A Haunted Transition: Reckoning with Ghosts in Postdictatorship Chilean Film

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Abstract

This thesis analyses documentary and fictional films in postdictatorship Chile that respond to, or invoke, the experience of haunting. The concept of haunting is often used to describe the legacies of violent conflict and state repression, however, in the Chilean context, it has rarely been submitted to critique or analysis. Drawing on the work of Avery Gordon (2008), Jacques Derrida (1994) and Berber Bevernage (2013), I read haunting as a “structure of feeling” (Williams 1977) that is both repressive and transformative. The films I analyse respond to and reckon with this structure of feeling, in the process creating new imaginaries of mourning, inheritance and justice. Haunting also serves as a theoretical lens through which to analyse the films that is distinct from the lenses of trauma, cultural memory and transitional justice. The concept of haunting makes a distinctive contribution to postdictatorship studies by illuminating the ways in which films depart from the dominant spatial and temporal imaginaries of the democratic transition, responding to the present past as a realm of enduring emancipatory possibility. While dominant formulations of transitional time are premised on overcoming the dark past, and ensuring that it does not return, the haunted temporalities of the films and theoretical texts I read problematise strict delineations between dictatorship and democracy and offer new ways of narrating the presence of the dead. I start by analysing representations of the Chilean presidential palace, an emblematic site at which narratives of past violence and Chilean exceptionalism intersect. Subsequently, I analyse films from the early transition (1990-2000) and the late transition (2000—), engaging with theories of empathic unsettlement (LaCapra 2001; Hite 2014) and the expanded field (Krauss 1979; Huyssen 2003; Andermann 2012a). I conclude in the Atacama Desert by reflecting on the representation of landscapes of haunting and disappearance in which traces from different histories of repression, resistance and social transformation are read alongside each other. These non-contemporaneous landscapes not only expose the long history of state repression in Chile, but point to truncated, unfinished and ongoing struggles around which emergent imaginaries of social transformation might be built.
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I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated: 28/09/18
Introduction

I park in front of the locked gates of Chacabuco. It is the 18th of September, Chile’s Independence Day, which perhaps is not the best time to visit a disused nitrate mine in the Atacama Desert. I look for a side entrance, but the possibility of unexploded mines puts me off the idea. A handwritten sign on the gate says “back in a bit”, though I imagine the caretaker is enjoying the national holiday far from the silence and solitude of the desert. After twenty minutes of waiting, a car arrives and two German tourists get out. They, like me, have been drawn to the mine for the mix of histories it contains. Founded by a British corporation in 1924, Chacabuco was a mining town for 14 years, providing European nations with powdered fertiliser, and a key ingredient in the production of explosives (Vilches 2011). The site, however, is better known as a concentration camp where the military regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet detained around 1,800 political prisoners in 1974. After posing for a photograph, the German tourists leave, but soon after the dust from their car settles, another vehicle arrives. This time, two elderly Chilean men step out. They are clearly disappointed by the locked gates. We are over 100 km from the nearest settlement, so only the most determined of visitors make their way here. They engage me in conversation, ask me if I know the history of the place, and tell me that a friend of theirs served as a conscript in the camp, guarding over the prisoners. “Bad things happened here,” says one of the men, and we all nod in silence. They give the gates a doubtful nudge, then bid me farewell, and drive back to the highway.

I see no other option than to climb over the perimeter wall, which proves easier than expected. Just inside the entrance, a recently erected sign announces “[a] country’s heritage [patrimonio] is part of its wealth [riqueza]”. Another says “[t]hese ruins represent our history”. One describes the daily lives of mine workers, while another focuses on political prisoners. The latter states “[t]hese prisoners gave new life to this place, creating an organised detention camp, with a council of elders, school, library, churches, amateur theatre, health center etc.”; a message that focuses on the resilience of the prisoners, as opposed to the brutality of those that imprisoned them. The buildings themselves are decrepit shells of compacted mud and corrugated iron. Traces of murals and graffiti remain, though to my untrained eye it is unclear to which epoch they belong. This is my first trip to Chacabuco, but I have been here many times before. As I walk, I am accompanied by images from films, and the characters they portray. I see the former
caretaker of the site, interviewed in *La Sombra de Don Roberto* ('The Shadow of Don Roberto' 2007), who heard voices whispering from the walls as he went about his work. I look to the cloudless sky, following the gaze of a political prisoner who formed an astronomy club during his detention, and later told his story to the camera of Patricio Guzmán in *Nostalgia de la Luz* ('Nostalgia for the Light' 2010). This most solitary of places is teeming with voices, some of which echo incoherently from the past, while others promise to be “back in a bit”. It is a place of encounter between the living, the dead and the disappeared, but not in the linear sense generally implied by the concept of heritage. The ghosts that speak from this place demand to be reckoned with, but what that might entail remains unclear.

I begin at Chacabuco because it raises several of the questions that haunt the thesis as a whole. First, what does it mean for a British academic to be drawn to a past that is not his own? Unlike the Chilean men who visited the site, I have no obvious connection with the Chilean dictatorship, and despite having lived and worked in Chile, I still feel like an “outsider” looking in. Second, are ghosts conjured, or ever present? Films and literature about Chacabuco might “emplace” memories within it, but does something exceed attempts to tame its meaning? Finally, do different stories of injustice compete for visibility, or can they develop renewed significance when placed in dialogue? For example, can the exploitation of mine workers during the Chilean nitrate boom be read in relation to the violence of the Pinochet regime, or does this risk collapsing two historically distinct epochs? These questions illustrate the productive problems that can emerge when considering the multiple histories and temporalities of place, when one start to think seriously about ghosts.

This thesis explores the aftermath of authoritarian rule in postdictatorship Chile, examining how the medium of film has interrogated the persistence of loss, injustice, resistance and social transformation throughout the democratic transition. The concept of haunting is at the heart of this endeavour. Examined as a textual trope, a conceptual metaphor, and a structure of feeling, it can illuminate the complex ways in which violent and emancipatory pasts persist in the present. Theories of haunting directly confront the “post” in postdictatorship society, unsettling progressive linear accounts of history that confine acts of violence to an ever-receding originary event, and opening a dialogue with emancipatory events that are deemed to be irreversibly “over.” Crucially my focus
contests and moves away from the normative frameworks of reconciliation and democratisation consistently offered by the field of transitional justice; an area that, in seeking to “overcome” violent pasts, too often denies a continuity of injustice. This is a project about particular places, spaces and landscapes of disappearance, but it is also a meditation on time and temporality. It is an attempt to trouble teleological accounts of the Chilean transition to democracy and engage with texts that both critique the present and point to the latent possibility of social transformation within it.

**Haunting and Disappearance**

Led by Gen. Augusto Pinochet and supported by the United States Government, on September 11, 1973, the Chilean military overthrew the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. In the following 17 years, 3,000 people were “disappeared”, or executed; 30,000 were imprisoned and tortured; and a further 200,000 were forced into exile (Winn 2010, p.259). Having largely eliminated resistance, the military implemented sweeping economic reforms, following the neoliberal doctrine of the Chicago School of Economics, a model that was fully embraced following the return to democracy in 1990. The length and brutality of this dictatorship is unmatched in Chilean history, but it should not be interpreted as an unprecedented or isolated event. From the repression of labour movements, to the annihilation of indigenous peoples, the repressive apparatus of the Chilean State has a long history of committing violence against the citizens they purport to protect (Frazier 2007b). The measures taken by the dictatorship to eliminate dissent and establish ideological hegemony are of key importance, but they are not the primary object of my analysis. As stated in the title, my focus is the democratic transition, or rather, the haunting of the transition, as both a concept and a historical period. This transition starts with the 1988 plebiscite that forced Pinochet to step down as head of state. Following dominant accounts, this led to an extended period in which successive governments cautiously addressed the crimes of the dictatorship, while remaining wary of the lingering threat of military intervention. It is often conceived as a transition from darkness to light; from authoritarian rule to freedom; from fear to joy. My work troubles this narrative by interpreting the concept of transition as a governing rationality, and concomitant temporality, which imposes a limit on the horizons of possibility in contemporary Chilean society. I look for stories that work
against the pervasive sense that there is no alternative to free-market capitalism, exploring how political alternatives might be embedded in practices of mourning, resistance, and inheritance. I turn to film as a medium that has consistently been used to generate cultural memories about the dictatorship, and in doing so transforms how we conceive of its aftermath. Sometimes these films incorporate explicit tropes of haunting—ghosts, phantoms, disembodied voices—but more often they approach haunting through a more oblique gaze, using archive footage, testimony, montage, and location to resist and contest the dominant spatial and temporal logics of the transition.

Uniting all of the films, and my theoretical reflections, is the concept of disappearance, the meaning of which shifts and develops as the thesis progresses. The practice of disappearance, in which no physical trace of the political prisoner is left following his or her abduction, was a key method of repression employed by dictatorships across Latin America during the 1960s, '70s and '80s (Wright 2006, p.61). This military practice created a new category of victim, the desaparecido, through which dictatorial power was established and sustained. As the sociologist Avery Gordon writes, denial of detention and meticulous care in hiding human remains ensure “that everyone knows just enough to scare normalization into a state of nervous exhaustion” (2008, p.64). The disappeared were neither dead, nor alive; immaterial, but yet to transmute completely into the realm of memory. They became ghosts that haunted the subjugated population, invisible and unspoken markers of terror and loss, whose absence was consistently negated in the public sphere.

In addition to conjuring ghosts, disappearance is inextricably tied to an alternate sense of time. According to the historian Berber Bevernage, in contrast to death by public execution, or during armed conflict, disappearance entails no definitive proof of death, or moment of passing. It therefore exists outside of a progressive chronological conceptualisation of history, which composes narratives around definitive moments of closure and departure (Bevernage 2014, p.23). As opposed to an originary moment of trauma which continues to have incapacitating effects, but remains firmly in the past, the experience of haunting should instead be understood as a state of uncertainty, a temporal displacement that situates the victim outside of national simultaneity (Bevernage and Aerts 2009, p.308). This enduring temporality can be both incapacitating and transformative—the unstable ground from which challenges to closure and impunity can
be mounted. As the military regime proclaimed a “new beginning” for the Chilean nation, its victims refused to pass into the past tense.

In my work, the term “disappearance” extends beyond the disappeared as a category of victim, and refers more broadly to individuals, ideas, and collective identities that are pushed to the margins of the social imaginary. This might refer to the figure of Salvador Allende, who took his own life during the siege of the Chilean presidential palace, and was initially ignored by left-wing politicians upon the return to democracy. Disappearance could also describe the loss of an imagined future that began to materialise through the anti-dictatorship social movements of the 1980s, but was truncated by the political impasse that took hold in the early transition. Unlike terms such as oppression, trauma, or terror, disappearance need not only relate to violence, but to the moment when something slips from view, when it is pushed to the edge of our vision. Many of the cases of disappearance that I address take place in the democratic transition, in which a politics of consensus has restrained the formulation of radical political alternatives to liberal democracy. Sometimes the act of “making visible” forgotten histories is complicit with this process. State-led attempts to reclaim emancipatory memories are often acts of self-affirmation, containing and channelling that which threatened the social order. In this respect, disappearance also opens up valuable discussions about heritage and visibility, which problematise the assumption that to “bring something to light” is an end in itself.

As opposed to exposing acts of violence, I understand disappearance to be an enduring act of repression, which, when confronted, can point to political alternatives that are waiting to be actualised. Haunting might be understood as the feeling that makes disappearance known to us, urgently insisting that “something must be done” (Gordon 2008, p.139). Taking this further, in my work haunting is developed as a theoretical framework for thinking about the present past that acknowledges unspoken or intangible inheritances, many of which do not take the form of material objects or narrativised memories. Informed by Avery Gordon, Jacques Derrida, Wendy Brown and John Wylie, among others, this approach seeks to recognise the persistence and latent futurity of individuals, ideas and events that have been declared “over” or obsolete. Ghosts are conceived as social signifiers of loss and injustice, but also of resistance and social transformation. Ultimately, the thesis is a reflection on how one might respond to and
reckon with ghosts, in order to build more transformative understandings of social justice in the present.

**Positionality and Contribution**

Earlier I asked what it means to be haunted by a past that is not one's own. Or in my case, what can a British academic, based in the UK, bring to the study of Chilean ghosts? Is it ethically responsible to subject Chilean cultural production to a Western European perspective, potentially reinforcing a neo-colonial gaze, and the power relations that accompany it? Susannah Radstone has rightly urged caution about the uncritical adoption of terms such as transcultural, or multi-directional memory, in which the *locatedness* of memory production and transmission is routinely overlooked (2011). Others point to the danger of extracting concepts such as trauma and haunting from the contexts in which they were initially theorised, a practice that risks assuming the universality of human feeling and modes of thought (Knapp 2005; Bal 2012; Neumann et al. 2016). I am also deeply sceptical of claims that the “outsider” can see more clearly, a stance that betrays a discourse of masculinist objectivity that can be deeply harmful, even violent, to the experience of those who have lived through conflict and state repression (Sundberg 2003). These questions and problems bear no easy answers, but I nonetheless welcome their persistent interruptions. Reflections on positionality are inextricably linked to my theorisation of haunting, and to the formation of an ethical and political rationale grounding my work.

The concept of haunting implies some form of address, of interpellation into a world where ontological categories such as life and death become blurred. This is not to suggest that ghosts have the same effect on everyone, nor that all societies have similar affective responses to injustice. According to Gordon, the lingering presence of injustice does not have a unified message; its demands are not coherent, but take shape in the event of an encounter. “To be haunted,” says Gordon, “is to make choices within those spiralling determinations that make the present waver. To be haunted is to be tied to historical and social effects” (2008, p.190). In this sense, haunting is premised on the demand that we acknowledge our place in the story that is being told. This does not necessarily require
an autoethnographic method reflecting on personal connections to a particular context, rather it insists that we critically interrogate the language and tools that we use.

My ties to this story are manifold. First, my work is embroiled with the fields of transitional justice and postdictatorship studies, areas of study that have historically attempted to develop normative theories for how groups and nations might “overcome” the legacies of violent conflict. Tropes of haunting are a part of this discourse, deployed in debates about how to “exorcise” the dark past and achieve reconciliation. Much valuable work has emerged from these fields. However, in seeking to “overcome” violent pasts, they consistently promote closure and reconciliation as hegemonic ends (or impose a limit on what form closure and reconciliation might take). The assumption that violent pasts exert a negative or repressive force on the present not only risks obscuring enduring injustice, but also severs ties with emancipatory forms of resistance and transformative politics—the memories and traces around which different worlds might be built. Furthermore, the U.S. and Eurocentric character of these debates risks reinforcing the hegemony of free market liberal democracy as a natural endpoint to the transitional process. My work entails a sustained engagement with these fields, but also departs from them. I am not aiming to re-apply theories of trauma, memory and spectrality to the Chilean context; rather, by focussing on Chilean film, I look to take seriously the innovative ways in which Chilean cultural producers and cultural theorists have engaged with the aftermath of state terror, potentially pointing to radically different understandings of concepts such as justice, responsibility and democracy. My analysis can never fully depart from the intellectual traditions in which I have been trained, however, I consider my encounter with Chilean film to be part of an ongoing process of (self) critique.

It is also important to acknowledge the significance of the Chilean military dictatorship and democratic transition beyond Chile’s borders, particularly the tendency to use it as an emblematic example within deterministic meta-narratives about the death of Marxism, the triumph of neoliberalism, the failure of Socialist reformism, and the “end of history” (see Fukuyama 1992; Callinicos 2017). The destruction of the Popular Unity government still stands out as a moment of deep shock and sadness for left-wing intellectuals and activists across the globe. Writing about left-wing melancholia, Enzo Traverso claims that historical defeats of the left used to reinforce a shared belief in the
possibility and necessity of socialism, but this form of narrativisation came to end on September 11, 1973 (2016, p.38). Chile has become a nodal point in a larger narrative about the decline of left-wing politics that has been inherited by subsequent generations, including myself. Part of this project’s contribution is to critically interrogate the feelings of loss, nostalgia and melancholia that stem from that moment, while considering how these shared structures of feeling might form part of an emergent emancipatory politics. Social movements in Chile, including struggles for indigenous rights, universal education and healthcare, and an end to resource privatisation, mark the country out as an enduring beacon of emancipatory possibility. The films I analyse are engaged in this project, and through my analysis, I hope to introduce them to broader discussions about transnational resistance and social transformation.

The main theoretical contribution of the thesis emerges through my theorisation of haunting. In some respects, my use of this concept develops ongoing discussions within memory and trauma studies about the psychic and cultural legacies of violent conflict. However, as outlined below, it also offers an alternative perspective that has not been employed in the context of postdictatorship Chile. The field of memory studies has produced an array of theoretical concepts and empirical research focusing on the Chilean transition to democracy, foregrounding how struggles over the meaning of violent pasts are imbricated in contemporary social, political and economic concerns (Jelin 2003; Gómez-Barris 2008; Stern 2010). This work does not erect simplistic binaries between memory and oblivion, but considers the ways past events are constructed by different discourses, or “frameworks” of memory (Stern 2006a)—shared ways of making sense of the past that transform, evolve and disappear in relation to the social, political and cultural conditions of the present. The recuperation and contestation of memories of state repression is understood to be an intrinsically political process, catalysing dialogue about social injustice, and prompting new forms of solidarity and action (Hite 2013, p.3). Significantly, memory studies takes seriously the place of popular culture in negotiating and producing different understandings of violent pasts. This focus highlights how culture—and increasingly visual culture—produces and mediates memories and experience, in a circular process that is always unfinished (Sturken 1997). The idea that film plays a role in mediating shared understandings of the past runs throughout this thesis. However, as will be developed later, the concept of haunting foregrounds the
imaginative presence of pasts that are no longer tethered to a particular historical moment.

Trauma theory usefully shifts attention away from how events in the past are narrativised and memorialised, and focuses on the ways in which the past occupies and infuses the present—as a repressive feeling, as a gap in testimony, as an inherited way of seeing. Contemplating the aftermath of the Holocaust, work by Cathy Caruth (2010), Dominick LaCapra (2001) and Marianne Hirsh (1997) reflects on the ethics of narrating and bearing witness to the disruptive endurance of traumatic pasts, long after the originary act of violence transpired. In their work, film, photography and literature are conceived as apparatus through which the traumatic pasts might be articulated, or worked through, offering aesthetic forms that are not available to conventional historiography. In the Southern Cone, trauma studies has provided a valuable lens for the analysis of postdictatorship culture. Cultural theorists consider how film facilitates a “working through” of cultural trauma (Traverso 2010), or interpellates audiences as implicated subjects (Wells 2017). Meanwhile, Hirsch’s conceptualisation of “postmemory” has aided a range of work across the Southern Cone, analysing experience of subjects with no lived experience of military rule; subjects who are largely absent from state-led truth and justice initiatives (Serpente 2011; Ros 2012; Perez 2013).

My conceptualisation of haunting both builds on and departs from these approaches by foregrounding a number of key issues. First, while dominant theorisations of cultural and collective memory acknowledge the production of the past in the present, they rarely interrogate the composition and contestation of time in post-conflict or postdictatorship societies. As a result, the hegemony of linear, chronological time is rarely questioned and the multiple temporalities of the present remain invisible. Much work in trauma studies also remains tethered to a linear, sequential conception of time. This is particularly apparent in event-centred approaches in which the origins of psychic disruption are traced back to an originary event, or moment of rupture (Radstone 2007, p.12). In the Chilean context, these approaches lead to a focus on how the crimes of the past are narrated, interpreted, and worked through, as opposed to considering the different ways in which they are still happening. Countering this trend, theories of haunting are premised on the impossibility of delineating a clear line between the past and present, and problematise the identification of an originary violent event. In my work I interrogate
alternative conceptions of time by analysing films that are set during the transition, but reckon with disappearance as an ongoing, or unfolding event. The ghosts the films respond to often speak of alternative ways of life, forms of resistance, or horizons of expectation, which are unsettling precisely due to their untimeliness. Developing work by Nelly Richard (2004a), Susana Draper (2012), Alessandro Fornazzari (2013) and Berber Bevernage (2013), I explore the political implications of subverting linear time, and consider what distinct role film might play in this process.

The second key element to my approach is a focus on the *spatiality* of the present past in Chile. Scholars working within trauma and memory studies have provided valuable insights into the production and contestation of post-conflict “memoryscapes,” in which space and place are understood as fundamental to processes of commemoration, mourning, and mnemonic recovery (Huyssen 2003; Trigg 2012; Andermann 2015). In the context of Chile, this often entails a focus on former sites of torture and detention, such as Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38, around which human rights struggles have been staged (Aguilar 2005; Richard 2009; Gómez-Barris 2010b; Read and Wyndham 2016). Scholars of visual culture have also developed a spatial focus, analysing the role film and photography play in the symbolic contestation of sites of memory (Andermann 2012a; Gray 2015). My use of haunting builds on this work, but redirects its attention. Instead of dwelling on the representation of formal sites of memory, I am interested in the way films respond to ghosts in places, spaces and landscapes that bear no obvious trace of violence, such as secondary schools, the urban periphery, and the Atacama Desert. Often the places represented are haunted by images of social resistance and political mobilisation, as opposed to scenes of subjection, and the living subjects who inhabit them bear no direct connection to the disappeared. My effort to map out an expanded landscape of disappearance in Chile is in line with the approaches of spectral theorists such as Jo Frances Maddern (2008), Steve Pile (2005), Karen Till and Gillian Jonker (2009), who argue that ghosts can be most disruptive when they are encountered where we least expect them. The mapping process can also point to the intersection of multiple different histories of repression and resistance, placing dictatorship memories in dialogue with political struggles in the *poblaciones* (urban shanty towns) and the Mapuche community, which precede the events of September 11, 1973.
The third key contribution of haunting is its emphasis on futurity and social transformation. Dominant discourses within human rights groups, and memory activists in the Southern Cone emphasise the importance of recuperating and transmitting memory so that state violence does not happen again (Bevernage 2013, p.84). By contrast, my work considers how the afterlife of repression and resistance nurtures collective struggles for social justice in the present. While acknowledging the harmful socio-psychological effects of state repression, I also explore the radical and emancipatory elements of the present past—memories of truncated social movements and rebellions, marginalised ways of life, and unarticulated networks of solidarity. Haunting is conceived as both a residual and an emergent force within struggles for social transformation. It understands that just futures must necessarily be forged out of what has been left behind, forgotten or dismissed by the dominant socio-political order. This echoes a wider shift in post-conflict memory studies, in which the concept of trauma is being displaced by a broader affective and emotional landscape, including nostalgia (Boym 2001; Bonnett 2010), hope (Rigney 2018), and impatience (Feit 2017). In this work, the present past is not necessarily something to be overcome, worked through, or kept in mind as a warning. It is, rather, a resource around which more just ways of life are being formulated.

When using the term affect, I refer to experiential states that are not represented or articulated in language, but nonetheless shape actions and perceptions. This follows Ben Anderson’s description of affect as the body’s capacity “to affect and be affected”, responding to historically constituted discourses, practices, and ways of seeing (Anderson 2016, p.9). In the Southern Cone, it might refer to a repressive atmosphere that conditions how individuals inhabit public space, rise in protest, or go about everyday tasks (see Corradi et al. 1992; Gómez-Barris 2008; Schindel 2014). It could also refer to the ways in which film images resonate with spectators on a sensory level (Marks 2000; Mrocz 2012). By emotion, I refer to the embodied experiences that have coalesced into something that might be named or framed in relation to a particular concept; fear, for example, or nostalgia. In line with Sara Ahmed, I understand these concepts to be socio-cultural products that emerge and shift in discourse, and take form through relational encounters with objects and people (2013). Like affect, emotions are neither fully subjective, nor external, but performative; constantly produced and reproduced through practices and speech acts (Ahmed 2013, pp.92–93). In the context of my own work,
emotion refers to moments when a particular affective experience is named, or is made explicit through representational forms. Chapter 4, for example, focuses on the representation and performative construction of fear and loss. Chapter 5 focuses on nostalgia and impatience. I am particularly interested in the articulation of emotions that complicate hegemonic narratives in which the democratic transition is represented as a gradual process of psychic healing. These subversive emotions give form to objects of loss and enduring crimes that are disappeared by the affective and temporal logics of the transitional regime.

The term “structure of feeling” refers to the interrelation of different emotions and affects, while opening up reflection on the historicity and temporality of affective life. This concept was initially proposed by Raymond Williams in his efforts to interrogate dominant, residual and emergent ways of thinking and feeling in particular historical epochs (1977). Williams was struggling against a perceived tendency in the humanities to separate thought from feeling. He insisted that ideas and practices always emerge through and in relation to historically specific forms of affective consciousness. He refers to a “structure” because different emotions, and ways of thinking, exist in relation to each other, “at once interlocking and in tension” (Williams 1977, p.132). Avery Gordon develops this further by arguing that haunting is a distinctive structure of feeling that emerges under conditions of violent and non-coercive repression, which encompasses elements of residual and emergent cultures. According to Gordon, haunting often entails the convergence of expressions of loss and impatient desire, trauma and nostalgia, but crucially, it is always accompanied by the trace of a “something to be done” (Gordon 2008, p.139).

Cultural products, such as films, are not merely reflections of structures of feeling. Rather they are texts that respond to, transform and reproduce affective life. As Anderson writes,

Attention to affect does not preclude an attention to representation and affect is not somehow the non-representational ‘object’ per se. Instead we must pay attention to how representations function affectively and how affective life is imbued with representations. (2016, p.14)

Films are therefore both symptoms of haunting, and interventions that mediate and reconstitute it. In the context of postdictatorship Chile, the analysis of cultural texts can trace patterns of feeling and thought that articulate and respond to a “something to be done”—a call that emanates simultaneously from the past and present, and contains
nascent conceptions of justice in the future. By becoming attentive to the spatial, temporal, and affective dimensions of the present past in Chilean film, I hope to add texture to what form the “something” might take.

To summarise, I develop the concept of haunting in order to challenge dominant discourses within transitional justice, and critically engage with the fields of memory and trauma studies. This concept also allows me to trace connections between film studies, critical theory, and cultural geography, which rigid disciplinary boundaries typically render invisible. I engage with Chilean films as products of haunting, but also as interventions that propose new approaches to representing and reckoning with the present past. By bringing Chilean film into dialogue with theories of temporality, spatiality and affect, I hope to give form to nascent conceptions of justice that have been disappeared throughout the transition. I feel uncomfortable with the notion that I will “fill a gap” in knowledge. Rather I see my work as an attempt to become sensible to forms of knowledge that have been marginalised by scholarly inquiry; particularly those ideas and beliefs that are deemed obsolete, unrealistic, or simply a distraction. Ultimately, the thesis is an intervention in a transitional landscape that must be constantly disrupted, enlivened and de-ritualised so as to maintain its transformative potential.

Why film?

I am drawn to the medium of film for multiple interrelated reasons. The first key element is its relationship with haunting on the level of form. Film is often described as an inherently spectral medium, as the images it captures are traces of the past, bound to celluloid (Derrida 1994; Mulvey 2006). Gilberto Perez labels it the “material ghost,” as the worlds it conjures are simultaneously realistic, and unreal, infused with a dreamlike character (2000, pp.27–28). Reversing the dynamic, Susannah Radstone argues that film can trigger feelings of uncertainty and disorientation in the outside world. In her words,

> On leaving the cinema, our surroundings, even when familiar, may take on a strangeness lent to them by the continuing presence of the cinema’s imaginary spaces and places. Far from a loved one, we find ourselves neither where we, or they, are. These disorientating experiences demonstrate the competing material and psychical realisms of location. Where we are, and where we feel we are, may not coincide. (2011, p.109)
The feelings that Radstone and Perez describe can be aligned with the uncanny; the sense that something is both strange and familiar, homely and frightening (Freud et al. 1973, p.239). For Freud the uncanny manifested through the momentary re-emergence of animistic beliefs, including a fear of supernatural ghosts, demons and spirits. By contrast, scholars of spectrality argue that the uncanny is a historically constituted feeling that is often provoked by encounters with objects, traces and images that seem untimely, or out of place (Edensor 2005; Maddern 2008; Trigg 2012). Film images can provoke and narrativise this feeling by cultivating different ways of seeing. As Susana Draper argues, “[films, as sites of image production can create other ways of seeing, function to unsettle the gaze, bringing to light what we see without seeing” (Draper 2012, pp.181–182). This experience is particularly acute when the places being represented are familiar, as is the case with Chilean audiences watching domestically produced films.

It is important to note that the haunting and haunted character of film is not merely an ontological essence, rather film is often used to conjure and reckon with ghosts through narrative. While the medium of photography is also associated with the spectral (Barthes 1981; Baer 2002; Green and Lowry 2006), I am drawn to film because it is able to compose and recount stories about haunting, in which a “something to be done” might be actively addressed. Analysing the representation of ghosts in Filipino horror and fantasy films, Bliss Cua Lim argues that tropes of haunting are utilised in order to “translate” the multiple temporalities of the present into a “single cinematic meanwhile” (2009, p.12). Crucially, film narratives have the potential to bring together different stories of injustice, repression and social transformation in a single textual space, thereby opening up new imaginaries of solidarity, heritage and injustice (Pile 2005; Massey 2011).

The second key element that draws me to film is its cartographic quality (see Conley 2007; Castro 2009; Roberts 2012). Haunting is closely associated with actual places, spaces and landscapes. Sometimes these places are connected to acts of extreme violence, but social signifiers of loss or absence can also be encountered in everyday locations, such as the home, or workplace. Recalling Radstone’s claim that film can provoke feelings of displacement and disorientation, my approach to textual analysis reads film as a form of cartography, which bears witness to place through a haunted gaze. Inspired by Giuliana Bruno’s cartographic reading of film (1993; 2002), I trace how texts reproduce and reconfigure the spatial and temporal imaginaries of the transition, offering maps of
repression and resistance that state-led truth commissions typically ignore. From a historiographical perspective, this approach avoids the replication of a linear account of the Chilean transition by paying attention to the multiple temporalities and spatial configurations of which it is composed. This approach forces one to reconsider where and when the legacies of state terror can be encountered and reckoned with, and crucially, it undermines the coherence of the present as an object of analysis.

The third key element is the domestic Chilean film industry’s material ties to histories of radical politics and state repression. Since the 1950s, Chilean cinema has been closely linked with struggles for social change and political upheaval. In 1956 the ‘Grupo Cine Experimental’ (Experimental Cinema Group) was formed at the University of Chile; a collective which set out to “rescue popular histories and traditions”, while teaching the revolutionary potential of cinema as a medium (Pick 1987, para 6). In the late 1960s, Chilean filmmaking experienced a spell of rapid development and aesthetic experimentation, nurtured by government investment, and by a movement of radical cinema throughout Latin America (Cortínez and Engelbert 2014). Films such as *Tres Tristes Tigres* (‘Three Sad Tigers’ 1969), *Valparaíso Mi Amor* (‘Valparaíso My Love’ 1968), *Caliche Sangriento* (‘Bloody Nitrate’ 1969) and *El Chacal de Nahueltoro* (‘The Jakal of Nahueltoro’ 1969), were influenced by the aesthetic innovation of Italian neorealism and the French new wave, but foregrounded the socio-political concerns of radical left-wing political movements that were present across Latin America. The recuperation of repressed histories of state violence and popular resistance was a central concern of Chilean directors of the time. This is exemplified by the *Popular Unity Filmmakers Manifesto*, written my Miguel Littín in 1970, which called for practitioners to:

“recover the traces of those great popular struggles falsified by official history, and give back to the people the true version of these struggles as a legitimate and necessary heritage for confronting the present and envisaging the future” (cited by MacKenzie 2014, p.251).

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1 In the 1960s and ’70s Chilean filmmakers worked in dialogue with emergent counter-cultural movements across Latin America and the global south. This movement is often labelled the New Latin American Cinema. A notable theoretical intervention at the time was Solanas and Getino’s call for a “Third Cinema”, which envisaged a radicalisation of the aesthetic innovations of European art cinema (1970), in order to critique, and imagine alternatives to, capitalism and neo-colonialism.
Unbeknown to the author, the fall of the Popular Unity government three years later would become the primary object of “recovery” and mourning for Chilean filmmakers in the decades to come.

Following the coup, film production almost ground to a halt, due to censorship, persecution, and the withdrawal of state funding (Cavallo et al. 1999, p.32). Film practitioners were targeted by the regime and many prominent figures, such as Miguel Littín, Patricio Guzmán, and Raúl Ruiz, fled into exile (Pick 1987). Though filmmakers in exile were prolific (Pick 1987), and grass-roots video production briefly flourished (Traverso and Liñero 2014), the domestic film industry was effectively destroyed, creating a void in cultural production. During the dictatorship, cinemas across Latin America were dominated by Hollywood productions (Alvaray 2008, pp.52–54), and the majority of television content was imported (Sorensen 2009, p.31), further entrenching the aesthetics of the continuity system, and the ideological hegemony of the United States. In addition to the forced disappearance of people, the regime had disappeared emergent forms of representation and ways of seeing, which could not be easily resurrected.

Following the return to democracy, a small number of feature films were made, often supported by foreign production companies. These films were by no means mainstream. They were distributed in independent cinemas, or via pirated videos, and typically reached a very limited audience (Cavallo et al. 1999, pp.32–24). Nonetheless, film was one of the main cultural forms through which the meanings and legacies of the dictatorship were negotiated, often formulating counterhegemonic understandings of justice. The analysis of films made during the 1990s provides an opportunity to trace the reappearance of Chilean film; an industry that is still partially bound to the task of recovering the past, but under more repressive and mournful circumstances. I focus on three films that feature explicit tropes of haunting, analysing the intangible inheritances that these films make visible, or sensible. I consider who and where the camera is drawn to, interrogating a gaze that is haunted by the political struggles of the past, by the crimes of the regime, and by the absence of images documenting those crimes.

Throughout what I call the late transition (2000 onwards), domestically produced film has been more visible in the Chilean public sphere, often focusing directly on the crimes and legacies of the military regime. Narrative fiction films such as Machuca (Wood, 2004), Tony Manero (Larrain, 2008), and No (Larrain, 2012) feature prominently in the cultural
imaginary of dictatorship memory. Meanwhile, television has increasingly produced and mediated cultural memories of the dictatorship, including prime-time series such as *Los Archivos del Cardenal* (‘The Archives of the Cardinal’ 2011-2014), *Los 80* (‘The 80s’ 2011-2014) and *Ecos del Desierto* (‘Echoes from the Desert’ 2013). While much work has been devoted to exploring mainstream fictional representations of dictatorship (Sorensen 2009; Stern 2010; Bongers 2014; Cronovich 2016; Wells 2017), my attention is drawn to documentaries that look beyond the “maximal victims” of the Pinochet regime, and forge connections between multiple intersecting stories of repression and resistance in contemporary Chile.  

2 Here I am interested in the way dominant left-wing narratives of rupture and loss are unsettled and enlivened when placed within an expanded landscape of political mobilisation, including the Mapuche community, the *poblaciones*, and the contemporary student movement. Haunting manifests through the struggle to reconcile the different temporalities, frameworks of memory, and horizons of expectation within the Chilean Left, giving rise to more complex, and inclusive, conceptions of justice.

**Structure**

Chapter 1 outlines the context of the dictatorship and democratic transition, from 1973 to the present. Influenced by Berber Bevernage's work on the politics of time in post-conflict societies, I focus on the way certain understandings of time and space were developed and reproduced by the Pinochet regime and transitional governments in order to gain support for their political projects. I start by exploring the dominant temporalities of the dictatorship—rupture, national heritage, and modernisation—moving on to consider the discursive construction of time through state-led truth and reconciliation initiatives. I will also look more broadly at the dominant conceptions of time within neoliberal rationality, and consider the ways left-wing critiques of the transition are imbricated within this temporal regime. The concept of transition is crucial here, and one of the aims of the thesis as a whole is to determine whether it can be salvaged. Continuing my focus on place and spatiality, I draw on a rapidly developing field of literature on the architectonics of state violence, terror and memory in Latin America. In particular, I am interested in the role of the state in the preservation of dictatorship-era detention

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2 The term “maximal victims” is used by Stern to refer to the executed and the disappeared (Stern 2006a).
centres, and the way time is constructed in site-specific memorialisation. Though I am reluctant to utilise a linear historiographical approach, I do identify two broad periods within the transition, in which institutional approaches to the dictatorial past shifted markedly. Ultimately this chapter outlines the material and discursive landscape in which Chilean film is produced, allowing me to better understand how films contest and reimagine the relationship between past, present and future.

The second chapter focuses on the concept of haunting, dividing it into three key areas of research. Drawing on the work by Avery Gordon (2008; 2011), Wendy Brown (2001), and Jacques Derrida (1994), haunting is first analysed as a structure of feeling, or affective orientation towards the present past, which disrupts linear histories by troubling moments of closure and departure. Next, I consider the relationship between haunting and spatiality, focussing on the significance of sites of past violence in the conjuring of spectral traces, then outlining the possibility of landscape as a realm in which retrospective justice might coalesce with contemporary political projects. Finally, I focus on the status of cultural production in post-conflict contexts, considering the potential of film as a means of representing and thinking about the present past. The final aim of this chapter is to formulate a method of reading film that is sensitive to spatiality, temporality and affect, while opening up theoretical issues that will be returned to and developed throughout the thesis.

In Chapter 3 I look at filmic representations of the Chilean presidential palace (El Palacio La Moneda), an emblematic site at which narratives of past violence, Chilean exceptionalism, and imperial power intersect. This site is often imagined as the starting point, or epicentre, of the dictatorship. Its neoclassical façade was bombed by the Chilean Air Force on the day of the coup, and Salvador Allende took his life within its walls. I do not wish to endorse this foundational narrative, as it reinforces the sense of irreversible rupture that the dictatorship sought to produce. Rather I am interested in the way filmmakers have used La Moneda to negotiate and contest the meanings of Chilean democracy and national identity. First, I examine the linear temporalities of progress, heritage, and healing that underpin mainstream representations of the palace, moving on to reflect on the alternate temporal imaginaries offered by film. Texts such as Acta General de Chile (“General Statement on Chile” 1986) and Salvador Allende (2004) strive to desacralise this emblematic location, and in doing so, enliven the historical alternatives
that continue to haunt it. In these films, the palace is haunted by images of its own
destruction in 1973, as well as the figure of Salvador Allende, whose prophesy of future
emancipation sits uncomfortably with the triumphalist accounts of the democratic
transition. One of the aims of the chapter is to refine the conceptual vocabulary of
haunting, making a distinction between the spectre and the phantom that will be
returned to throughout the thesis.

Chapters 4 and 5 consider two different phases of the democratic transition, allowing me
to trace the haunting past as an emergent structure of feeling, as opposed to a wound that
slowly heals. In Chapter 4, I look at three fiction films produced in the early transition
(1990-2000), all of which incorporate explicit tropes of haunting. *Los Náufragos* (“The
Shipwrecked” 1994), by Miguel Littín, and *Imagen Latente* (“Latent Image” 1988), by
Pablo Perelman, are centred on a search for a disappeared political prisoner, while
*Amnesia* (1994) by Gonzalo Justiniano confronts the disappearance (or re-assimilation)
of perpetrators following the return to democracy. These films interest me because they
do not exclusively dwell on memories of the dictatorship, or the trauma it produced;
rather, through their spatial narratives, they reproduce the irrevocable temporality of
disappearance, an experience of enduring injustice that is both repressive and potentially
transformative. In particular, this chapter opens up reflection about the relationship
between haunting, complicity, and empathic unsettlement. The question *donde están*
(where are they?) morphs from a purely spatial question, demanding bodily remnants, to
a reflection on the values and political projects that the disappeared represent.

Chapter 5 contains an analysis of three documentaries made during the late transition
(2000-present), all of which are centred on student movements in resistance to the
dictatorship, or its legacies. In all three films I trace the emergence of an “expanded field”
of haunting, which opens up the term disappearance to a broader spectrum of subjects
and traces, while reimagining when and where haunting can take place. Unlike the fiction
films of the early transition, which were ordered around the search for the disappeared,
the texts I analyse here question what remains of the social movements that resisted
Pinochet during the dictatorship, thereby unsettling the triumphalism of mainstream
political discourse. The films were released during a “memory boom” in postdictatorship
Chilean culture, a period when widespread silence and amnesia regarding the Pinochet
regime gave way to a plethora of testimonial accounts and physical sites of memory. Some
scholars have rightly criticised the “institutionalisation of memory” that has taken place, however, I will argue that recent filmic interventions have also opened up a dialogue with more transformative afterlives. Paula Rodríguez’s documentary Volver a Vernos (“Pinochet’s Children” 2003) focuses on the experience of a group of student activists that grew up under the military regime, defining both their cultural and political identities, and conditioning their hopes for the future. When viewed in the context of the Chilean democratic transition, the text encompasses a highly complex structure of feeling, in which the late dictatorship (the 1980s) emerges as an unlikely object of nostalgia. La Conspiración de Chicago (“The Chicago Conspiracy” 2010) and El Valz de Los Inútiles (“The Waltz of the Useless” 2013) both focus on the connections between the anti-dictatorship protests of the 1980s and the contemporary Chilean student movement, which started in 2006. In both films, the affective afterlife of resistance is drawn upon in the creation of a new social movement in the present that encompasses multiple sectors of Chilean society, including secondary school students, residents of poblaciones, and the Mapuche population. One of the aims of this chapter is to think about haunting as a structure of feeling that disrupts linear time, and in doing so brings distinct struggles for social justice into dialogue. The result is not a linear timeline of state violence, but a map of non-contemporaneous stories that both expose injustice, and point to political alternatives that are in the process of becoming.

In the final chapter I analyse filmic representations of the Atacama Desert, a place that could be described as the imaginative epicentre of disappearance in postdictatorship Chile. More expansive than a “site of memory”, this desert is often portrayed as a haunted landscape, due, in part, to the refusal of the military to reveal the locations of mass graves. The desert landscape becomes still more complex when read as the spoils of the War of the Pacific, and a perpetual target of extractive industry. Bringing together work by Avery Gordon, Doreen Massey and John Wylie, I will argue that landscape should be conceived as a space in which seemingly disparate histories, events and temporalities overlap and intersect. I first analyse a short film made by the Museum of Memory and Human Rights, which documents the pilgrimage of a group of former political prisoners to Chacabuco, the prison camp where this thesis began. Following this, I analyse Germán Berger’s documentary Mi Vida con Carlos (“My Life with Carlos” 2010), a first-person text that addresses the director’s disappeared father throughout, and ends in the desert as a space of spectral communion. Finally, I look at Patricio Guzmán’s much discussed film Nostalgia
*de la Luz* (“Nostalgia for the Light” 2010), a documentary that trains the gaze of the spectator to consider the complex materiality of the Atacama Desert, in the process radicalising the concept of disappearance to include indigenous people and the exploited miners of the nitrate industry.

During my research, students, artists, activists, and workers in Chile have continually contested the reified ends of transitional time, and built towards more emancipatory conceptions of justice and freedom. Neoliberal capitalism and patriarchal militarism continue to shape the social order, but their grip on the past, present, and future is far from secure. The films I analyse mirror this culture of discontent, and play an active role in its construction. By submitting them to analysis, I develop new understandings of the relationship between retrospective justice and social transformation, and nourish the imaginative conditions from which political alternatives can emerge.
Chapter 1. Times of Transition

“Chile, joy is coming!” pronounced an infectious pop song from the “NO” campaign, weeks prior to Pinochet’s surprise defeat in the 1988 plebiscite. The 15-minute political broadcast promoted a new image of the Chilean nation; a utopian vision based on individual happiness, social cohesion and natural beauty. While the “SI” (yes) campaign, advocating 10 more years of military rule, focussed on the looming threat of class war and declared contemporary Chile to be already “un país ganador” (a winning country), “NO” remained committed to a “positive” view of the future, imagined using bright lighting and a colourful mise-en-scène. The crimes of the dictatorship are mentioned, but not represented directly. The spectator does not visit the poblaciones, or the mass graves of Pisauga, nor any other marker of enduring pain. The mass protest movements mobilised against the regime are also largely omitted, perhaps too reminiscent of street marches during the Popular Unity years. In just one segment of the campaign, we witness the Cueca Sola, an act of mourning in which the widow of a disappeared prisoner performs the national dance by herself, responding to the movements and gaze of her imagined partner. Though this campaign preceded the democratic transition, the national image it strove to create had a profound effect on the cultural imaginary long into the 1990s. Audience research suggests that the campaign had a positive influence on voter turnout (Boas 2015), and it became a blueprint for political campaigns throughout Latin America and beyond (Cronovich 2013b). Viewed from a more critical perspective, the aesthetic and thematic strategies employed correspond with the consolidation of a temporality of closure, in which overcoming the violent past precludes the interrogation of its enduring effects. The images represent a country in which collective action can only be imagined as a synchronised dance, and issues of social and criminal justice are almost entirely ignored. Meanwhile, the politics of memory, which had proved instrumental in fostering discontent against Pinochet, was limited to a fleeting moment of gendered grief, accompanied by the allochronic statement nunca más (never again).

Taking this campaign as a starting point, the following chapter examines the shifting spatial, discursive, and temporal landscape of the transitional public sphere. As opposed to reproducing a linear historical account of evolutions in cultural memory or domestic
politics, my aim is to provide a contextual overview of the dictatorship and the transition that remains sensitive to the politics of time, space and the spectral. First, I consider the dominant temporal imaginary constructed by the military, produced through practices of repression, and the three discourses of rupture, national heritage and modernisation. Next, I turn my attention to the “early transition” (1990-2000) paying close attention to the prevalent constructions of time that underpinned transitional justice initiatives. This includes analysis of state-sponsored truth and reconciliation commissions, and a broader overview of the temporal logics that accompany neoliberal rationality. Subsequently, I look at the emerging “memoryscape” of dictatorship violence in Santiago, while situating it in relation to the increasing privatisation of public space. I argue that the transition was initially characterised by social de-mobilisation and institutional amnesia, with discourses of reconciliation and national exceptionalism dominating the mainstream media. The final third of the chapter is devoted to the “late transition” (2000-2018). During this period, the state and civil society have worked together to recuperate memories of repression, including the conversion of numerous former detention centres into official “sites of memory”. Far from “resolving the issue,” the institutionalisation of commemoration has been criticised as a process de-politicisation and appropriation. My aim in writing this chapter is to map out the spatial, temporal and ideological landscape that Chilean films have emerged from and sought to reimagine; a landscape undergoing constant change that demands new strategies of representation. In order to ascertain the critical potential of visual discourse, I must remain aware of the manifold and evolving ways in which ghosts are ignored, contained, and exorcised.

My focus on time and temporality is heavily influenced by the approaches of Berber Bevernage (2010; 2013; 2015) and Susana Draper (2009; 2012; 2015), who critically analyse the performative construction of time throughout modernity and postmodernity, as well as in specific post-conflict contexts. Responding to a particular “postdictatorship”/“post-Cold War” conjuncture, their work pays close attention to the ways the relationship between past, present, and future is constructed and policed through discourses such as progress, healing and modernisation. Adopting this perspective, time is not merely a homogenous medium of history. Rather, qualitatively different constructions of time are actively produced, performed, and contested by different social actors in a process that is deeply political. This approach is of value to my own work because it moves beyond binary distinctions between remembering and
forgetting, problematising the idea of a coherent present and opening the heterogeneity of reckoning and remembrance as cultural practices. If haunting is understood primarily as an unsettling of time, place and presence, their work provides insights into what gives time order and coherence, and points to strategies by which that order might be undermined.

**Times of Violence**

After taking power on September 11, the military began a wide-reaching campaign of state terror that was at its most intense in the early 1970s. Some 3,000 people were disappeared, and tens of thousands were tortured in clandestine detention centres (CDCs). Many of those persecuted were supporters of the Popular Unity Government, or a militant leftist party. Others were union members, residents of the *poblaciones* (urban shanty towns), or part of the indigenous Mapuche community (Winn 2010, pp.254–255). Abductions were routinely denied by the military, and human remains were often dispersed or cremated so as to leave no trace of evidence. Official news reports fed by military sources posited that the disappeared had fled to exile or been killed during “inter-left” conflict in Argentina, perpetuating an environment of uncertainty and impunity in which state terror was both pervasive and invisible (Stern 2006, pp.136-150). Clandestine abductions not only eliminated the resistance, but fostered a culture of fear among the wider Chilean population, which enabled a broader project of socio-economic transformation (Bruey 2009). This practice was experienced differently, depending on one’s social and ideological position, however, for many it produced an affective response that was profoundly repressive, characterised by fear, silence and uncertainty (Garretón 1992). As the anthropologist Michael Taussig argues, in relation to the Argentinian dictatorship:

> Above all the Dirty War is a war of silencing. There is no officially declared war. No prisoners. No torture. No disappearing. Just silence consuming terror’s talk for the main part, scaring people into saying nothing in public that could be construed as critical of the Armed Forces. This is more than the production of silence. It is silencing, which is quite different. For now the not said acquires significance and a specific confusion befogs the spaces of the public sphere, which is where the action is. (1989, p.14)

This silencing not only masks the crimes of the dictatorship, but denies the existence of the object of loss, be it an individual, or a wider social movement. Those who struggled
for radical social change in the early 1970s were not defeated, but consigned to a void outside of national history. The absence of platforms for articulating and contesting injustice further compounded its repressive effects (Sorensen 2009, pp.17–18), leaving it to fester on the edge of the speakable.

In addition to generating fear of the military, disappearance also produced an alternate sense of time in which the originary act of violence extends inexorably into the present and future. Focussing on the Argentinian dictatorship, Bevernage and Aerts argue that disappearance was initially intended to avert international media attention. This was a form of repression that transpired on the edge of visibility, and in the absence of spectacular repression, the lenses of the international media soon looked elsewhere (2009, p.309). They go on to assert that a “side effect” of the practice was the production of spectral figures who, in the imagination of the subjugated population, lingered in a liminal position between life and death. To cite them directly, “because disappearance, in contrast to ‘ordinary’ death, can never be closed off, and thus never ‘passes’, the terror had produced a legion of ghosts that could potentially haunt the country for a very long time” (2009, p.396). Taking an alternate position, Avery Gordon argues that the production of ghosts was not a by-product, but the “modus operandi” through which repressive regimes across South America haunted the imagination of their citizens. As she states, “the exercise of state power through disappearance involves controlling the imagination, controlling the meaning of death, involves creating new identities, involves haunting the population into submission to its will” (Gordon 2008, p.124). Far from being an unwanted side effect, Gordon sees haunting as integral to repressive totalitarian rule in the Southern Cone. The ghost, that is the searing presence of absence, has an observable impact. As Gordon argues, “disappearance exists and is living with us, doing things to us, scaring us, driving us from our homes into exile, making us inconsolably lonely, or crazy, or unable to see what is right in front of our faces” (2008, p.117). Unlike more visible acts of military repression, such as the public executions, disappearance was not locatable in time or space. As a result, fear was not exclusively oriented towards the threat of violence in the future, or the pain of loss in the past, rather it fundamentally disrupted the linear experience of time.

Torture played a similar role in stifling the voice of resistance and rendering ghostlike those submitted to interrogation. The infliction of bodily pain on prisoners was widely
employed under Pinochet as a fear tactic, breaking down collective oppositional activities and producing traumatic rupture (Gómez-Barris 2008, p.77). Like disappearance, torture is accompanied by a disruption of linear time. While physical wounds might heal, the temporal experience of torture is both belated and intermittent. Gabrielle Schwab describes torture as an attempt to annihilate human experience and subjectivity, grounded in humiliation, and resulting in complete destruction of the coherent human subject (Schwab 2010). Framing this as a form of “self-haunting”, Schwab describes the persistence of torture as the moment “in which the victim becomes the phantom that haunts his or her own life before the actual death of the body” (2010, p.167). In this account, haunting is aligned with social death; an experience of abjection from wider society and complete loss of futurity. Crucially, the experience of pain and suffering, both physical and psychological, is often accompanied by a sense of voicelessness. As Elaine Scarry argues, “whatever pain achieves, it achieves in part through its unsharability, and it ensures this unsharability through its resistance to language” (Scarry 1985, p.4). Under Scarry’s thesis, the systematic torture of over 30,000 people in Chile had little to do with the extraction of information, rather the military sought to “visibly to deconstruct the prisoner’s voice” and replace it with that of the oppressor (Scarry 1985, p.20). Torture victims might not be ghosts, as they physically inhabit the present, however, the liminal condition of their existence, and the inability to express past and continued suffering, are analogous with theorisations of spectrality, or social death (Mbembe 2003; Schwab 2010).

The material geographies of torture and disappearance in Chile perpetuated their repressive effects. In the early months of the regime, the majority of prisoners were sent to high-profile camps, such as the National Stadium. As time passed, most detainees were taken to clandestine detention centres, the locations of which were undisclosed to the general public (Zarankin 2008, p.27). On several occasions the military made use of properties in Santiago that had been seized from leftist organisations. Londres 38, the former headquarters of the Chilean Socialist Party, served as a key torture centre from 1974 to 1978 (Read and Wyndham 2016, p.87); Santa Lucia Nº162 had been the headquarters of the MAPU (The Popular Unity Action Movement), but following the coup was converted into military clinic to revive detainees after torture (Santos Herceg 2016, p.262); and the largest detention centre in Chile, Villa Grimaldi, had been a meeting place for left-wing intellectuals and politicians (Baxter 2005). The use of these locations did not
fully invisibilise repression. Rather, their appropriation formed part of a broader process of *resignification*, in which the emblematic places were transformed into material markers of violence.

Prisoners experienced these spaces in complete darkness, with a blindfold bound permanently across their eyes. Each person’s name was replaced with a number, and communication between prisoners was forbidden (Wyndham and Read 2012, p.50). For the archaeologist Andrés Zarankin the use of torture and privation of the senses, “targeted the corporality and subjectivity of the detainees, transforming them into the disappeared” (Zarankin 2008, p.27). As such, the practice of disappearance cannot be reduced to the acts of abduction, execution, and clandestine burial, but was a sustained denial of personhood, achieved by disrupting the prisoner's access to temporal and spatial orientation.

Scenes of subjection transpired on the edge of visibility, but this does not mean that terror was marginal, or spatially contained. Fear transformed how public spaces were experienced, and even provoked a transformation of the *meaning* of public life (Fagen 1992, p.67). The cultural theorist Sara Ahmed argues that this withdrawal from public spaces is a characteristic response to fear. In her words, fear “shrinks bodies in a state of afraidness, a shrinkage which might involve a refusal to leave the enclosed spaces of home, or a refusal to inhabit what is outside in ways that anticipate injury” (2013, p.70).

This last point is crucial. The dictatorship did not provoke a complete shift from the public to the private, rather it transformed how public spaces were inhabited and traversed, and policed which bodies would feel comfortable within them. As Ahmed writes, “[i]t is the regulation of bodies in space through the uneven distribution of fear which allows spaces to become territories” (2015, p.70). Only those who followed the established trajectories of consumer capitalism would be exempt from suspicion, though the threat of violence still seethed beneath the surface.

In addition to transforming the use and meaning of public space, fear also extended into the private sphere. According to the anthropologist Antonius Robben, dictatorship violence in Latin America provoked a widespread “privatisation of terror”, in which disciplinary spectacles were replaced by assaults on the imagination. In his words, “[f]ear of the military did not diminish as it was taken out of the public arena but it increased, through the conversion from public to private” (Robben 2018, p.20). This was part of a
broader project of resignification in which everyday objects, buildings, and even words became triggers of paralysing fear. Tracing a “lexicon of terror” in dictatorial Argentina, Marguerite Feitlowitz argues that commonplace terms such as *trasladar* (to move) and *parrilla* (barbecue) became irreversibly tainted by violence during the dictatorship years, due to their association with the military practices of secret execution and electrocution. For Gordon, this subversion of the ordinary is one of the main repressive elements of haunting. It entails a moment “when familiar words and things transmute into the most sinister of weapons and meanings” (Gordon 2008, p.64). Animated by latent violence, places, objects, and words began to evoke the oppressive characteristics of the uncanny. Key points of spatial orientation became unmoored, and time ceased to flow as it did before, inhibiting both resistance and refuge. In Anthony Vidler’s words, the uncanny is more than a sense of not belonging, it is the “fundamental propensity of the familiar to turn on its owners” (1992, p.7). Crucially for my own work, the affective and imaginative afterlife of military repression in Chile can both be debilitating and offer a platform for resistance. Unlike death in open conflict, or by execution, disappearance has no definitive end, and thus the victims of the regime continue to haunt the cultural imaginary long after the originary act of violence. Any attempt to reckon with disappearance should therefore take seriously, and draw on, its power to render the present untimely.

