Picturing Ghosts:

Memories, Traces and Prophesies of Rebellion in Postdictatorship Chilean Film

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

I park in front of the locked gates of Chacabuco. It is 18 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 lingering 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 organized detention camp, with a council of elders, school, library, churches, amateur theatre, health centre'; a message that focuses on the solidarity and 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 is unclear.

I begin at Chacabuco because it raises several of the questions that haunt this book as a whole. First, what does it mean for a British academic to be drawn to a past that is not their 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 do those texts also respond to something that lingers in-place, complicating the act of representation? Finally, do different stories of injustice compete for visibility, or can they develop renewed significance when placed in dialogue? 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 exemplify the productive problems that can emerge when considering the multiple histories and temporalities of place, when one starts to think seriously about ghosts.

This book explores how the Chilean 'transition to democracy' has been narrated in film, focusing on the imaginative afterlives of anticapitalist and antidictatorship resistance. Specifically, I analyse documentary and fiction films that reckon with the experience of haunting, a shared 'structure of feeling' that signals the enduring presence of emancipatory pasts that have been deemed lost, or obsolete. In this respect I do not focus on narratives about the past, as a moment in historical time. Rather, I explore what happens when the past persists, or re-emerges in the present, as images, promises,

prophesies, ghosts, visions and affective atmospheres. Through my analyses, I ask how narrative engagements with the present past in film give form to residual and emergent imaginaries of truth and justice. These imaginaries might include the political projects of *los desaparecidos* – political prisoners who were 'disappeared' by the Pinochet regime between 1973 and 1990 – but also of the 'social disappeared' (Gatti 2020), marginalized groups such as the urban poor and the indigenous Mapuche community, whose struggles sit uneasily with dominant left-wing conceptions of emancipation. Crucially, I ask how we might cultivate a hospitable orientation towards historically marginalized ideas, groups and ways of life, without assimilating them into the hegemonic logics of the present. Haunting entails reckoning with the socially transformative dimensions of the present past as a radical heritage, but it also demands reflection on the ways in which different subjects are implicated in ongoing processes of disappearance, appropriation and marginalisation.

My work forms part of a growing body of scholarship that challenges a tendency in 'postdictatorship' and 'post-conflict' literature to characterize the present past as primarily traumatic or repressive (Richard 2004; Draper 2012; Sosa 2014b; Blejmar 2016). The affective landscape portrayed by the films I analyse includes nostalgia, fear, rage, inertia and impatience, often underpinned by an urgent desire for social transformation. By critically interrogating these emotions, I challenge prevalent transitional discourses about the importance of working through or overcoming the 'dark past' and ask instead how the past can productively inhabit contemporary imaginaries of social and political change. This task involves the interrogation of a broader physical landscape of dictatorship memory than is often acknowledged, including schools, shanty towns and shopping malls. It also demands critical reflection on the politics of time and temporality, recognising the ways linear chronological temporality can be mobilized to disappear and delegitimize certain groups and ideas. 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' traumatic pasts, too often denies a continuity of injustice.

The research for this book was conducted over the past seven years, but the meanings and significance of my work have been radically altered and enlivened by recent events in Chile. On 6 October 2019, the Santiago public transport system announced a $30 peso

rise in the price of a metro ticket, and by 18 October the central artery of the Chilean capital was occupied by hundreds of thousands of protesters, heralding what is now known as the *estallido social* (social eruption). Spreading the length of the country, the protests unleashed a wave of accumulated rage against the incumbent government of Sebastian Piñera, against the Chilean state and against the neoliberal economic model that was installed during the Pinochet dictatorship. Metro stations, supermarkets and pharmacies were set ablaze as markers of the neoliberal state, capital and financial speculation. In residential neighbourhoods, community assemblies formed to discuss, organize and provide protection from the security forces. And for months on end the police and military employed severe methods of repression, using rubber bullets, tear gas and water cannons to brutal effect. A common refrain in marches, videos and social media posts was *¡Chile Despertó!* – Chile Woke Up! – but this 'national awakening', did not refer to a definitive break from the 'dark past'. Rather it described a collective awakening to continuities of injustice and enduring social struggles that unsettle the horizons of possibility in contemporary Chile. This book is not a direct response to the *estallido*, but a meditation on the imaginative and affective conditions from which it emerges, from memories of antidictatorship protests in the 1980s, to silent traces of solidarity in Chacabuco. Through an engagement with Chilean film, I explore the role of cultural production in reckoning with memories, traces and prophesies of rebellion, with the aim of imagining and constructing more socially just and equitable futures.

Rupture and Transition

Led by Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, on 11 September 1973, the Chilean armed forces overthrew the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) government of Salvador Allende, the first democratically elected Socialist government in world history. For many, in Chile and beyond, the Unidad Popular represented the materialisation of a 'social dream'; a non-violent revolution against capitalism and economic imperialism mounted from within the structures of bourgeois democracy. With its destruction, this road to socialism was seemingly rendered impassable, one of a series of emblematic defeats that signalled the end of the so-called 'radical Sixties'. During the seventeen-year dictatorship, at least 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 pushed dissent underground, the military implemented sweeping economic reforms, following the

neoliberal doctrine of the Chicago School of Economics. 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 persecution of indigenous peoples, the repressive apparatus of the Chilean State has a long history of committing violence against the citizens they purport to protect (see Frazier 2007; Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Loveman 2016; Marchante 2019). Nonetheless, the radical possibilities enlivened by the Unidad Popular, and the brutality of the regime that replaced it, mark out this period as an irrevocable historical rupture with national and global implications. In this moment, the possibility of a democratic path to socialism was cast in doubt, and the concepts of rebellion and resistance accrued new meanings, new imagined futures, new objects of discontent.

Opposition to the Pinochet regime was widespread and heterogeneous, particularly following the international recession of 1982, when unemployment rates reached a high of 31 per cent and 45 per cent of the population lived in poverty (Contreras and French-Davis 2012). Community organisations in the *poblaciones* (urban shanty towns) implemented practices of mutual support, such as the *olla común* (the common pot) and the neighbourhoods were often sites of demonstrations (Schneider 1991; Oxhorn 1994). University students also played a significant role in strengthening political participation, often through struggles for control over their institutions (Drake et al. 1995, p.10). The labour union movement, though heavily depleted by dictatorship crackdowns, reorganized throughout the 1980s and called a series of general strikes, eventually forming a major confederation, the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores, in 1988 (Angell 1995). Finally, confronted by the Agrarian Counter Reform, which replaced historic land grant titles with individual property deeds, the indigenous Mapuche community increasingly fought for political autonomy from the Chilean nation-state (Carter 2010). Alongside these political movements and organisations, cultures of resistance and rebellion emerged, including underground magazines, embroidery, theatre and grassroots video making (see Moya-Raggio 1984; Pick 1987; Rojo and Sisson 1989; Traverso and Liñero 2014). These cultural activities were constitutive elements of social movements, amplifying calls for justice and participating in struggles over cultural memory. They also created images, objects and performances that would persist beyond the dictatorship, severed from the conditions of rebellion from which they had emerged.

Viewed through the lens of chronological time, the 'democratic transition' starts with the 1988 plebiscite that forced Pinochet to step down as head of state. This was followed by a series of centre-left governments that cautiously addressed the crimes of the military regime through trials and truth commissions (Wilde 1999). Elite-led approaches for reckoning with the crimes and legacies of the dictatorship have varied substantially across different administrations, with a marked shift towards state-led memorialisation initiatives since the inauguration of the Socialist president Ricardo Lagos in 2000 (see Hite and Collins 2009; Stern 2010). Notable punctuations in the 'transitional process' include the publication of two truth commissions in 1991 and 2004, documenting cases of disappearance and torture;[1] the creation and reclamation of hundreds of 'sites of memory', often in former centres of torture and detention (see Read and Wyndham 2016); a limited number of criminal trials against military officials, including the former head of the Chilean secret service, Manuel Contreras (see Collins 2010); and the opening of the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago in 2010, dedicated to commemorating the victims of human rights violations during the Pinochet regime. Significantly, no government has taken steps towards structural and systemic change of the inherited neoliberal economic model, or the repressive state apparatus through which military power was established and maintained. In this respect, the Chilean transition exemplifies dominant positions within the stability vs justice debate in the field of transitional justice, which generally argue against radical political change or punitive sanctions for perpetrators (Collins 2010, p.8).

Beyond describing elite-led processes of memorialisation and transitional justice, in Chile the concept of transition has consistently been critiqued as a political imaginary, underpinned by hegemonic constructions of space and time. Though the concept has multiple origins and meanings, its use to describe and analyse post-conflict contexts emerges from a broad postdictatorship/post-Cold War/post-Apartheid conjuncture in which justice, democratisation and development have increasingly become aligned with economic growth and liberalisation (Lukić and Maslov 2014). For the Chilean sociologist Tomás Moulian, early transitional rhetoric was characterized by narratives of

[1] The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report, also known as the Rettig Report, was instigated by the administration of Patricio Aylwin (1991). The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report, also known as the Valech report, was instigated by the administration of Ricardo Lagos (2004).

pragmatism and triumphalism, in which technological progress and economic growth superseded calls for historical and social justice (2002). Political elites consistently framed the Chilean transition as an exemplary model for economic growth and democratisation that could be reproduced elsewhere (Fischer 2016, p.182). This fed into a wider historical discourse of Chilean exceptionalism which emphasised economic, cultural and often racial superiority over regional neighbours (see Larraín 2006; Korowin 2010; Fischer 2016).

For Moulian, the transitional public sphere constituted a 'double amnesia' and induced an affective shock in the Chilean left. Not only did Patricio Aylwin's newly elected government fail to hold the military to account, but the aspirations of the Unidad Popular government were constructed as anachronistic and irrelevant in the contemporary public sphere (2002, p.22). This form of rhetoric has been labelled '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). Building on Moulian's account, the cultural theorist Nelly Richard describes the emergence of three strictly policed temporal delineations in postdictatorship Chile: before (the Allende years), after (Pinochet and dictatorial rule) and 'now' (the liberal democratic transition), characterized as a linear, causal and chronological movement towards predetermined ends (Richard 2004, p.23). Any attempt to draw attention to the structural continuities between these periods or turn to the past as a sphere of hope and emancipatory possibility, was greeted with the label of 'backwardness' or unreasonable obstinacy. Memories and traces of the dictatorial past might be allowed to form part of transition, but only if they pose no threat to the free market and liberal democracy.

Underpinning these accounts is a critique of dominant constructions of time and temporality. Forming part of a broader wave of scholarship on the 'politics of time', Moulian and Richard pay attention to the ways the relationship between past, present and future is constructed and policed through discourses such as progress, healing and modernisation.[2] Adopting this perspective, time is not merely a homogenous medium of history. Rather, qualitatively different constructions of time are actively produced,

[2] Within this emerging field of research, work by Berber Bevernage (2008; 2010; 2013) and Chris Lorenz (2017) has been particularly central to my thinking.

performed and contested by different social actors in a process that is deeply political. From a temporal perspective, the term transition normalizes a linear, chronological and inevitable movement from one condition to another – in the Chilean context, from dictatorship to democracy.[3] This is typically conceived as a unidirectional and irreversible process through which society becomes progressively more democratic, more prosperous, more peaceful and more content. Meanwhile, the dictatorship period becomes aligned exclusively with the 'negative' elements conjured by the binary lens – authoritarianism, poverty, violence and despair (Draper 2012, p.19). Following Susana Draper, narratives of transitional progress in the Southern Cone are also typically teleological, with free market capitalism and liberal democracy assuming the status of taken-for-granted ends (2012, p.19). Social actors are interpellated into the transition through discourses of consensus and reconciliation and those that resist hegemonic political processes are framed as asynchronous to the fantasy of teleological unity (Richard 2004, p.15).

Elite-led transitional justice mechanisms such as truth commissions do not necessarily problematize the forward-movement of time. Rather, by drawing on the conventions of modern historical discourse, they can reinforce perceptions of temporal distance from historical injustice, and emphasize the importance of superseding and overcoming the past, in order to open up to the future (Grandin 2005; Bevernage 2010). This rigid temporal periodisation can make it difficult to critically interrogate the conditions that made authoritarian violence possible, and obscures the continuities between different historical moments (Bianchini 2006). Significantly, the concept of rebellion – of an abrupt and transformative refusal of the status quo – has no place within the transitional imaginary, in which the idea of social progress is imprisoned by the capitalist logic of growth and accumulation through existing structures and systems. In summary, far from being a neutral homogenous container of events, transitional time functions as a tool

[3] Willy Thayer (2003) and Alessandro Fornazzari (2013) argue that the transition should instead be conceived as a broad epochal shift from the hegemony of the nation state to the hegemony of the transnational market; a process that was initiated by the dictatorship. This move is productive, emphasising the need to acknowledge and respond to the structural and systemic transformations that stem from the dictatorship, but I continue to focus on the idea of a 'democratic transition' in order to interrogate its status as a 'political imaginary' that emerged in the aftermath of the 1988 plebiscite.

through which the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism is established and fortified, and the political efficacy of resistance, rebellion and refusal is repudiated.

While I focus on a single country, it is important to acknowledge the significance of the Chilean dictatorship and transition beyond its borders; particularly the tendency to use Chile as an emblematic case within meta-narratives about the decline of radical left-wing politics. It is a familiar sequence of events, told and retold, which has been variously mobilized to signal the failure of reformist socialism (Callinicos 2017), the birth of neoliberalism (Klein 2009) and the end of history (Fukuyama 1992). In these accounts, the military coup, the implementation of neoliberal economic policies, and the subsequent adoption of these policies by democratic governments, is representative of a broader global transition towards capitalist realism, the hegemonic belief that there is no alternative to free market capitalism (see Fisher 2009). Discussing the concept of left-wing melancholia, Enzo Traverso claims that the destruction of the Unidad Popular provoked a shift in the way left-wing defeats were experienced and narrated in Latin America, forming part of a broader 'culture of defeat' among the global left. Political repression against the left, he argues, had historically been narrated as heroic defeats, which reinforced a shared belief in both the necessity and possibility of socialism. However, with the events of 11 September 1973, and the sweeping political-economic transformations that followed it, this conviction began to diminish (2016, p.38). Chile became a nodal point in a larger transnational narrative about the decline of left-wing politics that has been inherited by successive generations of workers, activists and scholars, including myself.

It is not my aim to challenge the veracity of Klein's work on neoliberalism or deny the complex feelings of melancholia described by Traverso. Rather, I argue that these transnational histories and mnemohistories can only offer a partial portrait of the political landscape in Chile, and one that does not necessarily resonate with the experience of activists and cultural producers. In the vein of Draper and Richard, I argue that we need to take seriously the alternate horizons of possibility implicit within movements and cultures of discontent, seeking forms of representation that resist and problematize linear, chronological historiography. Throughout the dictatorship and transition, social movements have consistently fought for social justice, including struggles for indigenous rights, universal education and healthcare and an end to

resource privatisation. The films I analyse form part of this culture of discontent, but portray it from an oblique perspective, conjuring the histories that unsettle and enliven it. My task here is to critically analyse the aesthetic and imaginative possibilities afforded by film when reckoning with the present past. How, for example, can the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship be addressed, while remaining open to the imagined futures that it sought to extinguish? How can distinct struggles for social justice, among indigenous groups, the urban poor and feminist activists, be pictured in solidarity, while recognizing the plurality of futures that they strive towards? And how can we acknowledge the exceptional violence of the coup, and dictatorship, without disappearing enduring forms of structural and systemic violence?

