passage by Benjamin (1940/2003, p. 391) dialogues well with the participant's words:

The only historian capable of fanning the spark of hope in the past is the one who is firmly convinced that even the dead will not be safe from the enemy if he is victorious. And this enemy has never ceased to be victorious.

²¹ It is difficult to translate the meaning of the word "la población" or "las poblaciones". It refers to communities that are territorially localised and associated with society's working class and impoverished sectors. Many of them were founded by people who illegally settled on unused terrains. Hence, *las poblaciones* have a cultural and historical identity, and there are some historical *poblaciones* that resisted the dictatorship's repression, such as La Legua, La Victoria, and Villa Francia, among others. Today, many of the *poblaciones* have a reputation of being places of narcotraffic and crime. Many participants interpret that part of the work of the dictatorship was to insert and install drug trafficking in the *poblaciones* to debilitate the social fabric that constituted their identities.

As an affective-mnemonic practice, the historical sadness articulates a position and a critique to the post-dictatorial years as the continuation of dictatorial violence. Putting this in dialogue with Benjamin's theses, the melancholia of ideological defeat comes with the realisation of how the dictatorship, with brutal force, defined history. If there was an opportunity to interrupt the unceasing victory of capitalism, to alter the course of history, the dictatorship was like a hammer that straightened history's course. Hence, as the structural conditions imposed during the dictatorship have not changed²², it is possible to understand that the continuity of the dictatorial violence defines the post-dictatorial years. Even though the secret police are no longer present, they are unnecessary as Chileans embody the neoliberal ideology in their everyday lives. Chile changed after the dictatorship, but not in the way for which exiles would have hoped. Thus, the melancholia of defeat, or the historical sadness, is an ideological reaction to what Chilean society has become²³.

Displaced Memories that Resist Forgetting

Most participants cried during the interviews when they narrated the events and their memories associated with State violence. These are painful and unpleasant memories; however, participants insisted on returning to them. This constant return to pain and suffering defines an ethical dimension and speaks of a spatiotemporal configuration of exile that produces these memories' obstinance.

The ethical dimension involved in remembrance is reflected in the words of one participant. He was a union leader in the 1970s and left Chile shortly after the coup. He remembered his brother's hardships when he was taken to the Estadio Nacional²⁴. He talked about his feelings of guilt because they took his brother, who was not as involved in politics as him. He also mentioned how his brother is old now and still has nightmares of people coming to take him away: "Todavía sueña que lo están siguiendo, se cae de la cama, está viejito ya. Le hizo muy mal (pausa); lo dañó para toda la vida a estas alturas" ["He still dreams that he is being followed, he

²² Which is why one participant said that 'it is not that he had changed, but that Chile had not changed'.

²³ However, this sense of defeat was somehow shaken after the events of 2019, in which hopes and dreams of social change were revived, as well as the fears of history repeating itself. I explore this further in Chapter 9.

²⁴ The *Estadio Nacional*, National Stadium, is located in Santiago, and it was used as a massive detention, torture and execution centre during the first months of the dictatorship.

falls out of bed, he is already old. It did him a lot of harm (pause); it damaged him for life at this point"] (M, G1, 80+, FW4). In this sense, he remarked that he could not forget. He spoke about the difficulties he faced when he left Chile, the people who helped him, and how all these events left a mark on him that explains why he cries when he remembers those times: "Me gustaría mucho olvidarme de todo lo malo de esto, pero no, no creo que sea en mí; ya tengo 80 años ahora, entonces, y los recuerdos me quedan" ["I would very much like to forget all the bad things about this, but no, I don't think it's in me; I'm already 80 years old now, so, and the memories remain"] (M, G1, 80+, FW4). He also added that: "La gente me dice 'no, olvídense, ya tiene tanto tiempo'. No, las cosas (pausa) no se pueden olvidar tan fácil" ["People say to me 'no, forget it, it's been such a long time'. No, these things (pauses) cannot be so easily forgotten"] (M, G1, 80+, FW4).

An ethical and political frame explains these 'stubborn memories' (Jara, 2016). These cannot be easily forgotten because doing so implies 'losing realities' (see Chapter 1) and meaningful relationships, such as the memory the participant's brother, who was forever damaged by the dictatorship. Therefore, insisting on remembering is an act of resisting a world that pushes to forget, it is a political and ethical act of keeping alive a part of reality that reminds us of how the present was built upon dictatorial violence. Forgetting could be convenient, as it would imply living in the present and adjusting to its ideology. Even though it is painful, remembering keeps alive a connection to the past that resists the assimilation to the present. Therefore, these stubborn memories are also a way of dislocating the present. They insist that reality is not what exists but what has come to be in a violent historical process made by people with class interests. This is why, considering the previous ideas about historical sadness, the past cannot be easily forgotten. In pain, those who are dead, absent, and those who cannot talk anymore, claim a place in the present through the memory of the living; hence, stubbornness is an ethical and political bond of remembrance.

Additionally, these memories might become stubborn because forced migration configures a distinct spatial and temporal framework. Following Esther Peeren (2006), displacement is a spatial and temporal process in which people become estranged from their communities' social and political practices at home. Even though most of the participants tried, in different ways, to maintain a connection with Chile, the process of exile produces disjunction and estrangement.

This explains some of the complex feelings of defeat when exiles visited Chile; despite their excitement to be back, they were not recognised by their former comrades (Rebolledo & Acuña, 2001), and the dictatorship had impacted the social fabric of Chilean society. As participants explained above, there was not only a precarious way of living but also conformism, which made them realise that there was no longer a home for them to return to. If the dictatorial violence and the years of political reconciliation tried to create oblivion for the sake of governability (Loveman & Lira, 2007), the social and political practices of Chilean exiles kept alive the memories of suffering and the ideological projects that led them to migrate during the dictatorship. As such, for exiles, Australia is defined by a spatiotemporal framework of displacement that constantly reminds them of their history. As one participant mentioned: “Es que nosotros no podemos hablar de Australia sin hablar de la dictadura” [“It’s that we cannot talk about Australia without talking about the dictatorship”] (M, G2, 20+, SW son). The lives of Chilean exiles in Australia keep alive the memory of pain and suffering, as displacement produces a frame that resists the passing of time and the ruling ideologies in the national territory. Thus, pain cannot and should not be forgotten, but this is not because of a traumatic repetition that defines the memories of exiles. Considering both the ethical and the spatiotemporal framework, exiles return to painful memories because it reminds them of their ideological allegiances and identities.

Conclusion – Painful Memories as Creative Returning

This chapter revisited some of the painful memories of the participants’ encounters with State violence. Firstly, it focused on how participants remembered the sense of threat and vital insecurity of their lives during the dictatorship, characterised by the impossibility to keep living in Chile. Secondly, it examined how their experience of migration was forced against their will to stay in the country. However, the extreme circumstances made that decision undeferrable. This led to an experience of migration in which participants eagerly expected to return; nevertheless, this expectation was never met. Thirdly, it examined the complexity involved in the melancholia of defeat configured as an ideological response to how the dictatorship’s structures continued throughout the post-dictatorial years. The sense of defeat comes with the realisation that Chile did not change after the dictatorship, and that history would have to be rewritten for changes to come. Finally, it examined how

painful memories become stubborn due to the ethical mandate of remembrance and the spatiotemporal configuration of exile that keeps the painful memories alive.

This chapter began with a participant's quote, in which she insisted that trauma did not define her. This idea resonates with other participants' words and illuminates some problems associated with trauma and victimisation, which tend to identify memory and victimhood. This chapter argues that exiles' insistence on remembering pain and suffering is a reminder of their ideological and political projects. At the same time, it is not only remembering their individual experiences but also the experience of those who suffered and are still coping with the aftermath of political violence. Hence, pain and sadness, as affective-mnemonic practices, are better understood in the broader frame of ideological commitments of exiles. This shows how affect, as Wetherell (2012) and Burkitt (2014) suggest, is not only a biological and individual response but is entangled with the ideological and social dimensions of experience. Thus, the findings of this chapter contribute to the overall thesis' argument, as they show that pain and sadness shape the memories of State violence by highlighting the significance of relationships and lost political projects of exiles. The significance of these memories does not only concern the past, but it is a critique of the present, which is why the painful memories of participants are more than a traumatic repetition. This is why Adorno's ideas are also useful to think about suffering in a different direction. He writes that "the gesture of returning, not the feeling of waiting, describes the expression of all music" (Adorno, 1949/2006, p. 99). This gesture marks the musical experience and the remembrance of pain and sadness as creative work. The interviews with participants involved reflecting on effects of violence in their lives while recognising how their experience was part of a broader historical and political process. It involved revisiting the political barbarism that led exiles to live a life they did not desire and transforming and communicating those experiences into a message that shows us that the dictatorial violence did not stop with the end of the dictatorship. Rather, the aftermath of political violence shows how the process that started with the dictatorship still drags on into the present. Hence, pain and sadness are not located in the past only but are anchored in the present as a critique of the social conditions that sustain the reproduction of violence in everyday life. Furthermore, if the violence has never ceased happening, then it is necessary to consider how the dictatorial violence anchors itself in broader historical processes. Thus, it is relevant to consider the articulation of the dictatorial violence

with, for example, broader ideological disputes after World War II, patriarchal violence, racism, colonialism and violence against Indigenous people, among others. Additionally, if the dictatorial violence drags into the present, we need to wonder how participants anticipate violence in the future (see Chapter 9 for an examination of how participants imagine the future after the social uprising of 2019).

Finally, the traumatic constellation of pain and sadness does not define all the memories of the dictatorship. As I examine in the upcoming chapters, just as participants remember the political violence, they also remember the activism, joy, experiences of organisation and the reinvention of dreams of social change. Thus, the following chapter deals with the reverse of pain and sadness in the joyful memories of activism and political resistance before and after the coup.

Chapter 5 Remembering Joyful Memories of Activism

The previous chapter focused on traumatic and painful memories of political repression and forced migration. Even though trauma is a significant part of the memory of Chileans in Australia, it is not the complete story, as most exiles were political activists. Thus, when they remembered the dictatorship, they also talked about their participation and political involvement in Chile and Australia. The emotional tone of these episodes was joyful, and it connected with their hopes for a future of class equality. Additionally, they remembered the solidarity campaign in Australia and their efforts to inform the Australian audience to mobilise support against Pinochet's regime. This chapter explores how, as an effect of activism and organisation, Chileans built a community where they felt included. Additionally, it examines the significance of remembering triumphs and achievements, and explores feelings of pride and satisfaction.

Ann Rigney (2018a) argues that memory studies have tended to focus on trauma and pain. As she suggests, exploring pleasurable past experiences allows dislocating the association of memory studies with suffering, thus opening the imagination to future positive outcomes. Considering this, attending to the joyful memories of Chileans is also attending to the "still undischarged future of the past" (Rigney, 2018a, p. 377) to project another, more just society. Furthermore, in these joyful memories, we may find what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018) identifies as *ruin seeds*. These are projects and practices that "have been historically defeated by modern capitalism and colonialism", but that are kept alive in the memory of people, becoming "sources of their dignity and hope" (Santos, 2018, p. 29). Ruin seeds are "an absent present, both memory and alternative future at one and the same time" (Santos, 2018, p. 29) because they stand for projects of society that have been repressed but resist forgetting.

Nevertheless, we must remember that joyful memories coexist with painful ones. This chapter illuminates how affective practices shape the memory of the dictatorship in their articulation with ideology and intergenerational dynamics. More specifically, it shows a different facet of the entanglement of affective practices with ideology by arguing that joyful memories are configured by remembering shared ideological values that shaped the Chilean exiles' paths of activism. This demonstrates that there is not a uniform or simple mnemonic field but one with diverse and even contradictory positions in which sadness and joy, articulated with

left-wing ideological positions, shape the memory of the dictatorship. Joyful affective-mnemonic practices speak about personal and ideological connections with others, and shape the joyful memories of activism, which are related to dynamics of recognition (Sayer, 2005) and solidarity (Thalos, 2012).

Joy and Happiness in the Memory of Activism

The memories of violent pasts tend to be traumatic, and there is much to learn from trauma to challenge repressive violence in the future (Rigney, 2018a). However, this does not mean that traumatic emotional constellations define the memory of violent pasts, as memories of traumatic events entangle with 'positive' emotions in complex ways. For example, Diane Wolf (2018) examines this in the memories of children of Holocaust survivors. She argues that even though this generation of children listened to their parents talking about a painful and horrific past, their parents did not focus on communicating the horror and suffering only. The postmemories of the participants that Wolf (2018) interviewed are subtle and rich. She argues that children emphasise that their parents transmitted stories of solidarity, heroism, humour, optimism, and other 'positive' emotions. This is not to say that there was no trauma, pain, or sadness in their memories, but that these were not the only emotions involved.

Considering this, memories of traumatic events present an emotional complexity between pain and sorrow and joy and happiness. Rigney (2018a) and Sébastien Fevry (2018) call for reframing memory studies to highlight 'positive' emotions and their importance for imagining alternative and better futures. In this context, the link between memory and activism becomes salient as it configures a field of research that connects hope and the desire for social change with memory (Berger et al., 2021). Following Rigney's (2018a) analysis, there is a nexus of memory and activism which comprehends: memory activism, memory of activism, and memory in activism. Memory activism refers to practices that dispute and reframe the remembrance of the past to orient future mnemonic practices, as well as to intervene in ongoing processes of societal change (Gutman & Wüstenberg, 2023); memory of activism refers to how earlier struggles and mobilisations are remembered and culturally recollected; and memory in activism describes how the memory of past struggles influences social movements in the present. In a similar vein, Priska Daphi and Lorenzo Zamponi (2019) focus on the memory-movement nexus, exploring how different studies highlight diverse articulations between

memory and social movements, identifying diverse trends of research about memories of movements, memories in movements, and movements about memory. The first trend focuses on how social movements are remembered in society, which is similar to the memory of activism. The second focuses on how memories of the past shape the repertoires of action of social movements, which is similar to memory in activism. The third trend focuses on movements that reinterpret and shape how events of the past are to be remembered, which is similar to memory activism. Additionally, Fevry (2018) emphasises that people engage with the past and become affected by it, orienting their actions accordingly. This means that the connections of memory and activism involve a practical dimension that is not merely intellectual but embodied and affective. Thus, memory is a field of dispute for activists and a tool to recollect, transmit and animate social struggles.

The connection between memory, activism and emotions is complex, as the transmission of defeat and trauma coexist with the transmission of joy, hope, and the desire for a better society (Andersen & Ortner, 2019). As such, Enzo Traverso (2016) argues that the mnemonic culture of the left oscillates between melancholia and remembrance of past defeats and the pleasure of collective class action. Accordingly, Kristie Soares' (2021) work on the Young Lords movement for Puerto Rican liberation shows how different emotions of rage, joy and pleasure configure the experience of activism. Similarly, Fevry (2018) notes that the commemorations of the Paris Commune²⁵ by social movements in the 21st century are joyful and ecstatic, focusing on the revolutionary significance of this event and not on its tragic and violent resolution. Fevry (2018) and Soares (2021) argue that joy enhances the power of action of people in the present, increasing their capacities to relate to each other and act together, transforming abstract political ideas into concrete actions in the present. In turn, these joyful associations open the future to positive and desirable outcomes that can be achieved through collective action. Rigney (2018a) makes a similar argument about festive and joyful commemorations that focus on transmitting hope, which opens the future to possible changes through action. Hope goes against the memories and anticipations of defeat, being a complex attitude

²⁵ The Paris Commune refers to the revolutionary and insurrectionary movement that attempted to establish an independent government based on social and progressive direct democracy. The Commune governed from 18 March to 28 May 1871, when the national French army suppressed and killed more than 6,000 communards.

towards the past and future (I return and expand this argument in Chapter 9 concerning the social uprising of October 2019).

In addition to joy, nostalgia is another emotion that has a hedonic attitude towards the past (Leunissen et al., 2020) and is an emotion that critically engages with the present. Following Svetlana Boym (2001), nostalgia is an emotion that is not necessarily regressive or conservative (Pickering & Keightley, 2006). Instead, being nostalgic reflects an attitude of wandering through the unrealised potentials of the past, acknowledging that those possibilities did not come through but wondering what could have been if things had been different. Boym's (2001) argument is an invitation to think of nostalgia in a reflective disposition, that is, to rethink our relation to the past in the present. By recognising those unrealised possibilities, we can imagine what we could have been and could be in the future. Hence, nostalgia relates to joy and hope and can mobilise groups to fight and transform the present to shape a different future (Bonnett, 2010; Smith & Campbell, 2017).

Considering these antecedents, emotions of conflictive and violent pasts are not necessarily deemed to repeat the 'negative' and the traumatic, as people can transform their relationship with the past through diverse emotional engagements. In the interviews, participants engage with memories of activism with laughter, sometimes reflecting a sense of pride. As Sayer (2005) argues, pride is a social emotion that comes from living a life that one believes is worth living, and a life worth living is defined by the values we share with others. He explains that pride and respect come from positively evaluating ourselves through other meaningful people's eyes. Additionally, participants in the current research referred to a sense of community in which there were social and ideological connections with others. This sense of a 'we' is the basis for solidarity (Ntontis & Rocha, 2020; Thalos, 2012); that is, the motivation and willingness to help others with whom we feel a shared identity (Louis et al., 2019). I argue that remembering solidarity and the humanitarian gestures of other members of the Chilean community speak about shared values and a sense of connection. Hence, affective-mnemonic practices characterised by pride, satisfaction, solidarity and a sense of community configure the joyful memories of activism.

Remembering Activism in Chile

Participants remembered with joy their days of activism in Chile as a way of reminiscing about the past and talk about issues of political significance for the present. Participants were often moved when they remembered their political participation in Chile, which was usually preceded by the political involvement of their parents. When I asked one of the participants about her story, she spoke about the story of her father, who was a rural worker from a very young age. He worked for a landowner who gave him enough to survive in unfair conditions. However, she recalled that her father told her how he started to fight for his rights and eventually emancipated from the owners of the land: “Y salió a trabajar a los campos, a cortar trigo, a cosechar, (...) y se encontró con los compañeros que andaban arrancando por la represión de ese tiempo del González Videla” [“And out he went to work in the fields, cropping wheat, harvesting, (...) and he met the comrades that were fleeing the repression of González Videla”] (F, G1, 70+, FW7). Gabriel González Videla was the Chilean president from 1946 to 1952 and is known for promulgating the ‘Law of the Permanent Defence of Democracy’, popularly known as the ‘Damned Law’. This law proscribed the Chilean Communist Party and had many repercussions for political figures and militants. Those who protested the law were violently repressed, and many Communist Party members were persecuted across the country. Some went into hiding, others into exile, and others were arrested and put in concentration camps (Frazier, 2007). Hence, the participant situated the story of her father in a temporal and political framework of political repression due to the implementation of the Damned Law. As she went on, she started to smile and changed the tone of the story:

Mi padre sabía muy poco leer y escribir, y ellos le enseñaron mucho. Y a la vez aprendió porque ellos andaban afuera, y qué es lo que pasaba. O sea lo inductrinaron, lo, lo, ¿cómo se llama? Le enseñaron la vida de que estaban ellos viviendo, y lo que él iba a vivir realmente en esa época. Entonces de ahí mi papá le quedó todo eso pensando, y con los años, después de que se casó muy joven con mi madre, ellos empezaron a tener hijos, y él empezó a vivir (sonríe) ¡lo que los cabros estos le habían conversado!

[My father could read and write very little, and they taught him a lot. At the same time, he learnt because they were out and what was going on. That is, they indoctrinated him; they, they, I mean, taught him the life they were living and what he was going to live in that epoch. Since then, my dad kept thinking, and with the years, after he got married very young to my mother, they started to have kids, and he started to live (smiles) what they had talked to him about!] (F, G1, 70+, FW3).

As I asked her about the meaning of this story, she explained that because of this encounter, her father started to demand fair conditions and payment from the landowners. Even though this led to him being arrested and often punished by the police, he was eventually emancipated and started working independently of the landowners. The participant remarked that her father transmitted this sense of justice and emancipation to her and her siblings. She also remarked: “Quizás mi padre hubiera sido otra cosa si no hubiera sabido lo que él aprendió, como niño. Y esa es una experiencia para mí” [“Perhaps my father would have been different if he had not known what he learnt as a kid. And that is an experience for me”] (F, G1, 70+, FW3). Additionally, she said she felt thankful for her parents, especially her father because he was aware of the workers’ conditions and the injustices they faced²⁶. This directly impacted her and her brothers, who joined left-wing political parties and were actively involved with Allende’s government. Notably, her father’s story was ‘an experience’ for her; it made a difference in her life and had a meaningful impact. Recounting the story during the interview connected her with her father and his ‘comrades’ who taught him as a kid. In making these connections, she smiles as an expression of positive emotions, of being thankful when remembering her father’s teachings. The participant expresses positive emotions of gratitude in her discourse,

²⁶ In this sense, she added later in the interview: “Me ha ido bien, porque se lo agradezco a mis padres que, que a pesar que mi padre no tenía mayor educación, fue un tipo muy abierto y muy inteligente, y sabía exactamente lo que él estaba viviendo y vivían los demás. Porque él dejó mucho para nosotros, mucho mucho mucho. Quizás para otra gente que, que no lo entienda a lo mejor no es nada, pero para nosotros fue muy grande” [“I have been well, because I thank my parents that, even though my father did not have a great education, he was very open-minded and intelligent, and knew exactly what he was living and what everyone else was. He left a lot for us, a lot, a lot, a lot. Perhaps for other people that, that do not understand it is nothing, but for us it was huge”] (F, G1, 70+, FW3).

connecting her political trajectory with a broader history that shapes her image as a political activist. The joyful affective-mnemonic practice that defines her memories of activism is characterised by becoming part of a broader group with whom she shared ideological values. This sense of connection is achieved by articulating her story with the story of her father's political involvement, which is nested in broader historical processes of class struggle. As I illustrate with further examples, the joyful affective-mnemonic practices share a sense of connection as a key feature.

Another participant also connected his story of political involvement to the story of his family, who were part of the Chilean Communist Party during González Videla's government and thus suffered the effects of the 'Damned Law'. He recalled when that law was abolished in 1958, coinciding with his decision to become part of the Communist Party at 14 years old. Located in a city in the north of Chile, he recalled this day as a celebration:

Participante: Yo recuerdo ese día, cuando fue proclamada la, la, la eliminación de la Ley Maldita, ¿no? Yo tengo que haber tenido como 14 años, ¿ya? (...) Inmediatamente se llama a, a una concentración del partido en el centro de (nombre de la ciudad) (...) Y, todos a pie, marchas de todos lados y se concentra en el centro, ¿no? Y ahí se declara nula la, se celebra la (riendo), la nulidad de la famosa Ley Maldita.

Nicolás: Claro.

Participante: ¿Ya? Y de ese momento, ¿no? Yo si ya estaba muy empapado con todo lo que yo escuchaba, ¿no? Escuchaba, había leído (...) y de ese momento decido, ¿no? Que, acercarme a los cabros de la Jota.

[Participant: I remember that day, when the, the, it was proclaimed the elimination of the Damned Law, right? I must have been like 14 years old, ok? (...) Immediately there is a call to a concentration of the (Communist) Party in the centre of (name of the city) (...) and everyone went there on foot; marches from everywhere concentrate in the centre, right? And there it is declared, it is celebrated (laughs) the, the nullity of the famous Damned Law.

Nicolás: Sure.

Participant: Ok? And from that moment, right? I was soaked with everything that I listened to, right? I had heard, read (...) and from that moment I decide, right? To get close to the guys from the Jota²⁷] (M, G1, 70+, FW2).

Despite the traumatic background of repression during González Videla's government and of Pinochet's dictatorship, this participant laughs and smiles when he recalls joining the Communist Party, which was a joyful episode framed by the annulment of the Damned Law. Hence, joy shapes the beginning of his political participation, which is an event of interpersonal and ideological connection with all the other people that attended the concentration in the city where he grew up.

Both accounts emphasise the relevance of forming relationships with others, whereas they are their families, working class, or people with whom they share values. In these encounters, there is a sense of esteem and pride because the participants' actions live up to the values of a common struggle for a better life (Sayer, 2005). Even though these memories are contextualised in scenarios of trauma and violence, participants express 'positive' emotions that communicate how these social and ideological connections were meaningful and valuable. Other first and second-generation participants also shared the joy of connecting with these currents of social thought. For example, one of them recalled his youth when he and his classmates participated in protests and fought against the police:

Yo me acuerdo que en el liceo teníamos un grupo de amigos y participamos de tomas, hicimos manifestaciones, eh, (riendo) incluso después de un tiempo nos, cuando habían protestas en (nombre de Universidad tradicional), nosotros nos íbamos para allá. Entonces aprendimos mucho de, del arte de pelea callejera digamos (ríe).

[I remember that in high school, we had a group of friends and participated in occupations, we did manifestations, eh, (laughing) even after some time we,

²⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the *Jota* is the abbreviation of the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile (Communist Youth of Chile).

when there were protests in (name of Chilean traditional university), we went there. So, we learnt a lot of the art of street fighting, sort of speaking (laughs)] (M, G1, 70+, FW7).

As previous examples, this participant also laughs when remembering this period of his life, expressing joy and pride, laughing today at different aspects of his story. As other cases of joyful affective-mnemonic practices, this moment of his life is connected to others, such as his schoolmates and older people from the university, with whom they fought against the police. Even though these fights could have been remembered by emphasising violence, they are remembered with laughter because the meaning is not focused on the violence but on his relationship with others and their shared struggle.

Other participants recalled similar events. For example, a participant remembered that she and her sister were active in the Communist Party during the dictatorship and that both were very young. Participating in clandestine conditions carried risks, so they decided to tell their parents about their political activities: “Sí (sonríe), (...) porque justo sí, siempre me acuerdo. Cuando le le dijimos finalmente que nosotros estábamos militando, ahí nos dijeron que sí, ellos eran del partido (ríe)” [“Yes (smiles), (...) because, I always remember. When we, we told them that we were active in the (Communist) Party, they told us, yes, they were from the Party (laughs)”] (F, G1, 50+, SW4). As she recalled this story, she laughed and smiled, as it was a fond memory that connected her political views and convictions with the ones held by her parents.

These different stories have in common that the experience of joy today relates to the memories of connecting their political convictions and beliefs with others. In these connections and encounters, participants developed a sense of self-esteem and found validation of their political beliefs. They were recognised by other people who were meaningful to them because they shared their values. This resonates with Traverso’s (2016) ideas of the ecstasy of coming together in class action and Fevry’s (2018) arguments about joy’s relations with the capacity to connect with others in social movements. Joy is expressed in laughter, smiles, and words that connotate ‘positive’ feelings like being thankful and celebrating. Furthermore, these expressions of joy shape how they remember their connections with others, situating themselves as part of larger currents of social thought

(Halbwachs, 1925/1992). The 'others' that participants remember can be specific individuals and collectives that participants felt connected with as they shared ideologies or were fighting against a common adversary. In these excerpts, joy shapes the memories of celebrating with others the end of an unjust law, the memories of being together in the same political party, or when they realised how personal convictions connect to larger stories of resistance and struggle. These memories expressed the value of being together and united against powers that limited their capacities to act and live a good life. As Fevry (2018) would argue, considering Spinoza, the process of acting together is joyful because it increases the power of action of the people. The feeling of positive emotions in the present defines how participants remember their connections with others, and these are expressed in verbal and extraverbal discourse. These findings suggest that the ecstasy of coming together in collective action (Traverso, 2016) is not only performed in actual encounters with others but also in virtual encounters in memory.

Remembering Activism in Australia

As examined in Chapter 4, the coup and being forced to migrate are sad and painful memories. However, different participants' stories focus on solidarity and mutual aid in exile. In the following subsections, I focus on different 'positive' emotions that relate to joy as a broad category but that take different forms in the context of participants being in Australia as migrants. Specifically, the section focuses on how Chileans remember positive aspects of their lives in Australia, such as being safe and feeling included in a broader community. These memories are related to activism because part of the actions of the solidarity committees was to help newly arrived Chileans with the transition of living in a new country. In turn, with these actions, the committees were able to get support and recruit more Chileans to participate in their activities. Thus, even though these memories are not directly related to political activism, they speak of a broader environment in which activism positively impacted the participants' lives in exile.

Feeling Safe – Arrival in Australia

Leaving Chile in the context of forced migration is traumatic; it implies leaving families behind and cutting projects of political participation and resistance. Leaving Chile produces a break that marks the lives of participants. However, arriving in

Australia and starting a new life also had positive aspects for participants. This does not mean it was less traumatic but that the emotional configuration was complex and sometimes contradictory. For example, one of the significant moments that several participants mentioned was arriving at the migrants' hostels²⁸, which was a relevant space for them to socialise with others who shared similar experiences. Notably, the hostels are remembered as safe spaces where participants felt welcomed and secure, as they had access to an apartment, food, English classes, and job opportunities, among other services. One participant spoke about his arrival at the hostel in 1974 as a touching moment:

Cuando llegamos al local, o sea al hotel, al hostel donde nos recibieron a todos los que veníamos de ese grupo (...) Y nos entregan las llaves, y lo, de los departamentos (tose), yo dije chuta, aquí estoy en el país que yo quería estar, o sea en el país que (pausa, se quiebra su voz, y apunta hacia su pecho) nosotros soñábamos.

[When we arrived at the hotel, hostel where they received all of us that came in that group (...) And they hand us the keys of the, of the apartments (coughs), I said wow, here I am in the country where I wanted to be, I mean, in the country that (pauses, his voice breaks and he points to his chest) we dreamt of] (M, G1, 70+, FW6).

Clearly emotional, the participant said he considered Australia a socialist country: "Porque tenían todo, ¿uhm? Justo y necesario, ¿uhm? Lo que un ser humano realmente necesita" ["Because they had everything, uhm? Just enough, uhm? What a human being really needs"] (M, G1, 70+, FW6). The account of this participant reflects an overwhelming experience of being in a place where he felt safe and in which he saw the reflection of his view of socialism as the satisfaction of basic human needs. Even though this claim is politically contested (see Chapter 6), different participants stated that arriving at the hostel was a positive experience. In a

²⁸ The migrant hostels were disused army huts and other buildings where newly arrived migrants received basic training, were assisted to find jobs, and were allowed to stay for up to 12 months.

similar vein, other participants talked about their first impressions when they arrived and their amazement at the things to which they had access:

And you know, that's how, but everything was foreign. Everything, you know, the fact that you open the tap, and these are things that I look (laughs) and I think about it as a grown-up, you know, opening the tap and having hot water coming out of the tap. That was amazing to me. That was something that it was like, (emphasising) wow (F, G1, 50+, FW13).

Additionally, another participant talked about the excitement she felt when trying new food, specifically cereal:

Me acuerdo cuando llegamos y nos llevaron a un hostel, eh, y me acuerdo del hostel era como todo bonito y nuevo. Eh, me acuerdo que nos sirvieron de desayuno cornflakes (ríe). Para mí era como (expresión facial de sorpresa), qué es esto (...) Mmm, me acuerdo. No sé, como que todo era diferente. Todo era nuevo. Todo era como exciting (sic).

[I remember when we arrived, and they took us to a hostel, eh, and I remember the hostel that it was like everything pretty and new. Eh, I remember they gave us cornflakes for breakfast (laughs). For me, it was like (facial expression of surprise) what is this (...) Mmm, I remember. I don't know, like everything was different. Everything was new. Everything was like exciting] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter).

These different accounts have in common that arriving in Australia was, in part, a positive experience. The verbal components, such as the use of terms like 'exciting', and extraverbal expressions of surprise communicated in gestures, laughter, and emphases, indicate that joy and 'positive' emotions shape these memories of arrival. The emotions of surprise and amazement of having an apartment, hot water and cereals talk about encountering conditions in which exiles felt safe. In the context of precarity, trauma and vital uncertainty, having these basic needs covered felt like a significant upgrade in their life conditions, which explains

the excitement, the happiness, and the surprise. Another participant reflected on this as well. Even though he did not go through the experience of the hostel, he spoke about the experience of having a bath and wearing slippers for the first time in his life in the house of his hosts:

Me tenían preparado un baño para prepararme, un baño, ¿me entiendes?

Qué allá nos bañamos en la piscina de los patos en la casa (ríe) (...) Y todo bien, todo, la alfombra y todo ese tipo de cosas, y toallas grandes así pa' que me secara, una bata que me pusiera, y ah, todo era diferente (...) Después salí, me pasaron pantuflas pa ponerme pantuflas, y cuando yo nunca he tenido pantuflas, y ahí pisaba en la alfombra bien suavcito (ríe), fue como un sueño.

[They prepared a bath for me, a bath, you understand? There (his hometown) we bathed in the ducks' pool (laughs) (...) And all good, everything, the carpet and all those types of things, big towels for me to dry, a bathrobe for me to wear and ah, everything was different (...) After I went out, they gave me slippers for me to wear, and I had never had slippers, and I stepped on the carpet so soft (laughs), it was like a dream] (M, G1, 70+, FW5).

This last account reflects a specific situation that was not common to all participants but that nevertheless shares the commonality of arriving in Australia, amid traumatic conditions, as an experience of being in a 'good' place. This dreamlike experience that the participant remembered with laughter, is comparable to the socialist-like experience referred to by a previous participant, of feeling welcomed, happy, and secure.

Similarly, another participant talked about how he felt safe in Australia. He recounted a story in which he and his partner were going out with some friends they met at the hostel and how they still carried habits from Chile, such as hiding from cars, especially after curfew hours.

Participante: Salimos del hostel, caminando porque, yo me acuerdo con (nombre de pareja) siempre sentíamos un vehículo y nos arrancábamos, nos escondíamos (...) era después de la hora del toque de queda y todo eso.

N: Sí.

Participante: Y ellos se reían y decían (impostando la voz), '¡No chilenos, si esto es la libertad! Respiren tranquilos' (sonriendo, Nicolás ríe). Fue muy lindo.

[Participant: We went out of the hostel, walking because, I remember that with (name of partner) every time that we felt a vehicle coming, we ran and hid (...) it was after curfew and all of that.

N: Yes.

Participant: And they laughed and said (imitating their voice), 'No Chileans, this is freedom! Breathe easily' (participant smiles, Nicolás laughs). It was beautiful] (M, G1, 70+, FW7).

This last story reflects how Australia represented a safe place, as they could go out, talk freely in public, and not face the threat of violence. Being able to breathe easily again marked the difference from their previous lives, in which they had to be constantly aware of their surroundings. As the participant reflects, smiling, the realisation of their newly acquired safety was 'beautiful' as they were not in danger anymore.

All these accounts signify that arriving in Australia was a positive experience, in which exiles could satisfy basic needs and feel safe in public, which marked a big contrast with their lives in Chile. The change of country marked a change in their feelings towards their surroundings. Hence, they were able to organise and develop relations with other Australians, Chileans and Latin Americans to denounce the dictatorship.

Building a Community Through Activism

Many Chileans started to organise different activities and rallies to raise awareness of the dictatorship among Australians. This meant that they started to meet regularly: they got to know each other, developed bonds, friendships, and organised events to raise funds for organisations back home. However, Chileans not only organised meetings for activist purposes but also participated in the activities of the Chilean Clubs in different parts of Australia. These involved playing football, eating, drinking together, organising activities for their children, and celebrating different Chilean holidays, such as Independence Day on the 18th of September. Many participants, especially the ones who grew up in Australia, remembered these occasions as times in which they had fun with other children and developed a sense of community with other Chilean families:

A veces los viernes en la noche y yo como niña acompañaba nomás a mi papá o a mi mamá. Ellos iban a reuniones, y yo con todos los otros niños jugando (ríen ambos) afuera, a la calle, donde sea. Nos juntábamos y para mí era el fin de semana, era el mejor tiempo de la semana. Me encantaba estar con los chilenos.

[Sometimes, on Friday nights, I just went with my dad or mum as a girl. They went to the meetings, and I played with all the other kids outside (both laugh), in the street, wherever. We got together and, for me, the weekend was the best time of the week. I loved being with the Chileans.] (F, G2, 40+, FW2 daughter)

For this participant and many other children, the political meetings that their parents held were opportunities to play and socialise with other children with similar life situations. In the interview, she reflected on her significant friendships with other Chileans, with whom she felt a connection that she did not feel with Australian children. Afterwards, she added: “El childhood (sic) que tuvimos fue fue lindo. Fue bien unido tener esa comunidad, am, chilena porque realmente (pausa), yo no me sentía entendida en mi escuela” [“The childhood that we had was was pretty. It was very united to have that am, Chilean community because I really (pauses), I really

did not feel understood in my school”] (F, G2, 40+, FW2 daughter). She also added that the friendships she developed as a child in the Chilean community are still relevant for her in the present, as being in contact with other Chileans helped her to feel she had a place in Australia. Joyful affective-mnemonic practices shape these memories through expressions of laughter and in the use of words, such as ‘love’ and ‘being understood’, which connote a positive meaning of these experiences.