**Born Again: Rupture, Heritage, and Modernisation**

State terror was central to the establishment of military rule and elimination of resistance. However, the power of the dictatorship was not consolidated exclusively through repression. From the early days of the dictatorship, the military promoted an image of itself as the saviour of the nation, rescuing Chile from Socialism and redirecting it on a journey of modernisation (Stern 2006, pp.33–41). This narrative was built on a discourse of national exceptionalism, in which Chile is claimed to be racially and culturally superior to its regional neighbours (see Larraín 2006; Fischer 2016), as well as transnational discourses about the Cold War, which emphasised the threat of invading ideologies such as Marxist Leninism, or Cuban socialism (Alvear and Lugo-Ocando 2016, p.4). In 1983 Pinochet claimed that it is only by “extirpating the Marxist Cancer” that the Chilean nation can be saved and restored (cited by Loveman 1986, p.2), drawing on the
biological rhetoric that is common to authoritarian regimes (Arendt 2014, p.75). The narrative was also tied to a temporal imaginary. That is, the relationship between past and present was carefully curated in military discourse to generate a narrow vision of Chilean national identity and delegitimise certain actors and ideas within the public sphere.

The first temporal intervention of the dictatorship was to generate a sense of rupture from recent Chilean history. The bombing of La Moneda, and medical rhetoric prescribing the surgical removal of foreign influences, portrayed the military’s intervention as a radical break from the past. In the early months of the dictatorship, military speeches and ceremonies in the Diego Portales Building were framed by two dates (1810 and 1973), which were plastered onto the back wall. The first delineated the birth of the Chilean nation; the second, a moment of national rebirth (Stern 2006, p.68). This narrative of rupture was a powerful rhetorical tool, insisting that nothing remained of the Popular Unity, or the social movements from which it emerged. Beyond being a tool of the military, it also formed part of a shared structure of feeling that pervaded much of the Chilean left, signalling the irreplaceable loss of a social dream that had momentarily troubled the perceived boundaries of the possible (Stern 2006, pp.39–87). As a framework for remembering the brutality of military rule, the shared experience of rupture offered a platform from which to collectively resist the dictatorship, and articulate the trauma it provoked. However, to some extent, it reproduced the temporal logic of the military regime, confining Allende and the Popular Unity to an isolated, and ever-receding historical moment.

From a spatial perspective, La Moneda Palace is the apparent epicentre of this narrative of rupture; the symbolic heart of Chilean democracy that was destroyed in a spectacular and instantaneous act of violence. The discourse of surgical removal and new beginnings also manifested in more insidious, and less obviously violent, spatial strategies. The dictatorship oversaw marked transformations of Chile’s urban centres, both in a structural and aesthetic sense, starting with a rapid cleansing process in which all signs

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3 During the Popular Unity period, this building was constructed to host the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD III), and was promoted as a symbol of the progress made under the Allende Government. Following the coup it was renamed after a military general and became the regime’s House of Government while La Moneda was being restored. Today it is a cultural centre, named after the poet, Gabriela Mistral (Bianchini 2014, pp.11–12).
of Allende’s socialist government were erased (Errázuriz 2009). Immediately following September 11, political murals were whitewashed, streets and districts were renamed and emblematic Popular Unity buildings repurposed or demolished, in what Luis Hernán Errázuriz describes as a “cultural-aesthetic coup” (2009). The Popular Unity, and the imagined futures that accompanied it, were suddenly rendered an invisible and inaccessible.

In addition to the temporality of rupture, the military promoted a restricted vision of national heritage, grounded in patriarchal militarism. Pinochet presented himself as the legitimate heir of those who fought for independence, and later against Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) (Larraín 2006, pp.325–326). Further, he spoke of restoring authentic Chilean values, centred around conservative Catholicism, and the patriarchal family (Stern 2006a, pp.56–58). According to the sociologist Michael Landzelius, national heritage is produced and contested by the forging of “signifying chains of legitimacy,” underpinned by a progressive and sequential understanding of time (2003, p.208). These narratives, made material in historical monuments, are then mobilised to establish and authenticate claims to sovereignty by individuals, groups and governments. In Landzelius’s words, “the assignment of monumental form amounts to a transformation of the past into a site of petrified imaginary significations which will function as self-affirming circular evidence of particularized rights and truths” (2003, p.208). Within the chains of heritage that the military constructed, there was little room for counterhegemonic visions of the Chilean national identity, and certainly not for oppositional perspectives that view the Chilean military as a repressive or invasive force.

The temporality of heritage was made material through the promotion of distinct imaginative geography. As Errázuriz argues, Pinochet did not simply obliterate the emblems of resistance, rather he sought to transform the national geographic imaginary, identifying markers of national heritage in the haciendas of the rural oligarchy and battlefields of independence. These were celebrated through state-funded preservation programmes and the construction of military-themed monuments throughout the country (2009, p.154). In one exemplary act, the body of Bernardo O’Higgins, a Chilean independence leader, was disinterred from the Santiago General Cemetery, and placed it in the Altar de La Patria, a grandiose monument opposite the presidential palace that Pinochet commissioned in 1979 (Wilde 2008, p.156), thereby creating a physical
proximity between military leaders of past and present. This was a “state optic” (Andermann 2007) that redirected national memory away from the recent past and towards moments of military triumph and patriarchal order. It was also highly gendered story, common to many Latin American nations, in which male military heroes and rural patriarchs are represented as the founders and defenders of the nation, and the heterosexual values that underpin it (see Radcliffe 1993; Taylor 1997; Fischer 2016).

Beyond the architectural emblems of state sovereignty, public buildings and spaces were largely neglected, or sold off and redeveloped. Massive private investment in the central business district of Santiago, and beyond, resulted in the proliferation of shopping malls and supermarkets (Stillerman and Salcedo 2012, p.315). These malls were material incarnations of a third key element of dictatorship time: the discourse of modernisation. Malls were non-places that promise protection from poverty, difference and chaos, aspects of social life which were said to be “of the past” (Rojas 2008; Draper 2012). They offered a clean, brightly lit mise-en-scène for everyday life that could be juxtaposed with images of the poverty that came before. As Tomic et al. argue, malls have been key players rhetorically in a neoliberal project to “modernize” and “civilize” the country, a project which has deliberately conflated ideas of modernity and civilization with those of cleanliness as a way to contrast the “new, modern, neoliberal social order” with the backwardness of underdevelopment. (2006, p.509)

There is more to be said about the privatisation of public space throughout the transition, but for now it suffices to say it formed part of a broad project of disappearance. Malls were allochronically positioned as visions of a future present, obscuring the extreme inequality brought about by the regime’s economic strategy. They provided freedom and choice, but excluded any activities that depart from material consumption. Finally, they conjured a perpetual present, and in doing so denied the intrusion of unwelcome memories.

Those perspectives that diverged from the military’s narrative were recast as anachronistic. In a speech delivered on the 10th anniversary of the coup, Pinochet stated that “[t]hose who have been unable to overcome hatred, who live off outdated slogans and unrealistic proposals, who are moved by eagerness for revenge or by petty desires, will never be able to understand the institutional process we are carrying out” (cited by Kinzer 1983). Bevernage terms this form of rhetoric “allochronism”, “a practice that (symbolically) allocates into another time or treats as non-simultaneous all those who
refuse to participate in the process of nation building or reconciliation” (Bevernage 2013, p.16). As will be seen, the allochronic claim that human rights campaigners and anti-state protesters hold Chile back from its predestined course in history is reproduced by politicians throughout the democratic transition.

As military rule came to an end, clandestine centres of torture and detention were demolished or sold in an attempt to obliterate material evidence of human rights abuses. Mass graves were exhumed in secret, under orders for the bodies to be thrown into the Pacific (Spooner 1999, p.120). In this final act, the infrastructure of forced disappearance was itself rendered invisible, resisting the attempts of memory activists to form collectives around it, while preparing the ground for a state-led policy of amnesia once democracy returned. The rest of the chapter will trace how these spatial and temporal transformations converged in the concept, and historical period, of the democratic transition.

The Early Transition

Following a plebiscite in October 1988, Pinochet was forced to partially step down from power, though he remained head of the military and was guaranteed the position of life-long senator (Barton 2002, p.365). One year later, Patricio Aylwin entered La Moneda as the democratically elected president, insisting on the need to alleviate poverty, but actively distancing himself from the aims and approach of the Popular Unity (Barton 2002, p.360). In my work, this moment marks the start of the “early transition,” a period that has variously been described a phase of stasis (Oxhorn 1994), oblivion (Moulian 2002), and pragmatism (Fermandois 2011). Coinciding with the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is also a moment when discourses about democratisation and reconciliation became closely imbricated with the apparent ideological triumph of neoliberalism, and so-called “end of history” (Fukuyama 1992). It is my aim here to outline institutional and state-led attempts to shape the temporality and political trajectory of the transition, while later in the thesis I will engage with representations that resist, or reimagine transitional time.

The early transition (1990-2000) has often been described as a period of political and economic pragmatism (Barton and Murray 2002; Oppenheim 2006; Stern 2010). Wary of deepening rifts in Chilean society, or provoking military reprisal, many politicians in the
ruling centre-left coalition (*Concertación*) maintained that comprehensive economic reforms and the challenging of impunity were impractical aims in the burgeoning democracy (Barton 2002, p.360). In this respect, the Chilean political elite echoed the wider stability vs justice debate within the field of transitional justice, which generally argued against radical political change or punitive sanctions for perpetrators (Collins 2010a, p.8). During the “proceso de amarre” (the “mooring process” between the 1988 plebiscite and official return to democracy in 1990) the military regime pushed through a series of constitutional reforms that, among other things, privatised state media, prohibited the prosecution of military officials, and created a binomial electoral system that guaranteed overrepresentation of the centre right UDI party (Gonzalez 2008). The military constitution, written in 1980, remained in place, and an amnesty law, introduced in 1978, continued to ensure that members of the military had full legal impunity (Loveman and Lira 2007, pp.31–32). Beyond spectres, therefore, the incoming government inherited a political system that guaranteed continued military influence, while inhibiting its capacity to pursue alternate politico-economic models. Despite this, the overwhelming adoption of the dictatorship’s economic strategy was by no means inevitable, nor was it grounded in public support. Rather, widespread hostility towards “pure” neoliberal economics was pacified by calls for consensus, underpinned by a discourse of progress (Oxhorn 1994; Stern 2010).

Political discourse in the early 1990s celebrated the new era of choice, both in terms of free elections and material consumption. Meanwhile, partial truth, societal reconciliation, and economic growth were promoted by the new government as the best avenues through which to “overcome the past” (Paley 2001; Levinson 2003). This would be achieved through a truth commission, investigating cases of disappearance, and the implementation of reforms to health, education, and social housing, while generally adhering to the inherited neoliberal economic model. During the dictatorship, Chilean society was highly polarised, and antagonistic collective memories served as reference points both for those who supported and opposed the regime (Stern 2006). Public opposition to the regime was widespread during the mid-1980s, however, many continued to view Pinochet as a saviour figure, and were wary of democracy as a source of past and future conflict (Constable and Valenzuela 1993). With the return of democracy, these divisions persisted, but were masked by calls for compromise and peaceful coexistence (*conviviencia*). Nelly Richard, a Chilean cultural critic who has
written extensively about the cultural politics of the transition, describes this moment as the “officialization of consensus” (2004a, p.145), a period in which “national healing” and the illusion of “oneness” emerged as hegemonic values and narratives (Richard 2004a, p.16). At the time, the metaphor of the nation as a living body with a wound that needed to be nursed and repaired, infused the language of the left, right, and centre, thus positioning the state as an agent whose principle responsibility was to facilitate the healing process (Frazier 2007a, p.278). This discursive trope not only followed the military description of Marxism as a cancer that needed to be operated upon, but was premised on a temporality with an obvious end point: the restoration of bodily health. Political antagonism and calls for social transformation had little place in such a national vision; nor did the socialist politics that had supposedly been severed in the 1970s.

Conducting an overview of mass media in the early transition, Rosalind Bresnahan describes a widespread collapse in oppositional discourse, prompted by societal demobilisation and the rise of unfettered competition. With the disappearance of an obvious “enemy” in the form of Pinochet, “underground” left-wing newspapers and pamphlets, which had previously received support from international human rights organisations, struggled to find financial backers (Bresnahan 2003, p.46). Grassroots video production offered a low-cost art form for residents of the poblaciones, however, for the most part, state funding was completely withdrawn from artistic initiatives (Bresnahan 2003, p.58). For advocates of a market-driven media model, these trends were described as a process of “modernisation”. Chile was entering into a period of liberal pluralism in which the media had allegedly been “emancipated from political control” (Gunther and Mughan 2000, p.192). Reproducing the perspective of the dictatorship, here temporal discourse is employed to emphasise the anachronistic nature of state support, and deny the ideological implications of market deregulation.

For the sociologist Tomás Mouilán, the transitional public sphere constituted a “double amnesia” and induced an affective shock in the Chilean left. Not only did Patricio Aylwin’s elected government fail to hold the military to account, but the aspirations of the Popular Unity government were constructed as anachronistic and irrelevant in the contemporary public sphere. Challenging the dominant narrative of “necessary pragmatism,” he argues that the emerging democratic elite “confused realism with appeasement” (2002, p.11). Following the widespread social mobilisation in the run up to the plebiscite, he claims
that this was the moment to address the root causes of social inequality and dismantle repressive apparatuses of state control, from the police to the judiciary. Ultimately, however, nationalist narratives of triumphalism, technological progress, and economic growth superseded calls for social change (Moulian 2002, p.264).

Countering prevalent trends in transitional justice literature, Moulian refuses to separate military repression from structural changes to the Chilean economy, arguing that the everyday violence of neoliberal economic policies should have been challenged at the same time as cases of disappearance and torture. According to his analysis of the “transitional myth”, a discursive fracture occurred in the early 1990s in which calls for social justice were separated from demands for an end to military impunity. The myth drew parasitically on concepts such as democracy and change as a means to obscure the material continuities between the dictatorship and the transitional regime (Moulian 2002). According to the historian Steve Stern, cultural memories and markers of dictatorship repression lost the transformative potential they had accrued during the latter years of dictatorship rule. Throughout the early transition, public opinion shifted against military practices of disappearance and torture, spurred on by the discovery of mass graves at Pisagua and Los Hornos de Lonquén. Attitudes towards the social and economic legacies of military rule, however, remained ambivalent, and many continued to view Pinochet as a saviour figure that rescued Chile from descending into chaos (Stern 2010 p246). In this respect, the transitional myth delineated a break from the dictatorial past, but remained tethered to a linear conception of progress which actively excluded alternatives to neoliberal capitalism.

Crucial to this discursive fracture was the temporal logic of neoliberalism, governed by the overarching proclamation that the age of ideological strife had come to an end. As Francis Fukuyama declared “the end of history” in 1992, the Chilean public sphere was likewise dominated by the assumption that free-market economics was the only “progressive” route available, with all other political ideologies falling into apparent obsolescence. It might be argued that the very concept of transition has been hijacked by a neoliberal imaginary. That is, when used in post-conflict or post-authoritarian contexts, the word describes a process of gradual extrication from a dark past, and movement towards a predetermined “positive” end point that is almost always aligned with liberal democracy (Draper 2012; Rothberg 2012). Susana Draper argues that the concept of
transition in Latin America has become imprisoned within an economic logic that equates consumption and market freedom with democracy. Within this “temporal imaginary”, transitional time is a teleological trajectory from the dark past to the bright future, from less to more, in which complete market freedom is the unquestioned end point (Draper 2012, pp.18–19). The movement from dark to light is often framed as an act of “opening up” (aperture), both to the global market, and to the promise of the future, which has been closed off by years of conflict (Draper 2012, p.13). Crucially, opening up to the future can also be an act of closure and containment, denying the violence that is intrinsic to neoliberalism, as well as the emancipatory fissures produced through resistance to the military regimes.

Much like during the military regime, the hegemony of neoliberalism during the early transition was reproduced by allochchronic rhetoric. Analysing the politics of postdictatorship time, Nelly Richard describes the emergence of three strictly policed temporal delineations: before (the Allende years), after (Pinochet and the dictatorial rule), and “now” (the liberal democratic transition), characterised simultaneously by a language of optimism and inevitability (Richard 2004a, p.23). Any attempt to draw attention to the structural continuities between these periods was greeted with the label of “backwardness” or unreasonably obstinacy. Responding to criticism from Chilean exiles in 1993, Patricio Aylwin proclaimed: "I have the feeling that these people have somehow got caught in a time warp around 1973” (Sanhueza 2016), an example of allochronism that bears clear resemblance to the speech by Pinochet cited previously. While the authoritarian arm of the state had been restrained, the president of the republic continued to draw on a temporalities of rupture, heritage and modernisation in order to delegitimise certain voices within the public sphere. As well as marginalising those who resist reconciliation, allochronism has a profoundly anti-utopian character, denying the endurance or emergence of radical political alternatives, and consolidating liberal democracy’s status as the “logical and legitimate political and ethical endpoint of history” (Bevernage 2015, p.346).

Elite-led transitional justice initiatives are not necessarily a form of resistance to this version of transitional time. Rather, calls for truth and reconciliation can be key mechanism for the reproduction of allochronic rhetoric. This is exemplified by Chile’s first truth and reconciliation commission, commonly referred to as the Rettig Report
(1991), which sought to shed light on cases of execution and disappearance. The report was extensive and meticulous, identifying 2,279 people who were killed for political reasons during the dictatorship. However, as a tool for interrogating the present, its scope was limited. Analysing the temporal language of the report, Greg Grandin argues that military crimes were consistently juxtaposed with the stability of liberal democracy, and the privileged, objective gaze of hindsight (2005, p.57). Though the authors of the report acknowledge the enduring pain and trauma experienced by friends and family of victims, the language employed carefully delineates between the “dark” dictatorial past and peaceful progress of the transition. Furthermore, its criticism of the Popular Unity’s radical policies perpetuate a broader narrative about the inevitability of military intervention, positioning Allende as a harbinger of violence and chaos. As Grandin argues,

In the case of Chile, absent the possibility of pursuing retributive justice that could fortify the rule of law, the Rettig Report emphasized the contrast between the dispassionate procedural liberalism of a restored democracy and the ideological rigidity and intolerance not only of the Pinochet regime but also of the events claimed to have necessitated that regime. (2005, p.57)

The insistence that the pursuit of truth should be “dispassionate” not only presents the state as an objective onlooker, but also interpellates survivors and victims into a purely testimonial role. While originary acts of extreme violence were widely recognised, the issue of military influence was ignored and consigned to the past, along with those who continued to feel its effects.

The qualitative separation of past and present is more easily achieved when the subjects being represented are deceased, hence the commission’s decision to focus exclusively on the disappeared and executed. Furthermore, the decision not to name military officials who committed human rights violations helped to disappear the continuities between the military of the past and present (Brants and Klep 2013; Cock and Maturana 2018). Finally the focus on individual human rights violations, and absence of survivor voices, obscured the less tangible inheritances of military rule, such as the impact on families and communities, and the fragmentation of collective identities. After being published, the report received meagre coverage by mainstream newspapers, and copies were not circulated beyond institutional circles (Loveman and Lira 2007, p.33). Much valuable information had been collected, but its ramifications remained obscured within a hostile media environment, and a cultural imaginary that would not allow the feelings of guilt, or emancipatory possibility, to unsettle the fragile order of things. In sum, by focussing
exclusively on the executed and disappeared, denying voices of dissent in the present, and limiting circulation, the report tamed the disappeared as icons of resistance. The official verdict that no further prosecutions should be pursued might be read as the concluding proclamation of an exorcism, albeit thankfully unsuccessful.

The adoption of neoliberal rationality and marginalisation of emancipatory politics was by no means uncontested. During the 1990s, much academic work on the left imagined the military coup as a moment of fundamental rupture in Chilean identity and political subjectivity, producing a sense of defeat that was only compounded further by the socio-economic trajectory of the transition (Avelar 1999; Marchant et al. 2000; Richard 2004b). Writings within literary criticism and critical theory engaged with concepts of trauma and mourning in order to make sense of the transitional moment, while exploring the potential of allegory to disrupt discourses of closure and consensus. In his seminal work *The Untimely Present* (1999), Idelbar Avelar argues that the postdictatorship period should not be conceived as a transition to democracy, but as the end of a broad historical shift from the state to the market, the origins of which can be traced back to the 1960s. Avelar’s work turns to allegory within literature and testimony as a form of perpetual mourning and hopeful preservation. In his words,

> If the dictatorships have resignified every corner of the city, if the catastrophe is blocked from public memory by the absence of monuments to the dead, postdictatorial literature depicts the urban space as an allegorical ruin [...] It is through these ruins that postcatastrophic literature reactivates the hope of providing an entrance into a traumatic experience that has seemingly been condemned to silence and oblivion. (1999a, p.10)

By allegory he refers to the moments in literary fiction when “that which is most familiar reveals itself as an(other)” (1999a, p.233). In other words, when taken-for-granted features of the national imaginary are reinterpreted through allegory, the catastrophes upon which they are built are made visible. For Avelar, allegory is not merely a strategy by which censorship was circumvented, rather it was the only literary form that could articulate the complex emotional aftermath of military rule. “The petrified images of ruins, in their immanence, bear the only possibility of narrating the defeat”, he writes, countering the idea that truth might be recovered through the procedural accumulation of testimonial accounts (1999a, p.69). Avelar describes a shared temporality in which the dictatorship and transition are a meaningless void, but within which traces of past defeats
and struggles survive, and must be preserved so as to help inspire an “as yet unimaginable future” (1999a, pp.20–21). The aesthetic of ruination can be read as a textual manifestation of this temporality. Concepts such as progress, justice, nationhood and solidarity, that were central tenets of the Popular Unity coalition, had been obliterated by the military coup, or co-opted by the transitional regime, leaving the left to “sift through rubble” for new ways to keep memory alive.

Like Avelar, the cultural critic Nelly Richard also sought to locate exemplary moments, or “fractures,” when the postdictatorship consensus was momentary broken. In her book *Cultural Residues* (‘Residuos y metáforas’ 1998), Richard depicts a cultural and political landscape that is oriented almost exclusively towards the market, denying critical reflection on the crimes of the dictatorship, and pacifying the seams of social discontent that emerged throughout the 1980s. Like Avelar, Richard draws on tropes of ruination and debris in her portrait of the period, however, she also points to works of art and civil disobedience that problematise the binary logic of the transition—the assumption of linear movement from darkness to light; the privileging of empirical facts over the dreams and phantoms of lived experience; the preservation of social order against the chaos of the past. These artworks and interventions are described as “exemplary” in that they momentarily foreground visions of social change that were asynchronous with official discourse. Richard’s work also offers a powerful reclamation of the dictatorship as a moment of possibility. The aim is not merely to sift through the ruins of the Popular Unity, but to open up memories of resistance to Pinochet as a source of inspiration for social change. Her focus is on art, as opposed to more popular forms of cultural production, but it offers a lens through which to disturb the conventional historiographical accounts of the transition.

Avelar’s work, and 1990s “postdictatorship” scholarship more generally, has since been criticised for its excessive pessimism (see Villalobos-Ruminott 2000; Jelin 2003; Draper 2012; Fornazzari 2013). While it is reductive to characterise all left-wing intellectual endeavour during the 1990s as locked within a cycle of traumatic repetition, much scholarship during the period could be said to reproduce a totalising narrative of defeat. The cultural theorist Alessandro Fornazzari questions the capacity of mourning to confront the new repressive realities of neoliberal capitalism, and locks utopian aspiration in a period prior to the coup (2013, p.3). He also criticises the allegory of the
ruin lens through which to read the transition, arguing that it risks obscuring the new antagonistic logics that have emerged alongside and in response to neoliberalism (Fornazzari 2013, p.4). Draper criticises Avelar’s work for remaining bound within a logic of defeat that cannot imagine the transition as anything other than neoliberal (2012, p.10). For her, the conflation of defeat with a “loss of historicity” risks reproducing the temporal imaginary of the neoliberal regime, in which ideological conflict is confined to vestigial traces of the past. Both Draper and Avelar are ultimately concerned with searching out transformative ways of responding to spectres, and overcoming the societal silences provoked by state terror, yet Draper departs from a focus on the “truth of defeat” and questions what other temporal and spatial imaginaries can be identified in postdictatorship Latin America.

One of the tasks of my fourth chapter is to further unpack some of these issues and arguments in relation to films from the early transition, assessing how the tropes of haunting are related to the practice of mourning and an aesthetic of ruination. Following Draper, I will also remain open to the other temporal and affective imaginaries opened up by film; imaginaries composed of feelings of nostalgia, responsibility, guilt, continuity, and apathy. Like Draper, my aim is not to reconstruct a unified vision of this period, but to map out the multiple temporalities, imagined futures, and structures of feeling of which it is composed.

Heritage, Modernisation and the Politics of Space

By focussing on the amorphous temporalities of rupture and healing, I am not suggesting that the hegemonic transitional temporality was exclusively future oriented. As outlined above, for over 17 years the military promoted the illusion of “oneness” by emphasising a shared history of Chilean exceptionalism, military strength, and ethnic superiority, and this was carried forward by the transitional regime (Larraín 2006; Mullins 2006). A brief survey of literature on national identity during the transition reveals the consolidation of a state optic in which the rural oligarchy, conservative Catholicism, and military iconography continued to be promoted as the legitimate markers of nationhood (Larraín 2006; Goebel 2007). In the 1990s, the Popular Unity and the most recent dictatorship were presented as a momentary hiatus, or gap, in the “signifying chain of heritage” (Landzelius 2003), while Chilean democracy prior to Allende was represented as peaceful
and exceptional. In this respect, the chain obscured an extensive, and ongoing, history of state and corporate repression, limiting the scope for a meaningful interrogation of the conditions that made the dictatorship possible (Williams 2002, p.281).

More pervasive still was the emergent entrepreneurial vision of national identity that flaunted innovations in urban architecture, agriculture, and mining in order to emphasise economic superiority over regional neighbours (Larraín 2006, p.327; Korowin 2010). Through these discourses emerged the recurrent idea that Chile provided a “model” for democratisation and economic growth that could be mimicked elsewhere. (Fischer 2016, p.182). Though politicians described the dictatorship as a momentary distortion of Chilean values, the narrative of economic superiority was a direct inheritance from the military regime, which itself was drawing on an older narrative of Chilean exceptionalism. The “optic of the state” constructed Chile as a nation with an exceptional democratic heritage, naturally beautiful, but technologically advanced; liberated from state terror, but still ordered and ripe for investment.

The continuities between the authoritarian and the democratic state are most evident when considering their shared spatial politics. Draper goes as far as to suggest that the temporal imaginary of the Southern Cone dictatorships is reproduced and actualised through the prevailing architectural forms of neoliberal urban development (Draper 2012, p.2). The rhetoric of a “new beginning” promoted by the incoming democratic government materialised in the form of widespread private investment in urban centres, and an increase in subsidised housing in urban peripheries, both of which were instigated by the Pinochet regime. The poblaciones which had acted as centres of resistance throughout the dictatorship, were systematically dismantled by help-to-buy schemes, reducing levels of abject poverty, but also contributing to the fragmentation of community solidarity and political networks (Ducci 2000; Rojas 2008; Salcedo 2010). Since the early 1960s, the illegally occupied settlements had produced highly organised protest movements, including a massive land occupation in the early 1980s (Schneider 1991). Subsidised housing schemes fragmented the poblaciones, and the social movements they helped ferment, producing physically isolated ghettos that posed no threat to the central business district. In the words of the Chilean sociologist María Elena Ducci, “all this results in a loss of social capital, understood as a network of reciprocal relations based on trust and norms that form part of the social organisation within a
community” (Ducci 2000, p.164). According to David Harvey, a central strategy of the neoliberal state is the disruption of a localised politics of place, replaced with a broader identity politics based on heritage, uncritical nostalgia and nationalism (Harvey 1992, p.238). In line with this argument, the break-up of the poblaciones can be interpreted a part of a wider process of “deterritorialisation” in which geographical bases of discontent were dispersed and pacified.

The second key spatial development was the further proliferation of private shopping malls. For the cultural theorist Jean Franco the architecture of consumer culture represents the epitome of forgetting. “Language is only one symptom of the dislocations of modernisation” says Franco. “The Military government transformed the old republican city, building showcase shopping malls and overseeing the expansion of television in the poorest homes” (2004, p.xi). The architectural phenomenon of the shopping mall is interesting not only as a site of mass consumption, but for its unique organisation of time and space. Semiotic analyses of displays and ethnographies of consumer practices indicate that shopping malls not only provide a well-lit mise-en-scène in which to shop, but act as chronotopes for consumption, a spatiotemporal context in which one might indulge momentarily in a fantasy of an eternal present (Friedberg 1991; Goss 1999).

Reflecting specifically on Latin American malls, Draper describes the creation of an “eternal spring,” in which contingency is eliminated and the finite nature of material objects and human bodies is pushed to the margins of consciousness (2012, p.24). In Latin America, malls take on an alternate temporal dimension, as emblems of economic development and “modernisation.” While malls often have been familiar landmarks in the United States since the 1950s, in Chile they are explicitly associated with the introduction of neoliberal economic reforms initiated by the dictatorship and the ceding of public property to the private sphere (Dâvila 2016). While not all consumers inhabit or experience these spaces in the same way, the image malls seek to present is one of utopian togetherness, a private site that is accessible to all citizens, as long as they adhere to the established norms and trajectories of consumer capitalism.

Often examined as a monstrous relative of Walter Benjamin’s Parisian arcade, shopping malls and supermarkets are unified by a projected sense of safety, security, and surveillance. Though colossal in size and potentially disorienting, the controlled atmosphere, bright lighting and constant presence of security personnel combine to
produce a self-contained space that denies the existence of an outside world. In Draper’s words, “architectural designs for malls expressed visions of protection, patriotism, and consumption in the utopia of a receptacle that contained an absolute inside—that is, one without an outside, either in a spatial or a temporal sense.” (2012, p.32). The heterogeneous materiality of ruins and urban decay are largely absent in mall space. If events or objects from the past do appear, it is generally in a pacified or commercialised state. Tropes of haunting, magic, and fantasy are drawn upon in displays, but in a packaged form that does not unsettle the wider experience of spatiotemporal orientation (Goss 1999, p.69). In sum, malls participate in a process of disappearance by excluding any social activity that departs from consumption, while creating expansive spaces in which the wandering subject is herself consumed. This space is severed from the dominant rhythms of everyday life; a setting in which the end of history might play out untroubled.

By giving voice to these critiques, I am not suggesting that malls deny resistance entirely, nor that they offer a comparable experience to all sectors of society. On the contrary, following Karen Till and Avery Gordon, I argue that ghosts are most challenging when they emerge where we least expect them. In order to devise counterhegemonic interventions, one must pay attention to the pleasures offered by malls and supermarkets, observing how they shape collective consciousness. As Jon Goss argues, in order to challenge hegemonic narratives of consumerist individualism, we must seek out the fetid contradictions beneath the veneer (1999, p.72). One of the aims driving this thesis is the search for such interventions in the realm of representational space. First, however, I turn to the material recuperation of sites of dictatorship violence, as a way of exploring resistance to social amnesia and hegemonic accounts of transitional time.

**Villa Grimaldi**

Counteracting trends of architectural amnesia and presentism, in the mid-1990s a small number of former military detention centres were salvaged from demolition by grassroots human rights groups and converted into makeshift sites of memory. In contrast to state-sponsored truth and reconciliation initiatives, site-specific memorials and groups posed a challenge to the transitional discourse of reconciliation by drawing attention to the brutal nature of military crimes, including torture, while attaching value
to the left-wing project that the detainees were striving for (Baxter 2005; Gómez-Barris 2008). At the centre of this emerging “memoryscape” was Villa Grimaldi, a once palatial building in the eastern suburbs of Santiago that, in the early years of the dictatorship, had served as the military’s main centre of detention, torture and disappearance (Read and Wyndham 2008). While similar sites such as José Domingo Cañas and Londres 38 were well known in human rights circles, Villa Grimaldi was the first CDC (clandestine detention centre) to be converted into a publicly accessible site of memory, or “Peace Park,” as it is officially labelled. Funded by an NGO, and the first of its kind in the Latin America, the creation of the park represented a fundamental shift in Chilean memory politics. As Stern argues, “[t]he saving of Villa Grimaldi for collective memory was a major accomplishment. It created a new cultural fact of life” (Stern 2010, p.173). Leading up to the inauguration in 1997, Grimaldi became a focal point of inter-community discussion regarding how best to communicate the enduring pain and humiliation of torture, and crippling loss of disappearance (Klep 2012). For the first time, victims, activists and the wider public were granted the opportunity to participate directly in the creation of a space of reflection, debate, and active memory transmission, as opposed to simply marking out a linear account of events.

Grimaldi arguably proved powerful due to its materiality. Though the building itself had been demolished by the military, fragments of the floor tiles, a swimming pool, and the floor plan remained, and were transformed into mosaics and sculptures. An aesthetic of latent presence was generated by the preservation of the building’s foundations, while memorial plaques plainly described, without graphic elaboration, the horrific crimes committed at specific locations. Focussing on the inauguration ceremony, Stern describes a scene in which situational testimonies and performances had an enhanced affective resonance. In his words:

What rendered the inauguration moving and powerful was not an aesthetic of literalism. It was the living memories of mind and heart, catalysed through human contact and performance on sacred ground where desecration once took place. (Stern 2010, p.171)

Unlike mass grave sites such as the Hornos de Lonquén, or Patio 29 in the Santiago General Cemetery, Grimaldi evoked scenes of explicit violence, loss and, crucially, of resistance. Every left-wing political party, or militant group, from the 1970s has a separate shrine at the site, depicting the disappeared as subjects with agency, fighting for a common cause, as opposed to helpless victims of “excessive state repression” (Read and
Significantly, the site offered a location where memories could be contested and built upon. Unlike the Rettig Report, that incorporated no mechanism for response and only featured briefly in the national press, Grimaldi served as a surface upon which a range of testimonies could be projected, including the gaze of documentary and fiction films.\(^{4}\)

Many have objected to the memorial at Villa Grimaldi for being too “peaceful”—denying the “lacerated texture of experience,” as Nelly Richard puts it (2009, p.177). However, arguably the most convincing critique of the site situates it within a broader physical and imaginative landscape. According to Katherine Hite and Cath Collins, despite its renown in the world of human rights, Grimaldi remains “marginal to the Chilean political imaginary” (2009, p.385). Located on the periphery of the city, without so much as a road sign highlighting its presence, the site is arguably better known to foreign tourists, academics, and activists, than “ordinary” Chilean citizens. Grimaldi is not a location where the apathetic streetwalker might bump unexpectedly into ghosts, rather they must be actively sought out and imagined, likely involving a protracted bus journey through the suburbs. Though Stern describes the site as a “new fact of cultural life,” and it arguably paved the way for similar projects across Latin America, Grimaldi could not be said to be a feature of everyday life, nor did it forge strong connections with social movements in the poblaciones (Hite and Collins 2009, p.385). In sum, by the time of its inauguration in 1997, the site was a fragment of resistance to amnesia, embedded in an urban landscape devoted to oblivion. It affords glimpses of a socialist past founded on anti-imperialism and social justice, but the extent to which it established a continuity of injustice and resistance is questionable.

To summarise, the early transition can be understood as both a period of departure and consolidation. The state optic of the dictatorship remained a prevalent “way of seeing” for many, grounded in images of technological progress and national exceptionalism. Meanwhile, the transitional government emphasised a fundamental break from the dictatorial past, and in doing so, downplayed the structural, psychic, or legislative continuities between the two periods. The dominant temporality of the transition was shaped by a modern commitment to progress, and rupture from the immediate past, as

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\(^{4}\) These include: *Archeology of Memory: Villa Grimaldi* (2008); *El Diario de Agustín* (“Agustín's Newspaper” 2008); *Imagen Latente* (“Latent Image” 1988); *De Vida y de Muerte, Testimonios de la Operación Cóndor* (“Of Life and Death, Testimonies of Operation Cóndor” 2015)
well as a neoliberal rationality that insisted that the times of ideological struggle had come to an end. The partial fragmentation of the poblaciones, and the emergence of private shopping centres as idealised spaces of freedom and consumption, can be read as spatial articulations of transitional time, however, they also offered spaces in which it could be contested. In the cultural sphere, tropes of haunting that were used during the dictatorship persisted as symbols of defiance and mourning. However, human rights cases were increasingly framed as separate to calls for social justice and greater democratic participation. The disappeared and sites of military violence were identified in the Rettig Report, however, this only served to limit dictatorship violence to a set of maximal victims, while the more subtle legacies of military violence remained unacknowledged, or even celebrated. The reclamation of Villa Grimaldi as a place of memory was a significant achievement for human rights campaigners, and paved the way for similar initiatives across Latin America. However, to what extent the site could touch the lives of citizens from outside of the “human rights community” was questionable. With the turn of the century, many of these issues persisted, accompanied by a rapidly evolving (and expanding) culture of memorialisation, giving way to what I tentatively describe as “the late transition”. It is to this period that I will now turn my attention.

The Late Transition

The late transition is not a widely recognised epoch in Chilean history. Some suggest that transitional politics ended with Pinochet’s arrest in 1998 (Barton and Murray 2002). Others prefer the term post-transition (Agüero 2000; Levinson 2001), or post-transitional justice (Collins 2010a), and call for an end to the pragmatic politics with which the term transition is associated. Following Susana Draper, I continue to engage with “transition” as a term that is not necessarily imbricated in a progressive conception of time, but can be hijacked, or haunted, in order to imagine more emancipatory futures. As Draper puts it, “there is something untranslatable left over when we stop taking the word “transition” as an inevitable event imprisoned in the neoliberal universe and open it up to the act of reading” (Draper 2012, p.20). My periodisation of the transition—also in line with Draper’s work—does not imply a moment of absolute departure, but a shift in the way the dictatorship’s aftermath is felt and contested, characterised by increasing condemnation of the dictatorship’s crimes, and a sudden increase in cultural texts about
the dictatorship and the Popular Unity in the public sphere. The reasons for this shift are complex, influenced, among other things, by the coming of age of the generation that grew up under military rule; the declining influence of Pinochet following his arrest in 1998; and the election of a Socialist Party candidate (Ricardo Lagos) to president in 2000, who explicitly denounced the dictatorship’s crimes. As should now be clear, I am not principally concerned with a causal chronology of events, or changes in domestic politics. Nevertheless, by recognising material changes in Chilean society, and the ways the dictatorship’s presence is contested, a more nuanced perspective of the spatiotemporal landscape emerges, opening up questions around intergenerational haunting and memory transmission.

If the end of the transition is hard to pin down, the so-called “memory boom” of the early 2000s is more easy to discern, if not fully explain. In 1998 Pinochet was arrested in London, leading to a year-long extradition process in which discussions about the dictatorship’s human rights abuses became more prevalent, in Chile and around the world (Stern 2010, p.224). Pinochet was eventually allowed to return to Chile after doctors declared him physically unfit to attend trial, however, he returned to an altered political climate. In Stern’s words,

> In this different Chile he [Pinochet] was a diminished politicocultural figure, unable to dominate public life or to enforce memory impasse as a protective shield. [...] Pinochet’s detention was a classic “memory knot” on the social body. For months it fed an outpouring of memory—not only in street protests and demonstrations, but also in media and websites. (2010, p.226)

For the writer and academic Ariel Dorfman, this moment amounted to an ongoing exorcism, in which the malevolent phantom of Pinochet lost its grip over the collective imagination of the Chilean population, and in the process, space emerged for the figures of Allende and the disappeared in popular texts (2003). Dorfman’s account aligns the experience of haunting with a collective feeling of fear, which must be overcome. Significantly, it also recasts Pinochet as a haunted subject. “For so long I have been trying to figure out how we should exorcise Pinochet”, he writes, “and all this time, without our ever realising it, maybe he was the one trying desperately to exorcise us from his life” (Dorfman 2003b, p.169). Not only did the arrest serve as an opening through which anti-

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5 Stern describes a memory knot as an event that interrupts the flow of “everyday life and habit”, forcing issues of memory and forgetfulness into the public sphere, and opening up space for new frameworks of collective memory to emerge (Stern 2006b, p.120).
dictatorship discourses and memories entered the mainstream public sphere, it also provoked more transformative reflections about the latent vulnerability of military and the status quo.

Another key event that signalled the end of the early transition was the election to president of Ricardo Lagos, a Socialist Party candidate who openly aligned himself with a certain spirit of the Popular Unity, if not its policies (Bianchini 2006a). During Lagos’s presidency the state began to play an increasing role in commemorative activities and Lagos openly criticised the Pinochet regime (Ros 2012, p.113). In 2004 the Valech Report (commissioned by the Lagos Government) was published, detailing the findings of an inquiry into the dictatorship’s practice of torture, and around the same time the Chilean judicial system charged hundreds of former military officers for human rights violations (Collins et al. 2013, p.13). Within this political climate, human rights discourse became increasingly hegemonic, and explicit support for military crimes such as torture and disappearance was largely confined to private conversations, or far-right groups (Ros 2012, p.115). Commemorative activities reached a peak in September 2003, around the 30th anniversary of the coup. In the weeks leading up to the anniversary, television documentaries about the coup were shown during prime-time hours and received high ratings (Stern 2010, p.284); and on September 11, Lagos re-inaugurated Morandé 80, the door through which Allende’s body had been carried in 1973, which had been bricked up during the dictatorship (Bianchini 2014). From being marginal discourses in the public sphere, memories of the dictatorship and the Popular Unity were now being openly inscribed onto the symbolic home of Chilean democracy.

While the conjuncture of Pinochet’s arrest, Lagos’s presidency, and the 30th anniversary of the coup enabled new memory narratives to enter the public sphere, the Lagos Government itself was by no means radical. Its primary stated goals were to tackle poverty and accelerate Chile’s progress towards becoming a developed country, and in order to achieve these aims, the government remained firmly committed to the neoliberal policies introduced by the military (Ros 2012, p.124). State-led memorials increased the visibility of Allende and the Popular Unity as objects of mourning, but in the process, they assimilated them into a depoliticised narrative of national heritage in which the dictatorship was recast as a hiatus in an otherwise exceptional democratic history. Focussing on the political afterlife of Salvador Allende, the Chilean historian Peter Winn
argues that the figurehead of the Popular Unity went from being an ostracised icon in the 1990s, rejected by his own party, to a martyr of the left project in the 2000s, but throughout this process was divested of any contemporary political significance (2005, pp.158–159). Supporting this, Ana Ros suggests that Allende is often reduced to a fleeting heroic moment at La Moneda Palace on September 11, 1973, as opposed to a complex figure devoted to an alternate socio-economic model. In other words, cultural memory of Allende is confined both spatially and temporally to a single event and place, conjuring images of violence that are no longer a source of antagonism in the social imaginary (Ros 2012, p.117). After years of ambiguity, Allende, along with the Popular Unity coalition, had been allocated a legitimate place in Chilean history, re-establishing historical continuity by focussing on common democratic values, albeit following markedly different ideological trajectories.

Far from signifying a fundamental shift in the state’s approach to the dictatorial past, Cath Collins argues that the state’s interest in memorialisation is merely a veneer that obscures its reluctance to tackle the more structural issues of impunity, justice and continued social inequality. Villa Grimaldi, for example, has become a favoured destination for foreign dignitaries on official visits. The site of memory that once served as an emblem against oblivion has been co-opted into the optic of the neoliberal state as a symbol of peace and progress (Collins 2010b, p.241). Tamara Lea Spira sees the reburial of Salvador Allende in Santiago’s general cemetery as the epitome of this strategy of iconic appropriation. Reflecting on the refurbished tomb and epitaph, inaugurated in 2010, she argues that Allende’s legacy has become “ossified in marble, rendered stagnant, stable and fixed” (Spira 2014, p.354). Alongside Allende’s final words of hope, inscribed in stone, Spira senses the looming presence of the neoliberal state that hides its authoritarian tendencies behind the face of a caring, benevolent father figure. Such monumentalised visions of history must not be conflated with the pursuit of justice, argues Spira, but should be read as an “incorporative mechanism” enabling social control (2014, p.354). Central to this top-down approach is the creation of institutionally-sanctioned spaces at which to mourn; a time and a place for grief that does not disrupt the flow of everyday life. It is no surprise, therefore, that the most lavish monuments to Allende and the disappeared sit in Santiago’s general cemetery; a site where the dead are ordered to rest in peace.
One of the defining features of “memory culture” in Chile since 2000 has been the conversion of former detention centres into sites of memory that are recognised and funded by the state. In 1997, Villa Grimaldi was the only CDC to have been converted into an official site of memory in Latin America, providing a potent symbol of violence, for the few that actively sought it out. The late transition, by contrast, has seen rapid increase of memory sites, and a corresponding surge in academic publications exploring links between place, trauma, and memory (Read and Wyndham 2008; Gómez-Barris 2010b; Andermann 2012a; Opotow 2015). In addition to the co-opting narratives of resistance, some have claimed that the state’s interference in commemoration has prompted a process of marketization. Maria Chiara Bianchini (2014), Katherine Hite (2013), Peter Read and Marivic Wyndham (2016) have all criticised state-led memory initiatives for severing links with grassroots human rights groups, depoliticising the disappeared, and disregarding the input of surviving victims and their families. On a practical level, state intervention paradoxically opens sites of memory up to the free market. Funding is accompanied by contractual clauses stating that the design and construction of memorials must be subcontracted to private enterprises, thus limiting the power of activists to intervene (Collins 2010b, p.246).

In this new context, Bilbija and Payne describe memory as a niche market, in which phrases such as nunca más are reduced to brand names, while memory sites and agrupaciones compete for state funding and visitors (2011). Even Elizabeth Jelin, one of the pioneers of postdictatorship studies, describes memory workers as “entrepreneurs”, forced to assert the uniqueness of their testimony or experience in order to garner attention from the state or judiciary (Jelin 2003, pp.33–34). These observations support Wendy Brown’s critique of neoliberalism as a “governing rationality” in which market values and logics infiltrate all spheres of social life. “All conduct is economic conduct”, she writes, “all spheres of existence are framed and measured by economic terms and metrics, even when those spheres are not directly monetized” (2015, p.10). Of course, it is one thing to criticise the conditions imposed on memory workers by the neoliberal marketplace, and its concomitant rationality; it is another to suggest that all activist activities are concerned with accruing market value. Once this problem is recognised, however, the memory market critique opens up important questions regarding the ethics
of representing violence, and the relation between monetary exchange and mnemonic transmission.

Looking beyond the marketization of memory, for Steve Stern the late transition has been characterised by the emergence of a new framework through which memories of repression are interpreted and articulated. The “shared tragedy” narrative, as he describes it, is guided by the perception of collective memory as a “plural domain of recollections and meanings” in which each individual is entitled to his or her own point of view (Stern 2010, p.262). From a “memory impasse” lasting throughout the 1990s, in which society was fundamentally divided over the figure of Pinochet, politicians on the right slowly began to criticise the “excesses” of military rule and revise their binary conceptions of national history. While Stern praises the emergence of a transcultural memory framework that bridges social divisions, he emphasises that neoliberal rationality creates an uncritical, pluralistic discursive environment in which memories are further stripped of their emblematic potential. After a decade of institutionally sanctioned oblivion, he argues that a “contending common sense” emerged involving the “ascent of the personal over the social,” in which the microhistories of individuals might diverge in detail and sentiment, but do not refute each other entirely (Stern 2010, p.262). Though premised on diversity and autonomy, it has been argued that an uncritical pluralistic conception of memory ultimately remains committed to a strict periodisation of history and excludes the possibility of contemporary collective political subjectivities (Fornazzari 2013; Spira 2014). Within this environment, memories and traces are not the basis for collective action, but represent something to be possessed and transmitted on an individual or familial level as markers of identity.

A central issue here is the concept of memory itself, a term that is used so widely and uncritically that it is arguably losing its counterhegemonic potential. As the Argentinian novelist Luisa Valenzuela writes, “[t]he word "memory," [...] runs the risk of becoming a mere label or an empty signifier into which everything fits, so nothing has value. True value, not mere exchange value” (Bilbija and Payne 2011, p.IX). While politicians in the 1990s aligned forgetting with moving forward, in the late transition the concept of memory is regularly invoked by the left and right as a constitutive element of democratic progress, exemplified the title of Lagos’s policy document on human rights: No hay mañana, sin ayer (There is no tomorrow without yesterday) (2003). Today “memory
tours” operate in Santiago, leading predominantly foreign visitors around a selection of former centres of torture and detention. The Museum of Memory and Human Rights, inaugurated by President Michelle Bachelet in 2010, provides an institutional setting in which to learn about the country’s dictatorial past. Even members of the far-right UDI party extol the importance of remembering the country’s dark past and have provided financial support for the construction of memorials to the disappeared (Borzutzky 2017, p.21).

This phenomenon has been described by many of the non-party left as a process of saturation. As Draper argues, “selective forgetfulness has turned into a surplus in terms of controlled memory” (2012, p.17). The surplus has a particular imaginative geography and temporal rhythm. Scenes of subjection and resistance are spatially contained at state-sanctioned sites, while commemorative activities take on a repetitive cyclical character, oriented around September 11. Judicial responses to human rights abuses can also have a repetitive or procedural character. As Collins et al. argue, verdicts sentencing the same people for the same offences have “almost become routine news” and rarely provoke reflection on the grey zone of complicity and accountability (Collins et al. 2013, p.45). Ultimately, this culture of justice and memory can have an anesthetising effect, manifesting in feelings of apathy towards both the crimes of the regime and the political aspirations of those it repressed. Such changes evoke Lisa Yoneyama’s question, “how can memories, once recuperated, remain self-critically unsettling?” (1999, p.5). Or to take this further, are there elements of the present past that exceed the concept of memory as a popular and theoretical construct? And if so, what forms of reckoning do they demand?

**Counter-Memorials and Social Mobilisation**

By focussing on the ways in which memories of disappearance and state repression are represented and contained, I am not suggesting that the state’s presence has precluded the possibility of emancipatory forms of resignification. Throughout the so-called “memory boom” in Chile, a plethora of texts have been produced that interrogate the afterlives of dictatorial rule, both as an attempt to salvage memories from oblivion, and as a form of resistance to neoliberalism. Taking an optimistic standpoint, the cultural theorist Ana Ros argues that cultural memory in Southern Cone is increasingly seen as an
“open-ended and inclusive process that can be used to orient action in the present.” (Ros 2012, p.4). While cultural production during the early transition formulated time and memory as irreversibly ruptured, Ros argues that the “post-dictatorship generation” (those that were children during the dictatorship) have engaged in forms of “active transmission,” that understand cultural memory as an unfolding process of selection and interpretation (2012, p.203). This molten mnemonic landscape moves beyond the uncritical idealisation of Chile’s socialist past and the crippling sense of loss that can accompany nostalgic forms of remembrance. Instead, contemporary social movements demanding free education and healthcare often use historical traces as territorial markers and polysemic signifiers that can be activated when imagining alternate subjectivities in the present.

Ros’s use of spatial terminology is not necessarily metaphorical, rather, counter-memorial activities in Latin America often involve liberating traces of violence from their spatio-temporal constraints. One such action in 2008 involved inverting the annual commemorative march to the Santiago General Cemetery, in which photographs of the disappeared are paraded through Santiago on September 11 and laid to rest. This “counter-memorial” initiative, named MarchaRearme, took plaques bearing the names of the disappeared from the general cemetery and reintroduced them to the city centre. In this example, memory was disinterred in support of emergent causes, such as demands for free university education. In Katherine Hite’s words “the counter-commemoration […] sought to open the ritual to broader sectors of Chilean society, as well as to other interpretations of the past” (2013, p.15). By disrupting the annual ritual, the marchers attempted to create a fracture in both the temporality of irreversible rupture, and linear chronology of heritage, if only for a fleeting moment.

Another key form of counter-memorial is known as a FUNA, in which groups of predominantly young people gather around outside the homes and workplaces of known perpetrators, denouncing their crimes, and letting the neighbourhood know who’s living in their midst.6 Like MarchaRearme, these interventions de-ritualise memory by mobilising outside of the official geography of memory. As Hite and Collins argue, “the

6 The FUNA takes inspiration from the escraches in Argentina; protests outside the homes of known perpetrators, often organised by HIJOS (Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence).
FUNA has an essentially confrontational, mobile, resolutely anti-institutional character”. Its aim is not to attain the recognition of the state, but to confront an indifferent public—those individuals who would never pause to enter an official site of memory (Hite and Collins 2009, pp.391–392). Significantly, FUNA participants do not dwell on the absence of the dead, or failure of the Popular Unity, but describe their actions as part of a continuous struggle against the state and corporate interests. If the General Cemetery in Santiago is associated with absence and irreversible rupture, the street is conceived as a space of encounter where ties of continuity with the radical past might be established or strengthened.

Many of the new texts and practices that have emerged in recent years were created by individuals with no lived experience of military rule. Since 2006, this generation, sometimes optimistically labelled “the generation without fear” (Shafir 2015; Frei 2017), has been at the forefront of successive waves of social unrest, on a scale unseen since the 1980s. The Penguin Revolution in 2006, involving the occupation of secondary schools across the country, marked the start of this movement. Since then, citizens, young and old, have mobilised against the privatised education and pension systems (Grugel and Singh 2015), demanded an end to environmental degradation and the repression of the Mapuche community (Carruthers and Rodriguez 2009); and more recently feminist university occupations have challenged the patriarchal structures of power within educational institutions (Dessì 2018). Again discourses of radical heritage and inheritance featured prominently in the struggles, as well as the re-use of signs, slogans and protest tactics that were employed in resistance to the regime. Notably, “No +” (No more), a statement used by the left in the lead up to the 1988 plebiscite, has resurfaced in the repertoire of signage of contemporary social movements; its emphasis on continuity contrasting markedly with statement “never again”, which is typically used by the human rights community, and implies that state violence has come to an end.

These social movements and memorial interventions exhibit the enduring political power of remembering resistance. They also raise a number of complex theoretical issues around the possibility of recuperating movements of resistance and social transformation. For example, do claims of continuity and co-presence conflate the

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7 To what extent the youth generation is “without fear” is a complex issue that is addressed directly in Chapter 5, in which I analyse three documentaries about social movements in the late transition.
Aspirations of the past and the present, or obscure more radical forms of political action? Critics might suggest that the reforms demanded by the student movement pale in comparison to the revolutionary politics of the 1970s, and thus we should resist drawing lines of continuity between the past and present. If so, how might one write or act “in the spirit of” of the dead, without denying their loss, or assimilating them into the hegemonic political aspirations of the present? Bearing these issues in mind, the following chapters are not focussed exclusively on the ways in which the transitional state and neoliberal rationality is troubled by practices of memory. Rather my work also focuses on how the present past unsettles the identities and imagined futures of “the left,” in Chile and beyond.

Conclusion

As a contextual overview, this chapter has moved beyond conventional historical or mnemohistorical accounts of the Chilean transition by focussing on the foundational elements of time and space. This has involved the difficult task of tracing material changes to the discursive and physical landscape of transitional Chile, while simultaneously emphasising that time is not exclusively linear and chronological, but composed of multiple interrelated, conflicting and competing temporalities. By focussing on the construction of time and space in government rhetoric, shopping malls, truth commissions, sites of memory, and commemorative practices, I have attempted to give form to the landscape in which Chilean filmmakers have operated. From here, we might gain a more nuanced and contextually grounded understanding of what it means for time to become “out of joint.”

During the dictatorship, military practices of disappearance and torture sought to eliminate dissent and definitively destroy the socialist project of the Popular Unity. Practices of repression were accompanied by three temporal discourses: rupture, emphasising a clean break from the recent past; national heritage, establishing a line of continuity between the military government and the founding fathers of the Chilean

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8 The term mnemohistory refers to the writing of histories of cultural memory, observing shifting and contested ways in which historical events are perceived and represented (Tamm 2015).
nation; and modernisation, which aligned national progress with technological innovation, market deregulation, and economic growth. These discourses not only sought to achieve consent for military rule and its economic policies, but laid out the discursive infrastructure for the consolidation of neoliberalism following the return to democracy.

The early transition was characterised by social amnesia and de-mobilisation. Human rights violations committed by the Chilean military over two decades of totalitarian rule were obscured by amnesty laws, and social inequality was masked by the economic miracle narrative offered by Chile’s neoliberal elite. In Nelly Richard’s words, “early transitional politics eliminated historical memory from the socio-political consensus [...] nothing would be allowed to spoil the official celebrations of the bearable” (Richard 2004a, p.17). The dominant temporal imaginary of the transition was oriented around a movement from darkness to light, less to more, and fear to joy, with liberal democracy and free market economics naturalised as the inevitable endpoint of the process. Within this imaginary, the new democracy represented a fundamental departure from the dictatorship, and the “chaos” that preceded it, thereby depicting the Popular Unity and anti-dictatorship social movements as obsolete.