Memory and Haunting

Cultural memory typically refers to the production and contestation of narratives about 'the past' – often a traumatic past – which is broadly conceived as a moment, event, or period in chronological historical time. Marita Sturken describes it as 'a field of cultural negotiation in which different stories vie for a place in history' (1997, p.1). This negotiation might take place via popular culture, memorials, trials, truth commissions and museums, all with competing claims to the truth of *what happened*. The production of memory is understood as a contested process that should be interpreted historically. As Elizabeth Jelin writes, 'the meanings attached to the past change over time and are part of larger, complex social and political scenarios' (2003, p.xv). Applied to the Chilean context, this conceptualisation leads to a focus on how the dictatorial past is narrated, interpreted and worked through. Seminal works by Cath Collins (2013), Macarena Gómez-Barris (2008), Katherine Hite (1996) and Steve Stern (2006) interrogate the emergence of sites, knots and frameworks of memory through which the Unidad Popular and Pinochet dictatorship are interpreted. These interventions explore both the politics of memory and the memory of politics, analysing how shared stories about the past have fostered collective identities and catalysed dialogue about impunity, justice and human rights.

And yet, to address the questions posed above – to reckon with the heterogeneous afterlife of rebellion and resistance in Chile – established approaches to the study of cultural memory can be limiting. While cultural memory theory foregrounds the production of the past in the present, it rarely contemplates the experience, construction

and contestation of *time* and *temporality* in 'post-conflict' or 'postdictatorship' societies.[4] As a result, the hegemony of linear, chronological temporality goes unquestioned, and the multiple temporalities of the present remain invisible.[5] The implications of this are manifold. First, a focus on narrative and memorial reconstructions of violent pasts does not necessarily interrogate the *imaginative afterlife* of historical repression and resistance – the ways in which the past persists and returns as an animated mutable presence in the lives of the living. Second, the idea that the past is produced by social actors in the present does not fully register the complex temporality of the 'trace'; fragments of the past that form part of contemporary landscapes but exist in non-contemporaneity with them. Finally, there has been a tendency in memory studies to focus on the remembrance of violent periods in national histories. It is an important task, in which this book participates, but when using a 'post-conflict', or 'postdictatorship' lens, there is a danger that we marginalize the experience of communities who are subject to enduring, cyclical and unfolding forms of violence and exploitation.

Trauma theory usefully shifts attention away from how events in the past are narrativized and memorialized, focusing 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. In the Southern Cone, trauma studies have provided a valuable lens for the analysis of postdictatorship culture, exploring how film facilitates a 'working through' of psychic repression (Traverso 2010), or interpellates audiences as implicated subjects (Wells 2017). However, much work in trauma studies also remains tethered to a linear, sequential conception of time, and when used uncritically, it can perpetuate the transitional imaginary of gradual extrication from a dark past. 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 (see Radstone 2007; Dawson 2017). With these issues in mind, we need to seek out ways of placing memories of violent historical events and periods into dialogue with a broader spatial, temporal and affective landscape of injustice and social struggle. The concepts of cultural memory and trauma remain of key importance to my work, but their field of vision can be expanded through

[4] By temporality, I refer to certain experiences, structures and descriptions of time that have congealed around named concepts – linear, chronological, cyclical, enduring, repetitive etc. It might also refer to the ways things, places, practices, and natural phenomena exist in, and in relation to, time.

recourse to other lenses. In recognition of this, I turn to the concept of haunting and the figure of the ghost.

Social signifiers of loss and injustice, ghosts unsettle the ontological distinction between presence and absence. In popular culture and academic literature, they appear as traces of a forgotten or marginalized past that are both constitutive of the present and inalienably other from it. They might be described as a memory, but a memory that, through its (re)appearance, evades the allochronic impulse of modern historiography and troubles the agency, or autonomy, of the remembering subject. In the Chilean context, *los desaparecidos* – political prisoners who were 'disappeared' by the regime – have often been characterized as ghostly. 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 in the past, the experience of haunting could instead be understood as a feeling of temporal dislocation, in which spectral traces disrupt the coherence 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.

For the sociologist Avery Gordon, haunting is conceptualized both as an object of study and as a method. Struggling with the limitations of her discipline for analysing the affective and imaginative afterlives of oppression – what she calls 'ghostly matter' – Gordon argues that, in reckoning with violent pasts, we too often obscure the radical futures that systematic violence seeks to extinguish. Haunting, for Gordon, is the affective knowledge that something continues to be actively repressed in the present; a knowledge that inaugurates a desire for social transformation, 'a something-to-be-done' (Gordon 2008, p.139). As such, the ghost – the seething presence of absence – need not be exorcized or worked through, but should be engaged in dialogue, so as to reactivate hopes, or projects that have been deemed lost or obsolete. In Gordon's words:

> [T]he ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes of a path not taken. From a certain vantage point the ghost also simultaneously represents a future possibility, a hope. (2008, pp.63–64)

How to find that 'vantage point', how to cultivate an imaginative openness to the ghost-as-future-possibility, requires forms of representation and analysis that acknowledge its agency and power. As scholars, it requires that we take ghost stories seriously, and possibly write some of our own.

Gordon's writing style and method of analysis are convoluted and (a)rhythmic, evoking the disorienting nature of the hauntings she describes. She turns to literary fiction for inspiration because practices of repression such as disappearance entail an assault on the imagination, characterized by denials, coverups and gaps in the archive. In her words, '[a]bsent, neglected, ghostly: it is essential to imagine [the ghosts'] 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 marginalized or forgotten figures, but asking how we are related to them, and what forms of just action might appease them. In novels by Luisa Valenzuela and Toni Morrison, she identifies stories that imaginatively reckon with victims of authoritarian violence in Argentina, and slavery in the United States. Her approach takes the story as a point of departure through which to explore and comprehend the complex socio-psychological afterlives of repression and exploitation, while striving to 'bring to life' marginalized people, histories and ways of life that threatened and threaten the status quo. Ultimately, she seeks to elaborate a materialist historiography that is attentive to the 'sensuous knowledge' of the ghostly realm. This 'sensuous knowledge' she writes, 'is a different kind of materialism, neither idealistic nor alienated, but an active practice or passion for the lived reality of ghostly magical invented matters' (2008, p.204). It is a 'mode of apprehension' in which the scholar becomes the haunted subject, implicated in the story, who must learn to become attentive not only to scenes of subjection, but to the utopian impulses that systematic violence seeks to destroy and disappear.

Jacques Derrida's work on haunting also seeks to enliven the emancipatory promise of the spectral traces, without subsuming them to the hegemonic logics of the present, though the ghosts to which he is drawn cannot be described as marginal. Hauntology, Derrida's playfully named theory of ghosts, is primarily concerned with questions of intellectual inheritance. His *Spectres of Marx* is framed against rhetoric about the 'end of history' (Fukuyama 1992), and asks how Marxist thought might be radicalized through the practice of deconstruction. For Derrida, inheritance demands a paradoxical process

of spectral preservation; an insistence on the alterity of the past 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. (Derrida 1994, p.219)

In seeking to vivify Marxism, he insists on its heterogeneity, critiquing its teleological tendencies, but remaining committed to a 'messianic eschatology' in which the 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 acknowledged, but this does not affirm its obsolescence. Derrida's ghosts are powerful because they continue to shape the imaginative conditions from which new understanding of justice and emancipation are constructed – through concepts, prophesies and visions of change. By critically interrogating the enduring influence and indeterminacy of these inheritances, Derrida argues that we might reactivate pasts that have been reified by a modern historical gaze, while challenging the perceived coherence of the present as the pinnacle of progress.

Derrida's *Spectres* is of particular significance for Chile, where the start of the transition coincided with Fukuyama's claim that history had come to an end (Fukuyama 1992). For the cultural theorist Mark Fisher, hauntology's focus on unsettling linear progressive time is a necessary response to the spread of capitalist realism (Fisher 2009). As opposed to posturing a new metaphysics of indeterminacy, academic inquiries into the spectral might, therefore, be read as situated responses to a particular political-temporal imaginary. While there are marked differences in the work of Gordon and Derrida, they 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 conceptualize ghosts as traces that, by traversing the boundary between presence and absence, 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.

Haunting Space

The task of unsettling linear, chronological temporality involves breaking from the norms of modern historical discourse, but when applied to specific contexts, it also demands novel ways of perceiving, representing and inhabiting actual spaces and places. The spatial turns of memory and trauma studies offer rich veins of thought for addressing the presence of the past in physical landscapes. Scholars such as Andreas Huyssen (2003) and James Younge (1999) provide 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. In the context of Chile, this often entails a focus on former clandestine detention centres (CDCs), 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). These works illustrate how sites of past violence can unsettle the fabric of transitional time, collapsing the perceived sense of temporal distance between dictatorship and democracy, or serving as 'sites of conscience' (Wyndham and Read 2013) around which different generations of victims, memory workers and activists can meet and collaborate. I too am drawn to these places as sites where stories about the dictatorial past, and its aftermath, circulate. On an embodied level, they offer a sensorial connection to surfaces and sounds that were touched and heard by the victims of the Pinochet regime. And in the context of contemporary Chile, where urban development and acts of erasure have transformed cities throughout the country, material sites of memory can ensure that uncomfortable pasts remain visible and tangible.

This memory work and scholarship is valuable, but the analysis of clandestine detention centres (CDCs) as sites of memory does not always challenge, or look beyond, the dominant spatio-temporal imaginary of the transition. Indeed, when sites/sights of subjection start to dominate scholarly attention, they can obscure a more complex landscape of memory, inheritance and affect. Studies on the memorialisation of CDCs in Chile tend to ask how memories of extreme state violence in the past should be

represented, typically centring on the 'maximal victims' of the regime.[6] This focus, though important, rarely interrogates questions about the unfolding legacies of military rule, or contemplates memories of collective resistance and rebellion in the spaces of everyday life.[7] Sites of past violence serve as a warning of what could happen again, but can they conjure emancipatory futures that continue to be actively repressed, contained and appropriated?

This is partly a question of who is represented, and who is haunted, by these sites. 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 CDCs such as Villa Grimaldi and Cuatro Álamos remain 'marginal to the Chilean political imaginary', acting as a focus for localized activism, but rarely engaging an audience outside of the human rights community (Hite and Collins 2009, p.385). Bearing this in mind, 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 might dictatorship memories be placed in dialogue with other histories of repression and resistance that precede and exceed Pinochet's reign? And where can neoliberalism, as a seemingly all-pervasive ideology, be spatially located and challenged?

Scholars of haunting have also been drawn to places of past violence, but their gaze often presses beyond the specific crimes with which they are associated. Writing about the spectral presence of the massacred indigenous people of El Chaco region in Argentina, the anthropologist Gastón 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 around the rubble of abandoned Spanish forts that scatter the area. This rubble does not speak of specific crimes or wrongdoings, but of a violent frontier and ongoing process of disappearance that no longer feature on the map (Gordillo 2014). The feeling of haunting is produced by 'a particular habitual disposition that is historically

[6] The term 'maximal victims' is used by Stern to refer to the executed and the disappeared (Stern 2006).
[7] It is important to note that detention centres were often sites of resistance and rebellion, sometimes in the form of intimate acts of solidarity, such as collective singing among prisoners (Chornik 2014, p.121); sometimes in the form of elaborate escapes, which continue to capture the imagination of the Chilean public (Richard 2004, p.147). I do not wish to diminish the importance and power of these memories, but I am interested in the ways collective resistance can be identified outside of the architectonics of state terror.

constituted' (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 narrativized memory about the past, but a structure of feeling and felt absence/presence that undermines definitive distinctions between historical periods.

Moving beyond an ethnographic perspective, reckoning with haunting has increasingly been conceptualized as an intervention, involving practices of excavation and mapping. A recent special issue of the journal *Memory Studies* explored the resonances between the 'spectral turn' and the 'exhumations turn', emphasizing the disruptive possibilities of unearthing historical traces. In the words of the editors, Katherine Hite and Daniela Jara, 'both hold the status of the past as a fissure in the present and in the status quo. From both traditions, the past is not only internalized among the living, but it also interrupts the present radically, persistently, sometimes in democratizing ways' (2020, p.250). The merging of these approaches has been pioneered by scholars in the field of cultural geography, who draw on rich theoretical debates about space, embodiment, and materiality in developing their approaches. Responding to the discovery of colonial era graves in downtown Cape Town, Karen Till and Julian Jonker map out forgotten colonial and precolonial geographies in the city, striving to denaturalize the privatisation and segregation of the city that occurred under Apartheid (2009). Their method of 'memorial cartography' is described as a collective unfinished process through which historical sites of trauma and social struggle are plotted alongside contemporary testimonies of place. This visualizes a complex network of affects, memories, stories and traces that, together, strengthen understanding of the causes of contemporary inequality and segregation, while also pointing to the contingency and fragility of the dominant social order.

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 problematize linear historical narratives. For Edensor, to wander through industrial ruins or abandoned buildings is to escape the regulated environment of modern cities, provoking 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). Exploring the partially restored immigration centre on Ellis Island in New York, Jo Frances Maddern makes a useful distinction between conjured and uncanny ghosts. The first refers to the summoning of historical subjects 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 violent exclusions that underpin U.S. national identity, while pointing to the possibility of radically different presents and futures, both fearful and utopian (2008, pp.364–365). Such a tension might be identified in the ruins of Chacabuco, in which this book began, where the work of miners and the 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 dialogue about genealogical ancestors and the repressed futures that they encompass.

These interventions all reckon with the creative possibilities of inarticulacy. They emphasize the power of chance encounters and imaginative responses to material traces of the past, with the aim of challenging settled perceptions of place, identity and responsibility. They insist that, as critical scholars, it is not enough to assert that places are haunted by specific crimes, nor that activists can simply unveil or emplace traumatic pasts as comprehensible truths hidden from view. Rather, spectral interventions should acknowledge the messy heterogeneity of the present past as a means of thinking differently about history and futurity. Despite these critical imperatives, the representational forms available to academics are often limited, particularly our capacity to engage with the fictive and noncontemporaneous qualities of ghosts on their own

terms, and in their own territories. How, for example, can the archaeological gaze reckon with haunting at sites that bear no trace of violence? How can scholars become attentive to haunting as an affect that is felt but not seen? One response to this issue is to analyse stories that are told about the haunting past in film and literature – stories that move through and between different locations, and in doing so construct new maps of memory and inheritance; stories that are not bound by linear or logical argumentation, and are free to explore different subject positions, different ways of seeing.

Film and literature have long been the domain of ghosts, but only recently have scholars in 'post-conflict' contexts begun to focus specifically on the spatiality of stories about the haunting past. In the Southern Cone, Silvana Mandolessi (2014), Paul Merchant (2018) and Biek Willem (2016) analyse domestic ghost stories, exploring how spectres haunt the hegemony of the nuclear family and patriarchal hierarchy. The haunting of the home, a perceived site of stability across time, is said to interrogate continuities of injustice that transcend historical periodisation. As Mandolessi argues, reflecting on Argentine literature, 'the space of the haunted house […] indicates that the source of terror lies inside the social body and is the uncontrollable eruption of underlying social conflicts' (2014, 155–56). Similarly, Willem argues that in postdictatorship Chilean literature domestic space is consistently reimagined as melancholic or uncanny, unable to perform its former function: 'to unite and protect its inhabitants' (2013, 142). Significantly, the discursive haunting of everyday locations such as homes, schools and workplaces, addresses subjects without a direct connection to a specific crime or loss. This is not simply a question of how to make visible the hidden past to a broader audience, but a process by which subjects reflect on the differential ways they are implicated in *ongoing* histories of patriarchal violence, nationalism and capitalist exploitation.