Another participant posed a very similar reflection. He remembered that when he was a child, he got together with other children when their parents were protesting and participating in demonstrations: “Era cómico, de niño los juntábamos, íbamos ahí a jugar. Íbamos a encontrar con los otros amigos, entonces íbamos a, lo eran, nosotros lo pasábamos (pausa) ¡bien!” [“It was funny; as children, we gathered and went there to play. We were going to meet with other friends, so we went to, it was, we had a (pauses) good time!”] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). For him, the demonstrations were instances of participating and enjoying the encounter with other children, whom he called his ‘cousins’; that is, they were part of his family. This idea of an extended family within the community was a shared concept by other interviewees that grew up in Australia, which suggests a sense of a united and close community.

The previous accounts illustrate how a crucial characteristic of joyful memories consists of expressing a sense of connection with others. Another participant also emphasised the feeling of participating of a wider community, as well as being included and understood. She remembered how her parents were involved in political demonstrations and protests in Melbourne and how she enjoyed those events:

Mis papás se metieron en Melbourne también a hacer cosas políticas (...)

Entonces me acuerdo de ir a las protestas, ser parte de esas cosas, ahm, ser parte de un montón de eventos culturales latinoamericanos, que para mí fue súper bonito ser parte de eso (...) Estar con gente latinoamericana que tenían también, o sea, eran de diferentes países, pero también tenían situaciones parecidas a la de nosotros, que eran exiliados, que estaban en Australia por ciertas situaciones y también luchando por cosas que pasaban en sus países.

Entonces, ese sentimiento de comunidad en Melbourne que teníamos era, era grande.

[My parents got involved in Melbourne to do political things as well (...) So I remember going to the protests, being part of those things, ahm, being part of a lot of Latin American cultural events; for me, it was beautiful to be part of that (...) Being with Latin American people that had as well, I mean, they were from different countries, but also had similar situations like us, they were exiled, they were in Australia for certain situations and also fighting for things that happened in their countries. So, our sense of community in Melbourne was big] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter).

Through the interviews, it becomes notable that, from different points of view, participants talk about enjoying and feeling good when participating in political events. Feeling good extends to memories of childhood playing with other children and feeling part of a community where other people were going through similar processes. Encountering people that shared similar experiences allowed forming communities and making friends and relationships, enabling exiles and their children to be happy.

Additionally, participants that were adults at the time emphasised different elements of the community in Australia, as the support and solidarity were relevant to start their lives as migrants. Some interviewees emphasised how Chileans and other Latin Americans were generous and helped them to settle in by bringing food and inviting them to participate in different activities:

Nos fuimos al hostel y la gente venía a dejar cosas (...) que sabían que las comidas eran malitas, porque, o sea no eran de nuestro gusto (...)

Empezaron a llevar aceite, azúcar (...) Nos trajeron una cocinillita ahí, que 'si quieren hacer algo'. Se portaron muy muy muy bien la gente allá en Adelaida.

[We went to the hostel, and people came and brought things for us (...) they knew the food was bad, because, I mean, it was not of our taste (...) They

started to bring oil, sugar (...) They brought us a portable stove, 'if you want to cook something'. The people in Adelaide behaved really really really well] (F, G1, 70+, FW3).

This participant spoke of the relevance of this welcoming for her and her family to feel included, and she also reflected on the relevance of the community for activism, as they were organised and in communication with Australian politicians, which strengthened their efforts of denouncing the dictatorship. Another participant who arrived in the late 1980s reflected on the same topic:

Y en ese tiempo estaba organizada aquí la Asociación Chilena (...) y ellos por ejemplo, inmediatamente nos fueron a invitar a su, a sus cosas (...) entonces fue bien, la transición no era como que estábamos desolados. De hecho, ellos mismos, uno de ellos nos lo dijo eh, 'vayan a mi casa', porque todo el mundo había donado o dona platos, cuchillos, cucharas. Fuimos a buscar lo que necesitábamos.

[At that time, the Chilean Association was organised here (...), and they, for example, immediately invited us to their things (...), so it was good; the transition was not like we were desolated. In fact, one of them told us, 'Come to my house' because everyone had donated plates, knives, spoons. We went to get what we needed] (F, G1, 50+, SW4).

Considering these different accounts, children and adults who experienced forced migration found strength and joy in the community due to solidarity and political activities. Activism necessarily implied that people had to meet and could not leave their children alone, so they brought them to meetings and expanded their bonds and networks. In addition, the organised community helped newly arrived Chileans, supporting them emotionally and helping them to adapt to their new life conditions. This, in turn, also strengthened the community as more people felt part of it and supported the activist's efforts, producing a virtuous circle of solidarity, activism and a sense of community.

Celebrating Victories: Pride and Satisfaction

Participants referred to diverse instances of political success that reflected the victories of a collective project against the repressive powers of the dictatorship. Even if they referred to individual achievements, they mentioned feeling satisfaction with their contributions to this struggle, both in Chile and Australia. For example, a participant was a union leader working in a steel factory when the coup happened. Given his position, he was banned from entering the factory, and more than 90 workers were sacked. Putting himself at risk of being arrested, he went on to talk to the boss. With tears in his eyes, he reproduced the conversation they had: “Le dije (golpea la mesa 4 veces), a pedirle de rodillas, ¡de rodillas si quiere! ¡No por mí (se apunta a sí mismo, y luego apunta hacia su derecha), reincorpore, por lo menos, a los que tienen cuatro hijos!” [“I told him (he hits the table 4 times) to ask on my knees, on my knees if you want! Not for me (he points to himself, then points to his right), reinstate, at least, the ones that have four children!”] (M, G1, 80+, FW4). With that speech, he convinced the manager not to fire those workers. He recalled that even though most workers were sacked without any compensation, his satisfaction was that at least the ones that needed their jobs the most could keep them. He mentioned that this was very important for him because he managed to persuade his boss based on unselfish motives: “Yo no estaba pidiendo nada para mí, nada en absoluto para mí, yo estaba pidiendo para, para ellos (...) Así que, eso me deja a mí una cierta satisfacción” [“I was not asking anything for myself, nothing at all for myself, I was asking for, for them (...) So, that leaves me a certain satisfaction”] (M, G1, 80+, FW4). Notably, the feeling of satisfaction is also related to solidarity (Thalos, 2012), in this case, with the workers he represented as the union leader. This sense of satisfaction comes from having won a battle in which the values of the working class were being threatened by political repression, which is what the participant emphasises when he claims that he was not asking anything for himself.

In the context of the solidarity campaign in Australia, different Australian unions, political parties, and other activists got involved and supported the activities organised by the Chilean community. A participant recalled how when he arrived in Australia in 1974, he was surprised to find an organisation to denounce the dictatorship: “Se formó al día siguiente del golpe de estado en Chile, el 12 de septiembre, un comité de solidaridad con Chile que organizaron los partidos de izquierda y el movimiento sindical australiano” [“A Chilean solidarity committee was

formed the day following the coup in Chile, on the 12th of September, which was organised by left-wing political parties and the Australian union movement”] (M, G1, 80+, FW1). The organisation and collaboration with Australians provided a structure for Chileans that facilitated the creation of numerous Chilean solidarity committees across the country (Jones, 2014). Another participant recalled the presence of the Australian Labor Party in their demonstrations and later of activists that would go on to create the Green Party in the 1990s. The collaboration with Australian politicians helped to bring Chileans to Australia, and at the same time, some Chileans supported the political campaigns of Australian politicians. For example, a participant recalled his participation in Bob Hawke’s campaign for Prime Minister and how that success was a joyful moment for him, as it related to his memory of when Allende won the election in 1970:

Esa fue una campaña bonita yeah, (...) la disfrutamos y de ahí después fuimos a la city a celebrarlo (...) Esa fue una cosa de las, de las que pudimos vivir nosotros, o sea volvimos a vivir realmente, volvimos a vivir la la fecha del, del 70 (...) de la victoria.

[That was a pretty campaign yeah (...) we enjoyed it, and after we went to the city to celebrate (...) That was one of the things that, that we could live, I mean we lived again really, we revived the date of the, the 1970 (...) of the victory] (M, G1, 70+, FW6).

As reflected in his words, having the experience of Hawke’s victory resonated with the happiness he felt when Allende was elected president, which is a symbolic connection of a victory that he felt as part of a collective project on both occasions. In addition, Hawke’s election as Prime Minister was relevant to the Chilean solidarity campaign. Under his government, more Chileans that were suffering the dictatorship’s repression were able to find asylum in Australia, in comparison to the years under the Liberal government of Malcolm Fraser (see Chapter 1).

Other participants recalled other triumphs related to the solidarity campaign. Some of them mentioned how Pinochet was not able to visit the Philippines because of international pressure and how they felt part of that victory because of their efforts. A participant emphasised how Pinochet was viewed negatively in Australia as an

effect of the solidarity campaign: “Hablar de Pinochet era hablar del demonio, era hablar del torturador, del sinvergüenza, del ladrón. Y la sociedad australiana, que tiene un amplio sentido de responsabilidad personal, de honestidad, miraban a este sujeto, ¿no? Con recelo, con rabia” [“Talking about Pinochet was to talk about the demon, the torturer, the scoundrel, the thief. And the Australian society, which has a broad sense of personal responsibility, of honesty, looked at this guy, no? With mistrust, rage”] (M, G1, 80+, FW1). He added that he felt satisfied with this, even though his participation in the solidarity campaign had personal costs, as he spent less time with his family due to his political activities.

Participants also talked about feelings of satisfaction and pride, emphasising diverse events related to their life trajectories, such as working, having children, and studying, among other dimensions of personal development. Two participants reflected on how living their lives in a ‘normal’ way was a triumph against the dictatorship. The first of them recalled how in every New Year’s celebration he used to go outside to renew his convictions and compromises: “Y renovaba (apretando el puño) mis compromisos (se quiebra su voz) (...) Los renovaba, y decía no, esto sigue (pausa). Cada vez que nacía un hijo, nacía mi hijo, lo levantaba, lo miraba, ganamos (...) No nos han derrotado” [“I renewed (clenching his fist) my compromises (his voice breaks) (...) I renewed them, and I said no, this goes on (pauses). Each time a son was born, I would pick him up and look at him; we won (...) They have not defeated us”] (M, G1, 70+, FW7). Being able to continue with his life and keep on living was, in itself, a triumph against the dictatorship. It is relevant that he speaks in the plural when he mentions that the dictatorship did not defeat them, which suggests that his personal life does not only stand for an isolated, individual life. Rather, it stands for a collective project that continued to live. Hence, when he says, ‘We won’, he speaks for himself and for all the people that could not be silenced by the dictatorship. Additionally, the tone of his voice and the reaffirmation of their victory against the repressive powers express how this is a joyful memory. Another participant reflected on her own life in the same vein:

Siento que, que mi mi mejor venganza de lo que pasó es que yo he sido exitosa en las cosas que he hecho. O sea, de que he podido estudiar, de que tuve a mis hijos, de que, de que estoy haciendo cosas para poder mejorar un poco.

[I feel that, that my best revenge for what happened is that I have been successful in the things that I have done. I mean, that I have been able to study, that I had my children, that, that I am doing things to make things better.] (F, G1, 50+, SW4)

Participants view these small and not-so-small victories with joy and satisfaction because exiling Chileans was a technique of the dictatorship to repress the people who supported Allende or that were against Pinochet. Thus, being able to keep on living was a triumph against that intent. Even though these victories sometimes carried personal costs and were accomplished in the context of suffering injustice and violence, they represent a triumph of life against death, joy against sadness and repression.

Similarly, other participants mentioned feeling proud in the present of who they are and of what they have accomplished. In the case of younger generations, some emphasised that they have always been proud of being children of Chilean immigrants who defended their political values and resisted the dictatorship. A participant reflected on this when she spoke about knowing, late in her life, about her grandfather's political involvement and how that was a decisive moment for her: "I felt like really proud to be Chilean and proud to be a granddaughter of somebody that fought for their beliefs. And yeah, very grateful for that strength that my grandfather, in particular, had" (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter). Another participant mentioned how being a child of immigrants was part of his identity and that he was not ashamed of this:

So I make it a part of my, like, I make it a part of my my identity. You know what I'm saying? Like it's a part of my identity, my parents were refugees. That they were. Yeah. That they were subversive (...) So, I like it. I like talking about it. I'm not ashamed, I'm not ashamed of it. (M, G2, 30+, SW1 son)

The words used by both participants, which express pride, gratitude, and not being ashamed, signify the positive emotions that shape their identities as Chileans. These identities, in turn, are connected to the memories of their family members enacting values that they find meaningful, such as being subversive and fighting for their beliefs. Considering Sayer's (2005) arguments, this sense of pride comes from

viewing themselves as part of a broader history of resistance and political struggle, which are values that they hold dear. Similarly, a participant talked about feeling pride regarding the Chilean uprising of 2019. Even though she was worried about the repression, she remarked how she felt outraged to know that the Constitution made during the dictatorship had not changed. In this context, she mentioned: “La sensación de pride (sic) (...) Orgullo, eh que se estaba levantando de nuevo un movimiento y que las personas estaban exigiendo un cambio en Chile (...) y por eso de querer estar ahí también luchando” [“The feeling of pride (sic) (...) Pride, eh that again a movement was rising and that the people were demanding for a change in Chile (...) and that is why I wanted to be there fighting”] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter). As an affective-mnemonic practice, pride comes from the ideological connection that the participant establishes with the Chilean people. Feeling part of the people as a Chilean who grew up in exile, she feels pride when she sees how they are fighting for justice and against the legacies of the dictatorship. Considering these different accounts, the feelings of pride that participants talk about are related to ideological values. Their familial histories of being children and grandchildren of political activists are positively evaluated, as they share the position against injustice, which explains why they are proud of being Chilean descendants. This pride does not reflect an abstract sense of nationalism but is about their familial histories of struggle, which become a personal source of pride and esteem.

In a similar vein, another participant spoke about how she had never tried to hide her identity of being Chilean and Latin American: “Yeah. It’s something that I’ve always been really proud of and not quiet about (laughs), which I think worked to both my advantage and my detriment growing up” (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). As we talked more deeply about this sense of pride, she explained how she had always been confident about her identity as Latin American and her attitude towards racism: “Yes, people have been fucked up, racist (...) it is tiring and exhausting and painful, but it is also something that I find very motivating in terms of like, well, you know barriers to work and things like that” (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). This motivation fuelled her to organise a collective with other Latin Americans and publish magazines, contributing to the visibility of Latin American identity in Australia.

In another case, a more complex trajectory ends up in a found sense of pride. The previous participant showed how she had always been confident of her identity growing up. However, other participants’ feelings about being Chilean were more

complicated. One participant mentioned that he now celebrates “having olive skin and, you know, just being, having a different. I used to hate that I didn’t have a name like Michael” (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son). This participant speaks of a trajectory in which, initially, he did not feel comfortable with not having white skin and not having an English name. Feeling different carried some challenging times while growing up (see Chapter 7), but he became proud of his Chilean identity as he grew older. He reflected on how he identified being Chilean with the joy of living and enjoying the moment. More specifically, he recalled the moment when he felt this sense of pride. He was accompanying the Chilean football team in Melbourne during the Olympic games in 2000, and they took the tram back to the hotel:

The tram already had a lot of people in it. And when I came onto the train with all the team. So, all the team’s standing up, all these Australians sitting down, and all of a sudden, one of the guys starts singing. And everybody else starts clapping, and they started they sang this song all the way up to the hotel (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son).

He recalled that the Australians in the tram were in awe of seeing this and reflected how for him, it was a moment of happiness, of sharing with these other Chileans a spontaneous celebration of life and being together: “Just a little insignificant thing, you know, like that. But I had forgotten to appreciate some of that (...) Of what I what I find positive about my culture and Chilean culture” (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son). This participant’s pride comes from a re-evaluation of his cultural background. If, while growing up, he wanted to assimilate and not be seen as a different person, now, as an adult, he celebrates having a different name, skin tone, and cultural background that connects him with a joyful attitude towards life.

In a different scenario, but also reflecting a process of becoming proud, a participant mentioned how she first saw her story as a ‘handicap’ while being in Australia:

I saw it as a handicap like, oh yes, because, you know, I have a second language and because, you know, no matter how much I study (...) somewhere in the back of my head, I had this idea that I wasn't good enough.

You know what I mean? Because of my accent and because of my second language. (F, G1, 50+, FW13)

Like the previous participant, her feeling about not being good enough is related to having a different background. If the previous participant emphasised his olive skin, she emphasised her accent and English as her second language. She also noticed: “That's why I tried to improve myself to be as equal as everyone else here in this country” (F, G1, 50+, FW13). Being equal meant being as capable as everyone else, which she interpreted as studying hard to overcome this ‘handicap’, to overcome her accent and assimilate to the Australian culture. However, she also reflected on how acceptance drove her to feel proud of who she is: “And then over the years, I discovered that this is nothing to do with it. You know, you are the individual that you are, and you need to celebrate who you are” (F, G1, 50+, FW13). Her story of becoming proud and celebrating who she is meant reinterpreting that her identity as a Chilean migrant is not a disadvantage and does not make her less capable. She finally reflected on her handicap “became a badge of honour (...) So now I'm a very proud Chilean, and this is my story” (F, G1, 50+, FW13).

What these last two participants have in common is that their feeling of pride about their cultural background stems from a reinterpretation of their relationship to their own culture and Australians. Their initial efforts are directed at adjusting themselves and assimilating to the Australian culture, to be ‘equal’ to them, having a ‘normal’ name and ‘no accent’. However, through different processes, they arrive at the same conclusion: celebrating their identities and difference and being proud of their stories. These participants reflect that pride is not about assimilating but celebrating who they are. Being proud is also about claiming spaces to celebrate their identities, which can be everyday scenarios, such as the tram back to the hotel, or spaces in the cultural scene, such as magazines and festivals, to celebrate Latin American identity. Thus, these different stories reflect an image of intercultural relations in which the coexistence of accents and traditions is celebrated and the walls of racism and discrimination, both internal and external, are torn down.

Conclusion - Joy and the Memory of Relations

This chapter analysed different interviews with Chileans who remembered joyful or other ‘positive’ moments related to their experiences of the dictatorship. Joyful

memories comprehend an emotional constellation characterised by a sense of esteem, satisfaction, feeling safe, proud, and accepted by a broader community. These emotions were communicated through laughter, gestures, tones of voices, as well as with explicit words. Both the verbal and extraverbal dimensions are indicators that illustrate how joyful affective-mnemonic practices shape these memories. Starting with the memories of activism in Chile, the common theme among participants was the idea of being part of a collective process that stood up for their rights and against injustice. Being socially and ideologically connected to people was a salient dimension associated with joy and esteem. It was notable in examining the joyful memories of Chileans in Australia the way participants' stories recounted the importance of feeling safe and included in a broader community while maintaining relationships with others with whom they shared values. It is important to stress that the memories of triumphs and victories are associated with the exiles' contributions to broader political processes. Individual triumphs and victories were associated with a collective struggle against the dictatorial powers. Finally, pride stemmed from identifying with being Chilean as a position against injustice and that it called for a celebration of difference against assimilation and racism.

Considering the different concepts discussed at the beginning of the chapter, one notion that stands out is Traverso's (2016) idea of the memory of the left as an oscillation between melancholy and the ecstasy of a shared class struggle. In this sense, sharing ideological values is a critical element in understanding the relevance of connections with others in terms of recognition, esteem, and pride (Sayer, 2005). It is not only that participants felt part of a broader process but that they were participating in a historical struggle to build a better society before the coup and in the resistance against the dictatorship afterwards. Additionally, sharing values with others brings joy and produces solidarity (Thalos, 2012), which shows the relevance of relations for happiness, mutual aid, and well-being (Holmes & McKenzie, 2018; Ntontis & Rocha, 2020). However, it is relevant to remember that these are stories of sadness and joy, of rupture and connection. The findings show that trauma is not the complete story regarding the memory of the dictatorship, but this does not mean we should simplify a complex and contradictory experience. Instead, it calls us to recognise how, amidst pain and suffering, there is hope, organisation, comradeship, and pride, among other affective processes. Many Chileans in exile developed a sense of community and a good life by establishing new relationships and

maintaining solidarity with other Chileans and Latin Americans. Following Fevry's (2018) and Soares' (2021) considerations, memories of activism are joyful, as activism is never an isolated, individual activity. Whether by engaging with the voices of ancestors or with contemporaneous comrades, activism is about establishing relations to fight against a problematic situation. These findings resonate with other research, such as Daphi's (2017) work on the Global Justice Movement (GJM), where she explores the interplay of cognitive, relational and emotional dimensions in the configuration of the identity of social movements. Particularly, one of her findings illuminates how joyful experiences of participants of the GJM were associated with the realisation of not being alone in the struggle and with overcoming obstacles and difficulties. This sense of a shared experience expresses the emotional proximity in the movement, which resonates with the findings of this chapter. The joyful memories of Chilean exiles express the sense of connection with others, illustrating the importance of relationships and shared values, as well as overcoming the difficulties of forced migration, such as isolation and disconnection. Thus, in the context of this study, joy is inseparable and shapes the memories of relationships. Even though there are personal victories and triumphs, these are collective contestations to the dictatorship's deadly techniques, a victory of a collective project that could not be eradicated. Hence, joy cannot be separated from activism because, in this context, activism is a reaffirmation of life against the powers that aimed to eliminate any form of political organisation. Considering these ideas, this chapter addresses the overall research question of how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship in two different ways: First, it shows that affective-mnemonic practices are complex and, at times, contradictory when we consider sadness and joy as affective practices that shape the memory of the dictatorship. Second, this chapter shows the salience of the articulation between ideology and affect to understand the joyful memories of activism. It highlights the agency of Chileans in exile and their insistence on their political ideas and projects.

Additionally, the insistence of Chilean exiles in remembering the memories of activism and the solidarity campaign at times present themselves in a nostalgic tone. As Boym (2001) reminds us, nostalgia consists of a wandering attitude that involves reflecting and critiquing how our present reproduces social injustices, racism, and diverse forms of violence. Therefore, nostalgia calls for interrupting and imagining what our society and lives could be if we followed a different path, which makes

nostalgia different to the regressive and banal glorification of the past (see Bonnett, 2010; Boym, 2001; Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Smith & Campbell, 2017). This explains why the memories of joy and activism configure a nostalgic and tense relation with the present, in which the realisation of their ‘undischarged future’ implies the transformation of our social life. It is so that the memories of activism configure ruin seeds (Santos, 2018) for the future. Being open to the past’s hopes may allow us to imagine a desirable future as long as we transform our present. Considering these arguments, the findings in this chapter contribute to the nexus of memory and activism (Rigney, 2018a), showing the importance of emotions, such as joy, in the configuration of social action. Memories of hope and joy may inform the imagination of desirable futures and shape present-day activism, that is, memories of activism can become memories for activism. This relation has been explored in diverse research, including, for example, how iconic photographs are used and circulated in digital platforms by activists, who decontextualise and recontextualise them, assembling them in novel ways and sometimes with unexpected effects (Merrill, 2020). Similarly, Red Chidgey’s (2020) work on the archiving practices of social movements shows how activists actively attend to how a movement will be remembered and how it may shape future struggles. Aiming to have more control over the narratives that will be told about a movement, activists face the tensions and contradictions of making archives (Chidgey, 2018, 2020), as well as sites of memory (Reading, 2019), which are messy and complex processes involving labour and effort that are often invisible (Reading, 2021). Hence, these different venues of research illustrate how activism is in constant dialogue with the ‘mnemonic afterlives’ (Merrill, 2020) of social movements, which shapes the repertoire of actions as well as the imagination of the future (Rigney, 2018a). What my thesis contributes to these debates is highlighting how emotions are a vital component in shaping the memories of activism, as well as the imagination of the future²⁹. Furthermore, as I explore in Chapter 9, other findings of my research show how the joyful memories of exiles, as well as the painful ones, are present and shape activism and the political imagination with regards to the future after the *Estallido Social* of 2019.

²⁹ Chidgey (2018) also stresses the relevance of affect, among other dimensions, in her theory of memory assemblages.

However, assuming that the Chilean community's relations were always positive and joyful would be a simplification. In the next chapter, I examine another facet of the memories of activism, emphasising the tensions and ambivalence within the community. As argued in Chapter 2, groups are not uniform, and in the case of the Chilean exiles, there were ambivalence and tensions due to different political views. This makes salient the fact that, despite being mainly from the left, the Chilean community was not homogeneous, which adds another layer of complexity to the affective practices that shape the memory of the dictatorship.

Chapter 6 Remembering Ambivalence and Conflict

The previous chapter explored the joyful memories of activism related to recognition and shared values. Based on the participants' stories, political activism played a significant role in helping them forge a sense of community, facilitating settling in Australia. Joyful affective practices shape the remembrance of successful experiences, such as working with Australian unions and politicians in the solidarity campaign, with pride and other 'positive' emotions. However, diverging positions regarding the memory of activism create a more complex and nuanced picture. The interviews suggest that joyful memories are not the complete story, as tensions, conflicts, and differences shape the memory of activism as an ambivalent theme. Additionally, other conflictive issues among participants challenge the image of an inclusive and cohesive community, producing contested feelings of belonging and exclusion among participants. This illustrates what Reading (2020) has termed the 'antisocial memory assemblage.' As she argues, this concept "seeks to disrupt the propensity to formulate the social life of social movements (...) through valorised liberal fantasies of togetherness, of association, of positive remembering—but while being careful then to not overdetermine or overvalorise an apolitical antisocial life" (Reading, 2020, p. 280). This chapter resonates with Reading's argument in that it shows different dimensions that speak of conflict and ambivalence that shape the exiles' memories of activism.

Considering the overall argument that emotions complexly shape the memory of the dictatorship in their articulation with ideology and intergenerational dynamics, this chapter suggests that ideology and identity are not univocal or straightforward. Even though most exiles identify with left-wing and progressive values, this does not entail sharing the same political views or priorities. There is polyphony and diversity in the community, which resonates with Wertsch's (2002) argument that collective memory is not about the memory *of* but memory *in* the group. Therefore, this chapter analyses how historical contexts shape ideological positions differently, which, in the case of the Chilean exiles in Australia, produces conflict and misrecognition among activists. If the joyful memories are related to sharing values, the tensions show another aspect of the memories of the dictatorship, that of difference and disagreement. After analysing the ambivalent ideological dimensions, the chapter focuses on a different source of ambivalence related to personal relationships and liminal identities, which form a contested sense of community. Thus, ambivalence

shows how the meaning of political activism is contested, as well as the image of a united and cohesive Chilean community.

The following sections of the chapter present a conceptual overview of ambivalence and its relationship with migration. After this, it focuses on how ambivalence shapes political disagreements, psychosocial phenomena, and belonging. The chapter's conclusions address broader questions regarding political activism, particularly regarding ideology and difference.

Relational Complexity and Ambivalent Feelings

The first conceptual elaborations on ambivalence come from psychoanalytical theory. Sigmund Freud (1913/1955) used the term ambivalence to describe the duality of attraction and repulsion or love and hate that a person has about an object. It does not matter if the object is a person, a norm, or a thing; ambivalence describes this coexisting duality of contradictory emotions that pull in different directions. As it follows from psychoanalysis, people are not necessarily aware of the discrepancies in their feelings, which illustrates that subjects are not coherent with themselves. Also, within the psychoanalytical tradition, Melanie Klein (1957/1984) argued that ambivalence represents a mature stance of the subject in their relationship with objects of emotional investment. Instead of positioning from idealised love or sadistic hate, ambivalence represents a more mature position that can integrate love and hate, understanding that people are neither good nor bad but imperfect.

Even though the psychoanalytical tradition does not inform the findings in this chapter, its propositions are helpful as they show how ambivalence is the product of non-coherent and conflicted positions towards an object or person (Smelser, 1998). However, psychoanalytic theory tends to be individualistic in its explanations, generating problems in sustaining its arguments with evidence (see Billig, 1999; Vološinov, 1927/1976). Therefore, this chapter is informed by relational approaches that understand ambivalence as a construct that bridges the personal and emotional dimensions with social structures (Boccagni & Kivisto, 2019). Ambivalence is explained from a sociological point of view, as subjects are embedded in a world of relations in which others have multiple positions regarding social issues. Given that groups are diverse in their ideological fabric (Halbwachs, 1925/1992), we often find ourselves in situations in which different, and even contradictory, positions are present and 'pull' in multiple directions, thus producing ambivalent feelings

(Palmberger, 2019). Hence, ambivalence is not necessarily the coexistence of clear-cut 'positive' and 'negative' emotions but is the coexistence of emotions that orient us differently, producing an experience of tension (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Phillips, 2011). Following these propositions, ambivalence can last for long periods (Belloni, 2018) and motivate the anticipation of actions for its resolution (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Phillips, 2011; Palmberger, 2019; Smelser, 1998).

Additionally, ambivalence is prevalent in the context of migration. This is due to the mixed emotional positions of being 'away' and making a new 'home' in an estranged context (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015), in which significant relations are left behind but not forgotten (Palmberger, 2019). Furthermore, Milena Belloni (2018) argues that ambivalence can emerge in response to divergent expectations towards fellow migrants. This is especially salient when cohorts of migration leave the same country in different periods, producing tensions and conflicts regarding home politics, among other issues (Belloni, 2018). This antecedent is relevant to the case of the Chilean exiles' ambivalence in Australia. As explained in Chapters 1 and 3, the first wave of exiles arrived between 1973 and 1978, after experiencing the coup against Allende's government and the first years of the State's repression. The second wave arrived between 1983 and 1989, grew up with the repression and left Chile during protests and demonstrations against the dictatorship. Even though both waves of Chileans had to leave the country due to vital insecurity and political threat, the circumstances in which they left were very different. As explored below, this generational difference produced tensions and conflicts between exiles, creating an ambivalent and conflicted image of the Chilean community in Australia. This phenomenon was present in the interviews in how participants answered the positions of others, including mockery and angry reactions, among other attitudes. The following section explores the contested positions regarding activism and political differences between both waves of migration during the dictatorship.

Differences Between Waves of Migration: Conflict and Misrecognition

As argued in the previous chapter, different participants told stories with a positive emotional tone as they remembered experiences that made them feel proud, focusing on camaraderie, solidarity, and triumphs. The joyful stories of activism tend to emphasise unity over the differences in the Chilean community. Following Gustavo Martín Montenegro (1994), a Chilean exile who arrived in 1974 and wrote about the

history of the Chilean solidarity campaign, Chileans with different political beliefs acted as one united block in Australia. They left their political differences aside to campaign against the dictatorship, informing the Australian audience and establishing strategic alliances to raise funds for Chilean organisations resisting Pinochet's regime. In addition, Martín Montenegro (1994, p. 55) emphasises: “Las relaciones de todos los partidos, incluyendo al MIR, continuaron amistosas en el plano personal y los conflictos eran generalmente resueltos internamente” [“The relations of all the parties, including the MIR³⁰, continued to be friendly in the personal level and the conflicts were generally solved internally”]. Nevertheless, changes in the general political approach of the solidarity campaign implied that some parties and organisations approved the armed resistance against the dictatorial repression. This change occurred in 1985 when the Chilean Communist Party officially supported the armed struggle. This left Chileans overseas divided, as not all the political parties approved of that position, resulting in little agreement over the priorities and objectives of the solidarity campaign. Martín Montenegro (1994, p. 57) explains that this change led to a debilitation of the enthusiasm of the solidarity campaign in Australia: “Las divisiones empezaron a corroer las relaciones amistosas que se habían conseguido en el pasado. Las discusiones abiertas afloran y las posiciones divergentes se hacen notar públicamente, fenómeno que no se había dado anteriormente” [“The divisions started to corrode the friendly relations that had been afforded in the past. The open discussions began to flourish, and the divergent positions were made public, a phenomenon that had not taken place previously”]. Even though Martín Montenegro's analysis is illuminating, he tends to overemphasise the unity of the Chilean organisations and the change of politics as the reason for the debilitation of the solidarity campaign³¹. This chapter argues that other more fundamental dimensions were involved in the disagreement between Chileans, resulting in hurtful dynamics of misrecognition (Thompson & Yar, 2011).

³⁰ The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Left Revolutionary Movement) was a radical left-wing party active before the coup and especially targeted by repressive agents during the first years of the dictatorship.

³¹ For a different account of the campaign from the point of view of the Australian union leaders involved, see Jones (2014), *No Truck with the Chilean Junta*. The accounts of both works are diametrically different, as Australian activists expressed that Chileans who arrived in the 1970s were divided between them due to the strict distinctions between the political lines of their parties.

Different participants expressed passionate responses when they referred to activism and the differences between both waves of exiles, which suggest that the political differences involved a relational and emotional dimension. For example, participants of the first wave referred negatively to the second wave of exiles:

Después del 90 fue que (pausa) que se terminaron los clubes prácticamente, los clubes chilenos, porque llegó gente (pausa), lamentablemente llegó gente con otra mentalidad, ¿uhm? Que creían ellos que nosotros lo que estábamos haciendo nosotros era equivocado, que nos estábamos robando la plata, que esto (ríe), que lo otro.

[After 1990, the clubs practically ended, the Chilean clubs, because people arrived (pauses), sadly people with other mentality arrived, uhm? They thought that what we were doing was wrong, that we were stealing the money, this (laughs) and that] (M, G1, 70+, FW6).

Notably, the arrival of people with a 'different mentality' is defined by sadness (with the word 'lamentablemente'), as the newly arrived Chileans accused and reprimanded exiles from the first wave. Further exploring this topic, this participant remarked that the people with a 'different mentality' were people who did not vote and, in his view, were not involved in actual political participation. Thus, he stated: "Yo me conformo hasta con la gente que llegó hasta el 80, que esa era la gente que (pausa) votara" ["I am satisfied with the people that arrived until 1980, that was the people (pause) that voted"] (M, G1, 70+, FW6). Hence, this participant's words suggest that the people that arrived after 1980, the second wave of exiles, had a different mentality. This can be interpreted as having a different worldview and way of doing politics that was not aligned with what he considered the legitimate way of being involved. Another participant referred to this issue in a similar way:

Participante: En los años 80, de repente llegó la segunda oleada de gente de Chile acá, y llegaron con actitudes diferentes a las que conocíamos nosotros, ¿ya?

N: Ya, ¿como en qué sentido?

Participante: Llegaron acá dictando cátedra como se dice. Que esto es lo que habría que hacer, y por qué no habíamos hecho lo otro, y cosas así; entonces nosotros tuvimos problemas con ellos (...) la gente que llegó como que no respetaba las cosas que se habían hecho acá.

[Participant: In the 80s, suddenly, the second wave of Chileans arrived, and they came with different attitudes than the ones we knew, ok?

N: Ok, what do you mean?

Participant: They came here lecturing, as we say. That this is what should be done, and why had not we done this other thing, and stuff like that; so, we had problems with them (...) the people that arrived sort of did not respect the things that had been done here] (M, G1, 70+, FW7).

In this case, this participant refers to an interpersonal level, in which the people of the second wave had different ideas of organisation and action. This was interpreted as a lack of respect for what they, the people of the first wave, had done to support the Chilean struggle. Moreover, with a mocking tone, he stated: “Me acuerdo que la segunda oleada les decíamos, a esos los llamamos la oleada de los comandantes” [“I remember that we referred to the second wave, we called them the wave of the commanders”] (M, G1, 70+, FW7). The use of ‘we’ in his statement refers to ‘the people of the first wave’, who were different to the second wave, ‘the commanders’, due to their attitude. He also said this ironically because, in his story, he doubted that the people of the second wave had experienced the armed struggle.

Notably, the previous participants used referred discourse to frame the position of the people from the second wave. This can be noted in phrases like ‘they said that we were stealing the money’ or in the reproduction of the second wave’s accusation, ‘why had not we done this or that thing.’ In both cases, there is an anticipation of the second wave’s position to reaffirm their own (first wave) point of view, which ultimately leads to the construction of the second wave as a problematic group. In this sense, they represent a general attitude of the Chileans from the first wave towards the second wave, who were viewed as having problematic attitudes that ended up corroding the relations within the Chilean community.

Another participant referred to this and said that some people cooperated, whereas other people wanted to divide the community: “Gente que venía a cooperar, pero también tenía las envidias, las peleas de quién quería estar en el top (...) y después en los 80 tuviste grupos que querían dividir” [“People that came to cooperate, but also the envy, the fights of who wanted to be on top (...) and later in the 80s you had groups that wanted to divide”] (M, G1, 60+, FW5). Considering these interviews and Martín Montenegro’s work (1994), the conflicts and divisions would have taken place during the 1980s. The causes would rely on the way of thinking and acting of the second wave of Chileans, who were viewed as envious, divisive, and disrespectful.

