

A Sacred House for the Lost:
Chile's New Museum of Memory and Implications for Human Rights Today

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates the creation of collective memory by exploring the case of a new government-sponsored Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Chile. The exhibit commemorates human rights violations perpetrated by the State during the country's dictatorship (1973-1990). Being the first government-sponsored memorial of its kind and magnitude, the exhibit speaks to Chile's post-authoritarian democratization efforts and to the multiple challenges still facing memory-making today. Remembering traumatic events, which defy and often threaten a social group's core sense of collectivity, can be a taxing and daring task.

Memory-makers or “carrier-groups” that framed this trauma narrative for others to use were faced with difficult questions when attempting to tell a story about controversial and painful events. The way the museum’s narrative is framed also carries implications for human rights and for the quality of democratic development today. To better understand this case, the thesis asks (1) how were individual stories transformed into a collective representation?; (2) given that defining memory is often polemical, how is this representation sustained as legitimate?; and (3) what are the implications of this official portrayal of national memory for human rights and democratic development in Chile today? Negotiation and mythification are identified as two processes by which memory-makers transformed individual accounts of the past into a legitimate and single collective representation. My analysis shows the museum chose to focus its narrative on honoring dictatorship victims (of forced disappearance and extrajudicial executions). It does so through a Catholic narrative of salvation, whereby victims are provided a sacred space for reverence. While this myth helps establish a broadly recognized symbolic grave for dictatorship victims, it also depoliticizes and dehistoricizes Chile’s authoritarian period. The narrative helps secure the Chilean State as a guarantor of civil and political rights, but not of social, economic and cultural rights, which have become prominent in democratization agendas since the 2000s and whose inclusion in the exhibit would allow for a deeper interrogation of the past in light of current social challenges.

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DEDICATION

A mi familia.

1. INTRODUCTION

*“Only ruins make us more humane,
 and only time reveals the value
 of that destroyed by willful ignorance [...]*
*Oblivion is no better than insult.
 They jump around today, like fleas,
 not icon painters but icon graffitists.
 More than a windbag-orator,
 preaching about protection for antiquity,
 we need today a tender and intrepid restorer,
 who will wash away the ephemera of wretched scrawls
 and who, understanding redemption in it,
 will give back to the nation the nation’s treasure.”*
—Yevgeny Yevtushenko
“Monologue of a Restorer” (1968)

“What has been forgotten.... is never something purely individual.”
— Walter Benjamin
Illuminations: Essays and Reflections (1968)

Although the idea of memory in part evokes the notion of past events that are long gone, memory is actively linked to our present lives. What we remember and what we forget is deeply embedded in our place in society—our political views, our ethnic identity, our socioeconomic standing, and ultimately anything that defines our sense of self. Practically speaking, remembering is an individual ability rooted in our physiological and cognitive faculties. However, the content and meaning of our memories does not come from the individual alone, but from our interaction with others. Hence Barry Schwartz’ claim that when we remember, we do it *with and against* others:

“Only individuals possess the capacity to contemplate the past, but this does not mean that beliefs originate in the individual alone or can be explained on the basis of unique experience. Individuals do not know the past singly; they know it with and against other individuals situated in different groups and through the knowledge and symbols that predecessors and contemporaries transmit to them.” (Schwartz 2008, 11)

Remembering traumatic events, which defy and often threaten a social group's core sense of collectivity, can be a taxing and daring task. How to make sense of an event that caused rupture and division? How to attribute responsibility for what happened? How to agree on the aggravation caused and the parties responsible for it? (Alexander 2003) Is the government, is society, or is a particular group responsible? Memory-makers or "carrier-groups" (Alexander 2003, Fulbrook 1978) that frame these trauma narratives for others to use are faced with these questions when attempting to tell a story about controversial or painful events. In turn, the way these narratives are framed carry implications for human and civil rights today. As such, memory spaces serve as indicators of society's state of affairs and also help create notions of rights and citizenship that shape social life today.

As individuals, we make sense of former experiences according to our own biases and criteria. Memories are created and stored within our physiological bodies even if they take shape through social interaction. However, in alluding to events experienced by an entire social group, where is this memory created and housed? Who decides what to remember and what to forget? How can the past be told as a collective experience, and how can a single collective story be composed of numerous individual accounts?

These questions motivate an analysis of the mechanisms and implications of collective memory in this paper. Assuming that individual memories exist prior to them being collectivized, they must undergo a process that transforms them into a social account. Furthermore, it is necessary for this account to be sustainable in time and regarded as a legitimate version of the past—if not, the account remains weightless and fails to engage audiences in a way that upholds remembrance. This thesis investigates the creation of collective

memory through a particular case, the new Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Chile, while exploring the implications of its narrative for human rights today.

Like other museums of its kind, the Museum of Memory and Human Rights utilized individual accounts of the past to create a meaningful collective representation. Museums of its kind have the power to encapsulate the past and place it into viewers' present lives. By "externalizing the mental function of remembering", history and culture museums "select some memories to retain in the perpetual present" (Crane 2006, 101). Museum makers had to select objects, facts, documents, images and symbols to convey its message. Ultimately, this was a creative process—not an obvious or natural one—that implied decision and intention. But it had to be done in a way that created an interpretable message—a *legitimate* account—that could lucidly speak to its audience.

In short, two initial insights provide a framework to explore the specific case at hand—collective memory is the result of a deliberate process and collective memory embodies notions of identity and human rights that simultaneously mediate our views on the present and the past (Gómez-Barris 2009, Schwartz 2008). To expand on this initial framework, the research questions that guide this paper are the following: (1) how were individual stories transformed into a collective representation?; (2) given that defining memory is often polemical, how is this representation sustained as legitimate?; (3) and finally, what are the implications of this official portrayal of national memory for human rights and democratic development in Chile today? To address these questions, I used interviews to Museum of Memory staff members, newspaper articles, photos and floor plans of the museum, and systematic observation of the exhibit.

Following this introduction, I outline a brief history of the museum in order to highlight its importance within Chile's post-dictatorship reconciliation efforts. Then, I describe the

Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Chile in detail, so the reader may gain familiarity with the case prior to my theoretical explorations. Finally, I analyze the case through different theoretical perspectives—negotiation, mythification, and Chilean memory scholars’—in an attempt to gauge how each sheds light on the case. Finally, I propose a fourth view that allows a further understanding of this memorial by revealing insights from my empirical analysis, and I complement it with a perspective on human rights that further develops my interpretation.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

2.1 Understanding Chile's Museum of Memory

2.1.1 The history that infuses memory: Chile's dictatorship and human rights violations

Chile, like other countries in the Southern Cone, experienced a military dictatorship in the seventies and eighties that abruptly changed the country's institutional and social configuration. A coup d'état led by General Pinochet on September 11, 1973 established a military regime that abruptly transformed Chilean society in multiple ways. Besides substituting a constitutional presidential democracy with an authoritarian regime that suppressed Congress and operated through the enactment of "decree laws", it soon implemented a fast and profound market-oriented transformation. The implementation of such policies was accompanied by the dramatic curtailment of civil liberties and rights—individual freedoms were restricted, pluralism in the public arena was narrowed, and opinions were suppressed for the sake of a "common good" called upon by military rulers (Roniger and Sznajder 1999, 225).

During this time, Chile underwent one of the most traumatic experiences in its republican history. President Salvador Allende, a democratically elected socialist president was ousted by a right-wing military dictatorship, following a period of social tensions framed by Cold War ideology. Although the coup and ensuing dictatorship earned the country repudiation in international public opinion and the United States government supported the dictatorship financially and militarily (Cottam 1994)—especially at its initial stages—the dictatorship would not come to an end until 1990. In the meantime, the little amount of real accountability that Pinochet's regime was subject to, especially in the human rights arena, allowed the

administration to proceed with a neoliberal economic reform agenda inspired by the Chicago School of Economics. The new reforms were geared towards macroeconomic stabilization, privatization of enterprises and social services, and liberalization of prices and markets. In a few years, Chile went from being a closed economy with heavy state intervention to being one of the most open and market-based economies in the world (Torche 2005).

Consistent with the political and social model that the military government wished to install, it adopted a policy of human rights violations that was justified as a matter of state order: the “enemy” and subversive forces were identified in the working class and other social sectors that supported a Marxist socialist economic model (Roniger and Sznajder 1999). The transgression of human rights was framed as a national security matter, where the military was called upon to keep a social order that was upset by former social tensions and popular manifestations during the Unidad Popular of President Salvador Allende.

The officially recognized victims of human rights violations during Chile’s dictatorship amount to over 40,000 (Chile’s population in 1973 was about 10,000,000; INE and ECLAC 2005). After the return of democracy, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission published the Rettig Report in 1991, which established that 2,279 people were killed or forced to disappear between September 1973 and March 1990. In 2005, a new commission released the Valech Report, which recognized 28,459 cases of torture and political imprisonment during the same period.

However, by that time the total number of victims was not a completely settled matter. Very recently, in August 2011, the Valech Commission delivered a second report to the Chilean President. Having considered around 32,000 new cases, it qualified 9,795 of those as torture cases and 30 of them as cases of disappearance and extrajudicial executions, taking the officially

recognized number of victims to 40,000 (La Nación 2011, San Cristóbal 2011). Steve Stern, a historian who has written extensively on memory in Chile, mentions that a good conservative estimate of political imprisonment under military rule in Chile is 150,000-200,000 (Stern 2009). The combined political and economic exile flow also ranges between 200,000-400,000 according to the Vicariate of Solidarity (*Vicaría de la Solidaridad*) (Stern 2009). This is a non-governmental organization set up by the Catholic Church in 1976 to stop ill treatment of Chilean citizens. Its first president was Cardenal Raúl Silva Enríquez—a prominent defender of human rights during the dictatorship—and to this day the Vicariate holds the most complete and most professionally run human rights collection in Chile (Hite and Collins 2009).