Following the psycho-geographical impulse to map out space-as-multiplicity, the geographer John Wylie turns to literary fiction of W.G. Sebald (2007). Drawing on the concept of hauntology, he argues that Sebald's combination of place, perspective, haunting and wandering produces an experience of profound temporal and spatial dislocation that offers new ways of interpreting history. The past events that haunt Sebald's protagonists are sometimes indeterminate – fleeting memories that take the form of an unnamed affect or 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, a positionality that is complicated further by uncertainty about the identity of the narrator. Everyday spaces of encounter such as railway stations and hotels are described as both familiar and horrifying; comforting at one moment, only to be corrupted by the interruption of a memory that 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.

In a similar vein, Susana Draper turns to cultural representations that unfold within the 'architectonics of transition' in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay – emblematic spaces such as supermarkets and shopping malls that provide a 'sense of safety and security against injustice and inequality' (2012, p.31). She is particularly drawn to former centres of torture, detention and incarceration that have been transformed into shopping malls, and now serve as emblematic markers of progress and modernisation. These places, Draper argues, exemplify the transitional rhetoric of 'opening up' to the global marketplace, to the freedom of consumerist choice, and to the utopian promise of the neoliberal future (2012, p.21). Reading Roberto Bolaño's *Nocturno de Chile* (1990), and Diamela Eltit's *Mano de Obra* (2002), she argues that film and literature can productively problematize and rebel against this transitional imaginary by telling stories about subjects from different times who remain hidden or imprisoned within shopping malls.

In *Mano de Obra*, she finds a 'dialectical image' in which the exploitative working conditions of mall employees in the northern Chilean city of Iquique is placed alongside the 1907 'Santa Maria massacre' of striking mineworkers (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 are 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 unsettle the meanings attributed to places and spaces, but they also trouble dominant popular and theoretical conceptions of space. Critiquing trends of thought in critical theory, the geographer 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 recognize 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 (see 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. Adding to this, a spectral conception of space and place is attentive to the absent, abandoned or not-yet-realized possibilities that haunt locations. Wylie and Draper point to the repressed histories, political projects and forms of sociality that space contains. They offer relational conceptions of space and place, but foreground relations with the lost, the obsolete and the not-quite-there.

Untimely Affects, Emotions and Structures of Feeling

My move to problematize the spatiality and temporality of the transition through the lens of haunting is closely interwoven with recent work on the affective aftermath of authoritarianism. In 'post-conflict' contexts the linear movement of 'opening-up' from the dark past to the bright future is often underpinned by an affective imaginary in which 'negative' feelings and emotions such as trauma, fear and rage are gradually overcome, moving towards an imagined future of socio-psychological health (Mihai 2016). When used uncritically, tropes of haunting can form part of this imaginary, describing a

repressive psychic state that should be worked through or exorcized. The shopping malls that Draper critiques function as emblems of modernisation and progress precisely because they promise protection from fear, violence and anger; emotional atmospheres which are said to be 'of the past' (Draper 2012, 32). This promise only applies to those who adhere to the established times and trajectories of consumer capitalism, thereby delineating the route by which the future might be reached and inhabited. While memory scholars in the Southern Cone have long attested to a complex affective landscape in postdictatorship contexts, there remains a tendency to frame investigations using the concepts of trauma and melancholia, as feelings that stem from an originary violent event. This can have the inadvertent effect of occluding critical moments of emancipatory possibility in the dictatorial past, as well as longer histories of repression that precede authoritarian rule.

Countering these trends, work by Jordana Blejmar (2016) and Cecilia Sosa (2014b) investigates forms of cultural production in the Southern Cone that engage creatively, even playfully, with memories and legacies of dictatorial pasts. In the process, they picture an expanded landscape of affect and emotion, including boredom, black humour and petulance.[8] Blejmar focuses on the role of imagination, fiction and fabulation when reconstructing narratives about the Argentine dictatorship, and its aftermath, exploring how cultural producers have responded to a perceived saturation of memory discourse. Far from trivializing the injustices of the past, she insists that playful reconstruction of memory can unsettle established ties of empathetic attachment and interrogate issues of perpetration and complicity (2016). She is particularly interested in the surfacing of critical attitudes towards revolutionary struggles in the 1960s and '70s, insisting that when inheriting these histories, we must remain attentive to harmful cultures of racism, sexism and vanguardism within them (2016, p.85).

[8] 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). 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.

Cecilia Sosa's reflections of the queering of memory emphasizes that cultural production can create new imaginaries of kinship and solidarity in the aftermath of traumatic events (2014; 2015). Focusing on postdictatorship Argentina, Sosa reworks the concept of 'postmemory', a term first used by Marianne Hirsch to interrogate the experience of the children of Holocaust victims and survivors. She draws on queer theory to highlight the blind spots that are reproduced by Hirsch's focus on the family unit, but maintains that postmemory is a valuable lens for exploring the inheritance of loss, trauma and absence. Through the analysis of texts by Albertina Carri and Lucrecia Martel, she points to a shift in cultures of memory that displaces the centrality of the blood-related family unit and addresses a more diverse assemblage of subjects and identities – what she labels a 'spectral community' (2015, p.366). This shift is both discursive and affective, complicating the idea of transition as a linear movement from the 'wounded family' towards societal health. In Sosa's words, it 'follows a queer historical impulse by gathering past and present, loss and pleasure' (2015, p.371).

The 'gathering of past and present, loss and pleasure,' has been evident throughout my discussion of haunting. It is there in Gordon's vivid descriptions of the 'utopian margins'; it materializes in Sebald's literary landscapes, at once melancholic and imbued with wonder; and it is embodied in Tim Edensor's tender fascination for the material remains of (de)industrialisation. In the context of Chile, this affective ambivalence can act as a powerful form of resistance to dominant transitional narratives of teleological progress and healing. When the past ceases to be exclusively associated with violence and irreversible loss, we might start to question the totalising grip of capitalism, nationalism and patriarchal militarism on the past, present and future. These texts point to affective worlds in which linear histories of loss and trauma are striated with moments of humour and joy that undermine both triumphalist narratives of neoliberal progress and left-wing melancholia. Recalling Gordon, they unearth moments when the pain of traumatic repetition is briefly interrupted by a 'something-to-be-done'.

Sosa and Blejmar's interventions are of great value, but the focus of this book is distinct for several key reasons. First, they are primarily interested in the experience of a particular generation of cultural producers, the so-called 'second generation', with many of their analyses focusing on works by the children of the disappeared in Argentina. By contrast, I explore haunting as a structure of feeling that encompasses multiple different

generations, social subjects and historical periods. The films I analyse are made by activists, filmmaking collectives, former political prisoners and exiles, as well as directors with no 'direct' connection to military violence. In adopting this broader perspective, I problematize the implicit assumption that younger generations have a more critical or emancipated relationship with the dictatorial past – crystallized in the idea of the 'generation without fear' (see Piper Shafir 2015; Frei 2017).

Blejmar and Sosa are also primarily concerned with the negotiation of traumatic pasts and fractured identities which stem from dictatorial rule, placing little emphasis on the way dictatorship memories intersect with longer histories of state and corporate violence against workers, the urban poor and indigenous communities. I use the lens of haunting to interrogate how these longer histories of repression and disappearance interrupt and enliven processes of mourning and inheritance, while reflecting on film's role as a mode of conjuration. Finally, my research places greater emphasis on the representation of overt acts of rebellion and resistance in the past and present, including street protests and occupations. This does not deny the importance of everyday practices of resistance and refusal in the construction of emancipatory political alternatives. But in the aftermath of the *estallido social*, I believe it is vital to critically interrogate the enduring imaginative resonance of mass collective mobilisation within imaginaries of social transformation. In this respect I respond to Ann Rigney's call for a reorientation of memory studies to explore how memories of activism, and the defeat of activism, can become resources of hope (2018). This is not an uncritical celebration of social movements in the Southern Cone, but an attempt to understand the role of visual culture in representing and reimagining rebellion and resistance in the context of the neoliberal present.

Striving to bring together the work on temporality, spatiality and affect cited here, I analyse haunting as a 'structure of feeling'. First proposed by Raymond Williams, this term refers to the convergence of different ideas, emotions and affects, while opening reflection on the historicity and temporality of affective life. Working in the as-yet-unimagined tradition of British cultural studies, the concept was developed by Williams to interrogate dominant, residual and emergent ways of thinking and feeling in particular historical epochs (1977). He was struggling against a perceived tendency in the humanities to separate thought from feeling, insisting 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). Cultural products, such as films, are not simply reflections or symptoms of structures of feeling, rather they are texts that actively respond to, transform and reproduce affective life. As Ben 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)

For Williams, the analysis of cultural texts using 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, film 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.

Gordon develops this further by arguing that haunting is an ever-present, yet historically specific, structure of feeling that coalesces under conditions of ongoing violent and non-coercive repression, in which residual and emergent memories and traces of resistance meet in potentially transformative ways. For 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). Sometimes this 'something' is actively addressed in cultural texts, but often, in the spirit of Williams's 'active reading', it must be sought out in unreconciled tensions, contradictions and fissures within texts; the moments when 'eloquent narratives' start to fray at the edges. Following Williams and Gordon, the films I contemplate here are analysed as symptoms of haunting, and interventions that mediate, reproduce and reconstitute it. Building from this, I ask how haunting manifests spatially in filmic representation: as a feeling that adheres to spaces and places, and by the representation of movement through space and time. In other words, I explore the different ways in which film can be read as haunted and haunting.

Picturing Ghosts

Film is often described as a spectral medium. The images it captures are not memories, but traces of the past, bound to celluloid, in which objects, places and people repeat an endless cycle (Derrida 1994; Mulvey 2006). Gilberto Perez labels cinema 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 provoked by encounters with objects and images that seem untimely or out of place (Edensor 2005; Maddern 2008; Trigg 2012). Film images can provoke and narrativize this feeling by cultivating different ways of seeing. As Susana Draper argues, '[f]ilms, 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.

The haunting and haunted character of film is not simply 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 used to 'translate' the multiple temporalities of lived experience into a 'single cinematic meanwhile' (2009, p.12). For Lim, all narratives are inevitably

imprisoned within hegemonic temporalities, and the conventions of film production. But through the use of tropes of haunting, feelings of noncontemporaneity can be articulated and negotiated, and the idea of a simultaneous present is denaturalized (Lim 2001, p.297). Several of the films I analyse here 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 articulate feelings of enduring injustice, cyclical violence and emancipatory anticipation.

Paying heed to the spatial dimensions of memory and haunting, the second key element that draws me to film is its cartographic quality. Moving images play a key role in shaping and contesting the meaning of places, spaces and landscapes, often through narratives of cultural memory (Zonn 1990; Aitken and Zonn 1994; Hopkins 1994; Rhodes and Gorfinkel 2011). As a spatio-temporal medium, films often involve journeys through or between different locations. As Steven Heath argues in the 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. They are, in effect, narrative maps.

The theorisation of films as maps 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). Inspired by the transdisciplinary scholarship of Giuliana Bruno, I take an alternate position and foreground the capacity of moving images to critically disrupt dominant imaginaries of space and place. Focusing on the work of neglected and marginalized directors, Bruno argues that films can be read as heterotopic, intersubjective and affective maps of time and space. In her words,

> Embodying the dynamics of a journey, cinema maps a heterotopic topography. Its heterotopic fascination is to be understood as the attraction to, and habitation of, a site without a geography, a space capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several possibly incompatible sites as well as times. (1993, p.57)

For Bruno, cartography should not always be conflated with 'scopic regimes' of domination, 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 and juxtapositions mapped out in film can point to a simultaneity of different feelings and temporalities within urban and rural landscapes. Significantly, the narrative topographies of film provoke encounters with quotidian and intimate spaces – homes, streets, stairwells, schools and places of work. In the context of this research, they can help us see beyond established landscapes of commemoration in Chile and explore the endurance and afterlives of rebellion in everyday life.

Though she does not engage with spectral theory, Bruno's description of filmic mapping resonates strongly with it, adding a spatial dimension to the concept of '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 responds to feelings in place and actively conjures them (2002, p.241). 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).

My approach to analysis reconciles a cartographic reading of film with my specific focus on haunting and temporality. This involves charting the spatial trajectory of spectral traces, and the characters that follow them. It involves paying attention to actual locations, 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. By analysing how actual places and landscapes are represented, we might start to better understand the temporal and affective heterogeneity of space – recalling Radstone, 'the competing material and psychical realisms of location' (2011, p.109). Crucially, this approach allows me to trace the afterlife of repression and resistance outside of state-sanctioned sites of memory. In doing so I resist attempts to contain or quarantine the past and contemplate a broader geographical imaginary of injustice, resistance, disappearance and complicity.

The third key connection between film and haunting 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 a collective called the 'Grupo Cine Experimental' (Experimental Cinema Group) was formed at the University of Chile, setting 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).[9] 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 *Unidad Popular Filmmakers Manifesto*, written by 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).

Unbeknown to the author, the fall of the Unidad Popular government three years later would become the primary object of 'recovery' and mourning for Chilean filmmakers in the decades to come.

Film production ground to a near halt after the coup, due to censorship, persecution and the withdrawal of state funding (Cavallo et al. 1999, p.32). Practitioners were targeted by the regime and many prominent figures, such as Miguel Littín, Patricio Guzmán and Raúl Ruiz, were forced into exile. Though these exiled practitioners were prolific (see Pick

[9] 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.

1987), and grassroots video production inside Chile briefly flourished (Traverso and Liñero 2014), the domestic film industry was effectively destroyed, creating a void in cultural production. During the late 1970s and 1980s Chilean cinemas 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, which were distributed in independent cinemas, or via pirated videos, and typically reached a very limited audience (Cavallo et al. 1999, pp.32–24). This moment also saw the return of directors who had been exiled, leading to a shift in visibility and funding away from grassroots video production and towards the projects of returning filmmakers (Traverso and Liñero 2014, p.181). Throughout what I call the late transition (2000 onwards), domestically produced film has become progressively more prominent in the public sphere, with texts often focusing on the crimes and legacies of the dictatorship. Filmmakers such as Andrés Wood, Alicia Scherson, Pablo Larraín and Dominga Sotomayor Castillo have garnered the attention of mainstream national and international audiences, as well as film scholars, leading to stories of industrial rebirth and reprisal (Pinto 2009; Sorensen 2009; Cavallo and Maza 2011; Bossay 2014; Gray 2015). The analysis of films made throughout the democratic transition provides an opportunity to trace the reappearance of a film industry that lingered on the edge of visibility for 17 years, with its material components dismantled. Thematically, it reveals a diverse corpus of texts that still consistently return to the task of recovering histories of repression and rebellion, but under transformed social and economic circumstances. Significantly, as a relatively elite cultural form in terms of participation and the costs of production, the study of film asks uncomfortable questions about whose perspective is supported and foregrounded in the neoliberal present.