In contrast with the previous accounts, participants that arrived during the 1980s had a different view of the Chileans in Australia as a community that was already divided. For example, one participant said that the Chileans from the first wave, even though they were all from left-wing parties, were divided according to their specific partisanship affiliations: “Sin embargo, ellos estaban divididos. En gente que era del Partido Comunista, el Partido Socialista qué sé yo en, eh, demócrata cristiano” [“However, they were divided. In people that were from the Communist Party, Socialist Party, I don’t know, Christian Democrats”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). Furthermore, she suggested that the divisions reached levels that seemed absurd in the context of being in Australia:

Aquí deberíamos haber trabajado todos juntos y se pudo hacer muy poco, desgraciadamente, porque la gente que llegó después del 73 venía con una partición de pensamiento, era una cosa como ah (hace ruidos de esfuerzo), ¡no, no, no! Yo si soy socialista, no puedo hablar contigo porque tú eres comunista. Incluso teníamos diferentes ramas del Partido Socialista y no hablaban los unos con los otros, ¡aquí en Australia!

[Here we should have all worked together, and we could do very little, sadly, because the people that arrived after 1973 came with a thinking partition, it was a thing like ah, (making effort sounds) no no no! If I am a socialist, I cannot talk with you because you are a communist. We even had different

branches of the Socialist Party, and they did not talk to each other here in Australia!] (F, G1, 60+, SW1).

Notably, this participant also characterises the clash between both waves as a sadful event (with the word ‘desgraciadamente’), and uses referred discourse to present the voice of the first wave, as a voice that reinforced division based on partisanship. These discursive devices characterise the affective-mnemonic practices that shape the conflictive and ambivalent memories of activism. Moreover, this participant was part of the MIR and remembered being excluded from meetings due to her political affiliation and her partner, who was part of a different political party, was forced to maintain the secrecy of the topics discussed during those meetings. When I asked her about how she felt about these issues, she stated: “Fue una experiencia muy dura, muy, muy dura. (Nombre de pareja) trató de continuar (...), pero decidió al final terminar su participación porque le hacían la vida imposible” [“It was a very tough, very very tough experience. (Her partner) tried to continue (...), but in the end, decided to finish his participation because they made his life impossible”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1).

The divisions within the community were visible and had repercussions on how Chileans got involved and felt included or excluded. Even a participant from the first wave, quoted above, negatively talked about the divisions, emphasising the absurdness of this practice among Chileans. He said it was shocking that, when he arrived with his family in 1975, the Chilean committee that received them had different desks corresponding to various political parties. He explained: “Si tú eras mirista tenías que irte a este escritorio, si eras socialista era este otro; y yo me enojé porque lo único que se estaba fomentando era la división” [“If you were from the MIR you had to go to this desk, if you were socialist to another one, and I got angry because the only thing that was being fostered was division”] (M, G1, 70+, FW7). Notably, the reactions of both participants speak of ‘negative’ emotions in response to political divisions that were perceived as unnecessary in the context of exile. Thus, both narratives are helpful to question and demystify the unity of the Chilean community in Australia.

In addition to the distinction among political parties, participants arriving in the 1980s had different views on political organisation and resistance. For example, some interviewees that participated in the Communist Party emphasised the

particularities of the politics of civic insurrection, which involved the legitimization of violence and general agitation to destabilise Pinochet's regime. However, when they arrived in Australia, they found a different way of conceiving political organisation:

Y el trabajo era diferente, era más tranquilo, en el partido, gente del partido de acá era la gente antigua del partido, la gente post y 73, 76, 78, no el partido digamos que llegó con las nuevas ideas, porque como te decía yo, de la sublevación nacional, la protesta. Cuando veníamos hablando así con mi hermana, llegamos hablando de la protesta y de los molotov y todo, (ruido de espanto) quedó media escoba, y la gente de la Jota dijo, 'no, no hablen de eso acá porque esta gente es muy (gesto con sus manos), muy antiguo', no, no era, 'no es bueno hacer eso'.

[And the work was different, it was calmer, the people from the (communist) party here were older people of the party, post 73, 76, 78, not the party that came with new ideas, as I said to you, of the national uprising, the protest. When we arrived talking like that with my sister, of protests and Molotov cocktails and everything, (gasps) it was a disaster, and the people from the party said, 'no, do not talk about that here because these people are (gesticulates) too old', no, it was, 'it is not good to do that'] (F, G1, 50+, SW4).

This generational difference involved a political difference, which implied that the second wave of exiles had to adapt to what the community accepted as the legitimate way of conceiving politics. Another participant, who also arrived in the 1980s, spoke about being excluded from the activities of the Chilean Club due to his political views. He added that other people from the left felt excluded from the club and decided to create another one for themselves. One of the issues that was shocking to him was what someone told him: "No queremos políticos que nos vengán a destruir el Club Chileno, como ese huevón" ["We do not want politicians that come to destroy the Chilean Club, like him"] (M, G1, 60+, SW9). He explained that he was shocked because he was discriminated against due to his political beliefs. When trying to understand this, he said: "También a lo mejor es una

generación completamente diferente a lo que llegó, nosotros veníamos con la huevía (moviendo sus brazos) de la rebelión popular, de que había que dar un golpe que afectara el cambio en Chile” [“Maybe it is a completely different generation than the one that arrived, we came with the idea (moving his arms) of the popular rebellion, that we had to give a blow that affected the change in Chile”] (M, G1, 60+, SW9).

Another participant referred to a similar phenomenon. She stated that:

Había harta gente de izquierda y bueno, que se juntaba, pero gente que se perdía, si no, no les gustaba mucho que nosotros, además que nosotros traíamos otro grito (...) Eran más conservadores, y nosotros ‘no, hay que dejar la cagada’ (ríe).

[There were plenty of people from the left that gathered, some of them got lost, they didn’t, didn’t like that we, besides we came with a different cry (...) they were more conservative, and we were ‘no, we have to stir things up’ (laughs)] (F, G1, 60+, SW8).

The same participant explained that the experience of living through the years of the dictatorship and participating in the protests made them, the second wave, different to the first wave of exiles: “Eran las discusiones que teníamos con la gente de izquierda, ‘nosotros vivimos, ustedes salieron durante al principio de la dictadura’, entonces no se mamaron la dictadura, nosotros sí nos mamamos el miedo y todo” [“Those were the discussions that we had with the people from the left, ‘we lived, you left at the beginning of the dictatorship’, so you didn’t suck the dictatorship, we sucked the fear and everything”] (F, G1, 60+, SW8).

These statements suggest that the difference between both waves was not based on abstract ideas but on concrete experiences of protest and political organisation. The first wave of Chileans prioritised the distinction between political parties and formal political organisation. In comparison, the second wave came with a sense of urgency and the need to support all forms of struggle against the dictatorship. Even though the political affiliations were relevant, the disagreement between both waves focused on the aims and goals of activism and the strategy to reach those aims. These differences ultimately started to affect how Chileans related and felt towards each other, which led to a struggle for legitimacy and recognition.

Even though none of the participants explicitly used these terms, they did use the word 'respect', which suggests the relevance of acknowledging and recognising their voice as a legitimate one to talk about the dictatorship. Having such respect was also about having a position in determining what should be done and how. In this context, misrecognition helps understand the tensions between both waves of exiles. As Simon Thompson and Majid Yar (2011) argue, misrecognition occurs when a group's contribution is not valued by other groups, despite sharing a horizon of social values. In this context, both waves wanted Pinochet out of power, and both contributed to that. Still, misrecognition occurred when only one way of organising the struggle was considered legitimate in exile. This led to complex feelings of pain, exclusion, and shock, among other emotional responses explored above. The words of another participant illustrate this. He remembered that when he arrived and was younger, he found it difficult to respect the older Chileans: "A mí me costó bastante respetar a nuestros viejos que llegaron primero, pero parece que ellos no tienen esa valía de respeto" ["It was difficult for me to respect the older ones that arrived here first, but it seems that they do not have that worth of respect"] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). When I asked him more about this, he stated: "No es recíproco, o sea (...) los viejos vivieron otras situaciones, en otro contexto y yo los respeto, pero, ¿y si no te respetan? Ligerito queda la cagada (risas)" ["It is not reciprocal, I mean (...) the older people lived other situations, in another context and I respect them, but, what if they do not respect you? Quickly the shit hits the fan (laughs)"] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). This statement illustrates Thompson and Yar's (2011) point, as the participant argues that, despite difficulties, he respected and recognised the first wave's experiences and contributions. However, conflicts and divisions became salient because that respect was not reciprocal.

Even though both waves had legitimate and valid experiences of struggle and organisation, the conflicts hindered the possibilities of collaborating and recognising each other. These tensions were accentuated as the first wave of Chileans had a structured framework and methodology that had proven to produce results in Australia. They were familiar with the system and adjusted their politics accordingly (Jones, 2014). The second wave of Chileans did not find a space within that framework to posit their point of view regarding activism, which they saw was producing results in Chile, where the 'real' dictatorship was taking place. This led to conflicts and ultimately to the creation of alternative Chilean organisations. Martín

Montenegro (1994) saw this lack of unity as a sign of debilitation of the solidarity campaign due to the changes that took place in the 1980s. While partly agreeing with this, the lack of unity is a symptom of misrecognition, an effect of not recognising the contributions of both waves to the common goal of supporting the struggle against Pinochet. That is, the division is not merely an abstract political difference, but it involves pain in response to exclusion.

Additionally, misrecognition emerges as a consequence of leaving Chile in different times and contexts because even though the dictator was the same, the dictatorship was not. Rephrasing Belloni's (2018) argument, Chileans who left during the first wave had expectations and a particular relationship to 'home' politics that differed from the second wave's, which created ambivalence and conflict in Australia. The frameworks of the legitimate and valid ways of political organisation differed among both waves due to the period they left the country. Chileans from the first wave had experienced Allende's government and the Popular Unity as a defining experience. The 'Chilean way to socialism' was a project of disputing political power through formal organisation and without disrupting the democratic institutions of the country. The coup and the dictatorship dramatically ended that project; nevertheless, that experience remained their reference point when conceiving political activism. For the second wave, their experience was the feeling of urgency that the dictatorship could not go on any longer. The Popular Unity and Allende were dreams of the past, and in the present, something had to be done to take out Pinochet. As political parties were forbidden in Chile, their tools involved violent struggle, clandestine organisation and social agitation. Even though these positions are not necessarily incompatible, both frameworks clashed and led to conflict, misrecognition and the mutual questioning of legitimacy in exile.

Is relevant to note that the conflicts and divisiveness can be traced in how participants from both waves refer to each other. The affective-mnemonic practices of sadness, mockery, blaming the other wave of exiles for the conflict and pain for not being respected, define the ambivalent memories of the solidarity campaign. The following sections explore how ambivalence and conflict permeated the Chilean community in interpersonal relations. Even though related to political activism, the following topics are not associated with the clashing of political strategies but are more directly related to ideological differences and psychosocial dynamics within the Chilean community.

Complicated Community Relations

The findings in this chapter challenge the idea of a coherent and united Chilean community, not because happiness and joyful memories are not relevant to social struggles but because the narrative of unity tends to overlook differences and diversity. Three issues highlight the ideological differences within the community and the diversity of attitudes concerning the Chilean community: machismo, unhealthy relations, and conformism.

Machismo

A story from fieldwork is telling of the machismo in the Chilean community. I was already living in Australia when the social uprising of 2019 took place in Chile, and I participated in activities in which older Chileans participated as well. We organised protests, demonstrations, and meetings to discuss issues affecting 'our home' and our options to support the social movements struggling for social changes. In one of these meetings, two friends of mine, a heterosexual couple, were participating, and, out of personal interest, she was carrying a notebook to write and take notes on the topics being discussed. An older Chilean man saw this and told my male friend, "I see that you brought your own personal secretary". Older Chileans laughed as he finished his comment, much to our shock, as we did not find that funny at all. When I first reflected about this episode, I thought that it was a generational issue. However, with the interviews, I realised it was not that simple.

In the interviews with Chilean women, many spoke about leaving Chile due to their male partner's political activities. Male and female participants, especially men from the first generation, told this narrative of the persecuted man and the suffering female partner. Some women from the first generation expressed a sense that the gendered division of political labour was natural or obvious, so they did not always question these tendencies. Of course, there were exceptions and nuances among the first generation, but there was a pattern that responded to a way of viewing politics as a male activity in which women assisted men (as the old Chilean was implying when he referred to my friend as her partner's secretary). This is not to suggest that there is a 'female' way of doing politics as if there are essentialised positions of a male/female binary. Instead, these narratives suggest that the politics of the Chilean solidarity campaign were permeated by machismo and were male-

dominated as it was the assumed way of working and doing politics. This is also mentioned in an autobiographical article published by a Chilean exile in Australia (Ramírez & Austin, 2008, p. 207), who noted the “machismo acérrimo” [“reluctant machismo”] present in the Chilean solidarity committee, characterising this as a political sickness.

Additionally, there were participants that were critical of the machismo and viewed this as a problem in the Chilean community. This was noted among the women that I interviewed, and the more critical voices were of women from the 1.5, 2nd and 3rd generations. For example, a female participant who arrived in Australia as a teenager in 1975 spoke about this: “Nosotras como mujeres teníamos que pelear contra los compañeros por lo del machismo” [“We as women had to fight against the *compañeros*³² because of the machismo”] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). This was because men took all the political work for themselves, whereas women were usually on kitchen duties. She further explained that they used to have those conversations with men: “La liberación también va para nosotras, ¿viste? O sea, estamos todos trabajando por algo en común, pero ustedes también tienen que dejar el machismo de lado” [Liberation goes for us (women) as well, ok? I mean, we are all working towards a common goal, but you (men) have to leave the machismo aside”] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). During the interview, she explained how men of the Chilean community could not understand that this was a problem and told a story of when she gave a talk about feminism at a Chilean community centre: “Me acuerdo que a mí me tocó con otra compañera, feminismo, y ahí pa qué te digo las barbaridades que decían los compañeros (Nicolás ríe), pero (golpea su sien con el dedo índice, y ambos ríen)” [“I remember that I was in charge with another *compañera* (female) to talk about feminism, and the barbarities that the *compañeros* (male) said (Nicolás laughs), but (taps her temple with her index finger, and we both laugh)”] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). This participant’s words suggest that machismo in the community was not only prevalent in an unjust, gendered division of labour but also had repercussions on how Chileans were or were not receptive to ideas of feminism. Additionally, her gesture of touching her temple with her finger, a gesture that is typically used to refer to someone who is out of their mind, speaks of her position

³² The word *compañero* is like the word comrade in English, but has a slightly different connotation, which is why I preferred to keep it as *compañero* in the translation.

regarding the machismo of her compañeros and their unwillingness to understand the message.

Even though the previous participant did not go into further details about the actual comments of her male comrades, her words illustrate the tensions of solidarity in the Chilean community. As argued in the previous chapter, solidarity is articulated with shared values and identity. However, the fact that men could not support or understand the need for liberation for both men and women suggests that there were values that Chileans did not share or prioritise in the same way. Patriarchy is deeply rooted in Latin American communities (Lugones, 2008; Paredes, 2014), even among the left and other 'progressive' communities. Hence, the problem of machismo has to do with the patriarchal privileges of men, who were unwilling to recognise the women's struggle for liberation as equally valid.

A younger female participant mentioned a different way in which machismo permeated the community. She explained that, as she grew up in Australia, she was not receptive to some of the traditional views of Chileans and other Latin Americans:

Growing up here, even though I grew up here, I'm still not like (air quote gesture) Latin American enough because I don't go to church or because I don't know, because I have queer friends, you know like there's things, a little bit more traditional, and I'm not traditional in that sense (...) There's so much, like, that's what I knew growing up here, is like, you know, homophobia and all that stuff (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter).

Here a sense of machismo contributes to the negative attitude towards sexual diversity. In this case, it is also accompanied by traditional religious practices, which form a conservative ideological configuration that the participant views as characteristic of being 'Latin American', which she sees as problematic.

Both participants from younger generations point out two different attitudes and behaviours that configure the problem of conservatism and traditionalism in the community. The participant from the 1.5 generation expressed how men were reluctant and resistant to changing their patterns of political organisation to include women in roles that were not limited to domestic work while men were 'making politics.' This view is similar to the one expressed by Ramírez & Austin (2008) quoted above. The youngest participant pointed to how attitudes associated with

machismo, particularly homophobia, imply a conservative way of organising relations in the community, which resonates with a critique of patriarchal masculinity. Hence, the different participants voiced, from different angles, critiques of machismo and patriarchal domination. Additionally, it is worth noting that not all participants interviewed, both men and women, found these issues problematic. This speaks of the coexistence of differences in the community and that many Chileans had no issue with these ways of being. This does not mean that these problems were anodyne; instead, it means that conflicts were constitutive of the community. The narrative of unity tends to overlook differences and diversity, which in turn makes invisible the machismo, homophobia, and traditionalism in the Chilean community.

Painful Relationships

Another problematic issue that participants mentioned was related to the quality and intensity of the relationships within the community. Regarding the quality of these relations, there was an ambivalent sense that the Chilean community, while it provided support, it also perpetuated emotional dynamics that were negative and unhealthy. For example, a second-generation participant said that even though his parents found strength in Chilean political groups, they were also continually exposed to trauma: “Ellos encontraban fuerza y hermandad en estos grupos políticos, pero ahí estaban metidos ahí con la mierda dando vuelta y vuelta y vuelta y vuelta y llegaban angustiados, llegaban frustrados y deprimidos” [“They (his parents) found strength and brotherhood in these political groups, but there they were stuck in with the shit going round and round and round and round and they arrived anguished, frustrated and depressed”] (M, G2, 40+, FW1 son). Another second-generation participant mentioned a similar dynamic. He recalled going to protests and demonstrations as a child and having fun with other children, but at the same time, he was aware that his and other children’s parents were going through intense and painful emotions: “Cuando íbamos a protestas a ver esas cosas y vimos, you know, veíamos a la mamá luchando y gritando y con tiritando, ahí llorando (pausa), horror, un horror, un horror ver esas cosas” [“When we went to protests to see those things and saw, you know, we would see mom fighting and screaming and trembling (pauses), horror, horror, a horror to see those things”] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). It is notable that both accounts use expressions that reflect negative emotional dimensions, such as ‘the shit’, ‘anguish’, ‘frustration’,

'depression', and 'horror'. These expressions demonstrate how joy and happiness do not always define the affective-mnemonic practices when children remember the meetings among Chileans. Even though exiles were able to find shelter in the community, people were dealing with traumatic experiences, which suggests that protests and meetings were also painful and sad. This is not to suggest that those instances were 'bad' or 'wrong', but that the community had precarious support mechanisms with negative ramifications, which the children noted as receptors of second-hand traumatic experiences. Furthermore, these dynamics were probably exacerbated by the internal political conflicts leading to exclusion and divisions within the community.

Another participant referred to the pressure he felt towards the community, which he described as a toxic pressure of having to consider and include them in every action and decision of his personal life:

But I think over time, when you're living in this sort of little microcosm world of this community, the community starts to fail because (...) my wedding, for example, I'd invite almost the entire community at the time because my parents felt obliged to invite them. And that that kind of sort of unusual kind of, uh, pressure, was all that was prevalent for many things (...) you know, it can become toxic a little bit, you know, too negative to the point where at a funeral, you know, or something like that, if you don't do something or, you know, these five families will tell the other five families. And yeah, it was it was becoming toxic. (M, G2, 50+, FW4 son)

The 'pressure' and 'toxicity' the participant describes resonates with the 'shit' a previous participant talked about. Both are making a point related to the quality of the relationships within the Chilean community, which were harmful or unhealthy. In this case, the word 'toxic' refers to the pressure of including all the families, despite the desire to do so or not. Even though there is a recognition that the community was positive in some regards, participants also spoke about these negative dimensions that were complicated for them. These issues configure the relationships within the community as ambivalent, a mix of pleasurable and not-so-ideal experiences.

Conformism

Finally, the problem of economic conformism was an issue mentioned by different participants and was also related to the debilitation of the solidarity campaign. As one participant put it, conformism was related to “el poder de la cultura del capitalismo” [“the power of the culture of capitalism”] (M, G1, 70+, FW11). This implied a general attitude of Chileans who forgot about political organisation and struggles against the dictatorship due to their focus on material accumulation. The different accounts of the participants suggest that this phenomenon responds to ideological differences and worldviews.

One of the first participants that mentioned this issue emphasised that the problem was the focus of some Chileans on accumulating money fast, forgetting other important aspects of life, such as education and having meaningful jobs:

Se pusieron todos a limpiar, hacer plata, comprar auto, y todas esas cosas, y al final no se educaron los hijos (...) porque la gente veía que, veía la posibilidad de salir rápido arriba, tener casa con el auto y todas esas cosas, pero después los cabros se han casado, han tenido hijos y siguen limpiando, ¿me entiendes? No es eso un trabajo denigrante ni mucho menos, yo también lo hice, pero no queríamos hacer eso toda la vida.

[They all started to clean, make money, buy a car and all those things, and in the end, their children did not educate (...) because people saw that, saw the possibility to rise quickly, have a house with the car and all those things, but the kids got married, had children, and they are still cleaning, do you understand? It is not a denigrating job, I did it too, but we did not want to do that our whole life] (F, G1, 70+, FW3).

Another participant referred to the same problem but also linked it more explicitly with the lack of support to the social and political organisations in the struggle against the dictatorship: “Yo visualicé que aquí cuando llegamos, muchas personas se estaban conformando con tener su auto, su teléfono, por ejemplo, en ese proceso (pausa), sus monedas y nada más” [“I saw that when we arrived here, lots of people were conforming with having their car, their phone, for example, in that

process (pauses), their money and nothing else”] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). He compared this to a phenomenon that also took place in Chile, in which the social organisation tended to stop once the material goals were reached: “Organizamos comité de allegados, los viejos lograron su casa y se olvidaron de la organización” [“We organised neighbour committees, the old people got their house and forgot about the organisation”] (M, G1, 60+, SW3).

Other participants referred to the same problem and pointed out how some Chileans saw, in their acquired status, the realisation of socialism. One of these participants recreated the dialogue he had with a former comrade:

Me dijo, ‘nosotros por qué es lo que estábamos peleando en Chile’ (pausa), ‘dime tú’ le digo, yo caché que tenía eh (se apunta a su ojo y hace un gesto de “más o menos” para indicar que había notado algo sospechoso en esa persona), dijo ‘bueno, en Chile nosotros peleábamos porque queríamos tener una casa, darle una buena educación a nuestros hijos, tener un autito y todo lo demás’, me dijo, ‘y eso es lo que tenemos acá ahora po’.

[He said to me, ‘What were we fighting for in Chile’ (pauses), I said, ‘You tell me,’ I noticed he had eh (points to his eye and makes a ‘so-so’ gesture to indicate his suspicions about this person), he said ‘well, in Chile, we fought because we wanted a house, give our children a proper education, have a car and everything else,’ he said, ‘and that is what we have here now’] (M, G1, 70+, FW7).

He went on to further criticise the attitude of his former comrade because even though they had a better material life, their life in Australia was not what they were dreaming of, that is, a life in a non-capitalist society. Another participant made a similar point as he referred to a story when seeking support for social movements in Chile. He referred to how a former refugee said no to his request and added: “No compadre, si allá (en Chile) no pasa nada, y este es el socialismo que buscamos; mira, aquí yo tengo el frigider, tengo el auto, ya pronto voy a tener mi casa, y qué mejor socialismo que este” [“No mate, over there (in Chile) nothing is happening,

and this is the socialism that we were looking for; look, here I have a fridge, a car, soon I will have my house, what better socialism than this one”] (M, G1, 70+, FW8).

Considering these narratives, the critique these participants were making is to a trend in the Chilean community of conforming to the status quo once it benefitted them, independently of the ideological and political dimensions. This implied forgetting the radicality of the political project they participated in back in Chile, which is why they had to leave the country. Furthermore, conformism illuminates the different motivations of Chileans involved in politics and the diversity of ideological positions in the community. Many exiles were happy once they arrived in Australia because they could satisfy material needs they could not meet in Chile. That is why some participants mentioned that they thought Australia was a socialist country because the government gave them an apartment in the hostels, food, and basic services and helped them to settle in. They ignored that Australia's capitalism, with more robust social policies and a better quality of life, was still capitalism. This issue resonates with what Agnes Heller (1976) identified as a problem for the proletariat: the working class has very few needs. Heller argues that instead of imagining different societies and ways of organising social relations, many people from the working class could be satisfied with the minimum conditions that guarantee their survival. They conform to being 'working machines' as long as they can satisfy their basic needs. Thus, the quote from a previous participant regarding the power of capitalist culture is revealing. The problem of the conformism of Chileans to Australian capitalism reflects how some were satisfied and comfortable because they were able to achieve material needs. At the same time, other Chileans had a project and an ideological horizon informed by another society, which explains their criticism of their former comrades. Thus, the problem of conformism reflects the ideological heterogeneity and the diverse motivations of Chilean exiles in Australia.

Liminal and Ambivalent Identities

The concept of ambivalence helps to understand the configuration of interpersonal conflicts between participants of the Chilean community. However, even though ambivalence is generated interpersonally (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Phillips, 2011; Palmberger, 2019), it also has intrapersonal repercussions. Hence, ambivalence configures liminal identities because the condition of being a migrant for an extended period, as well as being children of migrants, generates an experience of 'not being

Chilean or Australian'. These are ambivalent identities because the relations with the Australian and Chilean communities produce different possibilities of identification, which in turn have consequences for belonging and the self. For example, one participant was reflecting on his relation to the Chilean community and mentioned:

My parents never 100 per cent participated in it (the Chilean community). So, I've felt I've always felt separate from it. It's weird actually, it's weird because I could say the same thing about my Australian thing. So, I've never felt 100 per cent Australian as well. I never felt 100 per cent Chilean, and it's always a hybrid space that I think they call it liminal space (M, G2, 30+, SW1 son).

The participant's words of a liminal space suggest an in-between identity in the process of being constructed and reconstructed (Beech, 2010). In this case, liminality relates to not feeling Chilean or Australian, which also resonates with not being or feeling part of the Chilean community. A different participant referred to a similar process, but in her case, it was related to the problem of language and how that puts her in an in-between position:

I think I've been in this hard position because I don't speak Spanish to the degree that I want to, I feel disconnected from it (...) I am very active in my Latin American community, but I don't really feel like I'm from Latin America and I'm from Australia. I'm like in between, I exist, I just exist (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter).

Notably, both participants refer to the same issue of not feeling Australian nor Chilean or Latin American. The emphasis of the second participant about this being a 'hard position' and being disconnected resonates with feelings of nostalgia and being uprooted or away from 'home'. These are issues that resonate with many Chileans from the 1.5 and second generations, which I explore further in Chapters 7 and 8. In the participant's case, this being in-between and just existing is a difficult position of ambiguity. Similarly, a participant mentioned that this process was a complex issue, as he felt he had no identity. More specifically, he said that he grew up in a Chilean house, but when he stepped out, he was in Australia, which generated conflicts for him: "Porque aquí (en la casa) entraba y entraba a Chile,

salía pa afuera y (...) era australiano, pero era difícil criarme aquí, porque como te digo, no tenía un *identity* (sic)” [“Because here (in his house) I entered and I entered to Chile, I stepped out and (...) I was Australian, but growing here was hard because as I was telling you, I did not have an identity”] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). His words suggest that the conflict of not having certainty regarding his own identity was a problematic, unpleasant experience.

Being ambivalent about identity and belonging is not an exclusive phenomenon of the exiles’ children. For example, a participant mentioned that he was reluctant to learn English when he arrived and has stayed that way over the years. As he reflected on this, he noted: “Es como un bloqueo, o sea, yo no soy de aquí, una hueva así (ríe); yo no soy de aquí, entonces nunca me interesé a fondo” [“It is like a blockage, like, I am not from here, something like that (laughs); I am not from here, so I never really cared”] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). Even though he is certain that he is not from Australia, he asserted that he has stayed in Australia due to his familial relations and mentioned being frustrated: “Sabiendo que hoy en día tú te puedes ir, estás sometido por otras cosas, como que tus hijos empiezan a crecer, tus hijos son de aquí” [“Knowing that today you can leave, you are subjected by other things, such as that your children start growing up, your children are from here”] (M, G1, 60+, SW3). It is in this sense that Palmberger (2019) talks about relational ambivalence. In this case, it is about being pulled by the possibility of leaving and being pulled to stay with his family, which generates frustration because he ended up staying, despite his desire to leave. A second generation participant mentioned the same process regarding her father: “El corazón de él estaba en Chile, siempre la cabeza de él, el corazón en Chile; él vivía en Australia (pausa) obligado, yo creo, obligado” [“His heart was in Chile, his head was always, his heart in Chile; he lived in Australia (pauses) obliged, I think, obliged”] (F, G2, 40+, FW2 daughter). Another participant referred to the same issue: “Y ahora (pausa) el interior de este hombre está allá (en Chile), pero por motivos de la familia (golpea la mesa), físicamente estoy aquí (Australia)” [“And now (pauses) the interior of this man is there (in Chile), but for family reasons (hits the table), physically I am here (Australia)”] (M, G1, 80+, FW4).

Considering these interviews, liminality and ambivalence characterise the identities and belonging of exiles and their children. The difference is that the children of exiles face the liminality in their relationship with two cultures and not fully

identifying with either. In comparison, first-generation participants refer to a process of feeling Chilean but staying in Australia due to familial ties. Both processes reflect ambivalence and liminality as participants face the pulls of diverging cultures and possibilities of belonging, being caught in between.

Conclusion: Why Ambivalence?

This and the previous chapter have showed, among different topics, the memories of Chilean activism in Australia against the dictatorship, and both illustrate different faces of the same coin. Joyful memories illuminated that mnemonic processes were not only related to trauma and suffering but also to shared values, camaraderie, and triumphs, which are relevant to political struggles and imagination (Rigney, 2018a). However, joyful memories tend to overemphasise the unity of a diverse and heterogeneous community. Resonating with Reading's (2020) arguments on the antisocial mnemonic assemblage, this chapter aimed to make visible the differences and disputes in the Chilean community throughout the solidarity campaign and within the Chilean community more broadly. These issues were not exclusive to the 1980s, as Martín Montenegro (1994) suggests, but were a constitutive part of the community.

This chapter adds another layer to the argument that emotions shape the memories of the dictatorship. The memories of activism reveal that joy coexists with conflict and shared values and that recognition coexists with difference and misrecognition. These contradictions and tensions shape the memories of activism as ambivalent, at times being a source of pride and self-esteem and, at times, being a source of pain and complex feelings of disrespect. Additionally, this chapter demonstrates that even though most people in the Chilean community identified with the left, ideology does not entail sameness or coherence. There were multiple positions within the Chilean community, starting with the different meanings of activism among the first and second waves of exiles. The dispute between both waves showed how the political strategies were different and not necessarily incompatible but caused conflicts and misrecognition. Still, political strategies were only one of the causes of these conflicts. As some participants mentioned, there were problems with machismo and patriarchal attitudes within the community, tensions regarding the quality of the relationships, and different attitudes regarding conformism with Australian capitalism. These issues show the diversity of the

Chilean community and how they contributed to ambivalent interpersonal relations. Finally, ambivalence is not only a valuable concept for understanding the relational tensions but is also helpful in understanding the liminal identities of exiles. In the case of the first generations, liminality is configured by the sense of belonging to Chile while physically being in Australia. For younger generations, liminality is configured by the multiple possibilities of belonging. These multiple pulls produce an ambivalent experience that translates into restless identities and a contested sense of belonging in the Chilean community.

One of the most salient findings of this chapter relates to the ideological conflict between the first and second waves of exiles. However, why did these differences produce misrecognition? There is no logical explanation for this phenomenon. However, there are reasons associated with ideology and emotional struggles for legitimacy, which, as Neil Smelser (1998) argues, are non-rational in the sense of not following logical reasoning. The fact that the first wave of exiles felt disrespected by the second wave does not respond to logic but to, perhaps, feelings of threat or being challenged, which may have provoked reluctance and other emotional responses. In the same vein, the fact that the second wave was reluctant to see the experience of the first wave as legitimate because they were not in Chile during the dictatorship's protests also shows a rigidity that does not respond to logic. There is a historical dimension (Belloni, 2018) that allows contextualising the dispute in terms of both waves responding to different experiences of political organisation that ultimately reveal various forms of framing political activism. Still, this does not have to lead to misrecognition and exclusion. Considering these issues, the conflict between both waves suggests that the place of emotions is crucial to understand the memories of activism. At the same time, it shows how emotions play an essential role in activism. It is crucial to bring ideology and emotions to the fore because activism is not led by mere intellectual concepts, but, ultimately, it is oriented by values, beliefs, and emotional engagements with political projects and strategies.

Considering these findings, why bother writing about conflict and ambivalence? Or why not just stay with the joyful memories of unity and shared values? The problem with staying with the joyful tales that reinforce unity and cohesion is that they tend to ignore the multiple political projects and motivations that coexist within communities or groups, as well as the conflicts and disagreements.

Unity and cohesion are not harmful, but staying with this side only implies that difference and conflict are seen as detrimental to the political organisation. In the end, this means that other ways of doing politics are misrecognised and excluded, which was the central conflict between the first and second waves. Thus, the contribution of this chapter in revealing that in the memories of activism lies conflict and ambivalence, as much as joy and hope, is that it permits imagining other ways of organising collective struggles that are inclusive of diversity. This may resonate with contemporary political debates, showing how emotions and ideologies shape how we organise activism and that sharing general ideological values is not equal to homogeneity. Instead of aspiring for unity and harmony in our struggles, we could conceive activism as a polyphonic and dissonant organisation (Bakhtin, 1929/1984). This way of imagining activism could be more tolerant of difference and ambivalence instead of imposing and idealising unity as the only way forward (see Chapter 10).

This chapter, as well as Chapters 4 and 5, have focused on the articulation of ideology and affective practices. Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 2, intergenerational dynamics are also essential to understand the memory of the Chilean dictatorship. This does not mean there is no place for generational differences in ideological debates and vice versa. It means that it is necessary to focus on the processes of intergenerational transmission to reveal complexities and nuances that illuminate other ways emotions shape the dictatorship's memory. Considering this, the following two chapters focus on the children of exiles and their relationship with the dictatorial past.

Chapter 7 Memories of the 1.5 Generation in Australia:

Childhood, Identity and Nostalgia

The previous chapter examined how ambivalence permeated the memories of activism as a product of tensions and conflict, which unveiled further ideological differences within the community. Additionally, it examined ambivalent and liminal identities alongside a contested sense of belonging in the Chilean community, which challenged the narrative of unity. Part of the argument touched upon the experiences of the children of exiles, who remembered the happiness of meeting with other children and the distress of witnessing the adults' intense emotions of grief during demonstrations. These contradictory feelings create tensions, although there is more to say about the children's experiences of the dictatorship. This and the following chapter focus on children's memory, examining their experiences with the dictatorship. The children of exiles include participants who have first-hand memories of the dictatorship and leaving Chile with their parents and participants born in Australia with no first-hand memories of the dictatorship. All of them share the experience of being children of exiles, and at the same time, their memories present salient differences. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the 1.5 generation, and the next chapter focuses on the second generation. Distinguishing between both groups allows a more nuanced approach to analysing how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship.

This chapter argues that the memories of the 1.5 generation cannot be isolated from the first-generation experiences. This does not mean that the 1.5 generation simply inherits their memories from their parents; rather, they are active agents in the process of intergenerational transmission and assume a protagonist role in exile. Children of the 1.5 generation were actively involved in interpreting and engaging with the ideological debates during their childhood, in dialogue with their parents and peers. After the coup, however, children learned of the fear and repression through their parents' eyes, and in that process, the worlds of their childhood became estranged and lost after departing for exile. This process generates nostalgia and contributes to the configuration of liminal identities (see Chapter 6), that is, to a sense of 'not being from here nor from there'. Therefore, this chapter illuminates another way in which emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. The nostalgia of the 1.5 generation suggests that exile marks a break, a before and after in their lives, in which they transform themselves, becoming adults

while still being children. This implies that their childhoods remained part of a lost sense of home that could never be the same after the dictatorship.

The following section of the chapter examines some of the concepts and debates associated with the problem of intergenerational transmission of memories, focusing on the delimitation of the particularities of the 1.5 generation in memory studies. These antecedents frame and inform the findings in this chapter and contribute with some antecedents for Chapter 8 on the memories of the second generation. The rest of the chapter focuses on the results and explores the memories of the participants' childhoods in Chile before and after migrating to Australia. Among the diverse experiences, the memories of this group comprehend three distinct moments: the times of Allende's presidency (1970-1973), the coup and the dictatorship, and their lives after migrating to Australia.

Intergenerational Transmission and the 1.5 Generation

Intergenerational transmission refers to the processes by which the past and traditions are kept alive through different generations. These processes do not depend on having a first-hand experience of the events, and they can refer to ideological issues, cultural traditions, and memories of historical events, among other possibilities. Different authors have focused on the mechanisms of transmission of the past within families through communicative acts or conversations (Achugar, 2016; Cornejo et al., 2021; González et al., 2021; Welzer, 2010). However, as argued in Chapter 2, the fact that there is transmission within families does not mean that memories become static or unmalleable (Jara, 2016). For example, Harald Welzer (2010) argues that memory always relies on communication, implying that memory does not exist within subjects but between them. Communication is not the 'transference' of contents from the speaker 'into' the listener; instead, it involves the interpretation and response of speakers in specific, situated contexts. This suggests that there is change and transformation in transmission. Similarly, Mariana Achugar (2016) argues that transmission involves discussing the past in meaning-making processes in which people take a position or an evaluative stance about the topic being discussed. Achugar (2016) argues that different discursive practices are involved in this process, such as intertextuality (integrating different voices of others into discourse), resemiotisation (transforming discourses' semiotic modes), and recontextualisation (adapting memories to the current circumstances). These

antecedents suggest intergenerational transmission is complex and open to novelty and transformations.