2.1.2 Challenges to Memory and Where the Museum Fits In

The question of remembering dictatorship victims in Chile, let alone remembering the authoritarian years, has configured a controversial arena in social, political and even judicial terms. Amnesty laws passed in 1978 and judicial apathy prevented formal trials against military members for human rights violations, with a few exceptions before 1998 (Collins 2009), while the fear of an authoritarian backlash thwarted newly recovered democratic institutions, making political debate around past human rights violations difficult. A few factors participated in defining this challenging terrain. On one hand, there were the institutional mechanisms put in place by the dictatorship. In addition to amnesty laws, Pinochet modified the Constitution to assure his continuation in political power as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, and later as Senator for life, and appointed all the other commanders in chief and general director of the police, making their removal by the new president impossible (Verdugo 2001, Collins 2009). Second, political views that had infused tensions in the early 70s had been suppressed by the use

of force, debilitating the Chilean Left, social organizations, and unions that represented working-class interests and political inclinations that deviated from pro-market approaches. Third, while the use of force suppressed manifest political and social activity, it did not eliminate the interests and tensions behind them; and, while the dictatorial government finally delivered a growing Chilean economy following a major economic crisis in the early 80s, it left the country with serious problems of inequality and social justice (Drake and Jaksic 1999). Finally, the imprint of an authoritarian past transformed Chile's social fabric in less measurable ways, as the repressive state had strived to "dissolve or isolate civil institutions capable of protecting or insulating citizens from state power," producing long-lasting effects (Corradi et al. 1992).

To a greater or lesser degree, all these elements combined to produce what some have called an official memory of oblivion (Roniger and Snajder 1999, Waldman 2009). Others describe it as an unassertive official memory that was too often willing to make concessions (Durán 2007), was obstructed by fear of an authoritarian response, and was fed by persisting social and political support to Pinochet's former government (in the 1989 presidential elections, the Pinochet-supporting right held 45% of the votes; Collins 2009.) Post-dictatorship memory efforts highlighted certain aspects of Chile's dark human rights past—the facts and numbers of repression through Truth and Reconciliation Commission endeavors—while obscuring other dimensions and consequences of the 17-year dictatorial period. In addition, the Concertación Coalition put in place numerous reparation policies that focused on economic redress to victims and their relatives, an approach that has often not been regarded by the victims and related organizations as the most adequate path to justice and reparation (Lira and Loveman 2005).

2.1.3 Museum beginnings

The Museum of Memory, which opened its doors in January 2010, is the first state-sponsored commemoration site of its type and magnitude in Chile. It recounts the violations that repressive state institutions incurred on the country's citizens between 1973 and 1990, during which Pinochet's dictatorship ruled the country. The museum intends to foster national dialogue on the importance of human rights and of preventing events that harm human dignity from ever occurring in Chile again (Museum of Memory and Human Rights Website 2012).

Sparking debates within intellectual and human rights communities, the construction of this museum did not go unnoticed. Museum makers identify its origins in the recommendations section of the Rettig Truth and Reconciliation Report—published shortly after the end of military rule—and memory policies implemented by the Concertación coalition administrations. The Concertación was created around the common goal of ousting General Pinochet from government. Remaining in power between 1990 to 2010, it included (and includes to this day) several political parties that cover the spectrum between the Christian Democratic Party (on the right) and the Socialist party (on the left).

At the beginning of her administration, President Michelle Bachelet, herself a former victim of repression, decided to take a step further and pushed for the construction of a government-sponsored museum. She formally made the announcement in her May 2007 annual address before Congress. Soon after, a commission was appointed and a new building was erected in the cultural heart of the country's capital, Santiago. Interviewees mentioned—and other scholars confirm—the haste with which this museum had to be articulated, given Bachelet's desire to inaugurate it before leaving office in early 2010. This seeming haste made

relationships with other human rights NGOs tense, causing them to withhold from participating in the project (Hite and Collins 2009).

The museum is defined as a place that safeguards documents and testimonies that allow the country to “examine and learn from its painful past in order to contribute to human rights culture and democratic values” (Museum of Memory Website 2012). Furthermore, the museum’s website and museum makers claim that its goal is to foster these values by not only looking at Chile’s recent history, but also at current issues related to violence, discrimination, and the rights of indigenous populations, among others.

2.1.4 A Walk Through the Museum¹

The museum stands as a beacon of modern architecture in the Matucana district of Santiago, a neighborhood characteristic for its cultural activity and its Spanish colonial-style architecture. The museum lies as an island in the midst of an open, mostly flat space made out of concrete that covers about one city block (8,000 meters squared, about 86,000 square feet). The museum building itself is a turquoise-colored rectangular prism (the color of oxidized copper, Chile’s top export) surrounded by mirror-like pools of water (See Figure 1 in Appendix).

Continuing with the copper motif, one wall of the open esplanade displays the articles of the 1945 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in copper letters. Before visitors enter the museum through the main door, they are prompted by tour guides to visit a separate memorial built by architect Alfredo Jaar named “Geometry of Conscience”. To see it, one must descend through a flight of stairs located 30 feet (10 meters) from the main entrance. The memorial consists of a completely dark room that a few people enter at once. Darkness prevails for a

¹ This account is intended as a general description of the museum but is not meant to be a comprehensive description of the exhibit’s components.

couple of minutes, until very bright lights shine through a collage of facial silhouettes, aligned in multiple rows and columns (See Figure 2 in Appendix). The light stays on for a few seconds, its effect heightened by mirrors on either side. Then everything becomes dark again. As tour guides explain, the architect intended to leave the image of these multiple silhouettes in people's retinas after the lights went off. As Alfredo Jaar himself claims, "we Chileans have all lost something. This work is a tomb for that loss" (De la Sota 2009).

The museum's main entrance is on the first floor (the building is made up of five levels—a basement where the library and staff offices are located, the permanent exhibit on the ground, first and second floors, and traveling exhibits on the third floor). The ground floor acts as a preamble to the permanent exhibit—a wall dedicated to different cases of truth and reconciliation commissions around the world, President Bachelet's inaugural speech words on a large glass plaque by the door, and depictions of various memorials for dictatorship victims located throughout Chile. Perhaps most importantly, a glass case sits close to the entrance, containing copies of the two Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports. In a nearby wall, before one takes the stairs to the second floor, a plaque reads:

But the country's state of affairs at that point in time (1973)...which should be described as an acute crisis in national life, represents the destruction or weakening of a significant number of meeting points between Chileans.... Knowledge of the 1973 crisis therefore becomes indispensable... to understand the gestation of later human rights violations... As it has been stated earlier, this should not, in any case, be understood in a sense that implies the 1973 crisis justifies or excuses, in any measure, said violations (Valech Report).²

The entire museum has a luminous and open quality to it, as natural light enters from multiple places. As a visitor climbs a wide flight of stairs to the first floor, where the main part of the exhibit begins, she is accompanied by a large colorful photograph of three protesters—

² Author's translation from Spanish.

evocative of Unidad Popular manifestations—that covers the wall to the right. As the viewer reaches the second floor, she enters a middle open space around which the second and third floors are also built (See Figure 3 in Appendix).

Upon reaching this middle space, named “September 11, 1973”, the viewer encounters ongoing video and audio sounds. A screen plays black-and-white images of La Moneda’s (house of government) bombing on September 11 and a bigger screen to its right shows La Moneda in real time. Among other parts of the exhibit are glass panes that display international news coverage of the coup d’état and a few screens that play documentary footage related to the coup.

Continuing with the intended order of exhibits, a long hallway that runs by the longest exterior wall of the building illustrates how the new military government³ eliminated the rule of law following the coup. On one side, posters describe the tools and mechanisms employed by the authoritarian government to eliminate political and individual freedoms. On the other, objects are displayed in a glass case and on the wall.

There is a middle section on this floor closed off by walls and dark drapes that addresses the human rights violations that took place between 1973 and 1990. No natural light enters this section of the display. These exhibits are titled: torture centers, torture, forced disappearance and findings (of human remains). The exhibit on torture centers contains a map of Chile with small flashing red lights that indicate where torture centers were located—they are heavily concentrated in Chile’s central region. The room on torture displays a torture bed replica, above which is a large screen made up of 16 smaller screens. Each of these squares has an image of a tortured survivor giving testimony about his/her experience. The display on forced disappearance has 6 compendiums of case information dedicated to different types of victims—the *Caravana*

³ “Military government” is the term used by the museum to refer to Pinochet’s regime. In fact, tour guides report not being able to use the word “dictatorship” in their explanations to the public, but are instead instructed to utilize “military government” for the sake of neutrality and credibility.

*de la Muerte*⁴ (Caravan of Death), detained women, press set-ups, peasant executions, survivors of executions by a firing squad, and constitutionalist military members. It also has a book written by the *Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos* (Organization of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees) that recounts their experience in search of their loved ones.

Two other sections on this first floor are dedicated to children's suffering and prisoners' artwork. The section on children points out there were 1,412 children victimized by Pinochet's regime through disappearance, torture or imprisonment; a screen repeatedly plays images of children during the 70s and 80s, and interviews to those whose parents disappeared or died. There are pictures and letters written by children to the government and even to Augusto Pinochet's wife asking about their disappeared relatives. A couple of these letters have the first lady's elusive and taciturn reply next to them. Two hallways on either side of the enclosed central space dedicated to repression have display cases with prisoners' artwork in them (See Figure 4 in Appendix)—napkins with drawings of imprisonment motifs, copper carvings⁵, small carvings made from chicken bones, knitted figurines, and others.