In the spirit of haunting as an imaginative attentiveness to the marginal and the in-between, I read canonical texts alongside films that have been dismissed, neglected, or ignored by contemporary film scholarship, or do not register as film, due to their status as online videos, or even propaganda. These include narrative fiction films, experimental

video pieces, expository, observational and activist documentaries, YouTube videos, political advertising and the occasional photograph. My combination of different types of moving images allows me to trace sprawling transmedial patterns of thought and feeling. It also permits reflection on the distinct possibilities for representing and reckoning with ghosts that are afforded by different genres and aesthetic forms. How, for example, do the filmic maps constructed in documentary differ from those in narrative fiction? What approaches are adopted in the construction of a spectral gaze, or aesthetic? This is not a linear or thematic history of transitional Chilean film. Rather, I analyse texts that deal explicitly with the afterlives of rebellion and resistance, drawing on theories of haunting, temporality, spatiality and affect to interrogate the alternate conceptions of truth, justice and inheritance that they contain.

Structure

I began by asking how different histories of rebellion and repression can be placed in dialogue at a single site. How can we acknowledge and represent the radical heterogeneity of the present past as a means of unsettling and enlivening imaginaries of justice? In the Chilean context, how can different memories, traces and prophesies of rebellion unsettle the hegemony of liberal democracy, patriarchal militarism and neoliberal capitalism as the petrified ends of the transitional process? In response, I have turned to the concept of haunting as a diverse interdisciplinary assemblage of thoughts, practices and representations that acknowledges competing accounts of *what happened*, while remaining attentive to *what remains*, and to *what-could-have-been*. Engaging with scholars in cultural geography, anthropology, film studies and critical theory, this concept offers ways of exploring, excavating and representing material landscapes that resist or refuse the reifying tendencies of the modern historical discourse. In the field of cinematic cartography, I find an approach, specific to the study of moving images, that resonates with the mapping impulse that runs through much of the literature cited here. This field foregrounds the representation of actual places across multiple texts, reflecting on the role of visual media in shaping, contesting and responding to their meaning. It also provides insights into the cartographic qualities of filmic representation, reading character journeys, camera movement, editing and perspective as practices of mapping. Placed in dialogue with spectral theory, these approaches can shed light on the haunting

of specific places, while also reading haunting as a mode of perceiving and inhabiting space.

Viewed as a whole, the book might be read as a map of the transition, or the haunting of the transition; a map that is necessarily partial, oblique and replete with dead ends. Chapters 1 and 4 explore the representation of specific haunted places – La Moneda Palace and the Atacama Desert – across a range of texts. These places are often conceived as the imaginative epicentres of traumatic rupture and disappearance in Chile, and thus serve as resonant points at which to trouble hegemonic narratives about the beginning and end of repression and resistance. Chapters 2 and 3 consider documentary and fiction films set during the democratic transition (1990–), all of which reckon with the afterlives of social struggle, from popular support for the Unidad Popular to the anti-dictatorship protests of the 1980s. I focus on two 'phases' of the transition separately, allowing me to trace how the affective resonance of haunting has shifted over linear time, while mapping out the co-presence of multiple temporalities and imagined geographies.

Looking closer, the first chapter analyses filmic representations of the Chilean presidential palace (Palacio de 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, as its neoclassical façade was bombed by the Chilean Air Force on the day of the coup. Looking beyond this foundational narrative, I am interested in the way filmmakers use La Moneda to problematize rigid historical periodisation, and to contest dominant transitional understandings of Chilean democracy. First, I examine the linear temporalities of rupture, heritage, modernisation and rebirth 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 desacralize 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 book.

Chapter 2 analyses 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, centre on a search for a disappeared political prisoner, while *Amnesia* (1994) by Gonzalo Justiniano confronts the disappearance (or reassimilation) of perpetrators following the return to democracy. These films are of interest because they do not exclusively dwell on memories of the dictatorship period, or the trauma it produced. Rather, through their spatial narratives, they reproduce and interrogate the irrevocable temporality of disappearance, an experience of enduring injustice that is both repressive and potentially transformative. Specifically, this chapter opens reflection about the relationship between haunting, complicity and empathic unsettlement. The question *¿dónde 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 3 offers an analysis of three documentaries made during the late transition (2000–present), all of which depict student movements in resistance to the dictatorship, or its legacies. Across the three films, I trace the emergence of an 'expanded field' of haunting, an aesthetic, or shift in perspective, which opens 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, these texts ask what remains of the social movements that resisted Pinochet. 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. Meanwhile *La Conspiración de Chicago* ('The Chicago Conspiracy' 2010) and *El Vals de Los Inútiles* ('The Waltz of the Useless' 2013) focus on the connections between the anti-dictatorship protests of the 1980s and the contemporary Chilean student movement, which started in 2006. A key aim of this chapter is to think about haunting as a structure of feeling that disrupts linear time and 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 of rebellion and resistance that point to the latent presence and possibility of more emancipatory ways of life and ways of living together.

The final chapter analyses 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 (2008), Doreen Massey (2011) and John Wylie (2007), I 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. Following this, I analyse Germán Berger-Hertz'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 and radicalizes the concept of disappearance to include indigenous people and the exploited miners of the nitrate industry.

Together, the films speak to a spectrum of narratives, genres and aesthetic forms through which haunting can manifest and be reckoned with, including texts that would not typically be read as ghost stories. By adopting a cartographic lens, I hope to expand the spatiality of dictatorship memory in the Southern Cone to encompass domestic homes, national monuments and rural landscapes, pushing against the containment and quarantining of contested pasts at officially sanctioned sites. In doing so, film can help us imagine spaces where we not only commemorate, but 'learn to live' with ghosts (Derrida 1994, p.xvii) as a multiplicity of unfinished projects and unanswered questions.

Chapter 1. Behind the Neoclassical Façade: The Phantoms and Spectres of La Moneda Palace

'We open this door so the breezes of liberty that have made our country great may circulate again' said President Ricardo Lagos, standing outside of La Moneda Palace on 11 September 2003.[10] He was referring to 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 reinauguration by Lagos brought a symbolic end to thirty 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 allegedly intrinsic national value. As is the way with ghosts, the act of conjuring away brought other spectres into view. Five years after the reinauguration, 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 La Moneda. He 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'.[11] Perhaps he is one of the disappeared, returning dripping wet from the sea into which his body was disappeared. Perhaps he is a walking embodiment of subaltern collective memory, a subject who is haunted by shared cultural signifiers, both profound and profane. The spectator struggles to pin down his identity and discern 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 that Lagos described 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'.

[10] Original quotation: '*Reabrimos esta puerta para que vuelvan a entrar las brisas de libertad que han hecho grande a nuestra Patria*'.
[11] All film quotations are my own translations from Spanish, unless indicated otherwise.

This chapter analyses filmic representations of La Moneda, the seat of the Chilean government; a building that is commonly known as the home of Chilean democracy and perceived as the epicentre of dictatorship violence. It is here where Allende governed as Latin America's first democratically elected Socialist president, and here where he took his last stand in defence of democracy. By destroying, renovating and reoccupying the building, Pinochet consolidated his status as president of the nation, drawing on its symbolic capital to legitimize his regime. Throughout the transition the palace has served as the backdrop for countless ceremonies of memorialisation; state-led interventions that shape cultural memories about the dictatorship and its aftermath. In the context of this book, La Moneda provides a vantage point from which to map out and analyse the dominant temporalities of national identity, as they are curated by the state, from spectacles of cleansing destruction to invocations of nationalist military heritage. Building on scholarship by Mary Grace Strasma (2010) and Maria Chiara Bianchini (2000), I start my investigation by mapping out these dominant narratives and temporalities, focusing on the concepts of rupture, rebirth, heritage and modernisation. From this, I turn to films that represent the tensions that arise within and between dominant narratives of place; memories, traces and prophesies that haunt the home of Chilean democracy and, more broadly, the meaning and trajectory of democracy in the neoliberal present.

To interrogate the complex interplay between domination, resistance and co-optation, I focus on two of the most visible manifestations of haunting that are associated with the palace: images of La Moneda in flames, and the figure of Salvador Allende. Footage of the bombardment, I argue, can be read as an originary scene of violence that incessantly returns from the archive and is often mobilized to delineate the definitive end to the Chilean road to socialism. In my analysis I draw on Colin Davis's theorisation of the 'phantom' as a screen memory that conceals enduring injustice, but can be unsettled, or enlivened, when extracted from linear historical timelines (2005). Next, I turn my attention to the figure of Salvador Allende, a person whose life, death and afterlives in the palace remain central to questions of democratic heritage, inheritance and national identity. Here, I am particularly interested in the way discourses of national exceptionalism, (non) violence and prophesized emancipation intersect through the figure of Allende, manifesting in the uncanny presence of a past utopia still-to-come. Films such as *Acta General de Chile* ('General Statement on Chile' 1986) and *Salvador Allende*

(2005) participate in the struggle to interpret Allende's life and afterlife, meditating on the shifting status of the Unidad Popular, and the social dreams that accompanied it. Drawing on Derrida and Gordon, my analyses explore how film can contribute to more critical and heterogeneous understandings of inheritance, resisting attempts by the state to assimilate Allende as a marker of democratic heritage, while reflecting on the ways in which the Unidad Popular continues to threaten the dominant social order. I do not focus on a particular phase of the transition, or generational perspective, rather I am interested in the ways stories, images and individuals haunt this place – how they linger, evolve and return in new guises. It is my hope that, by engaging with these representations, my work can look behind the neoclassical façade and open up the home of Chilean democracy to a critical re-reading.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 1: The symbolic centrality of La Moneda was consolidated in visual culture, with nineteenth century maps, panoramas and atlases consistently foregrounding the palace as the home of the Chilean nation – a marker of power and stability in the optic of the new republican state (see Fig.2). This illustration of prisoners being escorted past the palace features in Claudio Gay's *Atlas of the Physical and Political History of Chile* (1854). Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Rupture, Rebirth, Heritage and Modernisation

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, it became the seat of Government for the Chilean Republic in 1845, under President Manuel Bulnes, and remained so until the day of the coup in 1973. 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 2006, p.175). The building's first architect, Joaquín Toesca, was commissioned to create an industrial building, drawing on a neoclassical style that had previously been reserved for temples and palaces (Feliú et al. 2020, p.104). From the planning stages, the palace, and the wider district in which it was situated, was framed by a particular discourse of time, in which monumental buildings were material embodiments of progress and civic society. Strategically located within a planned chequerboard city layout, the palace was the magnum opus of a process of urban

modernisation initiated under the Bourbon regime (Feliú et al. 2020). In contrast with the Baroque architecture that had previously dominated Spanish America, the neoclassical style was associated with 'progress, modernity and commercial vitality' (Niell 2014, p.260), and, crucially, with a political heritage that was distinctly European.

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.

From a temporal perspective, the bombardment compounded a sense of historical rupture—a clear delineation between past and present. This sense of rupture was consolidated and curated by official military discourse, while emphasizing the idea of rebirth and renewal. In the early months of the dictatorship, military speeches and ceremonies were held in the Diego Portales Building, a temporary seat of government which had previously been an architectural emblem of the Unidad Popular.[12] On the back wall of the main hall two dates were adhered in steel lettering: 1810 and 1973. The first delineated the birth of the Chilean nation; the second, a moment of national rebirth (Stern 2006, p.68). Within this narrative, the armed forces were positioned as protectors of the reborn nation, engaged in an ongoing war against the alien and obsolete ideologies of socialism and Marxism.

[12] The Diego Portales building, formerly known as the UNCTAD III, was constructed during the Unidad Popular period to accommodate the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Shortly after coup, the military occupied the building and renamed it after a conservative Chilean statesman and businessman, who played a prominent role in the delivery of the 1833 constitution. Today the building is known as the Centro Cultural Gabriela Mistral (GAM). See Maulén (2006), Reyes (2006) and Bianchini (2014), for explorations of the building's shifting political, architectural and cultural significance.

During the dictatorship the palace 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 2006, p.175). These changes ostensibly sought to restore the integrity of the architect's original design, thereby encapsulating a second key element of the dictatorship's temporal 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 (Altar of the Homeland) was constructed in the adjoining Plaza de la Ciudadanía, containing the remains of prominent military leaders (Wilde 2008, p.156). Forming part of a broader programme of monument construction throughout the country (see Errázuriz 2009), the *Altar* concretized the seamless relationship between the military and state governance, and positioned Pinochet as the legitimate heir of a long heritage of heroic military figures.

In addition to the discourses of rupture and heritage, the palace was subject to a programme of 'functional modernisation', in which the electronics, communications and air control in the palace were updated (Stern 2006, p.176). These physical alterations echoed a third temporal discourse about the 'modernisation' of the Chilean economy, which broadly described a policy of market deregulation and privatisation. Modernisation typically implies an irreversible process through which traces of an obsolete past are removed, or surmounted (see Lorenz 2006). However, Draper argues that it can involve acts of re-functionalisation, in which emblematic sites are appropriated and repurposed (Draper 2012, p.37). In dictatorial and transitional Chile, modernisation has consistently been coupled with images of technological innovation and cleanliness, epitomized by the space of the urban shopping mall (Tomic et al. 2006). But this discourse also converged in the smooth, clean lines of La Moneda, following its restoration. While much of Santiago's colonial and republican centre was neglected, sold off and redeveloped during the 1970s and 1980s (Stillerman and Salcedo 2012), this building was preserved and repurposed as an emblem of the dictatorship's modernizing influence.

The sociologist Michael Landzelius argues that 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 mobilized 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). In the aftermath of the coup, La Moneda and its immediate surrounds functioned as a space in which these signifying chains could be consolidated, redirecting national memory away from the recent past and towards moments of military triumph and patriarchal order. This was also a highly gendered story, 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 (Radcliffe 1993; Taylor 1997; Fischer 2016). La Moneda offered a surface upon which the four temporal discourses of rupture, rebirth, military heritage and modernisation could be projected. This was a temporal imaginary that did not fully break from the past, but forged a chain of heritage between their economic project and the 'founding fathers' of the Chilean nation, while leftist politics was excluded as alien and anachronistic.

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 and Murray 2002, p.365). The Christian Democrat candidate Patricio Aylwin took his place as head of state, heralding the beginning of the democratic transition. From the palace, the change was barely visible. Aylwin's administration chose not to make changes to the building they inherited, except for the removal of a wall hanging that had been used as a backdrop during Pinochet's speeches to the nation (Strasma 2010, p.75). In many respects, this mirrored the administration's attitude towards the crimes and legacies of military rule. Some limited efforts were made to establish the truth about forced disappearances, in the form of The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report (1991), while structural changes to the economy were adopted and consolidated.

The Socialist administration of Ricardo Lagos, elected in 2000, took a markedly different approach. The façade was painted white, and a statue of Salvador Allende was erected at the northeast corner. The Altar de la Patria was removed and Morandé 80, the door through which Allende's body was carried, was reconstructed (Bianchini 2014). Reinstating a tradition that was halted during the Unidad Popular 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 exorcize 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.