Recent research in Chile has explored the transmission of participation in collective action in familial spaces. González et al. (2021) found that the family is a crucial setting for the transmission of protest to future generations as long as children know about their parents' political participation and perceive that they (parents) are supportive of their own (children) participation in collective action. Exploring more deeply, Cornejo et al. (2021) found that the conversations children had with their parents were relevant to explain the children's participation in the present. More specifically, these conversations were often triggered by news and political events and touched upon values, social critique, and discussing the dictatorial past. Additionally, Cornejo et al. (2021) found that there are other mechanisms of transmission, like cultural consumption, in which media, such as movies, art and music, were relevant vehicles for the transmission of political opinions. Another relevant space is the joint action in protests and political events, which also coincides with the research of Jeanneret Brith et al. (2020), in which they found that memories are transmitted to newer generations by engaging and participating in political and social activities. Jeanneret Brith et al. (2020) do not focus on the family as a unit but on the memories of a historic and emblematic neighbourhood in Chile that strongly resisted the repression during the dictatorship. Following this, they propose that memory is a co-production of meaning in joint action, not a legacy of one generation to another. It follows from these different contributions and findings that both parents and children are active agents in the transmission process, not only in conversations but in other instances.

These different works have in common that they do not put the second or younger generation as a passive subject that inherits the past but as active subjects who make meaning of the past in historical, cultural, and social conditions. However, this does not mean there is no stability in how people remember. Jara (2016) explored the memories of children who grew up during the dictatorship and found that memories become stable due to familial and affective bonds that weigh on the younger generations. In this sense, when children remember the dictatorship, they are constantly facing and talking to the presence of older generations. This sometimes implies that the memories of the first generations become obstinate, and younger Chileans feel the obligation to preserve particular meanings and forms of

remembering the past. However, as Jara (2016) argues, no memory is forever fixed, and some children produce counter memories that dispute traditional ways of remembering. These memories do not cohere with 'emblematic memories' (Stern, 2009) and question traditional distinctions in the Chilean mnemonic field. For example, Jara (2016) examines how some children of Chilean activists remember their childhood in the dictatorship as a period in which their parents were absent. However, the left-wing culture of memory was not receptive to those kinds of memories; instead, they focused on the heroism and sacrifices of activists to bring down Pinochet. Thus, some children resented their parents' activism and sacrifices for 'the cause' (Jara, 2016), as it meant they had a precarious childhood. These memories tend to disfigure the traditional narratives of the heroic and resistant left by focusing on the emotional costs of activism for some of the children. Following these and other examples, Jara (2016) points to the relevance of considering memories that do not fit into traditional distinctions. Memories are not black or white, left or right, but there are multiple grey zones and interstices that cannot be left unattended by memory studies.

Jara (2016) focuses on the memory of Chilean children affected by the dictatorial violence in different ways and through different mechanisms. This chapter focuses on such children under the term '1.5 generation.' This category has been used to identify the children who have a direct experience of their 'home' country before migrating with their parents (Kebede, 2010). As Susan Suleiman (2002, p. 277) argues, the 1.5 generation refers to children who were "too young to have an adult understanding of what was happening to them, but old enough to have *been there*" [emphasis in the original]. However, the problem starts when trying to delimit who is part of the 1.5 generation (Suleiman, 2002), especially in the context of the Chilean dictatorship, given that it lasted 17 years. Should we group all the children of exiles in the same group of 'children'? While this option is tempting, Sewite Solomon Kebede (2010) argues that it is not convenient to subsume all the generational diversity under the same category because there are differences that should not be ignored. The children of the 1.5 generation have commonalities and differences with the second generation, and the findings suggest that the differences are salient. Hence, these two groups are viewed as different generations. However, considering the duration of the dictatorship, participants born in 1960 or 1980 could be part of the 1.5 generation, granted that they had to migrate with their parents due to political

persecution. Despite this difficulty, there is a common factor in having a first-hand experience of the country before migrating. This becomes clear in contrast with the second generation, who relate to Chile through stories and media, constructing prosthetic memories (Landsberg, 2004) and assembling postmemories (Hirsch, 2008). The memories of the 1.5 generation consist of a mixture of first-hand and family-mediated experiences. Even though they 'were there', they were also children, and the voices of their parents and other adults mediate their experiences of the dictatorship and the social world. Therefore, the 1.5 generation presents a complex configuration that involves being there and dynamics of familial socialisation and transmission, which means that their families have a relevant place in their memories.

Despite the differences between the 1.5 and second generations, both groups share the overarching theme of nostalgia. This term's most general and simple definition identifies "both a sense of personal loss and longing for an idealized past, and a distorted public version of a particular historical period or a particular social formation in the past" (Pickering & Keightley, 2006, p. 922). As has been argued by different scholars (Bonnett, 2010; Boym, 2001; Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Smith & Campbell, 2017), nostalgia has been unfairly reduced to a simple rejection of the present for a preference of how things used to be, therefore being regressive and conservative. However, considering Alastair Bonnet's (2010) and Svetlana Boym's (2001) arguments, I understand nostalgia is not merely a backwards-looking and unreflective affective practice. As they both argue, nostalgia is characterised by a dislocation with the present, and as such, it presents a reflective relationship with history. Therefore, nostalgia is a complex affective practice (Smith & Campbell, 2017) and is far from straightforward (Pickering & Keightley, 2006). Nostalgia involves dwelling in the past to recognise its unfulfilled promises in what was lost. This recognition may fuel the radical political imagination (Bonnett, 2010; Smith & Campbell, 2017) that motivates activism. Therefore, nostalgia involves looking back and forward, stepping into the past to leap towards the future's possibilities. When discussing the findings, I understand nostalgia as an affective practice involving a critical ambivalence towards the present, in which the past is valued as it offers the feeling of a home or belonging, recognising its loss in the present, activating the imagination of what the future could be and could have been. The nuances are related to the particularities of both groups' experiences. Among the 1.5 generation,

the longing for their lost homes is simultaneously a critique of the process of forced migration. That is, their homes were not merely lost but taken from them, and with this, there is a critique of the political violence that produces their nostalgic condition. Participants from the second generation also expressed a sense of loss that was more directly associated with their identities and their imagined lives. As such, this is more directly related to ambivalent nostalgia (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002), which connects with issues of postmemory and imagination that I explore in Chapter 8.

Throughout the results, the term *transmission* refers to the processes in which memories are produced intergenerationally, focusing on the children's point of view. This and the following chapter do not include the views of the participants' parents nor attempt to compare or contrast both. Jara (2016) poses a convincing argument that children's voices are a relevant and urgent subject to examine to understand the effects of the dictatorship through the lens of the children. As they are often overlooked actors in memory studies of the dictatorship, these chapters aim to make salient their voices and ways of remembering.

Happiness and Allende's Government

There are happy memories among the participants that were children during Allende's government. Some aspects they highlighted during the interviews were associated with memories of their parents and neighbours, which included knowing of their parents' support of Allende, which also involved them as children. As one participant mentioned: "Sí, yo me acuerdo incluso mucho antes de que saliera Allende de presidente, porque viste que él estuvo de (sonríe) candidato varias veces y era senador y todo eso. Mis papás siempre lo apoyaron en todas las candidaturas" ["Yes, I even remember before Allende got elected, because you see he was (smiles) a candidate many times and was a senator and all of that. My parents always supported him in all his candidatures"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). She continued and remembered how she and her parents would put Allende's image on the front of their house, publicly demonstrating their support. Even though she was a child during those years, she participated with her parents and felt happy when Allende was elected. She stated: "Entonces cuando salió Allende de presidente, nosotros pero felices, felices, contentos, eh (pausa) nosotros como éramos cabros chicos todavía no nos llevaron, pero mi mamá y mi papá sí fueron a celebrar" ["When Allende was elected president, we were happy, happy, pleased, eh (pauses)

because we were children they did not take us, but my mom and dad went to celebrate”] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). It is notable how the participant makes clear her position of actively participating in the political world with her parents and her feelings of happiness with Allende’s election. However, she was also a child and could not participate in some spaces reserved for adults. This reflects the complex dynamics of ideological transmission within the familial space, their emotional articulation, and how children could not participate in every political instance with their parents.

Similarly, another participant remarked that Allende’s government meant better life conditions for his parents and neighbourhood. He remembered: “Imagínate que familias que tenían 11 hijos, 12 hijos, que pudieran por ejemplo lograr tener una televisión, tener un refrigerador como la gente, ¿me cachai? La lavadora, ya no era la artesa, era con lavadora” [“Imagine that families that had 11 children, 12 children, could have, for example, a television, a fridge like other people, you understand? A washing machine, no longer the buddle, a washing machine”] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). These commodities improved the living conditions of the neighbourhood where he lived. If before Allende, these commodities could only be afforded by wealthy people, with Allende, these commodities were within reach of the middle class and poor sectors of society. Additionally, he also remembered how there were more options for workers to access education:

Entonces, tengo memoria de esas cosas lindas, del de los tiempos de Allende. Tengo memoria de lo que fue el cambio, por ejemplo, de mis padres cuando pudieron estudiar, con el DUOC, que era el Departamento Universitario Obrero Campesino (...) cada trabajador, mostrando su planilla de pago, podía estudiar la carrera que quisieras, gratis. Carreras técnicas en ese tiempo, y era la hora vespertina, después del trabajo se iban todos a estudiar. Mi papá estudió dibujante técnico, y pasó de ser soldador, pasó a la oficina.

[So, I remember those pretty things of Allende’s time. I have the memory of the changes, for example, that my parents could study with the DUOC, that

was, the Peasant Worker University Department (...) every worker, showing their payslip, could study the degree they wanted for free. Technical degrees in those times, and it was vespertine, so after work, they all went to study. My dad studied technical drawing and went from being a welder to the office] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son).

It is striking how the memories of these participants are so clear about the political and social changes that were taking place around them, which speak to the impact that Allende's policies had on their lives as the children of workers. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, they were aware of these changes as an effect of political socialisation, which included conversations with their parents and in spaces outside of the family. For example, one participant stated: "Mi papá siempre hablaba, ¿no? De los cambios que estaban habiendo. Hablaba de su trabajo, de los cambios que había en el trabajo" [My dad always talked, right? Of the changes that were taking place. He talked about his work, of the changes that were taking place at work"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). She also added that: "Veíamos mucho las noticias y nosotros, a pesar de que éramos chicos, siempre estábamos informados desde el punto de vista de lo que nosotros veíamos, de lo que mis papás conversaban y comentaban" ["We frequently watched the news and we, even though we were kids, were always informed from the point of view of what we saw, of what my parents talked and commented"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). These conversations are the ones that Cornejo et al. (2021) also identify as being important in the process of ideological transmission within familial spaces. The findings suggest that children were socialised in politics and understood the times and the changes that were taking place, directly and indirectly, in their lives. With those different instances of transmission, they were part of the historical process and not merely passive witnesses.

These conversations not only took place within familial spaces. For example, a participant talked about how he could understand and participate in politics because of his contact with neighbours and teachers. Most of them supported Allende and were political activists, and he remembered: "Tuve la suerte de tener mi vecino, que era presidente de los estudiantes de (comuna de Región Metropolitana), que me agarró bajo su alero y me estuvo guiando por un tiempo bien largo" ["I was

lucky to have my neighbour, who was the students' president of (city in Región Metropolitana), who took me under his wing and guided me for a long time"] (M, G 1.5, 60+, FW son). In addition to conversations, children participated in protests and demonstrations with other students, for instance: "Íbamos mucho a las manifestaciones en apoyo al gobierno. Entonces mis papás iban con los adultos, digamos, y yo iba siempre a las manifestaciones estudiantiles en apoyo al gobierno" [We went often to demonstrations to support the government. My parents went with the adults, and I always went to the student manifestations to support the government"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). In this sense, conversations and other forms of political and social participation transmitted ideological content to the children during Allende's government.

Finally, some participants of the 1.5 generation referenced the books and literature they read during those times. Notably, some participants remembered the books edited by 'Quimantú'³³:

Me acuerdo que había mucha cosa, por ejemplo, enseñanza eh, eh los cuadernillos de enseñanza (...) en la editorial Quimantú creo que eran, que sacaba muchos cuadernillos para enseñar a la gente en las poblaciones viste, cosas que estaban ya más al acceso de la gente, cosas explicadas de repente un poco más simplemente; en fin, mi papá siempre nos traía eso para que lo leyéramos, estudiáramos, eh, incluso nosotros, o sea de la edad nuestra.

[I remember there were many things, for example, teaching, eh, the teaching booklets (...) in the Quimantú publisher I think it was, that they released lots of booklets to teach people in the *poblaciones*, things that were more accessible to the people, things explained perhaps a bit more simply; anyway, my dad

³³ The *Editora Nacional Quimantú* was a national publisher created during Allende's government to promote reading, as well as a cultural transformation of the Chilean society, through the affordable access of books. Quimantú created different thematic lines aimed for diverse audiences, including women, children, and young students. Quimantú offered books of national and classical literature, as well as magazines with ideological content in support of socialism.

always brought those for us to read, study, eh, even us, I mean for our age]
(F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter).

Considering this, figures 1 and 2 show the covers of some of the booklets and magazines edited by Quimantú. Notably, the contents of these magazines and booklets were explicitly political and had educational purposes, not only for children but also for workers, and covered different aspects related to socialism, education and the economy, among others.

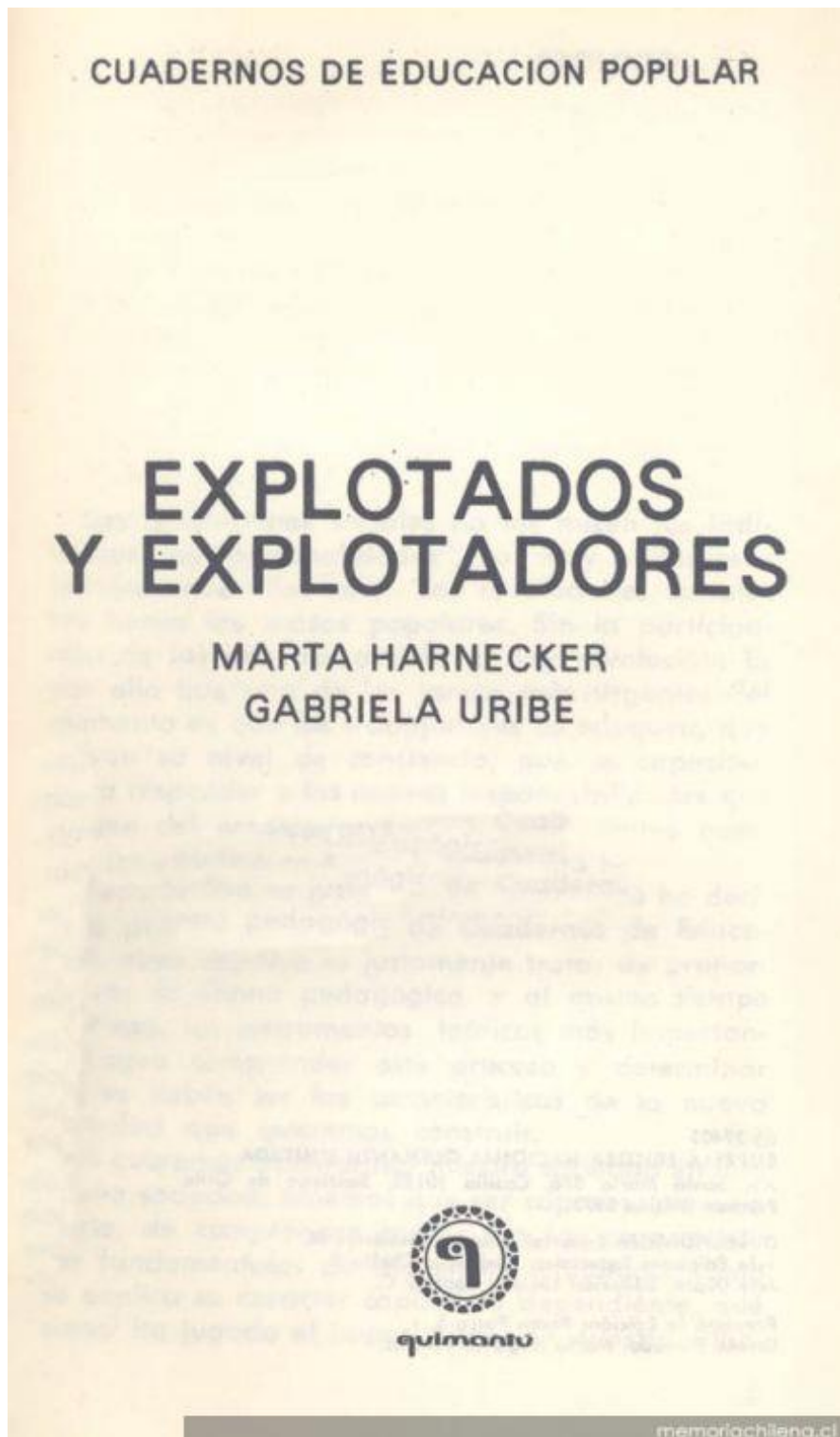
The different memories of children from Allende's days show how politics and everyday life were not separated life spheres. As children grew up during Allende's government, political socialisation and conversations occurred within familial spaces and with neighbours and schoolteachers. However, because memories are not isolated from each other, the happiness of their childhoods is accentuated by the contrast of how their lives were after the coup took place. As one participant put it:

Entonces tengo buena memoria de lo que fue la vida con Allende. Y yo digo siempre, es un dicho que tengo que trato de usar mucho, que es que éramos felices, pero no lo sabíamos, no sabíamos que éramos tan felices (...) De repente, cuando nos arrebataron la felicidad, recién (chasquea los dedos).

[So, I have a good memory of what life was with Allende. And I always say, is a phrase that I try to use often, that we were happy, but we did not know, we did not know that we were so happy (...) Suddenly, when they took away the happiness, just then (snaps his fingers).] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son)

Figure 1

Cover of Cuadernos de Educación Popular: Explotados y Explotadores [Booklets of Popular Education: Exploited and Exploiters]



Note. From *Portada de Explotados y Explotadores*, 1971, by Marta Hanecker and Gabriela Uribe, edited by Quimantú (<http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-77626.html>). CC BY-SA.

Figure 2

Cover of *La Firme*, number 14, July 1971



Note. The dialogue bubble reads “Con la historia de Cuba, chico!” [With the History of Cuba, *chico*!]. From *Portada de La Firme: número 14, julio de 1971*, edited by Quimantú (<http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-348858.html>). CC BY-SA.

The different participants' words reflect that joyful affective-mnemonic practices shape the childhoods of the 1.5 generation before the coup took place. With explicit expressions such as 'being happy', having 'pretty' memories, and with utterances that articulate a sense of change and hope, participants of the 1.5 generation speak of a similar joy as discussed in Chapter 5, of participating in a broader history of class and ideological struggle. In other words, they were happy because they could talk freely about politics, learn, and participate with others of the times they lived in. The joyful affective-mnemonic practices that constitute the memories of their childhoods are about interpersonal and ideological connections, especially within the familial space but also with other people, such as other students and their neighbours. However, the last participant's quote illustrates, with the snap of the fingers, the suddenness with which their happiness was taken away; it was a sudden realisation of how happy they were with Allende because of how drastically their lives changed with the coup. The dictatorship tore their happiness apart, and violence and fear started to take place in their lives.

Dictatorship, Violence and Fear

If with Allende, the memories of children are of happiness, having public conversations and learning of socialism; with Pinochet, the memories are of fear, violence and repressing their political ideas outside the house. All the children noticed the change that came with the dictatorship because of its impact on their families and neighbourhoods. Interviewees remembered the changes in their routines and the people around them just a few days after the coup. For example: "Entonces, esos recuerdos tengo de los primeros días, del cambio total, de no poder salir, por ejemplo, mirar entre las cortinas, eh (pausa) no poder celebrar el 18" ["So, those are the memories that I have of the first days, the total change, not being able to go out, for example, watching from the curtains, eh (pauses) not being able to celebrate the 18th" ³⁴] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). Other participants noticed how their schoolteachers, who used to discuss politics with them, no longer talked about politics. As Lira and Castillo (1991) argue, threat and fear were installed as part of

³⁴ The 18th of September is the day that marks the Chilean independence from the Spanish colony. It is a date in which people get together, celebrate, dance, play traditional games, eat and drink in a festive celebration. In 1973, the 18th of September was a week after the coup, which explains why they did not celebrate.

everyday life. One participant illustrated this with a powerful story about fear. She lived in a working-class neighbourhood in Santiago, and the military and police were constantly on the streets. She was with her family having a familial event when a soldier stood outside of the front yard where they were:

Sí sí. Me acuerdo que se acercó como a la reja y yo tendría como unos tres, tres años. Y todo, toda la familia salió corriendo para adentro de la casa y yo no me di cuenta. Y ahí quedé yo, el milico y la reja (pausa). Y todos adentro en la casa gritando (imitando la voz de sus familiares) '¡(Nombre), por favor, entra entra!' Y yo entendía que en ese momento, eh, era de miedo, o sea, casi de terror y todos asustados y nadie venía a buscarme. Y yo como congelada delante del milico.

[Yes, yes. I remember he got close to the fence, and I was like three, three years old. And everyone, all the family, ran inside the house and I did not realise. And there I was, the *milico*³⁵ and the fence (pauses). And everyone inside of the house shouting (imitates her family's voices) '(Name), please, get inside, get inside!' And I understood that that moment, eh, was of fear, I mean, almost terror and everyone was afraid, and no one was coming for me. And I was like frozen in front of the milico] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter).

This excerpt illustrates an affective-mnemonic practice in which the encounter with a military man is shaped as a fearful experience. From the participant's story, it is possible to understand that fear was mediated by her family's reaction to the presence of the milico. As I argue in Chapter 9, fear is an affective practice in response to uncertainty. In this case, it has to do with the family knowing very well what the milico represented and the protagonist not knowing. There was no certainty as to what the milico would do to a child, and it was better not to put themselves in the situation of having to find out. With her family's reaction, the interviewee realised that she was in a moment of danger and that the milico could harm her, and that she

³⁵ Informal way in which Chileans refer to members of the military forces.

ought to fear him. This excerpt also shows how children became part of a world in which the threat of political violence was present every day. Another participant, who was 13 years old when the coup happened, illustrates the same point. Reflecting on what he remembered of the dictatorship, he mentioned: “La presencia de los milicos, eso es lo terrible de todo, cachai, la presencia de los milicos en la calle, constante, cachai, una hueá constante” [“The presence of the *milicos*, that is the terrible thing of all, you know, the presence of the *milicos* in the street, constantly, you know, a constant thing”] (M, G 1.5, 60+, FW son). In this sense, the *milicos* were feared because of what they meant for left-wingers and dissidents: constant vigilance and a dangerous threat to their lives.

Similarly, another participant’s story illustrates how fear shaped every public and private space. She spoke about the fear of losing her brother and father, who actively participated in social movements of resistance to the dictatorship. The difference is that this participant spoke about fear as anticipation of what could happen to her family if the police took them:

El miedo era tan grande de saber de que mi hermano podía ser detenido, torturado y desaparecido y de que nunca más lo iba a ver. Así que cada vez que ellos salían de la casa, para mí era, ‘espero volver a verlos’, ¿no? Lo mismo mi padre.

[It was such a big fear that my brother could be arrested, tortured, and disappeared and that I would never see him again. So, every time they left the house, for me, it was, ‘I hope to see them again,’ right? The same with my father] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter).

This example shows that fear was present in different forms, in this case, as anticipation of the consequences of state terrorism on their loved ones. These stories also illustrate how children actively interpreted their worlds and lives using available cultural codes and not passively reacting to what happened around them.

Despite the age differences of participants, all of them were aware of the dangers of the dictatorship’s violence, and it did not matter if they were inside or outside their houses. For example, a participant remembered she was sleeping with her brother in their room when bullets came through their window and one of them

almost hit her brother: “Si es que mi hermano se hubiera levantado en el momento en que dispararon las balas (...) lo hubiera matado porque eran como centímetros de su cabeza” [“If my brother had gotten up at the moment in which they shot the bullets (...) it would have killed him because it was like centimetres from his head”] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter). When it came to being outside and talking with others, the norm was repressing and keeping silent about their families’ activities and political ideologies. For example, one participant said how she was not able to talk in her school about her life and her family:

Yo no podía explicar lo que me pasaba en la casa, yo no podía decir ‘no, es que anoche no dormí porque iban a venir a allanar la casa’, eh, esas cosas no se contaban, no se contaba lo que tus papás andaban en las reuniones o tu hermano, ¿no? Entonces un montón de represión adentro como niña.

[I could not explain what happened in the house, I could not say ‘no, I did not sleep well last night because they were going to raid the house’, eh, those things were not spoken about, it was not said that your parents or your brother were in meetings, right? So, a lot of repressions inside as a girl] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter).

As part of the culture of fear, children learned to keep silent and hide their private lives from others. They did this because fear also implied mistrusting everyone, as there was no certainty of *who* they were, if they were with or against the dictatorship, given that many civilians turned others to the police (see Chapter 4). This resonates with the participant’s account, as she could not disclose any personal information because doing so would imply that others would know about her family and their political involvement.

A striking characteristic in the different stories of the 1.5 generation was that most of them talked about these issues as part of their *normalcy*. For example: “En ese momento para mí todo eso era normal, era mi estilo de vida. Yo no conocía otra cosa” [“At that moment, to me, all that was normal; it was my lifestyle. I did not know anything else”] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter). Another participant used a similar expression: “Era como, esa era nuestra realidad (...) Yo me acuerdo siempre el terror que sentía” [“It was like, that was our reality (...) I always remember the terror I

felt"] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter). Exploring this sense of normalcy further, participants whose parents were taken as prisoners also posed similar reflections. For example, one participant whose father was imprisoned and held in the Estadio Nacional remembered how she went with her mother every day to the Estadio to see if the military released her father. During these visits, she witnessed the desperation and horror of others, as well as the military's violence towards the people looking for their families. She stated: "Entonces, eso es lo que hacíamos todos los días, ¿no? Todos los días, nos poníamos dos acá, dos acá, dos allá, dos acá (refiriéndose a las salidas del estadio). Y ahí esperábamos" [So, that is what we did every day, right? Every day, we put two here, two there, two there, two here (referring to the stadium's exits). And there we waited] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). The emphasis on doing this *every day* tells of how it was experiencing the stress and fear, witnessing the desperation, all of this while not knowing about her father and uncle; both held captive in the *Estadio*. When I asked her how old she was at the time, she answered that she was 13 years old, and her sister, who also went with them, was 12, which demonstrates how the dictatorship altered the childhoods of the 1.5 generation. As Suleiman (2002, p. 277) notes, the 1.5 generation usually shares the experience of "premature aging, having to act as an adult while still a child", which is the case of many interviewees of this group. For example, another participant was also involved when the military took his father away when he was 12-13 years old:

Yo siempre fui una persona alta o relativamente alto desde temprana edad (...) aunque tenía 12 o 13 años, pasaba de ser un pendejo más, como con más edad (...) Y eso también me costó cuando fueron a buscar a mi viejo a mi casa, hicieron un tremendo escándalo. Me golpearon a mí, patearon a mi a mi viejo delante de la población, y a mí también me dieron un par de culetazos.

[I always was a tall or relatively tall person from a young age (...) even though I was 12 or 13, I seemed like an older, an older kid (...) And that cost me when they went to take my father; they made a huge scandal. They hit me,

kicked my father in front of the *población*, and hit me with the butt of their rifles] (M, G 1.5, 60+, FW son).

These last two stories show how children faced the dictatorship's violence and how their parents, targeted as activists, mediated their experience. Even though some children faced violence because they were also involved in politics, all 1.5-generation participants share the commonality of telling their stories in relation to what their parents went through and how that affected them. In other words, even though children are the protagonists, it is not possible to understand their experiences without referring to what happened to their parents during the dictatorship. Thus, some experienced constant fear for their family members, others could not continue their incipient political activities because of the trauma, and others dealt with isolation and loneliness. A participant, whose parents and siblings actively resisted the dictatorship, spoke about constantly being alone: "Aislamiento, porque mis padres no estaban. Mi madre en reuniones, mi padre en reuniones, mis hermanos en reuniones. Entonces yo pasaba sola en la casa" ["Isolation, because my parents were not home. My mother in meetings, my father in meetings, my siblings in meetings. So, I was often alone in the house"] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter). Furthermore, she added that she only recently started talking about her loneliness with her father, who realised he never asked her about her experiences and how she lived during those times. This story resonates with one of the aspects that Jara (2016) explores about the children of activists, who were often left alone 'for the cause' and had ambivalent feelings of resentment for not being able to talk about this. This illustrates how children are left out of the memory culture when they are not activists and nevertheless suffer the negative consequences of their family's activism.

These different accounts show how children were impacted by the dictatorial violence and how they learned to fear and repress. Thus, the following subsection explores one of the most significant consequences of the dictatorship that permanently transformed the lives of these children: leaving Chile and becoming migrants in Australia.

Nostalgia and Memories of Another Life in Australia

For all the participants of the 1.5 generation, forcibly migrating to Australia was a shocking event that marked a before and after in their lives. This process was complicated, as many had difficulties overcoming the cultural shock. One participant illustrated this: “Fue un shock, un shock pa nosotros. Y como es para toda persona que va a un país diferente, ¿viste? Extraño. Todos sufrimos un nivel de shock. Pa qué te digo que todo lo odiábamos” [“It was a shock, a shock for us. And it is for everyone who goes to a different country, right? Strange. We all suffered a level of shock. Needless to say, we hated everything”] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). The initial shock comprehended different elements, such as the food, the cultural norms, the language, and relationships with their Australian peers, among others. In this context, different participants talked about the feeling of leaving their lives behind. One of them, whose father was persecuted, reflected on the feeling of his life disappearing as they moved away from Chile to Argentina and finally to Australia:

We had our own home, and we, you know, we lived, went to school, and that disappeared in a day. Then we went to the farm that disappeared, and then we went to Argentina, that disappeared; you know, all and then we thrust here (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son).

The sense that the participant described in terms of his life disappearing in front of him is similar to the experience of another participant:

Lo que más te choca cuando uno llega a esa edad, a los 13 años, es no conocer (pausa) nada, te sacan de tu zona de confort, de tus, de tu medio (...) Donde están todos tus amigos, donde estiras la mano, tú miras y tú conoces, reconoces los olores (...) te quitan todo eso. Eso es lo más chocante. Para para mí fue (pausa) fue horrible. Venía con toda la esperanza de que fuese diferente.

[What strikes you the most when you arrive at that age, at 13 years old, is knowing (pauses) nothing, they take you out of your comfort zone, of your, of your environment (...) Where all of your friends are, where you reach with

your hand, you look and you know, recognise the smell (...) they take away all of that. That is the most shocking. To me, it was (pauses) it was horrible. I came with all the hope that it could be different] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son).

With expressions like ‘we hated everything’, ‘shocking experience’, and their previous lives ‘disappearing’ or ‘taken away’, these quotes illustrate how the affective-mnemonic practices of participants shape the memory of migrating to Australia as a difficult and complicated process of loss. Furthermore, as participants speak of how their life disappeared, the problem of the identities they left behind emerges. To illustrate this, one participant said that in Chile, he was ‘himself’; that is, he had an identity. Arriving in Australia meant he decided to grow up, leaving parts of himself behind to not overwhelm his parents. In this context, he made several decisions: “Me aferro a la música y me aferré a la guitarra, al acordeón, ser parte de un grupo, ser activo y ser (gesto de comillas) feliz” [“Hold on to music and I held on to the guitar, the accordion, be part of a group, be active and be (air quote gesture) happy”] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). At the same time, he spoke about ‘remaining Chilean’. He mentioned that he communicated better in Spanish than in English to not forget his identity: “Me dije que no iba a soltar nunca el castellano. Entonces (pausa) son cosas que uno decide. Y eso, o sea, llegar acá y a los 13 años decir no olvidarte nunca más de lo que eres (pausa)” [“I said that I would never let go of Spanish. So, (pauses) these are things that one decides. Thus, I mean, arriving here, and at 13 years old say never forget ever again who you are (pauses)”] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). This participant reflects how consciously he maintained a connection with his identity and sense of self by staying connected with the language and other cultural elements, like music. However, there are times in which never fully adapting to Australia carries negative consequences, like discrimination. For example, one participant mentioned the issue of having an accent: “Yo hoy en día yo todavía tengo acento. Ya no tengo el problema de no hablar, ¿viste? Yo trabajo y todo, pero yo todavía tengo acento y hasta ahora muchas veces me he sentido muy discriminada” [“To this day, I still have an accent. I no longer have the problem of not speaking, see? I work and everything, but I still have an accent and have often felt very discriminated”] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter). Hence, speaking Spanish and having an accent can be a double edge sword, as it keeps them connected to their identity as Chileans and at the same time defines them as ‘other’ in Australia.

Migrating was a critical experience for the 1.5 generation, as it was a moment in which they had to change their lives. They took on bigger responsibilities in their families, grew up fast, and changed their position, from children who depended on their parents to children who had to become autonomous and even look after their parents. This configured difficulties for them, especially when trying to find common ground with people their age in Australia. For instance: “Yo no tenía amistades acá, porque no entendían el lenguaje que yo venía trayendo (...) [Y]o conocí a gente de mi edad acá y eran tan, yo los llamaba tan tontos. Eran tan, tan niños, tan bebés” [“I did not have friends here because they did not understand the language I brought (...) [I] met people my age here and they were so, I called them so foolish. They were so, so childish, so babyish”] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter). As she went on, she mentioned how she used to listen to her siblings talk about politics and meeting with people who were much older than her. Her story reflects how Chilean children had a significantly different childhood than their Australian peers due to the dictatorship, in which their experience implied participating in the world of adults where fear and threat were present every day. Part of the cultural shock was that their upbringing did not have a place in Australia. Therefore, their experience of being others to Australians ran deeper than cultural and linguistic differences. Leaving Chile meant they had to grow a different life in Australia, in which they participated in political events, supported their families as they were more fluent in English, and learned the Australian cultural codes. As mentioned above, some participants suffered racist discrimination, and all of them developed a strong nostalgia for their homes and the relationships they left behind:

Quizá es como el costo eso de de estarse lejos del país en que uno nació y lejos de la familia y su cultura (...) Siempre se siente y siempre está presente. Y también porque igual uno no se siente que permanece en este país tampoco. O sea, *belong, belong*.

[Maybe it is like the cost of being far away from the country where one was born and far from the family and culture (...). It is always felt and is always

present. And also because one does not feel that one remains in this country either. I mean, belongs, belongs³⁶] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter).

With these words, it is possible to understand how nostalgia configures the relationship of the 1.5 generation with Chile and Australia, which is defined by being away from their homes. As a complex affective practice, the participant illustrates how nostalgia directs her to the home she left when she migrated, the culture, her neighbourhoods, and significant relationships like friends and families. Given the pass of time and the spatial distance, the feeling of belonging is ambivalent, a tension between belonging to the country she experienced in her childhood, and the country where she grew up.

Other participants spoke about being worried about the political process in Chile, about the future of their families and friends, and felt divided between both countries. For instance, a participant referred to this issue, configuring nostalgia as a literal ache of not being in Chile and helping her neighbours and friends:

Una nostalgia bien grande. Preocupados porque en ese año del 88, ¿te acuerdas? Venían las elecciones a final de año (...) No mucho tiempo después de que nosotros nos vinimos, había gente y chicos que nosotros conocíamos, que fueron allanados y fueron detenidos (...) Veía las noticias y era impotencia, era, ¿cómo están? ¿Qué estarán pasando?

[Huge nostalgia. Worried because in that year, the 88', do you remember?

The elections were coming at the end of the year (...) Not long after we came, there were people and kids that we knew, whose houses were raided and they were detained (...) I saw the news, and I felt impotence, I was, how are they? What are they going through?] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter).

³⁶ The participant corrected herself because she used the Spanish word *permanece*, which means *remains*; instead of *pertenece*, which means *belong*. Both words are similar in Spanish, although they have different meanings. Making an interpretative leap, even though she clears the meaning of what she intended to say, the linguistic slip is also telling about the experience of a part of the self that remained in Chile and part of the self that remains in Australia. Therefore, her initial expression, *uno no se siente que permanece en este país tampoco* [one does not feel that one remains in this country either], may illuminate part of the experience of being divided between both countries.