The ongoing period I am tentatively calling “the late transition,” has involved a move away from institutional amnesia and the emergence of a thriving culture (or market?) of memorialisation. Once a taboo, the figure of Allende has been recuperated by the state as part of the “legitimate” democratic heritage of the Chilean nation. Sites and museums that recuperate and transmit memories of past violence increasingly feature in the cityscape of Santiago, and the mainstream media often cover human rights cases connected to Pinochet, especially leading up to the anniversary of the coup. Far from signalling the end of the struggle against Pinochet, institutional interventions in cultural memory can be read as a containment and pacification of signs, memories or traces that might disrupt the progression of the neoliberal state. The transmission of cultural memories of dictatorship violence is now represented as integral to national progress, as opposed to a barrier to it. Of course, the reach of these hegemonic spatial, temporal, and mnemonic formations is not all encompassing. Accompanying uncritical pluralism, melancholic nostalgia and reified heritage, throughout the transition, cultural producers, social movements, and memory workers have consistently sought to create emancipatory fissures that challenge and shape dominant forms of remembrance. My analysis chapters
focus predominantly on films produced within this “oppositional culture”, exploring the way they reproduce, challenge and depart from the hegemonic spatial and temporal imaginaries of the transition. First, however, I elaborate the concept of haunting as a theoretical lens through which the films, and the transition more broadly, can be analysed. This lens does not focus on the recuperation of memories about the past, but considers the ways in which the past persists, returns or re-emerges, troubling the perceived coherence of the present, and opening up latent possibilities within it.
Chapter 2. Reckoning with Ghosts: The Times and Spaces of Haunting

Two decades of pervasive state violence in Chile created a multitude of subjects that could be labelled “spectral”. Los desaparecidos, returning exiles, torture victims, and family members of the disappeared have all been described as ghostly or haunted in that they represent, or bear witness to, an unresolved past in the present day. What exactly it means to be haunted, however, is routinely undertheorised. The term haunting is sometimes used by scholars in transitional justice and trauma studies to describe a “negative” psychic state that should be worked through or exorcised, but in these cases it often serves as a synonym for collective trauma, or emotions such as fear or rage. Such use of the term can perpetuate the linear, teleological accounts of healing and closure that I critiqued in the previous chapter. Furthermore, to label a living subject spectral risks tethering them to an ever-receding event and marginalising them from the contemporary public sphere. This chapter challenges and departs from dominant articulations of haunting, reconceiving it as a theoretical lens that illuminates the disruptive persistence of past and enduring injustice in the present—sometimes oppressive, sometimes transformative. This lens, informed by the work of Avery Gordon, Jacques Derrida, Gastón Gordillo and Karen Till, among others, offers ways of reading film that are sensitive to issues of temporality, spatiality, and affect. It also helps me to address the questions and issues that emerged in the previous chapter. How can memory remain unsettling once it is recuperated (Yoneyama 1999, p.5)? How can state repression in the past be addressed, and narrativised, without obscuring the endurance of injustice in contemporary society? Are there aspects of the present past that exceed the concepts of personal and cultural memory, and if so, where and when can they be encountered?

In the previous chapter I began to outline haunting as one of the effects of violent state repression; a socio-psychological condition generated by the military practices of disappearance and torture which terrified and immobilised large sectors of the Chilean population. Practices of disappearance and torture created a culture of fear that broke up collective subjectivities, changed how public space was perceived and inhabited, and transformed the meaning of everyday objects and language. Significantly, I also suggested that the non-linear temporality of haunting existed in tension with the hegemonic accounts of national identity and thus offered a platform for resistance. This chapter builds from these arguments by developing three interconnected elements of the term
haunting. It is first analysed as a structure of feeling and a mode of historical consciousness that is distinct from trauma or cultural memory. Drawing on the work of Avery Gordon, Jacques Derrida, and Wendy Brown, this perspective offers insights into the affective and temporal afterlife of loss, injustice, and resistance, enabling a reformulation of the concepts of justice, inheritance, responsibility and complicity. Next, I turn to the imaginative geographies of violence and transformative struggle; nationally significant locations at which memory of repression is constructed, contested, and reified, and where ghosts are perhaps most forcefully encountered. Finally, I reflect on film and literary theory that considers haunting to be a particular means of representing the past; a spectral gaze or aesthetic that recognises the liminal persistence of violent and transformative histories, and in doing so, undermines the temporal coherence of the present. Throughout this chapter, I will reflect on the ways in which these elements of the term can be brought together, with the ultimate aim of developing an approach to textual analysis.

**Other Times, Other Transitions**

The academic field of transitional justice is primarily concerned with the development of normative frameworks within law and political science to ensure orderly transitions from authoritarian rule to democracy (Kritz 1995; Crocker 1999; Arthur 2009; Patel et al. 2009). Drawing on apparatuses such as truth commissions, financial reparations, and judicial process, the practice of transitional justice by institutional or state actors is generally concerned with establishing a set of “truths” about a past conflict, and reinforcing democratic institutions, without threatening the “fragile consensus” of post conflict societies. From a more critical perspective, it is a practice of regime change; a series of top-down mechanisms for securing order and re-establishing hegemony. In the words of the political scientist, Jon Elster, “[t]ransitional justice is made up of the processes of trials, purges, and reparations that take place after the transition from one political regime to another” (2004, p.1). Significantly, it is widely acknowledged that the field shifts away from socio-economic concerns, to a focus on criminal justice and the strengthening of political institutions (Arthur 2009; Stockwell 2014). Another notable absence in this work is a sustained engagement with questions of pain, emotion,
imagination, and affect; in other words, those realms in which ghosts thrive and normative frameworks wither.

Despite the absence of affect and emotion, haunting as a linguistic trope is prevalent in normative frameworks, often mobilised to emphasise the need to “exorcise” the national psyche of malignant memories and vendettas (Hamber 2009, p.79). The haunting past is routinely conceived as an oppressive weight that must be diluted (Brito et al. 2001, p.91) or overcome, so as to achieve peaceful reconciliation and learn “positive lessons” (Kritz 1995, p.xi). Far from advocating blanket amnesia, exorcism is said to accompany the revelation of a hidden truth. In Berber Bevernage’s words, “[i]t is common to hear that “truth telling” is in itself productive, a significant factor in the securing of social peace and in the restoration of civic trust in wounded nations” (2010, p.111). State-led truth commissions have been widely utilised in postdictatorship Latin America as a strategy for reckoning with the crimes of military rule; an apparatus through which past violence might be acknowledged by the state, without deepening societal divisions and provoking authoritarian reprisal. The discourses of human rights and reparative justice are often drawn upon, however, in the Latin American context, they are rarely bound to judicial process. Indeed, as I argued in the previous chapter, commissions are more concerned with the process of nation building, than with bringing an end to impunity, and challenging the underlying structures which enabled repression in the initial instance.

Reflecting on the institutional implementation of transitional justice, Bevernage argues that truth commissions consistently draw on a “modern historical” conception of time in order to legitimate incumbent regimes (2010, p.121). Broadly speaking, “modern time” refers to the convergence of substantive and chronological conceptions of time in which history is understood as a linear sequence of events that recede ever further from a unified present. He goes on to argue that modern time is also tied to a focus on progress, in which the past must be superseded and overcome in order to open up the future (Bevernage 2010, p.114). According to Bevernage, in truth commissions this conception of time is articulated through “modern historical discourse”, which utilises strict periodisation and a focus on irreversibility in order to establish temporal distance between the present and periods of past violence (2013, p.85). While commissions have been developed in response to “haunting pasts,” the discourse of progress functions precisely to refute the past's continued presence. This process of exorcism does not
eliminate memories of victims, but allocates them a secure position in the nation’s history, thus denying the persistence of enduring injustices. Modern historical discourse is not specific to “post-conflict” societies, or transitions from authoritarian rule. It is both ubiquitous and hegemonic, and therefore serves as a powerful tool in the preservation and reproduction of common sense notions about the social order. Crucially, however, Bevernage argues that its use is most pronounced when hegemony of modern time is threatened; when the idea of progress starts to lose its plausibility, and when the pastness of historical events is thrown into question (Bevernage 2010, p.116). As I noted in the previous chapter, one of the key strategies for responding to this threat is to present victim testimonies in such a way that reinforces their alterity from the liberal present, turning survivors into liminal figures who are not fully contemporaneous with the rest of the nation.

Analysing the ways in which survivors of state terror are discursively constructed in post-conflict contexts, Anne Cubilié describes spectrality as a form of voicelessness in which victims of torture and sexual violence are discursively constructed as abject figures in the cultural imaginary. The figure of the ghost here is not a transformative trace, but a depoliticised subject position that limits the participation of victims of repression in the public sphere. In Cubilié’s words:

> Configured as the uncanny, visible only from the corner of one’s eye or when one is not looking, and vested with a power and wisdom that have literally been brought back from the realm of the dead, they are valorised, memorialized and heroized, but we cannot—and will not—hear them. Such positioning strips survivors (once again) of their humanity, removing them from the quotidian realm of “us.” (2005, p.xii)

Following Cubilié, torture does not necessarily defy representation, rather hegemonic narratives of victimhood routinely deny the agency and complex subjectivities of victims. As an example, in Chile, victims of torture were only officially recognised by state in 2004, with the publishing to the Valech Report, and even then, the full testimonies of victims remained hidden from public view, or converted into quantitative breakdowns of abuse (Macias 2013). Pushed to the periphery of the public sphere, haunted by scenes of subjection that leave no physical scars, survivors were rendered abject both in the moment of detention and the process of revelation. When tropes of haunting applied are spatially bounded communities such as the poblaciones, this process of abjection is especially pronounced, resulting in a spatialisation of time in which whole communities are represented out of sync, or non-contemporaneous with the wider population.
Cubilié’s critique of spectrality is distinct from the theoretical lens I outline below, but it does have broad implications for my approach. It is an important reminder that haunting, as a trope or conceptual framework, can perpetuate the repression of survivors voices in the public sphere, especially when those voices are gendered, classed and racialised. It could even be argued that biopolitical analyses that describe the production of bare life, or social death, through practices of violent repression, are also complicit in the marginalisation of survivor discourse. With these issues in mind, my conceptualisation of haunting will be forged in a critical dialogue with the texts I analyse. That is, I am interested in the alternative temporal imaginaries that are offered in film, but will remain sensitive to which perspectives are privileged within them, and which imagined audience is addressed.

Truth commissions are by no means the only apparatus through which groups and nations can interrogate violent pasts, nor does the hegemony of modern historical time prevent the recognition of more complex temporalities. But what are these “other” times, and how may they be studied and articulated? Many have pointed to the belated experience of trauma as an alternative lens, arguing that the concept has fundamentally altered how we make sense of present pasts (Caruth 1995; Laub and Podell 1995; LaCapra 2001; Schwab 2010; Broderick and Traverso 2013). According to Aleida Assmann the experience and analysis of trauma undermines the modern belief in progress and irreversibility. She writes that:

> trauma connected with an ethical framework has challenged the modern notion of irreversible time by reintroducing cases of reversible time [...] When it comes to trauma, there is no divide between the realm of experience and the horizon of expectation; on the contrary, past, present and future are fused in various ways. (2013 p.42).

In trauma studies, the mnemonic re-emergence, or re-living of past violence is not conceptualised as merely figurative language, but an irrepressible interruption of the past in the present which denies the inevitability of amnesia or progressive healing. This interruption is not a coherent memory of an event, but a meaningful gap, apparent both in lived experience and cultural texts. As Cathy Caruth writes, “trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual’s past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature—the way it was precisely not known in the first instance—returns to haunt the survivor later on” (1996, p.4). Caruth’s work within literary trauma studies posits that this gap that can be witnessed and acknowledged, if never fully
understood, through new practices of reading and listening. Her aim is not to merely trace the preferred meaning of a text, but to identify those gaps, absences and figures within narrative when an unacknowledged trauma re-emerges.

Focussing on the ethical and political dimensions of trauma studies, Dominick LaCapra argues that trauma itself is unpresentable, but it nonetheless demands representation (2001, p.42). Reflecting on the ethics of writing about the Holocaust, he puts forward the concept of empathic unsettlement, which bears a resemblance to many of the theorisations of haunting examined below. Empathic unsettlement is premised on challenging the simplistic categorisation of victim, witness, reader, perpetrator, and bystander, opening up a critical reflection on the ways in which readers and writers of history are implicated in past injustice. Discussing the writing of traumatic histories, LaCapra argues that historical understanding should “not be seen in a narrow cognitive way that involves only the processing of information” (LaCapra 2001, p.41). He proposes instead an affective mode of writing, which is responsive to the disruptive nature of trauma in victims and perpetrators—the holes it leaves in memory, the disarticulation of identity. For LaCapra, historians should resist promoting the complete identification that often accompanies conventional narratives and acknowledge the unbridgeable distance between victim and reader/witness. Empathy, as opposed to sympathy or objective distance, is “a counterforce to victimization, important both in historical understanding and the ethics of everyday life” (2001 p.219). This approach to history should not encourage a sense of absolute comprehension, but invoke a muted re-traumatization in the reader, flatly rejecting the possibility of comforting narrative closures (2001, p.41). To experience empathic unsettlement is to distinguish between transhistorical absence (a shared human condition) and a specific loss or wound, which the outsider cannot appropriate or fully understand. As Katherine Hite writes, empathic unsettlement is:

>a dynamic between the narrator and the listener, or the viewed and the viewer, that jars, that unsettles, in a productive way, that seeks comprehension and must acknowledge comprehension’s impossibility while being haunted by that incomprehension. (Hite 2014, p.39)

Unlike more hegemonic understandings of trauma, in LaCapra’s work, traces and memories of past violence are not wounds that should be healed in order to restore a community, or national simultaneity, rather they are markers around which new ethical relations, and solidarities, might be forged in the present. Here, a more emancipatory
conception of the present past begins to emerge, but one which still remains oriented around an originary act of violence.

The concept of haunting is often conflated with trauma, or subsumed within its vocabulary. In the quote above, Hite talks of being “haunted” by incomprehension, figuring ghosts as an affective and unbridgeable gap in knowledge. In Unclaimed Experience, Cathy Caruth claims that the “not known ... returns to haunt the survivor” highlighting the struggle of individuals to situate their experience within wider historical narratives (Caruth 1996, p.4). Certainly trauma studies provides valuable insights into the legacies of repression and violence, and the lived experience of trauma is inextricably bound to haunting as a structure of feeling. Nonetheless, as theoretical frameworks, there are critical differences between trauma and haunting. Broadly speaking, spectral theory diverges from trauma theory’s historical perspective by shifting focus away from the initial act of violence and looks instead at how loss, injustice and absence persist and transform through time. Unlike the repetitive acting out and working through of an originating traumatic event, haunting points the afterlife of violence as a material presence in contemporary life. The promotion of empathic relations in “post-conflict” societies is arguably important to processes of reconciliation, however, these affective bridges can only be built by dismantling the assumption that violence has come to an end.

Avery Gordon delineates between the two terms by arguing that haunting is a structure of feeling that entails a “something-to-be-done” (Gordon 2008, p.139). As opposed to trauma, which implies the uncontrolled re-emergence of an originary violent event as an unarticulated absence, Gordon’s conceptualisation deals more pressingly with social justice and accountability in the present, reading the haunting past as a realm of latent possibilities. Ghosts, for Gordon, are social signifiers of loss, absence and injustice that are a constitutive element of the present, appearing in everything from family photographs to literary texts. These traces are not necessarily constricting, rather they can point to fissures and juxtapositions in the smooth continuity of the present. In her words,

The ghost is not other or alterity as such, ever. It is [...] pregnant with unfulfilled possibility, with the something to be done that the wavering present is demanding. This something-to-be-done is not a return to the past but a reckoning with its repression in the present, a reckoning with that which we have lost, but never had. (2008 p.183)
In contrast to LaCapra, who insists that trauma stems from a specific historical loss, and should not be conflated with absence, the statement above focuses directly on the convergence of loss and absence, on “that which we have lost, but never had”. From this perspective, acts of historical violence are not the root of injustice, but a visible marker of a more pervasive process of ongoing oppression. Ghosts are those fugitive markers that point to unfinished or truncated social hopes, dreams and desires; unsettling precisely because they refuse to be assimilated into the hegemonic logic of the present.

By “structure of feeling” Gordon refers to an affective orientation towards the present past that transcends individual experience, but is less rigid than concepts such as ideology or “world view.” According to Raymond Williams, who first coined the term, thought and feeling should not be regarded as separate categories of analysis, rather feelings shape how we speak, act, and formulate ideas. “We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone”, he writes, “specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought” (1977, p.132). For Williams, this concept works against a tendency in the humanities to describe and analyse society in the “habitual past tense”. In his words, “the strongest barrier to the recognition of human cultural activity is the immediate and regular conversion of experience into finished products” (1977, p.128). He argues that the analysis of art and literature should not reify texts as articulations of a fully formed world view, rather, “active readings” should open them up as polysemic markers of emergent and often ambivalent ways of thinking and feeling.

For Gordon, the term helps one unravel the emergent character of haunting. It does not refer to an emotional attachment to objects and figures that are irreversibly of the past, but points to the creation of more socially just futures through and in relation to the past violence and repressed struggles. In her words, “[t]he emergent quality of a haunting does not, as we have seen, just set limits; it simultaneously relates to a solution” (2008, p.201). Haunting, therefore, is not merely precipitated by violence and injustice, but emerges in response to it. Crucially, haunting as a structure of feeling is not produced by cultural texts such as films; rather they are symptoms of and responses to it. Ghosts might depend on texts to become apparitional, but they always precede and exceed them. From a methodological perspective it is important to note that a structure of feeling is subject to change—“its elements are at once interlocking and in tension” (Williams 1977, p.132).
The demands of spectres shift according to historical circumstances, and constantly require new forms of representation. It is therefore not enough for me to identify and advocate a spectral aesthetic that might be transposed to different times and contexts. Rather, I must read texts as symptoms of and interventions in a specific historical moment.

Gordon considers justice to be the primary concern when reckoning with revenants, however, she proposes a form of justice that subverts assumptions about truth, guilt, and the presence of an interlocutor standing in front of a judge. For Gordon, justice cannot be achieved in societies where half the population remains silent, nor when the structures maintaining oppression and inequality are intact. While acknowledging that truth commissions and judicial inquires can play a role in accumulating information about state terror, she argues that state-led initiatives rarely address the affective dimension of haunting and trauma, the “sensuous knowledge” through which social transformation might ultimately be achieved. Gordon’s central project is to introduce emotion and imagination into issues of social inequality and domination. As she states, “we know more than ever about the subtleties of domination [...] yet our country’s major institutions recognise narrower and narrower evidence for the harms and indignities that citizens and residents experience” (2008, p.206). Focussing in part on postdictatorship Argentina, her book *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* is devoted to finding a language or approach which exposes the incapacitating “conjuring power of the state” (2008, p.196); a language that provokes an encounter with the “painful, difficult and unsettling”, with the aim of abolishing the unjust order of things in the present (2008, p.23).

Gordon’s writing style and method of textual analysis is deliberately slippery, evoking the disorienting nature of haunting itself. She turns to literary fiction for inspiration precisely because the practice of disappearance is an assault on the imagination. In her words, “[a]bsent, neglected, ghostly: it is essential to imagine their life worlds because you have no other choice but to make things up in the interstices of the factual and the fabulous” (2008, p.194). This does not imply speaking on behalf of the ghost, but asking how we are related to it, and what forms of just action might appease it. In Luisa Valenzuela’s novella *Como en la Guerra* (“He Who Searches” 1977), she identifies a ghost story that unravels the unseen memories and emotional histories that shape social relations and inhibit
emancipatory futures. The protagonist is a middle class Argentinian psychoanalyst who feels little compassion for victims of the Argentine dictatorship, but in his encounters with a female torture victim he is shaken out of indifference. The mysterious woman disappears suddenly, early on in the narrative, sparking a convoluted journey in time and space that evokes the desperate search of families of the disappeared. This haunted tale, part testimony, part witnessing, is not part of the healing process for victims, rather it sparks a process of reflection in which deep-seated divides in Argentinian society are made apparent. Gordon’s approach treats the story as a point of departure through which to comprehend the complex psychic and temporal dimensions of postdictatorship societies, focussing on everything from the affective quality of historical photographs, to the depoliticising tendencies of psychoanalysis. For her, it is not enough simply to advocate a novel and the subjugated knowledge that lies within, rather, spectral traces serve as barely visible markers of ongoing subjection. The truth of injustice is not lying dormant ready to be unveiled, rather it demands imaginative interventions that actively resist comforting conclusions and seek out more just social relations in the present.

In terms of method, Gordon offers at least two different approaches to textual analysis. First, she is drawn to and advocates texts that encompass tropes of haunting, or a spectral aesthetic. Composed of multiple different perspectives and writing styles, and structured around a largely absent protagonist, the formal qualities of the novel *He Who Searches* are an attempt to narrate the experience of haunting. By engaging with the novel, the reader vicariously experiences the disorienting and incapacitating effects of disappearance, while reflecting critically on how the reader is implicated in the conditions that made state terror possible. Second, the novels are read as haunted artefacts. Haunted by that which they exclude, and by the real lives that precede and exceed the literary fiction. *He Who Searches* is not a piece of historiography, but the journey of the central protagonist who forges connections between different places and histories that conventional historical accounts of the Argentine dictatorship might omit. Gordon further excavates and maps out these histories, tracing the links between Argentine psychoanalysis, patriarchal militarism, and middle class complicity—conditions that both made the dictatorship possible, and prevent it from being meaningfully reckoned with. Ultimately, Gordon seeks to elaborate a materialist historiography sensitive to the sensuous knowledge of the ghostly realm. “Sensuous knowledge is a different kind of materialism,” she writes, “neither idealistic nor alienated,
but an active practice or passion for the lived reality of ghostly magical invented matters” (2008, p.204). One of the most powerful elements of Gordon’s approach is that it enables a blurring of the distinction between the haunting and the haunted, between repressive violence and utopian aspiration. From ghostly matter she derives tools by which the present might be critiqued, while pointing to moments, real and imagined, when the world could have been otherwise.

Through Gordon’s conceptualisation of haunting, a more transformative understanding of the present past emerges. In contrast to trauma theory or transitional justice, which focus on the repercussions of an originary act of violence, Gordon focuses on texts and traces that problematise strict delineations between past and present, in order to restore futurity to that which is being repressed. As such, the ghost—the seething presence of absence—need not be exorcised or worked through, but should be engaged in dialogue, so as to reactivate hopes, or projects that have been deemed lost or obsolete. Crucially, spectral theory takes seriously the imaginative and affective legacies of state violence and terror as a material presence in struggles for social justice in the present—sometimes repressive, sometimes transformative. Gordon’s work is a meditation on relationality and inheritance. It invites reflection on the complex relationship between different generations, and social movements, whose visions of the future might be radically different, but who nonetheless share a utopian impulse; what Jacques Derrida calls “a certain experience of emancipatory promise” (Derrida 1994, p.74).

How one might invoke the emancipatory promise of the past, without obliterating the singularity of past events, movements or thinkers, is another key problematic within my research, and Jacques Derrida’s concept of hauntology offers a compelling response to it. For Derrida, inheritance demands a paradoxical process of spectral preservation; an insistence on the alterity of the past in order to retain its unsettling vitality:

One should not rush to make of the clandestine immigrant an illegal alien or, what always risks coming down to the same thing, to domesticate him. To neutralize him through naturalization. To assimilate him so as to stop frightening oneself (making oneself fear) with him.

In this account, ghosts are deconstructive figures. They disrupt settled identities and chronologies, they haunt one’s claims and conclusions, but crucially, they also make apparitional the violence and contingency of the status quo. Derrida’s *Spectres of Marx* is explicitly framed against rhetoric about the “end of history,” as proclaimed by Francis
Fukuyama (1992). He argues that, even as Marxism is proclaimed dead, or obsolete, “a certain spirit of Marxism” persists, and is radicalised through the practice of deconstruction (1994, p.115).

In seeking to vivify Marxism, he insists on its heterogeneity, critiquing its teleological tendencies, but remaining committed to a “messianic eschatology” in which possibility of a world beyond the nation and the state remains open. “There is no inheritance without a call to responsibility”, he writes. “An inheritance is always the reaffirmation of a debt, but a critical, selective, and filtering reaffirmation, which is why we distinguished several spirits” (1994, p.114). In this filtering process, the specific temporality and historicity of the ghost is taken into account, but this does not affirm its obsolescence. The figure of the ghost is powerful precisely because it troubles neat distinctions between past and present, presence and absence, life and death, thereby reactivating traces that have been reified by the modern historiographical gaze. One such trace is the concept of the International, which Derrida rearticulates as the new International, an imagined community brought together by “a link of affinity, suffering, and hope” (1994, p.106). This group is:

without status, without title, and without name, barely public even if it is not clandestine, without contract, "out of joint," without coordination, without party, without country, without national community (International before, across, and beyond any national determination), without co-citizenship, without common belonging to a class. (1994, pp.106–107)

This indeterminate vision of subaltern solidarity and resistance is distinct from the defined class consciousness of more orthodox Marxisms. Nonetheless, Derrida remains committed to a project in which concepts from “another time” can disrupt the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism, and in doing so, interrogate the contingency conditions that make certain political futures thinkable, or speakable.

Drawing on Derrida’s reflections, in Politics out of History Wendy Brown argues that in order to restore vitality to historical “events, utterances, or gestures” we must actively subvert and suspend their assumed meaning. In her words:

The phenomenon remains alive, refusing to recede into the past, precisely to the extent that its meaning is open and ambiguous, to the extent that it remains interpreted and contested by the present, and to the extent that it disturbs settled meanings in the present. (Brown 2001, p.152)
For Brown, this demands a new form of historiography in which justice is not forged out of metaphysical reason, but from a constant engagement with the spectres of the past and future. It calls for the creation of an intellectual environment in which the contestation of history becomes “an overt feature of political life as it encourages us to struggle for and against particular conjurations of the past” (Brown 2001, p.155). For Brown, inheritance is not about determining “what really happened” to the dead, but what lives on from that happening” (2001, p.150). This might involve taking things out of context, seeing them not only for what they were, but what they can be. It is about keeping in mind, or “learning to live with the dead” (Derrida 1994, p.xvi) as a multiplicity of unfinished projects and unanswered questions, which the cultural imaginary of late capitalism hastens to smooth over.

Derrida’s hauntology is not without its detractors. Some have argued that by undermining the ontological and epistemological foundations of Marxism, the emancipatory promise it holds is hollowed out. For Terry Eagleton, deconstruction’s preoccupation with alterity and indeterminacy ultimately prevents it from offering a viable political alternative. From his perspective, to “reduce” Marx to a spirit, and insist on the unimaginable quality of emancipation, is to deny the enduring importance of doctrines, apparatuses, and organisation in the formation of a socialist society (Eagleton 1999). Taking a less dismissive, but nonetheless critical tone, Avery Gordon also problematises Derrida’s emphasis on otherness. Contesting the epistemological focus of hauntology, she argues that recognition of the limits of knowledge and transmissibility are important elements of a just praxis, however, this is not enough. Haunting, she argues, “is not about invisibility or unknowability per se, it refers us to what’s living and breathing in the place hidden from view: people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas” (Gordon 2011, p.3). Unlike hauntology, this definition points to a rich oppositional imaginary that is already embedded in practices of memory and mourning, and need not be salvaged from the ruins of a lost future.

While I share the concerns cited above, I am reluctant to dismiss haunting as either a trope, or a theoretical framework. Derrida’s work might risk producing a new metaphysics of indeterminacy, but it has also offered a prism through which to challenge the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism in a specific historical conjuncture. The cultural theorist Mark Fisher argues that hauntology’s focus on unsettling linear progressive time
is a necessary response to the spread of “capitalist realism”; the pervasive belief that there is no alternative to capitalism. Academic inquiries into the spectral might therefore be read as situated responses to a particular temporal imaginary. This is of particular significance for Chile, where the start of the transition coincided with Fukuyama’s claim that history had come to an end. While there are marked differences in the work of Bevernage, Brown, Derrida, and Gordon, they all share a belief that the haunting past can be a socially transformative presence. Moving away from prevalent conceptions of cultural memory, which place an emphasis on the subject that remembers, they conceptualise ghosts as traces with agency that can never be fully reduced or assimilated into the logics of the past or present. Gordon writes that “[t]he ghost has an agency on the people it is haunting and we can call that agency desire, motivation, or standpoint (2008, p.179). In dialogue with these desires, motivations and standpoints, scholars of spectrality insist on asking untimely questions, and in doing so, interrogate the contingent conditions that make certain questions askable.

Places, Spaces and Landscapes of Haunting

When the legacies of violent repression are embedded in everyday life, but obscured or distorted by societal amnesia, where might persistent traces of fear, pain, and loss be most forcefully encountered? For a body of scholars in cultural geography and memory studies, places of past violence and resistance are of particular interest. They provide material evidence of repression, and their presence within landscapes can offer a feeling of proximity with the dead, or disappeared (Edensor 2005; Pile 2005; Till 2005; Purbrick and Dawson 2007; Maddern 2008). As the human geographer Steve Pile argues, “[g]hosts are closely associated with places. They rarely stray far from places associated with death, with the site of loss, trauma and injustice” (2005, p.131). Derrida speaks of learning to live with the dead, however, he is referring to an abstract relation with intellectual traditions of thought. Countering this, a focus on place can provide access to the situated, everyday, embodied and affective dimensions of haunting, giving detail to how it feels to live with the dead, or be subjected to their gaze.10

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10 The relationship between the concepts of space, place, site, and landscape is too complex a debate to fully engage with here. Following the approach of cultural geography, I understand places as both material and imagined locations that are constantly subject to reinterpretation and reformulation. In Tim Creswell’s
The affective and evidential power of sites of past violence is often said to be grounded in their materiality. As Purbrick et al. argue, “sites of conflict become potent representations because of their materiality and archaeology. They contain traces of the dead and indicate patterns of violence” (Purbrick and Dawson 2007, pp.1–2). Military torture centres in Santiago such as Villa Grimaldi and José Domingo Cañas bore tangible markers of military violence, and their destruction by the military prior to the return to democracy aimed to diminish their potential as reference points against oblivion (Aguilar 2005, p.19). The testimonies of ex-political prisoners often speak of flooring patterns or the texture of walls—the only details they could identify while blindfolded. Subsequent “memory work” has traced these material minutiae to known sites of violence, helping to map out clandestine dictatorship activities (Wright 2006, p.12). Frazier and Scarpaci describe the re-inhabitation of torture centres as an important step for victims in their struggle to work through trauma. Though I am sceptical of the aim of closure when referring to the nation as a whole, the authors align working through trauma with an attempt to “reclaim community,” as opposed to a broader process of societal reconciliation. In their words: the opportunity to see the place of detention is an important part of their post-detention therapy. It can heighten details and clarify events that, although mostly negative, may allow them to gain a sense of empowerment over place, a key therapeutic step in overcoming trauma” (1998, p.91).

While most forms of torture leave no lasting marks on the body, material sites can serve as physical proof of fractured memories. Following the perpetual uncertainty of detention, memory and disappearance are given a place, around which new communities of resistance might be built.

A fascination for materiality can also be encountered in spectral theory, however, the aim of establishing definitive accounts of specific violent acts is rarely foregrounded. Looking beyond sites of physical violence, scholars such as Jo Frances Maddern (2008) and Tim Edensor (2005) see the disarray of ruined or abandoned industrial buildings as particularly susceptible to the apparition of ghosts, providing access to pasts that transcend linear historical narratives. For Edensor, to wander through industrial ruins or forgotten buildings is to escape the regulated environment of modern cities, provoking words, “Places are neither totally material nor completely mental; they are combinations of the material and mental and cannot be reduced to either” (1996, p.13). Space refers to a more abstract realm of movement, connections, relations, and possibilities, including socially produced spheres such as the urban, the domestic, the public and private.
chance encounters with unassimilated fragments of history. In his words, “ruins foreground the value of inarticulacy, for disparate fragments, juxtapositions, traces, involuntary memories, uncanny impressions, and peculiar atmospheres cannot be woven into an eloquent narrative” (Edensor 2005, p.846). Reflecting on the partially restored immigration centre on Ellis Island, Jo Frances Maddern makes a useful distinction between conjured and uncanny ghosts. The first refers to the summoning of historical subjects so as to affirm of a wider historical narrative; in the case of Ellis Island, a liberal and inclusive version of U.S. national origins. By contrast, uncanny ghosts are “sublimated traces” that expose the violence intrinsic to American national identity, while pointing to the possibility of radically different worlds, both fearful and utopian (2008, pp.364–365).

Such a tension might be identified in the ruins of Chacabuco, in which this thesis began, where the work of miners and activities of political prisoners are framed by signage within a celebratory narrative of national heritage. Meanwhile, traces left by both groups—graffiti, murals, photographs—point to the oppressive conditions in which both groups lived, as well as worlds and imagined futures that are radically different to the Chile of the present. For Maddern, the ongoing “unearthing of spectral fragments” might be considered an “aesthetic of resistance”, generating a meaningful dialogue about genealogical ancestors, and the repressed futures that they encompass.

Edensor’s and Maddern’s work makes a critical departure from dominant trends in memory and trauma studies. Indeed, the places they are drawn to often resist the label of cultural memory altogether, pointing to traces from the past that refuse to be assimilated into linear sequential historical accounts of place, and in doing so, undermine clear distinctions between the past, present, and future. This perspective is echoed by the anthropologist Gastón Gordillo, who argues that haunting cannot be directly aligned with memory, nor can it be analysed using the same tools. In his words, “haunting is distinct from memory, for it is not reducible to narratives articulated linguistically; it is, rather an affect created by an absence that exerts a hard-to-articulate, non-discursive, yet positive pressure on the body” (2014, p.31). Writing about the spectral presence of the massacred indigenous people of El Chaco region in Argentina, Gordillo argues that the haunting knowledge that the “Indios” are not fully gone—that their ancestors live on in the blood and customs of the criollos—is most forcefully felt in the rubble of abandoned Spanish
forts that scatter the area.11 This rubble does not speak of specific crimes or wrongdoings, but of a violent frontier and ongoing process of disappearance that no longer features on the map (Gordillo 2014). The feeling of haunting is produced by “a particular habitual disposition that is historically constituted” (Gordillo 2014, p.41). The object or person has not yet fully disappeared, nor have the conditions that brought about the disappearance, and therefore the sites retain an affective pull on those who live within and around them. Unlike studies in cultural memory, which tend to focus on the representation of the past at sites of memory, Gordillo is more interested in the lived cultures and socio-economic process in which haunted places are enmeshed—“the social afterlife and politics of rubble” (2014, p.xii). This includes reflection on how people engage with haunted sites and the spectres they invoke. In particular, he explores how they shape the identity of the rural poor who inhabit El Chaco, and interrupt hegemonic perceptions of land as property. Haunting is thus not the return of a narrativised memory about the past, but a structure of feeling and felt absence/presence that undermines definitive distinctions between historical periods.

Ethnographies and cultural representations of ruins, abandoned buildings, and sites of past violence can provide valuable insights into marginalised histories and the affective properties of the present past. However, a specific focus on material sites of past violence can be problematic. According to Saidiya Hartman, a cultural infatuation with scenes and spaces of subjection too often grounds the subjectivity of victims in an originary moment of violence, and in doing so, divests them of agency (1997). Encounters with former instruments of torture and execution might inspire horror and condemnation, but they can also perpetuate a sense of numbing helplessness (Sanbonmatsu 2009, pp.101–102). Examining the memorialisation of former torture and detention centres in Chile, Read and Wyndham argue that memory sites are increasingly infected by a “creeping generality” in which the particularities of place and memory are subsumed under an aesthetic of ruination (2016, p.98). From an architectural perspective, the preservation of ruins where physical violence took place could conceivably generate an aesthetic juxtaposition that emphasises the temporal remoteness of dictatorship crimes and celebrates the peaceful prosperity of the present. Draper describes this phenomenon as “temporal juxtaposition”, a strategy by which potentially volatile traces of the past are

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11 In Gordillo’s work the term criollo refers to a person with a mixed racial background.
contained and pacified through their relation to the surrounding consumer landscape (Draper 2012, p.44). This conjuring reproduces a temporal imaginary in which the past is no longer an object of fear, but an abject curiosity, suspended in an eternal present, from which there is no clear escape.

Studies on sites of memory in postdictatorship Chile tend to focus on clandestine detention centres, and thus foreground experiences of the maximal victims of the regime (Bianchini 2006b; Andermann 2012b; Bishop 2014; Read and Wyndham 2016). Hite and Collins acknowledge that “[i]nviting broader public engagement with the recent past through memorials has proved both elusive and problematic” (2009, p.1). Known centres of torture and detention such as Villa Grimaldi and Cuatro Álamos remain “marginal to the Chilean political imaginary”, acting as a focus for localised activism, but rarely engaging an audience outside of the human rights community (Hite and Collins 2009, p.385). Haunting, as I am attempting to conceptualise it, is concerned with the particularities of place, however, it also demands reflection on the unfolding aftermath of military rule in everyday life. Following Gordon, it cannot be spatially or temporally isolated around an originary event, and thus requires forms of representation that explore the intersection different histories, stories, spaces, and temporalities. Bearing this in mind, in order to sustain a critical and transformative engagement with the present past, we need to look beyond specific sites of violence and consider alternate geographies of power, domination, and social transformation. To what extent can the afterlife of repression be made apparitional in the workplace, or domestic sphere, for example? How can haunting as a shared structure of feeling be mapped out in space? How might dictatorship memories be placed in dialogue with other histories of repression and resistance that precede and exceed Pinochet’s reign, such as the struggle of the Mapuche, or the pobladores? And where can neoliberalism, as a seemingly all-pervasive ideology, be spatially located and challenged? In order to address these questions, I turn to work that analyses representations of haunting that disturb linear time, and place different histories in dialogue.
Reading the City

How to explore and unsettle the psychic life of a city through cultural representation has been widely theorised (Sinclair 2003; McDonough 2004; Pile 2005; Zimmermann 2008; Martin 2015). Drawing on Walter Benjamin’s work on the phantasmagorias of modern life, the cultural geographer Steve Pile analyses ways of seeing and moving through urban environments that enable “a sense of memory, of alternative histories and of the potential for re-signifying the city” (2005, p.8). This might involve the simple act of walking (or “drifting”) through the urban landscapes in a manner which traces historical connections and dwells on sites of temporal dislocation. In psychogeographical writers such as Ian Sinclair, or films such as Patrick Keiller’s London (1994), Pile encounters spectral narratives that seize upon fragments of the past both for what they were and what they might offer (2005, p.182). This does not require the uncritical celebration of utopian aspirations, but recognition that these projects were never fully abandoned. Focussing on Ian Sinclair, Pile argues that the multiple intersecting histories of cities can be read as an emotional fabric. In his words,

In the ghostly city, we can see that many histories occupy the same space - and that these dark histories haunt Sinclair. For others, however, experiences of the city will be different. The point, here, is that there is a dense weave to the emotional fabric of the city, to the warp and weft of the city's histories and geographies. It is not Sinclair's intention to unpick this dense weave, but rather to uncover patterns that lie underneath the visible city (2005, p.8).

The emphasis here is not on isolated sites, nor on the search for an essence of place, but on the act of making connections between different stories, patterns of behaviour, and temporal rhythms. Pile reads Sinclair alongside other tales of ghosts, vampires and magic, as well as social histories, conducting a dream analysis of different cities through the stories that are told about them (2005). This method illustrates the potential of using place, as opposed to individual authors or texts, as a starting point for analysis. Sometimes shared structures of feeling, memories, and ways of seeing only become visible when places are read as archives12, haunted as much by what they exclude as what they contain.

Working in a similar vein, Karen Till and Julian Jonker examine the “spectral geographies” of Cape Town through a practice they call “memorial cartography” (2009, p.308). Inspired

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12 The idea of place as an archive will be explored further in Chapter 6.
by the discovery of a mass grave of slaves from the 17\textsuperscript{th} century lying directly beneath one of the wealthiest districts of the city, Jonker and Till redraw the map of contemporary Cape Town to include landmarks of an often neglected history of colonial repression. This practice-based work collaborating with artists, activists, and historians helps to visualise the displacement and resettlement of the urban poor, unsettling the spatial segregation of the city that was normalised under apartheid. It is argued that despite the collapse of apartheid, the various districts of Cape Town retain distinctly racialized identities; a sense that this is how it has always been, and how it must stay. The mapping process drew attention to the heterogeneous genealogical history of the city’s underclass. It highlights a past in which slaves, Khoikhoi, Europeans, Africans, Muslims, and free blacks inhabited the same spaces, traversed the same streets (albeit in a culture of extreme racism). Jonker and Till hope to offer new understandings of urban space which defy the demarcation of racially defined districts. In their words, “[b]y making unexpected points of connection that highlight the processes that tie together places through time and across space, we hope to encourage new spatial and historical imaginaries of the city, thereby offering ‘counter-topographies’” (Jonker and Till 2009, p.307).

Crucially, this “memory-work” unsettles hegemonic discourses of land as property (Jonker and Till 2009, p.307). The medium of cartography is often associated with colonial histories, and the assertion of dominion over place (Stone 1988; Bassett 1994). Jonker and Till’s appropriation of cartography counteracts efforts to spatialize racial differences, taking possession of spectral traces in order to destabilise notions of territory and land ownership. The earth underneath Prestwich Place, where the mass grave was discovered, was no longer simply the property of those who live above it; rather, through work by activists and historians, it was transformed into hallowed ground, inhabited by spectres whose relatives likely walk the streets of Cape Town today. Haunting, for Till, is therefore imagined as an “an excess of inhabiting; a habitual presence that continues even in its absence, without the limit between presence and absence, or between life and death” (2009, p.323). The emergence of the ghost can happen at any moment, puncturing the fabric of chronological time. It is through one’s response to the ghost that the potential for social change lies. Through memorial cartography the dormant spectre becomes apparitional, making visible the traces and inheritances of violence, without leaving a mark on the streets themselves. To what extent film might be read as a form of memorial cartography is explored later in the chapter.
Displacing the Gaze in Film and Literature

A complex image of haunting’s relationship with place and space is emerging. As a critical scholar, it is not enough to assert that places are haunted by a supernatural presence, nor that activists can simply unveil or emplace traumatic pasts as incontestable truths hidden from view. Till, Jonker, and Pile posit instead that ghostly interventions should physically situate historical injustice so as to unsettle and problematize unjust social relations in the present. To further this, the act of unsettling often opens up the possibility of political alternatives and collective subjectivities that haunt the established social order. This might be described as a spectral gaze or aesthetic, a shift in perspective that challenges assumptions about place as property, freedom as choice and the past as other. I recognise that the idea of a spectral aesthetic is fraught with potential pitfalls. As María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren argue, there has been a tendency of late to describe any invocation of the past as spectral. Popular texts that examine history through an aesthetic of ephemerality or transience are often described as “haunted” without fully engaging with the subtlety of the concept (2013, p.15). I acknowledge this warning, but remain open to the possibilities of formal innovation when reckoning with ghosts, especially when considering the hegemony of modern historical discourse within transitional justice. There is no single exemplary aesthetic for responding to ghosts, but one might still identify situated representational forms through which a hospitable and transformative encounter with ghosts might be provoked.

The geographer John Wylie turns to literary fiction by W.G. Sebald in search of such a shift in perspective. Using Derrida as his principal theoretical reference, Wylie argues that Sebald’s combination of place, perspective, haunting, and wandering conveys an experience of profound temporal and spatial dislocation which goes some way to conveying the experience of haunting. Written in the first person, the novels cited all involve a character setting off on a journey of sorts, in which a “hazy background of unspecified, but often troubling events is evoked” (Wylie 2007, p.176). The past events that haunt Sebald’s protagonists are sometimes indeterminate; fleeting memories that take the form of a feeling. On other occasions they are rich and nuanced accounts of the Holocaust and British colonial rule in India, which are evoked and become entangled by
the main characters’ movements through place. The places visited throughout these journeys are rendered uncanny through the protagonists’ exilic, or displaced positionality. The locations described are both familiar and horrifying; comforting at one moment, only to be corrupted by the interruption of a memory which inspires uncertainty about time, place, and identity (2007, p.180). For Wylie, it is not sufficient to focus on the “fabrics of spectrality”—bodies, ghosts, cemeteries, the locations where violence took place—rather the gaze itself should be spectral, dreamlike, ridden with gaps and contradictions. He argues that Sebald’s work should not be read as “genre-blending” fiction, but as a form of witnessing that testifies to the temporal heterogeneity of place, and thus defies efforts by the powerful to reify its meaning.

Like Wylie, Susana Draper is intrigued by the potential of cultural texts to find violence in outwardly serene environments. However, as opposed to communicating the experience of loss and trauma, the spectral gaze is configured as a political tool by means of which the norms and rationality of neoliberal postdictatorship societies are rendered obscene. As noted in Chapter 1, Draper argues that all too often memory practices in Latin America are founded on binary oppositions such as light and darkness, violence and peace, repression and freedom—discursive juxtapositions that ultimately serve to legitimise transitional governments. Reading Roberto Bolaño’s Nocturno de Chile (1990), and Diamela Eltīt’s Mano de Obra (2002), she argues that film and literature are most disruptive when they actively deconstruct these oppositions. The representation of place is vital to this process, especially when texts inspire uncertainty within malls and shopping centres, the “fortresses of neoliberalism” that provide a “sense of safety and security against injustice and inequality” (2012, p.31). In Mano de Obra, she finds a dialectical image in which the oppressive working conditions of mall employees in contemporary northern Chile is placed alongside a massacre of striking Chilean mineworkers in 1907 (often identified as a moment of awakening for Chilean Socialism). The scene is further complicated when dictatorship memories of detention emerge, shedding light on the modern incarceration of workers who, without fixed contracts, are forced to work ever longer hours, for minimal pay, under conditions of constant surveillance. According to Draper, the past and present are arranged here as a “critical constellation” in which violence and resistance is infused throughout. This does not conflate past and present, but presents “another way to think about history and space
that is neither the advancement of what has been, [...] nor the staging of the writing of
history itself” (Draper 2012, p.122).

The forms of writing described by Wylie and Draper not only unsettle the meanings attributed to particular places and spaces. They are also trouble dominant popular and theoretical conceptions of space. Doreen Massey argues that space is habitually referred to as a sphere of fixity, instantaneity and stasis, while time is described as a realm of dynamism and change. This perspective views space as a “slice” of homogenous time, which perpetuates the idea that history is a linear, progressive, and simultaneous movement (Massey 1992, p.79). Countering this trend, Massey argues for new forms of representation that recognise the temporal heterogeneity of space. As opposed to being a reified realm of fixity and stability, when space is opened up to time, she argues that we might better comprehend the multiplicity of different ongoing stories and histories of which space is composed, and in doing so, disrupt the teleology of modern historical discourse (Massey 1995; Massey 2011). In line with this aim, Wylie and Draper analyse texts that engage with the multiple temporalities of place—the different processes, possibilities and unfolding events in which places and spaces are embedded, but which are rendered invisible by the linear conceptions of time. Adding to this, a spectral conception of space and place is attentive to the absent, abandoned or not-yet-realised possibilities that haunt locations. As well as being a spatial referent at which social relations converge and become visible, scholars such Till, Pile, Bruno, Wylie, and Draper point to the actively repressed histories, political projects and forms of sociality that space contains. They offer relational conceptions of space and place, but focus on relations with the lost, the obsolete and the not-quite-there, which more prevalent approaches to history and geography cannot account for.

Film and Photography

In order to analyse the filmic construction of space, place, and time, and ascertain to what extent spectral traces are mapped out, or emplaced, through filmic representation, it is important to develop a theoretical framework for thinking spectrally about photography and film. This can be approached from multiple angles. One might focus on the indexical qualities of photographic images, exemplified by the work of Roland Barthes (1981),
Laura Mulvey (2006), David Green and Joanna Lowry (2006). One could also focus on particular film genres, such as horror and fantasy, in which ghosts and hauntings are represented explicitly as textual tropes (Lim 2009). However, developing the key themes of this chapter, I take inspiration from scholars of visual culture who foreground the relationship between haunting, temporality, and spatiality.

Searching for an alternative to the ontological focus of Camera Lucida (1981), the photography scholar Ulrich Baer argues that the feeling of haunting can be actively produced through formal composition. Choosing not to focus on the “oversaturated referents of ruin” (Baer 2002, p.66), Baer analyses two contemporary landscape photographs of former Nazi concentration camps in which all traces of the Holocaust have been erased. While the composition and content of the scenes broadly falls in line with the conventions of landscape painting, both images lack a central focal point, the viewer’s gaze resting instead on non-descript patches of grass surrounded by sparse forest. In contrast to Marxist readings of landscape art, which view it as a remnant of the scopic regime of imperialism (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Berger 2008; Mitchell 2009), Baer argues that, through the subversion of landscape conventions, an uncanny sense of absence is generated. In his words, “as if enlivened by a breeze, the silent print is animated by an aura or ‘spirit of place:’ we sense that the grounds are haunted” (2002, p.63).

Spectral inheritance, in Baer’s understanding, involves restoring a sense of place to historical events while simultaneously refusing the historical impulse for documentary representation. As opposed to fetishising scars in the landscape, or the mechanisms of violence, Baer argues that it is only by accepting gaps in knowledge that new, more ethical relations within the present past can arise. In his own words, the images “seek to give to loss a topography by showing us that nothing—not knowledge, empathy, commemoration, indignation, rage, mourning, or shame—can fill these silent spaces” (2002, p.80). Haunting, here, is a technical effect, as opposed to the phenomenological essence. In contrast to the ghosts conjured and exorcised in historical discourse, there is no attempt to fix these sites within a comforting narratives of closure, nor does the sublime beauty of war’s material remnants displace the experience of the human victims. To look is to bear witness to loss in the present, positioning the viewer as an active agent of history, as opposed to a passive receptacle.
Baer provides examples of how images can challenge the documentary impulse and promote a more nuanced politics of empathy, however, the problem of isolating injustice within officially recognised sites of violence is still apparent, as is the assumption that haunting is always associated with incomprehension. As noted previously, I am particularly interested in how film might liberate ghosts from widely known sites of memory in Chile, and intervene in contemporary narratives of nation and place. This requires imaginary interventions into the realms of the home, workplace, or celebrated national moment; places in which the amnesias and temporal rhythms of the neoliberal present are most palpable.

The film scholar John David Rhodes argues that subversive representations of nationally significant locations (such as famous buildings or monuments) can trouble dominant periodisations of history and provoke reflection on the violence upon which national identities are constructed. In his words, “the accretion of history at a given location actually provides the traction necessary for resonant and forceful political intervention” (Rhodes and Gorfinkel 2011, p.xi). For Rhodes, film plays a prominent role in the creation of national geographical imaginaries, and for this reason it is particularly suited to the task of intervening in dominant myths of place and nation. The locations he focuses on are not sites of memory that evoke a particular traumatic moment in national history, but places with ongoing and evolving functions. Looking specifically at the imaginative geography of Rome in following the Second World War, his method focuses on the representation of particular emblematic locations across a range of different texts. In doing so, he makes visible the dominant narratives that frame place, while also acknowledging marginalised or peripheral perspectives that bear witness to the residues of fascism in the new Italy. Here, haunting is partially identified in filmic form and narrative. However, it also manifests through method, by acknowledging the multiple perspectives, narratives, and temporalities of which places are composed. In other words, film analysis has a transformative role, testifying to the impermanence of place, or unearthing the coexistence of multiple histories, or temporalities, at a single location.

The Chilean film scholar Gloria Medina-Sancho (2013) argues actual locations in film can enable a form of “social archaeology” of collective memory. She conducts a close textual analysis of Estadio Nacional (“National Stadium” 2003), a Chilean documentary that collects the testimonies of political prisoners that were interred in the national stadium
during the first days of the dictatorship. According to Medina-Sancho, *Estadio Nacional* critically revisits the national stadium in Santiago as a prominent symbol of Chilean patriotism, exposing it as a site of mass torture and execution (a fact that was rarely acknowledged in mainstream media at the time of release) (Medina-Sancho 2013, p.162). The film guides former political prisoners through the vacant stadium, creating "a palimpsest of images, voices, and melodies" (2013, p.166). Haunting is represented as an emergent structure of feeling because certain memories and feelings only become speakable through an encounter with place. Medina-Sancho’s work also articulates how the conventional expository mode of documentary can still succeed in generating new discussions about enduring injustice and national identity. As opposed to sublime scenes of non-specified ruins or ambiguous landscapes of loss, here it is precisely the fixity of place, and the “positive” memories and values attributed to it, that makes it a powerful discursive device. Following this method, haunting is not something intrinsic to the photographic image, nor is it a feeling provoked by the narrative; rather, *Estadio Nacional*, and Medina-Sancho’s article, are attempts to think critically about film as a spatial practice, and respond to the complex relationship between tales of state violence and myths of nationhood.

While focusing on images of specific places, it is important to remember that film, unlike photography, is a spatio-temporal medium, driven by narrative, and often involving journeys through or between places. As Steven Heath argues in his seminal essay *Narrative Space*, it is in the film’s movement through space that an overarching picturing of place is developed (Heath 1976). Cinematic texts continually combine physically disparate locations framed within a single narrative; they construct borders (both conceptual and territorial), forge routes through urban and rural landscapes, and participate in the construction of national or regional iconography. Films are, in effect, narrative maps. This cartographic quality is one of the reasons I chose to focus on film. It has the potential to map out spectral traces outside of well-known sites of memory, and in doing so, provides alternative perspectives of the postdictatorship landscape.

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13 The theorisation of cinema as a map is by no means new. Film scholars, geographers, and architects have long described the filmic representation of space as cartographic, from the omnipotent perspective achieved in birds-eye-view shots (Castro 2009), to the eradication of spatial complexity in favour of key sites of interest (Hopkins 1994; Gámir Orueta and Manuel Valdés 2009). These theorisations are largely critical, comparing the spectator experience with that of the foreign tourist, at best providing a cocooned encounter with the exotic or dangerous (Corbin 2014).
Attempting to trace the transformative possibilities of cinema’s cartographic impulse, the architecture and film scholar Giuliana Bruno argues that moving images can be read as partial, intersubjective, and affective maps of time and space. In her words, “filmic site-seeing is immersed in the geopsychic act of interfacing affect and place that has driven the architectonics of memory [...] as an art of mapping place” (Bruno 2002, p.356). For Bruno, cartography should not always be conflated with scopic regimes of domination and orientation, nor is it necessarily complicit with the modern abstraction of space, in which all is made legible at the expense of social and psychic complexity. Rather, the journeys mapped out in film can point to a simultaneity of different feelings and temporalities within urban landscapes. Though she does not engage with spectral theory, her description of filmic mapping resonates strongly with it, adding a spatial dimension to the concept “structures of feeling.” She describes the impulse to map as “a force that both impels and is impelled by waves of feeling and states of mind,” suggesting that film both respond to feelings in place and actively conjures them. Methodologically speaking, Bruno criticises conventional national film histories for moving diachronically through time, and treating texts as artefacts that exemplify particular historical periods. Moving against this trend, she argues for a spatial history of film that approaches texts as “spatio-temporal fragments of dwelling”, containing rhythms, ways of seeing, and horizons of expectation that extend into the present, and in doing so, complicate the idea of national simultaneity (Bruno 2002, p.361).

Like the spectral cartographies of Jonker and Till, Bruno sees filmic representation as a mnemonic re-inscription and re-inhabitation of city space, however, her own analysis of film narratives is also a form of mapping. In Streetwalking on a Ruined Map (1993), she follows the “narrative topographies” of Elvira Notari, a prolific but largely forgotten Neapolitan director working in the early 20th century. According to Bruno, by tracing the spatial trajectories and itineraries of Notari’s films, a complex panorama of Naples emerges. Forced to film in the street due to lack of funds, and constantly moving between scenes of everyday poverty and extreme wealth, the films continually transgress dominant discourses of place and nationhood. Far from “fixing” place, here filmic mapping provokes and negotiates feelings of displacement, and in the process, makes room for marginalised and disappearing ways of life. Bruno goes on to trace how Notari’s films are reflected and reproduced in Italian neorealism, reappearing in the form of familiar sites/sights, “social types, values and milieus” (1993, p.184). Pasolini may have
never seen Notari’s films when making The Decameron (1971), yet they materialise spectrally in the form of intertextuality (1993, p.186). By following Notari’s trace, Bruno illustrates how film’s cartographic impulse can disrupt hegemonic ways of seeing, and by following its gaze, more complex, dynamic and haunted understandings of space and time begin to emerge.