At the time of writing, the palace and its surrounds are some of the most securitized spaces in the country. Walking from east to west on Calle Agustinas, the building appears abruptly on the left, framed by Plaza de la Constitución (see Fig.1). After the ubiquitous tower blocks of downtown Santiago, the open spectacle of the plaza, the neoclassical façade, and the building's modest height, mark it out as solitary remnant of colonial architecture; albeit a remnant that is preserved and revered as the defining architectural emblem of the nation state. On the left, stands the Bank of Chile and the Ministry of Justice. To the right, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – formerly the Hotel Carrera – from which foreign reporters watched the bombardment in 1973. The plazas that frame the palace to the north and south are carefully policed, boasting water fountains and manicured lawns (see Figure 2). For most of the year, the public are denied access to these spaces, maintaining a view that is unsullied by social activity. Mass protests regularly filter down La Alameda, the central artery of Santiago that runs parallel to the south side of the palace, but protesters seldom intrude upon the official grounds.

This controlled aesthetic of emptiness has been read as a spatial strategy that infuses public space 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 public are largely absent, spectacles of state power occur daily in and around La Moneda, from the changing of the guard, to the televised transmission of state visits. In effect, the building and its surrounds are preserved as an image, or *mise-en-scène*, of statehood, a carefully maintained point of stability and continuity in the geographical imaginary of the nation where the act of governance acquires history and legitimacy.

Looking beyond its setting, material structure, and the rhetoric different individual administrations, the meaning of La Moneda in the present is shaped by its status as an object of national and world heritage, a set of transnational discourses that encourage the interpretation of buildings as aesthetic objects, tied to a specific period in history, while often limiting other forms of significance (see Allcock 1995; Waterton and Watson 2010). This is exemplified by UNESCO's description of the palace, 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 describes 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 twentieth century (Palacio La Moneda - CMN. Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales. Gobierno de Chile. [no date]). In these accounts, the historical significance of the building is limited to an architectural style, while its destruction in 1973 is reconfigured as an iconic image, temporally distant from a liberal, democratic present.

These transitional discourses emphasize a break from the dictatorial past, but they also shape interpretations of Chilean democracy prior to the coup. Official descriptions of the building promote it as a material reification of *lasting* national values and institutions. The palace is, in Strasma's words, integral to the nation's 'democratic self-image' (2010, p.18)**.** Within this 'self-image', the dictatorship is reduced to a lamentable hiatus in the nation's long democratic heritage. As Bianchini argues, 'the dictatorship […] becomes a parenthesis, in time and space, somehow external to the traditional spirit of the country that these places intend to represent' (2014, para 1). The idea of a hiatus in progressive time feeds into wider narratives of national exceptionalism; the notion that Chile, and specifically Chilean democracy, is an exceptional outlier in Latin American history, due to the prosperity of the state, and the relative absence of civil conflict (see Larraín 2006; Fischer 2016). This narrative is present in political discourse on the left and right, and functions to exclude 200 years of state violence and corporate exploitation prior to the coup, including the repression of labour movements throughout the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries (Frazier 2007b; Loveman 2016); the decimation and displacement of indigenous groups, such as the Mapuche and the Selk'nam (Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Marchante 2019); the pursual of expansionist war against Peru and Bolivia

(Beckman 2009); and the maintenance of a socio-economic model that sustained the wealth, privilege and power of an elite minority. 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). How to register the exceptional violence and trauma of the 1973 military coup, without disappearing these histories of violence and exploitation, is one of the key questions framing my research.

Considering the issues of monumentalisation, securitisation, 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 a totalizing metonym of the government or democracy, nor are the dominant discourses that frame it uncontested. The palace's existence in visual culture is replete with multiple 'other' times that are tension with the linear progressive temporality of liberal democracy, from Allende's revolutionary socialism, and prophesy of future emancipation, to the structural legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship. La Moneda also continues to be a site towards to which activists are drawn, to enhance their visibility, to voice demands and to articulate alternative futures. In one notable intervention named '1,800 Hours Running for Education', student activists ran around the palace for 1,800 hours demanding increased government spending in public education.[13] During the mass protests of the *estallido social*, a sculpture of the palace, splattered in red paint, was paraded through the city, adorned with written testimonies of police brutality (see Figure 3). The palace might be a site of violence, but it is also a place where the role of the state might be imagined otherwise – where it might be haunted.

The analysis of La Moneda as a haunted site takes on heightened significance when it is read as the heart or home of Chilean democracy. As noted in the introduction, ghost stories that unfold in domestic space often pertain to enduring injustices that pervade

[13] In Spanish, *1,800 horas corriendo por la Educación*. The 1800 hours referred to the 1.8 billion dollars investment that the students claimed was required to partially reform the public higher education system, citing an investigation by the Universidad de Playa Ancha (Universitarios 2011) .

society. Focussing the postdictatorship Argentine literature, Mandolessi argues that the ghost in the haunted home is rarely an alien presence that invades an 'unpolluted or innocent space'. Rather, ghosts are signs of enduring crimes, silences and absences that are in some way structural to that space, and to the lives of its inhabitants (2014, pp.155–156). In this respect, stories about the haunting of individual subjects and families can negotiate broader issues that underpinned dictatorship repression, such as patriarchal violence and hierarchical power relations, which problematize rigid historical periodisation. Mandolessi goes on to argue that the familiarity of domestic settings prevents the spatial containment and quarantining of uncomfortable pasts and forces readers to contemplate how they are implicated in the unfolding narrative (2014, p.156). This radicalizing of responsibility and inheritance can be both unsettling and potentially empowering. Due to the cyclical inhabitation of houses by different subjects across time, they permit reflection on the co-presence of different subjects and histories in a single place. The representation of this multiplicity of pasts can disrupt the linear transmission of place as property and prompt recognition of subaltern subjects who have been dispossessed, subjugated, excluded and exploited within the supposed safety of the home. In doing so, we might start to envisage what Sosa calls a 'spectral community' (Sosa 2015, p.366); a non-contemporaneous assemblage that displaces the hegemony of family inheritance.

La Moneda's status as the 'home of Chilean democracy', and the nation more broadly, allows for the interrogation of these issues at a site of national visibility, while prompting critical reflection on the relationship between public and private space. It is a site of security and stability, historically accessible to all citizens, that is characterized by the cyclical temporality of successive inhabitation. At the same time, the perceived harmony and stability of this space is unsettled by memories of violence and exclusion, both exceptional and structural. Crucially, in addition to the histories of injustice with which it is associated, the building is haunted by imagined futures of radical social transformation, pointing to the possibility of ties of subaltern solidarity across historical periods. My aim in the rest of the chapter is to consider how film has represented and reckoned with these hauntings. How is the act of the bombardment bound to its representation and reproduction in visual media? How can moving images bear witness to the affective presence of Allende and his supporters? And can film displace the centrality of the palace

as the imaginative epicentre and starting point of state repression? I do not wish to celebrate film as a counterhegemonic cultural form, but to critically interrogate the ways images can be mobilized to support and resist forces of repression, identifying social conflicts, imagined futures and affective atmospheres that are not apparent in the building's material structure, or in dominant ways of seeing it.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 2: La Moneda Palace, and the adjoining Plaza de la Constitución, viewed through the optic of the state. (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 2000).

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 3: A model of La Moneda being paraded around the Plaza de la Dignidad (formerly Plaza Italia) during the *estallido social* (author's photograph).

Ruins and Rupture

The first spectral trace I turn to is a sequence of black-and-white images depicting the bombardment of La Moneda on the day of the coup. Captured by the leftist filmmakers Pedro Chaskel and Peter Hellmich, the shot looks down on the palace from the nearby Hotel Carrera. There are no people in the frame, 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 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 4). 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). Through this process of suturing, the event of the coup accrues a particular spatial and temporal fabric. It is a scene of violence, but the victims of that violence are

outside of the frame. It is a powerful visual metaphor for the destruction of democracy, but democracy is symbolised by the architectural emblem of the bourgeois state.

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 for the right it served a disciplinary function (2015, p.128). For many Unidad Popular 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). 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 Unidad Popular to an isolated and ever-receding historical moment. Within this visual metaphor, the socialist project of Allende was literally reduced to a ruin, from which there was little hope of resurrection.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 4: *The Battle of Chile. Part 1: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie* (1975). The bombardment of La Moneda Palace, as represented in the opening scene.

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 linear 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's 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 mobilize 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, Barros argues that the shot rapidly morphed into a 'symbol that tended towards totality, closure and fetishization' (2015, p.133). 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 Unidad Popular. Focussing on documentaries and television programmes released since 2000, he argues that the bombardment has increasingly been reproduced uncritically as part of a 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 thirtieth and fortieth 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 (2005). 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).[14] 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 linear 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). As described above, within this fantasy, Chilean democracy before the coup is portrayed as a peaceful and uninterrupted heritage that was strained by Allende and broken definitively by Pinochet. By making this point, I do not wish to deny the exceptional nature of the coup, but to emphasize the dangers of 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)

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 unproblematized, as do the claims of postdictatorship 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 how can the feelings of loss and rupture produced by the coup be acknowledged, without condemning the Unidad Popular to the past?

Spectral theory, and more specifically the figure of the phantom, offers one approach to reading and reckoning with this image, highlighting how returning traces from the past can simultaneously obscure and illuminate enduring injustice. While most theorisations of ghosts focus on lives that have been cut short but contain an emancipatory promise, Colin Davis theorizes the phantom as a revenant that actively obstructs justice. Drawing

[14] The final section of this chapter offers an alternative reading of this documentary.

on the psychoanalytic work of Abraham and Torok, he 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' (Davis 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, 13). The 'noxious effects' of the bombardment images stem from their tendency towards fixity and fetishisation. The family secret is not the bombardment itself, but the histories of violence that are rendered invisible by the mythologisation of republican democracy. Adding to Davis's 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. Within this irreversible temporality, the inevitability of socialism's defeat is hegemonic. The rupture is simultaneously fixed in the past, consigning the Unidad Popular 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 narrativized 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, Aron, is haunted by the bombardment image as he searches for his disappeared brother and the remains of his executed father. As a former exile, Aron 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 Aron

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.

Another complex iteration can be found in Claudia Aravena Abughosh's short film *11 de Septiembre* ('11 September' 2002), which juxtaposes images of the bombardment with the destruction of the Twin Towers in 2001, as well as scenes from the film *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959). A disembodied voice, spoken in a whisper, reads lines from *Hiroshima Mon Amour* and Allende's last speech, moving from intimate descriptions of a lover's body to the defiant declaration that 'history is ours and it is made by the people'. The effect is disorienting. The asynchronous sound disturbs the temporal location of the images, unsettling and enlivening the meaning of each trace. For Aravena and Pinto, the incorporation of different images of catastrophe draws attention to the act of representation, and produces a form of de-naturalisation, positioning the bombardment within an alternate geopolitical and temporal imaginary (Aravena and Pinto 2018). In doing so, the short film both makes visible and disturbs the fetishistic reproduction of these images, and the spectator is forced to contemplate the (a)symmetries between different violent historical events, both real and fictive.

Perhaps the most oppositional, or rebellious, 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 their act of transnational resistance, the testimonies disrupt the temporality of absolute rupture that consigns the Unidad Popular 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 both Britain and Chile. Further, by showing the bombardment images to the factory workers in Scotland, the film revives their affective power. They open 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 Draper's terms, 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 summarize, 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 unrealized 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 provoke 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

Disguised as tourists, wearing orange baseball caps, on 24 April 2016, a group of thirty youths posed for a photo outside La Moneda. The moment the photo was taken, 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

[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 to a community protest against industrialized 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.

narratives that already circulated the site. Their declaration of impatience pertained to the failure of Michelle Bachelet's administration to reform the privatized 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, prophesized 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 spoke of has grown to unprecedented proportions. Exemplified by the *estallido social* that began on 18 October 2019, students have continued to protest *en masse*, often alongside those struggling for indigenous rights, for an end to environmental degradation and resource privatisation, as well as for justice for the victims of the Pinochet regime. Even when unacknowledged, Allende's prophesy continues to haunt the palace, and the social dreams of those who address it in rebellion.

Though Allende's life came to a violent end in La Moneda, the term phantom is 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 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 a crime to be solved, or a 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 of the bombardment requires 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 as an affective orientation. In *Some Thoughts on the Utopian* (2016), she talks of attempting to 'capture the spirit' of Herbert Marcuse in her work, 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 is embedded in the practice of writing – in the tone of one's voice, in resistance to the muting of affect and emotion that is so common in academic discourse. This is not a practice of possession in which the dead are claimed to speak through you directly. 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, 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). This form of inheritance acknowledges the impossibility of imagining and constructing alternative futures 'from scratch'. It requires that we reflect on the ways that spectral matter always-already shapes our subjectivities, while paying attention to ideas, dreams and imagined futures that are repressed by the contingent conditions of the present.

The status of Salvador Allende throughout the democratic transition encapsulates some of the challenges of inheritance. His afterlife 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. 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 exclusion of Allende from the palace came to an end in 2000, following the election of Ricardo Lagos, who looked to

incorporate the Unidad Popular as an object of national heritage (Bianchini 2007, pp.15–16). During Lagos's 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's 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 voice over 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. This way of seeing resonates with Gordillo's conceptualisation of haunting as 'an affect created by an absence that exerts a hard-to-articulate, non-discursive, yet positive pressure on the body' (2014, 31). The affect is distinct from dominant conceptualisations of cultural memory because it does not refer to a narrativized past, but to a historically constituted feeling of absence and displacement.

The sound of Allende's final radio broadcast accompanies the images, imbuing 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 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', Winn says. 'He was the democrat who would not yield the legitimacy of his elected office to a military dictatorship' (2005, p.156). *General Report* responds to and enlivens this anticipated afterlife by placing it alongside images of social resistance in the 1980s, illustrating how the project of the Unidad Popular endures.

By the time *General Report on Chile* was released, Neruda's words were also those of a ghost. The poet died of cancer twelve 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 organized 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 activists' 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 naturalizes 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 idealizing 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 recognize 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 historicization often denies a continuity of social injustice in contemporary Chile, or assumes that the future for which Allende fought lives on, unharmed. Bevernage argues that by re-evaluating 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. Instead, one must acknowledge the violence that is constitutive of the past and present, and re-evaluate 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 as 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 does not need to 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, sometimes 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 Unidad Popular mural, evidence of the cultural-aesthetic coup that accompanied the physical violence of the Pinochet regime (Errázuriz 2009). As the film progresses, it 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 maps out the journeys he made throughout Chile in order to gather support for the Unidad Popular. '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. Ultimately, the film ends in La Moneda, with Guzmán, like Littín, seeking out the last place where Allende was seen alive.

Of all Guzmán's postdictatorship films, *Salvador Allende* has received the most intense academic criticism. The cultural theorist Federico Galende argues that Guzmán idealizes the Unidad Popular 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 in the 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 heart 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 Unidad Popular 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 2009, 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).[16] The restorative nostalgia of the narrator has a critical function, making the failures of neoliberalism more acutely felt, however, the

[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.

conflicting testimonies create a reflective mood, denying a utopian image of the 1970s, and remaining wary of triumphalist narratives of return (Lazzara 2009, pp.55–58).