This quote illustrates how nostalgia, as an affective practice, is entangled with the anxiety of not knowing what the participant's friends and neighbours were going through and feeling impotent for not being able to do anything from Australia. Like previous cases, the sense of home is defined by significant relationships that the participant had to leave behind after the migration process, which produces nostalgia.

Another participant spoke about nostalgia but with a different, more 'positive' emotional tone, reflecting nostalgia's ambivalence and complexity (Leunissen et al., 2021) as a mixture of 'positive' and 'negative' feelings. He explained how he remembered in detail different aspects of the 1960s and 1970s before he had to leave Chile. His friends used to be in awe of his memory, but then he explained that this was not about having good memory: "No, no es buena memoria. Es que ahí se frenó una parte de tu vida y quedó ahí marcada" ["No, it is not good memory. It is that a part of your life stopped there, and it remained there, marked"] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). He went on to explain this in further detail:

Porque uno es lo que uno dejó, ahí se selló esa parte y empezó otra historia (pausa). Entonces no es buena memoria, es la memoria selectiva, quizás.

Uno lo archivó y lo dejó acá en un cajoncito del corazón, todas esas cositas que uno no quiere que se borren.

[Because one is what one left behind, that part was sealed, and another story began (pauses). So, it is not good memory; it is selective memory, perhaps.

One archived it and left it here in a little drawer of the heart, all those little things that one does not want to be erased] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son).

The participant explained that he wanted to 'store' and remember all those things forever and concluded his reflection on selective memory: "La memoria selectiva que te da ese como Panadol para la nostalgia, quizás" ["The selective memory gives you like that Panadol for the nostalgia, perhaps"] (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW son). Notably, the participant mentions that his memory is selective, choosing little details of his life that gave him joy and were meaningful while he grew up in Chile. He did not choose to store painful or sad stories but chose those that would relieve the pain of being away from home. Hence, remembering those details kept alive his

emotional connection with the Chile where he grew up, a Chile that today has undergone profound transformations and is no longer the same. Therefore, his metaphor of the Panadol illuminates the paradox of memory and nostalgia. Nostalgia is an ache for a home that is remembered as it constitutes part of identity, and at the same time, memory is a painkiller that connects them to home, relieving the pain. However, the memory of that home is the constant reminder that they are not home and that today, that home no longer exists. Thus, there is no escape from the paradox of memory and nostalgia, as memory is the remedy; it is also what causes pain.

These different accounts suggest that, for the 1.5 generation, nostalgic affective-mnemonic practices configure a complex emotional connection with their 'home' as their feelings are not always positive. For example, a participant used the word *haunting* to describe his experience. Notably, he used this term in the context of listening to Chilean music and how that connected him with his past. In the quote below, he was talking about his experience when he went to see Illapu and Inti Illimani³⁷ in Australia:

And I remember going to see them, you know, and I was obviously getting older by that stage and and in those early years, in the first ten or so years, you know, the emotional connection was very, still very, very strong. You know, like we were, we were away from our actual home. And I remember going to those performances, and it was a very powerful and sad, like, to me to this day, if I hear that Andean music, you know, the panpipe, um, it's this connection to to this sadness that happened to me. You know, it's, um, it's, uh, it's very difficult to explain, but it's just, um, you know, it's more than haunting, you know (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son).

The expression 'more than haunting' is striking and expresses an emotional experience mediated by music. In other words, Inti Illimani and Illapu (among other

³⁷ Both bands are considered part of the Chilean social and musical movement denominated *Nueva Canción Chilena* [New Chilean Song]. The Nueva Canción Chilena renovated the folkloric musical tradition and included social, political, and ideological content in their lyrics, mostly in support of socialism and the Unidad Popular.

Chilean musical bands) connect the participant to his history and past. However, why use the word *haunting*? Avery Gordon's (Gordon et al., 2020) arguments about haunting resonate with the participant's experience. She explains how ghosts appear when the troubles they "represent and symptomize [are] no longer contained or repressed or blocked from view"; as such, "haunting is a way we're notified that what's been suppressed or concealed is very much alive and present" (Gordon et al., 2020, p. 339). Connecting the quote above and Gordon's thoughts, the participant's experience of listening to Chilean music is 'more than haunting' because music connects him with his story, making him sad as his is a story of loss. In this sense, he illustrates more the dimension of loss in nostalgia. Despite the years gone by, listening to that music unveils how the emotional connection to the past is still alive. Therefore, memories and emotions find a place to roam (or haunt) in the musical experience or other instances of cultural connection with Chile.

In the example above, music launches the participant to the past and shows him how his memories and emotions are 'alive and present', revealing how the emotional connection to the past never disappears. Another participant expressed a similar experience: "A veces me ocurre porque estoy escuchando una canción, por ejemplo, y me pasa eso, me acuerdo, y a veces me salen lagrimitas y toda esa cosa" ["Sometimes it happens to me that I am listening to a song, for example, and that happens, I remember, and sometimes little tears come out and all of that"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). She continued to explain how, even though she is used to living in Australia and it is her current home, she still feels a connection to Chile, which illustrates how nostalgia is about keeping a connection to a home that is no longer present: "Igual tengo, ¿no? Esa conexión y esa y esa cosa de lo que ocurrió y (pausa) y todavía siento, ¿no? Reacciones, tengo reacciones fuertes, a veces fuertes, otras veces no tanto" ["I still have, right? That connection and that thing of what happened and (pauses) I still feel, right? Reactions, I have strong reactions, sometimes strong, other times not so much"] (F, G 1.5, 60+, FW daughter). Notably, this participant's reflections speak about how these emotional connections are 'still felt' and that the emotions do not always translate into visceral reactions. This point is relevant to demystifying the idea that emotional reactions are always visible and intense. Therefore, both examples illustrate a broader process of affective-mnemonic practices, in which music and other cultural artifacts unveil the emotional connections to the past that still configure the lives of the 1.5 generation in Australia.

Conclusions

The memories of the 1.5 generation reflect a complex configuration of being children in Chile before migrating. Participants remember with happiness the days of Allende's government, in which they were part of political discussions with their parents and experienced concrete improvements in their life conditions. Children were included in conversations of politics and society, and they were actively participating in those, which reflects how children were not passive in the processes of ideological transmission. The coup and the dictatorship abruptly ended their happiness and introduced the logic of fear, threat, and repression in their everyday lives. As such, through their families and others, children learned to fear the military and the police, as they represented threats to their lives and families. If, with Allende, they could participate in public political conversations, with the dictatorship, they learned to keep silent and not trust other people. Additionally, violence configured their everyday lives, and fear for their loved ones became a dominant emotion. Even though the 1.5 generation were actively understanding their surroundings and the politics of the time, they were not adults, and their parents made the decision to leave Chile. Arriving in Australia was a shocking and critical experience, in which children had to make decisions and grow up fast, taking on more responsibilities, learning a new language, and at the same time maintaining their identities as Chileans. As their previous life disappeared, they could only maintain their sense of self through memory and culture, music, language, and other elements. This configured a sense of estrangement in Australia, facing discrimination and racism and not finding recognition with their Australian peers as their experiences were diametrically different. This produces a complex nostalgia for their homes, which today is remembered with pain, happiness, and ambivalence.

This chapter's findings illuminate the thesis's general argument, that is, that emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. More specifically, it illustrates some of the articulations of affective-mnemonic practices and intergenerational dynamics as processes of ideological transmission in familial spaces mediate the childhood memories of the 1.5 generation. This mediation configures different affective-mnemonic practices of the 1.5 generation, in which childhood memories before the coup are happily remembered as instances of participation and inclusion. At the same time, the memories of the coup and the dictatorship are configured by fear and

the sense of threat, which were also mediated by how the participants' families reacted. Children learnt to be afraid of the police and the military because their families' lives, who were mostly from the left, were threatened by the repressive agents. Finally, the experience and memories of exile are shaped by nostalgia for a home that disappeared with their childhoods. That sense of home cannot be understood in isolation from their childhood and familial spaces that were altered after arriving in Australia. As it has been suggested by Cornejo et al. (2021) and González et al. (2021), the familial space is central in the process of transmission, and I add, in the configuration of affective practices. These emotions shape the memories of the children's homes and their everyday lives during the dictatorship. However, as entangled as they are, the 1.5 generation was also active in the process by interpreting and understanding the social and political world in which they participated. Even though the family is the scenario of transmission, children were not passively reacting to their surroundings. The memories of the 1.5 generation show how children were changing, taking decisions, and transforming themselves in response to their changing circumstances. Paraphrasing Suleiman (2002), children may not have been adults to make the decisions. However, they quickly became adults with the dictatorship and exile, establishing their identities and taking decisions that would have a lasting impact on their lives. Children were not making the decisions during Allende's government and the dictatorship. However, they became protagonists in exile³⁸ as they transformed themselves to be able to respond to changes that were out of their control. Thus, they became something else and shaped their identities differently from what they were in Chile, which leaves them in a nostalgic position for the life they used to have in Chile and with a sense of estrangement or not-fully-belonging in Australia.

In the introduction of the chapter, I argued that there are two groups of children of exiles, the 1.5 and the 2nd generation. As this chapter showed, the memories of the 1.5 generation are shaped by processes of intergenerational transmission, which marked their lives in Australia after migrating with their parents. In contrast, the 2nd generation was born overseas during the exile of their parents, which makes their experience different to the 1.5 generation. Despite this, there are

³⁸ I want to thank Vic Riveros for pointing this out in one of our many conversations about the topic.

some commonalities between both groups, which is part of what I will explore in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 Assembling the Pieces of the Past:

Second Generation's Engagement with the Dictatorship

The previous chapter focused on the 1.5 generation's experiences and memories of the dictatorship, along with the transformations that they went through in exile, which produced a sense of nostalgia for their previous lives in Chile. It also argued that the main difference between the 1.5 and the second generation is having a first-hand experience of Chile. Even though their experiences were mediated by their parents and families, the 1.5 generation has direct memories of Chile during their childhoods. In contrast, the second generation were born abroad and do not have a first-hand experience of Chile before exile. Therefore, their relationship with the dictatorship is mediated by their families and other people's stories, as well as other forms of media that generate different processes of transmission in comparison to the 1.5 generation. This particularity means we need other concepts to analyse the second generation's engagement with the dictatorial past.

Even though the place of the family is still relevant in the transmission process, the concepts of postmemory (Hirsch, 2008) and prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 2004, 2009) are central in this chapter. With these considerations, this chapter explores how the second generation reconstructs the dictatorial past from fragments of media and conversations. As Marianne Hirsch (2008) suggests, with the concept of postmemory, there is an interrelation of mediation and imagination in how the second generation reconstructs the past. This process generates nostalgia, but it is closer to what Hirsch and Leo Spitzer (2002) denominate as 'ambivalent nostalgia', that is, nostalgia for a home that has never existed as it has only been experienced in imagination. This is an ambivalent experience because the second generation's relationship with the dictatorial past is built from fragments and pieces, using stories, photographs, and other media that produce a relationship with a distant land their families call home. Even though they rely more heavily on imagination, this does not mean that their experiences are less 'real' or concrete. Thus, this chapter contributes to the main argument of the thesis, that emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship, particularly by focusing on the relationship between affective-mnemonic practices and intergenerational dynamics. For the second generation, the meaning of the past cannot be disentangled from their ambivalent nostalgic position, which in turn has to be understood in the context of being born and raised overseas. Despite the similarities with the 1.5 generation, the

processes of both groups are different, generating varieties of nostalgia among the children of exiles.

The chapter explores these arguments with the analysis of interviews with second-generation participants, particularly the contents related to the transmission of memories and Chilean culture. Some excerpts are related to media and traditional customs, such as food, films, and music, which become salient as transmission vehicles. Additionally, the contexts in which children talked with their parents and other Chileans from the community became relevant as these instances took place concerning news and political events. Even though no participant talked about a 'special' moment in which parents talked with them about the dictatorship, they did note the instances in which they would talk about politics and learn more about their lives back in Chile. Before focusing on the data, the following section delimits some of the terms used in the chapter, particularly the relation between memory and mediation.

Mediation, Post, and Prosthetic Memories

The memories of the second generation, or what Hirsch (2008) would denominate as the generation of postmemory, present an apparently contradictory issue regarding the memory of trauma. Literature focused on the Holocaust found that children that did not have a direct experience of the events nevertheless had an experience of the Holocaust. How is it that children who did not witness or were directly involved have an experience that is personal and different to the experience of their parents? Following Hirsch (2008), there is an experience, or a memory, of the second generation concerning the Holocaust that cannot be reduced to the experience of the first generation. It is not a memory derived from a first-hand experience; it is made from fragments derived from reading, talking, and listening to conversations, elaborated from remnants of the past that survive in the present. Thus, postmemory refers to a memory not "mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation" (Hirsch, 2008, p. 107). Even though a different mechanism is in place compared to the first generation, it is nevertheless memory because of its affective force, as an embodied and living connection to the past. Such is the case of second-generation Chileans in Australia, who develop a personal and emotional relationship with the dictatorial past without having a direct experience of Chile and the dictatorship.

Additionally, it is possible to argue that second-generation Chileans in Australia develop prosthetic memories of their 'home', Chile. Alison Landsberg (2004, 2009) coined the concept to refer to how media, especially movies, produce memories in people who have not directly experienced an event. Prosthetic memories do not refer exclusively to movies or audiovisual media. For example, transmitting the past through stories and narration is also prosthetic, as it produces an experience that was not directly lived, using technical means such as language and storytelling (Landsberg, 2009). Following this, the idea of a prosthesis of memory is and is not a metaphor. A prosthesis is a tool that alters the way the body functions, allowing it to perform actions that in its 'natural state' would not be able to do. A prosthetic memory also alters the body but in a more subtle way. As Landsberg (2009, p. 222) argues, prosthetic memories have "the capacity to transform one's subjectivity, politics, and ethical engagements" and are "actually worn on the body". Hence, these memories have an emotional meaning, shaping personal relationships and how people relate to the past of different groups.

Additionally, following Keightley and Pickering (2012), memories can be prosthetic and personal at the same time. Engaging with the past through second-hand experiences involves an act of imagination, which alters how a person interprets and makes sense of the past. Returning to Hirsch's (2008) concept of postmemory, people use media and stories creatively to reconstruct the past, producing new interpretations and ways to remember. In the tension of repetition and novelty, the memories of the past can change with each generation. As I examine in the latter sections, the fact that memories are prosthetic does not mean that other people are absent in the process; rather, these forms of media are accompanied by the conversations that children have with their parents and other people from the broader community. Even though the 1.5 generation also engages with media, their memories of the dictatorship rely more heavily on their direct experiences living in Chile. The difference is that for the second generation, the media and the conversations with their parents and friends become the fragments with which they construct their memories.

Previous chapters have touched upon some of the experiences of the second generation, showing that an essential part of their relationship with the dictatorship is mediated by their parents' involvement in the solidarity campaign. Children attended political activities and meetings with their parents, where they would meet other

children and have joyful experiences (see Chapter 5). Additionally, they would witness the distress of their parents and other adults, which configured an ambivalent experience of those instances (see Chapter 6). These antecedents are relevant to understand the context and some of the complexities of the memories of second-generation participants. The following sections of the chapter analyse different processes in the construction of prosthetic memories of this group. Firstly, it focuses on the participants' conversations with their parents and other community members. Secondly, on media and how it triggers conversations, focusing on films, music, photographs, and newspapers. The second part of the chapter emphasises the ethical, subjective, and emotional dimensions of these memories and how they configure the present of the second generation.

Conversations

Different participants referred to their conversations with their parents and community members. Notably, these conversations were not like a formal, sit-down-and-talk setting. One participant reflected on this, mentioning that there was no particular instance in which her parents would tell their whole story and that they would disclose more of their experience as she and her sister grew up: "They didn't they didn't sit us down and tell us in full (...) As we were growing up like we would ask the question, they would answer, like, in that kind of way" (F, G2, 20+, SW5 daughter). Another participant had a similar experience: "Mira (pausa) otra gente de la comunidad (...) nadie, no, nunca se sentó nadie con nosotros a contarnos la historia" ["Look (pauses) other people from the community (...) no one, no, no one ever sat with us to tell us the history"] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). These and other participants suggested that the conversations did not take place in a solemn instance where adults would talk about their history with their children. Instead, the moments in which they would talk were more quotidian, usually in their houses, concerning personal questions and news or other events. In this context, different participants talked about how the news related to politics usually elicited conversations with their parents, in which they would learn more about their past and family history.

Despite this, there are differences between children who grew up in Australia during the dictatorship and children who grew up when the dictatorship ended. Children who grew up in Australia during the 1970s and 1980s talked about

attending activities of solidarity, where they learned more about Chile and the dictatorship by interacting with other children and adults and by listening to conversations and political discourses. A participant referred to these events and recalled how she and a friend of hers would playfully imitate the adults in those meetings:

Nosotros echábamos tallas a veces, una vez para que nos escuchaban los grandes, yo con mi amiga empezamos (imitando la voz de los adultos) '¡Pero déjame hablar, compañera, déjame hablar!' (risas de participante y de Nicolás). Y los adultos nos miraban (ríe y comienza a entonar de nuevo) '¡Pero compañero! No, déjame, yo estaba hablando, ¡pero compañero!' (risas). Porque así eran las reuniones, (entonando) 'Pero compañero, con todo respeto' (risas).

[We would joke around sometimes, one time to call the adults' attention, a friend and I started (imitating the tone of the adults), 'Let me talk, *compañero* [comrade], let me talk!' (the participant and Nicolás laugh) And the adults would look at us (she laughs and starts intonating again). 'But *compañero*! No, let me, I was talking, but *compañero*!' (laughter) Because the meetings were like that, (intonating) 'But *compañero*, with all due respect!' (laughter)] (F, G2, 40+, FW2 daughter).

This anecdote reflects how the children attending those meetings with their parents were aware of the discussions the adults were having and how they talked. The playful imitation of the children also shows how they were not merely repeating how the adults talked; they also understood that some words they used, particularly *compañero* [comrade], were ideological signs (Vološinov, 1929/1973) used among the left. Therefore, children were not absently playing with their peers, but they were listening and understanding the contents and the tone of the conversations among the adults.

Additionally, when children attended these events, they would socialise and tell stories with other children. As one participant recalled, these stories were told in

a secretive way because they were not joyful or celebratory. Instead, the stories were about horror and seriousness regarding what their parents and family members had gone through in Chile: “Y así empezamos, las historias empezaron a salir. No para celebrarlo (...) Siempre hubo una cosa que salía y ‘oye (tono de seriedad), esto es lo que le pasó a mi papá” [“And that is how we started, the stories started to come out. Not to celebrate (...) Every time a thing came out and (serious tone) ‘hey, this is what happened to my father’] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). He continued to talk about the details of these stories, which usually touched upon traumatic aspects of the past, like tortures and other details related to the horror and violence of the dictatorship.

Finally, children who attended political events would also talk with their parents about the topics discussed. For example, one participant reflected on these conversations: “Sí era, eran conversaciones [que] siempre ocurrían en términos de de qué era lo que estaba pasando en Chile” [“Yes, the conversations always took place in terms of what was happening in Chile”] (M, G2, 40+, FW son). He also recalled how, after the events of solidarity, they would usually go to the house of another Latin American person and the conversations would continue.

For children born after the end of the dictatorship, the conversations would occur in response to their interests and questions. One of them talked about how these conversations took place more often once they set up a TV in her home that had access to Chilean television channels and programs³⁹:

Getting our cable TV and everything, sort of (pauses) connected us to that part of the identity, finally, I guess (...) That’s when I started learning everything about the (sic) dictadura [dictatorship] and watching programs and learning about it. I would ask questions sometimes to my parents, and they would say, ‘Oh, this is what happened to me’ kind of thing (N: Yeah). ‘This is what I saw’, and yeah, that’s how it began, I guess. So, in my teens, I started researching and finding out more (F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter).

³⁹ During my fieldwork, I noticed this was the case in the houses of different participants, who arranged their TVs to watch Chilean television channels.

This type of interaction was shared among other participants that grew up in the post-dictatorial years. As they did not attend meetings of the solidarity campaign, the television and other Chilean media created the instance to have those conversations with their parents. Additionally, the participant's story regarding television reflects the relevance of connecting with the Chilean context for the second generation to ask more questions about the dictatorship and other events of the past. This connection is an emotional investment that mobilises a desire to know more about their parents' past, and in turn, knowing more about this past is a way for children to understand more about themselves. In this process, participants from the second generation start knowing more about the dictatorial past and about Chile, which also mobilises other questions related to belonging and why they are in Australia. A participant illustrated part of this process: "When you're interested in the history of of *your* country, you, um, you ask questions (...) I was very interested in in my parents', in my parents' past, and I would ask questions myself" [italics added by the author] (M, G2, 20+, SW1 son). I emphasise his use of *your* country, in this case, *his* country being Chile, even though he was born and has lived most of his life in Australia. In most cases, the figures of knowledge of the past and Chile are their parents or someone in their family (in some cases, they asked their cousins and grandparents). Therefore, for the second generation, the key to knowing more about their identity as Chileans was to have conversations with their families about the past and ask questions to elicit these conversations. In this way, they would know more about why their family was forced to migrate during the dictatorship, which helps them to position themselves in Australia concerning their familial past and heritage. Thus, conversations and having the tools to elicit them are one of the means for the second generation to establish a connection with the past, producing an experience of the dictatorship.

Media and Fragments of the Past

Conversations are central to the process of reconstructing the past. Additionally, media that children consumed in events of the Chilean community and at their homes was relevant too. A participant reflected on this and mentioned that it was when she started to "consume media from Chile, starting to learn the language properly, that helped us finally feel like we belong somewhere" (F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter). This account suggests that consuming media might help establish a

connection with Chile, her family's history, and a sense of 'home' and belonging, which in turn touch upon nostalgia and non-belonging. As examined in the sections below, consuming Chilean media to connect with identity is a common process for second-generation participants. Participants spoke about films, music, photographs, and newspapers. The common feature of all these forms of media is that they work as signs (Vološinov, 1929/1973); that is, they stand for something else or have meaning beyond the media itself. In this case, these signs are in a constant relationship with the dictatorial past, which connects the second generation with their identities as children of Chilean exiles by opening their familial histories through conversations and other forms of social interaction.

Films and Movies

Watching television and Chilean channels was one form of media that the second generation used to generate prosthetic memories and thus connect with a sense of identity. Other participants mentioned films and movies as important tools for understanding more about Chile and the dictatorship. The film *Chile: Hasta Cuándo?* [*Chile: When Will It End?*], released in 1986 and produced and directed by Australian filmmaker David Bradbury, was one such film. It shows life under Pinochet's dictatorship, including the ideological divisions between people from the high and lower classes, the poverty in the lower class, and the murderous repression against political dissidence. One participant recalled watching that film in a public event in Sydney, in which Chileans and Australians attended: "Entonces me acuerdo, por ejemplo, haber visto un documental de 'Chile Hasta Cuándo' (...) y ese documental lo mostraron en el centro, en acá en Sydney, y fueron cientos de chilenos y australianos también" ["So, I remember, for example, watching the documentary film 'Chile: When Will It End' (...) and that film was shown in the centre, here in Sydney, and hundreds of Chileans and Australians attended"] (M, G2, 40+, FW son). He also mentioned how the film consolidated what he had seen in the news and heard in conversations and that it had a lasting effect on him. It is worth noting that not only second-generation participants mentioned this film, but also participants from different generations, which shows its impact on the Chilean community in Australia.

Other participants mentioned films that, in general, touched on sensitive subjects. For example, a participant mentioned that the films about the Holocaust were a reference for him to understand what had happened in Chile: "Y entonces,

como como dije (pausa) eran historias de horror, de (sic) atrocities, cosas que yo sabía de películas nomás (...) La única referencia que tenía era, eran los judíos contra los nazis” [“And so, as I said (pauses), they were horror stories, of atrocities, things I knew from films only (...) The only reference I had was the Jewish against the Nazis”] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). This account suggests that films and movies help children imagine and feel what their parents lived through during the dictatorship, thus helping them to understand the political situation in Chile and their family histories.

Another film mentioned by participants was *Machuca* (2004), directed by Andrés Wood. Even though *Machuca* is a fictional film, it is based on real events in 1973, before and after the coup. The movie focuses on the friendship of three children from different social classes and how the coup impacted their relationship. At one point, the upper-class child visits the lower-class child’s house in a scene that portrays the inequality in Chile and the precarious conditions of part of the working class. This becomes a relevant reference for one participant, who started to know more about her family history after his grandfather passed away:

I started to have this interest in socialism and wanting to know more about what happened in Chile, and I got a lot of that information through, like watching documentaries and also like one film that was really huge for me was the movie *Machuca* (...) So that movie was like it was almost like seeing what my family would have lived through and what my family would, where they would have lived, because they weren’t really well-off (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter).

Similar to the accounts regarding *Chile: Hasta Cuándo?*, this participant shows how *Machuca* works by shaping a prosthetic memory of Chile’s past, helping her to imagine what her family’s life was like back in Chile. These, and other films that participants mentioned, are examples of Landsberg’s (2009) concept of prosthetic memory, as it is by engaging with the stories in those movies that participants can more concretely imagine parts of their familial past. As such, they show how the mnemonic imagination shapes the meaning and the use of objects and media (Pickering & Keightley, 2015). Through projection and imagination,

participants produce a memory of an experience they did not directly live but nevertheless shaped their lives.

Music

Second-generation participants also talked about music, and most of them mentioned growing up listening to Chilean bands typically associated with left-wing movements. They mentioned music from Inti Illimani, Illapu, Quilapayún, Víctor Jara, and Violeta Parra, among others. All these artists are usually associated with the *Nueva Canción Chilena* [New Chilean Song], which was referred to in Chapter 7. Given that most of these musicians acquired an explicit commitment to Allende's government during the Popular Unity's government, it is feasible that most of the music that Chileans played in their homes was from the Nueva Canción. The influence of this music can be portrayed with an anecdote from fieldwork.

One participant invited me to Sydney on March 12th, 2022, because part of the community was organising an event called *Fiesta de los Abrazos* (Party of Hugs). This event has been organised by the Chilean Communist Party since 1988, and it consists of different talks and political activities, culminating in a musical concert. The Chilean community in Sydney organised this event following the same format as the traditional *Fiesta de los Abrazos*, with bands and musicians performing at the end. The musicians that performed were members of the Chilean community, who primarily played music from the Nueva Canción Chilena. An aspect that drew my attention was how the audience, composed mainly of first- and second-generation Chileans, was mostly engaged when the music played was from the Nueva Canción and not as engaged when the musicians played other genres. It also struck me that some bands included second-generation Chileans playing instruments and singing. There was even a band fully integrated with second-generation Chileans, whose repertoire included songs from the Nueva Canción, with complex and subtle musical arrangements. All these aspects of the event suggest how Chileans living and growing up in Australia have a strong emotional connection to this music because it relates to their familial past of forced migration. As one participant mentioned:

We grew up with the music that Victor Jara and Inti Illimani and Illapu and everyone like that. My mom used to sing in Chile, she used to cantar folklor,

so she, that had a huge influence on her. So, we kind of grew up listening to that, which was nice (F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter).

Even though the participant does not emphasise much of the dictatorship in this quote, she indirectly refers to this when talking about her mom and how she used to sing folksongs, which suggests that music connects her with the stories of her family and their lives in Chile. In the previous chapter, participants of the 1.5 generation referred to music as a haunting experience, as music connected them to their childhoods and the emotions of their life experiences. In contrast, music and other media connect the second generation with Chile through their parents' stories, which allows them to imagine what their lives could have been without the dictatorship.

Photographs

Participants also mentioned photographs and looking at them with their parents, eliciting conversations about their past and their lives in Chile. As one participant said, she would ask her father: "A lot of the time, looking at photos and asking who people are in photos, where places are in photos, the few photos that we have" (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). She reflected that this was relevant to her because it touched upon the question of identity. When I asked her why she wanted to know about the photographs, she mentioned: "A curiosity and knowing like, where you come from, why you look like you look, why you (pause) interpret things the way you do. Kind of looking for pieces of the puzzle" (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). The metaphor of the puzzle is powerful and resonates with the interest and desire of the second generation to know more about their familial past to answer questions regarding their identities in the present. Furthermore, the idea of assembling the pieces of the puzzle resonates with Hirsch's (2008) ideas of postmemory being a reconstructive act in which the past is built with fragments through projection and imagination. As such, the puzzle refers simultaneously to reconstructing the past and understanding the present. Ultimately, it is important to note that the photographs do not have this symbolic value on their own or as 'things' only, but they acquire meaning through conversations and social interactions.

Another participant talked about a similar experience with photographs and how talking with her parent about their past and the dictatorship. She recalled a particular photograph that produced a strong emotional reaction during the interview:

So really, it's when it's when we are looking through photo albums that kind of invoke those questions (...) They had made this collage pictures and and she has that hanging up in our living room right, and it's basically (pause), it's a picture of (her voice breaks and cries), I would say her and about and and what I'm guessing a couple of her sisters on waving goodbye (F, G2, 20+, SW5 daughter).

This account shows how these memories, even when they are prosthetic, cannot be disentangled from the emotions that affect participants in the present. As Hirsch (2008) suggests, postmemories are like first-hand memories in their affective force. Thus, crying and putting emotions into words reflect that the meaning of the past is articulated with affective practices. Hence, the social mediation of memory is not an abstract and disembodied process but is articulated with and expressive of emotional processes.

Newspapers

Finally, participants discussed how newspapers were used to connect with their familial past. For example, one participant referred to a conversation with her parents about an article she read on Red Flag⁴⁰ about the Chilean social uprising of 2019 to check and validate the information presented in the article:

This article talks about talks about like basically, it's basically summarisation on the 30 of the of the coup that happened 30 years ago (...) Stuff like that like I had thought this while we were at a rally in support of the Hong Kong riots as well, and I bought it initially because to support like independent newsletters like these. And also when I saw the article about Chile, I kind of

⁴⁰ An Australian left-wing newspaper.

wanted to have that fact-checked as well from my parents to see (F, G2, 20+, SW5 daughter).

Notably, this story is contextualised in a broader process of political interests of the participant that are not limited to the Chilean dictatorship but also the protests in Hong Kong for autonomy from China. In the conversation with her parents, the participant also learned more about the dictatorship and the injustices that prevail in the present, as well as about her parents' history and points of view.

Another participant talked differently about newspapers, as it was a piece of memorabilia kept by his mother:

Mi mamá tenía un cajón en la casa, en el cajón tenía una cajita y la cajita tenía un papel. Y yo me acuerdo que un día abrí el papel, y ese papel era un recorte del diario, de La Segunda o un diario de la época, ¿cachai? Del 73, donde salía la foto. Una foto de lo, de los detenidos del Estadio Nacional, salía mi abuelo, sentado en la galería.

[My mom had a drawer in the house; in the drawer, she had a box, and the box had a piece of paper. And I remember that one day I opened the paper, and it was a newspaper clipping of La Segunda⁴¹ or a newspaper of that time, you know? Of the 73', where a photo appeared, a photo of the the prisoners of the Estadio Nacional, where my grandfather was sitting in the gallery] (M, G2, 20+, SW son).

He continued the story and recalled asking his mother about the newspaper. She started crying and told him the history of his grandfather and how he had been taken as a prisoner in the *Estadio*. He reflected that that conversation was when he understood his grandfather's history and how he had been an important political figure before the coup. Following these examples, newspapers create an occasion where children could talk to their parents about the past, learning more about Chile's social and political context, the dictatorship, and family histories.

⁴¹ La Segunda is a traditional and conservative Chilean newspaper.

Considering these findings, films, music, photos, and newspapers are media with which the second generation reconstructs the past, forming prosthetic memories in their conversations with their parents. With these conversations, children know more about their country and family history, answering questions about their lives in Australia. Additionally, media is a tool with which children can imagine how their parents lived back in Chile, as well as a tool that emotionally connects them with the past. Engaging with media and having conversations about it are resources the second generation uses to personally connect and interpret the past, making sense of their own lives in Australia.

Subjective and Emotional Repercussions

The previous sections of the chapter focused on how second-generation participants form prosthetic memories through media and familial conversations that mediate their experience of the dictatorial past. The analysis revealed that participants actively seek to know more about the past to situate themselves in Australia as children of Chilean exiles, as their identities as Chilean-Australians are constantly ‘travelling’ between both countries (Collin, 2006). However, prosthetic memories are not exhausted in these processes. The following sections of the chapter illustrate a continuous relationship between the dictatorial past and Chile’s present in their everyday lives, which configures an ambivalent and nostalgic sense of belonging to Chile.

A Past that Lurks in the Background

A recurrent experience for second-generation participants was the degree to which the dictatorship was a constantly recurring topic. This does not mean that the conversations are always directly about the dictatorship but that this topic is potentially present in their everyday lives regardless of the temporal and geographical distance. For example, one participant stated: “Mira, yo creo que, mira, aunque no es el foco de la conversación, siempre hay algo relacionado o inconscientemente ah, cómo se dice, relacionado con este evento o con la dictadura” [“Look, I think that look, even though is not the focus of the conversation, there is always something related or unconsciously ah, how do you say, related to this event or with the dictatorship”] (F, G2, 30+, SW daughter). Thus, the dictatorship may not be the topic of everyday conversations, but there is a sense that it returns

as a topic. The participant above mentioned how even when watching movies that were not directly related to Chile or the dictatorship, she would end up talking with her mother about the dictatorship: “Aunque no es directo sobre la dictadura, es un tema que siempre estamos haciendo esas comparaciones y siempre de una forma llega a ser un tema” [“Even though is not directly about the dictatorship, is a theme that we are always making comparisons and always ends up being a theme”] (F, G2, 30+, SW daughter).

This experience of the ‘returning dictatorship’ was shared among second-generation participants. Another participant reflected on this issue and talked about the dictatorship as a topic lurking in the background, which is similar to the idea of ‘haunting’ discussed in Chapter 7:

But thoughts about Chile is always lurking in the back of our minds, I guess like seeing what’s happening now with Piñera and, you know, people trying to fight again for their rights. The Constitution hasn’t changed since Pinochet. You know, all these things, we’re always, *vivimos pendiente* [we are constantly aware⁴²] of what happens in Chile. You know, (N: Yeah) it doesn’t go away. But I guess the thoughts about the *dictadura* it’s not really something that comes up in everyday conversation, though. It just lurks in the background (both the participant and Nicolás laugh) (F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter).

A salient aspect of this participant’s words is that she uses *lurk* twice to refer to her thoughts about the dictatorship, which suggests that the topic of the dictatorship is always a looming possibility or a lurking subject. It is also salient that the participant emphasises that she is always aware of what happens in Chile, which is expressive of an emotional connection with Chile that is constant and alive in the present. As Landsberg (2009) emphasises, prosthetic memories can shape subjective processes, as well as the ethics and politics of people. In this case, prosthetic memories of the dictatorship shape the present of the second generation

⁴² The participant's expression in Spanish, *vivimos pendiente*, would be translated as *we live pending*. The expression means to be in a constant state of awareness or with constant attention to what is happening in Chile.

by directing their attention to Chile, which makes the dictatorship a returning theme of conversation. This links back to a point made in Chapter 4, in which a second-generation participant stated that he and his family could not talk about Australia without talking about the dictatorship.

Additionally, it is notable that we laughed after the participant talked about the dictatorship lurking in the background. This is interesting because she was not telling a joke or something funny, but there was shared laughter as the topic was serious. In his essay about laughter and humour, Freud (1905) argues that jokes touch upon the unconscious or repressed aspects of our psychic life, allowing for the discharge of repressed psychic energy, and laughter is the expression of this emotional discharge. Returning to our shared laugh with the participant, when she put into words the idea that the dictatorship lurks in the background, she expressed something of the seriousness of the moment in which we were living. From my position, growing up in Chile during the 1990s meant that I did not have a direct experience with the dictatorship. However, different events inevitably brought the dictatorship and its legacies to the fore, as mentioned in Chapter 1. For example, the strong anti-communism and the association of every progressive idea to communism; the protests and their naturalised violent repression; and the general injustice and inequality perpetuated by the neoliberal system. In the context of the interview, which took place in 2020, a year after the social uprising in which Piñera deployed the army to repress the protests, the dictatorship indeed lurked in the background. The discursive and practical similarities that those events had with the dictatorship were shocking and had different Chileans, including myself, in a constant state of tension and anxiety (see Chapter 9). Hence, when she expressed how the dictatorship lurks in the background, she brought all these tensions and anxieties in us forward. We both laughed because suddenly, we could see and address the lurking dictatorship, making it obvious how these thoughts were there all along, unaddressed. Even though this reflects a process from my position as a researcher, it nonetheless illustrates the dictatorship's lasting and continuous emotional and material impact in the present.