Taking the elevator to the second floor, the visitor is presented with a long hallway that runs along the longest side of the building (directly above the hallway mentioned earlier on the first floor). This corridor is dedicated to describing social activities and movements in resistance to the dictatorship. Half of this hallway is titled "Demands for Justice and Truth", while the other half is titled "The Struggle for Freedom". There are references to the work of different

⁴ Caravana de la Muerte was a Chilean army death squad that, following the coup, traveled by helicopter throughout the north and south of Chile (September 30 to October 22, 1973), executing without trial at least 57 individuals who were being held in army garrisons (Verdugo 2001).

⁵ A piece of art highlighted by tour guides that also stands out for its size in comparison to other objects is a copper carving of two hands holding on to prison bars. It was made by President Michele Bachelet's father, Air Force General Alberto Bachelet, who was detained after the coup and later died in imprisonment. He was imprisoned and tortured for his role in Salvador Allende's Ministry of Defense and for his loyalty to Allende's government.

churches and their leaders in speaking up and defending dictatorship victims⁶, to the widows of the disappeared dancing *cueca* (the national folkloric partner dance) by themselves, and to that of emblematic cases of disappeared persons. The second part of the hallway describes a progression of events—sections are titled “the return of hope”, “the press raises its voice”, “people protest on the streets”, “political parties”, “the return of politics”, “citizens organize”, and “attempted attack on General Pinochet.”

Separating the two segments of the hallway is a room that protrudes into the open space above the first floor exhibit that portrays the coup (See Figure 3). This glass balcony allows for a full view of the main wall of the entire museum containing hundreds of pictures of dictatorship victims (or “victims of political violence”, as described by museum tour guides, who disappeared or died between 1973 and 1990). Wooden benches offer a space for visitors to sit and contemplate this wall of pictures, while electric “candles” (clear plastic lit-up cylinders) outline the square balcony’s edges and evoke *velatones*, or candle lightings in honor of the dead (Stern 2010). The room is titled “Velatón” (See Figure 5).

Once a visitor leaves the *velatón* balcony and turns around the corner, he enters the last big room in the exhibit titled “Return to Democracy”. One wall is covered by cultural expressions of dictatorship resistance (e.g. posters of pro-democracy concerts), another wall is filled by names of people who went into exile, and another panel shows political ads used to advocate for either the end or continuation of Pinochet’s regime in the 1988 plebiscite. A screen repeatedly plays the television ads broadcasted prior to the plebiscite, which became widely known by Chileans on either side of the debate at the time.

⁶ One such figure is Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez, who served as Archbishop of Santiago between 1961 to 1983, he was an active defender of social justice and human rights, openly opposing Pinochet’s government and founding the Vicariate of Solidarity in 1976. This organization would play a crucial role in defending victims of human rights violations and keeping some of the most systematic records of these violations to this day.

One final stop is a screen that plays Christian Democrat President Patricio Aylwin's inaugural speech, which officially recognized the return of democracy following 17 years of military rule. Aylwin was the newly-elected candidate who had run in representation of the Concertación center-left coalition of political parties, created around the common goal of ousting General Pinochet from government, and which remained in power from 1990 to 2010. During the ceremony, held in Chile's symbolic National Stadium (used as a concentration camp during Pinochet's regime), President Aylwin was handed a dossier by human rights organizations, which he acknowledged to be a first step towards truth and justice.

2.2 Research Problem: Why the Museum of Memory Matters

Understanding the history that infuses the Museum of Memory's contents and its place within human rights conversations helps to gain a better understanding of post-conflict challenges in any society. In continuation with memory policies put in place since the 1990s, the Museum of Memory in Chile becomes a symbol of official memory efforts following a period of state violence and deep social conflict.

Chile is part of a larger pattern of dictatorial governments that affected many Latin American countries in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s—the list includes Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Honduras, Panamá, Guatemala and El Salvador. These cases were not isolated, but rather became enmeshed in the East-West confrontations characteristic of the Cold War, and the United States' "war" against Communism. As reformist forces and the push for more representative democratic governments arose in Latin America during the 20th century, national trajectories became infused with Cold War ideology. The United States government would eventually demonstrate its strong presence in the region by supporting right-wing

authoritarian governments through military training and financial support, becoming a crucial actor in 20th century Latin American history (Cottam 1994, Corradi et al. 1996, Grandin 2004).

A shared tragic outcome of these authoritarian governments, successful in “suppressing” their oppositions to varying degrees, was the massive violation of human rights by states throughout Latin America. Following the return of democracy, governments throughout the region have tried to elaborate accounts on the facts of past repression, resorting to truth commissions in order to officially document violations committed under former authoritarian or war periods that often entailed secrecy and deniability, and as a way to shortcut difficulties implied by using other “normal” investigatory channels (Popkin and Roht-Arriaza 1995). Consequently, the versions on the past that truth commissions produce bear direct connection to how current challenges regarding social, economic, cultural, political and civil rights are addressed today. Memory can enhance or reduce democracy “depending on the extent to which the community adopts a critical and open approach to the past.” (Miztal 2005, 1336). It matters for democracy’s health what kind of social remembering is done, and how the past is called and used for present purposes. Barbara Miztal explains that “open and reflexive public recollection can help make social life less alienated, autocratic, or dogmatic and more meaningful, decent, and creative” (Miztal 2005, 1336).

In addition, it is essential to understand memory efforts driven by the state, both in Chile and other Latin American countries, as the memory arena has been defined by the interaction between “hard” and “soft” sources of power. State memory policies occupy a crucial role in delineating conditions under which human rights organizations and victims networks operate, and to understand how discourses on memory are encouraged to thrive (or not) in the national arena, prompting further reparation and truth processes.

Memory policies reflect the way in which government-produced human rights violations acquire political relevance, especially in reestablishing the legitimacy of post-authoritarian democratic governments. In these cases, governments need to acknowledge and offer reparation to citizens whose constitutional and legal rights have been violated by the State. Even when the reparation offered is incomplete, it is the State's obligation to help citizens feel a sense of redress. Moreover, States face political, legal, and moral obligations to clarify the facts of repression, identify and sanction responsible parties, and prompt legal authorities to publicly acknowledge what happened (Lira and Loveman 2005). In doing so, memory policies matter because they express victims', society's and the government's efforts to come to terms with a conflictive past, voicing moral and collective political struggles against oblivion and impunity (Lira and Loveman 2005).

In theoretical terms, this is a case of how collective memory is constructed. More specifically, it is a case that sheds light on the transformation of individual memories—derived from Truth and Reconciliation Reports and interviews to individuals⁷—to collective memory. In a sense, a memorial is a privileged site where the researcher can observe the materialization of beliefs and ideology that a few individuals—memory makers—carry out in the name of the collective.

The three research questions posed earlier allow me to explore this case in both substantive and theoretical terms. First, I ask (1) how individual stories were used to achieve a collective representation. This means exploring how the facts portrayed in Truth and Reconciliation reports—the main source of information that the museum claims to utilize—were made into a script and a physically observable museum exhibit. My assumption here is that

⁷ Part of the preliminary research carried out by the museum involved focus groups done with different social groups in Santiago and interviews with different memory “actors” (human rights lawyers, memory scholars, writers, victims and their relatives, and church members) throughout Chile.

delving into this process will shed light on the mechanisms by which memory crystallizes into something socially real and observable, as if a picture were being taken of something that usually remains unobserved.

Second, assuming that this process involves the juxtaposition of multiple views and interests regarding the past, I inquire (2) how the visual and collective representation is sustained as legitimate. This entails delving further into the mechanisms by which memory crystallizes in ways that effectively resemble and voice something that is already socially real (i.e. specific cultural beliefs, political views, discourses on the past).

Finally, (3) I ask about the implications of this version of memory for human rights and democratic development in Chile today. Knowing that certain elements of memory are challenging—especially those related to “pointing fingers” and establishing responsibility—this inquiry can shed light on the reach and the limitations of the exhibit in speaking to democratic values today. These ideals, included in roadmaps for social and democratic development, usually verse on the importance of equality and the respect for social, economic, and cultural rights (ESC), recognized both by national constitutional and international law (an example are the extensive publications that the UN Development Program and UN ECLAC have written on ESC, especially in the 2000s).

3. METHODS

To address the process by which individualized memories were turned into a collective representation, it was important to understand the manner by which memory-makers intentionally defined the content of the museum and decided to transform it into what it is. For this purpose, I carried out 4 in-depth interviews with museum staff members who were actively involved in developing the exhibit, discussing the script and bringing this project to fruition. Their names and specific positions are not mentioned for the sake of confidentiality and anonymity. In addition, I carried out 3 in-depth interviews with museum tour guides to get a different view of the overall message and content of the museum. In-depth interviews were used in both cases, as these allowed me to understand the meanings that staff members attributed to their actions, to get at their experiences of putting the exhibit together, and to attain the specialized knowledge that these informants have about the messages and audiences the museum speaks to.

Qualitative methods such as observation and interviews were appropriate to understand these practices because they allow researchers to understand the decisions and intentions behind individuals' actions. In looking for the overall narratives that underlie the exhibit, these ethnographic techniques reveal things as they are grasped and shaped through the meaning-conferring response of individuals (Emerson 2001). As Robert Emerson explains, "ethnographic descriptions of the social world identify and convey the meanings that actions and events have for actors in that world... and their distinctive interpretations of reality" (Emerson 2001, 30).