Lazzara's 'aesthetic of history as ruin' is a compelling description, but I believe the film does more than 'salvage' lessons and values from the rubble of Allende's legacy. The compilation of contradictory and conflicting testimonies is not solely an act of extraction, rather, in the filmmaking process, a diverse and fragmented community of resistance is momentarily restored. This corresponds with Wendy Brown's theorisation of inheritance, who argues that '[t]he phenomenon remains alive, refusing to recede into the past, precisely to the extent that its meaning is open and ambiguous' (2001, 152). 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 Unidad Popular 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 Unidad Popular; 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 contradictions and conflicts through which his presidency threatened the established order. According to Susana Draper, one of the most threatening elements of the Unidad Popular 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 *Salvador Allende* this 'illegible' coalition is represented most directly in archive footage of the Plaza de La Ciudadanía, adjacent to La Moneda, filmed shortly before the coup. In it, the banners of the MIR, trade unions, and unaffiliated citizens are pictured in front of

the palace, voicing support for the Unidad Popular. Guzmán's narration states that 'despite the economic boycott, the terrorist propaganda […] Allende's support grew […] This remains the mystery. It surprises us even today'. This scene and the testimonies that frame it reawaken a moment when the meaning and potentialities of parliamentary democracy were radically unsettled. The haunting past is surprising and transformative, undermining the hegemonic limits of democratic process, and reimagining who might be permitted to participate in it.

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 11 September 1973. *Salvador Allende* reveals how it is not only the repressive apparatus of the state that prevents this group from rebuilding, or reimaging 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 presented as a definitive moment of closure. This is most evident in the final scene, in which the poet Gonzalo Millán recites chant 48 of his poem *La Ciudad* (The City), composed of 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 goes back to Tomás Moro Street
> The detained leave the stadiums walking backwards
> 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 the 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 Unidad Popular 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 2009, p.61). Building from this, I would argue that by acknowledging the heterogeneity of the Unidad Popular, 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.

A Cautious Beginning

By focusing on two of the most visible ghosts to haunt the presidential palace, my field of vision has been limited. While I analysed attempts to resist allochronic discourse and acknowledge the latent futurity of the Unidad Popular, the histories, subjects, and directors to which I have been drawn are still relatively visible within the public sphere. There has been no mention of the indigenous peoples for whom La Moneda has always been a symbol of colonial violence; or the feminist groups who consistently address the palace in protest against centuries of patriarchal violence. This chapter should therefore be read as a cautious beginning. I mapped out the dominant temporalities that govern the transition – rupture, national heritage, modernisation – while pointing to practices of inheritance that resist the impulse to quarantine and contain the haunting past. These are necessary steps towards developing a more transformative and multidirectional relationship with the present past. However, to address an expanded field of haunting, a broader corpus of texts, performances and interventions needs be addressed.

In focussing 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 problematizing 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 – attempts 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 Unidad Popular 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 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 2. Shipwrecked in the 1990s

'Chile, joy is coming!' declared an infectious pop song from the 'NO' campaign, weeks prior to Pinochet's defeat in the 1988 plebiscite. The music video – centrepiece of a series of political broadcasts calling for the return of democracy – promoted the image of a rejuvenated nation, a softly lit utopia built around individual happiness, social cohesion and natural beauty. While the 'SI' (yes) campaign, in support of continued military rule, conjured the looming threat of class war, and declared contemporary Chile to be already '*un país ganador*' (a winning country), 'NO' portrayed a 'positive' view of the future, imagined using humour, synchronised dancing and a colourful *mise-en-scène*. This campaign had a profound impact on the national cultural imaginary, purportedly increasing voter turnout in the plebiscite (Boas 2015) and becoming a blueprint for political advertising throughout Latin America (Cronovich 2013b). Viewed from a more critical perspective, however, the video consolidates a temporality of closure, in which overcoming the violent past precludes the interrogation of its enduring effects. Significantly, the campaign erased collective memories of the Unidad Popular, and contemporary movements for social transformation. The prophesy of the refrain echoes Allende's description of the 'great avenues opening', but *los pueblos de Chile*, the mass movements of protest and resistance that opposed the Pinochet regime, are absent from the picture.

This chapter analyses three fiction films, released in the 1990s, that revolve around the familiar, but relentlessly unsettling, question: *¿dónde están?* – Where are they? Where are the disappeared? Where are the perpetrators of military violence? And where are the movements of resistance that were seamlessly erased by the declaration that 'joy is coming'? The early transition is often remembered as a period of amnesia and social de-mobilisation. Pinochet withdrew from power in August 1990, settling into a lifetime position in the senate and leaving a military-written constitution. Amnesty laws sealed off military crimes in a not-so-distant, but inaccessible past, and left-wing opponents to Patricio Aylwin's incoming government were framed as anachronistic, or un-patriotic (Moulian 2002; Winn 2004). Perhaps for these reasons, this period is often overlooked by scholars in film and cultural studies, preferring to interrogate the 'memory boom' of the 2000s. And yet, in ignoring the early transition, there is a risk that we perpetuate

homogeneous understanding of this period and obscure the multiplicity of imagined futures and collective struggles that persisted and emerged in the 1990s. The re-evaluation of these films can help us better understand the imaginative and affective conditions from which contemporary movements for justice emerged, but the films also ask questions that remain unsettling to this day, and demand to be reckoned with.

My texts of interest are Miguel Littín's *Los Náufragos* ('The Shipwrecked' 1994), Gonzalo Justiniano's *Amnesia* (1994), and Pablo Perelman's *Imagen Latente* ('Latent Image' 1988-1990). From a thematic and structural perspective, they share much in common. All three are narrative fiction films, set in the present day or recent past, and focus on themes of dictatorship violence and personal memory. In each film, a solitary man, disturbed 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. And each film uses tropes of haunting to reckon with the afterlives of the dictatorship and Unidad Popular periods. They could be read as the symptoms of societal trauma – attempts to narrativize and work through shared feelings of irrevocable loss. However, through recourse to theories of haunting, a more complex structure of feeling emerges, in which the experience of trauma is accompanied by empathic unsettlement and emancipatory anticipation. Notably, the films can be read as expressions of a haunted masculinity, in which the autonomous gaze of the male protagonist-flaneur-narrator is subverted and problematized. This chapter is not a film history of themes and aesthetics. Such an approach can be found in the work of Ascanio Cavallo (1999) and Jacqueline Mouesca (2005), who offer in-depth analyses of evolutions in style and thematic content during the 1990s, to which I will refer. My focus here is to analyse texts that narrativize the experience of haunting, considering how the picturing of the present past gives form to residual and emergent conceptions of truth, justice and rebellion.

Times of Transition

The early transition in Chile (1990-2000) has been variously described as a phase of stasis (Oxhorn 1994), oblivion (Moulian 2002) and pragmatism (Fermandois 2011). Wary of deepening rifts in Chilean society, or provoking military reprisal, the ruling centre-left coalition (*Concertación*) maintained that comprehensive economic reforms

and the challenging of impunity were impractical aims in the burgeoning democracy (Barton and Murray 2002, p.360). 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, privatized 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). Political discourse from the Concertación coalition celebrated a 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 largely adhering to the inherited neoliberal economic model.

One of the defining shifts of this historical moment was the waning of mass protest movements and popular political organisations. In the mid-1980s, widespread opposition emerged against the dictatorship and its economic project. This opposition took a variety of forms, including mass street protests, university occupations and armed resistance. Of particular importance were popular organisations in the *poblaciones*, which organized to provide help with issues of inadequate housing, healthcare and malnutrition, while strengthening the political visibility and power of working-class communities. During the run-up to the plebiscite, and the 'mooring process', these organisations were actively excluded by from the political process, with elite-led political parties assuming control. As Oxhorn states, '[t]he requirements imposed on the political process by the search for elite consensus and the institutions of the military regime led to the effective dismantling of organisational structures that might have served as the basis for an autonomous social movement' (Oxhorn 1994, p.60). Continuing a set of policies that were instigated under Pinochet, the *poblaciones* 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). Meanwhile, the transitional discourses of pluralism,

consensus and compromise framed social mobilisation as incompatible with the transitional goal of peaceful coexistence (*convivencia*) (Richard 2004).

As social mobilisation diminished, so did the networks of communication through which resistance was organized. 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). Furthermore, state funding was completely withdrawn from the cultural sphere, entrenching a market-centred model that addressed transnational investors (ibid. 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 emphasize the anachronistic nature of state support, and deny the ideological implications of market deregulation.

For Richard, the early 1990s were characterized by the 'officialization of consensus' (Richard 2004, p.145); a period in which 'national healing' and the illusion of 'oneness' emerged as hegemonic values and narratives (Richard 2004, 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 leftist politics that had supposedly been severed in the 1970s. Those subjects who continued to express support for the Unidad Popular, or participated in the popular dissent of the 1980s, were discursively positioned by political elites as outside of national simultaneity. 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). As well as marginalizing those who resist reconciliation, this form of allochronic rhetoric has a profoundly anti-utopian character, denying the endurance or emergence of political alternatives, and consolidating liberal democracy's status as the

'logical and legitimate political and ethical endpoint of history' (Bevernage 2015, p.346). While the authoritarian arm of the state had been restrained, the president of the republic continued to draw on the temporalities of rupture, national heritage and modernisation in order to delegitimize certain voices within the public sphere.

Central 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 obsolescence. In addition to assuming the status of a teleological end, Richard and Draper argue that neoliberal capitalism provides the governing rationality through which historical processes are interpreted. That is, the term transition has become imprisoned within an economic logic in which progress and healing become associated with capitalist accumulation. The movement from past to future is 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 violences that are intrinsic to neoliberalism, as well as the emancipatory fissures produced through resistance to the military regimes.

A key part of the elite-led transition was the rapid implantation of a truth commission addressing cases of disappearance and execution. While transitional justice initiatives can play a role in gathering and disseminating information about human rights abuses, they should not be interpreted as a tool of resistance or social transformation. Mechanisms such as truth commissions are often utilized to contain, or quarantine, periods of past violence, both spatially and temporally. This is exemplified by Chile's first truth and reconciliation commission, commonly referred to as the Rettig Report (1991). 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. Further, its criticism of the Unidad Popular'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.

Truth commissions are by no means the only apparatus through which groups and nations can imagine or attain justice, nor does the hegemony of modern historical time prevent the interrogation of more complex temporalities. But what are these 'other' times, and how may they be studied and represented? How can subjects be interpellated into a more-than-testimonial role? And how can the pursuit of retrospective justice inform contemporary imaginaries of social transformation? In the first chapter I addressed some of these questions in relation to a single emblematic location, illustrating how site-specific hauntings can create fissures in linear transitional time. But film is a cartographic medium, depicting movement through and between different spaces and places. As Giuliana Bruno 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). Film's mapping impulse takes on heightened significance in the context of the early transition. For seventeen years, domestic film had been censored by the dictatorship, and television producers rarely filmed outside of the studio (Wiley 2006; Cronovich 2013a). The texts I analyse here were some of the first attempts to represent and reimagine Chile in film and, in the process, they map out the pursuit of truth and justice in physical space. Inspired by the transient field of cinematic cartography, my method involves tracing the spatial trajectories of the camera and

characters in each film, analysing how they narrativize space and conjure counterhegemonic experiences of time.

Haunting is central to this approach. Each film is a response to disappearance and to the sense of spatial and temporal disorientation that it provokes, but the films also harness the affective power of disappearance as an act of rebellion. I read this as a potentially transformative practice which is echoed in social movements across Latin America. Reflecting on the struggle of the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, Michael 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)

In a similar process of territorialisation, the practice of *escraches* in Argentina, and *funas* in Chile, expose the presence military officials who participated in human rights violations through impromptu street protests. In doing so, they mark out geographies of impunity that extend into the wealthy districts of Buenos Aires and Santiago. Film, I argue, can act in solidarity with these spatial interventions, albeit using different tools. Like the *Madres*, *escraches*, and *funas*, the texts analysed here 'relocate' or conjure memories of repression and rebellion, liberating memory from the architectures of state terror, while offering 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.

Latent Image

Set in the late 1980s, *Latent Image* depicts a man's search for his disappeared brother through the streets of Santiago. It was completed two years before Pinochet stepped down from the presidency, but due to military censorship it was not released until 1990. The Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica (Council of Film Classification) prohibited the release of the film, arguing 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 Perelman openly acknowledges that the film is semi-autobiographical (see Fuguet and Naranjo 1988). A poster advertising the film in 1990 described it as '*[l]a película prohibida*' (the forbidden film), thereby capitalising on its status as a subversive vision. This interplay between fact and fiction is central to its power. 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 to have very real implications. 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. 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 notorious centre of torture and detention that, at the time of release, had recently been demolished by the military (Read and Wyndham 2016, p.132)**.** As his search unfolds, the city streets, which he had previously traversed in relative security, are rendered unsettling, horrifying even. There is no clear narrative conclusion, or closure, only a dedication in the final frame that states ambiguously: '[w]e dedicate this film to The Families of the Detained-Disappeared. May they never stop finding them.' In doing so, the act of finding is uncoupled from the temporality of individual closure and becomes a collective task addressing an irrevocable crime.

Disappearance is a form of repression that transpires on the edge of visibility. From one perspective, it was employed to avoid the gaze of the international media, who gravitate towards spectacular scenes of violence. From another, it was the *modus operandi* through which authoritarian regimes established power; a form of violence that is both physical and imaginative. As Gordon argues, '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). Unlike more visible acts of military repression, such as the bombardment of La Moneda, 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. For Bevernage and Aerts, focusing on Argentina, this haunting temporality is both repressive and transformative, as it resists elite-led attempts to establish closure. 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). In *Latent Image* the enduring temporality of disappearance is the central theme of the film, though it is experienced on differential terms by the different characters represented.

From a temporal perspective, the narrative is linear and chronological. The plot is a journey, composed of a sequence of events and encounters, all of which feature Pedro. Appearing alongside the linear narrative, the haunting past returns insistently throughout, materializing 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 Unidad Popular 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. Its celluloid-bound shadows continue to captivate the imagination but are ultimately a reminder of loss. What can be gained by revisiting these voiceless, pulsating crowds, the images ask? Speaking through an inner monologue, Pedro goes on to reflect upon temporality: '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. In this whispered monologue, historical change is an illusion; in reality, we perpetually fall into the same cyclical trap of domination and defiance. The spectator does not necessarily 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 uncertain, 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 emerges, 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. On-location filming typically enhances authenticity for spectators, 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). In Kracauer's words,

> [films] alienate our environment by estranging it [...] How often do we not come across shots of street corners, buildings and landscapes with which we were acquainted all of our life; we naturally recognise them yet it is as if they were virgin impressions emerging from the abyss of nearness (1960, p.55).

It is by experimenting with the relation between dwelling and alterity that *Latent Image* garners its affective power. Images pour out from the 'abyss of nearness' that force the spectator, and the protagonist-guide, to contemplate the city anew, and perceive what is repressed within our own shared gaze.

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 5 and

6). 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.

[INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 5: *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.

[INSERT FIGURE 6 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 6: *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 characterized 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 Subdesarollo* ('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 characterized 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 underground 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. Most 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 unimportant. 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 problematizes both the official rhetoric of the early transition and some dominant theories of transitional justice. Pedro's mounting recognition of fear not only opens 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 problematizes 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 problematize 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 the value of closure and justice based on a 'clear picture'.

The film is most challenging when the gaze of the protagonist is reversed and problematized. In a 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. Indeed, Perelman states that the monologue is a direct reproduction of an interview with a torture victim that he had previously conducted and filmed (CANALONOFF 2011). Though the woman in the narrative claims she can 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*'.[17] 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* 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 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 – the sense that the Unidad Popular was a beautiful failure irreversibly cut off from the present. The woman he meets is not a spectre, a trace, or inalienably 'other'; rather, it is her way of reckoning with disappearance – her ongoing struggle for social justice – that unsettles the subjectivity of the protagonist. 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.