Identity, Belonging, and Ambivalent Nostalgia

Chapter 6 discussed how Chilean migrants in Australia have ambivalent bonds with Chilean and Australian communities, thus shaping a liminal sense of belonging and

liminal identities. For second-generation Chileans, the question of their identities configures their present lives as it touches upon the issue of belonging. Where do second-generation Chileans belong? Where do their memories belong? Growing up in exile generates these questions, which cannot be straightforwardly answered. For example, as discussed in Chapter 7, participants from the 1.5 generation maintained a sense of identity through active processes like participating in events of the Chilean community and speaking Spanish, among other practices, to keep a connection with their homes. In turn, the second generation engages in active processes to 'put together the pieces of the puzzle' by watching movies, listening to music, and asking their parents about the past using photographs, newspapers, and other available tools. Through different means, both groups strive to keep their connection to a sense of home in Chile, where they feel they belong. However, the issue becomes more complex because they know they have spent most, if not all, of their lives in Australia. Therefore, despite the commonalities between both generations, there are differences that make the problem of belonging a problem of 'ambivalent nostalgia' (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002) for the second generation.

Ambivalent nostalgia refers to how the second generation deals with a fragmented past, in which they inherit shards of memory of their 'home' from the first generation (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002). Dealing with such fragments involves confronting clashing emotional tones of the past, composed of joy, sadness, horror, comradeship, and trauma, among others. It becomes the task of second generations to assemble these shards and assess their relationship to the past. This task, however, is never finished or completed (Delisle, 2011). Hence, ambivalent nostalgia describes a complex process of belonging to a home that is in another place but does not exist. As Delisle (2011) argues, this form of nostalgia is not an idealisation of the past; instead, it is a complex longing for a home that is imagined from multiple and fragmented narratives. Ambivalent nostalgia helps us understand the processes in which second-generation Chileans express a longing for their homes in Chile. However, it is also a longing for a home that has only been imagined, that does not physically exist, and thus configures an ambivalent experience as the second generation deals with conflictive feelings that their homes are in another place while they still live in Australia.

Some of these issues are reflected in the problem of language. If the 1.5 generation struggles with their accent when speaking English, it is the other way

around for the second generation—they can speak English without any problem, but they cannot speak Spanish fluently or have accents that differentiate them from the first and 1.5 generations. As a participant noted in Chapter 6, not speaking Spanish produces a distance or a disconnection from the Chilean identity, which is a complicated position. However, even participants who can speak both languages still engage in activities that aim to connect with their Chilean and Latin American identities. Second-generation Chileans are constantly looking for these instances because it responds to a desire for connection and belonging. This process is independent of not having a direct experience of Chile, as growing up with the narrative of exile produces the feeling of disconnection with a part of themselves. A counterexample illustrates this process. I interviewed a second-generation participant who was born in Australia and moved back to Chile with his family after the end of the dictatorship when he was 6 or 7 years old. He grew up in Chile, studied, worked, and was involved in political activities there. However, he still felt that part of him belonged in Australia because the conversations with his parents would lead to the story of exile due to his father's political persecution. Thus, he grew up with this narrative and with the stories of his family's life in Australia, which made him feel that part of him was in Australia: "Y eso es complejo porque yo, yo llego acá a Australia y yo no me siento australiano. Pero yo soy australiano, ¿cachai? Yo nací acá, yo aprendí a hablar acá, ¿cachai?" ["And that is complex because I, I arrive in Australia, and I do not feel Australian. However, I am Australian, you know? I was born here; I learnt to talk here, you know?"] (M, G2, 20+, SW son).

Deepening in this issue, he reflected on how he had a history in Australia and his ambivalent feelings about this: "Se siente, sí po, se siente (pausa) un poco un poco ficticia, en verdad, cachai, porque en verdad mi historia está en Chile, pero, pero realmente también tengo un rollo acá, ¿cachai? Un rollo que es difícil de solucionar" ["It feels that way, yes, it feels (pauses) a bit fictitious really, because really my history is in Chile, but, but I also have a story⁴³ here, you know? A story that is hard to solve"] (M, G2, 20+, SW son). This participant illustrates a process of Chileans who have lived most of their lives in Australia. It is not a matter of the time

⁴³ The participant uses the word *rollo*, which is hard to translate in English. The literal translation of *rollo* is roll, and it also means something that is folded and has multiple layers. When Chileans use the word *rollo*, they usually refer to an issue or a complex problem that requires unfolding to be fully grasped or solved. Given that there is no direct translation of the meaning of *rollo*, I opted for the word *story*.

spent in one country, but it is a matter of feeling that a part of one's story belongs elsewhere. Therefore, growing up with the narrative of exile produces the feeling that part of the self belongs somewhere else, eliciting different questions of identity and belonging.

There was no second-generation participant that explicitly used the word *nostalgia*, but many wondered what their lives could have been if the dictatorship had not happened. For example, one participant reflected on her emotions concerning her story using the words sadness, loss, and disconnection: "It feels a bit uhm unfair to say this, but I feel like an immense sadness. Uhm (pauses) and a sense of loss and disconnection that I don't know if that's mine to feel, but I feel it nonetheless" (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). As a complex affective-mnemonic practice, ambivalent nostalgia articulates memory transmission and imagination, which brings up questions of legitimacy about one's own feelings. The participant is expressing a sense of ambivalent nostalgia because she is talking about the loss of her home that she only knows from fragments and stories; hence, she questions her emotions as they are not about a 'lived' experience, but of an imagined possibility. As such, when we unpacked more of these aspects of her story, she clarified that the sense of loss was related to the life she would have lived if her family had not left Chile: "When I say, like, loss, I don't just mean like my dad's loss either, I think I often wonder what things would be like if I had grown up there" (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). She developed this point further in the interview, wondering about her relationship with her brother and what that would have been like if she had grown up in Chile: "So, like disconnection from identity and all that sort of stuff, which is why it's important for me to know (...) where my family came from, that sort of stuff, which is kind of hard to figure out" (F, G2, 30+, SW7 daughter). In her account, nostalgia is related to the imagination of a possible life, which again touches upon the question of identity and belonging. Notably, the participant involved her family and wondered what their relationship would be like when imagining what her life could have been. This last point resonates with what González et al. (2021) argue about the family being a relevant setting for transmitting memories. Given that she was discussing her experience with the dictatorship, she emphasised familial relations as those become the most salient in her story. Additionally, her loss is not only about the past but also a lost possible life and a future that was denied before she was born.

In a similar sense, another participant expressed that the dictatorship changed her future: “Because, yeah, the dictatorship changed our futures as well. If it hadn’t happened, I guess we would have been in Chile, we would have grown up never in Australia, you know?” (F, G2, 30+, FW13 daughter). She expressed an analogous sense of loss of a possible future that was taken away from her, and, like the previous participant, the loss of what her life could have been ‘back home’. When faced with this issue, nothing is left but imagining or fantasising about that possible life. Another participant reflected on this as well. He observed that food connected him to his Chilean identity and that he felt sad about never being able to eat the food he liked in Chile. However, he was conscious of how his life did not take place in Chile because of the horror his parents experienced back home, which is why they came to Australia. This way, he imagined both possibilities, having a life in Chile in which he would enjoy the food, but at the same time, experiencing the horror of the dictatorship while growing up: “Y esas son las cositas que me da pena, que nunca he podido ir a Chile a hacer, comer un, comer empanadas de Chile, ir a comer un mote con huesillo de Chile, comer esas cosas de Chile” [“Those are the little things that make me sad, that I have never been able to go to Chile to make, eat empanadas, eat a mote con huesillo⁴⁴, eat those things from Chile”] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son). Further in the interview, he made a remark on imagination and how the pleasure he felt for Chilean food was related to a sad history:

Todas esas cosas yo sé que vienen de vuelta, de una cosa muy, muy fea.

Una cosa muy, muy horrible, de una cosa que otra vez, no debería haber pasado (...) pero te imaginas, todo lo que se puede hacer es imaginar.

[All of those things, I know they come back from, from a very ugly thing. A very, very horrible thing, that, again, should not have happened (...) but you imagine, all you can do is imagine] (M, G2, 40+, FW7 & FW9 son).

In this account, the ambivalence of nostalgia is salient. As there is pleasure in the experience of eating Chilean food, there is also the recognition that this experience results from the dictatorship. This way of expressing nostalgia, as an

⁴⁴ Mote con huesillo is a sweet preparation made with boiled wheat (mote) and dried peaches (huesillo).

ambivalent and imaginative experience, reflects how second-generation Chileans relate to their 'home' and the possible life they could have had. It is ambivalent not only because they express negative and positive emotions but also because there is a complicated sense of belonging to a place reconstructed from fragments and only experienced in imagination. If the 1.5 generation expresses nostalgia as having left part of themselves in Chile, the nostalgia of the second generation is of a life that they never had, of an image of themselves that belongs to an imagined Chile.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the second generation's experience with the dictatorship, analysing how they grew up in Australia, having questions about their history and their parents' past, and constructing their memories based on different fragments, which included stories, conversations, and media. As Landsberg (2009) argues, the formation of prosthetic memories has subjective and ethical effects. As the second generation imaginatively reconstructs Chile from these prosthetic memories, they also shape their identities in a constant dialogue with Chile. This process does not resolve their questions and wonderings, producing an ambivalent sense of belonging and nostalgia, thus revealing yet another way that emotions shape the memories of the dictatorship. More specifically, this chapter illustrates that affective practices are articulated with intergenerational dynamics. More specifically, it shows that for the second generation, the memory of the dictatorship is articulated through ambivalent nostalgia. This mobilises different subjective processes that define their identities in complex tensions between Chile and Australia and between their actual lives and what they could have been if history had been otherwise.

Additionally, the results of the chapter reinforce the relevance that conversations have in the transmission of the past. Just as Cornejo et al. (2021) argue, conversations concerning news and sociopolitical events, as well as protests and other activities become relevant pieces with which second-generation Chileans construct their memories. Furthermore, participating in communal events, such as solidarity activities, also constitute a source of transmission (Jeanneret Brith et al., 2020). In addition to conversations and community events, the uses of media illuminate these memories' prosthetic and imaginative qualities (Landsberg, 2009). The second generation populates these objects and cultural artifacts with stories of the dictatorship transmitted in familial and communal spaces, which opens the

imagination of how their families lived back in Chile. Thus, the use of media shows how the mnemonic imagination (Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Pickering & Keightley, 2015) shapes the meaning of these objects in the construction of postmemories (Hirsch, 2008). These elements illuminate how the connection to the dictatorial past is mainly emotional, an affective force, following Hirsch (2008), which pulls the second generation to the past. One could define these participants as Chilean-Australians, but the relation with Chile is not settled (Collin, 2006), as it is a constant process of going back and forth, of being in Australia but also having a Chilean identity based on their imagined lives without the dictatorship. However, this does not mean the second generation is passive in the transmission process. They also actively ask questions, participate, and interpret how to deal with the past personally. However, as personal and active as they may be, it is necessary to consider Jara's (2016) argument on the impossibility of thinking that the second generation engages with the past free from the influence of others. The memories of the second generation are unthinkable without considering their parents' experiences, which does not mean they passively inherit a foreign memory. Rather, there is an active process of searching for answers or the 'pieces of the puzzle' to understand why they are in Australia. Additionally, even though 'ambivalent nostalgia' is helpful to describe the second generation's affective-mnemonic practices, they do not long to restore an idealised home; instead, their nostalgia is much more reflective (Boym, 2001). Therefore, they are not a generation that wants to go and reclaim a home in Chile or go back to Allende's Chile, but a generation that keeps wondering what their lives would have been like if history had been different. Even though there is no answer to this issue, it mobilises these participants to condemn the dictatorship, engage in solidarity activities, and connect with Chile and their familial past. Additionally, there is no indifference nor passivity in this process but an emotional commitment to understand and to wonder about possible futures, wandering through the unrealised potentials of the past.

Finally, as different second-generation participants mentioned, the events of 2019 brought back memories of the dictatorship and reactivated conversations with their parents and other Chileans about what was happening in Chile. Even though the dictatorship is not necessarily an explicit part of their everyday lives, events and crises, like the one of 2019, show how the ghosts of the past never left (Gordon et al., 2020). This phenomenon, as well as other aspects related to the response of

Chileans in Australia to the political crisis of 2019, constitute the material for the next chapter.

Chapter 9 Imagining the Future after the *Estallido Social*:

Fear, Hope and Pessimism

The previous chapters have explored how affective practices shape different themes when Chilean exiles in Australia remember the dictatorship. Pain and sadness shape the memories of the days of the coup and the dictatorship (Chapter 4), and joy and conflict characterise the memories of political activism and solidarity (Chapters 5 and 6). Chapters 7 and 8 explored how nostalgia marks the memories of 'children' in exile, as nostalgia for a lost childhood in the case of the 1.5 generation and ambivalent nostalgia for the second generation. However, an essential aspect of memory is its connection with imagination; how we construct the past becomes a resource to anticipate and simulate future scenarios (Anderson, 2012; Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Schacter & Madore, 2016). Thus, this chapter deals with the relation of memory and imagination, and more specifically with how Chilean exiles in Australia imagine the future after the social uprising of 2019, typically referred to as the *Estallido Social* [Social Explosion] in Chile.

This chapter argues that Chileans in Australia used the frameworks of the dictatorship to make sense of and anticipate what would happen after the *estallido*. Their imagination was shaped by the fear that another coup and dictatorship could take place, making salient two contrasting positions: pessimism, anticipating that the future would only bring more death and violence, and hope, anticipating a future in which there is room for possibility. The findings of this chapter contribute to the thesis's argument that emotions shape how Chilean exiles remember the dictatorship, in this case, illustrating how emotions shape how they imagine the future. Furthermore, the emotions of the Chilean community are grounded in the memory of the dictatorship, which illustrates a complex interrelation of memory, emotions, and imagination. The chapter also examines some of the desires for the future by Chilean exiles and relates these to reflections on the imagination of utopia (Jameson, 2005) as the possibility of a future that disrupts the course of history. Therefore, critical moments, such as the *estallido social*, bring the possibility of imagining another future and reinventing dreams of the past (Villarroel, 2020). In this sense, hope and utopia stand for a future with possibilities to explore other roads for social and political organisation.

A Brief History of the Estallido Social

Multiple protests have marked Chile's recent history since the end of the dictatorship. However, none of these had such a significant impact and attendance as the ones of October 2019. On October 6th, the government increased the public transport fares by 30 pesos (5 Australian cents). Initially, this seemed a relatively mundane issue, and no one anticipated what would happen afterwards. The increase in the ticket was received with discontent from the population. In response, on October 7th, Juan Andrés Fontaine, former minister of the economy, suggested that people who woke up earlier could benefit by paying lower fares. Another minister at the time, Felipe Larraín, said on October 8th that the price of flowers had decreased, so the people that wanted to give flowers that month could buy them cheaper. These provocations sparked more anger in the population. High school students led fare dodging demonstrations, which were repressed by the police to restore the 'normal' order of things. However, on October 18th, after the metro service was completely shut down, protests overtook Santiago, leading to confrontations between protesters and the police. While this happened, former president Sebastián Piñera was photographed eating pizza at his grandson's birthday party in a high-class restaurant, away from the protests (Villarroel, 2019). The responses from the government representatives, or lack of a response other than repression and police brutality, showed the elites' disconnection from most of the population. Following Kathya Araujo (2019), this disconnection is one of the antecedents of the *Estallido*, along with multiple dimensions associated with the precariousness of life conditions (Stecher & Sisto, 2019).

On October 18th, amid protests and police repression, Piñera declared a state of emergency, and, for the first time after the end of the dictatorship, the military controlled the streets. By October 23rd, the army controlled 15 of the 17 regions in Chile, installing curfews and civil restrictions. During the weeks of the state of emergency and after, the police and military brutally repressed protesters, systematically violating human rights (Amnesty International, 2019; Human Rights Watch, 2019; United Nations Human Rights, 2019). Despite this, the protests and demonstrations did not stop. As the government addressed the situation as a 'public order' problem, the protests addressed deeper dimensions of the Chilean way of living, pointing to the inequality, injustice, and decades of accumulated frustrations

with neoliberalism. The system imposed during the dictatorship, with its ghosts and echoes of violence, was the background that helped to make sense of the *estallido*.

As Araujo (2019) argues, the system that we call neoliberal preaches economic and social well-being based on individual effort. However, as multiple researchers have shown, structural dimensions in Chile make this promise unachievable by people from lower social classes, despite their intellectual capabilities or effort (see chapters in Araujo, 2019). As Stecher and Sisto (2019) argue, neoliberal reforms, work flexibility and multiple transformations create precarious working conditions and work experiences for workers. When this factor is viewed in the context of a society in which most social services have been privatised, we can understand how raising the public transport fare can spark a revolt. Ultimately, the *Estallido Social* is not about the transport fares; it is about decades of injustice in which a minoritarian elite has lived comfortably at the expense of a majority that had to struggle to have a decent life. The protests pointed to this injustice, which the government and their representatives largely ignored.

Crisis and Uncertainty

The *estallido* can be understood as a crisis of an unsustainable system. A crisis, as a breaking point (Bakhtin, 1981) or a clash of forces (van der Poel, 2019), is a moment in which the future is no longer certain. As Holton (1987) argues, crises are moments of dislocation and destabilisation that may lead to social change as the assumptions that govern our everyday lives become questionable. In this sense, the *Estallido* was a political and social crisis. Accordingly, during the most intense weeks of the protests, the Chilean senate proposed to have a plebiscite to change the Constitution. This was significant, as most of the protests revolved around the constitutional document, which delimited the possibilities of the legal and political arenas. Furthermore, one of the options that Chileans could choose was the body that would write the new Constitution, in which a popular convention of democratically elected representatives could be elected. After months of protests, the future offered a new possibility in which the very foundation of the country could be altered in a way that could play in favour of the majority.

As I finish writing this thesis, we already know the results of the plebiscite, in which 78.5% of Chileans approved rewriting the Constitution and the popular convention was elected as the mechanism to write it. However, in September 2022, a majority of

Chileans rejected the constitutional draft, and a new constitutional convention was chosen in 2023, with a majority of representatives from right-wing parties. This right-wing convention elaborated a draft that was very conservative and had four characteristics: 1) being market-oriented by giving more room for private investment and by restricting (even more) the public sector; 2) a strong nationalistic character by making a duty of citizens to honour national symbols; 3) limiting immigration; and 4) restricting reproductive rights by protecting the 'life' of the unborn. These characteristics made the 1980s constitution seem more sensible, which is ironic. The plebiscite to vote for this new draft took place in December 2023, and it was rejected by 55.76% of voters. After these results, President Gabriel Boric stated that there would be no more constitutional process during his government. Despite all this, the question of what the future will bring still hangs in the balance as the discontent in the population remains.

Even though now we know the outcome of the constitutional process, the participants did not know this when I interviewed them in 2020. As such, the uncertainty and openness of the future seemed more acute, and the links between memory, imagination and affect became salient.

Memory, Emotions, and Imagination

Memory and imagination are interconnected in many ways. Early in the 20th century, Frederic Bartlett (1925/2009) argued that remembering and anticipating are part of the same imaging process. If memory is a movement of using the past in the present, imagination is about anticipating the future to orient ourselves in the present. More recent conceptual elaborations argue that memory and imagination are intimately connected (Anderson, 2012; Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Merck et al., 2016; Schacter & Madore, 2016), as memory provides anchoring points to imagine possible futures. In addition, as Rebecca Coleman (2017) argues, even though the futures we imagine only potentially exist, we feel them in our bodies. Thus, how we imagine the future is shaped by memory and emotions. Furthermore, as argued in Chapter 2, our emotional reactions respond to ideological concerns and social frameworks (Halbwachs, 1925/1992), which make the future a matter of dispute and contestation. Hence, our imagination is not emotionally neutral, and in moments of crisis and uncertainty, this affective quality becomes more intensely felt.

The chapter focuses on specific emotional positions, specifically fear, hope, and pessimism, as these concepts emerged from participant interviews⁴⁵. In this context, it is pertinent to note that uncertainty and affect are related. As Anderson et al. (2019, p.14) argue, uncertainty shapes emotional reactions by prompting “mental simulations of possible future outcomes”. Fear and anxiety are usual reactions to uncertainty, as there is a general trend to imagine adverse outcomes in the future; however, this tendency depends on contextual factors (Anderson et al., 2019). In terms of politics, fear is typically seen as a conservative emotion (Jost et al., 2017). If the future brings uncertainty and the possibility of change, fear has to do with the desire for things to remain the same, especially when the future seems to threaten the basic conditions of survival. In times of crisis, when the future becomes unknowable and unpredictable, fear can also be a tool to control collective action (Tateo, 2021). Security discourse relies on the fear of ‘unknown threats’ and the ‘other’ in general, aiming to control and keep the population in order. Even if the actual living conditions are not good, they are preferable to uncertain conditions that might supposedly bring mortal threats to existence.

As Luca Tateo (2021) argues, fear and hope, although seemingly opposite, share the common feature of both being responses to uncertainty. Fear, as a tool of control, works against hope. However, what is hope? Hope has to do with anticipating possibilities to navigate through the future’s adversities. Even if the future seems uncertain, hope involves trusting that there are ways of coping with whatever it brings (Scioli, 2020). In contrast to fear, hope involves openness to change in the future. Additionally, Terry Eagleton (2015) argues that hope involves a desire for things to be better than what they are in the present, and he emphasises that hope is the sign of the not-yet, that is, of a reality that is not entirely determined or closed. Hope is about another reality that is not yet present but that can be anticipated, affecting the ways of acting in the present. Similarly, Coleman (2017) describes hope as involving first, the *anticipation* of another world to come; second, *openness* and uncertainty, as the world where hope might take us is not known in advance; third, *affect* or bodily feelings; and finally, a *potentiality in the present*. Together, these different contributions allow us to understand that hope is mainly an openness to the future and towards change. The anticipation of change is felt in the

⁴⁵ I also review the concept of optimism, although it is not part of the data.

present, with the desire that the future might bring a different life despite its' uncertainties.

With that said, hope is not the same as optimism. This last term is the anticipation that the future can only bring good news or positive outcomes (Eagleton, 2015; Rigney, 2018a). If hope leaves room for uncertainty in the future and accepts that there will be adversities and difficulties, optimism closes that uncertainty only to imagining good things to come. Therefore, Rigney (2018a, p. 370) argues that optimism is about the incapability of "envisaging anything other than positive outcomes". Whereas hope is based on possibility, optimism is about certainty and the inevitable. The same can be said regarding pessimism, which only anticipates 'negative' outcomes. As shown ahead, pessimism has to do with a particular view of history and society, in which the past's outcomes inevitably determine the present and the future. When history is defined by sadness (see Chapter 4), the anticipated future can only bring defeat and loss.

The main differences between fear, hope, optimism, and pessimism lie in how they deal with the future's uncertainty. Fear and hope respond to the future's open possibilities: whereas fear tends to be conservative, hope accepts or even embraces change. In contrast, pessimism and optimism close uncertainty so that the outcomes are already known as negative or positive. It is relevant to remember that the 'positive' or 'negative' are configured according to ideologies and interests. What some may see as unfavourable and dystopic futures, others may see as utopic or desirable (Jameson, 2005). The following section explores the links between imagination, uncertainty, and emotions in the interviews with exiles while also integrating participant observations during demonstrations and protests in solidarity with the *estallido*.

Living the *Estallido* | Re-living the Dictatorship

I was still in the first year of my PhD when the *Estallido* started in Chile. I had no deep contact with the Chilean community in Australia, and I was preparing and planning my fieldwork activities. However, my plans changed after October 18th, as I saw that the *estallido* impacted the international Chilean community, including the Chilean community in Australia. On October 20th, my partner and I attended a meeting at the Latin American Plaza in Canberra. Some Chilean students had called this meeting to organise a demonstration of solidarity with the Chilean protesters and

against the political repression of Piñera's government. I attended because I was interested, and, as many other Chileans expressed, I felt we had to do something. On the day of the meeting, I was surprised to see not only students but also Chileans who were older and interested in doing something. All the attendees made an open circle to discuss ideas about what we could do. When older Chileans spoke, they mentioned their experiences of political organisation during the days of the dictatorship and that they could help because they knew how the Australian system worked so we would not get in trouble with the police. As one said, he and his family had been living in Canberra for 45 years after they left Chile during Pinochet's dictatorship. For them, the events of the *estallido* were very similar to those of the dictatorship, as the repression and curfews reminded them of the circumstances of political persecution that led to their forced migration. After a round of talk, we all agreed to organise a march in solidarity with the Chilean protesters. After the meeting ended, we started to talk more casually. Speaking with some of the Chileans there, I was surprised to find out that some of the people in that meeting were the sons and daughters of Chileans who migrated during the 1970s and 1980s. This suggested that the *estallido* was relevant to Chileans in Australia who had a first-hand experience of the dictatorship and to their children as well.

I had a better sense of this when the day of the protest came, on October 25th. We met at the same spot in Canberra, but this time we were around 50 people, including students, workers, exiles with their sons and daughters, and some Australians (see Figure 3). Most people had signs and flags, including the Chilean and the Mapuche flag. The signs had messages of support and included some of the historical demands of social movements, like free and quality public education, fair pensions, and economic and climate justice, among others (see Figure 4). These events showed the *estallido*'s impact on different generations, as first and second-generation Chileans attended and participated in the marches and protests. Observing these events and reactions opened questions of how the memories of the dictatorship impacted and configured the intergenerational experience of the social uprising.

Figure 3

Demonstration in Canberra in Solidarity with Chilean Protesters, 25th October 2019



Note. Photo taken by Carlos Carrasco.

Figure 4

Signs of Support and Protest, 25th October 2019



Note. Photo taken by Carlos Carrasco.

In 2020, the interviews with participants naturally drifted towards talking about the *estallido*, despite the prompt about the history of the dictatorship. Participants drew comparisons and parallels between the dictatorship and the events of October 2019, which suggests that they were using the memory of the dictatorship to make sense of the *estallido social*. For instance, some of the participants stated that they thought that the present violence from the police and military forces had its roots in the dictatorship and the ways that these institutions are made to see the people as their enemies. As one participant remarked about the military presence on the streets:

Para mí era volver a la dictadura, tener los milicos en la calle. (N: Ya) Porque sabíamos que, que los milicos con un poquito poder eran muy agresivos. (N: Sí). Además que los concientizan a que son ellos, el pueblo contra ellos (pausa, N asiente con la cabeza). Ellos salieron a la calle a reprimir, no a cuidar ni a ni a ni a, a nada más que reprimir o abusar del poder, o sea lo vimos; vimos como trataban a la gente. Es las mismas tácticas del 73.

[To me, it was returning to the dictatorship, having the milicos on the street (N: Yeah). Because we knew that the milicos with a bit of power are very aggressive (N: Yes). In addition, they are indoctrinated that it's the people against them (pauses, N nods). They came out to repress, not to take care or or not, nothing more than repressing or abusing power, I mean we saw it; we saw how they treated the people. These are the same tactics from the 73] (M, G2, 50+, FW son).

Other participants also expressed that the experience of the *estallido* was like returning to the dictatorship. For example: “Fue como revivir quizás lo que pasó en el 73 en Chile, cuando te están asesinando, cuando te están matando, cuando te están aniquilando, cuando están sucediendo todas estas cosas que es lo que vivimos nosotros en Chile” [“It was perhaps like reviving what happened during 1973 in Chile, when they are murdering you, killing, annihilating you, when all of these things that we lived in Chile are happening”] (F, G1, 60+, SW8). Both previous

accounts resonate with the words of another participant: “Mira, yo creo que esto del estallido social, ¿no? A nosotros a muchos de nosotros nos nos revivió mucho lo que pasamos” [“Look, I think that this *estallido social*, right? It revived, for many of us, a lot of what we went through”] (F, G1, 50+, SW4). Despite the differences that participants could see between both historical moments, witnessing the political repression and State violence in videos and social media brought an acute sense of reviving the dictatorial days.

With the sense of the lurking dictatorship, there were also cases of re-traumatisation. As argued in Chapter 4, the wounds of the dictatorship never close, and the painful memories are not erased. The events of the *estallido* and the subsequent violent repression brought these memories and emotions to the fore, configuring an experience of re-traumatisation that affected the everyday lives of some participants. As one remarked:

Fue como, eh, empezar a revivir todo el todo el trauma también al mismo tiempo de que viví cuando era chica. O sea, todo eso de ver la represión que empezó a ocurrir con los milicos, con la policía en Chile hacia hacia el pueblo, eh, para mí fue como empezar a revivir todo el trauma de nuevo. Todo. Toda la memoria, todas las cosas que que ocurrieron cuando se llevaron a mi papá.

[It was like starting to revive all the trauma that I lived through as a kid. I mean, seeing the repression that began with the *milicos*, with the police in Chile towards the people, eh, for me, it was like starting to revive all the trauma again. Everything. All the memory, all the things that happened when they took my dad] (F, G 1.5, 30+, SW12 daughter).

A similar experience was mentioned by another participant, who noted that re-traumatisation was a common experience in the Chilean community during the days of the *estallido*: “Sí, no sé porque se vuelve, todo se vuelve a la memoria, ¿no? Digamos, unos están más traumatados que otros, tuvieron una experiencia más trágica que otros. Entonces todo se revuelve y se te se te despierta” [“Yes, I don’t know because it returns, everything returns to memory, right? I mean, some are

more traumatised than others, had a more tragic experience. So, everything stirs, and it wakes in you”] (F, G1, 50+, SW5). These and other accounts suggest that the memory of the dictatorship is not only a cognitive framework but also an emotional experience of sense or meaning making in the present. As I argued in Chapter 2, our emotions play a key role in producing meaningful memories (Campbell, 2006) and orient our navigation of the past. Thus, the *estallido* was re-traumatising because the Chilean exiles in Australia were actively framing it from the experiences of political violence during the dictatorship. With that framing, affective-mnemonic practices characterised by angst, pain, anxiety, among others, configured the present with the echoes of the memories of political repression.

An Ambivalence of Excitement and Fear

However, the social uprising was not only painful; it was also ambivalent. Chilean exiles were joyful to see the people standing up for their rights but were also fearful of the political violence and escalating repression. Many were happy to see the protests as Chileans finally revolted against injustice and decades of abuse. At the same time, they expressed fear concerning the uncertainty of what would happen. As many Chileans in Australia saw the *estallido* from the framework of the dictatorship, this brought the fear that another coup could happen and another military dictator would take over the country. As one participant remarked:

Y una alegría inmensa por lo que está pasando. Esa alegría inmensa porque sé, cachai, excepto de que haya un (pausa, N afirma con la cabeza) y que no lo, uno no lo puede descartar, ¿no? Una intervención militar. Yo pienso que sería una estupidez grande. Pero no lo descarto por las situaciones que nos han pasado anteriormente a nosotros como país. Pero no creo, no creo.

[And an immense joy for what is happening. That immense joy because I know, unless there is a (pause, N nods), and that it isn't, one can't rule it out, right? A military intervention. I think that it would be an enormous stupidity.

However, I do not rule it out because of the situations that have happened to

us as a country before. But I don't think so, I don't think so] (M, G1, 60+, SW9).

In this example, the participant is clearly expressing his joy for the *estallido* when he pauses due to the possibility of a coup. This echoes with the analysis shown in previous chapters, in which the coup and the dictatorship cut the happiness of adults and children who lived through Allende's years. In the case of the participant's words, the anticipation of the coup, which responds to the memory of the dictatorship, interrupts and brings joy to a halt. This illustrates how the memory of the dictatorship survives in the anticipation of the future's possibilities, which in turn modifies the affective practices that shape the meaning of the *estallido social* in the present. If initially there is joy and hope due to the opening possibilities that the *estallido* brings about, there is also fear when a coup appears as a possibility. Both affective practices coexist and produce ambivalence.

Another participant was excited about the protests, and she remembered Allende's last speech before dying: "Y emocionante, emocionante, por el discurso, el discurso que dio Salvador Allende, 'se volverán a abrir las grandes alamedas', ¿no? Y creo que eso fue impresionante, eso fue lindo, haber visto tanta cantidad de gente en las calles" ["And exciting, exciting, because of the speech, the speech that Salvador Allende gave, the 'great avenues will open again', right? And I think that was impressive, that was nice, to see so many people in the streets"] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter). However, at the same time, this participant also expressed her concerns regarding the repression:

Después ver las noticias y ver todo lo que estaba pasando. La mutilación de los niños, sus ojos. ¡Te estoy hablando de niños de 14 años, 15 años, 16 años! Hoy en día la detención, eh (pausa) sigue, y creo que hoy día peor que nunca.

[Then watching the news and seeing everything that was happening. The mutilation of children, their eyes. I'm talking about 14, 15, 16-year-olds! Today the detention, eh (pause) continues, and I think today it is worse than ever] (F, G 1.5, 40+, SW10 daughter).

This oscillation between excitement and concern regarding the violence was the predominant ambivalence among participants. This ambivalence also relates to the frameworks of the dictatorship, as the ultimate fear was the possibility of history repeating itself, which produced sadness, anxiety, and other 'negative' emotions. For instance, one participant spoke about how he and his family were sad that maybe another generation would have to go through the same experience of being forced to migrate or that they would have to mourn family members who were taken away by the military or the police: "I think the three of us felt a bit of sadness. Um. Almost feel bad that maybe another generation may have to do the same, go through the same issues that we went through" (M, G 1.5, 50+, FW4 son). Another participant mentioned her fear regarding the escalation of police brutality: "Y sí, da miedo, eh, sí hay que seguir con la esperanza y todo, pero sí da miedo del tipo de represión porque han sido totalmente brutales" ["And yes, it's scary, eh, yes you have to continue with hope and everything, but the type of repression is scary because they have been totally brutal"] (F, G1, 50+, SW4).

These different accounts suggest that the excitement regarding the *estallido* was about the happiness and joy of seeing the Chilean people claiming and fighting for their rights. The protests were joyful for the participants because they reflected their ideological values, as the social uprising echoed their struggles during the dictatorship (see Chapter 5), and previously during the Unidad Popular. However, just as it echoed with these joyful experiences, it also echoed with violence and trauma, which brought fear to the present in the anticipation of another coup. All of this suggests that the *estallido social* was lived and framed by exiles in Australia within the affective memories of the dictatorship. This experience was shaped not only by remembrance and imagination but also by emotions related to activism and wounds of the past. The fears of the intensification of violence and the possibility of another dictatorship were aroused by the uncertain, no longer given, future. The following section analyses the most salient positions of Chileans in response to these fears.

Pessimism and Hope

Pessimism and hope are not only different due to the anticipation of 'negative' or 'positive' outcomes, but they are also distinct due to the response to uncertainty, in which pessimism is based on certainty and the inevitability of the future, and hope is

based on possibility and potentiality (Coleman, 2017; Rigney, 2018a). Even though participants did not always use the words pessimism or hope, these concepts are helpful in interpreting their positions regarding the future.

Anticipating Defeat: A Deadly Road Ahead

There were various ways in which participants expressed pessimism. In this context, pessimism was evident in imagining a future in which the social movement that began with the *estallido* would not achieve any of the desired demands, and the violence and political repression would become more and more acute. Even though participants shared the movement's demands, their view is that the structural conditions and power inequality would determine the possibilities, deeming another future impossible. Participants who position themselves pessimistically imagine a future that repeats a path of death, like the dictatorship and other events in Chilean history. The common aspect of most pessimistic imaginations is that the ruling class would not relinquish their power and privileges and would keep using repressive tools to control the population. For instance, one participant thought the future was terrifying, as he saw a civil war coming. Given that the ruling class and the repressors use violence to control the population, he only saw an escalation of that tendency in the future:

Y te digo me atormenta, (pausa) me atormenta, y quizá en, bien al fondo, pienso que es mejor, porque en Chile no hubo una guerra civil, pero cayeron tantos como que hubiera una guerra civil. ¿Me entiende? O sea, sin derecho a defenderse. Muertos como perro. Peor que un perro, porque un perro merece misericordia, y yo creo que hasta los represores se la daban, y a nuestra gente no se la dieron (...) Entonces ellos, como el pueblo lo tienen acostumbrados a controlarlo masacrándolo, yo veo venir eso.

[And I tell you it torments me, (pause) it torments me, and perhaps deep down, I think it's better, because there was no civil war in Chile, but many fell as if there would have been a civil war. Do you understand? Without the right to defend themselves. Dead as a dog. Worse than a dog, because a dog

deserves mercy and I think that even the repressors had mercy for them, and they did not have it for our people (...) So, because they are used to control the people by massacring them, I see that coming] (M, G1, 60+, SW3).

This is an extreme example, however, it condenses the views of different participants, as it depicts a future in which there is more violence towards the protesters to control them. It also shows how the future is a repetition of history where the ruling class would maintain their position of privilege, which was a position shared by various participants. For example, one of them mentioned that given that reactionary and conservative sectors control Chile, he did not see a future in which the people's demands would be met. He then continued and expressed a deterministic view of society and the future that characterises pessimism:

Años atrás le dije a un amigo cubano, le dije: 'El gran problema de nosotros los latinoamericanos es que no nos damos cuenta que muchas, en muchas circunstancias, hasta casi todas, no todas, pero casi todas, ya estamos cocinados. Lo único que nos queda es escoger la salsa con que nos van a comer'.