In order to ensure greater validity, I used triangulation by sourcing three other types of qualitative data. I carried out non-participant observation of the museum, taking guided tours and

reviewing newspaper articles. I conducted observations in December 2010 and March 2011, during a period of about 3 weeks each time around. I carried out my interviews in March 2011 during a period of 2 weeks. I reviewed about 200 newspaper articles that had been collected by the Museum library, which had been published in the printed and online press since 2006 and mentioned the Museum of Memory in some capacity. I selected the articles that provided a description of the museum, mentioned its contents, or expressed any sort of commentary on it in order to further understand the context under which decisions about the exhibit were made (research question 2).

I also obtained floorplans, pictures, and promotional material (such as pamphlets and brochures) that describe the museum and provided me with a better interpretation of the museum's narrative. I used open and closed coding to analyze the interviews, observations and newspaper data, trying to identify themes according to my research questions, while also letting new themes arise (Emerson et al. 2011).

4. ANALYSIS: WHAT AN EMPIRICAL EXPLORATION SHOWS

Creating a collective account of human rights violations during Chile's dictatorship involved multiple processes. It demanded defining a story to tell and creating a visual representation that audience members could meaningfully experience. Different theoretical approaches are useful to explain the data generated by this research, which in turn helps to illuminate the processes involved in creating collective memory. Negotiation and mythification shed light on the mechanisms through which truth is sustained as authentic and legitimate, providing useful theoretical tools to understand the Museum of Memory. In turn, Chilean memory scholars do their part in substantively informing our understanding of this case's implications for post-dictatorship reconciliation efforts in Chile. The empirical and theoretical analysis of the case brings me to a fourth view of what the Museum accomplishes and simultaneously overlooks in relation to human rights and democratic development today. By focusing on a myth of salvation and attempting to restore a sense of dignity to dictatorship victims, the museum consequently makes their connections to earthly and political dimensions invisible. This bears considerable implications for the strength and character of the kind of reflection this museum hopes to inspire in its viewers and Chilean society at large.

4.1 Negotiation: tough decisions and nodes of tension

4.1.1 Defining the content

An important component of building the Museum of Memory was defining a script, which implied drawing a boundary around contents about Chile's dictatorship and human rights

abuses that fit into its main storyline and those that did not. As a product of a collective effort, the development of this narrative involved a discussion—museum-makers discussed about the museum’s contents through a process of negotiation. Bruno Latour and Anselm Strauss each describe different aspects of this development that are helpful to understand how the exhibit took shape.

Although Bruno Latour’s framework focuses on the legitimation of scientific discourse, the logic of his argument is pertinent to understand how any social sphere deals with authenticating a particular discourse. Anselm Strauss adds to our understanding of negotiation by proposing the notion of *social world*. He defines it as a group of joint activities or concerns that are bound together by a network of communication (Strauss 1982, 173). The interactions that took place around the creation of the Museum of Memory were identified by a common set of goals—creating a visual representation of a collective past—and can therefore be identified as a social world in Strauss’ terms.

In exploring the selection criteria employed by museum-makers, I discovered their logic was infused by the desire to set boundaries and theorize about what they were doing, in an expectable effort to justify their work and choices. Strauss identifies *theorizing* as a tool that allows a social world to build an ideological base for defense and attack, especially when “in danger of coming under sharp criticism or antagonistic scrutiny” (Strauss 1982, 176). An interview to a museum-maker exemplifies this effort:

I believe that...because Chilean history still hasn’t resolved this conflict... around the coup d’état and the Unidad Popular government [overthrown by Pinochet’s dictatorship], we opted to frame the story in a way that wasn’t questionable in any way. (Interviewee 5)

We came up with an irrefutable logic that wouldn’t allow anyone to say ‘look, you’re wrong’. Who is going to question the fact that it is completely atrocious for a mother to look for her

[disappeared] son on the streets? An UDI [right-wing political party] member can't tell me 'you're crazy!' So the logic was to make [the script] irrefutable in ethical terms and human terms. To me, that dimension is unquestionable. (Interviewee 4)

In preparing to defend the museum's discourse against political attack from right-leaning political parties, this museum-maker foresaw the potential arguments that could be used to question the way history was being portrayed. The choice for a human- and ethically-centered museum thus speaks to the intention of avoiding politically-motivated critiques.

In addition to defining the underlying ethical tone of the exhibit, another negotiated aspect was the content pertaining to the political and historical context of Chile's dictatorship. Museum-makers spoke of a desire to frame the exhibit in a way that would avoid "taking sides". In doing so, they employed what Strauss describes as *boundary setting*—defining what lies within, what lies without, and what placements remain ambiguous (Strauss 1983, 185). Two exhibit developers assert:

If we had included [the political causes of the military coup] in the museum script, it would have implied taking sides... taking sides is something that society itself hasn't done... and Truth Commissions begin their account on September 11, 1973. The museum would have to be very bold if it wanted to resolve something that hasn't been resolved by the courts or by political groups... Another factor in this discussion is that one sector [of society] has insisted on incorporating the [political] causes [of the coup into the museum]. That is the same sector that wants human rights violations to be understood and justified. Therefore, if we begin to justify [political events] with reasons A, B, and C, in the end we will end up relativizing the value of human dignity. That is the point we wanted to make. (Interviewee 6)

Regarding the causes [of the military coup], we had discussions whether or not the museum should include that content. There were two things. First, there was the question of justifying what happened. If we included the causes, then that provided room for people to justify what happened. But Chilean society has not yet agreed on the causes [of the coup], so we can't ask the museum to take responsibility for providing an answer to that... I believe that issue should have generated greater social debate, but it didn't. (Interviewee 1)

As these interviewees show, the political causes of the coup d'état are recognized as highly sensitive content, which is confirmed by the analysis of newspaper articles, which show a

heightened sensitivity by historians and social scientists of the fact that political responsibility is not dealt with. One article claims:

To only remember beginning at the 'Once' [September 11, 1973] demonizes a wide sector and devirtues recent history. It hides that a majority, including the Christian Democratic party, rejected the Unidad Popular [Salvador Allende's government, ousted by Pinochet]... Does this museum house a national memory or only a partial one? (Ampuero 2009)

Quotes like this one further contextualize museum makers' views that incorporating political causes into the exhibit equates "taking [political] sides", creating the possibility of justifying human rights violations, and adopting an unnecessarily bold role in resolving issues that should instead be settled by judicial power and national political debate. Others may understand this as museum-makers trying to avoid their own political coalition's responsibility (as the Christian Democratic party is a bastion of the Concertación and the first two presidents following Pinochet's regime came from that party).

This attitude is present in all interviews and speaks to Latour's claim, "the fate of facts and machines is in later users' hands" (Latour 1987, 259), which implies the validity of facts is a consequence of what is collectively done with them. Considering the exhibit was put together by a few individuals, the real collectiveness and reach of this narrative will depend on how the public interprets and puts it to use. In demonstrating a heightened awareness of the undesirability of politically-related historical explanations, museum-makers recognize elements that—at least in their view—would not be well received by Chilean audiences and would therefore undermine the exhibit's message.

4.1.2 Selection criteria: organizing the content

Latour asserts that a discourse is at “the mercy of malevolent readers” (Latour 1987, 52). So it must stage and frame itself appropriately for its public, defending itself and defining its readership through the medium, language and technical details used (Latour 1987). In Latour’s spirit, museum-makers seem acutely aware of the threat of “malevolent” or reluctant viewers, resistant to be convinced about historical explanations that go beyond the purely ethical dimensions of human rights violations. This strategy also leads museum-makers to explain their criteria for selecting the exhibit’s contents.

The decision-making process, as described by the museum-makers interviewed, is shaped by a desire to (1) place victims at the forefront, (2) portray the facts of repression, (3) make an ethical statement by contrasting horror and hope, (4) and provide a chronological view of dictatorship history. As a museum-maker describes, the narrative avoided taking sides, and so it decided to focus on the victims themselves:

We didn’t take sides politically, but we wanted to be on the victim’s side. [The museum] is centered on the victims. (Interviewee 5)

While asserting this intention, she also claimed that a straightforward way to place victims at the forefront was to objectively describe different repression mechanisms. Here, she emphasized that history speaks for itself:

History is already there. What happened was so brutal that you don’t need to make up any stories. You have to tell exactly what happened! It is nothing more and nothing less than that. (Interviewee 5)

Thus, museum-makers express the intention of putting the “facts” that describe crime and repression in an open and public space for everyone to see, assuming those facts will speak for themselves and make ethical lessons self-evident.

Part of the ethical message that museum-makers wished to communicate is based on contrasting horror and hope, in an implicit attempt to balance repression with democratic expression. So, while Chilean citizens are portrayed as disempowered victims of the repressive state apparatus, they are at the same time recreated as socially organized and resistant individuals who began to act against the injustices that were taking place.

The logic here was to highlight a contrast between violence and horror and the efforts made by all the people who defended human rights. So there is a shocking part of it that shows horror, and another part that highlights the effort made by lawyers, relatives and organizations to defend human rights. The museum encourages those two perspectives. (Interviewee 5)

Even when the museum shows very extreme situations, it also shows hope. There is always an action of survival or a gesture of solidarity next to its opposite. (Interviewee 1)

Lastly, museum-makers explain that chronological and thematic criteria shape the exhibit. While there are spaces and hallways that describe the coup, the first years of repression, the latter years of repression and the return to democracy, there are also separate spaces that address different themes: childrens’ pain, the experience of torture, the experience of imprisonment (through a display of prisoners’ artwork), the role of international organizations and the role of churches.