In the work cited here, spectrality in film is approached from multiple angles. In Baer’s work, it is feeling produced by formal composition that interpellates the spectator as an implicated witness. For Rhodes and Medina-Sancho, haunting emerges in films that render emblematic locations uncanny. However, it also manifests in the structure of analysis, through the compilations of multiple different representations of place in a single piece of writing. And finally, it can be traced in films that map emotions onto space, responding to “waves of feeling” that exist in-place, if only as a latent presence. Crucially, in all of these examples, haunting is conceived as a way of seeing, as much as an object of analysis, in which film and photography enable scholars to become attentive to the spectral presence of histories that have been deemed over. The final paragraphs will reconcile and synthesise these approaches in order to develop my own method for the analysis of Chilean film.

**Moving Towards a Method**

This chapter has elaborated the concept of haunting as theoretical lens through which to analyse the effects of the present past and cultural attempts to reckon with it. I started by making a distinction between haunting as a repressive inheritance that must be exorcised in order to return to normality, and haunting as a transformative structure of feeling that demands a something-to-be-done (Gordon 2011). Following Avery Gordon, Jacques Derrida, and Wendy Brown, I read ghosts as social signifiers of an enduring loss or injustice, but also as markers of unarticulated possibility, around which an emancipatory oppositional politics might be built. A key contribution of haunting as a distinct theoretical lens is its focus on time as a mutable and contested category. Research in cultural memories of the Chilean dictatorship often focuses on how the remembrance of past events is shaped by the hegemonic and counterhegemonic discourses of the present. Meanwhile, trauma studies tends to focus on the repercussions of an originary act of
violence. By contrast, spectral theory problematises strict delineations between the past and present, so as to expose enduring injustice and restore futurity to truncated social movements and political imaginaries.

By turning to place, I began to examine the affective, embodied, and contextually situated aspects of haunting that are often overlooked in theoretical accounts. I considered how the materiality of sites of violence can provide access to unassimilated traces of the past, and began to think through the complex relationship between haunting and memory. Though I acknowledged the importance of transforming former detention centres into “sites of memory,” I suggested that a focus on emblematic sites of violence can shift attention away from structural and systemic forms of enduring violence, and foregrounds the experiences of maximal victims. In the work of Steve Pile and Karen Till, I found attempts to conjure, or provoke encounters with ghosts outside of “traditional” sites of memory. Their work finds spectral traces in everyday spaces, public and domestic, and in the process of mapping them, new imaginaries of place begin to emerge, making visible the precarious contingency of the current social order and making contact with repressed subjects, groups, and movements that dared to transform it. Focussing on specific literary authors, Susana Draper and John Wylie put forward the concept of a spectral gaze or aesthetic, in which certain literary and cinematic forms make visible, or knowable, the violence that the current social order is built upon, and prompt reflection on ties of responsibility and accountability. Through Sebald and Eltit, they explore how sites that bear no trace of violence can be unsettled by flashbacks; and how nonlinear movement through space and time can draw out unexpected symmetries between different historical periods. Finally, I turned to Giuliana Bruno’s cartographic reading of filmic representation, who treats film discourse a spatial practice in which affects, desires, and temporal rhythms are mapped onto space through filmic discourse, an approach which adds a spatial dimension to Williams’s concept, structure of feeling.

My approach to analysis reconciles a cartographic approach to filmic representation with my specific focus on haunting and temporality. This involves tracing the spatial trajectory of ghosts in film, and the characters that follow them, exploring the alternate maps of violence and resistance that they create. It involves paying attention to actual locations in film space, while exploring the potential of filmic representation to render them uncanny. It demands reflection on the ways spectators are interpellated by spectres and
are forced to see the world through a haunted gaze. Some of the films I analyse are unambiguous ghost stories, featuring figurative spectres that inhabit the narrative space, but more often haunting emerges as a structure of feeling triggered by social encounters, and spectral traces, such as songs and photographs. In the spirit of haunting as “mode of attentiveness,” part of my contribution is to look for ghosts in texts where one might not expect them; expository documentaries, online videos and fiction films from the early transition that have largely been forgotten. By bringing Chilean films into dialogue with theories of haunting, spatiality, and affect, I hope to revive the visions of time, place and politics that they construct, while reflecting upon what parts of the map are left blank.

To be more precise, I utilise two distinct approaches to film analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 consider the spatio-temporal narratives of six films set during the democratic transition that explicitly respond to and reckon with the experience of haunting. I focus on the two phases of the democratic transition separately, allowing me to trace how the temporalities and affective resonance of haunting have shifted over time. This approach also involves paying close attention to the spatiality of filmic representation—the way individual film narratives create maps of space, and in doing so, reimagine when and where haunting can occur. I examine the different formal techniques used to approximate the experience of haunting, and reflect on how films interrogate the differential ways in which groups and individuals are related to injustice, through the incorporation of multiple subject positions. Crucially, this approach allows me to trace the afterlife of repression and resistance outside of the official geographies of dictatorship memory and reflect on subjects that do not fit into the perpetrator/victim dichotomy.

Chapters 3 and 6 utilise place, as opposed to particular texts or authors, as a starting point for analysis. John David Rhodes, Gloria Medina-Sancho, and Giuliana Bruno consider the different discourses, narratives, and material conditions that combine to create a sense of place, but also remain open to the power of filmic texts to unsettle hegemonic visions of place and activate the alternative worlds that lie within. From a temporal perspective, their approaches represent place as a multiplicity; a location at which multiple distinct stories intersect. Inspired by these approaches, I contemplate the filmic representation of two emblematic sites within the cultural imaginary of the transition: the Chilean presidential palace and the Atacama Desert. I turn to these locations because they are key spatial signifiers in the narrativisation of recent Chilean history: one representing the
“epicentre” of the dictatorship violence; the other being the “destination” of the disappeared. Crucially, they are also haunted sites, containing traces of violence and resistance that are seldom acknowledged in official accounts. By analysing multiple representations of a single place, I engage critically with attempts to represent and reckon with haunting, and make visible the multiple stories, histories, and temporalities of which places are composed.

Inspired by Raymond Williams, all of the texts I engage with are read as symptoms of and responses to historically contingent structures of feeling. Haunting, as I understand it, is not wholly produced by cultural texts, rather, they give form to emergent shared ways of thinking and feeling. As a non-discursive structure of feeling, haunting relies on narration to become apparitional, however, it always precedes and exceeds the act of conjuration. Such a perspective enables me to trace ambivalent desires and potentialities within narratives—the complex conditions from which political alternatives to neoliberal capitalism and patriarchal militarism must necessarily emerge. Taking inspiration from Gordon and Bruno in particular, I remain attentive to that which lingers on the edge of narratives, waiting to be articulated through an act of co-creation. Both Gordon and Bruno insist that scholars need not remain imprisoned within the world of the text, or treat it as an expression of a fully formed world view. Films might reflect the dominant values of a particular time, but they also contain fugitive traces, and untimely questions, which remain open to rearticulation.

Ultimately, through my engagement with postdictatorship film, I aim to disrupt linear teleological accounts of the Chilean democratic transition, through which capitalist realism is reproduced and consolidated. By analysing films that respond to or invoke the experience of haunting, I explore how struggles for retrospective justice are imbricated in resistance to ongoing state repression, and the formulation of alternatives to neoliberal capitalism. Gordon writes that “[r]eckoning is about knowing what kind of effort is required to change ourselves and the conditions that make us who we are, that set limits on what is acceptable and unacceptable, on what is possible and impossible” (2008, p.202). My analysis forms part of this reckoning by critiquing the hegemonic temporal and spatial imaginaries of the Chilean democratic transition, those conditions that set a limit on the possible. However, I also remain attentive to the emergent and enduring
political alternatives that Chilean film brings into view; alternatives that must necessarily be constructed on haunted ground.
Chapter 3. Behind the Neoclassical Façade: The Phantoms and Spectres of La Moneda Palace

On September 11, 2003, President Ricardo Lagos stood outside of the La Moneda Palace and declared “[w]e open this door so that the breezes of liberty that have made our country great may circulate again” (cited by Strasma 2010, p.101). The door to which he referred was Morandé 80, a side entrance to the palace through which Allende’s lifeless body was carried thirty years prior. During the dictatorship, Morandé 80 had been bricked up in an act of aesthetic cleansing, and its re-inauguration by Lagos brought a symbolic end to 30 years of oblivion. The ceremony was also an exorcism. It conjured away Pinochet’s presence in La Moneda with recourse to a gust of wind and an intrinsic national value. In the words of the memory theorist Maria Chiara Bianchini,

the aim of Morandé 80 is not to symbolize the installation of the past in the present, but its definitive closure: reconstructing Morandé 80 intended to represent the end of a period when the door did not exist—that is, the dictatorship—and resume the flow of traditions before this period of history in order to demonstrate that the difficult parenthesis of the military regime has been overcome. (2014, p.8)

In typically spectral fashion, the act of conjuring away inadvertently brought other spectres into view. Five years after the door was reopened, the visual artist Enrique Ramírez made a short film entitled Brisas ("Breezes“ 2008). Filmed in a single tracking shot, it depicts an unnamed man in his late twenties walking unobstructed through the La Moneda. The man is dressed in a suit and tie and is drenched with water, despite the clear skies above. A voice accompanies him, perhaps an inner monologue, composed of fragmentary memories of the coup and dictatorship. The scenes he recalls do not follow a pattern, or correspond with his age. “I remember the white table-cloth at my mother’s house”, says the narrator. “The rice with eggs. The planes, the bombs, the screams”. Perhaps the man is one of the disappeared, returning dripping wet from the sea into which he was thrown by the military. Perhaps he is a walking embodiment of subaltern collective memory, a subject who is haunted by shared cultural signifiers, both mundane and profane. The spectator struggles to pin down his identity, and extract his demands, but ultimately is not rewarded. We are left instead to reflect on stories of violence that have been drawn to La Moneda seeking justice, even if they did not transpire within its walls. The breezes of liberty described by Lagos are not apparent in Ramírez’s text. In fact, as the anonymous figure passes through the palace the air thickens into a paste. In
the words of the narrator, “in this place, you can feel something in the air that prevents you from breathing with tranquillity. This city is polluted, but it is not the air”.14

This chapter focuses on filmic representations of La Moneda, a building that is commonly known as the home of Chilean democracy, and presented as the epicentre of dictatorship violence in Chile. My aim is to examine and trouble these dominant narratives by looking at two interrelated manifestations of haunting that are closely associated with the presidential palace. First, I will examine the recurrent use of footage depicting La Moneda in flames, an originary scene of violence that can be read as a phantom that incessantly returns from the archive. Here I draw on work by Colin Davis (2005), who describes phantoms as markers of violence passed down through generations that simultaneously signify and conceal enduring injustice. In the second section, I will turn my attention to the figure of Salvador Allende, a man whose life, death, and afterlife in the palace remain central to questions of democratic heritage, inheritance, and national identity in Chile. Here, I am particularly interested in the way discourses of national exceptionalism, (non)violence, and prophesised emancipation intersect through the figure of Allende, manifesting in the uncanny presence of a past utopia still-to-come. By this, I mean that Allende’s vision of a socialist Chile can be read as a spectre that, despite its failure, continues to haunt the meaning of the trajectory of Chilean democracy. Films such as General Statement on Chile (“Acta General de Chile” 1986) and Salvador Allende (2005) participate in the struggle to define his afterlife, meditating on the status of the Popular Unity in the neoliberal present and resisting attempts by the state to assimilate and reify Allende as a marker of democratic heritage. My analysis will not focus on a particular phase of the transition, or generational perspective, rather I am interested in the ways particular stories, images and individuals haunt this place—how they linger, evolve, and return in new guises. It is my hope that, by engaging with visual representations of La Moneda, my work can look behind the neoclassical façade and open up the home of Chilean democracy to a critical re-reading.

14 All film quotes are my own translations from Spanish, unless indicated otherwise.
Situated in a banking district, ten minutes’ walk south of the municipal cathedral, the palace is on the edge of what was once Santiago’s colonial centre. Inaugurated as a mint for the Spanish crown in 1805, La Moneda served as the seat of government for the Chilean Republic from 1845 to the day of the coup, when it was reduced to ruins by two Hawker Hunter fighter jets. During the dictatorship it was refurbished and re-inaugurated, regaining its status as the symbolic centre of power in Chile, and leaving no trace of the socialist government that preceded it (Stern 2006a, p.175). These changes ostensibly sought to restore the integrity of the architect’s original design, thereby encapsulating a key element of the dictatorship’s rhetoric: the restoration of an authentic Chilean national identity that had progressively been corrupted by alien influences (Errázuriz 2009). In 1979, an elaborate monument and mausoleum named the Altar de la Patria (Alter of the Homeland) was constructed in the adjoining Plaza de la Ciudadanía. The monument contained the remains of celebrated military leaders, including Bernardo O’Higgins, positioning the Chilean military as the founders of the Chilean state, and Pinochet as the heir of a long heritage of heroic military figures. In addition to this project
of recovery and resurrection, the military regime also engaged in a programme of “functional modernisation”, in which the electronics, communications, and air control in the palace were all updated. Again, these physical alterations echoed a broader temporal rhetoric about the “modernisation” of the Chilean economy (Tomic et al. 2006). In sum, the emblem of the Chilean state offered a surface upon which the temporal discourses of modernisation, military heritage, and rupture could be projected. This was a temporal imaginary that did not look to fully break from the past, but to forge a chain of heritage between their economic project and the “founding fathers” of the Chilean nation, while leftist politics was excluded as both alien and anachronistic.

Throughout the democratic transition, the building and its surrounds have undergone numerous physical alterations. Soon after Patricio Aylwin’s election in 1989, the Altar de la Patria was removed from the adjoining plaza (Aguilera 2013, p.6). During Ricardo Lagos’ administration (2000-2006), the façade was painted white, a statue of Salvador Allende was erected at the northeast corner, and the door through which Allende’s body was carried was reconstructed (Bianchini 2014). Reinstating a tradition that was halted during the Popular Unity period and the dictatorship, Lagos also opened up the central courtyards to the general public, a gesture towards democratic participation and transparency, if only in symbolic form (Strasma 2010, p.103). As will be explored later, these changes can be read as responses to haunting—they are attempts to exorcise some ghosts, and incorporate others. The statue of Allende and the “opening up” of the courtyards offered new sites/sights through which the national past could be comprehended, but arguably conjured away the feelings of enduring injustice that had become adhered to the palace walls.

Beyond its physical appearance, the meaning of La Moneda is shaped by its standing as an object of national heritage. Many have argued that the application of monumental status to a historical building seeks to contain the uncanny persistence of the past and channel it into institutionally sanctioned narratives of nationhood (Allcock 1995; Landzelius 2003; Watson and Waterton 2010). As John Allcock argues, “heritage is not just that which has come down to us from the past: it is one version of the past, which potentially competes with other possible versions, but which has come to be sponsored as appropriate and acceptable” (1995, pp.100–101). In addition to manipulating the material site, institutional discourses and representations play a central role in shaping
the meaning of historical buildings, often reducing them to an aesthetic symbol signifying a particular historical period. In the words of Watson and Waterton, heritage buildings “have been variously taxonomized, preserved, conserved and interpreted as aesthetic objects and, in this guise, they admit few other readings of their significance” (2010, p.88). This process of aestheticization can be identified in UNESCO’s description of La Moneda, which focuses on the “strength and stability” exuded by the main façade—elements that were allegedly “impressed by its architect” (UNESCO World Heritage [no date]). The Chilean Council of National Monuments describe the building as a symbol of intercultural exchange and a well preserved example of colonial architecture. The bombing is mentioned as a contributing factor to its world heritage status, but the action is described simply as a “resonant image” in the history of the 20th century (Palacio La Moneda - CMN. Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales. Gobierno de Chile. [no date]). In other words, the historical significance of the building is reduced to an architectural style, while its destruction in 1973 is reconfigured as an iconic image, temporally distant from a liberal, democratic present.

Significantly, the presidential palace continues to have a functional purpose for the Chilean state. “La Moneda is not a memorial, nor a museum”, says the historian Mary Grace Strasma. “It’s administration has other things—the present and the future—on the daily agenda” (2010, p.49). Official descriptions of the building often promote it as a material reification of lasting national values and institutions. As Strasma argues, throughout Chilean history the palace has been integral to the nation’s “democratic self-image” (2010, p.18). The temporality of national heritage that frames the building consistently reduces the dictatorship to a lamentable hiatus in the nation’s long democratic heritage. In the words of the Chilean memory theorist Maria Chiara Bianchini, “the dictatorship then becomes a parenthesis, in time and space, somehow external to the traditional spirit of the country that these places intend to represent” (Bianchini 2014, para.1). Recalling Michael Landzelius’s description of national heritage as a “signifying chain of legitimacy” (2003, p.208), La Moneda offers a site around which this chain can be established and reproduced. More problematic pasts might be represented as an interruption in the progression of the nation, which must be overcome and learned from; or as ahistorical, a timeless evil that exists outside of national progress.
Today the plazas that frame the palace to the north and south are carefully policed spaces boasting elaborate water fountains and perfectly manicured lawns. For most of the year, the public are denied access to many parts of these plazas, maintaining a view that is unsullied by social activity (see Figure 1). The back of the building faces La Alameda, a heavily trafficked boulevard running east to west that has historically served as a route for major protests (McKay 2015). The Plaza de la Ciudadanía acts as a buffer zone between La Alameda and the palace. Demonstrations in recent years move in a flow that runs perpendicular to the palace, rarely confronting it directly, or infringing upon its official grounds. This controlled aesthetic of emptiness has been read as a spatial strategy that infuses places with the latent presence of the state. Reflecting on monumental public plazas in Cuba, the anthropologist Thomas Carter argues that the state is made present through the exclusion of social life, both the everyday and the explicitly political. In his words, “[t]hese particular spatial forms [...] are manifestations of an embodied state/space in which it is the state itself that is made materially manifest through the absence of society” (2011, p.61). While the general public are largely absent, spectacles of state power and Chilean exceptionalism are repeated on an almost daily basis in and around the building, from the changing of the guard, to the televised transmission of state visits. In short, the building and its surrounds are preserved as an image, or view, a carefully maintained point of stability and continuity in the geographical imaginary of the nation.
Considering the issues of monumentalisation and temporal distancing raised above, it could be argued that cultural theorists should steer clear from La Moneda altogether and focus on less conspicuous geographies of resistance, domination and national identity. Does my focus on La Moneda perpetuate the conflation of nation and object, or condense the pervasive violence of the dictatorship into a single spectacular event? In response, I would argue that La Moneda need not be read as totalising metaphor or symbol of liberal democracy. The image world of the presidential palace is replete with multiple “other” times, from Allende’s prophesised utopia-to-come, to the irrevocable crimes of Augusto Pinochet, both of which are at odds with a the progressive time of the liberal democratic transition. I am also hesitant to dismiss the concept of heritage as inherently reactionary. While critiques of the nationalistic and essentialising tendencies of heritage discourse are important, they also risk reducing the concept to a homogenous ideology, and concomitant temporality. My analysis of Allende’s afterlife points to the imaginative possibilities opened by the conjuring of a radical, non-teleological heritage—an attempt to “capture the spirit” of ghosts, if not resurrect their revolutionary projects. Despite, or

Figure 2: La Moneda Palace in 1854. An illustration of prisoners being escorted past the palace in Claudio Gay’s *Atlas of the Physical and Political History of the Republic of Chile* (1854). The presidential palace functioned as a backdrop for disciplinary spectacles long before September 11, 1973.
perhaps because of, relentless institutional efforts to exorcise its ghosts, the building remains a subject of fascination for Chilean cultural practitioners. This interplay is integral to haunting. As Derrida argues in *Spectres of Marx*, an exorcism tends to arouse suspicion in the living. “[i]t awakens us where it would like to put us to sleep” (1994, p.120).

**Ruins and Rupture**

Aside from being the seat of government, La Moneda is most associated with the event of its own destruction. In a spectacular show of force, on the day of the coup, two Hawker Hunter jets bombed the palace, ordered by the then head of the Chilean Air Force, Gustavo Leigh (Timmermann 2017, p.176). Allende was inside its walls during the bombardment, and after making a final radio broadcast to the nation, he took his own life. Accompanied by the military’s surgical rhetoric, stating the need to “cut out” the Marxist cancer, the destruction of the palace was a warning that resistance to the new regime would be violently eradicated, wherever it was found. In Steve Stern’s words, “[t]he bombing of La Moneda Palace, the physical and symbolic heart of Chilean democracy, indicated a drastic diagnosis” (2006, p.36). In this scene of purifying destruction, it was not only the radical left that was disciplined, but Chilean democracy itself.

Two leftist filmmakers, Pedro Chaskel and Peter Hellmich, filmed the bombing from a nearby building, capturing a scene that would become the emblematic image of the military coup. The most widely reproduced footage is a longshot looking down on the palace in flames. There are no people in the shot, just explosions disfiguring the neoclassical façade. Smoke and flames consume the Chilean flag that flies atop it, as two aircraft, heard but not seen, rain down bombs from above. These images of the bombardment, among others, were widely distributed in the days immediately following the coup but arguably attained iconic status as the opening sequence of Patricio Guzmán’s documentary trilogy *La Batalla de Chile, La Lucha de un Pueblo sin Armas* (“The Battle of Chile: The Struggle of a People without Arms” 1975-1979) (see figure 3). In the absence of photographic evidence documenting the full extent of military violence, they came to dominate domestic and international coverage of the event, producing what César Barros calls a “suturing” of event and image (2015, p.128). In his own words, “from being a
representational technology, this image has become the event; not the event of an image, a shot or a montage, but the event of the coup itself, the dictatorship, and state terrorism” (2015, p.128). Today, images of the bombardment remain a dominant trope in texts representing both the coup and recent Chilean history more broadly, though the reproduction and reception of the scene remain contested.

For Barros, the image of La Moneda in flames initially encompassed a dual significance. Cultural producers on the left used it to represent the unjust destruction of democracy and the Chilean “road to socialism”, while on the right it served a disciplinary function (2015, p.128). For many Popular Unity supporters, in Chile and beyond, the image of La Moneda in flames represented the irreversible end of a social dream, evidence that the democratic road to socialism was doomed to fail in the face of international capital. Among the military, and on the right, it was framed as a spectacle of liberation, and served as a warning to any who might challenge the authority of the military (Barros 2015, p.132). To cite Barros directly, images of the bombardment served as “the main visual signifier agglutinating the imaginary structure of the dictatorship—a new beginning, a violent erasure of recent history and its subject” (2015, p.131). Crucially, in both
iterations, the images were used to generate a before/after temporal narrative in which the coup fundamentally dismantled that which came before (Barros 2015, p.128). Within this visual metaphor, the socialist project of Allende was literally reduced to a ruin, from which there was little hope of resurrection.

Patricio Guzmán’s trilogy *The Battle of Chile* is a key text in the formation of the before/after narrative. The three-part documentary starts with La Moneda in flames, then jumps six months back in time to generate a rich portrait of the social movements that supported and contested Allende during his brief spell in power. The scenes of popular mobilisation are thus tainted by the knowledge of inevitable failure and irrevocable loss—to cite Barthes’ famous description of the future anterior, a sense that “he is dead and he is going to die” (1981, p.96). As the film progresses, each person, worker collective, or mass demonstration that is represented, simultaneously becomes an object of loss. It is a vibrant portrait of disappearance, with La Moneda at its epicentre. *The Battle of Chile* does not provide a detailed account of the aftermath of the coup, and as a result, the bombing is made to stand in for the violence of the military regime in its complex entirety. This omission is understandable. Guzmán was arrested following the coup, and later sent into exile (Blaine 2013, pp.116–117). Furthermore, during the 1970s, torture and disappearance were conducted covertly and detention centres largely remained hidden from view (Santos Herceg 2016). La Moneda and the national stadium (which was used as a detention centre) were spectacular examples of the military’s betrayal that might serve to mobilise transnational resistance against Pinochet. A problem emerged, however, when no subsequent images of repression or resistance filled the gap, thereby turning the bombardment into an all-encompassing metaphor for the destruction of democracy.

Surveying the use of the bombardment scene in film and television throughout the democratic transition, César Barros argues that the shot rapidly morphed into a “symbol that tended towards totality, closure and fetishization”. This symbol makes visible the violence of the coup, but prevents a nuanced understanding of the conditions that made it possible, and perpetuates a sense of temporal distance from the social dreams of the Popular Unity (2015, p.133). Barros argues that in the 1990s the bombardment scene was used as a symbol of irrevocable loss and trauma, exemplified by Guzmán’s documentary *Chile: Le Memoria Obstinada* (“Chile: The Obstinate Memory” 1997). In this
film, Guzmán’s returns to Chile following years in exile to screen *The Battle of Chile*, which had been censured throughout the dictatorship. Though the film attempts to work through the trauma of the coup by breaching the silences and amnesias that surround it, Barros suggests that the director and the imagined spectator remain “fixated on the moment of destruction” as opposed to the event of the Popular Unity, or what lives on beyond it (Barros 2015, p.136).

The use and meaning of the bombardment scene has shifted throughout the late transition, but it continues to be the dominant image that structures the filmic narration of recent Chilean history. Focussing on documentaries and television programmes released since 2000, Barros argues that the bombardment has increasingly been reproduced uncritically as part of a radically simplified historical sequence, in which the coup is reduced to a hiatus in national history. Furthermore, the widespread reproduction of the image diminishes its affective power in the Chilean cultural imaginary. “Its historical thickness, so to speak, has become thinner and thinner”, Barros says, going on to describe a numbing sense of saturation that developed around the coup’s 30th and 40th anniversaries (2015, p.129). Contributing to this problem is the geography of distribution within which Chilean films circulate. The cultural theorist Federico Galende argues that Chilean cultural practitioners who went into exile, or strive for recognition at international festivals, rely on the spectacular image of La Moneda in flames as an easily digestible metaphor for foreign audiences. Reflecting on Guzmán’s documentary *Salvador Allende* (2004), Galende argues that the search for foreign spectators compels directors to “narrate the convulsions of history from a suspect grade zero”, and as a result, “a complex arc of misfortune” becomes trapped within a form of mythical, or “infantile” time (Galende 2005, para 3). In sum, both Galende and Barros argue that what was once a powerful marker of injustice, now holds little power over contemporary Chilean audiences, resulting in the assimilation of the scene into an established historical timeline.

One of the most problematic elements of the image is that it spatially and temporally contains military violence to a single time and place. Lacking other images of repression, Barros argues that the scene has become a “screen memory” that obscures the historical and enduring violence of the Chilean state (Barros 2015, pp.133–134). Within this fantasy, Chilean democracy before the coup is consistently portrayed as a peaceful and
interrupted heritage that was strained by Allende, and broken definitively by Pinochet. This narrative is present in political discourse on the left and right, and functions to exclude 200 years of racialised nationalism, state repression of labour movements, and structural violence (Santos Herceg 2016). As Carl Fischer argues, Chilean exceptionalism not only makes invisible the exploitation on which the Chilean economy is built, but actively excludes “those subjects deemed unworthy to partake in its apparent success” (2016, p.3). By making this point, I do not wish to deny the exceptional nature of the coup, but to emphasise the dangers reading it as an originary event. As Bianchini states,

[...] the public cult of memory and human rights implies the de-contextualization of past violence from the historical processes that generated it and therefore does not generate complex understandings regarding the long-term conflicts and cultural beliefs that underpinned and justified those crimes. (2014, p.15)

In other words, if state violence, patriarchal militarism, and national exceptionalism are not critically interrogated as contributing factors to the coup, then their continued presence in Chilean society remains unproblematised, as do the claims of post-dictatorship governments to have restored Chilean democracy following an extended hiatus. From these issues, several questions arise. How, for example, can the bombardment scene be represented without reproducing the simplified historical narrative to which it has become adhered? And more broadly, how can the feelings of loss and rupture produced by the coup be acknowledged, without condemning the Popular Unity to the past?

Spectral theory, and more specifically the figure of the phantom, offers one approach to addressing these questions, highlighting how returning traces from the past can simultaneously obscure and illuminate enduring injustice. Drawing on the psychoanalytic work of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok (2005), Colin Davis describes the phantom as a trope in literary fiction that points to a dark family secret, but actively deceives the reader in the moment of its apparition. In Davis’s words, “the phantom is a liar. Its effects are designed to mislead the haunted subject and ensure that its secret remains shrouded in mystery” (2014, p.10). This secret has “noxious effects” on the living, and only by exhuming and articulating it, can its repressive presence be mitigated (Davis 2014, p.13). In this respect, the phantom is more malignant that a screen memory. It does not protect the haunted subject from the trauma of the Real, but actively reproduces injustice and state violence in the present.
Adding to Davis’ conceptualisation, it is helpful to read the phantom not only as a secret, but as a returning trace that, if represented uncritically, can reinforce a rigid delineation between past and present. Like the phantom, images of the bombardment contain and perpetuate manifold national silences, most notably the 200 years of state violence leading up to the coup. Furthermore, they are consistently mobilised in order to determine what constitutes the national present, tethering the Popular Unity period to a linear, progressive temporal regime in which the inevitability of socialism’s defeat is hegemonic. The rupture is simultaneously fixed in the past, consigning the Popular Unity to a quarantined heritage, and is infused throughout the present, warning younger generations of the perils of radical political change. It is not a spectral figure, or a narrativised memory, but a returning trace that reifies the trajectory of the transition and denies the persistence, or indeed possibility of alternate ways of living.

Crucially, if the bombardment scene is interpreted and reckoned with as a phantom, its harmful effects are not inevitable, but open to rearticulation. Following Abraham and Torok, it is the role of the analyst to identify phantoms within works of literature and expose the noxious secrets they contain (Cited by Davis 2014, p.13). For the purposes of my own work, however, it is more productive to point to moments when the phantom is broken open within the filmic narrative. The phantasmal return of the bombardment image is not always reproduced uncritically. In fact, on numerous occasions the image has been represented as a ghost—a marker of violence, loss, and absence that haunts embodied subjects. In Miguel Littín’s fictional film *Los Náufragos* ("The Shipwrecked" 1994) the protagonist, Arón, is haunted by the bombardment image as he searches for his disappeared brother and the remains of his executed father. As a former exile, Arón has no direct memories of the dictatorship in Chile, and struggles to penetrate the social amnesias that surround the period. As a result, his memory is dominated by film images of the coup and its immediate aftermath, which endlessly repeat themselves in front of his eyes. In one scene the bombardment plays on the windscreen of the car in which Arón is travelling, prompting him to feel physically sick. In this case, the bombardment is an opaque marker of violence and disappearance, in the absence of actual images of repression. *The Shipwrecked* effectively stages a partial exorcism of the phantom by representing it as a spectacle, and dwelling on the way it takes possession of the haunted subject. This exorcism must always remain incomplete—images of the bombardment can
never be made to disappear—but by representing the way they take possession of spectators, their totalising grip on the present begins to diminish.

Perhaps the most oppositional iteration of the image can be found in Felipe Bustos Sierra’s short documentary *Nae Pasaran* (2013). This film focuses on the actions of a group of workers at a Rolls Royce factory in Scotland, who refused to refurbish the engines of the Hawker Hunter planes that had been used to bomb La Moneda. Focussing on the testimonies of the workers in the present, the film begins with the bombardment scene, projected onto the wall of the factory. The editing cuts swiftly between the scenes of La Moneda in flames and the reactions of the former workers, who are gathered around a table. The refusal of the factory workers caused a minor diplomatic crisis in the 1970s, but ultimately the engines were covertly removed by the British government and returned to Chile (Jones 2014). The bombardment images are not merely visual evidence of violence in the past, but highlight a complex network of complicity and repression that extends into the present. The tone of the film is largely melancholic, a reflection on the ultimate failure of the workers to prevent the collusion of the British state and the Pinochet regime, but this melancholy does not consolidate the pastness of the event.

By reflecting upon on their act of transnational resistance the testimonies disrupt the temporality of absolute rupture that consigns the Popular Unity to the past. For the factory workers in Scotland, the bombardment was not a moment of fundamental rupture and loss, but a trigger for a disruptive gesture of solidarity. The melancholic tone of the testimonies in the present opposes the transitional temporality of progressive emancipation from darkness. The testimonies recall a time when the trade unions in Britain held significant power, and solidarity threatened the state in Britain and Chile. Further, by showing the bombardment images to the factory workers in Scotland, the film revives their affective power. They open up reflection on what was, what could have been, and what must be done. In the words of one of the workers, “so what do we do now?” Following the terms of Susana Draper, the film’s narrative could be read as a minor epic. It recounts the story of a failed act of resistance that “has no place in the global or national imaginary”, but by resurrecting its remains it creates a portrait of “what is missing from the fantasy of progress” (Draper 2012, p.17). Again, the encounter with the phantom is performed, and again its apparition has a possessive quality. But in this instance the images prompt a discussion in which the “what is missing” flickers into view.
To summarise, the figure of the phantom offers a critical perspective of the ways time is composed and constructed in post-conflict, or postdictatorship landscapes. The bombardment scene is neither a memory, nor a form of traumatic repetition, but an inherited trace that carries within it an ambivalent temporal imaginary. Unlike the open-ended temporalities of disappearance and torture, when it is reproduced uncritically, the scene gives state violence a clearly defined beginning, and Allende's project a definitive end. When this scene and date dominate the postdictatorship visual imaginary, it is difficult to engage fully with the haunting past as a transformative presence, or acknowledge the repressive conditions that made the coup possible. Instead of dismissing this scene as an easily digestible metaphor, I find it more useful to read its ubiquity as a symptom of something more pervasive; namely a temporal regime that both denies the endurance of social injustice, and generates a sense of permanent rupture from the “utopian” projects of the past. It is a paradoxical figure. It traverses both past and present, but performatively demarcates a rupture between them. This is not to say that phantoms always have allochronic or repressive effects. As Gordon argues, the violence that created the ghost is always embedded in its apparition, but so is the unrealised future that the violence sought to destroy (2008, pp.65–66). As seen in The Shipwrecked and Nae Pasaran, when the bombardment is represented as a ghost—as a fragment of the past that haunts embodied subjects in the present—it can open up critical reflection on the way one’s gaze and conception of time are complicit with the disappearance of emancipatory futures. The rest of the chapter will move beyond the phantom and consider other modalities of haunting, other kinds of spectral power. In particular, I am interested in the spectre, or spectres, of Salvador Allende, whose “Chilean road to socialism” continues to disrupt the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism, long after its material components were dismantled.

**Salvador Allende**

On April 24, 2016, a group of 30 youths posed for a photo outside of La Moneda. Disguised as tourists, wearing orange baseball caps, the gathering seemed an innocuous presence to the armed guards patrolling the main entrance. After all, groups such as this regularly pause to mark their presence in front of the building’s famous neoclassical façade. The moment the photo had been taken, however, a sudden dash was made for the open
doorway, swamping the guards before they had time to react. On entering the central courtyards the group unfurled a banner stating “[t]ake note: today commences the offensive”, all the while chanting that the incumbent Nueva Mayoría coalition had failed. “We students are tired (of waiting)” declared a statement released by the student organisation ACES (Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios) to coincide with the protest. “Chilean families are tired, Chile is tired. The roads to follow have been shown to us by the Chilotes, Aysén, Freirina Rebelde, the copper workers and the secondary school occupations” (Mostrador 2016).15 This intervention was a calculated visual spectacle, drawing on the visibility of the building in the public sphere. In addition to the building’s iconicity, the group also built on powerful temporal and emotional narratives that already circulated the site. By referencing social movements from across Chile, the statement located the palace within an expanded field of social discontent, in which the margins are the locus of Chilean politics, not the symbolic centre. Their declaration of impatience pertained to the failure of Michelle Bachelet’s administration to reform the privatised education system, and more broadly to the persistence of neoliberal capitalism in all spheres of government policy. However, the intervention could also be read as a response to the ghost of Allende, who, in his final speech, prophesised that “sooner rather than later, the great avenues will open again where free men will walk to build a better society” (cited by Stojanowski and Duncan 2017, p.258). Ultimately, the student protest did not start a revolution in Chile, but the diverse field of social discontent that they mention still persists. Students continue to protest en-masse, often alongside those struggling for indigenous rights, an end to environmental degradation and resource privatisation, as well as justice for the maximal victims of the Pinochet regime. Even when unacknowledged, Allende’s prophesy continues to haunt the palace, and, more significantly, the meaning and trajectory of Chilean democracy.

Though Allende’s life came to a violent end in La Moneda, the term phantom seems ill suited to his afterlife. While the bombardment images partially obscured the violent structures of power that preceded the military coup, Allende’s life was devoted to

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15 “The Chilotes” refers to a social movement on the island of Chiloé against salmon farming by multinational corporations. “Aysén” refers to a movement against the construction of a series of large dams in the Aysén region of Patagonia. “Freirina Rebelde” refers a community protest against industrialised agriculture in the Atacama Desert. “The copper workers” refers to strikes for fair wages and safer working conditions in Chile’s copper mines. And “the secondary school occupations” refers to student protest for free universal education that started in 2006.
dismantling them, and the violent curtailment of his time in power left the virtual trace of a path not followed. Far from obscuring a “dark family secret”, Allende might more productively be thought of as a spectre, or a multiplicity of spectres, in a Derridean sense; a revenant of an excluded past that is both constitutive of the present and inalienably other from it. The spectre, according to Colin Davis does not signify crime to be solved, or forgotten event to be unearthed, rather, it is a trace that unsettles the distinction between past and present, presence and absence, the real and the imagined (2014, p.11). It is composed of the dreams, memories, and desires that never fully came into presence, and yet never fully disappeared. It is something to which we are indebted, and can never fully move beyond, but must nonetheless engage in critique.

If the phantom images of the bombardment require the performance of a partial exorcism, the spectre requires a more receptive, or hospitable orientation (Derrida 1994, p.220). For Gordon, this requires learning to live “in the spirit” of the dead. In a footnote in Some Thoughts on the Utopian (2016), she talks of attempting to “capture the spirit” of Herbert Marcuse in her writing, by which she refers to his “uninhibited enthusiasm for utopian subjectivity” (2016, p.20). In this respect, to live in the spirit of something or someone involves an affective encounter that comes to being in the process of narration. This is a fraught process. How one might write or act “in the spirit of” the dead, without denying their loss, or assimilating them into the hegemonic political aspirations of the present, is one of the main dilemmas of conjuring ghosts. In Specters of Marx, Derrida argues that he does not act in the spirit of Marx, but in a certain spirit of Marxism. In other words, in order to offer a hospitable memory for the dead, they must be reimagined as unstable and plural. Deconstruction “has remained faithful to a certain spirit of Marxism”, he writes, “to at least one of its spirits for, and this can never be repeated too often, there is more than one of them and they are heterogeneous” (Derrida 1994, p.95). Derrida and Gordon offer different approaches to spectral inheritance, but both are committed to devising strategies through which the emancipatory promises of the past might be rearticulated.

The status of Salvador Allende throughout the democratic transition encapsulates some of the challenges of inheritance. His afterlife throughout the democratic transition has been plural and contested, evolving from a prohibited symbol of resistance during the dictatorship, to a state-sanctioned icon of social justice and democracy in the late
transition (Winn 2005). As the historian Peter Winn argues, “[s]ince his death, the image of Allende has been a controversial centrepiece in the struggle over the history and memory of the era over which he presided – a struggle about the past in the present to shape the future” (2005, p.156). Today Allende’s presence is psychically manifest in the material landscapes of contemporary Chile. His name has been given to streets, plazas, cultural centres, art galleries, and university departments, often in countries with no explicit connection to Chile (Piper and Hevia 2012, pp.109–115). There is no room here to examine the complex spatiality of Allende’s afterlife, however, my focus on La Moneda arguably leads us to its epicentre.

The presidential palace is inextricably tied to Allende, both because of his status as the first and only Marxist president to democratically gain access to the building, and the final stand in which he committed suicide so as not to be taken prisoner. The restoration of La Moneda in 1981 eliminated every physical trace of Allende, and removed structural alterations that diverged from the original design. “The point was to turn the palace into an architectural symbol of a larger memory narrative”, says Stern. “Recovery and modernisation of the authentic Chile that had been degraded in the twentieth century” (2006, p.176). The exclusion of Allende from the palace came to an end in 2000, following the election of Ricardo Lagos, who looked to incorporate the Popular Unity as an object of national heritage (Bianchini 2007, pp.15–16). During Lagos’ presidency, a statue of Allende was erected outside the palace. Cast in bronze, the statue depicts Allende striding forward with a Chilean flag draped across his body. The inscription below quotes a line of his final speech: “I have faith in Chile and its destiny”. Originally this line referred to the restoration of socialism, however, when read out of context, it seems to condone the present trajectory of Chilean democracy. The narrative was powerful, but problematic. Lagos’ administration by no means departed from the neoliberal economic model instigated by the military, while the figure of Allende was incorporated as a symbol of Chile’s exceptional democratic heritage (Spira 2014, p.353).

Chilean filmmakers have often been drawn to the task of deciphering Allende’s inheritance, particularly the meaning of his last speech and subsequent suicide. During the dictatorship and the early transition, emphasis was placed on gaining access to the space where Allende was last seen alive. In the late 1980s, Miguel Littín, entered Chile clandestinely under the pretence of making a promotional tourism film. Much of the
resultant documentary, *Acta General de Chile* ("General Report on Chile" 1986), focuses on popular resistance to the regime, but in the final scene, Littín films inside the restored interior of La Moneda. The cinematography of this scene conforms to the tourist gaze, with the camera focussing on the neoclassical façade and opulent interiors, however, the voiceover and soundtrack reframe the images as a search for the affective resonance of Allende’s last moments. "You can still feel the presence of Allende in the old restored rooms", states Littín’s narration, as the camera pans around the interior. The sound of Allende’s final radio broadcast accompanies the images, impregnating the space with a familiar prophesy:

> Placed in a historic transition, I will pay for loyalty to the people with my life. And I say to them that I am certain that the seed which we have planted in the good conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans will not be shrivelled forever.

Layered simultaneously on top of this broadcast, Littín reads a statement from Pablo Neruda, written three days after the coup:

> Immediately after the aerial bombardment, tanks, many tanks, were mobilized to fight against one man, the president of the Republic of Chile, Salvador Allende, who was waiting for them in his office, accompanied only by his great heart, shrouded in smoke and flames. They had to take advantage of such a ripe opportunity. It was necessary to machine-gun him because he would never give up his post. (Translation by Teitelboim 1992, p.469)

In this acoustic palimpsest, it is not only Allende’s body that haunts that palace, but also a truncated revolutionary teleology, in which the dictatorship is merely a detour en-route to the final victory. According to Peter Winn, Allende’s last radio broadcast should be read as an attempt to shape his own symbolic afterlife. “In it he was the sober Chilean president trying to avoid massacres and civil war”, says Winn. “He was the democrat who would not yield the legitimacy of his elected office to a military dictatorship” (2005, p.156). In *General Report* this self-conjuring is radicalised by placing it alongside images of resistance, emplacing the seed of a socialist society still to come.

By the time *General Report on Chile* was released, Neruda’s words were also those of a ghost. The poet died of cancer 12 days after the coup and his description of Allende’s last stand is one of the last paragraphs he wrote (Teitelboim 1992, pp.469–469). In the film, Neruda’s words add authority to the voice of the narrator. They contradict the widely held belief that Allende’s death was a suicide, and maintain that the military "machine-gunned" the incumbent president in a definitive act of betrayal. The image conjured
opposes the calm defiance of Allende with the ruthless violence of the military, adding detail to a scene that continues to transfix the cultural imaginary of Chile today. It also establishes a link between Allende and Neruda as the spectral embodiments of an enduring national movement. In the final moments of *General Report*, archive footage shows crowds of people defying the military by accompanying Neruda’s coffin. The narration states that this funeral march marked the start of popular resistance against Pinochet. “As well as interring Neruda and Allende, from the bedrock of Chilean history, they start the popular rebellion” says Littín, whose narration overlays the angry chants of the mourners. He continues by positioning the two icons of Chilean socialism as guardians overlooking, or channelling, the course of Chilean history: “Chile, between the mountains and the sea, between Neruda and Allende. Between them both, an old and renewed history”. Haunting, here, is imagined as a guiding hand. A “social dream” might have died with Allende (Gómez-Barris 2008, p.181), but its essence, or spirit, lives on through the radical act of collective mourning.

In addition to mourning Allende’s death, *General Statement* also focuses on the last stand in order to reflect on the use of violence within the resistance. Prior to the scene inside La Moneda, Littín films two anonymous representatives of the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), an armed paramilitary group that organised and fought against the military throughout the dictatorship. Sat in shadow, with an FPMR flag illuminated behind them, the pair describe Santiago as a volcano of discontent on the verge of erupting. When asked directly about the legacy of Allende, they reply:

> Allende, the figure of Allende, and Allende with his personality, with his activism, marked a fundamental part of Chilean history. And from another perspective, he is a symbol that we use, the Allende that has the gun in his hand and confronts those that advanced against the constitution, those that advanced against the people. For the Chilean people, Allende is still alive. He is still alive and endures through the fight of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front.

In this short statement at least two spectres are apparent. The first is the historical Allende, whose ascension to power was one of the most significant moments in the nation’s past. This is the democratic constitutionalist icon, whose peaceful road to socialism was ultimately cut short by military betrayal and U.S. intervention. The second spectre is the enduring Allende that fired upon the tanks encroaching upon La Moneda. The activist’s speech extends the duration of the siege into the present, thus legitimating the use of violence as a means of restoring constitutional democracy.
The conjuration of Allende as a guiding father figure, and insistence that the dictatorship is an extended siege on the true character of the Chilean nation, are potent political tactics, though they are not incommensurable with the rhetoric of the political elite upon the restoration of democracy. Much like images of the bombardment, Littín’s conjuring of Allende condenses and reifies cultural memories of the coup around a single enduring event. Perhaps more significantly, the subsequent description of Allende as the embodiment of an ongoing emancipatory project arguably naturalises a temporality of inevitable revolutionary progress, in which the dictatorship is reduced to a painful hiatus. Within this construction of time, “the Chilean road to socialism” remains recoverable, while Allende’s death is celebrated as a source of inspiration. As a strategic attempt to counteract the paralysis of trauma, this temporality is appealing, however, it also fails to acknowledge the challenge, or indeed impossibility, of restoring Allende’s project intact. Littín’s film, and the statue of Allende outside of La Moneda, present very different visions of inheritance, but they also both remain bound to a teleological construction of heritage in which Allende’s enduring presence affirms identity, as opposed to demanding new imaginaries of resistance and social transformation.

Inheritance and mourning, according to Derrida, should not involve a process of idealising incorporation, in which the dead are claimed to live on fully within us, or cases of past injustice are acknowledged and learned from. He argues instead for practices of mourning that resist closure and recognise the enduring, or irrevocable, persistence of the past as a non-presence (Derrida 1994, p.126). Drawing on Derrida, Bevernage argues that interiorisation is bound up with a linear, progressive construction of time in which acts of mourning performatively demarcate a rupture between past and present by placing the past within a sequential timeline (Bevernage 2013, pp.158–159). In the context of Chile, this form of historicisation often denies a continuity of social injustice in contemporary Chile, or assumes that the future Allende fought for lives on, unharmed. Bevernage argues that by reevaluating the ontological status of the past in the present, or denying the possibility of a unified present, we are better able to trace enduring patterns of injustice, and identify political alternatives that are already embedded in practices of resistance. Within this non-sequential conception of time, the death of Allende should not be presented as an irreversible rupture in national simultaneity, rather, it represents one act in the ongoing subjugation of emancipatory alternatives by the repressive apparatus of the state. In order to achieve justice for Allende, it is not enough to expose the military’s
betrayal, or struggle to bring about the end of the dictatorship’s legacies, rather, one must acknowledge the violence that is constitutive of the past and present, and reevaluate the language through which emancipatory political alternatives might be imagined. From this perspective, concepts such as democracy and justice cease to be taken for granted endpoints that one strives towards, and must instead be actively salvaged, critiqued, and constructed. The meaning of democracy in Chile was ruptured by the dictatorship, but this needs not be a repressive inheritance, rather it offers a platform from which to interrogate the enduring material and psychic conditions that made the dictatorship possible in the first place.

Restoring Futurity

Patricio Guzmán’s documentary *Salvador Allende* (2004) approaches the problem of spectral inheritance by compiling a collection of testimonies from Allende’s friends and admirers. There is no clear plot, or narrative resolution, rather the interviews and archive footage are presented as a collage of perspectives, sometimes overlapping, sometime diverging. Like all of Guzmán’s postdictatorship documentaries, it is partially composed in the subjective mode. “Today, he’s in my mind more and more. I need to know who this man was”, states Guzmán in one of the opening scenes. In other words, the director admits to being haunted, both by the figure of Allende, and the absence of information about him. Broadly speaking, the film can be read as an attempt to redeem this absence, or at the very least articulate it. La Moneda features regularly throughout, from intermittent images of the bombardment, to archive footage of massive crowds in the early 1970s. For Guzmán, who no longer lives in Chile, the palace clearly exerts an imaginative pull, evoking personal memories that are both joyful and traumatic. It is a symbol of rupture and continuity in a city that has physically changed almost beyond recognition.

The film starts by focussing on the material traces that remain of the former president. The director handles the personal effects that were found on Allende’s body: a wallet, an identity card, a fragment of his iconic wide-rimmed spectacles. Next, Guzmán strips paint off a whitewashed wall to reveal the remnants of a Popular Unity mural, evidence of the cultural-aesthetic coup that accompanied the physical violence of the Pinochet regime.
(Errázuriz 2009). As the film progresses, Guzmán traces the origins of Allende’s political convictions, interviewing friends with whom he debated the merits and flaws of Leninism, anarchism, and libertarianism. Next, it traces the journeys he made throughout Chile in order to gather support for the Popular Unity. “Allende’s life was an interminable election campaign” states the narration, accompanied by archive footage of mass rallies extracted from The Battle of Chile. As the film comes to an end, more emphasis is placed on the conditions that led to the coup, including U.S.-funded strikes and propaganda campaigns. It also acknowledges the flaws in the Chilean road to socialism; the rhetoric of Chilean exceptionalism that is bound up in discourses of imperialism and racism; its failure to confront a pervasive culture of patriarchal militarism. Ultimately, the film ends in La Moneda, seeking out the last place Allende was seen alive. In fact, images of the palace in ruins regularly intrude on the testimonial accounts, an obstinate reminder of the violence that was to come, and still remains.

Of all Guzmán’s postdictatorship films, Salvador Allende has received the most intense academic criticism. The cultural theorist Federico Galende argues that Guzmán idealises the Popular Unity period, and ignores contemporary Chilean politics, inevitably leading to the fetishisation of the bombardment as a moment of absolute rupture (2005). Michael Lazzara, who is broadly sympathetic to Guzmán’s text, argues that the film represents an “inner utopia. A space where Allende lives on, untainted and victorious, surrounded by the echoes of the Canción Popular” (2009, p.53). In other words, it is argued that if the spirit of Allende is only found within testimonial accounts about the 1970s, it ultimately remains an unobtrusive presence in the contemporary public sphere. Salvador Allende focuses almost exclusively on the testimonies of those who lived through the “Allende years”, quite unlike the “postmemory” perspective that have dominated recent cultural representations of Latin American dictatorships (see Nouzeilles 2005; Serpente 2011; Logie and Willem 2015). As a result, the interviewees are nostalgic both for the political movement that Allende represented, and for an earlier stage in their life-cycle. The symbol of La Moneda is central to this narrative of utopian longing, particularly for scenes of massive crowds gathered in support of Allende. These critiques of the film suggest that the radical history of this time and place is made visible, but remains indelibly distant from the placated Santiago of the early 2000s and, as a result, Allende is embalmed in an “infantile time” of nostalgic reminiscence (Galende 2005).
While such arguments are persuasive, I believe they are overly dismissive of nostalgia and “utopian aspiration”, and even at risk of subscribing to the temporal logic of the neoliberal transition. Galende is right to be suspicious of the recurrent image of La Moneda in ruins, however, as will be shown in the analysis that follows, the accumulation of contrasting testimonies actually dissolves its totalising tendencies, as opposed to perpetuating them. Furthermore, the sense of temporal distance that pervades the film is available to be read as an act of spectral preservation; an attempt to acknowledge the radical alterity of Allende’s ghost and, in doing so, prevents its appropriation by the neoliberal state. In this sense, the recurrent trope of La Moneda in ruins not only marks the dissolution of a social dream, but acts as a barrier to the prying hands of present-day administrations as they strive to mould Allende into their own image.

Midway through the film, Guzmán states through narration that he feels alienated from the Santiago of the present. “I feel like a stranger lost in a hostile environment” he says, as a series of static long shots survey a cityscape replete with mirrored office blocks, but seemingly absent of public life. “I can’t forget how the dictatorship crushed life, buried democracy, imposed money and consumerism as the only values”, he continues, reinforcing the narrative of irreversible rupture of which I have spoken. However, in this very scene, the entrenched pessimism of the author’s perspective is unmoored. He acknowledges that “behind this city’s coldness, there are people, dreams, battles” and these are reason enough to continue “his search”. In the following scene he visits a city councillor, Claudina Nuñez, who speaks about the “beauty” of Allende’s leadership. “How he spoke to the young people still makes my heart jump [...] I felt a part of his dreams. I felt like a builder” she says, continuing “we must advance with the young people to build something else [...] Sadly, leftist parties have weakened. Others must be created. Our ideas about revolution and change, wiping out the system, those are legitimate. There will be forever”. This short statement is saturated with nostalgia for a specific moment in Chilean history, but the feeling it describes is decidedly of the present (“it still makes my hear jump”), and informs the “something else” that she says must be built. Significantly, in Nuñez’s account, the lost future that Allende imagined is not lying in wait, but has to be actively constructed in collaboration with the emergent social movements of the present.

Subsequent testimonies dwell on the multiple hopes and futures that were projected onto the figure of Allende. In different accounts he is described as an anarchist, a libertarian,
and an orthodox Marxist. In one scene, a group of former Popular Unity supporters argue over Allende’s radical credentials. One man suggests that he was not a true revolutionary as he was not prepared to take up arms earlier. Another argues, to the contrary, that what made Allende revolutionary was precisely his commitment to parliamentary democracy.

For Michael Lazzara, Guzmán’s incorporation of multiple unreconciled perspectives can be read as a “differential based aesthetic of history as ruin”, in which the filmmaker attempts to salvage values from the ruins of history (Lazzara 2009b, p.50). This aesthetic does not endorse the complete fragmentation of historical truth, but seeks to “position the viewer between two different brands of nostalgia”, restorative and reflective (2009, p.51).

The restorative nostalgia of the narrator has a critical function, making the failures of neoliberalism more acutely felt, however, the conflicting testimonies create a reflective mood, denying a utopian image of the 1970s, and remaining wary of triumphalist narratives of return (Lazzara 2009b, pp.55–58).

Lazzara’s “aesthetic of history as ruin” is a compelling description, however, I believe the film does more than “salvage” lessons and values from the rubble of Allende’s legacy. Rather than constituting simply an act of extraction, the compilation of contradictory testimonies through the filmmaking process actually restores, however momentarily, a diverse and fragmented community of resistance. By incorporating multiple unreconciled accounts, Allende is not represented as an absent father, but the product of horizontal, and often transnational, ties of solidarity between the rural poor, workers, artists and intellectuals. It was, and is, an ambivalent movement, guided by diverse and sometimes contradictory desires, but this does not detract from its radical potential. In this respect, Salvador Allende defies the transitional impulse to relegate certain ideas, groups, and individuals to the national past, and insists that those who participated in the Popular Unity form part of a non-contemporaneous community in the present for whom the endpoint of the transition is still to be determined.

Taking this argument further, I propose that the multiplicity of perspectives not only prevents closure, but resurrects one of the most radical elements of the Popular Unity; namely, its resistance to categorisation. In the filmed argument mentioned above, the editing does not reassemble a clearer picture of who Allende truly was, but dwells on the

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16 For more on the distinction between reflective and restorative nostalgia, see (Boym 2001). The theme of nostalgia will be explored further in Chapter 5.
contradictions and conflicts through which his presidency threatened the established order. According to Susana Draper, one of the most threatening elements of the Popular Unity was its refusal to adhere to the established teleologies of orthodox Marxism or liberal democracy.

The monstrous transformations of the Popular Unity government were illegible at the time not only from the point of view of the right and the Cold War anticommunist block, but also from the Soviet and Cuban block, which was initially baffled about what kind of socialism this was—the Popular Unity’s embrace of Marxism without revolution and with a parliament made them unrecognizable for the so-called socialist countries. (2012, p.138)

In line with this sentiment, *Salvador Allende* reawakens a moment when the meaning and potentialities of parliamentary democracy were radically unsettled. In this example, the haunting past is emergent and transformative, undermining the hegemonic limits of democratic process, and reimagining who might be permitted to participate within it. Crucially, within this temporal imaginary, Allende’s last stand and the bombing of La Moneda cease to be the result of flawed leadership, or an inevitable historical process, and are read instead as evidence of an enduring act of repression.