[17] The term *parrilla* refers to a form of torture utilizing 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).

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, corresponding 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 denaturalizing 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 voice over from the opening sequence resurfaces, as if it has 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 actualized. '*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. 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.

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, it conjures 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 is not a framework for 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.[18] Aron 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 *¿dónde está*? yet it is clear that Aron 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

[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.

aesthetic that heightens the film's allegorical undertones from the outset. Ghost do not linger at the edge of vision, 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 Aron'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 materialize 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. Aron is not a witness to the original act of violence, but to residues and material effects 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 Aron and his brother's former lover, Isol, while his brother's ghost runs happily through the desert. Love, reconciliation and closure are achieved 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). 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 that it separates historical trauma from political action in the present. Victims can 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 fixed place in the nation's history.

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:

> **Aron:** 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 Aron 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 urban modernisation (see Korowin 2010). The body of Aron'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). 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 Aron first ventures into Santiago, we pass swiftly between glass skyscrapers and streets full of anonymous passers-by, guided by a car-mounted travelling shot. Similar images were

employed in adverts promoting Chilean tourism and foreign investment at the time, celebrating the modernity of Santiago in comparison to the capitals of less developed Latin American nations (see, for example, Servicio Nacional de Turismo. [no date]). The visual discourse of modernisation, however, is refuted by the melancholic soundtrack and a voice over 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, while the shimmering emblems of economic growth are viewed with a sense of alienation.

The film scholar 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, characterized 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 Aron's guiding perspective. By focussing on Aron'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, Aron'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 Aron'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.

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 dictatorship. 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*, Aron'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 Aron'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 Unidad Popular sought to break up the *haciendas*, and redistribute land to collective co-operatives. While the coup is often characterized 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 voice over in the opening sequence, in which Aron 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 Unidad Popular 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 utilized to make texts 'foreign to their present' (1999, p.20). In *The Shipwrecked* there is a marked sense of being between times. Aron 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. Aron'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. Aron'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), 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, Aron traverses the country relatively freely, albeit following a trajectory that is full of gaps and dead ends.

This gendering of victimhood and trauma is apparent in much of the narrative, however, like *Laten Image*, the film's narration of haunting ultimately challenges Aron's exilic gaze and forces him to reconsider the masculinist, individualistic manner of his search. His brother'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 visualizes 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 an instrument of self-critique, subjecting Aron's actions to an imagined gaze from the past that questions the motivations of his journey. In one scene, as Aron 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, Aron, 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 Aron 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.

Aron's memories of Ur, presented in flashbacks, also trouble the uncritical idealisation of the Unidad Popular as an object of mourning. In these memories, Ur argues with his father about the doomed trajectory of the Unidad Popular and calls for an armed uprising from below. He castigates Aron 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.

Aron's response to disappearance is most forcefully challenged by Isol, Ur's former partner, who continues to live in the *hacienda*. When Aron 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 Aron's solitary search will see him die alone. Both Isol and Aron 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 (Aron'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 Aron 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 not revolutionary, but it does imagine some form of rebellious reconciliation between individuals who have become atomised by fear, loss and grief.

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 exists 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' (Berger 1999, p.4). 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 11 September 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 Valparaíso, 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 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 Valparaíso 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, Valparaíso'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 Valparaíso, 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 emphasize 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 specializing 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 earlier, these sentiments were widely espoused within the transitional public sphere, and to hear them

repeated by a violator of human rights 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 becomes clear 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 why 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 Aylwin administration'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, generating 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 provides 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. Further, 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 Chapter 1; a sense

that the dictatorship definitively defeated the social dreams of the early 1970s and tainted the language through which emancipatory political alternatives 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 characterized 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 Valparaíso are disfigured by the ominous aesthetics of German expressionism. Pedro, Aron 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. It is a landscape in which violence and complicity cannot be isolated or quarantined, paying heed to the suffusion of violence throughout the postdictatorship polity.

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* (Larraín, 1991) and *Johnny Cien Pesos* (Graef Marino, 1993) are all concerned with a solitary male character struggling to make sense of recent transformations in Chilean society. Documentaries such as *Memoria Obstinada* (Guzmán, 1997) 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 marginalized subjects are only given a voice through interviews.

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 and 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).

[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).

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). The critical interrogation of politically apathetic protagonists such as Pedro, Ramírez and Aron opens 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 social de-mobilisation, in which artists, activists and intellectuals on the left mourned the defeat of socialism, and the dissolution of antidictatorship struggles. By foregrounding the experience of disillusioned and traumatised subjects, the texts analysed here encapsulate this sense of powerlessness 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 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 Aron 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 summarize, 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 Aron'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, '[i]n 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 3. 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 is further complicated 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),[20] 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 re-evaluates 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

[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.

approaches these questions, among others, through the analysis of three documentary films from the 'late transition' (2000–), 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 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. As in Chapter 2, 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 dominant affective imaginary of the transition through the articulation of nostalgia for the oppositional politics of student movements the 1980s. Haunting is not articulated through figurative ghosts, or an aesthetic of indeterminacy, but through encounters with archival images that depict the younger selves of the three protagonists. This analysis also begins to trace the emergence of an 'expanded field' of haunting and disappearance in Chilean documentary, characterized by a gaze that looks beyond established sites of dictatorship memory and acknowledges the presence/absence of multiple non-contemporaneous struggles for social justice.

The second half further traces the expanded field, analysing *The Chicago Conspiracy* (2010), by the collective Subversive Action Films, and Edison Cájas's *The Waltz of the Useless* ('El Vals de los Inútiles' 2013); two documentaries that focus on recent student movements in Santiago, as well as political mobilisation in the *poblaciones* and Mapuche territories. These analyses strive to understand the effects of haunting within periods of insurrection and occupation in the present. Read together, they provide insights into the multiple times and temporalities of the left in Chile, from the enduring and cyclical struggles of indigenous groups and *pobladores*, to the abrupt interruptions of street marches and school occupations. Drawing on work by Jens Andermann and Rosalind Krauss, the concept of the expanded field helps me think outside of debates on postmemory, which tend to be framed around the concept of trauma and a particular generational perspective. Its main contribution 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 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.

Haunting, Postmemory and the Expanded Field

From the turn of the century, a substantive shift has occurred in the way the dictatorship is perceived and represented in the Chilean public sphere, amounting to a phase that I tentatively describe as the 'late transition'. Pinochet's arrest in London in 1998; the election of the Socialist candidate Ricardo Lagos to president in 2000; and the coming-of-age of a highly politicized 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 Unidad Popular 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 Unidad Popular within a linear temporality of national 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 are central to the legitimacy of incumbent regimes (2003, p.98) has become increasingly resonant.

Regarding visual media, the past eighteenth years have encompassed a significant influx in films and television programmes representing the dictatorship years, culminating

around the thirtieth and fortieth anniversaries of the coup. These texts, predominantly produced by the so-called 'children of the dictatorship',[21] 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 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' 2007), *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 (Kaiser 2005; Nouzeilles 2005; Serpente 2011; Levey 2014; Sosa 2014b; Tadeo 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 often orients scholarship around the experience of the relatives of maximal victims. Furthermore, Hirsch's original theory emerged out of Holocaust studies, and as a result,

[21] Individuals who were born and grew up under military rule (Jara 2016, p.4)

it tended to focus on the traumatic and oppressive aspects of the present past, as opposed to 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 Unidad Popular 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 concept of the 'expanded field' was first conceptualized 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 range 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 Andreas Huyssen and Jens Andermann to theorize 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' (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). Focusing 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 2012, p.178). These approaches have a de-territorializing effect, enabling new collective subjectivities to be imagined and forged, composed of subjects without direct familial ties

to survivors or the disappeared. They open discussion around what constitutes 'dictatorship memory' and who is able to participate in it.

Though none of these scholars 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 practise 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 marginalized 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 the possibility of 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 marginalized 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 popular in terms of distribution, throughout the transition documentary has arguably been the most diverse and challenging form 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 problematizing 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 emphasize 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 (Enrique (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 voice over, the film proceeds to 'mine' the memories of

[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 problematize 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).

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 2002). The third temporality that emerges is less detailed and linear, ephemeral, but nonetheless intensely affective. 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', focusing 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 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 re-evaluation of failed political projects. As I have argued throughout, 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 marginalized 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 over 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 thirty-year cycle' that started with the overthrow of Allende. Lagos is thus unveiled as the true heir who 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 voice over, 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 signaled 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 criticize 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 emphasizes a loss of energy, not only in the interviewees, 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 energizing 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 whom laments her or his 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 2 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 theorize it as an unhealthy relationship with the past that idealizes 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 idealized 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 idealized 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 recognizing 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. Like *Nae Pasaran*, analysed in Chapter 1, this narrative shift can be read as a 'minor epic' (Draper 2012, p.17). 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 that the Latin American minor epic is a form of writing that seeks to denaturalize narratives of progress in which neoliberal policies are presented as modernizing 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 the images force the viewer to evaluate the current status of those political movements. With regards to the expanded field of disappearance, it does not recover a 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 focused 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. These spaces are easily recognizable, but are not generally perceived as sites of memory or violence. It is

precisely the non-emblematic character of the locations that make them part of the expanded field of haunting. These scenes remind the audiences in Chile of the histories that underly 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 politics, and the closing down of public space (Garretón 1992; Salimovich et al. 1992)**.** Draper argues that the dominant spatial imaginary of the transition is characterized 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 theorized 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. *Mi Vida con Carlos* ('My Life with Carlos' 2010), *Allende, mi abuelo Allende* ('Beyond My Grandfather Allende' 2015), *Héroes Frágiles* ('Fragile Heroes' 2007) and *Reinalda del Carmen, mi mamá y yo* ('Reinalda del Carmen, My Mother and Me' 2006) are just a few examples of texts recounting stories of Chile's radicalized 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 administration, 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 government, 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 marginalized 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 characterized by an increase in social upheaval, with nationwide movements organizing to demand major reforms to education, indigenous rights, environmental policy, and the privatized pension system (see Chovanec and Benitez 2008; Cabalin 2012; McKay 2015). While these demands differ from the aspirations of the Unidad Popular, 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 a 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 recent student movements; 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.[23] The documentary *The Chicago Conspiracy* is one such text, but 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.

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 Huyssen'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

[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* ('Occupy the Imagination: 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).

'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 the transnational collective Subversive Action Films, the text reproduces the collectivist ethic and aesthetic of 1980s video production. This group describes 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 criticized for focusing 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 acknowledges 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,[24] 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 protesters 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

[24] Referring to the black and white uniforms of the protestors.

directed against the dictatorship, and interviews take place in occupied classrooms where protests were initiated during the 1980s. In one scene, a protester guides the camera operator 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 by the postdictatorship 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 legitimize their struggle and emphasize a continuity of state repression throughout the dictatorship and postdictatorship. 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 localized affective atmosphere.

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 protesters 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 emphasize the political inertia of the transition, *The Chicago Conspiracy* mimics their aesthetic style to emphasize 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. This grainy

footage historicizes 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 book haunting has been described 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 to 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 idealizing incorporation (1994, p.126).[25] 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.

The second section 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 emphasizes 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. As in the previous section on the contemporary student movement, the Unidad Popular is not foregrounded as an originary emancipatory event. Rather, the 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 Unidad Popular to emerge.

[25] 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*.

By focusing 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 focused 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 organized crime.

As shown here, La Victoria exists outside of the narrative of rupture and defeat that I described in Chapter 2. The *población* is a symbol of social emancipation prior to the rise of the Unidad Popular, 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 co-operation. 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.

Focused on the anniversary festivities, the film is arguably more concerned with capturing the performance of collective identity than the routines of everyday life, however, the film 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 to 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 organized'. 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 utilizing 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 are 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 work 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 Unidad Popular 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, that acquired the land during the dictatorship. Eucalyptus plantations feature frequently in the *mise-en-scène* and large tracts of clear-cut 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 criticize 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 marginalized group.

Unlike Andermann's expanded field, characterized 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 civilisation, 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 focusing 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 civilization.' 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's[26] 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

[26] 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).

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 the Chilean secondary school movement is to map them into a national political landscape that neither recognize. Furthermore, the form of the film sometimes smooths over the tensions and conflicts within the groups themselves, and therefore risks subjecting them to an essentializing gaze. Despite these issues, by acknowledging a non-contemporaneous assemblage of actors, the film breaks from 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 marginalized but politically engaged subjects – anti-dictatorship protesters, 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 is clear, however, that it is not enough to acknowledge the existence of these movements and offer passive gestures of solidarity. As I noted in 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 paralyzing 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. José 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; José 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 the pair together, 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, José 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 establishes that 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 also clearly performing for the camera.[27] This aesthetic offers access to the intimate and everyday aspects of the student movement, which are rarely seen in the public sphere. It also shifts 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, p.278).

The aesthetic approach has prompted several negative critiques in both mainstream and left-wing Chilean media. 'Narration kills' says one review, claiming that *Waltz* aestheticizes 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

[27] 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' 2009).

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 generate 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.

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 neighborhood. José Miguel's life as a tennis coach is similarly habitual, exemplified by repetitive training routines in which he hits a ball against a wall. 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 ruling right-wing coalition), appears on José 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 right-wing presidential candidate 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 (Subiabre 2015, p.100). 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 also 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 triumphal 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, but 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 José 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 protesters, as a cardboard Trojan Horse goes up in flames. In contrast to *The Chicago Conspiracy*, the music that accompanies the protest scenes is darkly atmospheric, even melancholic, contrasting starkly with the carnivalesque visuals. While *The Chicago Conspiracy* uses a *vérité* aesthetic and focuses on confrontations between anonymous protesters 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 7).

[INSERT FIGURE 7 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 7: *The Waltz of the Useless* (2013). Darío is framed centrally throughout the protest scenes, but is depicted as peripheral to the events that are transpiring around him.

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 (Feit 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 (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 questions from 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 mobilize.' 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.

Waltz's affective power lies not only its depiction of collective struggle, but in the way it reimagines the relationship between different generations of activists. The character of José 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. 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 José 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 2011, p.8) 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 characterized 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 theorized 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 allows one 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 Unidad Popular 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 both capitalism and the state by celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the occupation. The Mapuche criticize 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 localized 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 energizing 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 an enduring problem; how to understand the present as the product of authoritarianism, while remaining attentive to the heterogeneous pasts, presents and futures that refuse to be imprisoned by it.

Chapter 4: 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 up half of the screen, interrupted by the outline of a copper mine that juts from the horizon (see Figure 8). 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 Unidad Popular 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 takes 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 end this book 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 3. As theorized 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 mythologized 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, but 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 as a recognition of something that exceeds human memory, displacing both where and when we think we are.

[INSERT FIGURE 8 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 8: *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 individualized 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 naturalize 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 theorized 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. Conceptualized 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 visualized 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 actualized 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 theorized 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 recognize 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 as spaces of 'wilderness' 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 generalizing discourses, but 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 capitalized 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 were 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 2007a, 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 racialized 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 nineteenth and early twentieth 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 9). 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.

[INSERT FIGURE 9 HERE: Black and White]

Figure 9: 'General View of Grounds and Works', Oficina Alianza and Port of Iquique 1899. Album 12, Fondo Fotográfico Fundación Universidad de Navarra/Museo Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona.

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 organized, 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 symbolized both 'state violence and rebellious vitality, repression and transformation' (Frazier 2007b, 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.