[Years ago, I told a Cuban friend, I told him: 'The big problem for us Latin Americans is that we don't realise that in many circumstances, in almost all, not all, but almost all of them, we are already cooked. The only thing left for us is to choose the sauce with which they are going to eat us'] (M, G2, 40+, FW son).

Even though there is a possibility of an exception when he mentions that this is the case in *almost* all circumstances, the view is predominantly pessimist. Given that minoritarian, reactionary sectors control the societies in Latin America, there is nothing left to do for the people but to wait and determine the little, insignificant things, in his metaphor, the sauce. This example does not emphasise violence but control. Nothing will change, as almost everything is already cooked. This is like other participants' positions, which emphasise that the political system is made to negate the people's demands. As one participant stated:

And the future in Chile, believe me, I do at the moment, I don't see much future. (N: Hmm. Yeah) I don't. Because the politicians in Chile, they have everything so well tied up that people can, they want to change something, and they have three or four or five different new legislation going at the same time to try and stop whatever people are trying to do. So, I don't see much hope for that (F, G1, 50+, FW13).

In this sense, it is not only about violence as a way of controlling the people but also the legal system working against the people's demands so that they never get a chance to become a reality. Hence, her words about not seeing much future refer to a system that works to maintain the status quo.

Similarly, a male participant expressed that the police and the military would become increasingly violent towards the people because the Constitution benefitted them, giving them privileges and social security. He then continued this idea, reflecting on how the future seemed dark, just as it was during the dictatorial years: (Ellos) Tienen todos los recursos y no los quieren perder [pausa], entonces que maten unos cuantos más. Que dejen si son 460, hoy día sin ojos, pueden haber mil más. A ellos no les interesa, lo que a ellos le interesa [es] mantener el poder.

[They have all the resources, and they don't want to lose them (pause), so let them kill a few more. If there are 460 today, without eyes, there may be a thousand more. They don't care; they are interested in maintaining power] (M, G1, 70+, FW8).

Given the inequality of power and the imbalanced privileges, those who benefit will keep defending an unfair and unjust system. Additionally, the participant's view resonates with the dehumanisation configured by psychosocial trauma (see Chapter 4). The agents of repression, in this case, the police, do not care that the ones on the 'other side' are their compatriots or even people, as they only care to keep their privileges. While establishing these parallels between the dictatorship and the *estallido*, the participant questioned whether there was any hope for the present:

Entonces, dime tú qué, ¿qué esperanza les queda a ustedes? Bastante negra. Así como la vimos nosotros en el 70, 80 (pausa), dentro de los 70 y 80, o sea se se vio de que no hubo capacidad para enfrentar la dictadura. [So, tell me what, what hope do you have left? Pretty dark. Just as we saw in the 70s, 80s (pauses), in the 70s and 80s, I mean we saw that there was no capacity to confront the dictatorship] (M, G1, 70+, FW8).

It is striking how the participant characterised the 1980s as years without hope. This echoes the criticism that the return to democracy was not a triumph of the people but rather a concession from the dictatorship, in which the control and repression continued, but more subtly (see Chapter 4). Just as there was no hope before, today, there is none, as nothing has changed in structural terms. As some researchers have argued (Cárdenas Castro & Arnoso Martínez, 2018), the post-dictatorial years have been years of symbolic reparations without structural changes, as the structures that produce inequality and unfairness in Chilean society have remained intact. What this participant said resonates with that argument. Since the structure has not changed from the dictatorial years, why would it change now? Is there any hope left if history shows the contrary time and time again? This vision of the future echoes with the concept of historical sadness (see Chapter 4), as the coup and dictatorship have condemned the future to the repetition of inequality and violence. The various accounts of participants illustrate that pessimism is a response that shows an inevitable future, acknowledging the power inequality and structural impediments that determine history to repeat itself. However, pessimism was not the only position among participants, as some were hopeful for the future.

Hope, Fear, and the Anticipation of Change

As argued above, hope is about openness and possibility. This attitude embraces the uncertainty of the future, trusting that it will be possible to navigate its difficulties and adversities. Hope is not about the inevitable but the unknown. Even though hope and fear are responses to uncertainty, hope is usually viewed as the opposite of fear (Tateo, 2021). However, the data suggests that hope is the antipode of pessimism and is complimentary with fear. In the interviews, participants were simultaneously fearful and hopeful, the difference being that their fears were not conservative (Jost

et al., 2017) but concerned with the escalation of violence against the protesters. This fear did not push them to wish things to remain the same because the present is already violent and unfair. As such, the hope of the Chilean exiles in Australia combines the desire for a better future with the fear of violence.

In addition to the coexistence of fear and hope, it is notable that there is a tendency of Chileans from the 'second wave' of migration (1983-1990) to express hopeful views in comparison to the 'first wave' (1973-1978) who were more doubtful and pessimistic. It could be that, on the one hand, participants from the second wave were more hopeful because they saw that, just as they could bring a crisis to the dictatorship through protests, the *estallido* could bring a crisis to neoliberalism. On the other hand, participants from the first wave may have anticipated more violence and were more pessimistic because the *estallido* reminds them of how the military forces violently suppressed their political project. Furthermore, it is notable that pessimism resonates with sadness, as described in Chapter 4, and that hope resonates with the memories of activism, especially the joyful ones described in Chapter 5. Different affective practices shape both positions towards the future, explaining the differing attitudes. Although there is data from both waves on pessimism and hope, this tendency should be explored further in future research with more extensive samples.

In a very concise yet powerful way, one participant expressed how hope involves an openness towards the future (Coleman, 2017; Eagleton, 2015; Scioli, 2020). He talked about a film about Chilean youth in the 1980s and how they did not think about the future because there was none. He stated that it was terrible to think about a people without a future, without projection. In this context, and considering the *estallido*, I asked him if he believed there was a future. He immediately responded: “¡Tiene que haber! (N: Uhum) Tiene que salir algo” [“There has to be! (N: Uhum) Something has to come out (of this)”] (M, G1, 70+, FW7). His response was very energetic and clear, strongly emphasising that something has to come out of the *estallido*; in other words, there has to be a future.

Other participants referred to the openness of hope in other ways, usually combined with the idea that the future will bring something better. For example, one of them expressed being sad to see the Chilean people suffering, but simultaneously, she had hopes for the future. In her words, this did not mean knowledge or certainty: “Realmente no tengo un conocimiento o una certeza, pero sí

pienso, como hablábamos al comienzo, que esa conexión perdida por la lucha por nuestros derechos se ha recuperado con los muchachos jóvenes” [“I really don’t have any knowledge or certainty, but I think, as we talked about at the beginning, that this lost connection to fight for our rights has been recovered by the youth”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). She also mentioned that she hoped the willingness to fight for rights was transmitted to the older generations in Chile: “Veo que esos muchachos son la esperanza. Y espero, espero que, que su fuerza contagie a la gente mayor aburguesada, que pierda un poco el miedo a perder, porque todos perdemos cuando decidimos luchar por algo” [“I see that those kids are the hope. And I hope, I hope that their strength infects the gentrified older people, that they lose a little the fear of losing because we all lose when we decide to fight for something”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). In her words, hope is about openness and a desire that the will to fight does not stay ‘within’ the younger generations but is transmitted. ‘Losing the fear of losing’ is a response to the fear that pushes people to support the status quo, such as the conservative fears described by Jost et al. (2017). If we lose the fear of losing, there are higher chances that more people will fight for their rights. Thus, the hope for the future is nothing fixed or known beforehand but a desire for a future with more people fighting for justice.

Another participant expressed a similar view when she talked about the *estallido* and how she was sceptical but at the same time hopeful: “O sea, digamos, pero hay escepticismo, pero también hay una esperanza porque esto tiene que cambiar, en algún minuto tiene que cambiar” [“I mean, let’s say, there is scepticism, but there is also hope because this has to change, at some point it has to change”] (F, G1, 50+, SW5). This resonates with the idea mentioned by a previous participant that a future must come out of the *estallido*, despite the uncertainty. She also talked about the repression from the police and how she viewed this as the right-wing doing what they have always done, to repress and control using violence. However, despite the violence, she stated that the future she was hoping for was not a particular one but one in which the people would not stop fighting for their rights:

Pero la esperanza es lo que a uno lo mantiene haciendo lo que tiene que hacer. Y por último, en el intento se nos va la vida. (N: Claro) Eso es lo importante yo creo que es muy importante que ninguna otra cosa. No el

cambio mismo, sino que uno no deje de intentar de cambiar las cosas por un bien común.

[But hope is what keeps you doing what you have to do. And in the end, in the attempt, our life goes away. (N: Sure) That's what's important; I think it's more important than anything else. Not the change itself, but that one does not stop trying to change things for a common good] (F, G1, 50+, SW5).

This participant emphasises that hope is about the process, not the result or the 'product'. These words resonate with Fevry's (2019, p.56) analysis of happiness and activism, "happiness does not emerge after the struggle, but in the struggle itself". Even if the expected change never comes, the value of hope is never to cease fighting to change society. In this sense, hope is not optimism because the outcome is not clear or given. It is to maintain uncertainty and anticipate that people will fight regardless of the outcome. Hope is about hoping there is no closure or an end of history but the transmission of possibility. Hence, we could reinterpret Eagleton's (2015) idea of the not-yet; the will to fight has not ended (yet) and will not end. This idea was suggested by one participant, who was talking about the joy of listening to the students leading the fare-dodging demonstrations. For her, their wisdom and knowledge had to come from somewhere in society, which was a sign that there was a developing seed that might sprout and then become a seed for other trees to grow: "Y el día de mañana esos árboles van a ser trasplantados. Esa es mi esperanza, que sean trasplantados y que esos árboles puedan tener semilla a la vez, etcétera, etcétera" ["And tomorrow those trees are going to be transplanted. That is my hope, that they will be transplanted and that those trees can have seed at the same time, etcetera, etcetera"] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). The imagination of trees being transplanted and becoming seeds for others is precisely the hopeful image of a future that is not closed or determined. In summary, hopeful imaginations suggest a desire to keep the future open to possibility, with no closure or conformism to the present, so people will be willing to struggle to change the course of history.

On Utopia and Desire

As Eagleton (2015) argues, there is no hope without desire. When participants talked about the future they desired, they expressed various responses. One response

stood out as it touched upon utopia and desire when a participant clarified what the future would be like after the *estallido*: “Yo creo que hay como un malentendido que van a tener todo y todo vamos a hacer como una utopía. No va a ser así.” [“I think there is a misunderstanding that they are going to have everything and we will do everything as a utopia. It's not going to be like that”] (F, G2, 30+, SW daughter). Even if it was not a utopia, she still mentioned the different ideas she thought were *possible* to happen in Chile, which included a desire for structural changes: “Pero es más que nada, formar las estructuras que van a dar las oportunidades igual a todos” [“More than anything, is to form the structures that will bring equal opportunities for everyone”] (F, G2, 30+, SW daughter). Considering her words, why is it that the dream of equal opportunities for everyone is not utopic? Is it viable under capitalism to change the structure so everyone has equal opportunities? What makes a desire utopic or non-utopic? What is the meaning of utopia?

The standard meaning of utopia is a perfect world where everyone is happy. This meaning, however, can be contested, as every utopia is, from another perspective, dystopic. The socialist utopia of a world without class structure is dystopic for the bourgeois capitalist who dreams of fair market regulation by invisible hands. Thus, concepts are necessary to make sense of the meaning of utopia, which makes the work of Fredric Jameson helpful in this context. Jameson (2005, p. xii) defines utopia as a “representational meditation on radical difference”. Utopian representations imagine a radically different system from the one that currently exists. Additionally, all utopian productions move between the tensions of difference and identity; utopias become imaginable because they resonate with our current realities. However, they produce a certain degree of estrangement from our current societies, as utopias show a potential reality that does not exist. As radical alternatives, utopias are “little more than projections of our own social and historical or subjective situation” (Jameson, 2005, p. 211). Following Jameson, utopias are not meaningless or useless because they illustrate the possibilities of a radically different future. Furthermore, they do not necessarily depict a structured future world but represent a historical disruption. The value of utopia is that it invites us to think about a break, “that its radical difference is possible and that a break is necessary” (Jameson, 2005, pp. 231-232). Returning to the participant’s words above, there can be two interpretations of her idea of the future not being utopic. The first one follows the standard meaning of utopia, in which her words mean that the future will not be a

perfect solution for everyone. The second would be that a structure that provides equal opportunities for everyone is not utopic because it is already possible in the present, and no other break is needed to make that happen. This second interpretation resonates with another participant's words, who expressed how the *estallido* changed the future: "Sea lo que sea, Nicolás, lo que tú me digas en el futuro, lo que vas a hacer, ¿ya? Ahora no lo tenías" ["Whatever it is, Nicolás, that you say that you are going to do in the future, right? Now you didn't have it"] (M, G1, 60+, SW9). These words make sense when considering the break the *estallido* may stand for. We did not have a future of equal opportunities before the social uprising, but now that future is no longer impossible (or 'utopic'). Paraphrasing the participant, whatever we imagine for the future, we did not have it now because the *Estallido* made that possibility a viable novelty.

These approaches to the future resonate with another passage of Jameson's (2005, p. 217): "What is Utopian becomes, then, not the commitment to a specific machinery or blueprint, but rather the commitment to imagining possible Utopias as such, in their greatest variety of forms". Therefore, utopia is not about certainty and *one* future but is closer to hope in making room for uncertainty and multiple possible futures. This approach to utopia helps interpret the multiple desires expressed in the signs during the demonstrations (see Figure 2), which participants also expressed during the interviews. For example, one participant stated: "I would like to see more community activists having the chance to advocate for their communities and actually create policy and actually hear voices of grassroots movements" (F, G3, 30+, FW granddaughter). Other desires were related to the justice for Indigenous people in Chile: "Reconocer la historia de colonialismo y que los Mapuche, y los Aymaras y todos los pueblos originarios están reconocidos y dar una oportunidad de reconciliar estos problemas" ["Recognise the history of colonialism and that the Mapuche, and the Aymara and all the Aboriginal peoples are recognised and give an opportunity to reconcile these problems"] (F, G2, 30+, SW daughter). On a similar note, regarding the recognition of multiple ethnicities and races in Chile, another participant said that he dreamt of a non-racist Chilean society: "Yo sueño con un chileno negro, ¿cachai? Un loco que sea así papá haitiano y que el loco se sienta chileno, y que sea reconocido como chileno" ["I dream of a black Chilean, do you understand? A man who has a Haitian dad and that he feels Chilean, and that he be recognised as Chilean"] (M, G2, 20+, SW son). Other dreams and desires referred to

a new democratic Constitution and the possibility of free education and healthcare. For example: “Sería fantástico que hubiera una constitución que fuera hecha por la gente, no por algunos” [“It would be great if there was a Constitution that was made by the people, not by a few”] (F, G1, 60+, SW8). Others dreamt that the consumerist values that had become prevalent in Chilean society were replaced with values of kindness and humanity: “Espero que esos valores sean reemplazados por valores inteligentes. Humanidad, compasión y educación” [“I hope those values will be replaced by smart values. Humanity, compassion and education”] (F, G1, 60+, SW1). Other dreams concerned the right to access water, increasing the minimum wage, and ending political corruption. The list of dreams continues, becoming too long to reproduce.

These dreams and desires could be labelled as utopic (or dystopic) as they depict a reality that is not only radically different but also presupposes a different structure of opportunities, legislation, and everyday life. They are radical needs (Heller, 1974/1986) that require a revolution, a transformation of society to be met. However, taking seriously the participant’s words that this is not a utopia means these dreams are viable, which suggests that the *estallido* changed the limits of what is possible, making these desires more than mere fantasies but actual projects for Chilean society.

Conclusion

The findings in this chapter show that the frameworks of the dictatorship shaped the experience of the *estallido social* among Chilean exiles in Australia. This means that it was experienced as re-living the dictatorship, which in some cases implied the re-awakening of the wounds of the past. Living the *estallido* in this way also implied excitement and fear. People were standing against injustice, which resonated with the victories and activism of the 1970s and 1980s. However, participants feared another coup and dictatorship could occur and that history would repeat itself. In this uncertain scenario, the fear of further violence against the protesters was a shared experience among participants and shaped the imagination of pessimism and hope. Pessimistic imaginations were related to a deterministic view of history, in which the future would repeat the course of past events, and nothing new would come after the *estallido*. Hopeful imaginations were characterised by openness and a desire to continue the struggle for social rights in the future. Additionally, the desires of exiles

suggest that the *estallido* changed the horizon of what is possible to imagine as viable realities.

The findings of the chapter dialogue nicely with previous research on the relation between memory and imagination, showing how Chileans used the memory of the dictatorship to imagine the future (Anderson, 2012; Schacter & Madore, 2016). It becomes salient how, out of all the scenarios that participants could imagine, many imagined futures of more violence and the haunting possibility of another dictatorship, which suggests that imagination and memory are not independent processes. Additionally, given that the *estallido*, as a crisis, brought uncertainty about the future, it also brought multiple conflictive affects. Like Anderson et al. (2019), there was a presence of 'negative' affects in response to uncertainty, such as fear. However, this was not a conservative fear that led to embracing the status quo, as Jost et al. (2017) describe, but it was associated with the possibility of death and violence against the protesters. Hence, fear anticipated a scenario to avoid, in which the status quo would reaffirm itself through violence and police brutality as it had before in Chilean history. Additionally, the findings show that along with fear, there was excitement and hope in the face of uncertainty. Anderson et al. (2019) argue that the tendency to imagine negative outcomes depends on contextual factors and that it is possible to have different emotional reactions in response to uncertainty. This resonates with the chapter's findings, which suggest that there are complex emotional configurations among the exiles in response to the *estallido*. Moreover, these complex emotions configure the future as an open, undetermined field of contested positions, shaping the multidirectional imagination of exiles in Australia. The differences between fear, pessimism and hope expressed in the interviews dialogue well with the literature, as fear and hope depict an uncertain future, and pessimism depicts an inevitable one (Rigney, 2018a). However, differently to Tateo (2021), the findings show that fear and hope can coexist simultaneously. The fear of the repetition of history complements the hope of a future in which the struggle for social rights does not stop. Finally, the relationship between hope and desire shows that exiles could imagine novel scenarios to come in moments of crisis. Utopic or not, participants' desires showed how the *estallido* redefined the limits of imagination with futures of multiple, coexisting utopias (Jameson, 2005). As I have suggested elsewhere (Villarroel, 2020), and considering the concept of mnemonic imagination (Keighley & Pickering, 2012), we can think of Chileans' desires in dialogue with the

dreams of the past. This dialogue, in turn, opens the future to novel and creative possibilities of a society with other structures, of another, radically different life. Moreover, the different positions between fear, pessimism and hope also illustrate connections between memories *of* activism and memories *for* activism (Rigney, 2018a). The affective-mnemonic practices shaped how the exiles understood the *estallido*, showing how these interpretations were connected to ways of remembering the dictatorship. As I suggested, pessimism resonated more with trauma and pain, whereas hope resonated more with joyful affective-mnemonic practices. Notably, pessimism and hope do not necessarily mean that people participate or not in protests, as most participants attended protests and got involved in different degrees, despite their differences with regard to the future. It could be that pessimists were protesting to avoid the future they imagined and that hopeful exiles were protesting to fulfil their desired futures. Even though I did not explore these relationships in my data, it suggests that affective-mnemonic practices can motivate exiles and other people to take action through different pathways, which is an issue that needs to be explored with further research.

Considering this chapter's findings, it contributes to the thesis argument that emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship by suggesting an interrelation between emotions, memory, and imagination. The anticipation of future scenarios was grounded on the memories of the dictatorship through multiple and conflictive emotions, such as fear and excitement, configuring different attitudes towards the future, mainly pessimism and hope. Therefore, this chapter's findings suggest that affective practices connect memory and imagination in complex, non-fixed ways. As Wetherell (2012) argues, affective practices are not fixed and constantly show they could be otherwise. This chapter illustrates precisely that emotions towards the future and the past are not necessarily fixed, as participants show various affective practices and imagined futures. However, there are patterns among the variation, and there is also the possibility that these affective practices will differ with the changing times. It may be that participants from the second wave were more hopeful in 2020 than the first wave. However, as the events unfold, these tendencies may change and transform. This is relevant considering that the *estallido* is a crisis and the political landscape is still developing and changing. This does not mean it is futile to incorporate the study of emotions in the research of memory and imagination; instead, it is a call to embrace the complexity, to avoid simplifications and absolute

statements. There are commonalities among the diversity, and within the common ground, there are differences and nuances. Incorporating emotions reminds us that memory and imagination are not purely cognitive processes and that our emotional lives are rich, complex, and open to variation and creativity.

In this moment of Chilean history, fear, hope, and pessimism seem to be the emotional tones of the time. The possibility of a new Constitution came with uncertainty. Both drafts were rejected, and with this the constitutional process came to a halt. So far, right-wing political propaganda has successfully instilled fear and a sense of insecurity among Chileans. However, exiles teach us that hope is not optimism, and the key lies in continuing the struggle and instilling the desire for change. Despite the *estallido*'s outcome, there is room for exiles in this process, as they are part of and continue to participate in Chilean history despite the geographical distance. Additionally, progressive efforts in the national territory could consider the pessimist and hopeful imaginations of Chilean exiles in Australia. Pessimism reminds us of the power of the elite and the conservative sectors of society, the weight of history and the difficulties associated with change. Hope reminds us that there is nothing permanently fixed in the relationship between history and the present and potential future, as tomorrow could be different if we do not conform to society's structures and inequalities. Perhaps, hope and pessimism are required in the orientation of today's activism for a more equitable future.

Chapter 10 Memories of the Dictatorship, Meaning and Emotion

I have asked and explored how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. This research question was formulated considering the literature on memory studies more generally and the research about the memory of the dictatorship more specifically. The research aimed to engage directly with the inter-relationship of emotion and memory in the context of the dictatorship. By principally drawing on Halbwachs (1925/1992; 1950/1980), Campbell (2006) and Wetherell (2012), I proposed the concept of affective-mnemonic practices to focus on the role that emotions play in shaping the meaning of the past in the present. Therefore, in discussing the findings, I focus on four dimensions that contribute to further debates. The first addresses the conceptual dimension of affective-mnemonic practices and the methodological contribution of my research for engaging with emotions from a qualitative approach. The second revisits the articulation of ideology and emotions in the memories of the dictatorship. As the findings show the complexity and contested ideological positions among the exiles, I turn to the work of Chantal Mouffe (2013) to imagine other forms of solidarity that consider the problem of agonistic politics, thus challenging social identity theories. The third addresses the memories of the 1.5 and second generations, emphasising the problems involved in transmission, nostalgia, and liminal identities. I discuss these findings considering the relation between culture and subjective processes and challenge the presupposed homogeneity of culture that shapes the discourse of multiculturalism. Finally, I address the problem of the temporal and spatial limits of the dictatorship by drawing on concepts of restless events (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010, 2015, 2017) and mnemonic fields (Badilla Rajevic, 2017; Haye & Larraín, 2018). The dictatorship constitutes a restless event both from the perspective of its temporal duration and ideological contestation, which involves revisiting the meaning of reconciliation and working through the past. Thus, I return to Adorno's (1959/2005) ideas presented in the introduction to argue for the need to critically examine the social, economic, and cultural conditions that allow the continuity of fascist ideologies in Chile. In discussing these ideas, the memories of exiles become a source of critique and imagination that stand for realities and hopes that demand a place in Chilean mnemonic culture.

Revisiting Affective-Mnemonic Practices

My initial conceptual formulation of the research stemmed from the need to think about how emotions shape the memory of past events, especially when these are ‘complicated’ or shaped by political and ideological conflicts. In that context, I drew inspiration from multiple thinkers and proposed the concept of affective-mnemonic practices, which attempts to bring together the sociological approach of Halbwachs (1925/1992; 1950/1980) with the social psychology of emotions present in the works of Campbell (2006) and Wetherell (2012). This way of approaching memory allows understanding that all memory is social and formed by real and imagined relationships with other people from our social circles (Halbwachs, 1950/1980). As Brian Schiff (2023, p.10) argues, remembering is a form of interpreting the past in a “conversation together-with others,” which also resonate with other arguments related to the social mediation of memory (Middleton & Brown, 2005) and the inner conversations that shape psychological processes (Archer, 2003; Haye & Larraín, 2018; Larraín & Haye, 2012). This means that social frameworks (Halbwachs, 1925/1992), or concatenations of ideas from social groups, are not mechanically imposed from the ‘outside’ but shape mnemonic processes from ‘within’ in the concepts and words we use to make sense of the past (Schiff, 2023). Memory’s social mediation means it is not neutral (Middleton & Brown, 2005; Wertsch, 2002), as it responds to the interests and concerns of social groups. Furthermore, our relation to social groups is not neutral either, as it is shaped by feelings and emotions that originate in social interactions with others. Thus, due to the dynamics of social mediation, remembering and forgetting are configured by emotions as they answer to interpersonal relations within and between groups, expressing a position regarding the positions of others. Therefore, remembering involves contextualisation, projecting a social field of positions (Haye, 2012) in which we position ourselves, disputing the meaning of the past (Badilla Rajevic, 2017) through contestation, debate, and other forms of dialogical interactions (Bakhtin, 1935/1981). Hence, operations of contextualisation and emotional and evaluative positioning are central to remembering and forgetting (by omitting or censoring).

Additionally, the concept of affective-mnemonic practices distances us from some ideas that aim to separate language and affect (Massumi, 2002). Language is not an abstract linguistic structure that we ‘apply’ to ourselves and others (Linell, 2009; Vološinov, 1929/1973), but it involves discoursing using words, signs,

gestures, and other forms of body modifications that are central in making meaning of the past in the present. As Campbell (2006) argues, emotions express something that concerns or matters to us, orienting the selection of what we believe is worth remembering and forgetting in the current situation. This means that all memory articulates bodies, discourse, social interactions, and cultural and historical meanings, in what Wetherell (2012) names 'affective practices', which produce an ethical and political position. Furthermore, the positions we take when remembering also anticipate the positions of others and shape the ways we imagine the future (Haye & Larraín, 2018; Keightley & Pickering, 2012).

With these conceptual considerations, I draw out the implications of my research in answering my overall research question about how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship. As argued in Chapter 3, researching emotions requires attending to discursive practices, and discourse is formed by verbal and non-verbal dimensions (Vološinov, 1926/1976). On the one hand, the verbal dimension refers to the content explicitly articulated in words. For example, in Chapter 8, I analysed the words of a second-generation participant that referred to sadness and a sense of disconnection. These words are as emotional as when a person talks about being angry or hopeful. The expectation that these expressions are not 'really' emotional is based on an idea that emotions are somehow 'coarse' or consist of bodily modifications that take us 'by surprise' or that we cannot understand (Thrift, 2008). My argument is that while emotions can take those forms, they can also be subtle and explicitly articulated in verbal expressions. As James (1890) argued long ago, bodies are like resonating boards that objects may make reverberate in infinite and complex ways. At times our emotions may be very intense and even surprise us, but sometimes they are more subtle, and we can talk about our feelings using words, which does not take away any of their emotional content. Following Campbell (1994), expressing our emotions and concerns to another person actually 'completes' or shapes emotions in a rich, complex way. Inner emotions (much like inner discourse) are still forming, awaiting their expression in communication and other forms of semiotic and aesthetic activity. The moment we express our thoughts and emotions is when they take form or shape and, thus, are 'completed'. It is only in the realm of the interpersonal or the intersubjective that our concerns become clear. On the other hand, non-verbal components of discourse include bodily modifications like gestures, movement, among other phenomena that lie at the limits of verbal expression, such

as tone, volume modifications and silences. Other non-verbal components refer to dialogical practices of contextualisation, re-contextualisation, and stylisation, among other forms in which speakers take a position in relation to other actual or imagined speakers (Bakhtin, 1929/1984). In the findings, the non-verbal components of discourse were used as indicators of affective practices. For example, in Chapter 4, I analysed the moment a participant referred to her goosebumps when she remembered the episodes of political violence in Chile and Argentina. Other examples include the moments when participants cried, their voices broke when speaking of difficult issues, or they mocked others using expressions such as ‘the commanders’ (see Chapter 6). All these moments in discourse are bodily modifications that affect theory is concerned about, and I add that they cannot be separated from language or communicative practices. These linguistic phenomena become indicators of affective-mnemonic practices and they can be traced in the analysis of interactions during the interview and in the broader context of the story or experience of participants. As such, emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship through the modifications and alterations of discursive practices, and my research offers a methodological contribution by demonstrating the qualitative utility of studying emotions and how they shape remembering. This methodological contribution adds to the developing body of literature concerned with affective practices in social and cultural psychology and the wider social sciences (for example, McConville et al., 2017; McCreanor et al., 2017; McCreanor et al., 2018; Smith, 2020; Wetherell et al., 2019). This is also offered as a re-interpretation of one of the concerns of affective theory regarding the modifications of bodies. Instead of approaching body (and therefore affect) and discourse as two separate entities, my argument reconceptualises those relations from pragmatism, dialogism, and other theories that offer more complex approaches to emotions, bodily modifications, and discourse.

Finally, the concept of affective-mnemonic practices contributes to memory studies by offering a pathway to research *how* emotions shape how we remember the past. Many scholars have recognised that memory involves emotions (for example, Assmann, 2006; Campbell, 2006; Halbwachs, 1925/1992, among others). However, there has not been a deep engagement with the complexity of such an affirmation, especially when we consider social approaches to emotions (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). As I argued in Chapter 2, memory is about remembering

meaningful experiences, and emotions orient the selection, in the present, of that which is meaningful. As memory is emotionally mediated, we must look to bodies and micro processes and, at the same time, into meaning-making practices, ideologies, discourse, and historical processes that make human experience. The concept of affective-mnemonic practices aims to take these articulations seriously when we remember and offers methodological venues for research. Some of these include verbal and extraverbal discourse (that which I researched in this thesis), micro dimensions of experience (e.g. bodily modifications that escape the naked eye), and other modes of remembering (e.g. writing), to mention a few. Hence, by adopting the concept of affective-mnemonic practices, it would be possible to bridge the biological and psychological with the social and cultural research trends in memory studies. The concept of affective mnemonic practices aims to embody that bridge and to offer an interdisciplinary research agenda. Even though my thesis is limited in that it stays with the sociolinguistic dimension of experience, the concept has the potential to address and articulate these research trends to account for the complexity involved in remembering and forgetting.

Ideology, Difference and Political Problems

As argued in Chapter 2, one of the main problems that the concept of affective-mnemonic practices needs to account for is the problem of ideology and values. People do not merely assume an intellectual stance regarding political issues but position themselves in ways that involve them personally and emotionally. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 addressed some of these issues by focusing on sociopolitical trauma, joyful memories of activism, and ambivalence and conflict within the Chilean community. These different affective-mnemonic practices showed how there is more to memory than trauma, and that emotions are central to meaning-making processes about the past. As examined in Chapter 4, there is a constellation of emotional registers that shape the traumatic memories of the coup d'état and the dictatorial years. Participants referred to sadness, being forced to leave, and how the coup shattered their dreams and projects of social change, forcing them to leave the country despite their desires to stay. Interestingly, trauma is not only referred to in the past tense but also with respect to the continuities of the dictatorship and the inequalities and everyday violence within Chile today, embodying an ideological

position that carries on to the present. Thus, the memories of pain and sadness cannot be understood without the cultural, political and social context that shapes their meaning. The coup and the dictatorship wounded Chileans' bodies and their political imagination, configuring psychosocial and political traumas (Lira, 1993; Martín-Baró, 1988), extending the sadness to today's social relations as they reverberate with the negated possibilities of making history otherwise. Additionally, considering Adorno's (1949/2006) ideas on music and critique, a message was articulated in the memories of suffering. I interpreted participants' insistence to return to the pain and sadness as a gesture that directs our attention to the continuities of pain and trauma in the post-dictatorial years. In other words, insisting on painful memories is not a traumatic repetition of something that cannot be expressed in signs and language (Caruth, 1996); instead, it is a return that shows the continuities of suffering in the post-dictatorship. This opens a space for the exiles' ideological critique that dislocates the neoliberal present as the only possible reality for Chilean society. The findings suggest that pain and sadness persist as the dictatorship's legacies still linger. Given that we cannot understand these 'negative' emotions without considering their socio-political mediation, I agree with Leys (2000) and, more recently, with the work of Maria Roca Lizarazu (2020), as they argue for the need to push beyond ideas of contagion and the irrepresentable in the studies of trauma (Caruth, 1996).

However, trauma is not the only affective practice shaping the memories of the dictatorship, as participants remembered other political dimensions, particularly political activism. Chapter 5 focused on the memories of activism and showed the articulation of a joyful emotional constellation that included nostalgia, recognition, pride, and solidarity. As Andersen and Ortnner (2019) argue, memories of joy show other emotional engagements with the past that go beyond trauma, thus articulating meanings that may illuminate other forms of acting in the present. Additionally, following Rigney (2018a), memories of activism include the hopes for change that mobilised activists as 'willful subjects' (Ahmed, 2014) that resisted the dictatorial repression in Chile and exile. I have shown how Chileans organised themselves and formed solidarity networks, meeting and articulating their efforts to denounce the dictatorship and support the political resistance. In these encounters, exiles formed a broader community that included their children, who developed a sense of belonging to the Chilean and Latin American community with others who shared their

experiences. Similarly, activists remarked that meeting with other people in Chile and Australia, who shared their ideological values, was crucial in their political trajectories and during their years in exile. As others have argued, feelings of shared identities are crucial in forming solidarity (Louis et al., 2019; Ntontis & Rocha, 2020; Thalos, 2012). My findings point in a similar direction, particularly when participants refer to their memories of activism and identify the relevance of working together and recognising themselves and their efforts in the struggle for a better society and their opposition to the dictatorship. The nostalgic characteristic of these memories suggests a disposition similar to reflective nostalgia (Boym, 2001), as activism and solidarity have weakened in the post-dictatorial years. However, nostalgia is more complex than the regressive glorification of the past (see Bonnett, 2010; Boym, 2001; Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Smith & Campbell, 2017). There is a future in nostalgia as it stands for critique and desire, pointing to what has been negated in history and its potentiality to imagine alternative futures. Thus, it is possible to think of nostalgia as one of the modalities of the mnemonic imagination (Keightley & Pickering, 2012), as memories inform the anticipation and hope for a different future. The joyful memories of Chilean exiles illuminate the relevance of encounters that increase the power and capacity to act together towards a common goal, and they also show the value of collaboration and inclusion in imagining other forms of political activism.

Nevertheless, as argued in Chapter 6, memories of activism are also shaped by conflict and are configured by ambivalence. The disputes between exiles unveil the multiplicity of ideological values in the Chilean community. This resonates with Wertsch's (2002) expression that collective memory is more about memory *in* the group than *of* the group, therefore accounting for the fact that there are diverse positions in every community. There is no uniformity or homogeneity among the Chilean exiles, being cases of machismo and traditionalism that differentiated the roles of men and women, as well as conformism with the culture of Australian capitalism. Additionally, one of the main findings concerns the division between the 'first' and 'second' waves of Chilean exiles. The conflict between both waves shows different political positions grounded in diverging political and historical experiences. I argued in Chapter 6 that the first wave's experiences account for a project that privileged unity and formal organisation to dispute Chile's hegemonical powers and that the second wave's politics were grounded in the experience of resisting the

dictatorship through subversive actions. In exile, the differences between both positions were more intense, producing conflicts and misrecognition. In understanding the conflict, I turned to Smelser (1998) and argued that this case shows precisely the passionate and non-intellectualistic dimensions of ideology. This is not a negative quality of political organisation, but it is a dimension that cannot be ignored, as politics are inseparable from passion and emotions. Furthermore, this case points to a more fundamental aspect of political organisation and the problem of antagonism. As Mouffe (2013) argues, 'the political' is always defined by antagonistic positions or an 'us' vs. 'them' that shapes the formation of collective identities and the dispute of hegemony in every society. This dimension, which Mouffe (2013) defines as antagonism, implies that conflict is potentially present in the formation of political identities and that there is no closure and reconciliation of positions, as there is always another form of imagining the current social order. The dangerous moment of antagonism is when the 'us/them' relations are defined in terms of 'friends/enemies', in which the recognition of difference is perceived as a threat to the existence of a group. However, political antagonism does not have to lead to this logic of threat, as there is room for agonistic politics in the political arena. If antagonism defines the positions between groups as friends/enemies, agonistic politics define these positions differently. Instead of fighting an 'enemy', the agonistic model views the other as a political 'adversary' whose ideas must be fought and discussed, but their "right to defend those ideas is not to be questioned" (Mouffe, 2013, p. 7). Therefore, pluralism is not reduced to a broader collective identity that encompasses all positions, but there is recognition and embracing of difference which is healthy for every democratic organisation.