Guzmán is addressing an immense case of disappearance; a heterogeneous social movement, committed to radical social change, which seemed to vanish behind the smoke on September 11, 1973. *Salvador Allende* reveals how it is not only the repressive apparatus of the state that prevents this group from rebuilding, or reimagining itself, but an enduring structure of feeling and concomitant temporality. The suturing of Allende to La Moneda and the “last stand” is central to this sense of irreversible rupture. It transfixes the Chilean road to socialism within a linear timeline that always ends in catastrophe. In *Salvador Allende*, the “last stand” is referred to throughout, however, it is not a presented as a definitive moment of closure. This is most evident in the final scene, in which the poet Gonzalo Millán recites a string of impossible desires.

The dead rise from their graves
Planes fly backwards
Missiles return to their planes
Allende fires
The flames burn out
He removes his helmet
La Moneda is completely rebuilt
His head is healed
He steps onto the balcony
Allende returns home at Avenue Tomás Moro
Prisoners exit, their backs to bars
September 11
The armed forces respect the constitution
The military stays on its bases
Neruda is reborn
Víctor Jara plays the guitar and sings
Workers march singing
We will win

In this short poem, Allende, and the movement he represents, are wrenched free from the violence of the bombardment. In it, Allende was not simply defending Chilean constitutional democracy, but the right of the workers to march together, singing in unison “we will win”. This backwards movement could be interpreted as a desperate symptom of left melancholia, but perhaps it is more productive to read it as a temporal strategy that liberates the Popular Unity from its neoclassical tomb. Lazzara argues that the poem implicitly asks the spectator to consider the “meanings and possibilities of ‘we will win’ in the neoliberal present” (Lazzara 2009b, p.61). Taking an alternate perspective, I would argue that by acknowledging the heterogeneity of the Popular Unity, and dwelling on its enduring resistance to categorisation, the film unsettles the rigid periodisation of recent Chilean history, and points to alternative futures that are already in the process of construction. In this backwards world, La Moneda is not the home of radical politics, only a momentary receptacle.

Conclusion
This chapter has addressed two cases of haunting that are associated with the home of Chilean democracy. I first explored the use of the palace in constructing dominant temporalities of the democratic transition, including rupture, national heritage, and modernisation. My film analyses reflected on the ways filmmakers have troubled these temporalities by reckoning with ghosts that point to the violence of the democratic state, or point to more just futures that are already under construction.
In focusing on images of the bombardment, I sought to add detail to the figure of the phantom. Itself a remnant (or revenant) of psychoanalytic theory, the phantom is a duplicitous sign that points to a historical case of injustice, while simultaneously obscuring it behind a spectacular apparition. In the case of postdictatorship Chile, images of the bombardment of La Moneda have arguably morphed into a phantom that isolates the violence of the dictatorship to a specific spatio-temporal moment. Furthermore, the temporality of irreversible rupture to which it is often attached arguably contributes to the whitewashing of Chilean history prior to Allende taking power. Films such as The Shipwrecked and Nae Pasaran have provided the most challenging iterations of this scene, disrupting the suturing of event and image, and problematising the totalising tendencies of visual metaphors. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the image is reproduced uncritically, diminishing its affective resonance in the social imaginary and reinforcing a linear, sequential conception of Chilean history.

My analysis of Allende’s afterlife focussed on rearticulations of the present past—trials to “capture the spirit” of ghosts, if not resurrect their revolutionary projects. For the most part, Allende has been summoned as a legitimating figure by transitional governments, represented as an honourable democrat, tied to a fatally flawed political ideology. By contrast, Miguel Littín’s General Statement on Chile and Patricio Guzmán’s Salvador Allende actively distance Allende from the hegemonic trajectory of Chilean politics, and in doing so restore an element of futurity to the Popular Unity project. In Guzmán’s documentary, conflict and heterogeneity are restored to Allende’s afterlife, by incorporating multiple unreconciled perspectives about his presidency. A sense of rupture and ruin is apparent throughout, however, this feeling is not quarantined in the past, but pervades the present. It is not an intergenerational text. There is no clear attempt to pass on Allende’s legacy, or forge a chain of continuity with contemporary social movements. Rather, the feeling of rupture, of active and ongoing repression, offers a platform from which a new emancipatory politics might be imagined.

In search of an ending, I’ll retrace my steps, arriving at that group of students in orange baseball caps. Like Guzmán’s documentary, in the students’ intervention I see an attempt to restore futurity to Allende’s prophesy. The aim is not to start from scratch, to wipe the slate clean, but to acknowledge that the roads to follow are already embedded in the practices of resistance and remembrance. In their statement, the students imagine an
expanded field of social discontent, “the Chilotes, Aysén, Freirina Rebelde, the copper workers and the secondary school occupations”, a map that expresses a desire for a collective, transnational politics not unlike that imagined during the early 1970s. They are not making any clear demand of the government, rather they use the visibility of La Moneda to insist that the margins are the locus of Chilean politics and democracy, not the symbolic centre. This movement of students, environmentalists and indigenous people is distinct from the vision of social change that Allende offered. Nonetheless, by addressing La Moneda, they draw on the seed of an as-yet unimagined future that remains embedded in the architecture of the state.
Chapter 4. Cartographies of Fear in the Early Transition

In August 1990, Augusto Pinochet withdrew from power, leaving a military-written constitution, and settling into a lifetime position in the senate. Amnesty laws sealed off military crimes in a not-so-distant, but inaccessible past, and opponents to the incoming government were consistently framed as anachronistic, or un-patriotic (Moulian 2002; Winn 2004). In the same year, the fiction film *Imagen Latente* ("Latent Image") was released in Chilean cinemas. The narrative follows a man in search of his younger brother, who was disappeared by Chilean secret police in the early 1980s. The protagonist is a politically apathetic commercial photographer, clearly distanced from the underground social movements that were mobilised against the dictatorship at the time. Throughout the film, he becomes progressively more obsessed with his brother's disappearance. He travels throughout Santiago, following fragmented testimonies gathered from encounters with former political prisoners. In the process, the streets of Santiago, which he had previously traversed in relative security, are rendered unsettling, horrifying even. This man is a fictional character, but the trajectory he follows portrays a very tangible Santiago, replete with real street names and familiar landmarks. He does not find his brother, only disturbing traces of violence, surveillance, and poverty, ultimately coming to the realisation that his search is futile. This film is important for a number of reasons, but what interests me most is the spatial narrative it constructs. For 17 years, the film camera's gaze had been heavily censored by Pinochet, and domestic television rarely filmed outside of the studio (Wiley 2006; Cronovich 2013a). This was one of the first times that the urban landscape of Santiago had been cinematographically reimagined since the coup, and unsurprisingly the map etched out is inhabited by ghosts; traces of something lost or repressed to which only a small portion of Chilean society bears witness.

This chapter focuses on three fiction films, released in Chile during the early 1990s, analysing how they respond to and reckon with the afterlife of the Popular Unity and military rule. While Chapter 3 examined the imaginative epicentre of dictatorship violence, here I trace a more expansive spatial and temporal imaginary, in which more “peripheral” subjects stories and spaces come into view. I start by further developing my methodology, focussing on the concept of cinematic cartography; next, I analyse each film individually, tracing how the narrative composition of time and space shapes understandings of the Pinochet dictatorship and its legacies; and finally, I draw out
common themes and absences that unite the three texts, while reflecting on their relationship to the dominant discourses and temporal regimes of the early democratic transition. My analysis engages with and develops the theoretical debates raised in the second and third chapters, considering the relationship between haunting and trauma, and the potential of film as a vehicle for empathic unsettlement (LaCapra 2001; Bennett 2005; Hite 2014). I also consider to what extent haunting can be aligned with a “culture of fear” (Fagen 1992; Salimovich et al. 1992), a structure of feeling that repressed social life and reconfigures how space is represented and inhabited.

My primary texts are *Los Náufragos* (‘The Shipwrecked’, Littín, 1994), in which a political exile returns to Chile in search of his missing brother and father; *Amnesia* (Justiniano, 1994), following a traumatised former soldier troubled by acts of violence he committed during the dictatorship; and the above mentioned *Latent Image* (1988-1990). From a thematic and structural perspective, the texts share much in common. All three are narrative fiction, set in the present day or recent past, and focus explicitly on themes of dictatorship violence and personal memory. In each film, a solitary male character, troubled by an event during the early years of the dictatorship, struggles to overcome a personal loss or injustice, leading to a journey in search of historical clarity. On the surface, each text can be read as an intervention in dominant discourses of unity and consensus. However, as will become apparent, a closer interrogation of the spatio-temporal narratives reveals a more complex picture. Haunting, as a theoretical framework, prompts reflection on aesthetic qualities that disturb transitional time and provoke affective encounters with the present past, but it also pushes my gaze to the margins of the frame, demanding recognition on what is left out, abjected, or remains unspeakable. I do not read the films as exemplary interventions, but as markers of an emergent structure of feeling in which certain voices, subjects and histories continued to be marginalised, and part of my task is to acknowledge what is excluded.

The method I employ builds on the theoretical reflections of the second chapter, but is tailored to the specific context of the late dictatorship and early transition. Inspired by Giuliana Bruno, Tom Conley and Amy Corbin, I read the films as narrative maps, composed of different spatial and temporal perspectives. Conley argues that all films, irrespective of genre, produce and contest imaginative geographies of place (2007). On-location filming, where narrative action is set in “actual places” locatable outside of the
silver screen, proves especially powerful in this respect (Conley 2007, p.65), especially in contexts such as postdictatorship Chile, that had rarely been subject to the film camera’s gaze. Taking a wide discursive perspective, it is possible to trace the journeys of characters and cameras as a form of spatial practice that can then be analysed alongside official geographic imaginaries, or memoryscapes. Placed in dialogue with theories of spectrality, and situated in a specific socio-historical context, these maps can be read both as symptoms of military strategies of repression, and as interventions that resist or transcend them.

Giuliana Bruno's conceptualisation of cinematic cartography provides a way of thinking spatially about film that is sensitive to questions of temporality, intersubjectivity and affect. Her suggestion that film produces embodied journeys through city space diverges from conventional theories of representation by emphasising the tactile nature of the spectator's experience. If we are to take seriously the assertion that films do not simply represent reality, but produce new realities, the critic's gaze must remain aware of the unique ways in which time and space are felt and experienced when watching a film. Bruno's approach is particularly helpful when considering how locations are transformed by movement through place. As she puts it, “in film a relation is established between places and events that forms and transforms the narrative of a city. The city itself becomes imaged as a narrative as sites are transformed by the sequence of movements of its traveller dwellers” (Bruno 2002, p.66). As opposed to tracing a single narrative in texts, Bruno argues that individual films often contain multiple conflicting and contradictory temporalities, enabling an experience of place that unsettles stable subjectivities.

In terms of application, this involves paying close attention to the spatial trajectories of the camera and characters, consistently asking how they relate to the landscape of remembrance and oblivion that I have laid out in previous chapters. Which sites of violence and mourning are isolated and reimagined, for example? How do different subject positions enable alternative readings of the transitional landscape? How are tropes of haunting employed to “emplace memory” at particular locations? Developing the work of Amy Corbin, I analyse textual cues that promote a particular relationship to cultural landscapes, focussing on the capacity of film to render space uncanny. Corbin argues that, irrespective of spectator knowledge, film space is always fundamentally
“other,” providing an experience that is separate from everyday interactions with place. Far from offering merely an escape, this inherent otherness can render the familiar strange, enabling critical spatial interventions that challenge habitualised ways of seeing. As Corbin argues, “[w]atching something on screen that you know in real life brings a complex mix of recognition and alienation, that is akin to hearing your voice recorded” (Corbin 2014, p.318). Her theorisation of film as a form of tourism, in which the protagonist serves as a guide through place, resonates strongly with the texts examined here. However, significantly, the representation of haunting in each text consistently troubles the “look” of the protagonist, and thus denies a sense of mastery over space. Developing this line of argument, my analysis considers the production of a gaze, or aesthetic, in my chosen texts that bears witness to the absences, gaps, and unarticulated possibilities that shape how space is perceived and inhabited.

The concept of spectrality is central to this approach. Each film is a response to practices of repression that haunted certain sectors of the Chilean population into submission. A trace of that violence resides within the texts, and is mapped upon the city through the journeys of the characters. I read this mapping as a potentially transformative spatial practice, which is echoed in other social moments across Latin America. Reflecting on the struggle of the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, Taussig argues:

> What the Mothers of the Disappeared do is to collectively harness this magical power of the lost souls of purgatory and relocate memory in the contested public sphere, away from the fear-numbing and crazy-making fastness of the individual mind where paramilitary death squads and the State machinery of concealment would fix it. (1989, p.15)

Film, I argue, can act in solidarity with this project, though the tools by which the “magical power” is mobilised are quite distinct. Like the Madres, the films analysed here “relocate memory”, liberating it from the minds of the subjugated population, but they also offers insights into the everyday, personal and intimate aspects of reckoning with ghosts. My task is to interrogate these filmic strategies, examining how texts respond to the amorphous aftermath of authoritarian rule, and seek out new spaces in which to confront it. Theories of haunting offer a unique vantage point on this process as they acknowledge the shifting and unfinished properties of the past; fugitive elements that not only resist oblivion, but demand transformative action.

It is important to note that this is not a linear thematic history of Chilean film during the early transition. Scholars such as Ascanio Cavallo (1999) and Jacqueline Mouesca (2005)
have already provided in depth analyses of evolutions in style and thematic content during the 1990-2000 period, to which I will occasionally refer. My focus here, is to analyse three films that deal explicitly with legacies of the dictatorship, tracing the intertextual cartographies of haunting that they sketch out, and situating their trace within wider discourses of commemoration. My aim here is not to unpick the flaws of each text, but to read the texts as both symptoms and interventions. They are discursive artefacts embedded in a particular moment of the democratic transition, but they carry within them alternative visions of justice, politics, and place that can never be reduced to that context.

In the first chapter, I described the early transition as period of amnesia and social de-mobilisation. The tyranny of consensus reigned over the public sphere and the neoliberal economic model of the dictatorship was embraced and consolidated. Perhaps for these reasons, the early transition is often ignored by contemporary Chilean film scholars. Some dismiss it as a period in which domestic cultural production had yet to develop a nuanced approach to the politics of memory (Bossay 2014). More damning still is the suggestion that filmmakers remained paralysed by the logic of defeat, or uncritically subscribed to discourses of closure and consensus (Lillo 1995). My interrogation of the period reveals a corpus of texts that, to some extent, reproduces the dominant temporalities of the early transition (closure, progress, rupture, traumatic repetition), but also offers strategies by which they might be transgressed or challenged. The imaginative geographies constructed in these films are the products of a specific historical conjuncture, however, when submitted to analysis they also open up reflection on the symmetries between the past and present moment. The films analysed here were placed under some academic scrutiny in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Cavallo et al. 1999; Shaw 2003), but often only in passing, and never employing a methodology comparable to my own. This chapter should therefore also be read as a reevaluation of cultural production in the early transition; an attempt to salvage aesthetic forms, narrative maps, and temporal imaginaries that might be utilised in the future.
Set in the latter years of military rule, *Latent Image* depicts one man’s search for his disappeared brother. It was completed two years before Pinochet stepped down from the presidency, but due to military censorship it wasn’t released until 1990. The Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica, which prohibited the release of the film, argued that it presented “a partial and biased vision of reality that does not contribute to the concept of reconciliation and promotes the validity of class theory” (cited by Mouesca 2001, p.174). The film was indeed a partial text. The director’s brother was disappeared by the military in 1975, and he openly acknowledges that the film is semi-autobiographical (see Fuguet and Naranjo 1988). This interplay between fact and fiction is central to the power of the text. It draws on personal experience, but interrogates it through narrative and performance. It is a work of fiction, but the knowledge it contains was deemed by the military to have very real implications. One of the posters advertising the film in 1990 described it as “[l]a película prohibida” (the forbidden film), thereby capitalising on its status as a subversive vision. Though the film was made during the military rule, I choose to analyse it as transitional text, in part due to the date of its release, but also because it focuses on the repercussions of disappearance, as opposed to the originary act. By the time of widespread distribution, it was already a historical document; a narrative archive of life in the latter years of the dictatorship. However, the issues it engages with extend beyond the narrative, blurring the distinction between past and present, and questioning what forms reconciliation and justice might take once democracy is restored. The film is about the search for a ghost, but it also produces spectral images that continue to haunt the city of Santiago.

The implicit question that guides the narrative is dónde está? (where is he?), though, unlike the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*, it is the act of searching that is foregrounded, as opposed to a confrontation with the authorities. As noted in the prologue, Pedro, the film’s politically apathetic protagonist, searches for the whereabouts of his sibling, but he rarely probes for the details of military violence, and avoids the militant tactics of the underground resistance. Through his search, the film maps out a landscape of disappearance, repression, and victimhood. He encounters torture survivors and families of victims in comfortable high-rise apartments and a peripheral *población*. He visits the Vicaría de la Solidaridad (a human rights organisation), and clandestine resistance...
meetings, finally arriving at the closed gates of Villa Grimaldi, a site that, at the time of release, had recently been demolished by the military (Read and Wyndham 2016, p.132). There is no clear narrative conclusion, or closure; only a dedication in the final frame, which states ambiguously: “[w]e dedicate this film to The Families of the Detained-Disappeared. May they never stop finding them.” What form this “finding” might take is left unanswered.

From a temporal perspective, the narrative is linear. The plot is constructed as a journey, composed of a chronological sequence of events and encounters, all of which feature Pedro. Despite these formal conventions, the haunting past returns insistently throughout, materialising through flashbacks, as a feeling of loss, or a gap in knowledge, and through the recurrent motif of the filmed photograph. Following the opening credits, the protagonist sits in a darkened room watching Super 8 footage of Popular Unity supporters taking to the streets in the early 1970s. “Oh god, how beautiful!” he exclaims, gazing at the silent images. The Allende period shimmers as a mesmerising failure, the celluloid-bound shadows of which continue to enthrall Pedro, but are ultimately a reminder of loss. What can be gained by revisiting these voiceless, pulsating crowds?

Speaking through an inner monologue, Pedro goes on to reflect upon the nature of time: “the present is the fight and the future is ours”, he mutters, mimicking the slogans of the marchers in an embittered tone. “The present is shit. The future is the past viewed in the mirror of the present. Do you follow? The present is a mirror so when one looks forward, all you can see is the past.” The speech continues briefly along the same lines and eventually fades to silence. According to Pedro, historical change is an illusion; in reality, we perpetually fall into the same cyclical trap of domination and defiance. The spectator is not expected to identify with these words, spoken as they are in a tone of resentment, verging on apathy, rather they illustrate the cynicism the central character feels towards the horizon of possibility in late-dictatorship Chile. As the scene ends, a block of text notes that the archive images are part of the director’s family collection. The boundaries of fact and fiction are in this moment rendered far from secure, and the voice of the narrator accrues a new level of significance.

After this opening scene, the spatial narrative lurches throughout Chile's capital, driven by the traces of Pedro’s brother, which are partially uncovered through victim testimonies. A constellation of locations emerge, many of which can be identified by
glancing over a city map. Street signs, monuments, and well known buildings feature regularly in the *mise-en-scène*, situating the narrative in an urban environment recognisable to any resident of Santiago. It has been widely argued that on-location filming enhances authenticity for the spectator, generating an archive of urban space that we are encouraged to inhabit and explore (Barber 2002; Rushton 2013; Pratt and Juan 2014). At the same time, the otherness of on-screen space in fictional film can render familiar scenes and places strange, or uncanny (Perez 2000; Gunning 2007; Corbin 2014). It is arguably by experimenting with the relation between dwelling and alterity that *Latent Image* garners its affective power.

In one scene, Pedro waits on the balcony of an abandoned apartment in downtown Santiago, attempting to map and photograph the movements of the secret police who have been following him. From the balcony, he looks down onto a street named *Ismael Valdés Vergara*, crowded with passers-by who are unaware they are being filmed, and in the distance the iconic *Estación Mapocho* train station is clearly visible (see figures 4 and 5). After hours of waiting, a suspect black car passes, which Pedro photographs, capturing the threat that had, until that moment, resided primarily in his imagination. Like the photographs in the opening scene, the use of on-location footage blurs the boundaries of fact and fiction. Or, as Pratt and Juan argue, “shooting on location can be about unleashing the power of the fictive in the location itself” (2014, p.180). The scene might be staged, but it nonetheless happened, and continues to happen in the imagination of the spectator. It conveys a particular haunted way of seeing that acknowledges the invisible and fictive qualities of state repression. Pedro cannot be certain of the occupants of the black car, nor do his photographs provide evidence of violence. Nonetheless, the car has a repressive imaginative presence in the city, policing the actions of its inhabitants.
Figure 4: *Latent Image* (1990). Midway through the film, Pedro sits in a disused building in an attempt to track the movements of the secret police. From the balcony, he looks across at the Estación Mapocho, a famous train station that was decommissioned in 1987.

Figure 5: *Latent Image* (1990). Pedro photographs passers-by from the balcony mentioned above. The people captured by Pedro’s (and Perelman’s) lens are clearly not actors, but residents going about their daily routine.

Pedro’s gaze is not fixed, or coherent, rather it undergoes a gradual process of transformation. At the beginning of the film, his perception of the city is characterised by melancholy and apathy. He is an unsuccessful commercial photographer, disillusioned
with his work advertising bath soaps, but ambivalent about any form of collective political action. His attention, and by implication the spectator’s, is not focussed exclusively on finding his brother, rather he becomes easily distracted by random moments of beauty, family photographs, and memories of youth. It is also a patriarchal gaze, motivated by a desire to possess the women he encounters, exemplified by a scene in which he sleeps with his brother’s former lover as a means of being closer to his disappeared sibling. John King compares the film to Memorias del Subdesarrollo (“Memories of Underdevelopment” 1968), a classic text of “the Third Cinema” in which an upper middle class man drifts aimlessly through revolutionary Havana (2000, p.187). In both films the protagonist is represented as being external to the routines and trajectories of everyday life, retaining an aloof attitude that resists complete audience identification. The protagonist of Memorias is a remnant of a residual social hierarchy, and Pedro appears to be suspended between two opposing ideologies, yet the interstitial positions of the two characters provides some insight into the discontinuities and contradictions of their dominant social formations.

Pedro’s shifting relationship with city space—public and domestic—is characterised by an emerging recognition of fear. Recalling Ahmed, fear is inextricably linked to the politics of space. It provokes a “shrinking of the body,” restricting mobility in preparation for flight (2013, p.69). She argues that fear does not prevent access to public space, but shapes how that space is perceived and inhabited. In her words, fear provokes “a refusal to inhabit what is outside in ways that anticipate injury” (2013, p.70). By “outside”, Ahmed does not refer exclusively to streets, parks and plazas, but to any space beyond the everyday routines of domestic life, work, and consumption; “spaces where bodies and worlds leak into each other” (2013, p.69). According to Ahmed, fear is most oppressive when it has no clear object. “The more we don’t know who or what it is we fear the more the world becomes fearsome”, she writes, continuing “the loss of the object of fear renders the world itself a space of potential danger [...]” (2013, p.69). In line with this description, at the start of Latent Image Pedro traverses outside space in relative comfort, as he does not depart from his everyday routine, but the more he strays from this routine, the more acutely fear is felt and acknowledged. This is not to say that his life wasn’t previously shaped by fear, rather, fear had become “the organising structure of life” (Salimovich et al. 1992, p.89), an unacknowledged presence shaping the public sphere and Pedro’s interactions with it. Salimovich et al. argue that during the Southern Cone dictatorships
people did not want to be seen as fearful, and as a result, fear itself became the object of fear. They go on to claim that “[f]ear associated with anxiety and guilt interfered with the perception and analysis of reality. Such people emerged in what we might describe as a state of numbness” (1992, p.89). Throughout much of the film Pedro exhibits this “state of numbness,” but through his encounters with the apparatuses of repression, and its victims, another emergent structure of feeling begins to take shape.

The goal of overcoming fear is a key idea within both transitional justice theory (see Garretón 1992) and the political rhetoric of the Chilean transition (Cronovich 2013b, p.11). This is often conceived as a spatial movement from private space to public space (Martínez 1992), and a mnemonic shift from atomised subjective memories to collective remembrance and reconciliation (Franco 1987). While these are valid aims, the idea of overcoming fear can reproduce simplistic conceptions of healing, reconciliation, and exorcism, implying that the conditions that produced fear have ended. To some extent, Latent Image enacts the desire to overcome fear, but it also troubles that desire, or at least certain forms of “overcoming”. Initially, the protagonist seeks to rebel against this covert manner of existence, arguing with a member of the resistance that cases of injustice need to be shouted out from the rooftops. However, he soon learns that to raise one’s voice or stray from the well-trodden path attracts the attention of the secret police. The film could thus be read as an attempt to overcome the “fear of fear” that Salimovich et al. describe. Pedro puts himself in those spaces where “bodies and worlds leak into each other” (Ahmed 2013, p.69)—human rights organisations, underground resistance meetings, the entrance gates of Villa Grimaldi—and, in the process, the affective experience of fear is increasingly felt. This is not a movement from private to public, or imprisonment to freedom. The vast majority of scenes take place within the homes of victims, or in enclosed, transitory non-places such as elevators and stairwells. A sense of claustrophobia and growing recognition of the panoptic gaze of the military intensifies throughout the narrative, accompanying Pedro’s gradual process of psychic transformation. The longer he searches, the more attuned he becomes to trailing vehicles and helicopters passing overhead. Even the home, a place of apparent security and refuge, is vulnerable. In a scene towards the end of the film, Pedro’s house is raided by police and ransacked for information, leaving his wife and young child terrified. It is unclear whether this is a real
event or character vision, but this distinction is ultimately of little importance. As Foucault argued, the threat of the panoptic gaze is as disruptive as its actualisation (1995). By staging encounters with fear as both a repressive and a transformative feeling, the film productively complicates and problematises both the official rhetoric of the early transition and some dominant theories of transitional justice. Pedro’s mounting recognition of fear not only opens up space for new affective communities of resistance, but exposes the privilege of his own gaze, and the calls of the powerful to collectively move on.

In *Latent Image*, haunting as a “something-to-be-done” begins to emerge through the ongoing experience of loss and an emergent encounter with fear—the affective evidence of a vast infrastructure of repression that is felt but not seen. Significantly, the film does not represent Pedro’s journey as a model by which haunting might be reckoned with, rather the feeling of haunting problematises the aims that underpin the journey, and the solitary approach by which it is undertaken. Pedro sets out by trying to form a clear picture of what happened to his brother, but the traces that he follows resist clarification, forcing him to retrace his steps and start from the beginning. According to B.C. Lim, ghost stories often problematise hegemonic conceptions of closure and justice by plotting aberrant and cyclical journeys through space. In her words,

> Whereas most stories serve up a beginning that is different from its ending, the ghost narrative has a tendency to transgress the principles of narrative linearity without becoming anti-narrative [...]. Its fragmentation of time still lies within the purview of the spectator’s narrative engagement, because the narrative (which conventionally follows the actions of a character) is merely tracing the movements of a ghost, yet in so doing follows her cyclical, spectral temporality, one that departs from linear narrative time. (2001, p.300)

Though *Latent Image* is not a conventional ghost story, the narrative is driven by the erratic movements of a spectre (the disappeared brother). This spectre arises in the childhood photographs, archive footage, and the testimony of a torture victim, none of which offers the information that Pedro desires. Photographs of his brother haunt Pedro—he stares at them and talks to them frequently—but they say nothing of his brother’s final resting place, or of the mechanics of his disappearance. By the end of the film, Villa Grimaldi emerges at the centre of a wider map of disappearance, but when Pedro reaches its gates, they do not impart any revelatory meaning, and narrative closure is roundly denied. In summary, the erratic spatial trajectory of the central character both
reproduces the repressive qualities of haunting, and calls into question value of closure and justice based on a “clear picture”.

The film is arguably at its most challenging when the gaze of the protagonist is reversed and problematised. In one key scene towards the end of the narrative, Pedro visits the house of a female torture victim who tells him that his brother was shot. The framing and acting reproduce the aesthetics of a testimony documentary, and there is a strong sense that the actress is drawing on first-hand experience. Though she claims she is able to talk with ease about her experience, she is clearly traumatised, and her testimony is full of lapses and uncertainties. The questions Pedro asks are measured, detached and focussed on the fate of his brother. “Where did you hear that?” “Who told you?” These questions produce no definitive reply, or concrete information, frustrating the main character’s insatiable demand for a clear picture. When he asks about her own experience, the answers are similarly ambiguous. “Your time in Cuatro Alamos must have been terrible?” he states. “Terrible, yes, but they didn’t torture me like the others, if by torture you mean the *parrilla*”. The scene explores the limitations of spoken testimony, and the search for a definitive account of events. Pedro’s questions and manner seem inadequate; an attempt to affirm a certain version of events, which the traumatised narration of the victim ultimately denies. At the end of the scene, he takes a self-portrait in the street outside of the apartment, a gesture that documents his presence in the landscape and affirms his autonomy, but the political value of this autonomy has been undermined.

In the penultimate scene, Pedro follows a militant activist to her home in La Victoria, a *población* in the outskirts of the city that was a key site of struggle against the dictatorship. The woman’s father was disappeared at the same time as Pedro’s brother, and their shared experience of loss initially draws them together. After listening to a monologue in which Pedro reflects on the debilitating nature of his endless search, she looks upon the protagonist with a mixture of curiosity and disdain. “All you care about is yourself […] my father is the fight,” she says. In this moment we are forced to consider the motivations that drive the protagonist. How does this ghost hunt further the pursuit of justice if it is conducted in isolation? What future can be imagined beyond the discovery

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17 The term *parrilla* refers to a form of torture utilising an electrified bed frame. It is also the Spanish word for “grill”, exemplifying how everyday words and object became tainted by violence during the Southern Cone dictatorships (see Feitlowitz 1999, p.56).
of his brother’s fate? According to Michael O’Riley, a “spectral encounter” is a meeting between a subject and a trace, or a vestige of the past that denies the confirmation of subjectivity (O’Riley 2008, p.8). Similarly, by questioning Pedro’s motivations, the activist disrupts the worldview of the protagonist and the logic of defeat to which it is bound—that sense that the Popular Unity was a beautiful failure irreversibly cut off from the present. The woman he meets is not a spectre, or in some way “other”, yet she simultaneously embodies the aspirations of the Popular Unity as a political movement, and the ongoing fight for social justice. Finally, the encounter re-situates Pedro within a diverse network of victims, survivors, and activists. His actions are political, irrespective of whether he intends them to be.

The transformation in the way Pedro perceives the city can be read as a performance of empathic unsettlement in which the symptoms of haunting are represented and reproduced. In line with LaCapra’s theorisation of the term, the film denies closure and resists simplistic identification with victims (2001). It also moves beyond the binaries of victim and perpetrator and explores the ways in which different subjects are implicated in injustice. Further, the cyclical and fragmented narrative structure reproduces a particular experience of haunting, in line with LaCapra’s claim that writing should provoke a muted form of retraumatisation (2001, p.71). Significantly, in this case, empathic unsettlement is premised on denaturalising dominant transitional narratives about overcoming fear and trauma through struggles for truth and reconciliation. Pedro’s desire for clarity, and resistance to collective politics, to some extent reproduces these dominant narratives. However, the cyclical search, his encounters with other responses to disappearance, and the intensifying sense of fear, combine to enact some form of psychic transformation. They produce an embryonic feeling that in order to “find” his brother, something—something else, something more, something other—must be done.

Ultimately, Pedro never joins the resistance. This is not a tale of redemption. The final scene is a car-mounted tracking shot moving through Santiago on a rain-soaked day, and Pedro’s voiceover from the opening sequence resurfaces, as it it’s been playing on a loop throughout. “Because the future is a mirror of the past, and for that reason it’s never so different”, he says, reinforcing a feeling of hopelessness and alienation. However, the pessimism of the conclusion does not deny the potential or necessity of collective politics. Rather, Pedro’s perspective is now just one voice in a wider community of discontent. In
an earlier scene, the chants that Pedro muttered sarcastically in the opening sequence have become actualised. “El pueblo, unido, jamás será vencido” (The people, united, will never be defeated) reverberates around the walls of an underpass, called out by a group of youths in a state of near euphoria. Ultimately, the ambivalence of *Latent Image* reflects the difficulty of reconciling the different times of opposition. In this respect, it does not wholly reject reconciliation, but begins to imagine it otherwise.

In summary, *Latent Image* is not exclusively concerned with bringing scenes of violence to light and therefore diverges from dominant conceptions of truth and justice. Instead, it generates an embodied experience of the Santiago cityscape that is at once claustrophobic and disorienting. The incorporation of spoken victim testimonies does not establish the facts about cases of past injustice, rather they conjure a convoluted map for the protagonist to follow that conveys the ongoing temporality of disappearance. Reflecting on the limitations of spoken testimony in postdictatorship Latin America, Macarena Gómez-Barris argues that:

> Language [...] fails to capture the moment of rupture, the event of disaster, the effects of living with terror in the mind and body. It is precisely the gap of language, where narrative description fails to translate the uncanny grip of limit events. That is, narration fails to capture the intensity, affective density, and experiential dimension of atrocity. (2010a)

*Latent Image* overcomes this problem through its composition of time and space. The spectral map it generates cannot reproduce the fear or pain experienced by victims, but points instead to something previously unseen that needs to be actively sought out. The affective resonance of the “event” begins to let itself be known through a prolonged encounter with Santiago itself. *Latent Images* does not offer a normative model for overcoming disappearance; Pedro’s journey does not offer a framework for either individual healing or wider social transformation. But it does offer a reflection on the social and psychic conditions that restrict the emergence of a more widespread emancipatory politics—the numbing effects of a fear that has no object; the atomisation of society; the logic of defeat that severs the 1970s from the present; and the prioritisation of truth over justice.
The Shipwrecked

Like Perelman's disoriented search, The Shipwrecked follows a solitary man looking for his disappeared brother. Arón is an exile, who arrives in Chile in the early 1990s to uncover the fate of his brother (Ur) and find the grave of his father, who was shot following the coup. From a thematic perspective, the film is also concerned with representing, and reproducing, feelings of dislocation and alienation that are common themes in texts about exilic homecoming journeys (Naficy 2013, p.229). It represents one of many returns from exile (real and fictive) during the first years of democracy, including that of the director. Again, character motivation is formulated around the question donde está? yet it is clear that Arón is also in search of the country he left behind twenty years previously. Significantly, unlike Perelman's film, Littín shuns realist representation, experimenting with neo-baroque aesthetics and multiple different tropes of haunting, an aesthetic that heightens the film's allegorical undertones from the outset. Ghost do not linger at the edge of the frame, but are placed firmly in centre-frame.

The protagonist's journey takes him from Santiago to his family home, a formerly wealthy hacienda that, during the Allende years, was converted into a collectively run farm by the recently mobilised rural workforce. Through flashbacks we learn that Arón's father was a progressive landowner, committed to the socialist cause, who was eventually betrayed by his own clerk (Mola) on the day of the coup. This is a thinly veiled allegory to the life of Allende. Indeed, Stefan Rinke reads the film as an allegory for an orphaned nation in search of a guiding father figure (2001). Returning to the house of his childhood, the surrounding landscape and buildings are in decline, but relatively unchanged. Bougainvillea still climbs the walls of the central courtyard and waves continue to pulse in from the nearby Pacific. These points of apparent continuity and stability, however, are constantly interrupted by the violent past. Fractured memories materialise in the form of flashbacks and apparitions, to the point at which it is uncertain whether a particular character inhabits the past or present. For the protagonist, each street corner bears the traces of violence and absence, yet this is not apparent to passers-by in Santiago who go about their daily routine. Arón is not a witness to the original act of violence, but to

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18 The term shipwreck has been used throughout the transition to describe the trajectory of the Chilean road to socialism (See Riquelme Segovia 2007; León 2015), though who exactly “the shipwrecked” are in the film remains ambiguous.
residues and material effect of that violence which societal amnesia has made invisible. Following fragments of information, garnered in part from meetings with the man who betrayed his father, he eventually discovers his brother’s body, partially decomposed in an unmarked grave in the Atacama Desert. The film ends with an embrace between Arón and his brother’s former lover, Isol, while his brother’s ghost runs happily through the desert. Love, reconciliation and closure are apparently encountered through the communal act of exhumation.

Viewed as a whole, the film is a homecoming narrative with a cathartic ending. The eerily euphoric final scene posits that some form of material resolution is necessary to work through and overcome traumatic histories, performing what Bevernage and Colaert describe as the time of “trauma, therapy and closure” (2014). As acknowledged in my second chapter, this is a temporality common to state-sponsored truth commissions and liberal human rights discourse, in which the truth of a traumatic past must be uncovered and addressed in order for it to ultimately be put to rest. One of the issues with this temporality is its separation of historical trauma from political action in the present. Victims are allowed to be disruptive only up to the moment of revelation, at which point they are expected to move on. Ghosts persevere as sources of antagonism until they become reified as a physical body or monument, which, once materialised, can be forgotten, or allocated a legitimate place in the nation’s heritage.

Before dismissing *The Shipwrecked* as part of a depoliticising discourse of closure, we must look more closely at the gaze of the protagonist and its disorienting construction of place. From the opening narration, delivered by the protagonist, his journey is portrayed as a pilgrimage with a clear aim, but no destination:

**Arón:** It was a confused journey, searching for this strange and far away city, el Camino de Santiago. At least I had one clear objective. Find the place where my father was buried, and above all, find my brother.

By responding to fragments of information about his brother, the character’s movements recreate a fractured and arrhythmic experience of time and space, but this is not entirely debilitating. For Gordon, haunting involves being led elsewhere: “it is making you see things you did not see before, it is making an impact on you; your relation to things that seemed separate or invisible is changing” (2008, p.98). Likewise, the map etched out in *The Shipwrecked* is partial and discontinuous, leading Arón to locations that are not typically associated with dictatorship violence. Like *Latent Image*, the film looks beyond
the officially recognised map of state repression—composed of detention centres and mass graves—and provokes encounters with victims and perpetrators in domestic spaces and well-known landmarks.

Part of this remapping involves an assault on dominant articulations of the “tourist gaze” (Urry 2002) in transitional Chile, which focussed on scenes of natural beauty and technological progress (see Korowin 2010). The body of Arón’s brother is eventually discovered in the Valley of the Moon, an iconic rock formation in the Atacama Desert that features prominently in the national topographical imagination (Quiñones 2013) (see figure 6). Littín takes great care to replicate the exact image that features in postcards and tourist snapshots. By staging an exhumation at this site/sight, a fictive trace of state repression is emplaced in a natural national monument, and the way the desert landscape is perceived and consumed by the tourist gaze is disturbed. In one of the opening scenes, when Arón first ventures into Santiago, we pass swiftly between glass skyscrapers and streets full of anonymous passers-by, guided by a car-mounted travelling shot. A similar shot was employed in numerous adverts for Chilean tourism and foreign investment at the time, celebrating the modernity of Santiago in comparison to the capitals of less developed Latin American nations. The visual discourse of modernisation, however, is refuted by the melancholic soundtrack and a voiceover that describes Santiago as “a strange and far away city”. In other words, the tourist gaze and the optic of the state are subverted by the gaze of the returning exile. Actual locations, typically perceived as national heritage, are tainted by violence that seethes just beneath the surface, while the shimmering emblems of economic growth are viewed with a sense of alienation.

Amy Corbin argues that film can produce three different forms of spectatorship in relation to space and place. The touristic gaze, in which otherness and difference are tamed and mapped out, often enabled by a travelling character who serves as a guide; dwelling, which simulates an “insider” perspective of the landscape, characterised by familiarity and presence; and nomadism, which provokes an experience of disorientation and displacement, refusing to offer an all-seeing map of the terrain being represented (2015). These are useful categories of analysis, however, The Shipwrecked sits uncomfortably between them. As noted above, in some respects, it reproduces the tourist gaze. The mise-en-scène incorporates prominent symbols of Chilean national identity, and these symbols are given meaning through Arón’s guiding perspective. By focussing on
Arón’s former home, it also approximates the experience of dwelling—of being inside the landscape. The camera does not interact with the details of the mise-en-scène, but takes them for granted as the stable markers of home. And finally, Arón’s itinerant search could be read as a nomadic aesthetic, marked by liminality and uncertainty, which nonetheless offers a powerful challenge to hegemonic imaginaries of place. Crucially, The Shipwrecked does not merely encourage different forms of spectatorship, but challenges and undermines them. The tourist gaze is reproduced, but tainted with violence; the experience of dwelling is undermined by loss and absence; and the nomadic character of Arón’s journey remains oriented around a missing site—the location of Ur’s body. In sum, the film not only represents places as haunted, but challenges the dominant modalities of vision through which those places are interpreted; it produces a haunted way of seeing.

Figure 6: The Shipwrecked (1994). The final exhumation scene takes place in the Valley of the Moon, an iconic rock formation in the Atacama Desert. Like Latent Image, fictive traces of state repression are emplaced in a national monument.

To some extent, this haunted gaze grants the spectator a critical viewpoint, providing a perspective that bears witness to the plural temporalities of the transition and the unfolding legacies of the transition. Reflecting more broadly on Chilean exile cinema, the film scholar, José Miguel Palacios argues that exiled protagonists are often represented as unusually perceptive; “they have gained the privileged perspective of the outsider, the
ability to look at one's own culture with foreign eyes” (2014, p.163). Crucially, Palacios argues, films made by exiles share a temporality in which exile is enduring and disruptive, asynchronous with the linear notion of transition and its implicit teleological conception of progress (Palacios 2014a, p.153). For Hamid Naficy, this perspective amounts to an “accented structure of feeling”, rooted in “experiences of deterritorialisation, which oscillate between dysphoria and euphoria, celibacy and celebration” (2013, pp.26–27). Likewise, in The Shipwrecked, Arón’s gaze is both privileged and disoriented; perceptive and critical, but still shrouded in a sense of terminal loss and rupture.

This sense of rupture that pervades the narrative is partly a reflection of Arón’s mental state, but it is also made material by the main setting of film. By foregrounding the hacienda as a site of memory, Littín addresses a historic symbol of Chilean national identity and social inequality. Orlove argues that the moral economy of the Chilean nation was forged at these landed estates, structured around conservative values and a patriarchal social order (1997, p.245). The agrarian reform implemented by the Popular Unity sought to break up the haciendas, and redistribute land to collective cooperatives. While the coup is often characterised as a counter reform, which restored power to the landed class, Antonio Bellisario argues that the dictatorship was itself a revolution in which the hacienda system was definitively dismantled and replaced by neoliberal agrarian capitalism (Bellisario 2007). In line with this version of events, The Shipwrecked does not represent a country in which the “old” patriarchal power relations have been restored. Rather, the decaying condition of the family home, and its ghostly inhabitants, give the impression that the hacienda, and Allende’s plans to overturn it, have been left behind to fester. The sense of rupture is put into words by the voiceover in the opening sequence, in which Arón receives a letter that appears to be from his brother. The letter states that “[n]ow, and for a long time, it has been winter in Chile, What are you waiting for to return, brother? […] According to all the newspapers all the exiles are free to return.” This epistolary narration, apparently delivered by one of the desaparecidos, frames the dictatorship as a revolution in which the Chile of old, and the temporal rhythms that governed it, lingers only as a ruin, and at no point in the ensuing story is the possibility of a “re-awakening” made apparent.
Palacios echoes this reading when analysing *Acta General de Chile* (General Statement on Chile, 1986), a documentary made clandestinely by Littín during the latter years of military rule. In his words:

> In *General Statement on Chile*, September 11 is the rupture that disturbs everything, that “breaks time and impedes the future work of memory.” This means that the coup breaks the temporality of the revolution, and turns the Allende years into a too distant past, not even recoverable by memory because the subject who remembers is now a completely different person. (2014a, p.147)

Similarly, in *The Shipwrecked* the memories of the protagonist, represented through flashbacks, are often distant, ephemeral or surreal, denying the audience complete comprehension of what came before. Visions of the past might intrude on the present, but they remain fundamentally severed from it. It seems the Popular Unity years are tainted by what is to come and, therefore, cannot serve as an emancipatory trace. These tropes exemplify the logic of defeat that pervaded the work of artists and intellectuals on the left throughout the 1990s. The narrative and aesthetic reflect Avelar’s description of untimeliness, in which ruin and allegory are utilised to make texts “foreign to their present” (1999, p.20). In *The Shipwrecked* there is a marked sense of being between times. Arón feels alienated from the amnesiac culture of the transition, however, his memories of the 1970s are bound to a horizon of expectation that has lost its coherence and plausibility, and the something to be done that they induce remains unclear.

The sense of rupture and spatial alienation that dominates the film is both challenging and problematic. By foregrounding the perspective of the returning exile, those who remained are rendered peripheral. Arón’s is a gaze marked by privilege, both in terms of his class and outsider status. In contrast, those individuals that continue to inhabit the hacienda (predominantly women) are represented as mere remnants of the past; victims without agency who are tainted with complicity. Arón’s bereaved mother spends her days painting shadows on walls, and visiting the nearby derelict train station, in the hope that her son Ur might return. The servants go about their daily tasks as if nothing had happened, while the building disintegrates around them. Analysing the film in 1999, Cavallo et al. argue “its theme is the absence of the father, and in no case of the mother. By contrast, the mother exists in a pattern of dependency on the patriarchal head, and her madness has been produced by the collapse of that head” (Cavallo et al. 1999, p.52). Such images evoke Anne Cubilié’s conceptualisation of “ghostliness” (2005), referenced
in Chapter 3, in which she critiques the representation of victims as ghosts in post-conflict societies. In her words, “[s]uch positioning strips survivors (once again) of their humanity, removing them from the quotidian realm of “us” (2005, p.xii). From a spatio-temporal perspective, those living in the hacienda are confined to domestic space, and the repetitive menial chores with which it is often associated. Meanwhile, Arón traverses the country relatively freely, albeit following a trajectory that is full of gaps and dead ends.

In some respects, The Shipwrecked performs the distinction between trauma and haunting that Gordon goes at length to emphasise (2011, p.3). Trauma, encapsulated in crumbling hacienda and the figure of the mother, reflects an incapacity to move beyond an originary act of violence, and a crippling melancholia focussed exclusively around a lost object. Haunting, by contrast, is a shared structure of feeling that demands a “something-to-be-done”, initiating movement through place that provides new ways of seeing, uncovers subjugated knowledge and even seeks out alternative futures. Arón’s relationship with his brother's ghost is dynamic and critical. His journey is wandering and peripatetic, but not trapped within a cycle of traumatic repetition. One of the problems with this distinction, as it is articulated by this particular text, is its implicit gendering of trauma, place, and nationhood. In The Shipwrecked, trauma is feminine, clinging, and abject; embodied in the figure of the mother, the servants, and the crumbling remains of domestic life. By contrast, haunting, which emerges through Arón’s exilic subject position, moves beyond the original act of violence and provides insights into the calamitous transformations wrought by military rule.

This reading is applicable to much of the text, however, the film's narration of haunting ultimately troubles Arón’s exilic gaze, and forces him to look again at his surroundings. Ur’s ghost is part of this process. Represented as an apparition in the present, Ur is a mercurial figure, sometimes cheerful, sometimes filled with rage. In psychological terms, the ghost’s presence visualises ongoing conversations between grievers and deceased victims that Brandon Hamber claims are integral to the subjective process of adjusting to loss (2009, p.86). On a broader symbolic level, it is also a powerful instrument of self-critique, subjecting Arón’s actions to an imagined gaze from the past that questions the motivations of his journey. In one scene, as Arón arrives at the hacienda, Ur’s ghost reimagines the road itself as a haunted site, teeming with ghosts that predate the military coup.
Ur: Take care, Arón, because the roads of Chile are full of phantoms and apparitions. Remember that the roads to the village are covered in sharp stones from the rivers, and like old dry riverbeds, these roads are full of demons. The roads of Chile are like seeing through a broken mirror, like a window in flames.

In this utterance, los desaparecidos form part of a legion of ghosts, in which they are neither unique nor exceptional. As Cavallo et al. argue, the film suggests the roads of Chile have “always (and not just now) been plagued with phantoms” (1999, p.184). Ur points to the beginnings, or re-emergence, of a wider landscape of disappearance. He does not want to be found, placed on a pedestal, or even remembered, calling instead for Arón to look again at who and what has been disappeared throughout the course of Chilean history. Like the Rettig Report, the film focuses on achieving justice for the maximal victims of regime—Allende and the disappeared. However, by imagining what the disappeared ask of the living, this narrow conception of justice is opened up and radicalised.

Arón's memories of Ur, presented in flashbacks, also trouble the uncritical idealisation of the Popular Unity as an object of mourning. In these memories, Ur argues with his father about the doomed trajectory of the Popular Unity and calls for an armed uprising from below. He castigates Arón for his apathy and warns that “all this will be a memory if we don't take action”. The film does not take sides in this ideological conflict within the left, but by acknowledging the conflict, and the patriarchal aspects of the father's power, a more critical conception of mourning and inheritance begins to emerge. Like the unreconciled testimonies in Guzmán's Salvador Allende, the character of Ur restores heterogeneity to the oppositional imaginary of 1970s, turning it into a site of struggle and latent possibility, the traces of which extend into the present. Notably, it also troubles uncritical forms of restorative nostalgia that desire the return of the past as a whole way of life, enabling a more reflexive meditation on what can or should be salvaged.

Arón's response to disappearance is most forcefully challenged by Isol, Ur’s former partner, who continues to live in the hacienda. When Arón accuses her of complicity with the regime for her apparent inertia, she responds that “[i]n Chile, only the dead are innocent”, going on to say that Arón’s solitary search will see him die alone. Both Isol and Arón desire to be haunted by Ur, but Isol is not exclusively compelled to find his body,
and instead seeks out other means of keeping the dead alive, including writing letters in Ur's name:

**Isol:** One night they entered, when we were asleep, and they took him. They took him from my arms and I never knew anything more of him. Since that moment everything has been a nightmare, a useless search [...] Then I began to reply to your (Arón's) letters, to think, and look through his eyes, and breathe his breath. It was the only way of keeping him alive. Ur doesn't want to die.

Like Pedro’s encounter with the activist in *Latent Image*, the protagonist’s gaze is not only challenged by his brother's ghost, but by encounters with other ways of narrating the presence of the dead, which are not oriented exclusively towards subjective closure. In this light, the final exhumation scene, in which Arón and Isol travel to the desert together, posits that loss only becomes bearable when it is shared with others. As well as depicting a fantasy of partial closure, haunting is portrayed as a relational structure of feeling that will remain repressive unless reckoned with collectively. The something-to-be-done made apparitional in the desert is neither revolutionary, nor radical, but it does imagine some form of reconciliation between individuals who have become atomised by fear, loss, and grief.

To summarise, *The Shipwrecked* is a deeply ambivalent text. It acknowledges a shared sense of bereavement for an idealised father figure, but also questions the patriarchal relations that underpin that bereavement. It perpetuates a sense of rupture between dictatorship and democracy, but points to ghosts that precede the coup, and imagines forms of narration that keep the dead alive. It enacts the fantasy of finding the brother's grave, but questions the political efficacy of that finding. It depicts women who are trapped in a cycle of traumatic repetition, but also troubles the autonomous male gaze of the protagonist. Perhaps the dominant theme of the film is non-contemporaneity. The heterogeneous assemblage of subjects represented all live outside of the dominant rhythms of capitalist modernity. While this non-contemporaneity is not necessarily emancipatory, it does break from the totalising logic of the transition. It insists that the restoration of national simultaneity is neither possible, nor desirable. John Berger writes that “when hell is denounced from within, it ceases to be hell”. This is necessarily a collective task, as isolation is one of the conditions of hell; isolation from the dead, from imagined futures, and from those around you. Littín's film forms part of this denunciation
by reimagining repression as a shared social experience that precedes and exceeds the events of September 11, 1973.

Amnesia

Gonzalo Justiano's Amnesia severs the autobiographical bond between director and protagonist witnessed in Latent Image and The Shipwrecked. Here, once again, we see a middle-aged, middle class man pushed to the margins of society, but in a rare perspectival shift, it is the gaze of the military that we uncomfortably share. Initially set in the present day (the early 1990s), in the port city of Valparaiso, the narrative follows a psychologically disturbed former soldier (Ramírez) out to take revenge against his former commanding officer (Zúñiga). Accompanying this narrative, a second temporal tract consistently interrupts the action, revealing the acts of violence that Ramírez was ordered to commit during the early days of dictatorship, culminating in the execution of two unarmed political prisoners. The protagonist first spots his commanding officer from a bus in the centre of the city. He alights, follows, and confronts him, but instead of reaping vengeance, accompanies him to an upmarket restaurant. After an apparent process of reconciliation, Ramírez kidnaps the sergeant with the help of a former detainee (Alvear). In the final scene, he sits with his wife for their anniversary dinner with the dazed Zúñiga bound to a chair in the corner of the room. The figure that had plagued the protagonist's mind is now materialised and tamed, but far from banished entirely.

The opening five minutes of Amnesia transform Valparaiso from a vibrant coastal city, famous for its brightly painted houses, to a labyrinth of ominous streets, riddled with hiding places where dangerous figures might slide into anonymity. Low-key spot lighting, discomforting camera angles, and tense string music evoke the aesthetics of film noir. In fact, bereft of sunlight, Valparaiso's warped streets and suspended hilltop houses are evocative of noir's precursor, German Expressionism, in which the psychological state of the characters is reflected in the mise-en-scène. When a street vendor, whom Ramírez asks for directions, offers the protagonist a bulb of garlic for good luck, the pastiche of sinister genres is complete, this time drawing on tropes of the gothic. Vampires are an altogether more material threat than phantoms. On locating the house of Zúñiga, Ramírez lingers in the street outside, and when the front door opens, he tentatively confronts his former commanding officer. This encounter sparks an extended flashback and, from the
shadowy streets of Valparaiso, we are faced with the glaring sunlight and barren expanse of the Atacama Desert.

Throughout the film, the audience is intermittently fed scenes from the early dictatorship, in which a small unit of soldiers, including Ramírez, transport a small group of political prisoners to an isolated military base in the desert. Reminiscent of Helvio Soto’s film *Caliche Sangriento* (“Bloody Nitrate” 1969)—in which a group of Chilean soldiers drift aimlessly through the desert during the War of the Pacific—the flashback scenes draw on the vast, apparently empty, landscape of the Atacama to emphasise the absurdity of human conflict and Chilean nationalism. The soldiers are ordered to patrol the camp, hoist the Chilean flag, and guard the prisoners, but as the months go by, friendships begin to emerge between the prisoners and their guards, and the soldiers themselves begin to feel like prisoners—of high command, of the desert, and of the regimented rituals of military life. If read as a form of dark tourism, these scenes both illuminate the violent past and satisfy a desire in the spectator to revisit the originary site/act of violence. Desert concentration camps are a potent symbol of dictatorship violence in the Chilean cultural imaginary, stemming principally from the discovery of a mass grave of political prisoners in the port of Pisagua. By staging a mnemonic return to this fictional site, Justiniano visualises a scene that had thus far resided principally in the imagination of the population. He also imbues life to victims that had come to public attention as partially decomposed corpses, photographed and disseminated in the national press.

Flashbacks should not necessarily be associated with the disruption of linear time. As an explication of character psyche or narrative progression, this trope often serves to clarify historical events and thus reinstate a chronological understanding of temporal progress (Turim 2001). In the words of Michael Currie, a theorist specialising in temporalities of modern literature, “the representation of memory [...] does nothing to question the forward movement of time (2006, p.78). In the case of *Amnesia*, mnemonic flashbacks serve to clarify events from the past and “uncover” a history that has been buried in the recesses of the protagonist’s mind. At no point is the veracity of these memories questioned, and the legacies of dictatorship rule are restricted to the minds of a small minority, composed of victims and perpetrators. Perhaps more interesting is the stark contrast in lighting and *mise-en-scène* between the two spatio-temporal tracts, and consequent subversion of early transitional discourses of transparency and illumination.
The “dark past” of the dictatorship is realigned with the vivid sunlight of the Atacama, while transitional space, and the “now time” that accompanies it, is punctuated by shadows and blind spots. In other words, the dark past is literally brought to light, while the present remains tainted by impunity.

Following the first meeting, and subsequent flashback, Ramírez accompanies Zúñiga to an upmarket restaurant in the city centre. As the pair discuss “old times” we learn that Zúñiga too suffers from the intrusion of unwelcome memories. “You have to forget the past and focus on the future”, implores Zúñiga. As he speaks, we are presented with an uncomfortable point-of-view shot from Ramírez’s perspective. The aging military man leans forward and spits the words into the camera, provoking a visceral response of repulsion in the spectator. “You have to forget all of the negative, and focus just on the positive things. It’s like a form of self-controlled amnesia”. As described in the second chapter, these sentiments were widely espoused within the transitional public sphere, and to hear them repeated by such an unpleasant character aligns this discourse with a desperate struggle to evade justice. More interesting still is the setting of this scene. After several glasses of wine, it transpires that the restaurant is a regular haunt of several retired military officials. In contrast to the memorials at Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38, here perpetrators of state repression are pictured alongside upholstered furniture and crystal glasses. As opposed to a cartography of fear, Amnesia begins to etch out a geography of perpetrators that is hidden in plain sight. “Here we are free to talk as we like. There are many others like us here”, says Zúñiga, as the camera pans across the fellow diners. In this moment Ramírez is forced to confront his own complicity and feelings of guilt. The imagined “us” interpellates him as a cog in the machinery of state repression, and thus his efforts to exculpate his own guilt are hampered.