Alongside this history, the Atacama encompasses a complex temporal imaginary. The sudden collapse of the nitrate industry, following the invention of synthetic fertilizers 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 1930s, 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 twentieth 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' (2007b, p.56). She goes on to argue that the population of the north appropriate and mobilize the idea of non-contemporaneity (2007b, 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 (2007b, 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 (2007b, 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

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 (Meeting of Ex-Prisoners of the Chacabuco Concentration Camp' 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 He Sido, Yo Soy, Yo Seré* ('I Was, I Am, I Will Be' 1974), which captured fragments of life during its time as a prison 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' 2007)

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 are 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 fortieth 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 narrativizing 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 narrativized'. (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 spectacularisation 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 organized 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 unrealized 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 the entry 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 visualized 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* ('Free'), 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 it of 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 re-enact it; rather, they uncover a horizon of expectation that lay dormant within it. This notion that the desert preserves the dreams and nightmares of those who inhabited it is prevalent in several other cultural texts, manifesting in the trope of a footprint or a seed.[28] This spectre does not return from the past, but lies in wait, carrying with it a generative power. 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-Hertz, attempts to learn about the life of his executed father, Carlos Berger. Towards this aim, Germán captures 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 thirty. When I turned thirty it made me realize 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-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 to where his father was arrested and executed. Stood in a seemingly 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

[28] See, for example, *Pisagua: The Seed in the Sand* (Teitelboim 2002), a novel that characterises the creation of a prison camp in Pisagua in 1948 as a moment of awakening for the Chilean Left.

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, but 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 of 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 30 September and 22 October 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 wider population. 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) Striving to align the incumbent government with the pursuit of justice, in October 2001 President Ricardo Lagos embarked on the Caravan of

Life, during 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-Hertz'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 romanticized 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).

The idea of haunting can supplement these analyses, foregrounding 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 3, postmemory was initially theorized 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 idealized figure. According to Hertz, he was a 'model leftist militant', selfless, committed to the Unidad Popular 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.[29] 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. 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

[29] See, for example, *Los Rubios* ('The Blonds' 2003) and *El Edificio de los Chilenos* ('The Chilean Building' 2010)

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 narrativize 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 Vicaría 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 recognize 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 solely interested in forming a coherent image of his father. Instead, 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. Notably, 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 of the Atacama, in which the camera tracks slowly over the cracked surface of the 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 Unidad Popular, going on to criticize 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 significant 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 recognize 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 up the narrative 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 plain. 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).[30] 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'.[31] 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.

[30] Wylie is referring specifically to the practice of creating memorial benches for lost loved along the coastal path of South West England.

[31] 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.

To summarize, *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 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 marginalized by a linear, heteronormative account of inheritance. The question remains, how might this landscape be represented 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 remains. As opposed to a space where absence is accepted, this desert landscape is characterized by uncertainty and disorientation, not unlike the fiction films I analysed in Chapter 2. 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 it 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 subsequent films *El Botón de Nácar* ('The Pearl Button' 2015) and *La Cordillera de los Sueños* (The Cordillera of Dreams' 2019), 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 voice over speaks of mine workers in the late nineteenth century, who scraped that same earth in search of nitrate, the bodies of whom now lie in 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 as 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 twentieth 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 book, 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, this narrative 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.[32]

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 nineteenth 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 *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,

> 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

[32] It should be noted that *Nostalgia*'s focus on the art and mummified remains of indigenous people is potentially problematic. For example, the anthropologist Pedro Mege argues that indigenous populations are habitually represented through the material artefacts that they produce, or as mummified remains belonging to a different time (2009), thereby disappearing the living indigenous population that continues to inhabit the Atacama.

> 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)

Crucially, the act of filming stories unfolding in the present, such as the search of the Women of Calama,[33] 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. 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 David 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 later 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

[33] One of the groups of women that continue to search the Atacama for the remains of the disappeared.

boom. This mine is Chacabuco, the site of pilgrimage in *Encuentro*, though in contrast to 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 the 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 draws consolation from 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 was 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 forty 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 per cent 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 recovered 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 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 exorcize 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 neo-colonialism, 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 (1988). 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 of 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 forty years prior. I was drawn to it because it not only represents Chacabuco as a site of past violence, but also 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, utilizing 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 marginalized 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 workers, whose spectral call to action I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter? What does *ahora o nunca* – '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.

Conclusions

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. These final paragraphs bring together some of the key dimensions of haunting and reckoning that have been analysed here, revisiting the concepts of empathic unsettlement, spectral inheritance, landscape and the expanded field. I also acknowledge the limits and blind spots of my gaze, considering how my method could be reproduced, expanded and amended to bring other ghosts into view. Much of this book was written before the *estallido social* (social eruption) of October 2019. My words are therefore haunted by memories of a future event that is still unfolding, asking new questions of my analyses and theoretical lens. What happens to the afterlife of resistance when past and present come together in apparent symmetry – when the streets fill with hundreds of thousands of protesters, and the military are deployed against them? How does the expanded field of disappearance manifest in Chile's transformed political landscape? What does the Atacama Desert mean to the pulsating crowds of the Plaza de la Dignidad? And how will the Covid-19 pandemic, which forced protesters indoors, shape how the *estallido* is experienced and remembered – how will the *estallido* haunt? I hope that my untimely intervention can offer a lens, or platform, through which these questions might start to be addressed, sustaining a critical dialogue about the histories, trajectories and imagined futures of collective struggles for justice and emancipation.

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. There are, however, several key issues and arguments running throughout this work that might serve as helpful points of departure for future research. Firstly, when read as a structure of feeling, haunting can complicate dominant imaginaries of emotion and affect in the aftermath of violent conflict and authoritarian rule. Trauma forms part of this structure, but it is not privileged as a lens for analysis. In the texts I have analysed, haunting was represented as an emergent, mutable and multi-generational 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 outlined a complex affective landscape that the concept of trauma cannot account for, including

nostalgia for the 1980s, 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, the films disturb 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 a wound to be healed, and free-market liberal democracy is 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.

Second, there are subtle but important differences between haunting and the concept of cultural memory, as it is habitually used. In many of the films and academic texts I have engaged with, ghosts are not narrativized 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 Unidad Popular. 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 unsettling of the lenses of trauma and cultural memory opens 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, marginalized 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 an important 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 are 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 recognize 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.

Though I set out to focus on the afterlife of resistance, in many respects the book is a meditation on the haunting of hegemonic forms of masculinity, as they manifest across the political spectrum. To be more precise, the films reproduce dominant performances and fantasies of masculine autonomy, rebellion and emancipation, while containing moments in which those fantasies are contested and reimagined. Sometimes, as in the *The Shipwrecked, Salvador Allende, Latent Image* and *Nostalgia for the Light*, haunting troubles a tendency to subsume national and collective experiences of rupture, loss and resistance within the autobiographical narratives of men from elite backgrounds. In all three of these cases, the narrativisation of the coup by individual male protagonists/narrators is unsettled by encounters with marginalized living subjects, often women, who either challenge the characterisation of the coup as a moment of absolute rupture, or refuse to participate in the fantasy of 'moving on' from the past, in a spatial or temporal sense. In several instances the films reproduce the abjection of female victims, trapping them in a cycle of traumatic repetition which is counterposed with the itinerant gaze of the nomad-exile-flaneur. But the films also demonstrated a growing attentiveness to the political efficacy of care, repetition and maintenance as alternative rhythms of rebellion. I am thinking here of the tender excavations of the Women of Calama, whose labours expose an enduring pact of silence among the Chilean military; and of the woman activist from La Victoria in *Latent Image*, who exposes the privilege of the protagonist's melancholic wanderings. These are rebellions subjects, and forms of rebellion, that flourish in-place, sustained by the radical act of 'carrying-on-regardless' (Williams 1989, cited by Gordon 2011, p.7).

The transformative possibilities of film's mapping impulse emerged most forcefully in Chapters 3 and 4, 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. Crucially, it must also recognize 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 Futures of Haunting

There is much more to be said about haunting in 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 characterize the experience of communities and activists who feel empowered by a sense of continuity with the past.

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' 2015) 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 Araucanía region (Bacigalupo 2010), and the Quinchao community the Chiloé archipelago (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 the agency of these subjects, 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 of the strengths of the cartographic approach employed here is that it resists the tendency to categorize texts according to media, genre, author, or time period, allowing for reflection on the multiple cultural forms through which present pasts are reckoned with.

The adoption of a transmedial approach, or simply a wider range of films, might also address 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 marginalized 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 *El Rastreador de Estatuas* ('Monument Hunter' 2015), which portrays a semi-fictional journey through Santiago, Lisbon, and New York 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 traces the endurance and disappearance of indigenous cultures in northern Chile, for whom the dictatorship was but a pulse in an ongoing history of state and corporate violence. All these films problematize the nation-centric frame that has underpinned my research. The narratives take place in the ancestral lands of indigenous groups, or unfold across multiple countries, pointing to subjects, spaces, ecological processes and non-human actors that resist, or exist in-difference to, the idea of the nation and national history.

The most urgent questions that puncture this research stem from the still-unfolding event of the *estallido social*. In Chapter 3 I began to analyse feelings of haunting within Chilean social movements, past and present, but the scale and radical characteristics of the *estallido* have no precedent in new democracy, and with it new experiences of time, temporality and haunting have started to coalesce. Protester discourses and testimonies, as well as academic accounts, have consistently emphasized that the *estallido* disrupted hegemonic and quotidian temporalities (see Márquez 2020; Ramírez Soto and Palacios 2020; Gray 2021). Speaking with friends who took part in the early marches, many described the *estallido* as a pause or interruption in the rhythms of routines in everyday urban life, provoked in part by the suspension of public transport systems. This interruption that was at once fearful and emancipative, opening fleeting opportunities for community interaction and co-operation, which rapidly coalesced into neighbourhood assemblies.[34] The spatial and temporal fabric of the *estallido* has been further complicated by the Covid-19 pandemic, which forced protesters indoors after five months of near continuous mobilisation. This sudden curtailment of the movement, and the spatial shift from the street to the home, ask difficult questions about how to represent, sustain and reckon with historical moments and movements of social transformation; the answers to which can be enriched by a sensitivity to the spectral.

An important feature of the *estallido* was the formation, and resurfacing, of numerous experimental and activist filmmaking collectives that sought to register and disseminate

[34] For preliminary reflections on the complex social composition of the *estallido*, including the neighbourhood assemblies (*asambleas*), see Garcés (2019), García (2021) and Green Rioja (2021).

images of the protests, while developing more democratic and non-hierarchical approaches to cultural production. These groups were a constitutive element of the *estallido*, contributing to discussions around aims and trajectories, while mapping out the subjects of which it was composed. In interviews I carried out with these groups early in 2020, some referred to the camera as a technology of memory; a tool through which the spirit of this transformative event could be captured, archived and sustained (Gray 2021). In the words of Felipe Bustos, from the collective MAFI,[35] '[w]e want to denounce, we want to keep alive a popular fervour so that the movement continues, and we want to observe what happens through a different perspective, we want to make memory'. Given the prohibition of in-person gatherings due to the global pandemic, film's role in shaping cultural memory, narrating collective identities and 'keeping alive the popular fervour' is now increasingly important.

Though the different collectives encompass a broad range of aesthetics, practices and political outlooks, they are all committed to modes of production and distribution that break from profit-oriented circuits of distribution and the norms of individual authorship. They represent, in some respects, a continuation and radicalisation of the spirit of the Third Cinema, incorporating feminist, decolonial and indigenous perspectives into their practice. By analysing their films, and engaging the collectives in discussion, it might be possible to gain insight into the shifting and contested meanings of concepts such as democracy and horizontality as they are inherited, experienced and practiced. The research presented here has been problematically wedded to the work of individual authors, reproducing a wider trend in Latin American film and cultural studies. Looking to the future, the tasks of imagining and building political alternatives to free-market capitalism must be accompanied by discussions around these alternative modes cultural production.

A book is always haunted by the things it leaves out, but at least their absence is now more acutely felt. I hope my approach, analyses and conclusions will nurture the imaginative conditions of social transformation in Chile, at a moment when the inadequacy, fragility and contingency of the dominant socio-economic order is laid bare. Transitional time cannot be ignored, nor can the material realities of neoliberal capitalism. However, it is also important to acknowledge memories, feelings and horizons

[35] Mapa Fílmico de un País (Filmic Map of a Country)

of expectation that refuse to fit; traces of ongoing stories of repression, disappearance and rebellion 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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La Quemadura, 2009. Directed by René Ballesteros. Chile: Le Fresnoy Studio National des Arts Contemporains

La Sombra de Don Roberto, 2007. Directed by Juan Diego Spoerer and Håkan Engström. Chile

Los Archivos del Cardenal, 2011-2014. Directed by Nicolás Acuña and Juan Ignacio Sabatini. Chile: Televisión Nacional de Chile

Los Náufragos, 1994. Directed by Miguel Littín. Chile: ACI Comunicaciones/Cine Chile/Les Productions d'Amerique Francaise/Arion Productions

Los Rubios, 2003. Directed by Albertina Carri. Argentina: Primer Plano Films

Los 80, 2008-2014. Directed by Boris Quercia and Rodrigo Bazaes. Chile: Canal 13/Wood Producciones

Machuca, 2004. Directed by Andrés Wood. Chile: Wood Producciones/Tornasol Films/ Paraiso Production

Memoria Desierta, 2007. Directed by Niles Atallah. Chile: Diluvio

Mi Vida con Carlos, 2009. Directed by Germán Berger-Hertz. Chile: Cinedirecto Producciones Limitada/La Huella del Gato S.L/Arte France/Televisión Española (TVE) / Programa Ibermedia

Nae Pasaran, 2013. Directed by Felipe Bustos Sierra. UK: Scottish Documentary Institute

No, 2012. Directed by Pablo Larraín. Chile: Fabula production/Participant Media/Funny Balloons

Nostalgia de la Luz, 2010. Directed by Patricio Guzmán. Chile: Blinker Filmproduktion/WDR/Cronomedia/Atacama Productions

Orgasmo Callejero, 1987. Directed by Colectivo Camera en Mano. Chile

Papá Iván, 2004. Directed by María Inés Roqué. Argentina: Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica

Post Mortem, 2010. Directed by Pablo Larraín. Chile: Autentika Films/Canada Films/Fabula

RIU, lo que Cuentan los Cantos, 2017. Directed by Pablo Berthelon. Chile: Carnada Films

Salvador Allende, 2004. Directed by Patricio Guzmán. Belgium: JBA Productions

11 de Septiembre, 2002. Directed by Claudia Aravena Abugosh.

Sexto A 1965, 1985. Directed by Claudio Di Girolamo. Chile: Ictus

Sudamerican Rockers, 2014. Directed by Jordi Bachs. Chile: Chilevisión

Surire, 2015. Directed by Iván Osnovikoff and Bettina Perut. Chile: Perut + Osnovikoff / Taskovski Films / Dirk Manthey Film

Tony Manero, 2008. Directed by Pablo Larraín. Chile: Fabula Productions / Prodigital

Tres Tristes Tigres, 1968. Directed by Raúl Ruiz. Chile: Los Capitanes

Valparaíso Mi Amor, 1969. Directed by Aldo Francia. Chile: Cine Nuevo

Volver a Vernos, 2003. Directed by Paula Rodríguez. Chile: MaJa Filmproduktions

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