A few main nodes of tension that highlight the difficult decisions that museum-makers had to face were: the time frame included, the discussion of political responsibility for violations, and the evasion of social and political conditions at both the national and international level that prompted the coup (i.e. Cold War ideology and United States involvement). Latour and Strauss illuminate the meaning behind these choices as a matter of establishing museum discourse as a separate and legitimate entity within the memory realm. Museum makers see the road to

legitimacy as being paved by avoiding controversy. Although nothing they could have done could probably avoid opposition altogether, a focus on the victims and an ethically-based message was their battle horse to fulfill this purpose.

4.2 Creating a myth: how do we experience remembrance?

After a “truth” about the past was negotiated and defined, it was translated into a visual representation that audience members could walk through and experience, which can be equated with creating a myth. This process of mythification reflects the creation of a visually grounded narrative that translates a somewhat distinct and special truth. In a mythical sense, this becomes a “sacred” truth that reflects an idea or belief celebrated by society (Durkheim 1915, Eliade 1998). Mircea Eliade, a prominent historian of religion, expresses that “myth... tells how something came into being, the world, or man, or an animal species, or a social institution, and so on.” (Eliade 1967, 173) In explaining how things came into existence, they also offer justification for man’s activities. In traditional societies, myths represent the absolute truth about primordial time, which in a sense makes all myths the account of a creation (Eliade 1998). Primordial time was when the sacred first appeared and established the world’s structure. In re-enacting mythical events, myths and rituals thus allow man to enter mythical time and “re-actualize” those events (Eliade 1957, 1998).

Adopting this Durkheimian separation of the sacred and profane allows us to interrogate the cultural dimensions of history-rendering, asking about an aspect of time that is not historical but rather symbolic or mythical, and therefore enters into the “sacred” realm. Insofar as a memory museum differs from a history museum and necessarily entails an element of commemoration (Schwartz and Schuman 2005, MacDonald 2006), the Museum of Memory

enters the domain of narrative that transcends historiography and materiality (Alexander 2003, Schwartz 2008). Myths become real insofar as they allow individuals to interpret and infuse events with meaning. Sociologist Jeffrey Alexander clarifies:

We need myths if we are to transcend the banality of material life. We need narratives if we are to make progress and experience tragedy. We need to divide the sacred and the profane if we are to pursue the good and protect ourselves from evil. (Alexander 2003, 4)

By this, he emphasizes that human life not only depends on material reality but is also shaped by symbols and meanings that orient human behavior. We can think of the Museum of Memory as a space that produces a “sacred” truth; in some sense it becomes more important and true than whatever is left out of it. By fulfilling the role of a memorial, this space implicitly intends to commemorate ideas and values fostered by society in the same way that religion expresses social solidarity and sacred things express “collective ideals that have fixed themselves on material objects” (Durkheim in Lukes 1985, 25). A crucial requirement for the museum is to establish a myth that meaningfully resonates with wider audiences. Durkheim clarifies that these “[sacred things] are only collective forces hypostasized, that is to say, moral forces; they are made up of the ideas and sentiments awakened in us by the spectacle of society, and not of sensations coming from the physical world” (Durkheim in Lukes 1985, 25).

Following this Durkheimian view, Jeffrey Alexander claims that collective identity is at stake when attributing traumatic status to phenomena. What matters most is not the *real* harmfulness, abruptness—or physicality—of the phenomena in question, but how harmfully and abruptly they are *believed* to have affected collective identity. Hence, collective identity is at issue in terms of *meaning*, but not so in terms of action, materiality or behavior (Alexander 2003, 92).

Alexander identifies the components of meaning work to be carried out in order to speak to collective stability. He explores four aspects that memory makers or “carrier groups” need effectively address in order to develop a compelling story that is believed and used by society members:

- (1) *The nature of the pain.* The nature of the experience that caused pain to a particular group or to the collectivity as a whole must be established.
- (2) *The nature of the victim.* The persons or group of persons affected by a traumatizing experience must be identified. Are the all-encompassing “people” a victim? Did one group experience the pain or was it a multiple number of groups?
- (3) *Relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience.* The trauma narrative must establish to what extent the members of the audience identify themselves with the immediately victimized group. This assumes that the audience will only be able to symbolically participate in the experience of trauma when victims are represented in terms of valued qualities shared by the larger collective identity.
- (4) *Attribution of responsibility.* It is important that the identity of the perpetrators, or “antagonist”, is established. The identity of who injured the victim and who caused the trauma needs to be symbolically recognized.

Through interviews and observation of the museum exhibit, I employ Alexander’s definition of trauma narrative to explore the Museum of Memory’s narrative.

4.2.1 *Victims*

In the interviews with museum-makers and museum staff members, there are two basic views about who the victims are, although they are complimentary and lie on a continuum (from the individual to the collective level). First, the victims are referred to as specific people who suffered from political violence during the dictatorship years⁸. More specifically, interviewees explain that most victims suffered at the hands of a dictatorial state apparatus that was put in place in order to repress the population. For the most part, this suffering is equated to the human rights violations identified by both the Rettig Report on forced disappearance and illegal executions and the Valech Report on political imprisonment and torture. As one interviewee explains, specific victims are identified individually through names and pictures:

[The victims] are those qualified by the Rettig and Valech Reports. Without a doubt, that's not all the victims there are. Currently, a new process has been started to qualify new victims. (Interviewee 1)

By this, she means the museum closely followed the two Truth Commission Reports in identifying individual victims (and currently, a commission has begun a new process of victim identification). Despite the commonly held notion that repression focused on people who were politically active and supported leftist ideologies, she clarifies that

they were detained not only for their political engagements... for example, in the Rettig Report there is a section about police members and men in uniform... once, a mother brought a picture of her 5-year-old daughter that was killed in a plaza. She had nothing to do with political activities... she wanted us to put the picture of her daughter on our wall (Interviewee 1)

Another interviewee complements:

⁸ This technically includes Salvador Allende—the overthrown president in 1973—and Pinochet's security guards that were killed in an attempt to assassinate the dictator in 1986, as pointed out by an interviewee.

In the exhibit named “Absence and memory”, we have pictures of victims of political violence, not only of victims of human rights violations. We have pictures of military members and also the picture of [former president] Allende. That is the difference [between human rights violations victims and political violence victims] (Interviewee 4)

Therefore, the take-home message is that, regardless of what kind of lives or activities the victims carried out, there are two crucial factors that define victimhood. One is the official precedent of Truth Reports that stems from post-dictatorship reparation processes, and the other is the condition of having suffered the extreme consequences of political violence.

However, in addition to individual victims, there is also a more collective understanding of who the victim was, especially by museum-makers. Interviewees propose that society, as a broader entity, was victimized in its entirety. The idea that it “could have been anyone”, and that the violence experienced by one person affected an entire network of family, friends and acquaintances is present throughout the interviews. One interviewee explains:

[The museum] attempts to show that many people were victims. [We want to show that they were] not only participating in politics, but that they lived within a violent context... They could be detained not just because they were politically engaged. It expresses that society in its entirety lived within a context of violence, and that doesn't only include direct violence. For example, those who watched someone else getting killed... that violence was also experienced by other people. The museum tries to say this was a generalized thing. (Interviewee 2)

Another interviewee, who is one of the crucial museum-builders summarizes the point in the following way:

[Because of my experience] I am aware of the magnitude of the cost, of how at different points in time society was terrified. The least important thing was the dead person him/herself, but the impact that person caused within his/her reference group. That is very severe. So I would say that the main space within the museum is occupied by the real victims, whose names have been identified. This country has had a chance to identify them, to identify many—at least those who have wanted to be identified, because some people who haven't wanted to be. This is a valuable thing. There they are, with their names, with their stories, they're there... [but also] Chilean society is the victim society, that's what I would like to show... In the end, that is what [architect] Jaar represents [in the “Geometry of Conscience” memorial]... with the multiple silhouettes... meaning it could have been anyone.” (Interviewee 6)

As this interviewee implies in her last comment, the collective representation of the victim is more symbolic than direct. As indicated by her, this message is conveyed through the underground memorial that one encounters before entering the museum (See Figure 1.2 in Appendix).

While the message of victims as concrete individuals who experienced repression is more direct and impossible to miss for any museum visitor, the message about a collective victim requires some interpretation, and it is difficult to gauge how obvious this is to viewers. The ambiguity with which the victim is defined through different parts of the museum—society as a whole, victims of political violence, people identified by the Truth Commissions—shows this case does not fit neatly with Alexander’s theory. The boundary work that museum makers have done around who the victim is appears to be fuzzy.

4.2.2 Perpetrators: attribution of responsibility

In the same way that a trauma narrative must identify victims, according to Jeffrey Alexander it must also attribute responsibility to individuals or groups for the experience of pain represented. In the case of this museum, the designation of responsibility is not as individualized as victimhood is. Most interviewees focus on the institutions and state organizations that allowed the state to repress its population:

The victimizers here are military soldiers, those who seized power. And the state agents... it’s implied that they are also individual people, but generally we speak of repressive organizations created by the state. (Interviewee 2)

The actors held responsible are the state, or the Armed Forces that decided to rupture democracy and create a system that allowed them to seize the state, creating instances for repression and transgression of limits. [The museum doesn’t] identify responsible individuals, although a few main characters show up—the military junta shows up, but not specific people. There is no

interplay of victim-victimizer here. We show the main characters and describe their actions. (Interviewee 3)

[The victimizers] are not individualized. They show up in some documents, if you look at the individual cases, for example. The victimizers are implied in terms of commands and organizations. It doesn't necessarily say "agent Juan Pérez" did this and that. But the DINA [National Intelligence Agency] shows up in the case of Operation Condor and there is a document signed by Manuel Contreras [former director of intelligence agency.] It doesn't say 'regarding this victim, those responsible were these and these people' but all the information that's been created by judicial processes and official documents is available in the museum's Documents Center [library]. It's true, there is no list that says 'those responsible for crimes against humanity, in alphabetical order, are such and such. (Interviewee 1)

Another interviewee explains the difficulty of identifying perpetrators of violations individually.