The aforementioned noir influence, and unravelling map of decadence and impunity, are by no means unique to this text. Postdictatorship Chilean culture, most notably literature, has consistently incorporated narrative and aesthetic elements from the noir genre, in order to interrogate the discontinuities of the transition (Waldman 2009). According to Gilda Waldman, a Chilean literary theorist, these texts generally include a cynical middle-aged detective, sceptical of political ideologies from either side, who makes it his task to solve the ongoing crime of military influence. Waldman goes on to argue that “[s]olving a crime [...] also involves “ordering” the time that has elapsed since the 1973 rupture,
overcoming the emptiness created by authorized voices in their reconstruction of the country’s image” (2009, p.130). In other words, the trauma of the coup can only be overcome, or worked through, by re-establishing a chronology of events. Though Waldman sees “utopian potential” in such temporal ordering, it is not in the sphere of social justice, but towards a form of ethics that is “deeply subjective and personal” (2009, p.130). Amnesia is not a detective story, but the narrative is still driven by the pursuit of justice on a targeted individual level. Likewise, the protagonist is not interested solely in a past event, but in the ongoing issue of impunity. Unlike Waldman, however, I do not see these elements as inherently transformative, but as symptoms of a temporal regime that takes for granted the eventual possibility of restored national simultaneity.

Any talk of re-establishing linearity in fictive or institutional discourse should be approached with trepidation. Temporal juxtaposition, revelation of crimes, and the restoration of continuity are precisely the narrative devices employed by the Rettig Report in order to assert the relative peace of the present. In fact, by situating scenes of explicit violence exclusively in the Atacama Desert, it might be argued that repression is spatially contained at a location that remains physically peripheral to everyday life (precisely the reason the Atacama was chosen by the military as a site for the disposal of bodies). Similarly, spatio-temporal disruption is largely limited to the psyche of the protagonist, which is then counterpoised with the “healthy” mental state of other characters, such as Ramírez’s wife. Such a representation is consonant with the transitional government’s approach to transitional justice; the affective legacies of military rule were framed as a purely pathological problem, something that is best addressed through therapy, as opposed to through systemic change (Frazier 2007a). Violence might seethe just beneath the surface of the city, but the capacity to bear witness to this latent presence is portrayed as a curse that inhibits one’s capacity to “live well”.

Amnesia, however, cannot be wholly reduced to this critique. The final scene, in which Zúñiga is beaten and bound to a chair in Ramírez’s dining room, performs a fantasy of retributive justice, staging an affective encounter between perpetrator and victim that borders on catharsis. Ultimately, however, this scene resists closure, and the restitution of emotional “normalcy”. The failure to carry out a planned execution of Zúñiga by Ramírez is a spectral subversion of the detective novel, and the search for closure it condones. From a temporal perspective, this scene questions both the individualistic
focus of retributive justice, and the irreversible time of modern historical writing, opening up a temporality in which violence is irrevocable. Following Bevernage, in contrast to conventional historical writing, irrevocable time does not assign the past an inferior ontological status, but acknowledges the ways in which actions and memories become “stuck” in the present, thus collapsing any sense of temporal distance. In his words, “the irrevocable defies the dichotomy of the fixed categories of the absolutely absent and the absolutely present by referring to the incomplete and seemingly contradictory ‘presence’ of what is generally considered to be absent: i.e., the past.” (2013, p.4). Zúñiga’s squirming body carries the clear message that injustice cannot be overcome by simply persecuting the guilty; rather it lingers as an irrecoverable void, a rupture in identity that resists spatial containment and acts of appeasement.

Unlike trauma, the representation of time as irrevocable does not stem from the originary act of violence, but from the emergent sensuous knowledge that retributive justice cannot fully account for the crimes of the past. This is a haunting moment in which the fantasy of closure, which had previously motivated the protagonist and structured the narrative, loses its coherence. At a time when closure was associated with the restoration of psychic health and national simultaneity, haunting in Amnesia dwells on the violent continuities between past and present and questions whether there is a normal to which Chile might return. The representation of time as irrevocable is not purely subjective or metaphorical, but a shared temporality shaping the experience of both Ramírez and Alvear (the former detainee who helps carry out the abduction). Like The Shipwrecked and Latent Image, here reconciliation is a nascent form of solidaristic politics, as opposed to one of the petrified ends of transitional time.

**Common Themes/Absences**

All three films depart from linear progressive time and the teleological conception of progress that often accompanies it. As depicted here, acts such as searching for a disappeared family member, returning from exile, or seeking out perpetrators, challenge the assumption that the transition provided an inevitable departure from authoritarian rule. In contrast, time is represented variously as ruptured, cyclical, and irrevocable, each of which provide different insights into the aftermath of the dictatorship. The
claustrophobic and alienated gaze of the protagonists is at odds with the modern and ordered vision of Chile promoted by the transitional governments. Furthermore, the sense of disorientation generates an affective knowledge of place that is beyond the scope of the methodologies employed in truth commissions, or court cases. Testimony is both situated and mobile, imagining encounters between perpetrators, survivors, and bystanders that hint at new communities of solidarity. This said, the films do not depart entirely from the dominant temporal, spatial, and mnemonic regimes of the democratic transition. As oppositional texts, they are deeply ambivalent, and in some cases they reproduce the abjection of victims and survivors, by depicting them as voiceless or complicit with the regime. These are all ghost stories, yet the something-to-be-done provoked by the spectre is not always transformative.

One of the key elements that binds the three texts together is a feeling of non-contemporaneity. All of the protagonists feel alienated from the dominant rhythms of everyday life in their own times, and to some extent from the revolutionary teleologies of the 1970s. This reflects the temporality of rupture that I explored in Chapters 1 and 3; a sense that the dictatorship definitively defeated the social dreams of the early 1970s and tainted the language through which emancipatory political alternative might be forged. This experience of time is charted through the spatial trajectories of the main characters. The filmic maps created by *The Shipwrecked* and *Latent Image* are partial and discontinuous, leading to locations beyond the official geography of violence mapped out in the Rettig Report. Notably, violence and its repercussions are encountered in the spaces of everyday life. Traces of loss and absence are found in living rooms and the streets of the capital, illustrating how debilitating memories of violence might extend beyond official sites of memory. Likewise, survivors and perpetrators of state repression are not confined to torture centres or monuments, but inhabit familiar quotidian spaces, experiencing them on differential terms. In these examples, non-contemporaneity is not something that can be spatially mapped out, or attributed to certain groups or communities, but is a particular way of inhabiting space.

In the films, the experience of non-contemporaneity is repressive. The protagonists struggle to sustain relationships and view the postdictatorship landscape with a sense of alienation. Beyond this, however, their gaze is also presented as highly perceptive, sensitive to legacies and vestiges of Chile’s socialist and authoritarian pasts that social
amnesia has rendered invisible. This gaze is characterised by a shift in perception in which previously stable markers of personal and national identity become tainted by loss and violence. In *The Shipwrecked*, the *hacienda* is portrayed as a festering ruin of home, a place that simultaneously invites dwelling, but denies the comfort it promises; in *Latent Image* secret policemen drive past the iconic *Estación Mapocho* and street signs offer a tangible map of state repression; and in *Amnesia* the colourful houses of Valparaiso are disfigured by the ominous aesthetics of German expressionism. Pedro, Arón, and Ramírez identify perpetrators who are hidden in plain sight, question the state optic of modernisation, and are out of sync with the accelerating capitalist rhythms of work and consumption. Significantly, these films do not dwell on the locations where violence took place, rather they imagine a landscape that remains full of blank spots and forbidden locales, narrative maps that reach a void and force us to turn back.

While advocating the unsettling potential of these perspectives, the privilege of the protagonists is also problematic. Though the films can be read as allegories of a collective, or national experience of haunting, there are several spaces and groups that remain absent, or at least peripheral, within the narratives. Residents of the *poblaciones*, the Mapuche community, and the rural poor are ignored almost entirely, reconfirming their status as “social desaparecidos.”19 These groups were and are the main victims of military repression, and neoliberal economic reform, yet they are rarely granted a voice in the films mentioned here, which focus instead on middle class, politically ambivalent male protagonists. This is not specific to the texts selected, rather it is arguably a defining characteristic of Chilean film from the early transition. *Archipiélago* (Perelman, 1992), *Sexto A 1965* (Di Girólamo, 1985), *Coronación* (Caiozzi, 2000), *La Frontera* (Larrain, 1991) and *Johnny Cien Pesos* (Graef Marino, 1994) are all concerned with a solitary male character struggling to make sense of recent transformations in Chilean society. Documentaries such as *Memoria Obstinada* (Guzmán, 1998) depart from this trend slightly, by directly seeking out the scattered remnants of Chilean socialism, however, the experience of middle-aged, middle class men remains at the forefront, while more socially marginalised subjects are only given a voice through interviews.

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19 The term *desaparecidos sociales* (socially disappeared) was coined by the social psychologist Alfredo Moffatt. It refers to groups that have been disappeared throughout Argentine history, such as the homeless, African slaves, and indigenous people (1999).
This problem arises in part through narrative form. The semi-autobiographical style of *Latent Image* and *The Shipwrecked*, and the focus on a single protagonist in all three texts, restricts their capacity to imagine communities of resistance and problematise the transitional aims of truth reconciliation. While the filmmaking process might have been collaborative, the male protagonists seldom depart from centre frame, and complex personhood is rarely extended to the other characters present. The wandering movement of the main characters enacts a form of displacement, but it also offers a masculinist rewriting of place, framed around an autonomous man who is oriented towards an absent father figure, and seeks to possess the women he encounters. In this respect, they reproduce the more problematic aspects of the *flâneur*, a figure that moves at a different rhythm to modern capitalist life, but also embodies a male fantasy of autonomy from community and domestic life (see Fischer 2016, p.38).

Before dismissing this perspective entirely, the potential to perform and provoke empathic unsettlement is arguably increased by foregrounding the white, male subject. Following Gordon, ghosts can be most disruptive when they generate transformative recognition outside of politically mobilised communities. In her own words, “haunting is also the mode by which the middle class, in particular, needs to encounter something you cannot just ignore, or understand at a distance, or ‘explain away’ by stripping it of all its magical power” (2008, p.131). Much like the sceptical psychoanalyst in Valenzuela’s novel *He Who Searches*, politically apathetic protagonists such as Pedro, Ramírez, and Arón open the possibility of a transformative encounter. Though these characters are all closely connected to acts of dictatorship violence, it is their interaction with other victims and perpetrators that provoke fleeting, but transformative, moments of solidarity. This was a time of widespread social de-mobilisation and societal division, in which artists, activists and intellectuals on the left mourned the defeat of socialism. By foregrounding the experience of disillusioned and traumatised subjects, the texts analysed here encapsulate this sense of impotence and melancholia, but also envisage ways in which it might be overcome.

According to Jill Bennett, art in post-conflict societies should not seek to communicate the experience of trauma felt by victims, or generate crude sympathetic identification, rather, it should open up dialogue through the recognition of difference. In her words, “in constituting a place of inhabitation and encounter, visual artworks have the potential to
explore the differential terms on which we are implaced” (2005, p.70). Bennett’s conception of empathy involves a move away from the possibility of complete mnemonic transference. Trauma art, to use Bennett’s terms, should not try to capture the emotional experience of victimhood, rather we should strive to create new affective encounters between viewers, witnesses, victims, and perpetrators that challenge the fixed subject positions of spectators (2005, p.70). The films I analyse here go some way to explore these “differential positions”, questioning the different motivations behind the question dónde están? and challenging the deterministic assumption that the violent past can or should be overcome. In Latent Image, the identity and world view of the protagonist is unsettled by an affective encounter with fear, highlighting the privilege of his gaze and putting into question his prioritisation of closure and clarity over justice. In The Shipwrecked, the melancholia Arón feels for the loss of his father, brother, and home is partially punctured by the presence of his brother’s ghost, whose spectral gaze paradoxically displaces the desaparecidos as the maximal victims of the military regime. And in Amnesia, Ramírez’s feelings of guilt and rage expose the absurdity of individual retributive justice in country where the machinery of repression remains intact. To summarise, in all of the films, emergent encounters with affect create new relationships with the present past that challenge the dominant transitional temporalities of irreversible rupture, closure, and progress.

The feeling of haunting as a something-to-be-done emerges most forcefully when the gaze of the protagonist is challenged by another subject. The unnamed activist from the poblaciones in Latent Image, who disdains Pedro’s self-centred rhetoric; Isol in The Shipwrecked, who criticises Arón’s solitary search, and interpellates him by writing on behalf of Ur; and Zúñiga in Amnesia who suggests that Ramírez forms part of the “us” of the military. These moments unsettle the subjectivities of the protagonists, but they also open up other ways of reckoning with disappearance that might prove more socially transformative. In these examples, empathic unsettlement does not make injustice visible, but troubles the meaning of truth and justice in postdictatorship culture. To some extent, the narratives are driven by the question dónde están? They gravitate towards the Atacama and Villa Grimaldi as sites of military violence that might reveal the truth of the past. However, they also reimagine how this question should be articulated and practiced. When dónde están? does not address a culpable military, locked into a pact of silence, it
arguably loses its political power. When the location of bodily remains is the only goal, the characters stay imprisoned within a horizon of expectation imposed by the military. It is only by relinquishing its imagined endpoint that the search for the disappeared begins to be imagined otherwise. Significantly, all of the films represent haunting as repressive, unless articulated collectively. The autonomous male protagonists are tormented by spectres, as opposed to living with them, or listening to their demands. Only Isol and the activist from the poblaciones are able to live with haunting as a transformative feeling; as a feeling that enriches life and opens up alternative futures. Through encounters with these other ways of seeing, the autonomy of the protagonists is undermined, articulating an enduring desire, if unrealised, for new forms of collective politics.

This chapter has involved the practice of mapping, tracing the spatiality of haunting in three films from a past moment and reflecting on the emergent visions of justice and transformation that they offer. These maps also offer a point of comparison. To cite Giuliana Bruno, “In mapping we draw (in) the past, not to conserve bygone images but to grasp their conflation with the present and address if it is really offering us something new” (2002, p.418). From here, one might ask how fear, apathy, and rupture have shaped the temporal rhythms and horizon of expectation of the late transition. Has the gaze of the autonomous male subject been effectively critiqued and challenged? How can the ghosts that precede the coup be acknowledged and reckoned with? Can non-contemporaneity offer a platform of resistance? Following these untimely questions, I now turn my gaze to the late transition.
Chapter 5. The Late Transition: An Expanded Field of Haunting and Disappearance

"I didn’t come back to Chile to find my father, or learn what happened to him,” says Poli, the son of a disappeared political prisoner, who himself was a prominent student activist in the early 1980s. “Coming back to Chile had more to do with taking action, rather than me wanting to find him. [...] It’s as if we met in our actions, conduct and commitment.” Poli, now a middle-aged man, is facing a camera in the early 2000s, a talking head and partially visible torso, sat in a dimly lit domestic dining room. He is speaking of an encounter, or rather, the memory of an encounter, between two generations of activists persecuted by the same state apparatus. In Poli’s case the encounter is familial, at once personal and political, painful and transformative. That is, an apparently crippling sense of loss serves as a stimulus for the pursuit of social and criminal justice, contributing to a social movement that, according to the testimony, ultimately brought an end to military rule in Chile. The scene becomes complicated further when considering the status of these recollections in the present. This man is haunted both by his father’s legacy and his own actions as an activist twenty years previously. His former life as a student leader is indelibly distant. Frenetic archive images of protests against the dictatorship jar with the static, melancholy mise-en-scène of the present, generating an unsettling nostalgia for the oppositional social movements of the 1980s, if not the object of their discontent.

The scene described above, featured in Paula Rodríguez’s film Volver a Vernos (“Pinochet’s Children” 2003), is one example of a documentary subgenre that explores the spectral presence of the disappeared in the lives of their children. It is also representative of a wider shift in Chilean memory discourse that recuperates and reevaluates the latter years of military rule as a moment of radical social transformation. For a scholar concerned with spectrality and temporality, the framing of Poli’s testimony provokes several uncomfortable, but potentially productive, questions. What is the value of remembering a social movement that ultimately failed, for example? Can nostalgia for past resistance serve as an impetus for social and political change in the present, and to what extent can filmed testimony interrogate enduring violence? This chapter approaches these questions, among others, through the analysis of three documentary

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20 The Spanish title of the film Volver a Vernos translates as “To See Ourselves Again”. The English title conceivably sought to draw on the symbolic resonance of Pinochet in the English-speaking world.
films from the late transition, all of which deal explicitly with the theme of disappearance. They also all focus on the links between protest movements in the dictatorship and the present, opening up space for reflection on the relationship between haunting, representation, and political mobilisation.

The first half of the chapter focuses on *Pinochet’s Children*, which, as described above, recounts the rise and sudden decline of the 1980s student movement in Santiago through the testimonies of three of its figureheads. Like Chapter 4, my textual analysis looks at the spatial and temporal narratives of this text, analysing them alongside prevalent forms of remembrance and memorialisation. My primary interest here is the troubling of the discursive delineation between dictatorship time and democracy, in which haunting takes the form not of a person, but a structure of feeling. I also begin to trace the emergence of an “expanded field” of disappearance in Chilean documentary, characterised by a gaze that looks beyond established sites of dictatorship memory, and in doing so, unsettles the reification and monumentalisation of the present past. The second half further traces the expanded field, analysing *The Chicago Conspiracy* (2010), by Subversive Action Films, and Edison Cájas’s *The Waltz of the Useless* (“El Vals de los Inútiles” 2013); two documentaries that focus on the contemporary student movement in Santiago. From a theoretical perspective, I draw from work by Susana Draper, Jens Andermann and Svetlana Boym, whose work helps me think outside of debates on “postmemory,” which tend to be framed around the concept of trauma, and reimagine the late transition as period composed of multiple non-contemporaneous temporalities. The principal contribution of this chapter is the “opening up” of haunting from a concept that denotes the re-emergence of a specific violent past, to a structure of feeling in which multiple different histories, groups, events, and imagined futures become entangled. This builds on my central claim that ghosts force us to reckon with our relational ties to heterogeneous stories of injustice, disappearance, and emancipation. Before starting my analysis, I will briefly attempt to situate the films within the context of the late transition, while reflecting on the potential of documentary genre as a medium for responding to ghosts.
In Chapter 1, I outlined a substantive shift in the way the dictatorship was perceived and represented in the Chilean public sphere, amounting to a phase I tentatively described as the “late transition”. Pinochet’s arrest in London in 1998, the election to President of the Socialist Party candidate Ricardo Lagos in 2000, and the coming-of-age of a highly politicised group of students and cultural producers who grew up under military rule, are just a few of the factors that contributed to the increasing visibility of commemorative discourse and practices. During this time, numerous monuments to Salvador Allende and the disappeared have been constructed, and the state has increasingly participated in the preservation and memorialisation of former CDCs such as Londres 38 and Villa Grimaldi (Read and Wyndham 2016). In some respects, increasing condemnation of the dictatorship’s crimes by the state, and acknowledgment of the Popular Unity as an object of mourning, have facilitated the spread of human rights norms and debates outside of the communities and groups targeted by military violence. However, many commentators have bemoaned this shift as a process of gradual depoliticisation (Frazier 2007b; Draper 2012; Fornazzari 2013; Spira 2014). Although the state has adopted an increasingly active role in processes of commemoration, it has also broadly adhered to the neoliberal economic model inherited from Pinochet. This has led to claims that formerly disruptive sites, symbols, and practices of memory have been assimilated into the optic of the state, allochronically positioning the Popular Unity within a linear temporality of heritage that distances the state from the actions of the military regime, and co-opts loosely defined concepts such as freedom and democracy. Huyssen’s assertion that cultural memories of past trauma have become central to the legitimacy of incumbent regimes (2003, p.98) has never been more apt.

With regard to visual media, the past 18 years have encompassed a significant influx in films and television programmes representing the dictatorship years, culminating around the 30th and 40th anniversaries of the coup. These texts, predominantly produced by the so-called “children of the dictatorship,” include a trilogy of historical fiction films by Pablo Larraín (Tony Manero, 2008; Post Mortem, 2010; No, 2012); a string of popular television series (Los Archivos del Cardenal; Ecos del Desierto; Los 80; Sudamerican

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21 Individuals who were born and grew up under military rule (Jara 2016, p.4)
Rockers); and the widely acclaimed Machuca (Wood, 2004). Alongside these fictional texts, there has been an influx of first-person documentaries representing the experience of individuals whose parents or grandparents were victims of the regime, but who have no lived experience of military rule. La Quemadura (‘The Burn’ 2009), Mi Vida con Carlos (‘My Life with Carlos’ 2010), Héroes Frágiles (‘Fragile Heroes’ 2006), El Eco de las Canciones (‘The Echo of Songs’ 2010) and En Algún Lugar del Cielo (‘Somewhere in the Sky’ 2003), among others, are all autobiographical documentaries that explore the aftermath of the dictatorship through personal experience and familial encounters.

Hirsch’s concept of postmemory has been the dominant theoretical paradigm for analysing these texts, and the broader social experience across the Southern Cone of those with no direct memories of military rule (see Kaiser 2005; Nouzeilles 2005; Serpente 2011; Levey 2014; Fuica 2015). Some have critiqued the “subjective turn” in Latin American documentary as symptomatic of the collapse of collective political subjectivities throughout the neoliberal transition (Klubock 2003; Sarlo 2007). However, postmemory has provided an important rebuke to such critiques, exploring memory transmission as a critical and active process between generations, as well as a horizontal negotiation over what should be remembered, reclaimed, and forgotten (Kaiser 2005, p.12).

Hirsch’s theory offers valuable insights into the feelings of belatedness and disconnection experienced by the second and third generations, and the role of cultural production in rebuilding and repairing broken relations with the past. However, it is by no means the only lens through which the experience of the second and third generations might be analysed, nor does the “subjective turn” adequately describe the diversity of filmmaking practices that have emerged over the past two decades. The pronounced generational focus of postmemory can risk reproducing linear accounts of memory transmission, and questions of time and temporality are largely absent. Furthermore, Hirsch’s original theory emerged out of Holocaust studies, and as a result, it tended to focus on the traumatic and oppressive aspects of the present past, as opposed its radical or emancipatory potential. As she writes, “[p]ostmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can neither be understood nor recreated” (Hirsch 1997, p.22).
While memories of the disappeared and the Popular Unity might have displaced other moments of emancipatory possibility in the transitional cultural imaginary, the texts I analyse here are not necessarily motivated by a desire to repair broken continuities with the past, nor are ghosts always represented as markers of traumatic loss. Finally, work on postmemory tends to focus on repercussions of an originary traumatic event, and thus neglects more marginal or forgotten histories of injustices and emancipatory activity. In the rest of this chapter, I will develop theories of haunting in conjunction with the concept of the expanded field, in order to offer insights into a more unsettling, plural, and non-linear landscape of disappearance and inheritance.

The term “expanded field” was first used by the art critic Rosalind Krauss to describe the ways in which postmodern sculptural practice blurred distinctions between sculpture architecture and landscape. Instead of being centred on the construction of a plastic object, she argues that the expanded field of sculpture encompasses a broader field of practices, including site marking, moving images and situated performances. For Krauss the expanded field is an emergent and historically specific assemblage of practices. “The expanded field of postmodernism occurs at a specific moment in the recent history of art”, she writes. “It is a historical event with a determinant structure” (1979, p.44). This event does not have a fixed aesthetic, but opens up sculpture to a range of different formal possibilities. Significantly for my own work, the expanded field opens up the spatio-temporality of sculpture—it reassesses where and when sculpture can take place—and in the process, demands reflection on the meaning of sculpture as a concept.

The term has since been reinterpreted by the Andreas Huyssen and Jens Andermann to theorise the evolving “memoryscapes” of postdictatorship Latin America. Moving away from a pure focus on sculptural form, Huyssen describes the expanded field as the interexchange of tropes, memories, and discourses across different post-conflict contexts. In his words, “[t]he expanded field I am trying to construct thus involves the crossing of borders not only with regard to artistic medium (Krauss), but also in relation to geographies, politics, and the discourses of traumatic memory themselves (Nora)” (2003, p.97). He turns to Buenos Aires’s “Memory Park” as a material expression of this process, arguing that it transgresses supposed boundaries between landscape and memorials, and brings memories of the Argentine dictatorship into dialogue with other “post-conflict” contexts, including the Holocaust and Vietnam (Huyssen 2003). Here he is
not advocating simplistic comparisons between these violent pasts, rather he sees memory sites as spaces of dialogue in which a stronger international culture of human rights is being constructed. The dialogue between the local and the global interrupts the reification of cultural memories, and enlivens the concept of cultural memory, nourishing the conditions in which a “new democratic spirit” might be forged (2003, p.106).

Looking beyond physical sites of memory, Jens Andermann describes the expanded field as a representational shift in film, photography, and memorial architecture in postdictatorship Latin America. Its central elements include the remapping of dictatorship memories beyond fixed sites and historical events, and the critical interrogation of the strategies by which cultural memory is produced and transmitted. The concept of “sites of memory” is superseded by a new way of seeing in which landscapes of remembrance emerge, inhabited by multiple different subjectivities, beyond the categories of victim, perpetrator, bystander, or family member. Revisiting a theme in Krauss’s original text, he observes the potential of moving images to disturb the coherence of place through mobile and transgressive ways of seeing. Applied to memory cultures in the Southern Cone, he calls this practice a “spatialisation of mourning” which “chooses to turn itinerance into a performative practice that encounters landscape not so much through the rootedness of the garden as through the mobility of the journey” (2012, p.172). Focussing on the documentaries Los Rubios (2003) and Papá Iván (2004), he highlights a trend in contemporary Argentine cinema to question the linear familial transmission of political subjectivities, and to engage critically with the leftist politics of the 1970s. This is achieved through an “an irreverent attitude” towards dominant discourses of leftists who lived through the dictatorships, and a reluctance to “enshrine the disappeared in the conventional figures of hero and martyr” (Andermann 2012a, p.178). These approaches have a de-territorialising effect, enabling new collective subjectivities to be imagined and forged, composed of subjects without direct familial ties to survivors or the disappeared. They open up discussion around what constitutes “dictatorship memory” and who is able to participate in it.

Though none of these scholar engage with the concept of haunting, in many respects the expanded field can be read as a spectral concept. The shift that Andermann and Krauss describe is both aesthetic and affective. Krauss speaks of artists feeling a pressure to think and practice in the expanded field, motivated by the blurring of the categories against
which sculpture previously defined itself (1979, p.41). Similarly, Andermann talks of a new historical conjuncture in which monumental memory discourses cannot fully account for the emergent and marginalised legacies of military rule, prompting new forms of representation that articulate a more heterogeneous and emotionally ambivalent relation to the present past. In effect, Andermann is describing the haunting of memory as a concept and a practice in postdictatorship Latin America; a process that moves beyond the monumental temporalities of trauma and defeat, and opens it up to new political practices and subjectivities in the present.

I build on these reflections by contemplating an expanded field of haunting and disappearance. The texts I analyse not only create new narratives about the dictatorial past, but reimagine when and where its afterlife might be encountered. Within this expanded field, the disappeared as a privileged category of victim are joined by truncated social movements, aesthetic forms, songs, feelings, memories, and identities, which have been muted, or rendered invisible, by the dominant spatial and temporal imaginary of the transition. Crucially, the making visible of these traces entails forms of conjuration that represent multiple different histories and temporalities within a single textual space. This is not solely an effort to inscribe marginalised voices into the annals of national history, but to plot their re-emergence as a part of a simultaneity of unarticulated connections and possibilities in present.

I focus on documentary as the main filmic genre through which the expanded field of disappearance is articulated in postdictatorship Chile. While not a popular genre in terms of distribution, throughout the transition documentary has arguably been the most diverse and challenging genre through which Chilean filmmakers have interrogated their personal and national pasts (Navarro and Rodríguez 2014, p.2). As noted in the previous chapter, the boundary between fact and fiction is far from fixed in fiction films. Semi-autobiographical plotlines, family photographs, and para-textual author discourse all put into question the “fictional” nature of the stories told and images witnessed. Nonetheless, from both a formal and spectatorial perspective, the documentary genre offers a range of tactics for problematising the “pastness” of the past that are not necessarily available to practitioners of narrative fiction. Most notably for the purposes of this chapter, documentary is less bound to the hegemony of linear sequential narrative and character-driven plotlines than classical narrative fiction, and is thus able to represent the
multiplicity of stories and temporalities of which space and place are composed (see Wahlberg 2008; Massey 2011). Often associated with a “discourse of sobriety”, film theorists tend to steer clear of non-fiction when approaching issues of affect and spectrality—what place do ghosts have in a genre that purports to represent the “real?” Working against this trend, this chapter will emphasise that documentary is by no means opposed to ghosts, rather it employs alternative strategies of conjuration.22

To See Ourselves How We Were

_Pinochet’s Children_ (2003) encompasses three distinct temporal modalities, differentiated through dialogue, setting, and archive material. The film starts in the present day with an image of two men and one woman strolling along a clifftop. The disembodied voice of the director, Paula Rodríguez, informs us that the three individuals (Poli París, Carolina Tohá and Alejandro Goic) were student activists during the dictatorship; friends and comrades who protested against Pinochet and helped bring about the new democracy. The narration is spoken in the first person plural, revealing to the audience that the director is emotionally invested in the group that she films. This is a younger generation than the characters examined in Chapter 2. They were children in 1973 and have no clear memories of the initial period of repression. Carolina and Poli both have disappeared parents, though, as will become clear, their response to disappearance is different to that seen in _The Shipwrecked_ or _Latent Image_. Using staged interviews and an intermittent voiceover, the film proceeds to “mine” the memories of these protagonists to unearth their experience of the dictatorship, generating a second temporal tract in the simple past tense. Their stories are accompanied by archive footage. Infamous images of military repression and the bombing of La Moneda sit alongside conventional family photo albums; illustrating how emblematic images of violence form part of the fabric of personal memory and identity (Kuhn 2002b). The third temporality that emerges is less detailed and linear, ephemeral, but nonetheless intensely affective.

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22 Therefore, in addition to exploring the expanded field of haunting and disappearance, I will also be exploring the expanded field of documentary. That is, I am interested in texts that problematise the binary categories against which documentary is conventionally defined. For example, the assumption that documentary is not fiction, or not affective (Kim 2009; Kim 2011).
This temporality is the experience of haunting; the testimonial description of living alongside the dead, and the ghosts of one’s former self.

From one perspective, the prevailing narrative in *Pinochet’s Children* is thoroughly conventional; a piece of “historiophoty” (White 1988) that uses interviews and an expository voice over to construct a linear account of the past, from the military coup through to the present. This history is composed of a chronological chapter sequence: “The Dark Days,” documenting the immediate aftermath of the coup; “The Rebellion of the 80s,” in which the three protagonists experience a political awakening as leaders of a student movement; “No,” examining the 1988 plebiscite; and “Searches,” focussing on the diverging trajectories of the protagonists following the return to democracy. In the final scene the three main characters are reunited following years apart, closing the narrative on a promise of political renewal.

Considering its formal components, it might seem strange to analyse this text through an interpretive framework of spectrality. The use of three-point lighting during interviews, conventional camera angles and domestic settings does not comply with the aesthetics of “unknowability,” absence, or ruination that are often associated with ghosts (see Baer 2002; Edensor 2005; Skoller 2005; Maddern 2008). Furthermore, there are no staged returns to sites of incarceration, torture, or execution—emblematic locations that “haunt” the geographic imaginary of the contemporary Chile. However, on close inspection, the film is infused with phantasmal elements, emerging in the content of testimonies and the manner in which they are delivered; in the troubling of historical progress, and reevaluation of failed political projects. As I argued in Chapter 2, to reckon with haunting does not necessarily entail the mobilisation of a particular aesthetic. Unsettling traces, histories, narratives, and feelings can be invoked and reckoned with across a range of different genres and forms, sometimes in the experimental margins and other times through more conventional texts. When viewed in the context of the Chilean democratic transition, *Pinochet’s Children* encompasses a highly complex structure of feeling, in which the late dictatorship (the 1980s) emerges as an unlikely object of nostalgia. I choose to analyse it as an example of the expanded field because it reconfigures the meaning of disappearance by staging an encounter with a marginalised narrative of past resistance, and in the process, imagines an affective community of resistance to neoliberal capitalism in the present.
Aside from a few brief statements by the narrator regarding historical context, the film is not concerned with the bare facts of what transpired during the four periods, but endeavours to describe the emotions that accompanied them, from the sense of powerlessness that overwhelmed “the left” in the 1970s, to the short-lived jubilation experienced on learning the result of the plebiscite. Linear sequential time is put into question by the afterlives of these emotions, as described in the testimonial interviews. Within the narrative, emotions are not purely sequential, but in time build into a molten palimpsest that churns beneath the surface of contemporary Chile. Loss and mourning underlie the experience of the three main characters, but loss is bound inextricably to resistance and social transformation. The new democracy is presented as a great achievement and an irrefutable failure; a complex structure of feeling that disrupts the triumphalist political discourse that dominated the early transition.

The ambivalent structure of feeling that emerges in *Pinochet’s Children* can be traced, to a large extent, in the subjectivities of the individuals it represents. The only people who are given voice in the film are the eponymous children of Pinochet. They are part of a generation that grew up under the military regime, defining both their cultural and political identities (Ros 2012, p.118). Many in this generation devoted their youth to bringing down Pinochet and thrived in an explicitly oppositional politics. They are, in this respect, illustrative of the “complex personhood” of haunting (Gordon 2008, p.4); a subject position that is constituted by an act of violence, but transforms that violence into practices of resistance. They are an in-between generation whose experience cannot be aligned with those who voted for (or against) Allende, nor with those who “came of age” during democracy. Until the release of this film, their memories of the dictatorship, and diagnosis of the transition, had rarely been heard in the public sphere. It is arguably the act of articulating this complex personhood that generates a new critical perspective of the present.

Interviews, combined with archive footage and photographs, are the main formal techniques through which the subject is composed. The interviews largely take place in private and secure spaces. Everyday locations such as gardens, coffee shops, and elegantly furnished apartments provide a comfortable setting for recollection. The voice of the interviewer is largely omitted, giving the impression that the memories are recalled in a “natural”, uninterrupted narrative. The three protagonists are interviewed
separately, though, for the most part the testimonies corroborate each other, thereby enhancing their perceived claim to truth. Viewed superficially, such tropes are entirely compatible with dominant constructions of the 1980s student movement as a symbol of democratic heritage. A violent struggle against oppression is represented, which made possible the restoration of the peace and prosperity that we see today. Endorsing this version of events, in the final chapter the narrator describes the election of Ricardo Lagos in 2000 as “the closing of a 30 year cycle” that started with the overthrow of Allende. Lagos is thus unveiled as the true heir that will restore social justice after a traumatic hiatus; the struggle of the three protagonists has not been in vain.

And yet, the “cycle” is not closed. Contradicting the voiceover, the narrative that emerges in the interviews is not a celebration of the restitution of socialism, nor do the archive images call for us to appreciate the present. During the chapter ‘Rebellion’ the protagonists speak with nostalgia about the 1980s as a period of emancipatory aspiration. In one scene, Goic states that “there was an absolute determination. Unity, unity! And hatred towards the dictatorship. Hatred accompanies you. It gives you strength.” He continues by suggesting that the political climate of the opposition offered an escape from the dogmas of leftist militancy. “We left-wing Marxists, around the world, we obeyed certain formulas which were repeated like Bible verses [...] Poli transcended that, me too, and Carola [...] We didn’t fit the profile of the typical militant”. Analysing the spectral qualities of documentary testimony, the film theorist Jeffrey Skoller argues that ghosts are often signalled by the unexpected intrusion of the past in the process of speaking. In his words, “[w]hat separates the testimony film from a journalistic interview is the emphasis on speaking as a process of coming to knowledge rather than giving a statement” (2005, p.133). This “coming to knowledge” might be a pause in speech, or the sudden surfacing of an emotion, which reveals that the event is ongoing. In Pinochet’s Children the spectre manifests when the three protagonists speak about their former selves in the 1980s. Following the gaze of the protagonists, a form of self-haunting takes place in which those being interviewed are confronted with their own truncated revolution.

Nostalgia for the 1980s is also produced by the filmic form. As the protagonists speak, there is a constant juxtaposition of mise-en-scènes, from the frenetic energy of 1980s street marches in archive footage, to the static, domestic settings of the interviews. On the
soundtrack, police sirens merge with songs by Los Prisioneros, one of the first Chilean punk bands to openly criticise the dictatorship in their music. “The force is coming, the voice of the 80s” exclaim the lyrics, as images of flaming barricades flash onto the screen. This juxtaposition emphasises a loss of energy, not only in the interviewee, but in the nation as a whole. The archive footage used is generally handheld and shot on video, generating a split temporality that is both instantaneous and remote. Video played a key role in documenting images of state violence and social resistance during the 1980s. As Traverso and Liñero argue, “[a]rtists, reporters, journalists, and filmmakers used the video camera as a weapon during the 1980s, in what can be described as the battle of the audiovisual field” (2014, p.169). Following the dictatorship, video was displaced by film, as prominent directors returned from exile, rendering the medium anachronistic (Traverso and Liñero 2014, p.181). In Pinochet’s Children archive footage shows “real events”, captured in the moment, but the “video vérité” style is aesthetically other—a marker of a period that is irrevocably over. These images and sounds are what Eric L. Santner describes as “stranded objects”—inherited signifiers, the meaning of which has been “poisoned” by the events that came after them (1990, p.xiii). These stranded objects form part of the expanded field of haunting that I am attempting to map out—images, objects, and movements that are muted or made invisible by the dominant cultural imaginary of the transition. As represented here, they are both energising and nostalgic, traces that expose the brutality of authoritarian rule and induce yearning for the oppositional politics that accompanied it.

Here the coup is not represented as a moment of traumatic rupture that renders time “frozen” or corrupted, rather it is the restitution of democracy that generates disorientation. This narrative emerges in the testimonies of the three protagonists, each of which laments his or her inability to “recycle” themselves politically. In Poli’s words, “you were part of a chess game where the terrain was familiar. You were a piece in a chess game, which suddenly turned into another game”. The ghost encountered here is not a person, but a feeling; a feeling that haunts the present because it remains unfulfilled. While time is broadly composed in a linear sequence, the film engages in a process of re-inscription in which the 1980s emerges as one of the most radical periods in Chilean history, thus dismantling the binary opposition of the light present and dark past that was so central to the logic of the early transition. Recalling Nelly Richard, throughout the democratic transition “dictatorship time” has consistently been counter-posed with the
relative peace and freedom of democracy, thus consigning to oblivion the oppositional politics that thrived throughout military rule (2004, p.23). The films analysed in Chapter 4 do not perpetuate this binary, however, they still construct the dictatorship as a foundational rupture in the fabric of Chilean society, and the psychological states of the protagonists. By contrast, in *Pinochet’s Children*, the late dictatorship is reimagined as a moment when the horizon of possibility in Chile was expanding exponentially, underpinned by a deep sense of political heritage and a shared feeling of hope.

Critics of nostalgia often theorise it as an unhealthy relationship with the past that idealises historical periods and smooths over their constitutive heterogeneity (Lowenthal 1989; Jameson 1995; Higson 1996; Doane 2002; Virno 2015). In some respects the film does emulate these sentiments. It longs for a simpler time in which the enemy was embodied by a single man, as opposed to a complex socio-economic formation. Crucially, however, the articulation of nostalgia and defeat also depicts a fissure in the transition around which new political subjectivities might emerge. The performance of nostalgia here does not demand the restitution of an idealised past, but acknowledgment of scenes and emotions that had been blasted from the social imaginary in the name of reconciliation. It is akin to Svetlana Boym’s description of reflective nostalgia, which “dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity” (Boym 2007, p.13). In contrast to restorative nostalgia, which Boym describes as a longing to establish continuity with a particular idealised version of the past, reflective nostalgia is a critical and creative engagement with the past that remains wary of narratives of return or salvation. In Boym’s words, “[r]estorative nostalgics don’t acknowledge the uncanny and terrifying aspects of what was once homey. Reflective nostalgics see everywhere the imperfect mirror images of home and try to cohabit with doubles and ghosts” (2001, p.251). Far from desiring a return to the 1980s, the nostalgia that emerges in *Pinochet’s Children* is premised around forging a new movement from the scattered remains of truncated revolt. It is about recognising a “something-to-be-done” among the wreckage of history, and nurturing the sense of urgency that accompanies it.

By acknowledging its ultimate dispersal, *Pinochet’s Children* denies the 1980s student movement monumental status. However, in making its trace visible, a new critical perspective of the present is generated. Following Draper’s terminology, the narrative
shift could be read as a “minor epic”. That is, it represents a historical social movement that ultimately ended in failure, and as a result, cannot be easily appropriated as part of the heritage of the new democracy (2012, p.85). Draper argues the Latin American minor epic is a form of writing that seeks to denaturalise narratives of progress in which neoliberal policies are presented as modernising and inevitable. Under this rubric, she seeks out texts in which alternate spatial and historical trajectories briefly become visible; stories that “fit” neither in the simultaneous time of the contemporary nation, nor in the cumulative temporality of heritage of which the nation is supposedly composed. By acknowledging both the success of the plebiscite and the subsequent paralysis of the transition, *Pinochet’s Children* denies the spectator’s desire for catharsis. Produced at a time when Allende and the NO campaign were being assimilated into the nation’s “democratic heritage”, this documentary strives to intervene in the process of reification. It does not forge a relationship of sympathy or gratitude between the victims of the past and the “liberated” of the present. Rather, the testimonies and images force the viewer to evaluate the current status of those political movements. As regards to the expanded field of disappearance, it does not recover an forgotten history, but dwells on what has been disappeared from that history, and in the process offers a portrait of what is missing in the present (or perhaps merely in the lives of the protagonists).

The structure of feeling that I am analysing is underpinned by a distinctive geographic imaginary. Unlike *Latent Image*, *The Shipwrecked*, and *Amnesia*, in which the spatial narratives are focussed around sites of violence or the location of a material body, in *Pinochet’s Children* the characters speak of encountering their disappeared parents, and confronting the dictatorship, through action in the streets. Corroborating these words, the protests that are represented in archive footage primarily take place in commercial shopping streets, university campuses, or La Alameda (see Figure 7). These spaces are easily recognisable, but are not generally perceived as sites of memory or violence. It is precisely the non- emblematic character of the location that make them part of the expanded field of haunting. These scenes remind the audiences in Chile of the histories that underlie everyday public spaces in the nation’s capital, and in doing so, disturb the imaginative possibilities of these spaces in the present.
In contrast to the archive footage, the locations chosen to enact remembrance are private spaces. Only occasionally do the protagonists take to the streets of the capital and, when they do, they are shown buying newspapers or commuting to work—mundane activities that jar with the dynamism of their youth. The streets are haunted both by scenes of violence and by the apparent absence of “utopian aspiration”. This juxtaposition contradicts dominant academic and popular accounts of the public space during dictatorship (including in *Latent Image*), which describe the way fear precipitated the privatisation of grief and fear, and the closing down of public space (Garretón 1992; Salimovich et al. 1992). Draper argues that the dominant spatial imaginary of the transition is characterised by a movement from private to public, from prison to freedom (2012, p.4). By opening up the geographical imaginary of the dictatorship to scenes of public dissent, *Pinochet’s Children* undermines this teleological movement, forcing the spectator to consider the new forms of fear that police public space and impose limits on the possible in contemporary Chile.

One problematic element of this iteration of the expanded field is its imposition of a border around the affective community of resistance. Aside from one scene in which a group of young people protest outside the house of a former torturer, the narrative does not incorporate scenes of contemporary social movements. Nor does the filmmaker give
time to other communities of resistance, such as the poblaciones, or the Mapuche community, where alienation and disorientation might not constitute the dominant transitional structure of feeling. In other words, by “making visible” a history that is often omitted from official accounts, the film threatens to exclude other experiences and historical trajectories. The decision to enact memory in private domestic space further compounds this sense of enclosure. This trope is theorised by Klubock, who argues that memory texts in the transition too often conduct interviews in spaces without social context or “location in the city” thereby compounding the privatisation of social life that the dictatorship set in motion (2003, p.277). The fact that the three protagonists are middle class Chileans, who are still prominent public figures in Chile, further accentuates the exclusivity of their accounts. This criticism might be levelled at the vast majority of “memory documentaries” released in Chile during the late transition. My Life with Carlos (Berger, 2010), Beyond My Grandfather Allende (Allende, 2015), Fragile Heroes (Pacull, 2007) and Reinalda del Carmen, My Mother and Me (Torrens, 2006) are just a few examples of texts recounting stories of Chile’s radicalised middle class. All employ divergent approaches to the conjurations of spectres, but from a spatial perspective they remain firmly entrenched within the domestic environs of a wealthy left-wing elite, as opposed to engaging with more marginal spaces and voices.

Before rushing to dismiss Pinochet’s Children, however, we must acknowledge the constraints of its historical moment. Released prior to Pinochet’s death in 2006 and the mass student marches and occupations of 2011, the three protagonists are unable to link their pasts with a mass social movement in the present. As a result, the characters are primarily concerned with undermining regret and the stupor that can accompany it. This is a limited goal, but it is not at odds with radical politics. As Sara Ahmed argues, “[f]eeling better is not a sign that justice has been done, and nor should it be reified as the goal of political struggle. But feeling better does still matter, and it is about leaning to live with the injuries that threaten to make life impossible” (2013, p.201). According to Ahmed, objects, events, and subjectivities come into existence in the social imaginary in part through discourses of emotion. In her words, “objects become sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension” (Ahmed 2013, p.11). In Pinochet’s Children, the radical potentiality of the 1980s student movement is given form through a “positive” attribution of affect. Each interview and fragment of archive footage combines to adhere expressions of hope and joy to the surface of an event that was previously rendered
invisible through amnesia, or unpresentable by trauma. In other words, it is an intervention that gives shape to the 1980s as an object of memory that is distinct from images of pure military repression, and in the process re-inscribes affective ties that were perforated by the restoration of democracy.

Significantly, in addition to re-establishing the affective ties between this group, the film also encapsulates some of the tensions between them. As the narrative comes to an end, each interviewee articulates his or her conception of mourning and inheritance. “What did my friends want?” asks Alejandro. “Did they want me to cry for them and seek revenge, to shoot the poor son of a bitch who killed them? No. They wanted me to keep fighting for our dreams. I think we have a debt [...] We have to go back and see them again, to talk.” In the following scene, Poli states that “[r]estoring democracy is not an objective—there is no landmark—but a process. You can never stop recovering and conquering democracy.” And finally, Carolina says:

My dad was a socialist. Somehow he passed his socialist convictions on to me. Not as an ideological rigidity, but as a kind of love for life, of proximity to others [...] Chile was different then. It’s more complicated now, but I think the essence of the progressive ideas, of socialism, is respect and dignity for people. It is about shaping society to make that possible.

There are subtle but significant differences here. Carolina’s description of socialism as an inherited essence jars with the more troubled, haunted and open-ended accounts of Alejandro and Poli. While Carolina disappears the antagonisms and radical futures of the 1970s and 1980s under the deterministic phrase “it’s more complicated now”, Alejandro feels the need to “go back and see them again”. The tensions between the different perspectives are felt acutely due to the knowledge that Carolina plays a prominent role in the Lagos regime, a form of socialism in name only. Far from consolidating a singular narrative about the past and present, the film’s conclusion captures the ambivalences of its historical moment. It expresses a desire to invest hope in the Lagos regime, but also gives form to the spectres that haunt it. As Lagos conjured Allende at the gates of La Moneda, Pinochet’s Children imagined an expanded field of emancipatory politics that had yet to be fully co-opted as national heritage.

My reading of the film has not drawn out its dominant meanings. To do so, would be to privilege the narrative of the voice over, which, as noted earlier, ends with a tentative endorsement of the Lagos administration. I find the film compelling because, beneath the
expository aesthetic, it is riven with tensions, contradictions, and emergent ways of thinking and feeling about the relationship between past and present. I chose to examine it under the rubric of the expanded field because it enlarges the imaginary of disappearance to encompass a marginalised social movement, or rather, the imagined futures that accompanied that movement. In the process, it decentres the coup as a foundational moment of rupture and defeat, and gives form to radical dreams and practices that were palpably missing from Chile in the early 2000s. It offers a powerful representation of haunting because it does not just make visible that which has been disappeared, but stages an affective encounter with it. The reflective nostalgia expressed in the testimonies induces a yearning for the oppositional spirit of the 1980s and unsettles the contemporary political subjectivities of the protagonists. However, it also remains open to the emergence of new transformative forms of politics that are constructed through a critical dialogue between and within generations. At the time of release, what form this politics might take was still unclear, but a nebulous geography of resistance was beginning to take shape.

The Chicago Conspiracy

The years immediately following Pinochet’s death in 2006 were characterised by an increase in social upheaval, with nationwide movements organising to demand major reforms to education, indigenous rights, environmental policy, and the privatised pension system (see Chovanec and Benitez 2008; Cabalin 2012; McKay 2015). While these demands differ from the aspirations of the Popular Unity, their articulation in the mainstream public sphere represented a significant challenge to neoliberal hegemony. As Webb and Radcliffe argue, the student protests in 2006 and 2011 “were symptomatic of the general public’s growing concerns and disquiet regarding the country’s political-economic model” (2013, p.334). Within these movements, the dictatorship was no longer exclusively conceived as a bounded historical period, but also as an economic model and rationality that constitute the foundations of the neoliberal state.

It could be argued that the nostalgia expressed in Pinochet’s Children has been answered definitively by the current atmosphere of discontent. Those “new forms of collective politics,” which previously existed as unarticulated potentialities, have suddenly
emerged as a vibrant assemblage of politically engaged subjects. The “stranded objects” that haunt Poli, Carolina, and Alejandro are stranded no more. One might justifiably question how haunting is related to this assemblage. How do spectres and phantoms relate to a “generation without fear” that openly confronts the legacies of Pinochet? And how is the non-linear and emergent temporality of haunting related to claims of continuity with the radical politics of the 1980s? I address these questions through the analysis of two films about the contemporary student movement; texts that celebrate the protests, while making apparitional some of the spectres that haunt them. One of the aims of this chapter is to open up the concept of haunting as a transformative structure of feeling that is not reducible to a specific historical loss or linear political inheritance. The texts analysed below share this aim by placing the student movement in dialogue with histories of repression and resistance in which the dictatorship is not foregrounded as an originary event.

Over the past ten years, a number of films have been produced that chart connections between the anti-dictatorship protests of the 1980s and the contemporary student movement, often describing late 2000s as a period of national awakening. The documentary *The Chicago Conspiracy* is one such text, however, in addition to the university and secondary school occupations, it extends its map of social transformation to include residents of the *poblaciones* in Santiago and Mapuche activists in the Araucanía region. Adopting a vérité aesthetic, coupled with a “voice of god” narration, the spatial narrative frames the different groups on the left as a national movement against structural inequality. The origins of this injustice are traced back to the neoliberal doctrine of the Chicago School of Economics. However, the struggles of the *pobladores* and the Mapuche also highlight deeper rooted forms of violence, as well as autonomous struggles for social justice, which do not conform to dominant periodisations of recent Chilean history. The struggle against neoliberalism might be shared, but the groups and communities that are participating in this struggle are not contemporaneous.

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23 *Mi Derecho* (“My Right” 2010); *The Chicago Conspiracy* (2010); *La rebelión de los pingüinos* (“The Rebellion of the Penguins” 2008); *El Vals de los Inútiles* (“The Waltz of the Useless” 2013); *Occupy the Imagination: Historias de resistencia y seducción* (“Histories of Resistance and Seduction” 2014); *La Isla de los Pingüinos* (“The Island of the Penguins” 2017); *El Ocaso del Miedo* (“The Twilight of Fear” 2011); *El Nuevo Amanecer* (“The New Dawn” 2012)
Subtitled in English and free to watch online through an international left-wing activist website (Crimethinc.com), the radical politics and imagined audience of the film are not limited to Chile. The name The Chicago Conspiracy refers to the group of Chilean economists who were trained by Milton Friedman at the Chicago School of Economics, situating the text within an international struggle against U.S. intervention and imperialism. In this respect, it is closely bound to Huysssen’s conception of the expanded field, in which a single text is a point of encounter for the formation of ties of solidarity across post-conflict contexts. The expanded field, as it emerges here, is a web of “precarious lives” in which memory does not serve as a warning against future threats to human rights, but as a reminder of emancipatory futures that have yet to be constructed.

Made by a transnational collective, the film exemplifies the collectivist ethic of 1980s video production. Subversive Action Films represents itself as an internationalist filmmaking collective which focuses on Chile as an exemplary struggle against neoliberalism. Their bio on the video sharing platform Vimeo states:

We are internationalists in every sense of the word. We include members who were born in the heart of the neoliberal empire, and others who were born in a land torn apart by the legacy of a military dictatorship. We are the children of political exile and the product of decaying strip malls. (Subversive Action Films. [no date])

This description of authorship is distinct from first person postmemory texts, as it focuses on shared signifiers of neoliberal malaise as opposed to familial connections with the violent past. They are the “product of decaying strip malls”; non-places that interpellate subjects who do not fit into the categories victim or survivor. If Pinochet’s Children could be criticised for focussing exclusively on prominent activists from the Chilean middle class, The Chicago Conspiracy claims to speak on behalf of a wider spectrum of social actors, and acknowledge a wider field of disappearance.

The visual style and atmosphere of urgency in the first section of The Chicago Conspiracy are a response to the ongoing secondary school student movement that started in 2006, while paying homage to the militant video production of the 1980s. The Penguin Revolution, as it is commonly called, was a movement of secondary school students with four key demands: free, high-quality education; the defence of public education; the rejection of for-profit educational institutions; and the elimination of discriminatory practices within schools (Bellei and Cabalin 2013). Protests in Chilean universities followed soon after, though The Chicago Conspiracy was released just prior to the largest
wave of protests in 2011. These were the first mass social movements since the return to democracy and undermined dominant perceptions of youth culture in Chile as apathetic or disengaged from political matters.

The student protestors in the film are explicitly portrayed as heirs to the social movements of the 1980s, a link that is performed by the students themselves, and made explicit through filmic form. During street protests, they use slogans that were previously directed against the dictatorship, and interviews take place in occupied classrooms where protests were initiated during the 1980s. In one scene, a protestor guides the cameraman around the occupied faculty at the University of Chile, stating:

This department, look as we pass by, is full of the dead (lleno de muertos). Many people that came from this department were killed by the dictatorship and also the postdicatorship that is run by the Concertación Government.

In another scene, an unnamed art student talks about the militant history of the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Chile, as he makes posters denouncing the transitional regime:

There is a combative history at the Faculty of Pedagogy. People died here. They took prisoners from here after the coup [...] Ever since then, people have always continued the struggle [...] Here you are always in a place of rebellion. The revolution is here in the Peda!

In these scenes, the students draw on tropes of haunting to legitimise their struggle and emphasise a continuity of state repression throughout the dictatorship and postdicatorship. Additionally, the second interview conjures a site-specific temporality of rebellion and revolution, which is not merely a response to state violence. “Here you are always in a place of rebellion” says the art student, imagining revolution not as an event in the past, or future moment of emancipation, but as a localised structure of feeling.

The politics of the 1980s also manifests in the filmic form, casting the filmmakers as heirs to a particular way of seeing. The vérité scenes of street protests and confrontations with the police evoke the style and content of video documentaries made clandestinely during the dictatorship, such as Andrés de La Victoria (“Andrés of La Victoria” 1984) and Orgasmo Callejero (“Street Orgasm” 1987). We see student protestors throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at water cannons, while the smoke of burning barricades merges with clouds of tear gas. As noted when discussing Pinochet’s Children, clandestine video production during the 1980s played a prominent role in subverting dominant
representations of repression and victimhood, constituting a rebellious way of seeing which demonstrated that resistance against the dictatorship was possible. However, while *Pinochet’s Children* uses archive footage to emphasise the political inertia of the transition, *The Chicago Conspiracy* mimics their aesthetic style to emphasise a continuity, or re-emergence of rebellion. On several occasions, a filter is applied to archive footage of the 2006 student movement, which directly reproduces the “look” of video during the 1980s (see figure 8). This grainy footage historicises the contemporary student movement, but it also sharpens the symmetries between the 1980s and the late transition, momentarily collapsing temporal distance, and giving the Penguin Revolution the status of a sequel.