With Mouffe's (2013) ideas, it is possible to understand how the diversity among the waves of exiles reflects the dynamics of antagonism and agonism. Even though both groups aligned with democratic values and shared the goal of bringing down Pinochet, their political experiences shaped their definitions and priorities differently, bringing conflicts and disagreements to the fore and leading to the division and dissolution of the community. It is possible that in a different context, with less trauma and painful emotions, these differences would not have led to this outcome. However, this issue speaks of a more fundamental question about issues of solidarity and activism and theories of prosocial behaviour in social psychology. For example, as Evangelos Ntontis and Carolina Rocha (2020, p. 106) explain,

solidarity is “a function of shared social identity” and “shared social identity is a function of the creation of inclusive social categories”. As Levine et al. (2005)⁴⁶ show, people from different groups may help each other when they feel they are part of a broader group or social category (although this is in controlled conditions). Therefore, the social identity tradition focuses on how inclusive or exclusive social categories are, suggesting that differences can be ignored in a larger picture of inclusiveness. Even though the social identity tradition recognises the relevance of identities in the configuration of solidarity, they tend to view this issue as mere categories that can be made ‘salient’ in controlled experimental settings. Whereas this may work in a laboratory, the case of the Chilean exiles shows how the affective dynamics that support collective identities can be intense and hinder collaboration, despite exiles being from the left and sharing a general goal of struggling against the dictatorship. Even if Ntontis and Rocha (2020) recognise the contextual and historical contingencies in producing solidarity, the issue remains that political identities are not cognitive categories but are shaped by affective practices that define an ‘us’ and ‘them’. It could be the case that the affective dynamics of Chilean exiles were more intense due to the traumatic conditions of their arrival in Australia and that the context of exile did not allow for the creation of more inclusive categories. Considering Martín-Baró’s (1988) argument that psychosocial trauma, in the context of political violence, shapes the mentality of the people by configuring generalised relations of friends/enemies, then we could think that exiles shaped their relationships under this logic. However, the findings show that there was collaboration and solidarity among sub-groups of exiles and exclusion and misrecognition with others. These findings suggest that even if it is possible to manipulate and make salient categories in a laboratory context, the reality is more complex and pushes our thinking to consider other alternatives to make sense of situations. This case demands that we question how we think of solidarity. Is there another form of solidarity based on recognising differences? Should we insist on the word ‘solidarity’? Do we need another concept to think of politics and the problem of

⁴⁶ They research the dynamics and flexibility of social categories with an experimental design with Manchester United and Liverpool supporters. They show how these clubs are rivals, but in the experimental condition of an emergency, they would help each other when they perceive themselves as part of a broader group of ‘football fans’ instead of more specific categories of ‘Liverpool’ and ‘Manchester United’ fans.

exclusion? Even if I cannot offer a satisfactory answer to these problems, Mouffe's (2013) ideas are helpful, as she invites us to consider that it is impossible to come to a conciliatory and final answer where everyone is included. Politics is about making an impossible decision between alternatives, and in that decision there will always be an excluded group; however, this exclusion does not mean eliminating or erasing the other from the political arena. In maintaining a compromise with pluralism and the non-closure of politics, we may find other affective practices that do not shape disagreement as an obstacle to collaboration but as a potential to think politics otherwise. Thus, instead of going towards unity in a broader social category as our model of solidarity, we could think of polyphony and dissonance (Bakhtin, 1929/1984), in which pluralism and differences are valued. As Mouffe argues (2013), this ethical position does not solve the problem of exclusion in the moment of political decisions and the painful emotions associated with it. Nevertheless, this ethics of dissonance can be an alternative to re-imagine solidarity from other concepts that value the difference of our 'adversaries' in working towards a common goal that is responsive to the affective dynamics at the basis of political identities.

Some of this polyphonic pluralism can be seen in the demonstrations and responses to the *Estallido Social* analysed in Chapter 9. Even though all the interviewees shared the fear and rejection of another dictatorship, their ideological multiplicity could be seen in their responses about the future after the uprising, where I identified two distinct positions among their responses: pessimism and hope. Both positions are opposed, as pessimism anticipates only adverse outcomes in the future, with more violence and the repetition of history's sadness that has defined the post-dictatorial years, as identified in Chapter 4. In contrast, hope tends to be more tolerant of the future's uncertainty and demands openness and non-conformism to make room for another societal project. This position tends to resonate more with the joyful memories of activism, as described in Chapter 5. Both show how different the participants' positions are in response to the uprising, even though all wanted the social movement to be successful. However, both attitudes can coexist as they stand for different dimensions of the memory of political activism. As Traverso (2016) would put it, pessimism is more associated with left-wing melancholia or memories of defeat and political violence. Hope is more directly related to joyful memories (Andersen & Ortner, 2019; Rigney, 2018a), where the envisioned future is one where the will to fight for another life is transmitted across social classes and generations.

Therefore, both represent different articulations of the mnemonic imagination (Keightley & Pickering, 2012). Furthermore, another facet of this multiplicity could be seen in the participants' utopic desires, which showed how the imagination of the future is not defined by a unique project but by multiple ones that aim to change the structure of Chilean society. These issues point to the complexity of ideology in configuring the attitudes of exiles towards the future, which simultaneously point to different forms of engaging with the past. Thus, it becomes necessary to acknowledge the always latent, potential conflict involved in political organisation and question the assumed homogeneity of social groups to rethink solidarity and collaboration.

Intergenerational Dynamics and Intercultural Relations

A significant part of the findings focused on the 1.5 and second generations, or the children of exiles, more broadly. In Chapters 7 and 8, the analysis deepened the varieties of nostalgia and how this spoke of a desire for connection with a lost sense of home and belonging. However, the children of exiles not only expressed ambivalence and nostalgia but also articulated joyful affective-mnemonic practices regarding their identities as Chileans and Latin Americans. It is notable how the children of exiles expressed a sense of pride regarding their identities as children and grandchildren of people who fought for their rights. They also expressed a sense of connection with the Chilean people who took to the streets during the *estallido social*. Even though joyful affective practices can be part of nostalgia and a desire for connection, they can also encourage collective action and broader processes of solidarity with Chile and other struggles where social justice is at stake. As such, these joyful-mnemonic connections may articulate as memories for activism (Rigney, 2018a), fuelling the desire of younger generations to participate in protests and meetings, as I noted in Chapter 9 regarding the *estallido social*. Even though my findings suggest a relationship between joyful memories and activism, these connections should be explored with more in-depth targeted research with the children of exiles.

Considering other affective-mnemonic practices, I analysed how ambivalence and nostalgia shape the identities of exiles and their children in a liminal space between Chile and Australia. More specifically, there are varieties of nostalgia among the children of exiles, as argued in Chapters 7 and 8. The stories of the 1.5

generation show many commonalities with the experiences of the first generation but with a big difference concerning their position as children in a context where ‘the adults’ were the protagonists of activism in Chile. As such, children responded to what happened around them and were actively involved in discussions and processes of ideological transmission. With the coup and subsequent dictatorship, their surroundings drastically changed, and they had to adapt to the politics of fear and threat, learning to stay silent and not trust others. As fear became part of their everyday lives, they underwent more changes with the experience of exile, learning a new language and adapting to a new culture. However, in this new setting, they were now actively making other decisions and progressively became the protagonists of their stories. Even if the experience of the 1.5 generation cannot be understood without their parents’ experiences, they abandoned the position of children and took on more responsibilities in exile (Suleiman, 2002). As such, their transition and transformation resonate with what Halbwachs (1950/1980) argues about the flexible positioning of people in their groups or communities. That is, positions in a group are not fixed but change according to circumstances and contexts. In the case of the 1.5 generation, their position as children changed with the dictatorship and exile. These changes produce nostalgia among the 1.5 generation in their relationship with their homes and childhoods. Because they could never return to their homes as they experienced them, some actively engaged with their Chilean-ness and never became wholly Australian. Thus, the identities of the 1.5 generation are in a liminal space between their lives in Australia and their remembered childhood in Chile, which demonstrates the continuing impact of the dictatorship on their lives. This resonates with Jara’s (2016) arguments about the second generation in Chile, as her research shows that the dictatorship affected the lives of the children in complex ways that are not always visible in the public mnemonic culture. Notably, she argues that to most children, the dictatorial past becomes a haunting memory configuring their identities and everyday lives, which resonates with the experiences of the 1.5 generation in my research. Additionally, insisting on using the ‘1.5’ to talk about this group reflects the complexity and ambiguity of their experience (Kebede, 2010; Suleiman, 2002). Too young to be the protagonists in Chile, growing up fast and unable to relate to their peers in Australia, the 1.5 generation is precisely ‘in between’ or in an unsolvable ambivalence. With the disappearance of their childhoods, the Australian context did not facilitate navigating

the difficult position of being children who were socialised in a different cultural tradition and that arrived in Australia following a traumatic experience. Instead, they had to adapt and face racist discrimination while maintaining a connection with their identities and their homes in Chile. Thus, the findings support Kebede's (2010) argument that the '1.5' is a necessary distinction, as their experiences cannot be reduced to the first and second generations.

Unlike the 1.5 generation, the second generation did not have a direct experience of Chile as they were born abroad. Thus, their experience with the dictatorship is mediated by their parents' voices and by media that allows them to imagine their parents' life and what their lives could have been like. The findings resonate with previous research showing how conversations are central to the transmission processes in familial settings (Cornejo et al., 2021; González et al., 2021), as knowledge, meanings and positions are negotiated in communicative practices (Achugar, 2016; Bietti, 2010). Additionally, they also resonate with Landsberg's (2004, 2009) arguments on using cultural artifacts to produce prosthetic memories and elicit intergenerational communication and transmission. This also echoes Astrid Erll's and Rigney's (2009) arguments on the dynamics of mediation in cultural memory. Media works as an artifact that helps exiles' children make sense of their familial past and as a mediating agent between themselves, their families, and other community members. However, media has that symbolic function as it is interpreted by the second generation using signs and other available cultural tools. It may be tempting to suggest that objects and media carry a memory that can be somehow directly transmitted, but we must question these interpretations. Encountering a media object can indeed be meaningful and modify the person. Paraphrasing Bakhtin (1935/1981), we find an object already populated with the voices of others that have spoken before us, but to be able to be receptive and engage in a dialogue with those voices, we need to actively interpret it with other signs that shape our consciousness and thinking (Schiff, 2023; Vološinov, 1929/1973). Therefore, media objects may help the second generation establish connections, broadening their understanding of the past, but only through creative interpretive actions that transform the cultural artifacts' meaning through recontextualisation and other dialogical practices. Similarly, Pickering and Keightley's (2015) work on music and photographs argues that people create meaning in objects by articulating mnemonic and imaginative processes. Using the

words and signs from the past, we may interpret objects and media creatively and in novel ways, adding to other collective interpretations.

This helps us understand that children are not passive in intergenerational transmission, not in the use of media or their interactions with adults and peers. Rather, the second generation actively sought answers and connections with the past and listened and interpreted the conversations with their parents and other community members. The second generation developed a personal relationship with the dictatorial past and their imagined homes in Chile by sharing and telling stories, producing an emotionally complex experience. This process is encapsulated in the concept of ambivalent nostalgia (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002), in which they develop the feeling that their homes are not in Australia but in Chile, the country where their parents came from. As such, they imagine what their lives and relationships could have been if the dictatorship had not happened, but at the same time, their actual lives and history in Australia produce a disconnection from their possible lives, creating complex and ambivalent feelings regarding their identities.

Considering the findings of the 1.5 and second generations, it is possible to understand the ambivalent place the Chilean community has in shaping their experiences of the dictatorship. It is with the communal and shared frameworks that the children of exiles can remember the past and feel a connection with their Chilean identities. At the same time, as it is a framework that takes shape in exile, it also produces disconnection and a contested sense of non-belonging to Chile and Australia. Instead of creating a 'resting' or stable identity, the Chilean community in Australia produces a moving, restless process of identity and belonging for the children of exiles. Hence, this process produces a dissonant experience (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), as the identities of the 1.5 and second generations are in tension. However, I would reinterpret this phenomenon by taking away some of the negative connotations of dissonance and reframing it using another musical concept, the 'counterpoint'. As both the Australian and Chilean voices coexist and shape the subjectivities of the children of exiles, it would be possible to reconsider that more than being dissonant and incompatible, both voices create a complex subjective composition that does not lead to a resolution. However, considering previous ideas regarding the diversity of social frameworks and the intersection of multiple currents of social thought that shape subjectivity, we must ask if this is a phenomenon that

only corresponds to the children of exiles. Therefore, could the figures of dissonance and counterpoint describe social, cultural, and subjective processes more generally?

The findings reveal that the children of exiles develop a complex relationship with their homes and identities as they constantly transit an ambiguous space between communities and cultures. However, I want to complicate theories of culture as coherent 'containers' that produce uniform and coherent subjectivities and identities in the first place. Considering Erll's (2011) arguments, we need to question simplistic notions of culture and engage more critically with notions of multiculturalism in which such concepts operate. As a departing point, let us consider the definition of the traditional concept of culture that Haye and Ramiro González (2020, p. 748) criticise:

The traditional concept of culture refers to a set or whole; to a unity of multiple forms of life organized from a core, representing the more stable and pure forms that enable intra-cultural recognition, and experiencing historical waves of contact and exchange with other cultures that, in turn, are conceived of as other units also defined by their own essence.

With such a definition, cultures are considered independent, unitary, and coherent systems. Erll (2011, p.7) is also critical of such a notion of culture, designating it "container-culture", and invites us to question it in memory studies. For example, Halbwachs (1950/1980) tended to simplify memory at the group level as uniform and coherent, which contrasts sharply with his ideas about memory at the individual level. From that problem, Erll (2011) poses the concept of 'travelling memories' and 'transcultural memory' to turn our attention to the fact that all memory is in constant motion, revealing that social groups do not embody a single way of making memory. Rather than being something we carry with us and communicate to others, memory occurs in the inter-spaces between people and social formations. Hence, memory is not the static and stable property of groups; instead, it takes different shapes as it travels in time and space and across individuals and collectives. Furthermore, we need to question that every social group stands for a homogeneous culture and re-approach the collective level from a transcultural lens, going beyond the idea of 'container-culture' to think of 'border-culture' or 'inter-culture' between the self and others. With this, I heed Haye and González's (2020)

ideas on the work of borders to re-think and challenge the traditional concept of culture. Instead of assuming the existence of distinct cultural groups, they argue that such a differentiation occurs as an effect of the interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces in social interactions. Drawing on the works of Bakhtin and Vološinov, they argue that every social formation is characterised by a pluralism of traditions and ways of life. They pose their arguments considering that discursive practices consist of dialogical interactions, in which the formation of subjectivity takes place in the liminal space of interaction between speakers. By taking these ideas to account for the collective level, they remind us that, in every society, “there is not only a multiplicity of languages but also an interrelationship of languages, discourses, or genres, through which, and across which, speakers move” (Haye & González, 2020, p. 752). Their argument about movement is similar to Erl’s (2011) ideas on travelling memory as it emphasises the interaction and interpenetration that happens between speakers, and we could add, between groups. However, if modern culture is about multiplicity and interaction, how do we get the idea that each culture is distinct and enclosed? Haye & González (2020, p. 753) speak of this as the effect of “dominant forces in society [that] strive for the homogenization and unity of a common and seemingly neutral discourse”. Hence, the conception of a unitary culture is an ideological effect of homogenising projects that reinforces borders and exclusion, not a condition of culture.

If we take a dynamic and movable conception of culture, we might understand that the exiles’ children embody those dynamics of being at the point of contact between different languages and traditions. I am not saying this to disregard or minimise their feelings of discomfort while inhabiting such a place but rather to think of their discomfort as an effect of a discourse that treats identity and culture as singular, coherent, unitary things. Hence the need to question the discourse of multiculturalism. Different researchers have engaged in multiple critiques of multiculturalism as an ideology that simplifies cultures and communities as homogeneous, recognising diversity between multiple groups with distinct cultures but not in terms of diversity within groups. However, the main critique of this paradigm is that it ignores the power relations between groups in Australian society (Dellios, 2020; Mason, 2014; van Krieken, 2012). The positions of British Australians are not the same as those of Chilean Australians. As analysed in Chapters 7 and 8, having an accent and looking different were sources for discrimination and racism.

And the other way around, not speaking Spanish or not playing football became signs of differentiation with the Chilean community⁴⁷. Echoing the words of one participant, it is thus not that the children of exiles ‘do not have an identity’; instead, their liminal position of inhabiting the border of languages and communities positions them in a place that resists the assimilation of homogenising and unifying forces. Furthermore, we can interpret the discomfort of some as a reaction to such homogenising practices. Being in a diasporic setting, away from the borders of the Chilean nation-state, creates the conditions in which the arbitrariness of such practices becomes visible. Thus, we could rethink the words of one participant who stated that she was not Australian and Latin American but only existed or reconsider the words of another who talked about inhabiting a liminal space between the Australian and Chilean communities. Instead of seeing these cases as exceptions, they show that there are no fixed and stable identities but only motion and intercultural processes. Hence, we need to question those discourses that shape subjectivities as unitary and coherent identities based on mistaken cultural assumptions. If we are constantly inhabiting spaces of interaction and negotiation between languages, traditions, and conceptions, then we need to reconceptualise the policies that reinforce concepts of culture as homogeneous unities that are at the basis of racism, xenophobia and discrimination.

The Shape of Time and an Unfinished Debt with the Past

Returning to the initial research question about how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship, my initial goal was to think of what happens when we look at the dictatorship's memory from the perspective of emotions. I have already attended to how emotions shape discourse when remembering, how they shape the political identities of activists, and how the nostalgia of the 1.5 and second generations unveils complex intercultural dynamics. In this last section, I want to add two interrelated dimensions of how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship: first, in the temporal form of memory, and second, in the configuration of mnemonic fields. Both dimensions point to a common feature: the impossibility of a final point in the memory of the dictatorship, which leads us to question our understanding of ethical

⁴⁷ One participant told me about the estrangement of Chileans because he liked to play rugby, drink beer and eat meat pies, which are ‘Australian’ traditions.

and political issues, particularly reconciliation, and what it means to work through the past.

The temporal duration of emotions is not clearly defined. Considering James' (1890) argument, emotions are shaped by the flowing stream of experience, which is constantly ongoing and not separated according to discrete psychological states. A similar idea was posed by Henri Bergson (1896/1988) regarding memory, as he stated that we cannot fully understand it if we approach it in terms of space and spatial separation. Instead, he proposed to understand memory considering time as a continuous process, in which *duration* is a key concept that invites us to think of the survival of the past in the present and the continuities rather than the discrete separation between past, present, and future. Multiple researchers in psychology and memory studies have discussed these ideas (Brown & Stenner, 2009; Burton, 2008; Middleton & Brown, 2005). Hence, the temporal dimensions of experience and emotions are not clearly delimited when we understand them in terms of processes that develop in time. Attempting to separate them as distinct entities may help us classify and catalogue emotions but will not help us to understand how they shape experience and memory. Considering this thesis's findings, one way emotions shape the dictatorship's memory is by blurring its' temporal limits as an event, which resonates with other debates in memory studies and history. As Wagner-Pacifici (2015) argues, memory studies tend to be a bit naïve or hasty when defining events and, by extension, simplistic in understanding time. For example, we may say that the dictatorship ended in 1990 when Patricio Aylwin assumed the presidency, thus commencing the 'democratic transition' in Chile. However, such a demarcation is problematic when we consider how the dictatorship shapes the 'post-dictatorship' in terms of reports, official declarations, memory sites, and monuments, among other phenomena (Loveman & Lira, 2007). As Wagner-Pacifici (2010, 2015, 2017) argues, reports, declarations, and memorials are not really about the 'post' period but are part of the event itself as they inform how we approach and understand the past, shaping the dictatorship as an event. Therefore, events are 'restless' (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010), characterised by their fluidity and movement, which invites us to engage critically with temporal delimitations of past, present, and future.

Considering the findings of my work, the duration of the dictatorship is not delimited when we consider the affective-mnemonic practices of participants. Furthermore, as an event, the dictatorship does not end with the 'democratic

transition' and is still unfinished business. As argued in Chapter 4 regarding the memories of trauma and the concept of historical sadness, it is possible to understand that the dictatorial violence did not end with the 'democratic transition' but continued in other forms, more subtly but still configuring the lives and suffering of the working class. The continuities of the dictatorship are even more salient in the reactions of exiles during the *Estallido Social*. As argued in Chapter 9, the memories of the dictatorship framed how exiles reacted to the political repression of the protests in Chile. Notably, most of them, including myself, feared that another coup and dictatorship would happen. Our fear, then, was of the repetition of history and the senseless killing of the ideological adversary. Rephrasing the words of a participant, the dictatorship may not always be the focus of our attention, but it is always lurking in the background, in this case, shaping emotions, reviving traumatic memories, and configuring our imagination. Furthermore, the memory of the dictatorship not only shaped the reactions of exiles, but we could argue that it also informed the actions of the government, police and army. The affective practices of fascism, shaped by conservative fear and discourses of security that resounded with military control during dictatorial times, configured the image of protesters as enemies that had to be controlled during the events of the *estallido*. In a different vein, the continuity of the dictatorship is still palpable in the negated possibilities for exiles and their children. As one participant noted in Chapter 8, the dictatorship changed the future of the children of exiles by negating the possibility of having a life in Chile. These and other complex affective-mnemonic practices show how the dictatorship emerges from the past and configures the future of exiles with difficult and painful emotions. Thus, approaching the dictatorship from the affective practices that constitute its meaning shows how it is impossible to decide when it is finished (Wagner-Pacifici, 2017), becoming an unfinalizable event (Bakhtin, 1929/1984). As the findings show that the ramifications of the dictatorship are still alive, we can question if it really ended with Pinochet giving away the presidential band or with his death in 2006.

From a different point of view, we can also understand the unfinishable dictatorship from the perspective of the positions that configure it as a complex mnemonic field. I consider the works of Badilla Rajevic (2017) and Haye and Larrain (2018), as they posit the concept of 'field' to think of the multiple positions that constitute the meaning of the dictatorship as an issue of dispute and contestation.

The findings showed how exiles from the first, 1.5 and second generations configured the memory of the dictatorship from different positions. Even the ones from the 'same' ideological venue contest each other and disagree on the memory and meaning of political activism, and this is without considering other ideological positions from the political centre and the right (among others). Thus, affective practices unveil a complexity of positions that cannot be reduced to a common factor or a broader unity encompassing all of them. In this context, the dispute over the meaning of the past is never finished, making the dictatorial mnemonic field unfinalizable.

Considering these arguments on ideology, intergenerational dynamics and the impossibility of a final point in the memory of the dictatorship, we could return to Adorno's (1959/2005) ideas mentioned in the introduction to the thesis and question the discourse of 'reconciliation' that has characterised the post-dictatorial years in Chile (Loveman & Lira, 2007). Adorno's (1959/2005) main thesis is that if we aim not to repeat totalitarian violence in the future, we need to adopt a stance similar to the psychoanalytical model of critical self-reflection. Applied to a sociological level, this means that working through the past is not the same as looking forward as if the episodes of political violence were exceptional events of the past. Instead, it requires a critical examination of the social conditions that led to embracing a fascist ideology and that continue to live within democratic systems (Adorno, 1959/2005). As Olick (1998) puts it, Adorno's concerns were about the survival of fascism within democracy and that in the celebratory, self-congratulating historical mood of the time, there was no critical examination of the roots of fascism. We could extend these reflections to the Chilean case, in which a focus on discourses of reconciliation has characterised the democratic transition. However, what does reconciliation mean, and in what sense is it desirable for a society? I fear that putting reconciliation as our standard to work through the dictatorial past has not led to the critical examination of the roots of fascism in Chile. Instead, it has led to a democracy characterised by symbolic reparations without structural transformations (Cárdenas Castro & Arnoso Martínez, 2018) that keeps alive the dictatorship in the present. Other symptoms of this continuing legacy can be seen in the different sites and memorials that remember the victims of the dictatorship. These have seen time and time again fascist violence with slogans such as *Viva Pinochet* or the writing of swastikas over them, and these issues are not an exception; they have been a

constant during the post-dictatorial years and have increased since the *estallido social* in 2019 (Aguilera & Badilla Rajevic, 2022). The rise of the far right and its casual acceptance in Chile are some other symptoms that indicate that fascism never left Chile in the post-dictatorial years. As such, what does reconciliation mean? Is it the “attitude that everything should be forgotten and forgiven” (Adorno, 1959/2005, p.89)? Considering the current situation in Chile, it seems that the focus on reconciliation has served the purpose of forgetting to avoid the critical examination of our political culture and way of living.

Conclusion

The voices of exiles bear witness and denounce the continuities of the dictatorship in the social and economic structures that reproduce injustice and inequality. In turn, they remind us that there are critical positions in the post-dictatorial process, as there is no reconciliation and no forgetting. Hence, we can return to Héctor Ormeño’s words from the introduction, as he reminded us of the problem of forgetting, which is equivalent to losing realities. I argued then that what motivated this work was a response to this ethics of memory and a sense of urgency to find other forms of engaging with the dictatorial past. In considering the memories of Chilean exiles in Australia, there are lessons to be learned regarding their trauma and suffering and their memories of hope and imagined futures. My work also shows how multiple positions cannot be fused into one broader category, and I would argue that this is not a desirable goal. If we aim to understand reconciliation as the levelling of all positions, it would be equivalent to the totalitarian fantasy of uniformity and homogeneity. Instead, we could understand reconciliation as reassuring the possibility of the coexistence of multiple and diverse points of view in society. However, to make this a reality, we need to fight against fascism because its ideology threatens the very possibility of diversity and agonistic debates (Mouffe, 2013). As such, returning to my initial research question, how do emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles? I can now answer that emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship as an unfinalizable field of contestation between ideological positions that breaks the temporal and spatial limits of the Chilean nation-state. I can also say that we cannot put a final point to the dictatorship, nor is this desirable, as we still need to learn from the past. What is not desirable is the continuation of fascism, injustice, and inequality; to fight these, we

need memory as a critical examination of the past in the present⁴⁸. In this context, the voices of exiles claim a place in the Chilean mnemonic culture as they remind us of other dreams and realities lost in the post-dictatorial years. Their memories are a reminder that the dictatorship still haunts the present because there was never a clear post-dictatorship in the first place. Finally, if we aim to work through the past to achieve reconciliation as the possibility of dialogic coexistence, we must seriously engage in the task of transforming Chilean society.

⁴⁸ Of course, we need more than memory, but memory is one of the essential dimensions to rethink our society and imagine other futures.

Chapter 11 Conclusions and Future Directions

This thesis has explored how emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in Australia. This final chapter signals some of the key conclusions of the research as well as the limitations of the study, which in turn point to other directions for future research.

The first contributions of my research are conceptual and methodological. As discussed in the previous chapters, memory, as a meaning-making practice, cannot be disentangled from emotions, as remembering and forgetting are embodied activities. Therefore, the concept of affective-mnemonic practices is a conceptual contribution to memory studies by focusing on how emotions shape our interpretations of the past, bridging concepts and research agendas about emotions and social and cultural memory studies. As discussed in Chapter 10, this concept can be researched considering socio-linguistical dimensions of verbal and non-verbal discourse, contextualisation, recontextualisation, rejoinder and positioning dynamics (see below for other possible research avenues). This methodological approach can be helpful in memory studies and other qualitative research trends interested in studying emotions as sense-making practices. Even though the work of Wetherell (2012) provided ways of thinking about a methodology to research affective practices as discursively and culturally situated, there is a novel contribution of my research by inserting verbal and non-verbal dialogical interactions as part of the analytical scope.

The second contribution concerns the findings and addresses debates on the relations between memory, trauma, and ideology. As stated in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, exiles challenge the identification of memory and trauma, as they remember not only the pain and suffering but also the joy and tensions that configure their experiences of political activism. The findings also showed how the focus on emotions unveils the multiple positions exiles take when remembering, revealing that ideological affinities do not entail homogeneity. These diverse positions are also present in the imagination of the future after the *estallido social*, as argued in Chapter 9, forming a contested field shaped by fear, pessimism, and hope. These findings advance some of the debates on memory and ideology, complicating the expectation of commonality and homogeneity within groups. This implies rethinking concepts of solidarity and political identities that consider complex ideological and emotional dynamics.

The third contribution concerns the debates on memory and intergenerational dynamics. Emotions shape the memories of the children of exiles, revealing commonalities and differences between the 1.5 and second generations, as seen in Chapters 7 and 8. Both generations go through complex processes of forming their identities in the context of intercultural Australian and Chilean relations, expressing contested and ambivalent feelings regarding their cultural heritage. Additionally, both generations present a nostalgic position about their homes: The 1.5 generation configures their nostalgia from the perspective of their lost childhoods as an effect of the dictatorship and exile, and the second generation configures a tense, ambivalent nostalgia of a home that has never been directly experienced. Having a direct experience of Chile configures the affective-mnemonic practices of the 1.5 generation from their position as children within left-wing families threatened by the State violence. As such, their memories speak of a place of being witnesses but also of being directly affected by exile. In contrast, the affective-mnemonic practices of the second generation are configured by transmission processes within familial and communal spaces with other Chileans. These processes consisted of conversations, telling stories, and using media such as films, music, photographs and newspapers to connect with the dictatorial past and position themselves in Australia. Both generations show how emotions configure the meaning of the dictatorship as an event that changed their actual and potential lives, producing ambivalent feelings of belonging and non-belonging. In turn, these findings challenge simplistic concepts of culture present in the discourse of multiculturalism to consider dynamic intercultural concepts that may be more fruitful for analysis and policy-making.

Finally, considering the thesis as a whole, the perspective of Chilean exiles' affective-mnemonic practices unveils how the dictatorship's temporal and spatial limits are not delimited. Therefore, the dictatorship is configured as a restless event (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010) still in the making, affecting the lives of exiles and those within the national territory. Additionally, from the perspective of diverse and multiple ideological positions, the dictatorship is a dynamic field of contestation that complicates ideas of reconciliation in terms of a 'final' agreement. Both concepts point to a restlessness that allows conceptualising the dictatorship as an unfinalizable event, inviting the questioning of the meaning of working through the past. To have a dialogical and democratic society of agonistic debates (Mouffe, 2013), we need to face the fascist tendencies that have continued from pre to post-

dictatorial times and examine how the social and economic structures contribute to the formation of such tendencies. In facing such a task, the displaced memories of exiles may provide hope and valuable lessons to imagine other alternatives lost in the years of democratic transition.

In answering the research question, emotions shape the memory of the dictatorship among Chilean exiles in four dimensions. First, by configuring the ways of discoursing upon the past; second, emotions configure and unveil complex and contested ideological positions of exiles when remembering the dictatorship; third, emotions configure the experience of the children of exiles between ambivalence and nostalgia; and fourth, emotions shape the dictatorship as an unfinalizable mnemonic field.

Limitations and Future Directions

In Chapter 3, I addressed some of the methodological limitations of my research. In this section, I revisit some of those limitations, as well as other conceptual issues that emerge from this research, and propose ways to work on them in future studies.

The first limitation has to do with the very concept of affective-mnemonic practices. In proposing this concept, I used it as a rhetorical device to turn attention to how emotions shape how we remember and forget. Hence, emotions are not parallel but are entangled in mnemonic practices. Recent work in psychology provides evidence that supports this relation (Rouhani et al., 2023). However, could it be that when researching memories, we really are researching emotions? What could be the limits between those processes, and do we need a strict distinction between them? My position is that of an interdisciplinary and intersectional approach between these concepts. Rather than trying to capture their 'essence', we should investigate other forms in which they are articulated. For example, more work could be done on the relationships between imagination and affective practices. Another area to explore is working on mnemonic-affective practices or how memory shapes our emotions when discussing ideological issues. Both memory and emotion cannot be separated, and we could investigate with more detail their entanglements in different contexts and regarding other significant issues. Additionally, the concept of affective-mnemonic practices could be researched on different scales, incorporating other microlevels of observation of bodily modifications. For example, tracking brain and bodily activity more broadly, such as heart rate, temperature, or other indicators

that could signal body modifications when facing a meaningful task for participants that touches upon their ideological concerns. Even though my approach also considered bodily modifications, some changes escape what the eye can see and can only be seen with the proper tools. As such, a situated and transcultural neuroscientific approach could explore the interrelations between memory and emotions from an intersectional approach that engages with the interaction of both processes. To carry out this work, we need to move in the liminal space between disciplines.

A second limitation concerns the problem of ideological diversity beyond the left and progressive values. Given some limitations of the recruitment process, the participants I interviewed were mostly aligned with left-wing and progressive ideological values. Even though this did not hinder the research findings, an issue to explore in future research is to compare the memories of different ideological groups. This may help differentiate the entanglements of ideology and memory with more nuance and identify more appropriately the characteristics of the memories of left-wing exiles and right-wing migrants. However, several ethical aspects should be considered, including the transparency and honesty that characterise the research on sensitive topics (Cornejo et al., 2008, 2011, 2019). Despite this, I do believe in the need to engage more thoroughly with the affective-mnemonic practices of Chilean right-wing movements and to consider how this research agenda may inform the situation in Chile and Latin America with regard to the rise of the far-right. As Enrique Arias and Jo-Marie Burt (2023) suggest, the far right in Latin America has appealed to feelings of restorative nostalgia (Boym, 2001), often idealising the dictatorial past where societies were 'organised' and had 'order', thus appealing to feelings of certainty. Additionally, the far-right has posed these discourses while clinging to the current fear of crime and insecurity present in the Latin American population, positioning themselves as the hope of security (Arias & Burt, 2023). The populist rhetoric of the far-right is clearly associated with emotions, and they have capitalised on the general population's fear, insecurity and uncertainty. As Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2023) argues, the far-right has come to stay in Latin America. Therefore, it would be useful for future research to explore how affective-mnemonic practices mobilise people to embrace far-right ideologies. This would speak to Chile, Latin America, and other regions facing these challenges.

A third limitation identified in Chapter 3 concerns the recruitment of children of exiles. As mentioned in that chapter, some participants expressed their doubts about their participation due to the association of the word 'memory' with a direct experience of the dictatorship. I argued that addressing their concerns and anxieties was necessary when discussing their experience. Future research could consider these issues and expand the intergenerational scope to include third and fourth generations. Having such a memoryscape could illuminate the dynamics of stability and change and how the travelling memories (Erll, 2011) of the dictatorship shape, or not, future sociopolitical engagements. In tracking those transformations, it would be interesting to analyse the changes in the mnemonic imagination (Keightley & Pickering, 2012) across generations too. This would allow us to find out how younger generations in exile imagine and anticipate the future and if the memory of the dictatorship plays any role in that.

A fourth limitation concerns my positionality as a young researcher without a direct experience of political exile in my family, which sometimes raised doubts and suspicions among some participants. Even though this can be addressed with honesty and transparency, it would be interesting to do this research with a participatory approach, where participants can co-design and co-produce data. However, such a participatory approach should consider communities' political dynamics and conflicts, such as the ones I have analysed in the findings.

A fifth limitation has to do with the geographical focus of the study. Focusing on Chilean exiles in Australia provided many insights and allowed an in-depth understanding of their affective-mnemonic practices. However, in doing so, I did not adopt a comparative lens with the Chileans in the national territory. Future research could adopt a comparative, transnational lens to address this limitation and illuminate how memory travels between different geographies. Furthermore, the comparative perspective could include other countries where Chilean exiles migrated, such as Sweden in Europe or Mexico in South America. In turn, this may also help illuminate the extent of my findings and evaluate the similarities and differences with other realities in different countries. Pursuing this research poses different and fascinating challenges, such as establishing the points of reference to make the comparisons from a qualitative approach, which can enrich memory studies and make significant methodological contributions. This is a project that I would like to explore in the

future, and I am currently considering different data collected by other social researchers to do this.

A sixth limitation concerns using Zoom and the potential exclusion of participants who did not feel comfortable doing online interviews. Even though this issue concerns a broader problem related to the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, it is a problem that future researchers might encounter. I do not have a satisfying solution to this issue, given that it was a measure taken in the context of producing data when travelling was impossible, and meeting in person posed a vital threat to participants. If people are uncomfortable talking through a web camera, then it is their right not to participate. It could be possible to offer more assistance to participants who do not have the technological capabilities and want to participate, which was what I did in my research when this was the case. Nevertheless, thinking about this from another angle, this issue was produced due to my insistence on using in-depth interviews as the instrument, which is data produced in an interactional setting. It is true that the concept of affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) refers to everyday practices of sense-making and that interviews are fitting for capturing some of their characteristics. However, a potential research topic could be the exploration of affective-mnemonic practices in different mediums, such as social media or others, that rely not directly on spoken words but on written ones. Writing indeed entails a different exercise and process than directly talking with someone, but, at the same time, emotions are worked through in writing and other creative practices (Vygotsky, 1925/1971). Furthermore, writing could be conceptualised as a dialogical practice if we consider that there is always an addressee to whom our words are directed (Bakhtin, 1935/1981). Hence, researching affective-mnemonic practices in writing would be an exciting venue to investigate from an interdisciplinary approach and would demand creating the analytical tools to capture their sedimentations in the written word. This may be useful for research with exiles and other cases where testimonies have been written. I would personally like to pursue this venue with the written memories of exiles and Chilean migrants in Australia, and I am already gathering the materials for this project.

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