Unlike the case of the victims, there is no official source of data about who the victimizers are. It is identified as an issue pertaining to the judicial system, which has only sanctioned a small percentage of people who committed crimes against humanity.

Because our script is based on Truth Reports, and they don't deal with this... [...] These are political decisions on one hand, but also decisions related to justice. The commissions were not and are not commissions with judicial attributions that allow them to sanction people's actions. Therefore, we don't have enough precedents, there are some but very few. However, we do have [proof of] a set of repressive institutions. It's not that Mr. Contreras was evil and that Mr. So and So was evil, but that institutions allowed these men to do what they did. (Interviewee 6)

All in all, because the museum so strongly bases itself on Truth Reports and other historical documents, its discourse does not provide a list of victimizers like it provides access to a list of victims. However, if a visitor is looking closely enough, some of the individual perpetrators can be found in specific documents or documentaries that form part of the museum exhibit. Therefore, the trauma narrative employed by the museum tends to individualize victims while it tends to identify perpetrators at the institutional level. As reported by one of the interviewees, there is no victim-victimizer interplay here. We may ask, does this effectively respond to Alexander's trauma narrative requirements? Alexander does not refer to the level at which the victim and victimizer need to be identified, and what it means in terms of trauma

narrative effectiveness when victims and victimizers are conceptualized at an individual or collective level.

4.2.3 The pain portrayed

The portrayal of experiences that caused pain is consistent with the view of who the victims are. On one hand, Truth Reports document specific and concrete types of human rights violations that correspond to an individualized view of victims:

In some parts, [the museum] approaches this topic through different themes. For example, there is a section dedicated to children's suffering, which took place throughout the dictatorship years. Then, there's the theme of political imprisonment, of torture, of forced disappearance, of executions. (Interviewee 1)

However, the scope of the pain is also expanded and extended into the lived experience that concrete violations—disappearances, torture or executions—caused people who were connected to victims in some way. In the end, this was portrayed as different experiences of trauma:

We chose specific dramatic accounts. Because there are different dramas... that of the disappeared, for example. The suffering of families is a drama in itself... there's an entire story on people who were forced to disappear, the search by their relatives, and the rejection that they experienced when they were told 'no, your relative is dead'... Then, we took the drama of political prisoners, the drama of the exiled." (Interviewee 5)

Again, emphasizing an earlier point about the museum's attempt to collectivize the experience of victimhood, a museum-maker adds:

But we also want to say how massive this was, that there was a set of repressive institutions in place, which not only meant that someone could be detained... it implied a series of limitations to personal liberties... It is also related to how a country can develop and respect itself and its citizens. (Interviewee 6)

There is a hallway which... I don't know how well we communicated the message... after the room that describes the September 11 coup... that hallway is especially designed to communicate that this affected society as a whole. There, we exemplify how this repressive institutional framework was put in place and affected all of us, giving us a specific outlook on our country, causing us to not have solidarity with each other, teaching us to doubt one another. (Interviewee 6)

Therefore, we see there is an attempt by museum-makers to communicate that the loss of civil liberties affected social practices, which undermined trust between people and eliminated possibilities to derive positive results from collective action. Social isolation and atomization, distrust and fear across society are thought to have affected the entire country.

Nonetheless, based on the amount of space dedicated within the exhibit to commemorating topics related to human rights violations victims, I argue that the greatest portion of the pain depicted in the museum still corresponds to death, imprisonment, disappearance and torture. As evidence, we find most spaces on the first floor are dedicated to explaining torture, disappearances and findings of human remains across Chile, the lived experience of imprisonment through prisoners' artwork, the suffering of children, and different cases of human rights violations (i.e. military or government officials loyal to Allende's government, women, the victims of specific intelligence operations, and the relatives of the disappeared). (See my earlier description in "A Walk Through the Museum") In this sense, the boundaries around the pain portrayed are also somewhat blurry—stemming from concrete individual experiences repression to broader negative patterns and behaviors that affected society as a whole.

4.2.4 Relation of trauma victim to the wider audience

Perhaps one of the most successful tasks this narrative accomplishes is defining victims in human terms, which successfully connects the trauma victim to a wider audience, regardless

of the audience's age, political inclinations or even knowledge about human rights. The intention of depicting the victims' lived experience, and of framing victims as those passively suffering from a broadly defined "political violence", shows the prevalence of this objective for museum-makers. In showing prisoners' artwork and including the suffering of children, the victims are portrayed primarily as ordinary citizens who were innocent and young, who were hopeful in times of difficulty, or who found means to express themselves artistically during challenging times. In addition, the "victim" is implicitly depicted as a resistant and increasingly organized citizenry, embodying desirable democratic ideals that any modern audience could reasonably relate to.

Having considered Alexander's framework to understand key elements of the myth portrayed, I argue that something remains unexplained. Returning to Eliade's definition of myth, we can infer that something deeper and "original" needs to be explained by the museum myth. Since myth explains the existence of something—such as a social institution—we must keep delving into this question. While Alexander's framework sheds clarity on the elements of the story, it does not entirely reveal the connection of its parts into a meaningful whole. Since myth accomplishes a representation of a shared identity and a sense of collectivity, how exactly does the museum's narrative speak to that? This question will be further explored below.

4.3 An awaited public statement: the museum and scholars of memory in Chile

Part of understanding the Museum of Memory's message and significance relates to placing it within a context. This context is shaped by an often tense relationship between post-dictatorship political developments and efforts to keep memories of past human rights abuses alive. Understanding the challenges produced by this framework informs a fuller view of where

this government-sponsored museum fits in. Since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship in 1990, Chile has often been portrayed as a successful example of economic development and integration into a globalized world (Rosenberg 2002, Cypher 2004). Some have claimed that, unlike its neighboring countries in the Southern Cone, Chile managed to surmount its authoritarian period on its two feet, while the country's rapid economic growth in the 1990s and its observable institutional order earned Chile international acclaim (Martínez and Díaz 1996).

Some memory scholars, however, argue that academic, political and journalistic discourses focusing on Chile's macro-level indicators of development such as steady economic growth, stability of institutions, reduced poverty rates and a sound transparency index (Martínez and Díaz 1996) overshadowed the recognition of human rights violations that accompanied the formation of Chile's post-dictatorship polity (Gómez-Barris 2009, Roniger and Sznajder 1999). Chilean memory scholar Macarena Gómez-Barris claims: "Chile as an economic miracle and 'democratic' government has been secured through global and national political arenas that eclipse the complexity of memory formations, writing out of history those who suffered in their bodies and minds the political heat of the Cold War and its long shadow" (Gómez-Barris 2009, 32).

What do these diagnoses of post-dictatorship Chile speak of? Ultimately, they also refer to deeper, less measurable practices and to "inherited constraints" (Stern 2010) that expose legacies of authoritarianism. The residues of structural and systematic violence survive beneath and in spite of new procedural and institutional definitions of democracy, translating into undermined social trust and cultures of fear (Corradi et al. 1992, Godoy 2006), which in turn affect the possibility to engage fruitful discussions about memory. Furthermore, low levels of

social trust have infused a widespread aversion to open conflict in Chile (Wilde 1999, Lagos 1997).

Memory scholars allege that post-dictatorship “politics of memory” privileged amnesia for the sake of public order (Waldman 2009, Roniger and Sznajder 1999, Gómez-Barris 2009). This politically borne amnesia found legal sustenance in the amnesty laws that Pinochet’s government put in place years before surrendering power (Cardenas 2006). Its symptoms can be found in the discontent of various human rights advocacy groups and organizations of former victims that do not feel compensated or acknowledged in their role of victims of state persecution and violence, despite actions by the state to extend monetary redress to victims (Gómez-Barris 2009, 27; Lira and Loveman 2005). In this context, cultural expression—through literature and art—often “constructed alternative forms of memory” (Waldman 2009, 122) that followed the logic of bottom-up protest (Stern 2010, xxiii).

Also, while Truth Reports were at a moment acknowledged by all political parties and given their due attention in the media, memory scholars claim that they hardly solved the deep divisions between top-down and bottom-up memory struggles (Stern 2010). There has been an ongoing tension between the temptation to forget “in view of debilitating [inherited] constraint,” while the “necessity to remember [has] also proved strong” (Stern 2010, 210). This division between bottom-up protest and top-down attempts to respond to those demands can be termed as the “impasse of Chile”; while the oblivion-memory dichotomy is too simplistic for Stern, it captures a culture stuck in a sort of stalemate. However, this impasse is seen as a moving thing, oscillating between prudence and convulsion, “as if caught in moral schizophrenia” (Stern 2010, xxxi) Inspired by this claim, we may observe that while it is a significant step for the Chilean government to sponsor and build a national museum of notable magnitude, it is also unlikely that

it will fully resolve the deep divisions between state policies (“hard hegemonies”) and demands from below (“soft hegemonies”). In any case, as Stern emphasizes, the memory question remains open, and at this point it is impossible to know whether open memory debates will be debilitated or decisively strengthened in the future (Stern 2010).