This invocation of the past is powerful. It draws on the symbolic capital of the 1980s and imbues the contemporary student movement with an aura of radical heritage. However, to what extent this constitutes a transformative representation of haunting—as a structure of feeling, or a mode of attentiveness—is questionable. Throughout this thesis I have described haunting as a feeling that unsettles stable identities, and demands a something-to-be-done. It refers to desires that have been exiled from the present and heterogeneous pasts that defy assimilation. As they are represented here, however, the students draw a direct line of continuity between the past and present, reminiscent of Derrida’s description of idealising incorporation (1994, p.126). It is not until the second section of the film that a more complex iteration of haunting emerges, activated by representing a wider constellation of disappearance and transformative politics, in which the contemporary student movement is not a moment of national political awakening.

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24 This is not to say that the Chilean student movements have an uncritical relationship with the present past. Rather, I refer to the way they are represented in *The Chicago Conspiracy*. 
The second chapter is entitled Pobladores: a story of Political Pride, and focuses on residents of the población La Victoria. This illegally occupied barrio, in the south of Santiago, was founded by groups of homeless workers in 1957. It was one of the main sites of social resistance during the dictatorship, and as a result, its residents were subject to a disproportionate level of military repression (Finn 2005). Filmed during the anniversary celebrations of its original occupation in 1957, the interviewees describe a continuous heritage of oppositional politics. Each person approached emphasises a pervasive spirit of resistance in the community, but, perhaps more significantly, La Victoria is said to offer a different way of living, grounded in communitarian values. Like the previous section on the contemporary student movement, the Popular Unity is not foregrounded as an originary emancipatory event. Rather, founding the población in 1957 is the primary object of collective remembrance. As depicted, the anniversary celebrations not only affirm the identity of the residents, but serve as a reminder of the violence that preceded the military coup, demanding forms of collective action that mitigated poverty, and nurtured the conditions for the Popular Unity to emerge.

By focussing on the anniversary celebration of the original land occupation, the film captures an embodied form of collective narrativisation, in which the resistant identity of the community is actively cultivated and contested. During the event, the filmmakers interview residents of the población, from different generations, who offer their...
perceptions of the neighbourhood. Between interviews with residents, the camera lingers on political murals and graffiti in which scenes of occupation and revolt are represented. Performances of folk music and hip hop merge with megaphone-enhanced calls for remembrance, creating a soundscape in which traces from the past form part of the contemporary cultural imaginary. This is distinct from the oppositional imaginary of the student protests, which focussed primarily on scenes of street protest and conflict. It also challenges dominant representations of the poblaciones as abject places of delinquency and drug trafficking (see Aránguiz 2017). La Victoria is represented as an enduring threat to the Chilean state and the wider social order, but not because of its reputation for organised crime.

As shown here, La Victoria exists outside of the narrative of rupture and defeat that I described in Chapter 4. The población is a symbol of social emancipation prior to the rise of the Popular Unity and its endurance is a reason for celebration. “It's called La Victoria because we won” says one resident interviewed. “It was a victory. It was our victory [...] Imagine standing up to so many beatings to end up staying here. That's why it’s called La Victoria.” This observation is in line with Alexis Cortés’s analysis of mural painting in the población. He writes: “[w]hile [...] the left builds its discourse on the loss of its project, it seems that for this population the project has never been defeated” (2016, p.72). The rejection of defeat is underpinned by an alternative conception of time in which victory over the Chilean landowners, the state, and the dictatorship is both of the past, and embedded in ongoing communal cooperation. While the land occupation of 1957 takes on the status of a myth of origins, memory of this event is re-enacted as a particular autonomous way of life, exemplified by practices such as soup kitchens, mural painting, and community mourning. Focus on the anniversary festivities, the film is arguably more concerned with capturing the performance of collective identity than the routines of everyday life, however, it also undermines this dichotomy. Memory is represented as an embodied everyday task, or duty to the dead, enacted through just forms of social interaction. As one resident says, “[t]he most important thing is go out onto the streets. Take care of your neighbours and see if they need something. We need to remember how this población was originally occupied and how they organised”. Meanwhile, drug traffickers, the police, and the state more broadly, are described as malicious elements that contaminate the true spirit of the población. In this example, the myth of origins both affirms collective identity and troubles it, insisting on the need to constantly remember,
repeat, and reinscribe the practice of rebellion in response to shifting historical circumstances.

The final, and shortest, section of the film turns to the struggle of the indigenous Mapuche population in southern Chile. Much like the rest of the film, it has an expository feel, teaching the spectator about the history of the Mapuche people through titles, and utilising interviews and archive footage to represent their ongoing conflict with the Chilean state. Like the previous segment, the history and continued existence of the Mapuche is represented in terms of victory and ongoing repression. The section’s opening titles state: “[t]he Mapuche people are an indigenous nation that successfully resisted Spanish occupation. They were later brutally repressed by the Chilean state”.

Though there are symmetries between the pobladores and Chile’s most numerous indigenous group, the Mapuche who are interviewed articulate an alternative narrative of transformative politics, premised not only on rejection of the Chilean state, but the idea of the Chilean nation. This refusal of national simultaneity not only unsettles hegemonic accounts of national heritage, but also the truncated idea of a Chilean road to socialism. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully engage with the history of the Mapuche people, or with their conceptions of historical temporality. However, it should be noted that the Mapuche offer an alternative historical perspective that challenges dominant narratives of Chilean history (Mallon 2007; Carter 2010). Most importantly for my analysis, their experience of repression by the Chilean state prior to the coup and throughout the transition draws attention to the continuities between the dictatorship and democracy, and highlights the violence on which the Chilean state was built. Further, their desire for autonomy from the state has consistently existed in tension with the imagined futures of left-wing party politics in Chile, including during the Popular Unity period (Carter 2010, pp.63–67).

The link that binds the students, the pobladores, and the Mapuche together in The Chicago Conspiracy is a shared struggle against the structural and legislative legacies of the dictatorship. As depicted here, the Mapuche live in landscape decimated by private forestry companies, which acquired the land during the dictatorship. Eucalyptus plantations feature frequently in the mise-en-scène and large tracts of clearcut forest frame the small enclaves of Mapuche land. These scenes represent the legacies of the dictatorship as an unfolding social and ecological disaster, as opposed to a traumatic
event in the past. The second form of enduring/re-emergent violence that is highlighted is the “disappearance” of the Mapuche community through legislation. The military regime denied the legal existence of the Mapuche through the decree law 2568, which disbanded historic land grants in favour of individual property deeds (Carter 2010); and the Chilean constitution, written in 1980, is the only constitution in Latin America with no mention of indigenous peoples (Calbucura 2003, p.233). One person interviewed explicitly draws on the concept of disappearance to articulate this omission, stating: “[t]he president Bachelet is forcing the Mapuche to disappear just like Pinochet did”. Here, the concept of disappearance is invoked in order to criticise state repression, however, paradoxically, it also heightens the visibility of Mapuche struggle in the Chilean public sphere. It draws on the symbolic resonance of disappearance within the cultural imaginary, while subverting and expanding its meaning to encompass a socially marginalised group.

Unlike Andermann’s expanded field, characterised by “fluid subjectivities and collectives constantly on the move” (2012, p.180), the The Chicago Conspiracy affirms the importance of bounded territories within transformative politics. The pobladores and the Mapuche articulate feelings of loss and absence, but they are also engaged in the task of constructing more socially just ways of life, underpinned by a sense of unbroken continuity with the past. In this respect, the film asserts that the struggle to build alternatives to the dominant social order is not exclusively a task of reckoning with repression, disappearance, and loss. This evokes Gordon’s insistence that utopia is not merely a ghost, or an exiled desire, but “the ongoing building of an alternative civilization, with its own reason, its own home, and its own system of value” (Gordon 2016, p.49). The haunting resonance of the film does not emerge through simplistic identification with these struggles, but through recognition of their difference from dominant articulations of left-wing identity, which in turn prompts reflection on spectral inheritances that have yet to be acknowledged or reckoned with.

The aesthetic of the expanded field—the acknowledgement of a multiplicity of different voices, histories and traces within a single textual space—makes visible what is disappeared in dominant accounts of the transition, on both the right and the left. The emphasis on victory within La Victoria unsettles the narrative of defeat around which the Chilean left has constructed its identity. By focussing on the occupation of 1957, and the
ongoing struggle of the Mapuche, the election of Allende is displaced as the emancipatory event in Chilean history. Significantly, these different movements demonstrate that the Penguin Revolution of 2006 was not a moment of simultaneous national reawakening; rather the residents of the poblaciones had long been engaged in the task of “building an alternative civilisation.” Instead of assimilating La Victoria and the Mapuche into a narrative of national re-awakening, The Chicago Conspiracy expresses an emergent attentiveness to other ways of life that are not reducible to a single horizon of expectation.

By situating the student struggle, the pobladores, and the Mapuche within a single textual space, the spectator is forced to ask what sort of society would enable the co-existence, collaboration, and development of these different ways of life. In one of the final scenes, an anonymous narrator expresses this question directly, stating:

What would it be like to see the hills of Santiago if Lautaro’s25 struggle was still in our memory? The Mapuche defence. The anti-colonial war before Pinochet. And today, the dense traffic, commerce, the pacification, our lives. But I have seen barricades open so much space, like memory in a time of war.

These are the some of the questions—the something-to-be-done—that the audience is left with. The task of seeing the present, or an alternative present, through a gaze that is haunted by an expanded field of memories, disappearances, and non-contemporaneous ways of life.

This task resonates with Spivak's description of a “ghost dance”; an attempt to “compute with the software of other pasts” as opposed to summoning a past that was once present (1995, p.325). It is an attempt to reflect on what the dead ask of you—to acknowledge that they have a “strategy towards us”, even if that strategy is an imaginative fiction (cited by Gordon 2008, p.179). This is a fraught task. It could be argued that to place the struggle of the Mapuche alongside that of Chilean secondary school movement is to map them into a national political landscape that neither recognise. Furthermore, the form of the film sometimes smooths over the tensions and conflicts within the groups themselves, and therefore risks subjecting them to an essentialising gaze. Despite these issues, by acknowledging a non-contemporaneous assemblage of actors, the film breaks from

25 A Mapuche leader who defeated the Spanish in numerous battles in the mid-1500s, before being ambushed and killed in 1557 (Loveman 2001, p.61).
monolithic conceptions of resistance, and enlivens a dialogue about how and where neoliberalism can be opposed.

**The Waltz of the Useless**

The expanded field, as I have described it thus far, focuses primarily on marginalised but politically engaged subjects—anti-dictatorship protestors, the Mapuche, residents of the *poblaciones*, and student activists. I suggested that the representation of these groups and movements in a single textual space troubles the coherence and teleology of the neoliberal present, while mapping out emergent networks of transformative resistance. It should be clear by now, however, that it is not enough to acknowledge the existence of these movements and offer passive gestures of solidarity. As I noted in the Chapter 4, haunting can also be experienced outside of the communities targeted by structural and state violence, and reckoning with ghosts often demands reflection on the way one is *complicit* with the disappearance of emancipatory political alternatives. The final film I analyse in this chapter addresses these issues, staging a confrontation between the paralysing pervasiveness of capitalist realism—the overbearing sense that there is no alternative—and a feeling of urgency nurtured by the Chilean student movements of the late transition.

*The Waltz of the Useless* ("El Vals de los Inútiles" 2013) is a documentary focusing on two student activists from different generations. Darío Díaz is a teenager in his final year of school. Miguel Miranda is a middle-aged tennis coach who was a political prisoner during the dictatorship. Much of the film focuses on their everyday routines. We see them clean their teeth and make breakfast; Darío attends classes and plays football; Miguel goes to the gym and gives tennis lessons to children. Both listen to news reports on the radio about student mobilisations across Chile, a narrative device that links together the pair, but also the wider Chilean public. Neither character is presented as politically active, but as the narrative progresses, both become embroiled in the secondary school and university student movements, which, at the time of release, were into their sixth year. Alongside his classmates, Darío takes part in the occupation of a prestigious public school named the Instituto Nacional General José Miguel Carrera. Meanwhile, Miguel talks to his family about his experience of military rule, testifying to the conditions of fear that
pervaded his university and describing the experience of being abducted by the secret police. At the narrative conclusion, the trajectories of both characters intersect at La Moneda Palace, where they take part in a protest demanding a more equitable education system.

Aesthetically, *The Waltz of the Useless* (henceforth *Waltz*) defies categorisation within one of the documentary modes identified by Bill Nichols (2010). To some extent, it is an observational text, seeming to unobtrusively document the lives of the characters. However, its use of non-diegetic music, close framing, and continuity editing make clear that this is also a narrativisation of “real life”. The individuals depicted carry a “determinable link with historical world” (Chanan 2008, p.4), but they are clearly performing for the camera.26 This aesthetic offers access to the intimate and everyday aspects of the student movement, which are rarely seen in the public sphere. It also draws attention to the performance of the protagonists and the filmmakers. As Ana López argues, the use of conventions from narrative fiction in documentary paradoxically draws attention to the movements and presence of the camera, as opposed to hiding them (1990).

The aesthetic approach has prompted several negative critiques in both mainstream and left-wing Chilean media. “Narration kills” says one review, claiming that *Waltz* aestheticises the student movement, as opposed to clarifying its critique of neoliberalism (Franc [no date]). Another questions its focus on peripheral figures, arguing that it diminishes the monumental character of the events that were transpiring (Gomez 2014). The Chilean film scholar Laura Lattanzi argues that despite the sophisticated intertwining of character trajectories, the film is ultimately reduced to a cry of anger and frustration. In her words, “all of these articulations and trajectories fall into something redundant, the demonstration of a scream against the neoliberal model” (2014). Such responses are understandable, especially considering the emotional energy many have invested in the student movement. However, I am still drawn to the film as an attempt to open up a different form of knowledge about the Chilean student movement; a sensuous knowledge that illuminates the affective conditions in which social movements emerge, flourish, and disappear.

26 This aesthetic is encountered in other documentaries from the late transition, such as *El Rastreador de Estatuas* (“Monument Hunter” 2015) and *La Quemadura* (“The Burn” 2010).
The “everyday”—by which I mean work, consumption, family life, school, the banal, the repetitive, the cyclical and the habitual (see Lefebvre and Levich 1987)—has been markedly absent from all the films I have analysed thus far. Haunting has tended to be represented as a break from the everyday, reckoned with through itinerant and exceptional journeys, or collective acts of commemoration and resistance. When domestic space is represented, it is a site where personal testimonies are delivered (Pinochet’s Children, The Chicago Conspiracy, Latent Image) or is rendered uncanny by the accented gaze of a returning exile (The Shipwrecked). In contrast, much of the spatial narrative of Waltz is limited to domestic, or workplace settings, in which everyday activities take place. We gain access to the houses of the two protagonists, both of whom are typical of the Chilean lower middle class. The cyclical and repetitive rhythms of the everyday are manifest in the characters’ actions and spatial trajectories. Darío makes the trip to college each day, where he signs-in by stating his surname and student number, and attends lessons of little apparent interest. In his “free time” he swims lengths at a swimming pool and walks aimlessly with his friends around the local neighbourhood. Miguel’s life as a tennis coach is similarly habitual, exemplified by repetitive training routines in which he hits a ball against a wall. Significantly, in Waltz, these spaces—the school, the home, the workplace—are both symbols of oppression and political inertia, and haunted territories within which residual and emergent desires for social transformation starts to be felt.

The mainstream media, in the form of television and radio, are a near constant presence in the lives of both characters. News reports inform them about rising numbers of student occupations, but also give voice to the government’s response. In one of the opening scenes, the incumbent president, Sebastián Piñera (leader of the far right UDI party), appears on Miguel’s television, stating: “we would all like for education to be free, and many other services. But I would like to remind you that in the end, nothing in life is free.” Later, Piñera appears on Darío’s television as he is eating breakfast, this time articulating a more overtly ideological stance: “[w]e do not believe in nationalisation, or a state monopoly of education in our country, because ultimately it is an attack not only on quality. It is an attack of freedom”. Many critics of neoliberalism have lamented its capacity to co-opt discourses of resistance and emancipation (Harvey 2005; Brown 2006). As Harvey notes, citing Polanyi, “the idea of freedom ‘thus degenerates into mere advocacy of free enterprise’ which means ‘the fullness of freedom for those whose
income, leisure and security need no enhancing” (Harvey 2005, p.37). Elected in 2010, Sebastián Piñera was the first candidate from the right wing UDI party to gain power since the return to democracy. His rhetoric, projected into Darío’s kitchen, suggests that the legacies of the dictatorship are not slowly dissipating, but have become a governing rationality, infusing every level of politics, language, and social interaction.

The school that Darío attends also has a particular temporal significance, both as a place where the rhythms of everyday life are policed, and as a site where residual and emergent conceptions of freedom might be encountered. Founded in 1813, the Instituto Nacional General José Miguel Carrera is one of the oldest and most prestigious publicly funded schools in Chile (Bucarey et al. 2014, p.43). It was initially created as a school for the sons of the ruling elite, and it boasts numerous former Chilean presidents among its alumni. Accompanying this elite history, it is also a focal point of student resistance, staging protests against education reform during the dictatorship, and participating in the Penguin Revolution of 2006 (Rocha and Liseth 2010, p.12). In this respect, it encapsulates some of the tensions and contradictions of Chilean national identity. It is a symbol of national exceptionalism and male privilege, but it also exemplifies a historical commitment to public education. It is representative of an enduring patriarchal order, but is a focal point of rebellion that threatens the integrity of neoliberal rationality. In the second scene of Waltz, Darío performs the school’s anthem alongside his classmates, giving voice to some of these tensions:

Colleagues, let the Institute’s hymn vibrate,
the song of the greatest national school
And let the good past appear with supreme rhythm
in its strong musical notes of triumphant music
Long live its colleagues, our school is the cradle
of the Chilean Enlightenment (revolution!),
Because the Institute was immensely fortunate
to be the first focal point of the light of the nation.

To “let the good past appear with supreme rhythm” is an act of musical conjuration. It encapsulates the linear, teleological temporality of Chilean national identity in which the essence of the nation (the Chilean Enlightenment) is both of the past and still to come. In Waltz, the teleological trajectory of national heritage is one of the objects of resistance, but it is also part of the cultural imaginary through which resistance is imagined. Put differently, the history of the school creates the conditions for resistance. The anthem
itself contains a kernel of rebellion. It speaks of the “supreme rhythm” of the good past, but also of revolution. The school as an institution might form part of the architecture of repression, however, as will be shown, its students need not be excluded from the expanded field of resistance.

Reminiscent of the fiction films of the early transition, Darío and Miguel’s engagement with the Chilean student movement is represented as a gradual process of empathic unsettlement. At first, this movement sits on the margins of visibility, intruding on the protagonists’ lives in the form of radio and television news items. Midway through, it erupts as a mass demonstration in the streets of Santiago, comprised of university and secondary school students. Massive crowds of young people flow down La Alameda, some walking, some on skateboards, some on bikes; some dancing the waltz music from a portable stereo. The legacies of Pinochet are mentioned explicitly in banners and chants. “It’s going to fall, Pinochet’s education is going to fall,” sing the protestors, as a cardboard Trojan’s Horse goes up in flames. In contrast to The Chicago Conspiracy, the music that accompanies the protest scenes is darkly atmospheric, even melancholy, contrasting starkly with the carnivalesque visuals. While The Chicago Conspiracy uses a vérité aesthetic and focuses on confrontations between anonymous protestors and the police, Waltz reads the protest through Darío’s peripheral perspective. He lingers at the edge of the protest, seemingly reluctant to fully participate. Like Pedro in Latent Image, he has yet to be fully interpellated by the call to action and fails to make connections with those around him (see figure 9).
Darío’s struggle to connect with the movement is evident again when the students of the Instituto Nacional collectively decide to occupy the school. In a scene shortly after the march, we witness a group of students in a classroom discussing the injustices of neoliberalism, and reflecting on the relative privilege of their position. One student addresses the group saying, “if the Instituto Nacional says no to an occupation, public opinion will think the school is not involved in the student movement. I think the press would like to show it like that.” Others seem more hesitant, including Darío, who insists that “this is not about playing at being rebels for a while and that’s it”. Darío’s attitude mirrors a dominant structure of feeling in which the injustices of the present are acutely felt, but resistance is inhibited by the looming threat of failure in the past and the future. He is aware that the government is unlikely to radically change the national education system, and struggles to imagine, or commit to, a movement without any tangible ends. Such a perspective resonates with Mario Feit’s description of patience as the dominant temporality of liberal democracy, while ultimately maintains the status quo (2017). Feit claims that a binary is often drawn between patience and impatience; the former is aligned with steady progress and rational debate, punctuated by regular elections at which government policy is shaped; the latter with social acceleration, populism and instant gratification (Feit 2017). This binary is also apparent in theories of transitional
justice, in which it is argued that patience and compromise are necessary to achieve “socio-economic development” in post-conflict societies (Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader 2004). As embodied in the figure of Darío, patience compounds the hegemony of capitalist realism: “the widespread sense that not only is capitalism the only viable political and economic system, but also that it is now impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative to it” (Fisher 2009, p.2). Through Darío, Waltz makes apparent the affective resonance of this temporal regime, and the restricted horizon of possibility that it imposes. However it also points to moments when this temporal fabric is momentarily punctured.

The occupation itself is represented as a symbolic action, and as a break from the daily routine of school life. At first, the students pile up chairs against the peripheral fences. Next, they answer the questions of the media, offering eloquent pre-prepared comments about their actions and demands. Life during occupation is a messier affair. The students sleep on the classroom floor, play football, cook food together and exchange adolescent stories. In short, they disrupt how time is ordered within the institute and the hierarchical power structures that police it. According to W.J.T. Mitchell, occupation is a temporal intervention, as much as it is spatial, disrupting the dominant rhythms and temporalities of everyday life. In his words, “[o]ccupation is […] an art of duration and endurance, manifesting the paradoxical synthesis of social movement and mobilization with immobility, the refusal to move” (2012, p.13). As depicted here, the occupation offers a different space and time in which to contemplate the nature of state repression. In one scene the boys discuss their fear of the police, but also of failing at school. As one student says, “[t]he students are going through very strong situations that frighten them. Rather than electricity torture, it is fear. And that fear can suddenly be spread to other people so they don’t mobilise.” In this respect, occupation is depicted as a collective effort to counter the underlying fear which makes certain futures seem impossible. It is akin to Gordon’s description of collective indifference; a conscious effort to reject the narrow visions of happiness offered to us. In her words, “[c]ultivating an instinctual basis for freedom is about cultivating an individual and collective indifference to all the promises of happiness, worth, and freedom that deliver their opposites or morally degraded versions of themselves” (2016, p.12). The occupation cannot deliver happiness and freedom, but it does offer an infrastructure in which they can begin to be reimagined.
What draws me to *Waltz* is not only its depiction of collective struggle, but the ways it reimagines the relationship between different generations of activists. The character of Miguel is central to this. He, like Darío, is not politically active, but through testimonies we learn that he had been a student activist during the dictatorship, leading to his imprisonment and torture. In one scene he revisits his old university faculty to talk to his daughter about his experience. The tone of his testimony is melancholic. He describes the fear that has saturated his life and reflects on whether he is an *inútil* (a useless person). His is not a narrative of emancipation or continuous struggle, but of daily routines that keep fear at bay. Crucially, as depicted here, the student movement creates the conditions for his testimony to be speakable. Not because fear has been overcome, but because of the symmetries between the student movement of the present and the protests of the 1980s. In one scene this symmetry is articulated explicitly by the voice of an anonymous protester:

> The number of policemen in the streets remind people of the worst times of the dictatorship. The Secretary of the Interior spoke the same way the remembered Merino did in Pinochet's dictatorship. The truth is that we will go on here. And they will have to take us away by force. Because we aren't violating any law.

In Miguel’s testimony and the quotation above, the students are not prompting the return of the dictatorship, rather they make apparitional things that have been disappeared within the transitional imaginary: namely the systemic violence of the Chilean military and police, a culture of fear that persists across generations, and a desire for freedom beyond the confines of individual happiness. Unlike more conventional understandings of memory transmission, in which memory is passed from one generation to another, this film represents haunting as a moment of re-emergence and convergence, in which the politics of the present reactivates the hopes of the past.

By the final scene of the film, everything has returned to normal. Darío sits at a desk in the national library reading a history textbook about the French Revolution. Exam revision has resumed priority, and social transformation is confined to the faded pages of history on the desk in front of him. However, as he puzzles over Marie Antoinette and Robespierre, the non-diegetic sound of another rebellion, performed by the Chilean punk band Los Prisioneros, breaks the silence. The song, *El Baile de los que Sobran* ("The Dance of the Leftovers"), was an anthem for disillusioned youth in Chile during the late dictatorship, and is clearly the inspiration for the film’s title. Its lyrics bemoan an
education system that divides the country, providing some with "laurels and futures", while others are left to dance and "kick stones." As a pupil at the Instituto Nacional, Darío is arguably one of those who is promised laurels, and yet he is still haunted by the dance of the useless. In effect, he is positioned between two anthems: that of the Instituto Nacional, which demands that he adheres to the supreme rhythm of the good past, and the promises it offers; and another that haunts those promises as inherently exclusionary and repressive.

After the expansive map of resistance offered by *The Chicago Conspiracy*, it might seem regressive to end on this intimate and oblique portrait of the Chilean student movement. And yet, I feel it is pertinent reminder of the ambivalence of haunting as a structure of feeling in Chile; of its intermittent and non-linear temporality; of its resistance to linear courses of action. Unlike Hirsch’s conceptualisation of postmemory, in which the traumatic past weighs inexorably on relatives of victims, and demands that they repair the fabric of memory, *Waltz* focuses on a character whose life is not saturated by loss or absence, but who nonetheless experiences the present past as a something-to-be-done. I read the film as an iteration of the expanded field because it encounters the affective legacies of military rule in the home, the school and the workplace—everyday locations that are rarely associated with dictatorial rule. By engaging with these spaces, it makes visible repressive temporalities—patience, national heritage and the daily routine—that cannot be reduced to being mere legacies of military rule, and thus insists on the need for a more radical interrogation of Chilean national identity. And finally, it depicts a nascent culture of “in-difference” (Gordon 2018) to the promises offered by neoliberal capitalism and parliamentary politics, within which new visions of freedom and happiness might be collectively built. Perhaps the film can be characterised as a scream against the neoliberal model. But as, Gordon argues, a scream can be a potent marker for all that goes unsaid (2008, p.86).

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the spatio-temporal composition of three films made in the late transition in which new geographies and temporalities of haunting emerged. The concept of the expanded field, as theorised by Rosalind Krauss, Andreas Huyssen and Jens
Andermann, provided a frame through which to analyse the texts, illuminating the ways they open up the meaning of haunting and disappearance by reimagining where and when they can take place. At its most basic, I have explored the expanded field as an aesthetic and thematic shift in postdictatorship Chilean film that foregrounds subjects and stories that are not directly connected to the “maximal victims” of the regime. Developing this, it also includes texts that attempt to represent the afterlife of military rule from multiple distinct perspectives, and in relation to other pre-dictatorship histories. This shift acknowledges the heterogeneity of post-conflict temporalities in Chile, and builds networks of solidarity in opposition to neoliberal capitalism. Finally, the expanded field prompts reflections on the relationship between haunting and contemporary forms of collective politics in Chile—most notably, the Chilean student movement—and allowed me to think outside of the theoretical paradigm of postmemory when considering questions of intergenerational transmission.

*Pinochet’s Children* marked a moment in which the dominant frameworks of dictatorship memory could no longer contain the stories of a generation of activists and cultural producers who experienced the late dictatorship as an emancipatory event. From a formal perspective, the film is conventional, however, the reflective nostalgia that is directed towards the 1980s represents a significant challenge to triumphalist narratives of the transition to democracy, as well as attempts to frame Lagos as the heir to Allende. I analysed the film as an iteration of the expanded field of haunting because it extends the imaginary of disappearance to include a truncated social movement, the spirit of which is distinct from both the Popular Unity and the Lagos administration. As the protagonists become attentive to the spectres of their former selves, latent geographies of repression and resistance become visible. However, as opposed to manifesting as a form of radical heritage that affirms the political subjectivities of the protagonists, these geographies point to that which is missing from the present.

The second film I analysed mapped the activities of three different groups that are engaged in ongoing struggles against the neoliberal state. The expanded field in *The Chicago Conspiracy* is not composed of memories or traces that are salvaged from the past, but of living subjects who both resist neoliberalism, and live in-difference to it. The spectral quality of the film emerges in the non-contemporaneity of the different groups represented. The residents of the *población* La Victoria articulate a narrative of victory
over capitalism and the state by celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the occupation. The Mapuche criticise the structural and systemic legacies of military rule, but also highlight the violence and exclusion on which the Chilean nation is founded. When situated in relation to these groups, the student movements of the late 2000s is not represented as a moment of national awakening, but as a localised event that forms part of a multiplicity of emergent and enduring forms of social transformation.

The Waltz of the Useless is a more hesitant representation of social transformation. It engages with the everyday conditions that constrain social resistance and transformation, while pointing to the emergent structure of feeling that compelled students across Chile to suspend their studies and call for a more just education system. In this instance, the expanded field moves beyond the territories of explicit social struggle, or emblematic sites of past violence, encountering more banal forms of repression in the rhythms and temporalities of everyday life. Darío does not inherit his political identity from a disappeared parent, nor does he experience the traumatic past as a weight. If anything, it is the spirit of Los Prisioneros that interpellates him as a political subject, an energising apathy that resonates more forcefully than the rhetoric of revolution. It is a pertinent reminder of the messy, entangled, and ambivalent qualities of haunting, which cannot be straightforwardly appeased through calls to action.

As an emergent and evolving body of texts, the expanded field of haunting is valuable for manifold interrelated reasons. Firstly, it decentres the coup as an originary rupture and allows one to think outside of the temporality of trauma. Secondly, it disrupts the hierarchies of victimhood and inheritance that constrain a broader societal dialogue about the afterlife of military rule. Thirdly, it intervenes in the spatial containment of ghostly matter within established sites of memory, provoking reflection on the more diffuse and everyday aspects of haunting. And finally, it makes visible the messiness and ambivalence of haunting as a “something-to-be-done”; the unreconciled tensions, contradictions, and imagined futures of “the left” in Chile. The lens of haunting encouraged me to focus on this messiness, drawing my attention to the emergent and residual potentialities within texts that exceed their dominant meanings. I am not suggesting that the expanded field is an exemplary aesthetic, or form of reckoning. Certainly it should not be conceived as an “advance” in the practice of memory that supplants the task of remembering the desaparecidos. Rather, it is a historically
contingent response to the reification of dictatorship memories under the rubric of national heritage.
Chapter 6: Seeds, Sparks and Shadows in the Atacama Desert

Unlike its opening shot, *The Battle of Chile* does not end with a sense of finality. In the last scene, the spectator is confronted with an image of the Atacama Desert. An expanse of flat, rocky earth takes half of the screen, interrupted by the outline of a copper mine that juts from the horizon (see Figure 10). The disembodied voice of a mine worker, interviewed before the coup, is projected into this seemingly empty space. “We’ll keep on going comrade, see you comrade”. Another voice interrupts, saying “[w]e have to do it. It’s now or never”. This dialogue is replayed, producing an echo effect, as the camera slowly zooms out, to reveal yet more flat, rocky earth. Accompanying the two voices, the Popular Unity anthem is played at a melancholic tempo, and when the song ends, the image turns into a still, a moment of frozen time. The workers we hear are expressing the need to accelerate the revolutionary process before the far-right take action, however, when viewed in a post-coup context, it becomes an unsettling anachronism, a ghostly call to action. The use of the desert to end the film is symptomatic of the imaginative pull of the Atacama in post-coup Chile, both as a landscape of violence and radical heritage.

Unlike the capital, in which material traces of the past are constantly under threat from urban renewal or state-led memorialisation, the desert is often represented as a material and virtual archive of the past that haunts the national imaginary from the periphery. *Battle* adds to this archive by leaving the voices of the miners to echo around the landscape, awaiting a moment when they might be accompanied by others. If the image of La Moneda in flames came to signify the end of a social dream, the desert landscape served as a space where this dream might live on, if only in the form of voices in the wind.

This chapter examines representations of the Chilean Atacama Desert in which some form of haunting is acknowledged and addressed. I choose to end this thesis in the desert as it is arguably the imaginative epicentre of disappearance in Chile. More expansive than a site or a place, in postdictatorship culture the desert is often portrayed as a landscape of disappearance, due, in part, to the refusal of the military to reveal the locations of mass graves. As Frazier argues, citing an interview with a mother of one of the disappeared, “[h]aving no marker for his grave, he inhabited the entire terrain, haunting the national political culture from which he had been violently excised” (Frazier 2007, p.197). The concept of landscape is key, and closely related to the expanded field of haunting mapped out in Chapter 5. As theorised by John Wylie (2009), Doreen Massey (2011), Jens
Andermann (2012) and Martin Lefebvre (2006), this term opens up debates around visibility and invisibility, presence and absence, the subjective and the social, which are constitutive of haunting as a concept and a phenomenon. My aim in this chapter is not to write a history of northern Chile, nor to outline the dominant narratives of cultural memory that circulate it (see Monteón 1975; Dorfman 2003; Frazier 2007). Rather, I will focus on the temporalities that are associated with the desert landscape, reflecting on the potential of this space/place for engaging with the present past. I acknowledge that my focus on the Atacama is potentially problematic. Enduring injustice, in the form economic inequality, police brutality, and corporate exploitation, is less visible in the natural expanses of the desert. Indeed it could be argued that to dwell on the Atacama as a space of absence and disappearance is to contain the imaginative afterlife of military rule within a distant mythologised space. And yet, in the films I analyse, the desert is not solely a space of contemplation, nor is it hermeneutically sealed from the present. Rather, I argue that its symbolic status in the Chilean national imaginary makes it a powerful space for the interrogation of national identity and the legacies of state violence. By focussing on the desert landscape, I do not intend to smooth over the material, cultural and social realities of the Atacama as a region or place. Rather, the concept of landscape provides a vantage point from which multiple concomitant histories might be contemplated, as well as their imaginative afterlives.

I start the chapter by elaborating on the concept of landscape and its relationship with haunting. Following this, I consider the significance of the Atacama in the Chilean geographical imaginary, especially the tendency to describe the desert as the home, or birthplace of the Chilean nation. Next, I turn to a short online video documenting the journey of a group of former political prisoners to Chacabuco, an abandoned nitrate mine that was used as a concentration camp in the early years of the dictatorship. Pilgrimage is one of the main memorial practices through which individuals and groups interact with the desert, and this film provides an opportunity to consider its significance as a practice of inheritance. The second film I focus on, *Mi Vida con Carlos* ("My Life with Carlos" 2003), also includes a pilgrimage to the desert, however, its narrative function is quite distinct. In this film, the son of an executed militant sets out to learn more about his father, ultimately leading to a journey to the place where his father’s body was disappeared. While the film has been analysed as a work of postmemory, I propose that haunting offers an alternative theoretical framework to Hirsch’s much used term, facilitating a move
away from a linear, one-directional conceptualisation of inheritance and memory transmission. Finally, I turn to Patricio Guzmán’s much celebrated documentary, *Nostalgia de la Luz* (“Nostalgia for the Light” 2010), a film that uses the desert to explore the way different histories and temporalities of state violence intersect. In this final section, I argue that haunting should be conceived not solely as a confrontation with immaterial traces from the past, but a recognition of something that exceeds human memory, displacing both where and when we think we are.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 10:** *The Battle of Chile. Part 3: The Power of the People* (1979).

**Landscape and Haunting**

The re-framing of a space and place as a landscape is a fraught process. Many have described landscape as a “way of seeing” that reduces complex geographies to the individualised gaze of the propertied class. Following the Marxist approach of Denis Cosgrove, the linear perspective and spatial continuity of landscape representation can be seen to provide the illusion of order and control, and the genre is therefore complicit in the transformation of land into property (1985, p.55). Doreen Massey supports this argument, suggesting that dominant conceptions of landscape naturalise the temporal homogeneity of space. In her words, “[t]he very fact of visual continuity implies a kind of present reconciliation [...] In this guise it resonates with that notion of space as a simple
surface. We travel across landscape; we travel across space” (2011, para 47). For Massey, this sense of coherence is problematic because it reinforces strict, linear delineations between the past and the present, and thus the present emerges as a unitary whole that cannot be altered in any meaningful way. Traces of past lives, or ways of living, might scatter the scene, but these traces are parts of a dead past that bears no agentic relation to the current social and economic order. This construction of space and place has profound political implications. As Massey argues, when space is imagined as a bounded entity, our ability to engage with alternative temporalities and ways of living is diminished (1992; 2011). Like Massey and Cosgrove, I am wary of landscape as a concept, but I also take up her call to search for and imagine more emancipatory forms of landscape representation, ways of seeing that represent ongoing histories of repression and injustice, and acknowledge the spectral presence of other ways of life that have been deemed lost or obsolete.

In the fields of film studies, cultural geography, and anthropology, landscape has provided fertile ground for the exploration and representation of alternate conceptions of time. In fact, the concepts of haunting and landscape have increasingly been theorised alongside each other, and often in relation to visual media (Baer 2002; Wylie 2009; Edensor 2013; Keller 2016). The phenomenologist Tim Ingold argues that “landscape is constituted as an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves” (1993, p.152). In this sense, physical landscapes can serve as archives of human and non-human histories that complicate bounded senses of space and place. Conceptualised as an archive, landscape presents a realm in which seemingly disparate histories, events, and temporalities overlap and intersect. In this realm, to use Gordon’s phrasing, you might “bump into” a memory that belongs to someone else (2008, p.166). For Patricia Keller, haunting and landscape are tethered by a productive paradox. If ghosts are invisible, she asks, how can they be aligned with a spatial concept so often described as a way of seeing? In response, she argues that when landscapes are visualised as ghostly, strict distinctions between presence and absence, materiality and immateriality, visibility and invisibility break down. In her words, “landscapes that are ghostly, that are infused with a spectral quality, are also places and, we should remember, ways of seeing that bring something to presence through an absence” (Keller 2016, p.15). Crucially, according to Keller, haunting can become actualised through the act of visual
representation; through efforts to create images of loss, disappearance, and non-contemporaneity.

If spectrality implies the coexistence of multiple temporalities, or experiences of time, filmic representations of landscape provide a valuable avenue through which they might be acknowledged. Drawing on Patrick Keiller’s documentary *Robinson in Ruins* (2010) for inspiration, Massey argues for new ways of picturing and writing about landscape in which a multiplicity of histories and ongoing stories are acknowledged. In her analysis, Massey praises Keiller’s film for its resistance to narrative coherence, and ability to find unfolding stories in the most static, or timeless of scenes. Visual representations of “natural settings” are often maligned for their tendency to fix the meaning of space, or assimilate it into nationalist geographical imaginaries, yet Massey argues that film also has the capacity to make visible the complex temporalities of which space is composed.

The camera films from a constellation of locations from which we can piece the landscape together. But the form of the film itself tells us that this is in no sense a simple surface. The camera does not film while moving. It films when it stops, and at each point when it does so, we dwell upon a story. (2011, para 49)

More broadly in her oeuvre, Massey argues that time and space are consistently theorised as binary terms in poststructuralist philosophy, one representing the realm of history and change (time), and the other that of representation and domination (1995; 2004; 2005). Seeking out new ways of picturing and thinking about space that recognise a multiplicity of times (and possible futures) is the challenge posed throughout Massey’s work, a challenge I believe is taken up in representations of the Atacama.

### El Desierto

The term desert connotes far more than an arid, sparsely inhabited terrain. Indeed, struggles over the meaning and value of deserts are often central to the formulation and contestation of national identities, from the conquest of nature in the American West (Gersdorf 2009), to the “rediscovery” of national origins in the Australian Outback (Haynes 1998). Reflecting on their prominence in modernist film and literature, David Jasper argues that desert landscapes offer artists a space for reflection and re-enchantment that evades the homogenous secular time of modernity (2008). In Jasper’s account, deserts are commonly represented as spaces of wandering, loneliness and
unexpected encounters; a landscape where claims to property and land ownership dissipate; a place of scarcity and spiritual enrichment (2008). Crucially, the temporal imaginary of deserts is often distinct from urban or agricultural landscapes. Focussing on the Australian Outback, Roslynn Doris Haynes argues that desert landscapes are often presented as "timeless". In her words, "the flat expanse of featureless landscape presented only barrenness, frustrating both expectation and memory. By extension, spatial monotony suggested temporal changelessness, equally inimical to the prevailing cult of progress" (Haynes 1998, p.88). The meaning of the Chilean Atacama cannot be subsumed within these generalising discourses, however, they do infuse the filmic representations I discuss below, in subtle and sometimes problematic ways.

In Latin America, the term “desert” (desierto) encompasses still more layers of meaning, often closely connected to the formation of the nation state. According to Gordillo, in Argentina the term desert has historically been aligned with “the void”, a wilderness space that state power and Western civilisation have yet to infiltrate. In his words:

> The term [desert] was not meant to be a topographic description but articulated, primarily, an affective disposition toward space: it named very different geographies (from tropical forests in the Chaco to cold steppes in Patagonia) unified by the haunting absence of civilization, state power, and capitalism. (2014, p.66)

Similarly, Jens Andermann argues that in Argentina the desert was coded to signify emptiness; an anachronistic landscape that should be abstracted, quantified and capitalised upon (2007, p.179). With these arguments in mind, the framing of desert as empty, timeless space is compatible with an imperialist spatio-temporal imaginary. Allochronic language equated this “empty space” with the nation’s past, while the exploitation of physical resources would bring it into the national simultaneity. Far from “counteracting the cult of progress” (Haynes 1998, p.88), in Latin America the timeless, or “backwards” qualities of the desert was actively promoted so as to justify the obliteration of the indigenous population, and the ecosystems on which they depended.

Much like Argentina, the conquest of the Chilean Atacama Desert—through war, and extractive industry—is often aligned with the birth of the Chilean nation state. It was here that Chile fought Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884); a conflict that significantly increased Chilean territory and perpetuated discourses of Chilean exceptionalism and racial superiority (Beckman 2009). One of the spoils of the war were the fields of nitrate of the Tarapacá and Antofagasta regions, which brought in large
revenues that enabled the consolidation of the Chilean state, though the majority of the mines were British-owned (Frazier 2007 p.33). At the time, the war was framed as a clash between civilisation and disorder, exemplified by the words of the Chilean statesman Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna in 1879:

“(t)he noble march and the even more noble conquest of work, of creative order, and of vigorous industry’, vanquishing ‘the torpid laziness and incurable disorder of other races”, who had allowed their territories ‘to become barren and sterile”. (Cited by Beckman 2009 p.75)

This was and is a highly racialised discourse. Within it, Chileans were able to increase productivity because of their European roots, while the Bolivians and Peruvians, who continued to work and live in Northern Chile, were depicted as a backwards, docile race (Beckman 2009).

The pacification of the desert through “creative order”, was perpetuated by visual media. In the 19th and early 20th century, photographers working for British nitrate companies transformed the desert from a scene of apparent emptiness, into an ordered, or sometimes virginal, space for potential investment. Analysing one collection of these photographs, Louise Purbrick notes that the desert landscape is consistently represented as an untapped source of profit. In the images, the desert remained a flat, empty expanse, but when framed through the gaze of extractive industry, it is reimagined as land, a quantifiably category that can be bought and sold (Purbrick 2017, p.256) (see figure 11). The landscape had been transformed from a void that had yet to be shaped by progress and civilisation, into a source of profit in the present and future. This form of representation is also a practice of disappearance, in which extractive industry is seen to bring the landscape into presence, while representing the desert itself as a space of absolute emptiness. Under the Chilean flag, the Atacama became productive, while the Peruvians, Bolivians and indigenous peoples that continued to live in the region slipped further into invisibility.
The sense that the geographic periphery of Chile shaped or gave birth to its political centre is also reflected in histories of Chilean socialism. The dire pay and conditions in the nitrate mines, combined with the increasing prevalence of socialist and communist thought, led to strengthening of class consciousness in the north (Oppenheim 2006, p.11). In the 1910s alone, over 200 strikes were organised, several of which were violently repressed (Bizzarro 2017, p.496). Frazier goes as far as to call Tarapacá (Chile’s most northern province) the “birthplace of the Chilean’s workers movement”, a region that symbolised both “state violence and rebellious vitality, repression and transformation” (Frazier 2007, p.25). The mine workers included Peruvians, Bolivians, as well as workers from the U.S., Europe and Asia, situating the mines within a wide network of solidarity that extended beyond, and undermined, national frontiers (Frazier 2007b, p.110). In other words, the domination of the desert is entwined with a powerful mythology of national origins, but it also contains within it a seed of internationalism that effects a displacement of those origins.
Accompanying this history, the Atacama encompasses a complex temporal imaginary. The sudden collapse of the nitrate industry, following the invention of synthetic fertilisers in 1913, led to a withdrawal of foreign investment and mass closure of processing plants. Copper (also mined in the desert) soon replaced nitrate as Chile’s primary export, however, copper mines did not require the same numbers of workers, and the population of the region declined markedly (Collier and Sater 2004, p.269). A way of life abruptly ended with the flight of capital, leading to a collective sense of loss (Frazier 2007b, p.56). Historiography of the Tarapacá region largely ends in the 1930, and contemporary discourse tends to position the north as “synonymous with nation’s past” (Frazier 2007b, pp.31–56). The region’s history neither started nor ended with the nitrate industry, nor did the legacies of nitrate and the War of the Pacific dissipate with the passing of time. The north of Chile retained a strong tradition of unionisation throughout the 20th century, and as a result, experienced a disproportionate level of repression during the dictatorship (Frazier 2007b, p.40). Nonetheless, when viewed from the symbolic centre (Santiago), the landscape of the Atacama, now scattered with the pillaged ruins of former nitrate mines, continues to be associated with pastness and post-industrial decline.

Significantly, the perceived non-contemporaneity of the northern regions has become a threat to the self-image of Chile as a modern, developed nation. In Frazier’s words, “[f]or the Chilean state, the north both has propelled Chile into modernity and threatens to hold Chile back among the metaphorical ruins of extractive industry” (2007, p.56). She goes on to argue that the population of the north appropriate and mobilise the idea of non-contemporaneity (2007, p.56). Residents often describe their region’s relationship with the wider nation-state through the discursive frameworks of “abandonment and persistence”, constructing an autonomous political identity premised on being out of sync with the political centre (2007, p.56). The idea of the desert as a forbidding landscape is central to this identity, as it is said that only the most persistent and untiring of people can survive within it (2007, p.57). The rest of this chapter explores how the filmic representation of the desert as a landscape that is non-contemporaneous with the rest of Chile can threaten the integrity of national identity and the teleology of transitional time. Furthermore, developing my thoughts on the expanded field, I am interested in texts that represent non-contemporaneity within the desert landscape, placing different stories of disappearance and social transformation in dialogue.
Proximity with the Dead – Returning to Chacabuco

My analysis starts where this thesis began. As stated in my introduction, Chacabuco was a British-owned nitrate mine and town in the province of Antofagasta. It opened in 1924 and was home to around 7,000 people, but after 14 years in operation, it fell victim to the collapse of the nitrate industry and was abandoned. Following the coup in 1973, it was expropriated by the military and used as internment camp for political prisoners for two years (1973-1974), chosen due to its physical isolation and prison-like construction (Vilches 2011, p.246). Since 1990 it has been owned by the Chilean state, and administered by the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales (Ministry of National Assets), however, it is more often described as a “ghost-town” than a site of heritage (Dinges 2006; Vilches 2011). Though it is geographically isolated and receives relatively few visitors, it is a place with a strong gravitational pull in the imaginative geography of the Atacama, and the Chilean nation as a whole. Numerous popular films and books have been made about the site, and academics in sociology, history, and film studies have been drawn to it as an focal point of analysis (Vilches 2011; Adasme 2017; Bell 2018). This imaginative pull becomes stronger and more complex when considering that the name Chacabuco refers to a battle in which Chilean forces defeated the Spanish during the wars of independence, and therefore evokes cultural memories of national triumph. Referencing Levi Bryant, Gordillo describes such locations as “bright objects” or “nodal points” in national geographical imaginaries; locations that demand attention not because of their physical properties, but because of “the networks they are part of” (Gordillo 2014, p.22). In Chacabuco, the expansive networks of the war of independence, the nitrate industry, and the Pinochet dictatorship become entangled, thereby heightening its symbolic and affective resonance for subjects in Chile and beyond.

Encuentro Ex Prisioneros Campo de Concentración Chacabuco. 23 y 24 de Nov. 2013 (2013, henceforth Encuentro) is a short film, commissioned by the Museum for Memory and Human Rights, depicting a journey to Chacabuco by a group of former political prisoners. Numerous films have been made about Chacabuco, including Yo Fui, Yo Soy, Yo Seré (“I Was, I Am, I Will Be” 1974), which captured fragments of life during its time as a prison.

27 “Meeting of Ex-Prisoners of the Chacabuco Concentration Camp”.
camp; La Sombra de Don Roberto ("The Shadow of Don Roberto" 2007) documenting the reflections of the site’s caretaker; and Memoria Desierta ("Desert Memory" 2006) following the return of three former inmates. Unlike these films, Encuentro has an amateur feel. It is free to watch on the video sharing platform YouTube, appearing alongside a scattering of homemade pilgrimage videos. From an aesthetic perspective, it encompasses many of the visual tropes associated with tourist filmmaking, or “home video”. The editing and colouring is basic, with sparse use of non-diegetic sound, and much of the camerawork is handheld. This amateur quality is precisely what drew me to it. While La Sombra de Don Roberto and Memoria Desierta draw explicitly on cinematic tropes of haunting—images of shadows, situated testimonies, empty ruined buildings, melancholic non-diegetic music—Encuentro prompts an encounter with ghosts through a filmic form in which we might not expect them.

Coinciding with the 40th anniversary of their internment, the text documents a collective act of commemoration by former political prisoners, including poetry recitals, musical performances, and a roll call for the disappeared. The filming of these activities is not of secondary importance, but a key element of the journey. As Giuliana Bruno argues, a pilgrimage is both an embodied act and a narrativising practice. Sacred journeys, both religious and secular, often entail the inscription and reification of a spatial trajectory. In Bruno’s words,

"Pilgrimage—a travel story and a spatial practice—induces travel to specific places, establishing "stations" and a narrative linkage through various sites. This itinerary creates (and is often created by) hagiographic tales, and thus the path itself is narrativised". (2002, p.62)

From this perspective, films and photographs that document pilgrimages are not merely representations, but integral elements of pilgrimage itself. The expectations of pilgrims are conditioned by images of their destination, and efforts to document their journey can shape its meaning, as well as memories that stem from it. Furthermore, the filming of isolated sites of past violence, such as Chacabuco, enables audiences to participate in virtual pilgrimages, undertaken by an imagined community of likeminded spectators (Scates 2002). In Encuentro, the pilgrimage does not involve a journey by land, nor does it feature any symbolic stops along the way. Rather the spectator witnesses an abrupt jump from the “centre” (Santiago) to a specific point in the desert. In short, Chacabuco is
presented as an isolated marker of memory—even a home away from home—within an otherwise featureless landscape.

Upon arrival at Chacabuco, the camera performs a sweeping pan of the entire town, filmed from the roof of one of the main buildings. It is a scene of ruination and gradual reunification with the desert. The adobe walls of the mine workers’ houses are crumbling into dust, the roofs fallen in. The once whitewashed façades of the buildings are now light brown, matching the hue of the surrounding desert. In 1973, this elevated, panoramic view would have been witnessed only by the soldiers who guarded the site from the eight guard towers (Vilches 2011, p.250). As a visual gesture, it not only sets the scene, but asserts mastery over it. As Teresa Castro argues, citing Oettermann, “[t]he panning gesture is obviously linked to nineteenth century panoramas, to the feeling of visual control and mastery over space that they procured, and to a larger process of spectacularization of landscape” (2009, p.12). In this simple shot, the architecture of surveillance that was built into the initial design of the mine (Vilches 2011, p.246) is appropriated in an act of scopic territorialisation. This gaze does not replicate the experience of internment, but reproduces the perspective of the oppressor, while draining it of any threatening connotations.

The subsequent narrative focuses on the commemorative activities of the group. Poetry is recited in the restored theatre; songs from the Nueva Canción (New Song) movement are sung in chorus; and a role call for the disappeared is performed in one of the main plazas. In the penultimate scene, the inmates gather among the crumbling remains of their former cells and a diary entry is read out, which was written in October 1974. “No one will forget the dance hall, the bonfire, the theatre shows, the circus, and the work of the artisans” reads one of the former prisoners, referring to the activities organised by the prisoners during their time in detention. The diary entry disrupts dominant representations of detention as a form of social death, offering evidence of a politics of “in-difference”, premised on solidarity and creativity, which is oriented towards the future (“No one will forget”). The recounting of the diary entry in Chacabuco asserts that the feelings expressed in the letter have not diminished with the passing of time—a promise to their former selves has been kept. More than an evocative marker of memory, here Chacabuco also acts as a place where transformative forms of resistance might be
accessed, expressed, and rearticulated. Towards the end of the same diary entry, the reader states:

Today we move forward with the conviction that the inevitable revolution is not far away. Comrades, in your minds is present the necessity of the inevitable victory. We need only a final victory.

By reading this statement, its status as a “stranded object” (Santner 1990) is partially reversed, salvaging a horizon of expectation when the dictatorship was viewed merely as a detour en-route to emancipation. Presented in an institutional setting, such as the Museum for Memory and Human Rights, the words might appear to be locked in a historical moment that is irreversibly over. However, when reconciled with the people who conceived them, and the place where they were written, a form of temporal bridging transpires. The words, and the structure of feeling that they express, are not merely “of their time,” rather they persist and press against the present, pointing to as yet unrealised futures. At the same time, the diary unsettles the subjectivities of those who witness the reading. The person who wrote the words was unaware that the dictatorship would endure for a further 16 years, and the “inevitable revolution” of which it speaks has yet to arrive. This encapsulates the ambivalence of haunting. Spectral traces might invoke the feeling of a something-to-be-done—“the necessity of the inevitable revolution”—but they do not fit comfortably with the dominant temporal logic of the present.

The text is a direct response to ghosts, acknowledging both the “former selves” of the prisoners, and the comrades who were disappeared by the regime. However, the aesthetic it employs focuses on presence, as opposed to absence. The ruins are represented as a source of comfort and continuity, rather than trauma, or distress. The roll call and communal singing are clear manifestations of this sentiment. To sing in chorus is to partake in the vocal presencing of the past, a practice that evades the gaps and fissures of testimony. As Peter Glazer argues, in relation to the Lincoln Brigade’s commemorative activities.

The songs’ social references for those attending these commemorative events are perhaps their most important function. They evoke not only a time and place, but also the shared sense of common purpose and idealism that moment “means” now, which can transcend internal disputes. (2005, p.204)

During the roll call of the dead, the names of the disappeared are called out, followed by a collective of presente! (present). Performed throughout Latin America, the roll call
simultaneously declares victory over the dictatorship and asserts a continuity of values. When expressed by the mothers of the disappeared in Argentina, it is often accompanied by the impossible demand of *aparición con vida* (for the disappeared to be returned alive). In *Encuentro* no explicit calls for accountability are made, focussing instead on a continuity of struggle. Like the songs, the dead are untainted by the ambivalent present, and thus serve as points of commonality.

While pilgrimage is often described as a spatial practice, the scenes described above highlight that it is also intrinsically related to time and temporality. The journey is visualised as a liberating departure from the mundane rhythms of everyday life, ultimately leading to some form of collective “progress”. This falls broadly in line with dominant theorisations of religious pilgrimage. As the anthropologists Edith and Victor Turner argue, “[i]t is true that the pilgrim returns to his former mundane existence, but it is commonly believed that he has made a spiritual step forward” (Turner and Turner 2011, p.15). This sense of having “moved forward” is most palpable in the final scene of *Encuentro*. As the former prisoners leave the site in a coach, the group starts to sing *Libre*, by Nino Bravo, a song that celebrates a feeling of freedom after an extended period of repression. As they sing, the camera points out of the window, imbuing the passing landscape with this sense of liberation. During the dictatorship, the song *Libre* was appropriated by Pinochet’s supporters, and, according to the historian Katia Chornik, it was used by the military during torture (Chornik 2014, p.123). The reclamation of this auditory sign cleanses the sign of its repressive connotations. “Think of barbed wire, as only a piece of metal,” sing the group, as the outer walls of Chacabuco pass swiftly by the coach windows. Objects and places that once repressed the group have been reclaimed and transformed, seemingly precipitating some form of transformation. Meanwhile, a place that is normally represented as a “ghost town,” cut off from the present, is reclaimed as part of the heritage of the living.