Recently, other scholars have proposed preliminary analyses of the Museum of Memory itself, claiming that it does not convey strong executive leadership on human rights issues, but is rather a necessary official response to the persistent bottom-up dynamic and experiences in the field of commemoration (Hite and Collins 2009). They identify post-dictatorship commemoration trends in Chile—doing funerary representations that convey what was done but not why it was done nor who did it, and creating representations that reinforce a peripheral geography of commemoration. While they claim that “official commemorations have evaded representing the machinery’s genealogy and agents”, they also observe that “physical relegation of [commemoration sites to places that are not part of everyday civic or political routine] lends to the sense of a fragmented Chilean memory landscape in which the state fails to enact commemorative policies that might engage the public more meaningfully in collective explorations of the past” (Hite and Collins 2009, 383). Following Katherine Hite and Cath Collins, the Museum of Memory does not seem to go too far beyond these previous trends. Although the new museum is placed in a central location of Santiago, which should make it more visible to “everyday civic routine”, it does not engage in a political discussion of the agency and reasons behind repression. Whether the museum engages in an adequate “meaningful collective exploration of the past” is a question possibly answered from multiple vantage points, which I will further discuss in my conclusions section. Much of this discussion is defined by what we

understand as useful and productive in the realm of memory, and taps into the essential question of how the past should best be interrogated.

4.4 Apolitical redemption

A consideration of mythification, negotiation and the post-dictatorship memory context that surrounds this museum reveals a fourth perspective that sheds new light on this exhibit. While Alexander's framework recognizes important elements in the trauma narrative portrayed, it does not seem to capture the essence of the myth created by the content and architecture of the museum.

As a Latin American country that experienced colonization by the Spanish Empire, the presence of the Catholic Church began to shape Chilean identity and culture centuries before independence in 1817 (Salazar 2005, Larraín 2007). Although Chile has experienced modernization and secularization of social life increasingly since the 20th century, over 70% of the population currently self-identifies as Catholic (the last census took place in 2002; INE 2002). In establishing a connection between museum discourse and its audience, I argue that museum makers developed the exhibit's script and content based on a Catholic myth of salvation. This was an effective way for museum makers to communicate an ethical message of dignity and humanism focused on the victims, while fulfilling Eliade's framework of returning to an original and sacred time. Although Eliade acknowledges that not all religious behavior is adequately described by his theory of sacred time, he does propose that Christian tradition embraces a linear and historical time that is seen as sacred and capable of sanctification (Eliade 1998).

The museum description I provided earlier highlighted the different parts of the memorial at hand. I propose the layout of the museum follows the Christian eschatology embodied by a Catholic church (Walls 2008). Eschatology is concerned with what are believed to be the final events of history and the ultimate death of humanity in different religions (Phan 2008). Christian eschatology in particular is concerned with death, individual judgment, an intermediate state, heaven, hell, the return of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and universal judgment. In understanding the need for legitimacy, it is very likely that museum makers attuned to the Catholic frameworks of reference that Chilean audiences hold. This claim is substantiated by the storyline that underlines the exhibit.

The underground memorial by Jaar represents catacombs (“a tomb for [all Chileans’] loss”) and the Truth and Reconciliation Reports are put forth as a sacred scripted truth (like the Bible) that gives meaning to the architecture and design of the myth’s materiality. The permanent exhibit begins with the September 11 display, which describes a sort of exile from paradise—a primordial event that gives meaning to the rest of the narrative—the rule of law was interrupted, violence inundated the house of government, and new institutional mechanisms created a framework for repression. In a sense, a primordial state was broken, and an entirely new configuration began to take place. Following this exhibit, the Chilean population along with other specific victims of the dictatorship (whose experience is recreated as the viewer walks through the museum) can be seen as entering an intermediate state of suffering. This intermediacy is evidenced by the central space on the first floor closed off by black drapes, and by the fact that it stands in the middle of the first floor in isolation from other displays.

This is a purgatory-like experience marked by human rights violations and pain, a condition that may be understood as temporary punishment or purification. At this point in the

museum tour, ascension takes place. The viewer must either take the elevator or climb the stairs to reach the second floor, leaving behind the portrayals of human pain in the previous section (imprisonment, torture, disappearance, children's suffering, and prisoners' artwork).

When the viewer ascends to the second floor of the exhibit and encounters the balcony posed before the wall of victims' pictures, she enters a different dimension of the victims' experience. Now, she is in a position to admire these pictures, as they exist in a place that is meant to restore victims' dignity and pay them homage (as asserted by museum makers). This is a place where the dead are worshipped and given back a sense of worthiness and existence. In eschatological terms, this part comes after the stage of suffering left behind; so this progression implies a sort of salvation. As museum makers and tour guides affirm, viewers continuously bring in new pictures to add to this wall, as they find a need to return their loved ones to this space of worship and recognition. A tour guide explains the meaning of this space very lucidly:

People understand this is an important place that gives them a certain kind of satisfaction. Given how dreadful this experience was, at least this memory place becomes... like a heaven on earth, a place to save them from annihilation. [This is especially true because] one of the most violent parts of repression was how they denied the disappeared their name... [Their identity] disintegrated and diluted. They died like animals, in the sense that there was no identification of bodies, there was no dignity, which is a minimum requirement for human beings. So this [putting their loved one's picture on the wall] gives people a sort of calmness, and those who don't have it come to desire it. It's a very powerful experience, to realize how transcendent this is for people. I have noticed what this place generates. (Interviewee 7)

The last hallways that portray the organized resistance to the dictatorship and the return to democracy further the narrative's conclusion as redemption. The restoration of the rule of law and the salvation of the dictatorship's martyrs becomes a sort of return to paradise. While restoring a sense of dignity and recognition to dictatorship victims, this also accomplishes the task of enmeshing Catholic ideology with democratic ideals. The restoration of democracy is understood as the end-all be-all of the traumatic dictatorship years, an apotheosis that restores a

sense of normality, fairness and stability. It is seen to bestow almost divine qualities upon democracy and upon the victims who suffered due to its loss. As the poet Yevtushenko suggests, memory makers may have understood the responsibility at hand as a redemptive return to the nation of its “treasure.” Whether the museum makers’ treasure was conferred in the nation’s best interest is a separate question altogether. While the ultimate goal of this myth is the celebration of democracy—by definition a political construct—it does so in a depolitized and atemporal fashion that creates dehistoricizing effects. The implications of this approach will be further explored in my conclusions.

4.5 The human rights lens

Together with understanding the underlying narrative of the Museum of Memory exhibit, it is useful to analyze it through a focus on human rights. After all, the name of the museum makes reference to these rights, implying that a large portion of its content refers to them. Since their inception, human rights have been conceptualized as civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights. Considering what I have explained above, the museum focuses mostly on civil and political (CP) rights, but disregards a further discussion of economic, social, and cultural (ESC) rights. Human rights also include the latter, which are comprised in the International Bill of Human Rights that has been in force since 1976.

This broader conception of human rights was secured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, although their position as equally-standing rights has not always been respected by governments, human rights scholars and commentators (Rowe 2009). However, ESC rights have powerfully informed the work of prominent international human rights organizations, especially since the fall of the Soviet Union, and with greater force in the 2000s. In 2001,

Amnesty International adopted a new mission statement that allowed for a fuller support and promotion of ESC rights (Rowe 2009). Human rights organizations and international organizations that promote social development agendas in Chile and the region have also embraced this broader notion of human rights (e.g. ECLAC United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, the National Institute of Human Rights, the UNDP United Nations Development Program, and the Human Rights Observatory, among others).

In 2010, ECLAC published a report on Latin America, stressing the importance of addressing the region's high inequality, and promoting social justice and human rights. The document points to the high levels of socioeconomic inequality, indicating that the region's top quintile earns 18 times more than the lowest quintile (United Nations Human Rights 2010). Inequality is directly related to ESC rights, which include the rights to work, social security and education, or collective rights, such as the rights to development and self-determination (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2012). Other ESC are the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to food, the right to housing, the right to health, and the right to education (United Nations 1976). Furthermore, the UN identifies non-discrimination as a cross-cutting principle in international human rights law: "The principle applies to everyone in relation to all human rights and freedoms and it prohibits discrimination on the basis of a list of non-exhaustive categories such as sex, race, color and so on. The principle of non-discrimination is complemented by the principle of equality, as stated in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.' " (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2012).

In relation to pending challenges in Chile, the National Human Rights Institute's (INDH) 2011 Annual Report highlights the need to transition into a new stage of democratic development (INDH 2011). It explains that deepening democratic processes involves the acknowledgement and respect of equality and the redistribution of resources and power (INDH 2011). The report analyzes challenges regarding the rights of incarcerated populations, the rights of indigenous groups, the right to protest, access to justice, the right to equality and non-discrimination, the rights of migrant populations, and rights of sexual minorities, pointing to key issues that need attention in Chile.

As the above descriptions of the museum show, it becomes clear that its narrative neglects any discussion on any of the ESC rights examined by the INDH's report. By focusing on human rights victims as those who experienced torture, illegal executions, and forced disappearance, the museum leaves out further considerations of alternative conceptualizations of "victims", which could emphasize the crucial challenges facing the Chilean State today; to mention a few—an ongoing conflict between Mapuche indigenous groups in the south of the country and the State, the high levels of income inequality which render Chile the second most unequal country in Latin America, and the government's deficient role in securing dictatorship victims' access to justice.

By framing human rights violations within the museum using only the definition of political and civil rights, museum-makers take away possibilities to see the current administration as accountable for securing the human rights that are most pressing today. As Greg Grandin points out, post-authoritarian regimes in Latin America redefined democracy, securing the State as a guarantor of civil and political rights, but not of social and economic rights (Grandin 2004). For the most part these governments have focused on securing basic

political and civil freedoms such as the right to assemble, the freedom of conscience, and the right to physical safety. However, this has often implied a failure to incorporate the “second-generation” of human rights that are so pertinent in making governments accountable for the challenges posed by 21st century Latin American societies.