On first viewing, landscape is of little importance in the film. The camera focuses predominantly on the ruined buildings, and the memorial practices of the former prisoners. In other words, Chacabuco is presented as a bounded place with a specific history, as opposed to a landscape where multiple distinct histories and memories intersect. However, when viewed in a broader context, the film also points to the temporal heterogeneity of space; a sense that this one site in the desert contains a
different temporal trajectory to the rest of the Atacama, or the nation as a whole. In other words, it is only when Chacabuco is situated within a wider landscape that its haunting quality becomes knowable. In visiting the site, the prisoners do not return to the past, nor do they reenact it, rather they uncover a horizon of expectation that lay dormant within it. This notion that the desert preserves the dreams of those who inhabited it is prevalent in several other texts, often manifesting in the trope of a seed. This spectre does not return from the past, but lies in wait, carrying with it a generative power (See *Pisagua: The Seed in the Sand*). Who might take on the task of caring for this seed—of providing it with a “hospitable memory” (Derrida 1994, p.220)—is one of the themes of the following section.

**The Camera as a Ghost?**

*My Life with Carlos* (2010) is a first person documentary in which the director, Germán Berger, attempts to learn about the life of his executed father, Carlos Berger. Towards this aim, Germán films encounters with his mother and two paternal uncles, none of whom has reminisced openly about their lost loved one. “I couldn’t remember you because no one ever spoke about you”, says Germán in the opening epistolary narration. “I was one year old when they killed you, and you were 30. When I turned 30 it made me realise how young you were, of how much you still had to live. I wanted to know who you had been”. The temporality of loss and healing is not linear in this statement, rather absence becomes more acutely felt with the passing of time, demanding that something-to-be-done. As the discussions unfold, the film paints a portrait of absence, trauma, and familial rupture that is gradually acknowledged through acts of collective remembering. Though much of the film is based in Santiago, in the final scenes, Germán travels to the desert, near where his father was arrested and executed. Stood in an empty landscape of sand and rocks, he reads out a letter to Carlos, expressing relief that his father has finally been woven back into the fabric of the family. In Germán’s words, “[t]hey open their memory and I fill my blank page. I therefore begin to have my life with Carlos”. In some respects, the film is a typical work of postmemory, and previously it has been analysed as such (Gómez-Barris 2012; DiGiovanni 2013; Arrué 2014; Osborne 2017). My reading bears these analyses in mind, however, I focus specifically on the role of the desert within the
narrative; a landscape that provides proximity with the disappeared, as well as opening up an expanded field of haunting that is not reducible to familial inheritance.

The history of Carlos Berger’s detention and execution is well known in Chile. Berger had been a prominent public figure during the Allende Government, and his wife, Carmen Hertz, went on to become a famous human rights lawyer. Prior to his arrest, Carlos had been working as the director of a state run radio station in the locality of Chuquicamata, the home of Chile’s largest copper mine. After the coup, he was arrested and executed during the Caravan of Death, an infamous military squadron that travelled the length of the country by helicopter in September and October 1973, executing political prisoners who had been arrested in the weeks prior. His death was reported by the military, who claimed that he had tried to escape, however, the burial site was never disclosed. In 2003, Ariel Dorfman mentions the case in his book *Exorcising Terror: The Incredible Unending Trial of General Augusto Pinochet* (2003b, p.143); ten years later, the director of *Machuca*, Andrés Wood, produced a TV miniseries named *Ecos del Desierto* (“Echoes from the Desert” 2013) depicting Carmen Hertz’s experience before and after the coup; and in 2017, Hertz published her own autobiographical account *La Historia Fue Otra: Memorias* (“History was Otherwise: Memories”), in which she delves into her personal memories of the dictatorship, as well as the ways they have been represented in popular culture. In summary, of all the bodies to be disappeared in the desert, Carlos Berger’s is one of the most famous, and the lawsuit to bring justice for his execution had repercussions on a national scale.

The legal case against those behind the Caravan of Death is arguably the most prominent in the history of the transition. Between September 30 and October 22, 1973, a squadron of soldiers bypassed established chains of command and executed political prisoners throughout the length of the country, fomenting a culture of fear in both the armed forces and the general public. Brought to public attention during the late dictatorship by Patricia Verdugo’s book *Los Zarpazos Del Puma* (“Clawings of the Puma” 1989), the case eventually led to Pinochet being stripped of immunity, ten years after the return to democracy. This moment was of huge symbolic importance. As Stern argues, “Pinochet’s loss of legal immunity was the most dramatic signal that lo posible had changed, even on matters of justice” (2010, p.333) In an effort to align the incumbent government with the pursuit of justice, in October 2001 President Ricardo Lagos embarked on the Caravan of
Life, in which he followed the route taken by the military death squad. Commenting on this institutional pilgrimage, Frazier argues that the “caravan of life was to take the form of a pilgrimage of consecration and healing in which, as in all pilgrimages, the sacredness of the sites would confer moral authority on the pilgrims” (2007, p.218). Crucially, Lagos’s journey also sought to tame sites that contained memories of “radical political difference” within them, providing a symbolic tombstone for the disappeared of the desert and demarcating a substantive split from the military regime. If the Caravan of Death marked the moment in which the military’s “state of war” narrative was consolidated, (Stern 2006, p.98), Lagos’s journey encapsulated the claim that the war has come to an end, with Pinochet on the losing side.

Unlike legal and institutional approaches to this crime, Berger’s film is not principally concerned with “uncovering” the details of the event, nor with demands for criminal justice. Rather the director constructs a portrait of the personal and social void left by the death of his father, while attempting to fill that void through familial dialogue and acts of collective mourning. The film is replete with the narrative and visual tropes of postmemory texts, the “building blocks” of memory work, as Hirsch describes them (1997, p.23). These include collective viewings of photographs and archive footage, journeys to places of emotional resonance, the accumulation of personal artefacts connected to the dead family member, and an epistolary narration directed towards Carlos’s ghost. Using postmemory as a theoretical framework, Lisa Renee DiGiovanni positions My Life with Carlos within a growing collection of Latin American “subjective documentaries” that combine a robust denunciation of the crimes of the military with attempts to “reclaim a collective identity in opposition to the Nationalist ideology of the right wing regimes” (2013, p.65). While acknowledging that the film presents a highly romanticised image of left-wing militancy, DiGiovanni suggests that it also dwells on the “frictions and disconnections” between generations which “subvert uniform understandings of transgenerational transmission” (2013, p.70). For the cultural theorist Macarena Gómez-Barris, My Life with Carlos is a reflection on the “quintessential feature of the postmemory condition”: the act of mediation. According to her argument, the director does not strive to create a perfect picture of the past to be stored as personal memory, but creates new “affective communities of witnessing” through creative practice (Gómez-Barris 2012, p.15).
These analyses are valuable, and more nuanced than I can do justice to here, however, their focus on transmission also risks smoothing over the ambivalences and unresolved tensions within the text, through which a something-to-be-done might be discerned; tensions that are most visible when the narrative moves into the desert. As I noted in Chapter 5, postmemory was initially theorised in relation to the Holocaust and thus tends to focus on a foundational period of violence that is temporally, and often spatially, distant from the families of victims in the present. By contrast, haunting points to cases in which repressive violence, or the conditions that produced it, are ongoing. As such, the second and third generations do not inherit trauma from the previous generation, but are themselves witnesses to repression in the present, or are complicit with it. This shift in focus foregrounds the emergent character of disappearance and haunting, and the first-hand experiences or memories of the second generation (Perez 2013, pp.10–11). In my reading, the film offers a powerful critique of the changes wrought by military rule, however, it also reproduces some of the conditions through which the social order is sustained, particularly in its celebration of the heteronormative family.

Rather than dwelling on Germán’s experience of absence, much of My Life with Carlos focuses on the ways his father’s ghost makes demands on the older generation. Throughout the film, Carlos is presented as an idealised figure. According to Hertz, he was a “model leftist militant”, selfless, committed to the Popular Unity cause, with progressive views on gender. This romanticising, nostalgic gaze goes against a trend in many Latin American “postmemory” texts, in which the political aspirations of the 1960s and 70s are interrogated critically (Los Rubios 2003; El Edificio de los Chilenos 2010). However, as in Pinochet’s Children, the nostalgia also has a critical function that places the living under the gaze of the dead. When Carlos asks his paternal uncles about their silence, they are forced to confront the ways in which the dictatorship changed them for the worse. Carlos’s brother, Ricardo, became the manager of a paper mill following the coup. “I had to negotiate with the union, but I was on the evil side”, he says, describing a shift to the right that took place throughout the country. Carlos’s other brother, Eduardo, relocated to Canada following the coup, not because of fear of political persecution, but a desire to escape and suppress the pain of loss. On visiting Eduardo’s family in Ottawa, the film initially presents an image of happy heteronormative togetherness, yet the presence of the camera compels Eduardo to reflect on the pain that lingers beneath the surface, ultimately instigating a return to Chile. Haunting, as it is imagined here, cannot be
reduced to the experience of a particular generation, rather it is a shared and intersubjective structure of feeling that exists in excess of individual, or generational attempts to narrativise the present past. The figure of the ghost does not demand that the truth is unveiled, but asks for material change in the present, and points to the ways its subjects are relationally bound to enduring injustice.

The key relationship in the film is between Germán and his mother. Carmen Hertz is one of the most famous figures connected to human rights law in Chile, however, surprisingly, she has seemingly refrained from speaking openly about her disappeared partner. Gómez-Barris also makes note to this, stating that “[t]he shock of the film is to find out that one of the most visible female protagonists of the human rights scene has in fact transmitted very little about the afterlife of her disappeared long term companion” (Gómez-Barris 2012, p.12). In one scene, Germán confronts his mother about her failure to tell stories about Carlos’s political principals and quotidian habits. “Your father was always present. He was present in everything I did”, replies Hertz, referring to her work as a lawyer and activist for the Vicaria de la Solidaridad. The director is clearly uncomfortable with this response, craving stories that go beyond opposition to the dictatorship and acknowledge that which was lost in 1973. Both mother and son recognise the phantasmal persistence of Carlos between them, however, for the director, this ghost cannot be reckoned with through the conventional methods of retrospective justice—trials, truth commissions—to which his mother has devoted her life.

The film’s textual form is key to the way haunting is addressed. Unlike more conventional testimonial documentaries, the subjects interviewed are not given a separate space to tell their story, rather, Germán is almost always present in the scene. In this respect, the film might be called a participatory documentary, in which the encounter between the director, camera, and subject cannot be separated from the story that is being told. For Nichols, participatory documentaries disrupt the assumption that the filmmaker can be an impartial observer and embrace the new, often unsettling, situations that the camera’s gaze brings about. “The filmmaker steps out from behind the cloak of voice-over commentary”, says Nichols, “steps away from poetic meditation, steps down from a fly-on-the-wall perch, and becomes a social actor (almost) like any other” (2010, p.116). As a result of this approach, the object of loss, and the desires attached to it, only emerge through an intersubjective encounter. Germán is not purely interested in forming a
coherent image of his father, rather, he observes the different ways Carlos’s absence presses on those around him; an absence that evolves with the gaze of the camera and the sharing of stories. In this respect, the film not only restores continuity to a family, but creates situations in which the ongoing repression of political alternatives is given an affective presence. What might easily be described as personal loss and trauma is imbued with a wider significance when the family comes together, yet it is not until the final portion of the film, in the Atacama Desert, that the story becomes part of a wider landscape of violence and mourning.

The central image of the film is an image of the Atacama in which the camera tracks slowly over a patch of desert terrain. It is the opening image and is returned to on multiple occasions. This is a forbidding scene, imbuing the landscape with a feeling of absolute absence. It is twilight and a strong wind is whipping up the sand. We hear the air streaming across the surface of the desert, a sound that bears witness to the invisible presence of the earth's atmosphere in motion, but contains no promise of life, no echoing voices from the past. By opening with this image, the Atacama is placed at the imaginative epicentre of the filmic map. It is here that Carlos’s body was disappeared by the military, and it is here where Germán returns to address his father's ghost.

The final third of the film is a pilgrimage to the desert, though unlike Encuentro, there is no obvious endpoint. Germán first travels with his uncle Eduardo to the town of Chuquicamata, a settlement that was built on the edge of world’s largest copper mine, but has now been abandoned due to industrial pollution. Here they visit the buildings where Carlos lived and worked, but more importantly, they situate the familial narrative of loss within a broader political landscape. Through narration, Germán briefly describes the importance of Chuquicamata in the economic plan of the Popular Unity, going on to criticise the U.S.-backed miners’ strikes that crippled the Chilean economy, and consequently, the Allende government. In one elevated establishing shot, the camera pans across the empty town, reminiscent of the panorama that introduced Chacabuco in Encuentro. These two towns both fell victim to the volatility of extractive industry, though the stories they harbour are still of relevance to the national present. According to Eduardo’s testimony, following the coup, Carlos defied the military’s orders to cease broadcasting, acquired an extension cable for his microphone and addressed the town from the streets. Clearly analogous with Allende’s last stand, this story positions Carlos
as a non-violent idealist who was ultimately betrayed by the military, but whose actions left a generative memory of resistance for those who seek it out.

More important than Chuquicamata is the desert landscape that surrounds it. In a scene towards the end of the narrative, a group of people (predominantly women) are depicted scraping at the desert surface with trowels. Audience members would likely recognise them as one of many groups throughout Chile who continue to scour the desert in search of a disappeared friend or relative. This is the only moment in the film when someone outside of Germán’s immediate family is acknowledged, briefly opening the narrative up a broader spectrum of victims and survivors. In her own reading of this scene, Macarena Gómez-Barris argues that the desert acts as a point of multidirectional encounter. In her words, “[v]isualizing a regional location like the Atacama amplifies the potentials of publically witnessing the ongoing affective and political stakes” (2012, p.16). Unlike the pilgrimage to Chacabuco described earlier, this scene presents the desert as a shared landscape in which new affective ties of solidarity might be formed. Following this argument, the desert landscape offers a point of togetherness, in which subjective desires and memories are supplanted by the collective pursuit of truth and justice.

In the final scene, Germán and his two uncles stroll in different directions around a flat expanse of desert. It is a moment of contemplation in which the spectator shares the gaze of the three male protagonists as they look upon the desert terrain. When the three gather together, Germán reads aloud a letter to his father:

Dear dad, I don’t know if you can see us, hear us, or at least feel us. We don’t know where your body is, but today we are here and we begin to recover your memory, your life, your smile and your tenderness. Today we return to remember you, and your presence lives within us. I am your son Germán. The same child that was taken from your arms at five in the morning. I want you to know that since I was little I promised myself to move forward. I would not ruin my life. Your murder became an essential force. I can love, laugh and dance. Your name will live forever. Your clean image will live in my eyes, and one day, sooner rather than later, justice will arrive. Time has passed and the truth has imposed itself. Justice has partially arrived and the capacity to remember is still very slight. I am well, I have a woman that loves me and a beautiful daughter. I feel safe. I am able to have dreams and able to love. Little by little I am shedding the rage caused by your loss. I have surrounded myself with good people that have loved and helped me. I can tell you that I’m a very lucky man. Today we are here, performing an exercise of memory. Today, Carmen, Ricardo and Eduardo dare to remember you. They aim to recuperate your essence, your identity, your stories and adventures. Today Carmen is excited by your ideals and your brothers laugh and joke about you. They are rescuing your memory. They are confronting the pain. They are recovering the happiness of having known you. They
open their memory and I fill my blank page. I therefore begin to have my life with Carlos.
I love you always, Germán.

In this letter, the absence of Carlos is no longer repressive, and has been accepted. Unlike the opening scene, in which the camera pans over the desert surface, the gaze of Germán and his uncles is no longer in search of anything. This resonates with John Wylie’s description of landscape as a medium for spectral communion, who argues that unlike graves, or memorials, which draw our gaze towards them, landscape enables us to look with the dead, while simultaneously feeling that we are being looked at (2009, p.281). This formal juxtaposition is part of a through-running struggle in the text to acknowledge and challenge dominant perceptions of the desert as an empty, hostile place, as well as the tendency to perceive the desert through the prism of pain and trauma. It insists that disappearance has become “an essential force” as opposed to a traumatic weight.

And yet, in attempting to re-establish the presence of Carlos in his life—to begin to have his life with Carlos—a number of unacknowledged spectres begin to be felt. Firstly, the heteronormative overtones of Germán’s letter (“I am well, I have a woman that loves me and a beautiful daughter”) reduces closure to the restoration of the nuclear family. Just when Carlos’s ghost had begun to point to conditions that perpetuate enduring violence—patriarchy, militarism, nationalism—the director unwittingly falls back on the heteronormative ideal that was celebrated by Pinochet’s regime. And secondly, the emancipated tone of the letter contrast starkly with the search of the women in the previous scene. As their stories are not articulated verbally, we are left with a sense that the women are of the past, while Germán and his uncles are able to “move forward”. Far from engaging self-critically with an expanded field of haunting, Germán’s pilgrimage ultimately offers a narrow familial perspective that bears witness to the search of others, but is unable to think outside of the temporal logics of closure and heteronormative familial inheritance.

To summarise, *My Life with Carlos* opens up a critical intergenerational discussion about the afterlife of the Pinochet dictatorship. Within it, the second generation has not necessarily inherited the trauma of past injustice, rather it bears witness to the enduring

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28. Wylie is referring specifically to the practice of creating memorial benches for lost loved along the coastal path of South West England.
29. The scene is also haunted by the absence of Carmen, who is mentioned in the letter but does not accompany the three men to the desert.
socio-psychological conditions that repress emancipatory alternatives. The film also adds texture and complexity to an emblematic and successful legal case against the dictatorship, and in doing so, makes apparent the limits of criminal justice as a form of reckoning. The Atacama is the imaginative epicentre of the film, first represented as a desolate space of absolute absence, which by the conclusion affords a feeling of presence and proximity with the dead. The desert opens up the familial narrative to a broader political history, as well as an expanded community of mourners, but these elements are ultimately marginalised by a linear, heteronormative account of inheritance. The question remains, how might this landscape represented with in a way that acknowledges an expanded field of haunting, and reckons critically with the tensions and potentialities that it opens up.

**Nostalgia for the Light**

The camera's gaze falls on a patch of salt-encrusted sand. An elderly woman wielding a trowel prises up the caked surface, peers underneath, and moves on. For the next two minutes the sound of her trowel scraping at the saltpetre overlays images of the wider desert landscape. A pulled back shot reveals other women bent over the dry earth, and beyond them, the white domes of several astronomical observatories are perched atop the nearby mountains. Patricio Guzmán’s documentary *Nostalgia for the Light* (henceforth *Nostalgia*) presents us again with the search for bodily remnants. As opposed to a space where absence is accepted, this desert landscape is characterised by uncertainty and disorientation, not unlike the fiction films I analysed in Chapter 3. The daily search of these women seems hopeless, an embodied expression of traumatic repetition. Their task was comprehensible, even radical, following the initial period of repression, but surely has now been superseded by strategies more directly focussed on social transformation. Haunting, however, cannot be confined to a chronological temporality or sequence of mourning. Images of excavation continue to captivate the cultural imaginary of contemporary Chile, undermining progressive conceptions of societal healing, and challenging normative assumptions of what can be defined as politics. One of the reasons I turn to Guzmán’s work to end this Chapter is the way this community of mourners is re-imbued with political significance by situating it within a
wider landscape of memory and inheritance, one in which the violence of the dictatorship is always present, but not privileged.

Patricio Guzmán’s oeuvre of documentaries provides a benchmark against which all Latin American memory texts are judged. *Nostalgia* has provoked a diverse range of academic work, from psychoanalytic readings of its representation of mourning (Edwards 2014), to a Deleuzian analysis of its temporal composition (Martin-Jones 2013). Andermann also mentions it briefly when outlining the emergence of landscape as a medium for memory in contemporary Latin American art (2012, p.165). *Nostalgia*, and Guzmán’s latest film, *El Botón de Nácar* (“The Pearl Button” 2015), weave together disparate stories of oppression in Chile, from the exploitation of nitrate mine workers in the Atacama, to the annihilation of indigenous communities in Patagonia, always returning to Guzmán’s personal experience of the coup and its aftermath. As described above, in *Nostalgia* we witness the ongoing search of families of the disappeared, who scrape the surface of the Atacama in search of fragments of bone. Alongside this image, the voiceover speaks of mine workers in the late 19th century, who scraped that same earth in search of nitrate, the bodies of whom now lie in unmarked graves scattered across the desert. Parallel to these scenes, Guzmán interviews astronomers at one of the many space observatories that can be found throughout the Atacama; scientists who spend their lives gazing at stars from a distant past that contain evidence of the origins of the universe. A landscape that appears to be empty and devoid of life is reimagined as a container of multiple histories, or temporal layers, that intersect with each other in surprising, even magical, ways. As represented here, these histories are not in competition for visibility, but sustain each other part of an expanded field of haunting and disappearance.

*Nostalgia* opens with a scene recalled from Guzmán’s childhood. The camera pans slowly across a room furnished in the style of a middle class Chilean household in the 1950s. This room is a museum exhibit, attached to an astronomical telescope that was built in Santiago in the early 20th century. It is a building that Guzmán remembers visiting in his childhood, sparking an interest in astronomy that persists to this day. As the spectator gazes upon sepia toned furniture, Guzmán’s voice constructs a narrative of his youth:

*At that time Chile was a haven of peace isolated from the world. Santiago slept in the foothills of the Cordillera, detached from the rest of the world. [...] One day this peaceful life came to an end. I had the luck to live this noble adventure which woke us from our slumber. This time of hope is forever engraved in my soul. [...] Later a military coup swept democracy, dreams and science away.*
This narration conjures a familiar spatio-temporal narrative; one in which Allende's government irreparably broke the status quo, instigating a collective (and international) dream of social justice, which was destroyed by the dictatorship, but continues to haunt the political aspirations of the present. As I have argued throughout the thesis, this narrative is politically powerful, but partially reaffirms the temporal logic of the transition and risks disappearing other moments of social transformation. Its strict periodisation creates a relatively linear and coherent account of Chilean national history, condemning the left to sift among the rubble of an emancipatory event that drifts inexorably into the past. Significantly, the narrative with which Guzmán slowly begins to unravel as the film progresses, and it becomes clear that the sleepy Santiago remembered by Guzmán is an illusory figment of his childhood memory.

In the subsequent scene, Guzmán follows a Chilean archaeologist, Lautaro Núñez, into the Atacama. Núñez starts by identifying petroglyphs depicting human faces and desert animals that were carved around 5,000 years ago. He claims that this barren landscape once served as a thoroughfare linking the Altiplano with the coast, long before the name Chile had been attributed to it. These pieces of rock art mark trajectories through the landscape that are invisible to the inattentive eye, including Guzmán’s. The petroglyphs and ancient roadways are not memories in a narrative sense, but can be read more productively as spectral traces that cut through national borders and speak of qualitatively different ways of life. Already, Guzmán’s conception of Chile as a bounded territory with a singular history is beginning to unravel. The petroglyphs are not one of the layers of a cumulative palimpsest, but contain their own distinct temporality that protrudes into the present. As the archaeologist William Murray argues, rock art is for the most part “updateable” as it can rarely be tied to a particular historical period or group, and often defies archaeological attempts to decode its meaning. Furthermore, it cannot be reduced to the original act of creation. “Rock art is temporally durable”, writes Murray, “and may sometimes have been meant by its creators to last forever” (1998, p.3). The representation of the rock art in Nostalgia retains this sense of symbolic indeterminacy and spectral persistence. Núñez states that they were carved by pre-Columbian shepherds, but is reluctant to clarify their meaning for the spectator. “There you can see two faces, masks perhaps”, he says, pointing up to a high rock face. “And there, some images of llamas and people”. Meanwhile, the camera zooms in on the abstract glyphs which depict familiar animals through an unfamiliar gaze—a gaze that cannot be
fully shared. The petroglyphs are not fully of the past, but signify an enduring act of
creation, inscribed into the landscape, that refuses to be assimilated into the Chilean
national history, but is also partially disappeared by it.\textsuperscript{30}

When Guzmán asks Núñez about the haunting presence of the dictatorship, he
reinterprets the question and proceeds to describe manifold histories of state repression
throughout the 19\textsuperscript{th} century: histories that were constitutive of modern Chile, but do not
find a place in its contemporary national identity. The annihilation of Chile’s indigenous
population is mentioned, as well as the immense nitrate industry that was underpinned
by exploited labour. “We’ve kept our most recent past hidden”, he says. “We’ve concealed
it. It’s absurd. We avoid looking at this recent history. It’s as if history might accuse us”.
In this scene, the narrative centrality of the coup is unsettled by recognition of other gaps
in the “official story”. Preserved by the complete absence of humidity, the Atacama acts
as a material repository of these histories, and when subjected to Guzmán’s camera, a
partial map of spectral traces begins to take shape. In this scene, the director, typically a
figure of authority in the expository mode of documentary, is forced to reconfigure his
autobiographical perspective within a more complex map of violence and temporal
rupture.

The film scholar David Martin-Jones argues that \textit{Nostalgia} reimagines the Atacama as an
archive of memory—though this archive is more explicitly incomplete than the ordered
hallways of the national library in Santiago. In Martin-Jones’s words,

\begin{quote}
As the numerous layers archived in the landscape demonstrate, the film is concerned with
various lacunas in memory, be they national or otherwise. Thus there are lost histories to
be uncovered in the prehistoric past (from meteorites to immaculately preserved corpses
of ‘men of antiquity’), the colonial past and the national past. (2013, p.714)
\end{quote}

Crucially, the act of filming stories unfolding in the present, such as the search of the
“Women of Calama”,\textsuperscript{31} contributes a new “layer” to this repository. “Their image, archived
in this documentary, now retains the material trace of the ‘sociocultural and historical
context’ in which their search takes place” (Martin-Jones 2013, p.717). The archive, as it
is conceived here, does not reconfigure material pasts within a causal sequence of events,

\textsuperscript{30} It should be noted that \textit{Nostalgia}’s focus on the art and mummified remains of indigenous people is
potentially problematic. Pedro Mege, for example, argues that indigenous populations are habitually
represented through the material artefacts that they produce, or as mummified remains belonging to a
different time (Mege 2009), thereby disappearing the living indigenous population that continues to
inhabit the Atacama.

\textsuperscript{31} One of the groups of women that continue to search the Atacama for the remains of the disappeared.
rather, the women speak from and add to a place-specific memory that cannot be reduced to modern historical time.

Haunting, as it is envisioned here, is not simply about the recuperation of subjugated knowledge or production of “counter-memories”. It focuses instead on encounter with different temporalities—different ways of being in time, different conceptions of what is past and present. As Martin-Jones argues, within the “national past” alone, a number of distinct temporalities are apparent, from the cyclical search of the mothers of the disappeared, to the nostalgic gaze of the returning exile (the director) (2013, p.714). The ongoing theme of astronomy adds another layer to this archive, opening up the landscape to a perspective that radically reimagines the ontological status of the past in the present. Guzmán interviews several astronomers who describe their work as archaeology; an ongoing excavation of the present past (a non-discursive realm of radiating light) that helps us better understand the composition of the present. In a latter scene, a U.S. scientist named George Preston informs us that the calcium in our bones was formed immediately following the Big Bang and thus we are materially connected to every living and non-living thing. “We live among the trees but we also live among the stars”, he says. “We live among the galaxies. We are part of the universe. The calcium in my bones was there from the beginning”. For Martin-Jones (drawing on Deleuze) this shift in perspective allows the desert to be perceived as an “any-space-whatsoever”; a space in which it is possible to think through new virtual conjunctions across time and space (2013, p.719).

The desert archive is most replete at locations where different histories intersect. In one scene, the camera focuses on a field of graves beside an abandoned nitrate mine. At first we assume that the flimsy wooden crosses mark the graves of political prisoners, yet the narrator informs us that they stand for mine workers who died during the saltpetre boom. This mine is Chacabuco, the site of pilgrimage in Encuentro, though unlike the film analysed earlier, one history of violence does not supersede another. Unlike the consciousness-raising imperative of conventional historical documentary, Guzmán does not embellish the history of the nitrate industry in the narration, nor does he construct a continuous narrative of struggle and sacrifice. Instead, the traces are left as partial stories, much like the ruins of Chacabuco themselves. The scene in Chacabuco is followed by a shot of a train in the present day transporting minerals to the coast. No verbal link is made
between the extractive industries of past and present, but as the carriages slowly make their way across the desert, it is clear that the nitrate era, a time of monopoly capitalism and labour exploitation, has not disappeared entirely. Unlike Encuentro, Nostalgia performs a haunting in which the protagonist becomes possessed by the stories of others. The constant presence of the author turns Nostalgia into a piece of more-than-subjective cartography, in which the aim is not to produce a reified picture of where and when we are, but to allow preconceived notions of place—the national territory, the desert, the periphery—to unravel.

Nostalgia’s remapping of the Atacama not only adds nuance and complexity to Chilean history, but forces one to look again at those who inhabit it. By the date of release, the groups of women who search the desert for their loved ones’ remains were a relatively well-known part of Chilean memory culture. Unlike the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, the women interviewed by Guzmán are primarily focussed on the materiality of their missing loved ones. They acknowledge that the disappeared are dead; they do not make the demand of aparición con vida; they “simply” want to recover the bodies of their relatives. For this reason, some interpret their search as apolitical, merely an unhealthy attachment to material traces of someone who is irrefutably gone. Even Gordon describes grave exhumations as a refutation of haunting. “A bag of bones tells us nothing about disappearance”, she writes. “A bag of bones is not justice. A bag of bones is knowledge without acknowledgment” (Gordon 2008, p.115). While I agree with Gordon’s critique of exhumations as official death certificates, Nostalgia’s engagement with the Women of Calama is focussed on more than the pursuit of closure. This something more emerges in the content of the women’s testimonies and the way Guzmán maps their actions in relation to the wider temporal landscape. “We are the leprosy of Chile”, pronounces one of the women, sitting cross-legged on the desert sand. This woman expresses a visceral need to find the body of her brother, but finds consolation in thinking of herself as a malignant disease on the edge of the body politic. This biological metaphor is an direct appropriation of the language of the national security doctrine, in which the left were routinely described as an illness or cancer that needed to be cut out, along with any compromised tissue (Feitlowitz 1999, p.38). The only way of “cutting out” the women of the desert is by unearthing knowledge of the whereabouts of the disappeared, a step that would involve breaking a pact of silence that has endured in the Chilean military for over 40 years (Esparza 2009).
Unlike the mass graves uncovered in Lonquén or Patio 29, the bodies of the disappeared that have been unearthed in the Atacama were not reduced to skeletons. The salt-infused sand and near zero percent humidity of the desert slows down the process of decomposition, leaving the bodies of the disappeared in a mummified state. Bones are relatively benign traces of the past. As Pétursdóttir and Olsen argue, in many “Western” cultures the human body is aesthetically pleasing in two states: “as a living, functional body (and preferably young, healthy and beautiful, of course) or as de-fleshed osteological remains, as clean bones” (2014, p.8). By contrast, when the body remains in a liminal stage of decomposition, the comforting delineation between life and death, present and past, becomes blurred. Guzmán shows us one of the bodies in horrifying detail, the camera slowly panning over a face that still seems to bear an expression of pain. Temporal distance collapses when we look upon this face, bringing the violence committed by the military into stark relief, as well as the political movement that the violence sought to obliterate. As represented in Nostalgia, the mummified remains also produce a more animated relation with the dead. One of the women interviewed, Vicky Saavedra, describes the moment she discovered the foot of her brother:

Our final moment together was when his foot was in my house. That night, I got up and went to stroke his foot. There was a smell of decay. It was in a sock, a burgundy sock, or dark red. I took it out of the bag and I looked at it. I remained sitting in the lounge for a long time. My mind was blank. I was incapacitated. I was in total shock. The next day, my husband went to work and I spent all the morning with my brother’s foot. We were reunited. It was a great joy and a great disappointment, because only then did I take in the fact that my brother was dead.

Significantly, this tender moment of sensorial presence did not bring about closure. Saavedra continues to search the desert for the remains of her brother, and in doing so, keeps the desert open as a landscape of disappearance, a wound that refuses to close.

Some have read Nostalgia as a guide for how one might work through trauma, which counterpoises the temporality of astronomy with that of the Women of Calama. The psychoanalyst Judith Edwards points specifically to a scene in which a young astronomer is interviewed, whose parents were among the disappeared. This woman turns to a combination of cyclical and progressive time to overcome the pain of loss. “Stars must die, and then others are born”, she says. “Thinking about this at the laboratory frees me a little from the pain. I have the desire to progress”. For Edwards the juxtaposition of the elderly women and the young forward-thinking astronomer, can be mapped on to the
“clinical task of being able, over time, to generate an ongoing rather than circular trajectory of thought in traumatized patients” (Edwards 2014, p.798). Countering this, I argue that it is precisely the conjunction of these two searches that challenges that challenges the hegemony of closure, and instigates a process of empathic unsettlement in the spectator. This perspective is articulated directly by one of the interviewed astronomers, who says:

What is strange is that society should understand these women better than it does astronomers, but the opposite is true. Society has a greater understanding of the astronomers, in their search of the past, than of these women who search for human remains.”

Crucially, the tasks of the two groups are not counterpoised, but placed in dialogue. Both groups are in search of barely visible traces from the past that are constitutive of the present, as opposed to remnants of an ever-receding moment; both searches unsettle how we think and feel about the material landscape, animating something that seems dead or inert. But it is only the Women of Calama who are abjected within the transitional imaginary for their failure to let the past rest in peace.

For Gordon, one of the most transformative aspects of haunting is that it provokes recognition of accountability—of “how we fit into the story, even if we don’t want to be there” (2008, p.188). It is not enough to make visible injustice in the past and present, rather we must acknowledge how we are relationally tied to an ongoing story of repression. Too often states refuse the inheritance of violent pasts (Landzelius 2003), or exorcise them in a public admission of guilt and shame (Ahmed 2013; Bastian 2013). The archipelago of memory sites across Chile could be said to sustain this form of accountability. Isolated locations such as Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38 are associated with specific actions, victims, and offenders, as if justice and closure could be achieved through a simple court case. The landscape of the Atacama, as presented in Nostalgia, is powerful because of the way it reimagines the relational networks by which we are tied to injustice. The dictatorship cannot be contained as a single event perpetrated by the military, rather it is imbricated in ongoing narratives of nationalism, militarism, and neocolonialism, to which every spectator is tied. In other words, the ghost is not “other”, but an integral element of Chilean national identity. Entwined within these narrative threads are discourses of racism and Chilean exceptionalism that do not stem from dictatorship
repression, and cannot be isolated to that period, but are central to rituals of banal nationalism that are ubiquitous in contemporary Chilean society.

Guzmán offers ways of thinking about and mapping violent events that challenge everyday allochronic rhetoric, while interrogating the relational ties by which subjects are bound to, or complicit with, violence in the present. The film’s constant meditation on what it means to be Chilean, on the violent foundations of the Chilean state, and on the author’s own way of seeing, does just that. Crucially, the task of accounting for this historical injustice is not an unbearable weight, but a practice through which more just social relations might be forged. One of the Women of Calama insists that they are a problem; “a problem for society, and a problem for justice”. In fact, the broader landscape that *Nostalgia* represents could also be said to be a problem for justice. It unsettles the dichotomies of memory and amnesia, dictatorship and democracy, around which transitional justice has conventionally been formulated and forces the gazing subject to consider new ways of living with the dead.

**Seeds, Sparks and Shadows**

I started this chapter by suggesting that the concept of landscape is often associated with modern homogeneous time, in which the unity of time and space is affirmed by the gaze of a detached spectator. Following Cosgrove and Daniels, the representation of landscape is said to affirm a sense of presence and simultaneity around which imagined communities can be constructed. Such representations might include the scattered remains of times past, but they are traces of a dead past that has no bearing or agency on the present. In this chapter I have turned to the Atacama Desert in search of alternative forms of landscape representation that disturb the coherence of national simultaneity, and in doing so, open up new imaginaries of justice and inheritance. I chose to focus on the Atacama because it has a strong pull in the imaginative geography of disappearance, but also because it has historically been a landscape in which Chilean national identity is forged and contested.

My analysis started with a short online video depicting the journey of a group of former political prisoners to Chacabuco, where they had been imprisoned 40 years prior. I was drawn to it because it not only represents Chacabuco as a site of past violence, but as a
place where it is possible to reconnect with a different horizon of expectation. The film does not exclusively recount memories of the radical past, but resurrects the ways of seeing that the past affords, utilising a language of victory and revolution that is typically allochronically positioned as obsolete. *My Life with Carlos* turns to the desert landscape to enact a similar performance of temporal bridging, however, in this example, the desert enables a critical intergenerational encounter with the afterlife of loss and the limits of criminal justice. Significantly, though both films open up personal experience to collective forms of inheritance and mourning, the expanded field of haunting in the desert is not acknowledged and the maximal victims of the regime remain dominant. It was not until *Nostalgia for the Light* that the expanded field was engaged with more directly, bringing into dialogue a range of marginalised histories, and interrogating how one’s gaze, and conception of time, is complicit with their disappearance. Guzmán, the film’s director and narrator, starts with a relatively settled understanding of what Chile is, of the boundaries between past and present, and of his relationship to them, but through his encounters with the multiple times of the desert, the sense of spatial and temporal continuity begins to fall apart.

So what of the copper worker whose spectral call to action I mentioned in the beginning? What does “it’s now or never” mean in a landscape where the present does not exist? Guzmán’s renewed portrait of the landscape certainly does not resurrect their political project, or outline a new one, but *Nostalgia* does reimagine the terrain from which it must emerge. This landscape does not speak exclusively of the need to work through the trauma of the dictatorship. It is, rather, a non-contemporaneous assemblage of voices and traces, each with their own spatial and temporal trajectories. I am reluctant to read Guzmán’s text as an exemplary form of landscape representation, or a comprehensive portrait of the Atacama. Like most of the films I have analysed, it is framed by the perspective of a white, middle class man and thus can never fully articulate the alternative ways of life that the desert contains. Nonetheless, by unsettling the gaze of the white male subject, it offers a platform from which transformative conceptions of responsibility, inheritance and justice can begin to be formulated.
Conclusion

Ghosts are not fond of conclusions. My final remarks are therefore open-ended and speculative, mindful that haunting is an emergent and heterogeneous structure of feeling that cannot be reckoned with definitively. This thesis has examined the aftermath of the Pinochet dictatorship through an engagement with postdictatorship Chilean film, using haunting as a lens for analysis. In the process, I have troubled teleological accounts of the democratic transition, in which it is conceived as a linear, inevitable movement from violent conflict to liberal democracy. I have also challenged normative approaches to representing and negotiating the legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship, by foregrounding the socially transformative potential of reckoning with past and enduring injustice. I developed the concept of haunting as a distinctive theoretical lens that opens up reflection on the multiple temporalities of which the Chilean democratic transition is composed, and provides an original approach to film analysis. These final paragraphs bring together the key conceptions of haunting and reckoning that I have developed throughout, revisiting the concepts of empathic unsettlement, spectral inheritance, landscape, and the expanded field. I return to the complex relationship between trauma, cultural memory, and haunting, and clarify what is gained by moving beyond a focus on isolated sites of dictatorship violence. Finally, I reflect on the implications of my approach for further research, considering how it could be reproduced, expanded, and amended in order to bring other ghosts into view.

My approach and findings do not break from existing work in the field of memory studies. Rather I have sought to strengthen and critically engage with existing trends within cultural production and academic scholarship that focus on the socially transformative possibilities of conjuring and reckoning with the present past. This shift in focus began with my contextual overview, which foregrounded the spatial, temporal and discursive composition of the transition to democracy. Haunting is often described as a disruption of linear, sequential time. However, in order to understand how haunting troubles the relationship between past, present, and future, it is vital that we understand how hegemonic perceptions of time are constructed and reproduced in specific historical contexts. By first laying out the dominant spatio-temporal landscape of the transition, I was able to trace how Chilean filmmakers depart from it. In this respect, Chapter 1 was not merely a contextual overview, but a form of spatial and temporal mapping, which
opened up room to reflect on the ways in which the transition is haunted. I argued that it is not enough to expose the crimes of the military, or recuperate memories of resistance. Rather, a more transformative conception of the present past must reckon with traces that trouble the strict delineations between past, present, and future on which transitional time is built. From this central issue a number of questions emerged. How, for example, might dictatorship violence be read alongside enduring forms of repression and injustice, such as the repression of the poblaciones, or the indigenous Mapuche population? How can futurity be restored to the emancipatory struggles of the Popular Unity, and the anti-dictatorship protests of the 1980s, without assimilating them into the hegemonic aspirations of the present? How might the multiple temporalities of the postdictatorship period be represented in a single textual space? And can the pursuit of retrospective justice form part of struggles for new just ways of life?

The methods I devised in order to answer these questions approach films as symptoms of haunting, and as interventions that invoke and rearticulate it. Continuing my focus on spatiality and temporality, I read film as a form of cartography, in which ghosts and hauntings are mapped onto spaces, places, and landscapes. By reading these filmic maps, I have been able to trace temporalities, absences, and emotions that resist and exceed the dominant cultural imaginary of the transition. As a film scholar, I have learnt that part of the task of analysing haunting is to translate into discourse the alternative conceptions of truth, justice, inheritance, space, and temporality that moving images afford. In the process of interpretation and translation, structures of feeling, imagined futures, and forms of repression that linger on the edge of narratives are brought into view. This involves seeking out texts that include tropes of haunting, but it also involves becoming attentive to the conflicts, tensions, ambivalences, and unarticulated possibilities within texts, as opposed to treating them as bearers of a single coherent message. In other words, I explored both how the film reckoned with ghosts and hauntings and with the ways in which the films themselves are haunted. Texts might offer specific strategies for reckoning with ghosts and representing haunting, but they can also be opened up as polysemic markers of emergent and sometimes contradictory ways of thinking and feeling. In my readings, it is often in the unreconciled tensions, conflicts, and ambivalences within texts that a something-to-be-done begins to take shape.
Due to the situated and relational character of haunting, I do not wish to advocate one aesthetic, theoretical, or methodological approach to reckoning with ghosts. However, there are some key claims running throughout the thesis that will be consolidated here. Firstly, I have added depth and clarity to the distinction between haunting and trauma. Trauma studies typically conceives the present past as a repressive feeling, or psychological state, which extends into the present, stemming from an originary event. When applied to the Chilean transition, and the analysis of film, trauma studies typically focuses on gaps in memory, and seeks out approaches by which the violent past might be worked through, in order to restore some form of psychic health, if not closure. By contrast, in the texts I have analysed, haunting was represented as an emergent and evolving structure of feeling prompted by recognition of enduring and unfolding forms of injustice and repression. By interrogating how this structure of feeling is represented and reckoned with, I have outlined a complex affective landscape that the concept of trauma cannot account for, including nostalgia for the dictatorship, fear during democracy, rage against impunity, a sense of victory in the poblaciones, and an impatient desire for social transformation. By becoming attentive to this affective landscape, I disturbed the strict periodisation of recent Chilean history around which transitional time is built, in which the coup is a moment of irreversible rupture, the dictatorial past is conceived as wound to be healed, and free-market liberal democracy is presented as an inevitable endpoint. Haunting unsettles the healing process by highlighting the violence of the present and giving form to the hopes, dreams, and desires that continue to be disappeared from it.

Secondly, there are subtle but important differences between haunting and the concept of cultural memory. In many of the films and academic texts I have engaged with, ghosts are not narrativised memories, but social signifiers of absence and unarticulated possibility, around which more just social relations might be built. From this perspective, it is not enough to call for an end to military impunity, or to recuperate memories of the Popular Unity. Rather, in my analyses, haunting demands justice both for emancipatory struggles that were repressed, and for what those struggles might have been—“that which we have lost, but never had” (Gordon 2008, p.183). To reckon with ghosts is not to remember repressed pasts as they were, but to acknowledge their latent presence and potentiality in the present. In The Chicago Conspiracy, spectral inheritances were given futurity by invoking the memory of Lautaro’s struggle that has yet to be redeemed. Nostalgia for the Light created fractures in national time, and the generational
perspective of the filmmaker, by acknowledging a non-contemporaneous assemblage of disappeared subjects in the Atacama Desert. These texts do not demand truth and justice, but pose a problem to them, and in the process they inaugurate a something-to-be-done.

My shift in focus away from trauma and cultural memory opens up a third key contribution: the reconceptualisation of disappearance. In my film analyses, disappearance does not refer exclusively to abduction and clandestine execution during the dictatorship—which is the dominant understanding of the term in postdictatorship contexts—but is embedded in dominant ways of seeing, political rationalities, temporalities, and structures of feeling, which push alternative futures and ways of life to the margins of visibility. In addition to los desaparecidos, the expanded field of disappearance that I have mapped out encompasses truncated social movements, marginalised communities, and enduring struggles for social transformation. Reckoning with ghosts and hauntings requires interrogation of the ways in which our own gaze is complicit with disappearance. However, it also involves the active cultivation of alternative ways of seeing that bear witness to the transformative potential of ghostly matter; a task, I have argued, in which film can play a significant role.

Responding to ghosts as markers of enduring violence and emancipatory possibility requires the acknowledgment of haunting outside of emblematic sites of dictatorship violence. Scholars in cultural geography, memory studies and trauma studies have consistently been drawn to former detention centres in Chile, offering insights into the memorialisation process, as well as intervening in it (Aguilar 2005; Gómez-Barris 2008; Read and Wyndham 2008). Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38 have been key focal points in the struggle against military impunity in Chile. They are also often described as haunted sites, in that they carry an affective charge in the landscape. However, the privileging of former detention centres as objects of memorialisation and analysis can also spatially contain dictatorship memories, and orient them around scenes of subjection, in the process disappearing more structural or everyday forms of violence. I have argued throughout that in order to engage with the haunting past as a socially transformative feeling we must seek out ghosts in spaces where one might not expect them. My analysis of Chilean film draws attention to a broad landscape of haunting and disappearance in postdictatorship Chile, encompassing groups and individuals from outside of the victim/perpetrator binary, and locations such as schools, poblaciones, and shopping
malls, in which the aftermath of the dictatorship is not primarily experienced as traumatic.

Through my analyses I have found that filmic enactments of displacement are closely imbricated in the unsettling of linear transitional time and the narrative of rupture around which it is built. Sometimes the pursuit of a ghost across space can create a cyclical or repetitive temporality that moves in tension with the fantasy of progress. Displacement might also involve situating emblematic sites such as Villa Grimaldi within a wide landscape of loss, absence, and impunity, thereby acknowledging the limited forms of truth that they can offer. In the process, the idea of absolute closure—of being able to draw a line between the violent past and the peaceful present—begins to unravel. Through the representation of haunting, emblematic sites of national identity such as La Moneda, the rural *hacienda*, the streets of Valparaíso, and the Instituto Nacional were rendered uncanny—familiar, but tainted by a violence that seethes beneath the surface. This is not a form of “emplaced memory”, in which scenes of subjection are inserted into outwardly serene locations. Rather the films recognise the subtle forms of violence and repression that infuse these locations—patriarchal power relations, surveillance, banal nationalism, social inequality, and a culture of impunity. Crucially, the journeys undertaken in many of the films prompted encounters with the multiple temporal horizons within the Left. In these moments, the autonomous, alienated and often patriarchal gaze of the middle class male protagonists was challenged, and the coup ceased to be perceived as a moment of absolute rupture. Sometimes these encounters featured explicitly in the narrative, but often they were identified and drawn out through my analyses.

The transformative possibilities of film's mapping impulse emerged most forcefully in Chapters 5 and 6, when the representation of an expanded field of haunting highlighted the intersection of multiple different histories of disappearance and social transformation. Throughout my investigation, I have consistently asked how futurity can be restored to emancipatory struggles from the past, without assimilating and pacifying them. The expanded field responds to this issue by highlighting the plural temporalities of the present and the horizontal solidarities and inheritances that have yet to be redeemed. The landscapes of haunting constructed by *The Chicago Conspiracy*, *The Waltz of the Useless* and *Nostalgia for the Light* insist that any socially transformative conception
of justice in Chile must acknowledge the enduring repression of indigenous peoples, the othering of the urban poor, and the structural violence of the Chilean class system. However, crucially, it must also recognise the alternative futures and ways of life that are already under construction within the student movements, the poblaciones and the Mapuche community. In the expanded field, haunting does not affirm the identity of “the Left” as a linear inheritance, but forces one to consider who and what is missing from dominant left-wing conceptions of justice and emancipation. In the process, the possibility of more just and inclusive futures begins to be felt, even if they remain unimaginable.

The Future of Haunting

There is much more to be said about haunting in postdictatorship Chile. I have largely been drawn to films that unsettle the subjectivities of socially privileged subjects through encounters with ghosts, other ways of life, and other ways of living with the dead. However, haunting has still consistently been represented through the gaze of white, middle class men. None of the texts was made by residents of the poblaciones, or LGBTQ activists, or members the Mapuche community, or migrant workers from Peru, Bolivia and Haiti. As a relational structure of feeling, haunting will inevitably be experienced differently by these groups and communities, and film is not necessarily a medium through which they articulate it. In my work, haunting almost always manifests as a feeling of unsettlement—of time, of place, of identity—but this feeling does not necessarily characterise the experience of communities and activists who feel empowered by a sense of continuity with the past.

In order to address the blind spots that my research has created and reproduced, further work might think about filmic representation alongside other forms of cultural production and embodied practices, adding depth and texture to the mapping of the expanded field. This shift in focus would allow one to explore those parts of the map that Chilean filmmakers have largely left blank, such as Patagonia and the Mapuche territories; frontiers where the coherence of national space-time begins to fray. Analysis of films such as La Frontera (‘The Frontier’ 1991); El botón de nácar (‘The Pearl Button’ 2014) and Dawson Isla 10 (‘Dawson Island 10’ 2009) could be placed in dialogue with
research on practices of mourning and resistance among indigenous groups in southern Chile. Ethnographic work with Mapuche groups in the Araucaria region (Bacigalupo 2010), and the Quinchao community on the island of Chiloé (Bacchiddu 2017), points to complex understandings of disappearance, haunting and inheritance, in which the perceived agency of the dead is central to group identities. By acknowledging these alternate perspectives, the indigenous inhabitants of southern Chile are not conceived as ghosts that haunt from the periphery. Rather they offer alternate perspectives of how to live among the dead and the disappeared, which might enrich and enliven wider cultures of memory, while provoking critical reflection on relational ties between different movements for social justice.

One could also explore a broader affective and temporal landscape, considering the relationship between haunting and desire, pleasure and love. Scholars such as José Esteban Muñoz (2009), Carl Fischer (2016) and Carla Freccero (2007) have written persuasively about haunting in queer culture as a desirous and loving engagement with marginalised histories that have no direct relation to periods of national trauma or conflict. Though I have focussed on filmic attempts to look beyond the legacies of the dictatorship, the texts I analyse, and the oppositional culture from which they emerge, are still, to some extent, imprisoned by them, limiting their engagement with ghosts that precede the dictatorship. While it is still vitally important to study the cultural representations of the dictatorship and its legacies, in order to further explore the expanded field of haunting in Chile, a more thematically diverse corpus of texts needs to be identified and analysed. This might include Jerónimo Rodríguez’s Rastreador de Estatuas (‘Monument Hunter’ 2015), which constructs a semi-fictional journey through Santiago in search of a disappeared monument, conjuring a loving, but disoriented, picture of place. Or Pablo Berthelon Aldunate’s documentary RIU, Lo Que Cuentan Los Cantos (‘RIU, What the Ancestral Chants tell’ 2017), which unpacks the experience of a transgender woman on the island of Rapa Nui, who feels empowered by the songs, stories and traditions of her ancestors, despite a deep-rooted culture of prejudice and machismo. Or Surire (2015), directed by Iván Osnovikoff and Bettina Perut which, which traces the endurance and disappearance of indigenous cultures in northern Chile, for whom the dictatorship was merely a pulse in an ongoing history of state and corporate violence.
Extending beyond the geographical limits of Chile, my approach could be used within comparative studies, considering different manifestations of haunting across multiple “post-conflict” contexts. Of immediate interest are the continuities and discrepancies between haunting and disappearance in Chile and Argentina. How, for example, does the demand for “aparición con vida” (appearance with life), stated by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, differ from the ongoing search for material bodies in the Atacama Desert? Can feelings of nostalgia be identified in filmic representations about resistance movements during the Argentine dictatorship? How do feelings of ambivalence towards Juan Perón shape how his afterlife is conjured? And to what extent did the left-wing populist governments of Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner draw on tropes of haunting in the formulation of their political projects? While much work has analysed Argentine cultural production through the lens of postmemory (Lazzara 2009a; Andermann 2012b; Perez 2013), relatively little research has utilised the concept of haunting. A shift in focus towards the spectral could further explore the non-linear, multi-directional and emancipatory aspects of the present past, which I have argued are partially obscured by Hirsh’s concept.

My text-based focus on the spatial, temporal and affective composition of film narratives has proved productive, but this does not mean that haunting is incompatible with a focus on film industries and audiences. Further studies might utilise audience research to interrogate the intersection of film spectatorship and lived cultures of memory, mourning and activism. In particular, I am interested in the active role visual media play in recording, mapping and narrativising social movements in contemporary Chile. By conducting in-depth interviews with audiences, activists and cultural producers, one might foster dialogue around the imagined futures that films make visible. I have argued that film can give form to subjects, alliances and imagined futures that exist on the edge of protest movements. However, an equally productive approach might ask audiences what they perceive to be “missing” from films such as The Dance of the Useless and The Chicago Conspiracy. Similarly, one might explore to what extent filmic representations of the Atacama Desert resonate with audiences in the north of Chile, who do not necessarily perceive the desert to be hostile or peripheral. As I have argued throughout, often it is

32 A notable exception is Silvana Mandolessi’s chapter Haunted Houses, Horror Literature and the Space of Memory in Post-Dictatorship Argentine Literature (2014).
through the articulation of a “something missing” that a “something to be done” might be formulated.

Inspired by Annette Kuhn’s conceptualisation of “memory work”, audience research might also consider how films, characters and scenes haunt the memories of viewers long after they have finished watching. This involves reflection of spatiality of spectatorship, exploring where and when audiences engage with domestically produced films (see Kuhn 2002a; Roberts 2012; Ercole et al. 2017). It might entail in-depth interviews considering how films haunt personal memory, as single images, as mental maps, or as objects of nostalgia. Like my textual analysis, this would be a cartographic process, in which conversations about film prompt reflection on how physical spaces are organised, traversed, occupied and inhabited. Utilising this approach, filmic texts are not privileged as objects of analysis, but serve as points of reference and departure for further exploration of sites, cities and landscapes.

Another area that has been largely absent from my approach considers the relationship between haunting and the industrial conditions of domestic Chilean film. I previously mentioned that international funding placed exiled filmmakers in a privileged position following the return of democracy, marginalising the grass-roots videomakers who worked in Chile during the 1980s (Traverso and Liñero 2014, p.181). I also cited Galende’s claim that international audiences demand spectacular images of violence, and thus documentary filmmakers consistently ignore more subtle forms of state repression (2005). Offering a contemporary analysis of Uruguayan cinema, David Martin-Jones and María Soledad Montañez argue that a drive for success in international film festivals leads a form of “auto-erasure” in which regionally specific issues and locations are effaced by themes and spaces that resonate strongly with European and North American audiences (2013). These scholars are describing non-coercive forms of disappearance that are brought about through financial pressures, and Eurocentric distribution circuits, highlighting that international attention and solidarity might prove counterproductive in the pursuit of truth and justice. To what extent similar erasures and disappearances are present in contemporary Chilean film could be meaningfully addressed through dialogue with domestic audiences and filmmakers. In the spirit of the “Third Cinema”, the task of imagining and building political alternatives to free-market capitalism should be
accompanied by discussions around alternative modes of film production and distribution.

A thesis is always haunted by the things it leaves out, but at least their absence is now more acutely felt. I hope my approach and conclusions will nurture the imaginative condition of resistance and social transformation in Chile, at a moment when the political Right is in ascendancy. As I write in September 2018, President Sebastián Piñera is stood in front of La Moneda, on the 45th anniversary of the coup, declaring the start of a second transition—this time towards becoming a “developed country” (cited by Soto 2018). Transitional time cannot be ignored, nor can the material realities of neoliberal capitalism. However, it is also important to acknowledge memories, feelings, and horizons of expectation that refuse to fit into the dominant social order; traces of ongoing stories of repression, disappearance, rebellion, and social transformation, to which living subjects are relationally bound. In doing so, social dreams that have been exiled and repressed are given a place in the present, if only as a portrait of what is missing from it.
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