5. CONCLUSIONS

As I have attempted to demonstrate, the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Chile can be viewed from multiple vantage points. On one hand, it can be viewed as a physical space that emerged as the result of a particular historical and political moment in Chile. As such, it speaks of an effort to remember events that irremediably threatened and changed Chilean society. On the other hand, it can be seen as a site that illuminates the logics of collective memory creation.

The different lenses I have used to approach the museum mediate my conclusions about the research questions proposed at the beginning of this paper. First, individual stories were used as vital content for the exhibit. Individual stories from the Truth Commission Reports inform multiple spaces in it—they become the “truth” books cited as foundational, they translate into the spaces that depict various types of state repression, and most notably they become the main source for the “Absence and Memory” wall of victim photos. Individual memories directly feed notions of victimhood suggested by the museum. They also inform notions (even if ambiguous) about the parties responsible for human rights violations; individual accounts in the Truth Reports focus on the facts of repression but not at all on perpetrators, and the museum directly mirrors this choice.

These separate elements, all contained in the individualized accounts, could not do the job by themselves, however. Individual accounts can each hold their own truth and each follow their own story, but museum makers needed to weave them into a collective account that included and represented them all. This required intentional actions by museum-makers in trying to produce a new version of the past that translated into a physical space and could tell one single

story. The need to understand this process led me to delve into the mechanisms by which this collective story was written and articulated in an effective way.

“Effective” in this case implied the production of an account that would be seen as legitimate by Chilean audiences and could be sustained in time. Based on my theoretical explorations, negotiation and mythification arose as two processes involved in the production of (socially accepted) truth. In turn, they became useful to investigate the museum makers’ task. In terms of negotiation, Strauss’ and Latour’s framework illuminated the boundary work and selection criteria used by exhibit developers. This negotiation framework was useful to conceptualize how museum makers decided to only include the period between 1973 and 1990, and their choice to make victims the center of the exhibit. While the decision-making process required a discussion of political and historical causes of the coup d’état, exhibit developers finally chose to deliver an ethical message articulated in terms of human (as opposed to political or historical) experience.

Regarding mythification, I initially applied Alexander’s framework to understand the components of this museum’s trauma narrative. Although his framework yielded a definition of victims and perpetrators, of the painful collective experience portrayed, and of the links between victim and the wider audience, it also became insufficient to render all aspects of this case visible. It became necessary to dig deeper into the structure of a myth in order to understand how the components of the trauma narrative indicated by Alexander were woven together and given useful meaning. Eliade’s interpretation of myth and its functions revealed a new dimension of the museum’s constructed truth—the myth is religious in character and allows for a glorification of victims, in a sense providing them with a “sacred home” in which to rest. As their identity and

dignified place in society is restored, they also become a symbol for the celebration of democracy as a paradise lost and recovered after a 17-year dictatorship.

In addition to accomplishing an important symbolic function and bearing theoretical implications for collective memory, the resulting exhibit carries significant social and political implications for how Chile's dictatorial past is remembered. The museum confronts opportunities to speak to memory scholars' observations about memory efforts in Chile. These are opportunities to affect the divisions between bottom-up demands and top-down reactions to them, and to respond to trends that have characterized victim commemoration in Chile during the past two decades.

At another level, the notion of human rights embodied by this memorial makes direct insinuations about the kind of democratic discussions it can hope to foster. As my analysis indicates, the permanent exhibit of the museum focused primarily on the violation of civil and political rights. Victims are represented as individuals who suffered from torture, illegal executions, and forced disappearance; more broadly, there is also a collective depiction of the Chilean citizenry as being victimized by a repressive apparatus that eliminated the rule of law and its accompanying personal freedoms (e.g. right to physical integrity, freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, and freedom to assemble).

While focusing on the violation of civil and political rights, museum makers implicitly offer a narrower definition of human rights than was possible. Human rights also include economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights, which are comprised in the International Bill of Human Rights that has been in force since 1976. This broader conception of human rights was secured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has informed the work of Chilean

human rights and international human rights organizations that contribute to social development agendas.

By defining its content in the way I have described, the exhibit does not put Chile's dictatorship into any sort of geopolitical or historical framework, which could potentially include a discussion of the pattern of dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s, an explanation of Cold War history, a description of political ideologies that Pinochet's dictatorship sought to suppress, or the intervention of foreign powers in Chile's affairs. While the exhibit exults the ideal and restoration of democracy, its mythical story is in many ways at odds with the very democratic ideals it wishes to promote. As the museum equates human rights with civil and political rights, a further discussion on economic, social, and cultural rights remains mostly absent. In that sense, the museum ignores the possibility of establishing more direct connections between memory and current human rights challenges. For example, it neglects to address any of the contemporary human rights challenges mentioned by the Chilean Institute of Human Rights in its last report. By doing so, it implicitly defines the State as a guarantor of civil and political rights (CP) but not of ESC rights. While this highlights the violations committed during a dictatorial period that has already transpired, it leaves no space for potentially conceiving the current government as a human rights violator.

The apolitical depiction of victims—who museum makers make efforts to define as “anyone”, as normal, and as average citizens instead of political agents—not only delinks the myth from the historical and political moment in 1973, but also from the historical, social and political moment today.

This interpretation is consistent with Greg Grandin's view of Chile's Truth Commission Reports, which claims that the causes of political violence are exoticized (Grandin 2004). He is

critical of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) in Latin America, especially the earlier ones from Chile and Argentina, which convey views on history that he considers are limiting. In this respect, the Museum of Memory does not overcome the Chilean TRC. Grandin asserts that it defines a period of violence as irrational and bounded, which the museum also does. This implicitly suggests that authoritarian periods are somehow disconnected from what came before and after them, and that this episode of Chilean history stemmed from exogenous forces (Grandin 2005). Finally, this also involves seeing history as parable rather than as politics (Grandin 2004).

Returning to Hite and Collins' argument about recent trends in commemoration, this museum continues to be a funerary representation that communicates what was done but not why it was done nor who did it. Nonetheless, the exhibit does convey a substantial effort to overcome the peripheral geography of commemoration. The facts that it attracted some attention in the media, that it constitutes a place regularly visited by schools, and that it also serves as a venue for films, plays and traveling exhibits, help to expand the network of memorials and commemoration efforts in Chile, making it more accessible to national and international audiences.

What else does this museum accomplish? It effectively builds an internally consistent story that speaks to cultural references which Chilean citizens in one way or another can relate to. Its universalizing discourse achieves the introduction of the facts of repression into the life of ordinary Chileans and especially of younger generations which, as interviewees claimed, are more often than not surprised to learn about the nature and magnitude of past human rights violations. Most prominently, it accomplishes the function of providing symbolic burial to those that could not have a physical one: "as Robben has argued, there is an emotional and

psychological need for material burial, since communal ritual with loved ones materializes the passage from life to physical death” (Gómez-Barris 2009, 107). Establishing a centralized and well-known symbolic grave for those lost to disappearance and extrajudicial execution is no minor achievement in Chile, although it is far from being able to substitute other forms of justice or barriers to impunity. Also, the State becomes this space’s facilitator, in a way redeeming itself from a darker institutional past, and co-opting bottom-up demands and discourses. Whether or not this constitutes the best and most democratic redemption is a question to keep exploring. However, newer memorials should be a place that induce critical reflection about the present, that promote the full spectrum of human rights, and that make clear connections between the victims and pains of the past with those of today. Only then will political violence during the dictatorship be interrogated in relation to structural societal violence, which continues to exist and manifests itself in other guises.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1. Museum of Memory and Human Rights exterior view.



Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.

Figure 2. “Geometry of Conscience”, underground memorial by architect Alfredo Jaar.



Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.

Figure 2.2. Entrance of “Geometry of Conscience” memorial.



Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.

Figure 3. “September 11, 1973” is the central space of the museum.



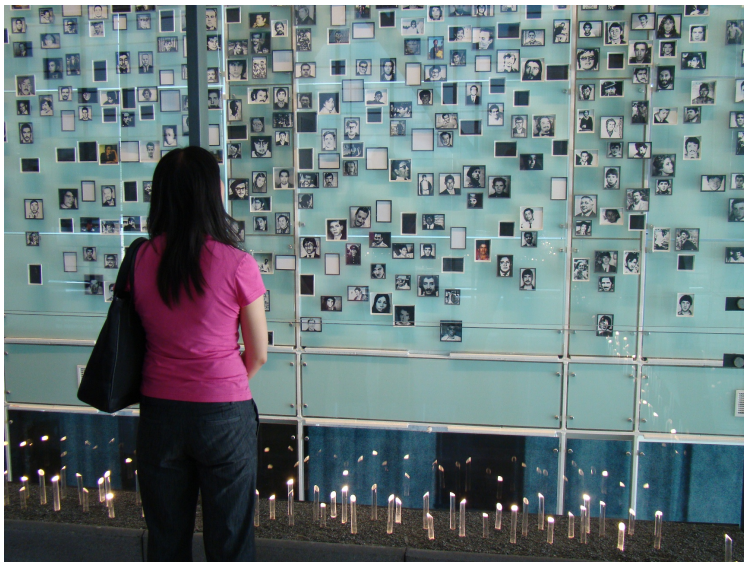
Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.

Figure 4. Prisoners' artwork glass case.



Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.

Figure 5. “Velatón” Room, which allows the visitor a close view of “Absence and Memory”, a wall displaying dictatorship victim photos.



Courtesy of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights.