Remembering the Remote:

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

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Elizabeth Osborne

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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

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

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

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

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

such as Chilean scholars Tomás Moulián and Walescka Pino-Ojeda, propose that Chile's transition to democracy – in reality, a myth or a farce – has not concluded. Speculation remains as to whether Chile completed its period of democratic transition with Michelle Bachelet's election to presidency in 2006 or with "la vuelta a la derecha" symbolized by Sebastián Piñera in 2010.4 In light of Piñera's win, Pino-Ojeda writes, "podemos aún preguntarnos: ¿ha superado su carácter transitorio la democracia chilena ahora que el ejercicio electoral le ha devuelto el poder a la derecha? Siendo consecuentes con las mismas herramientas críticas ya abordadas respecto a los Estados (no los 'gobiernos') transicionales, la respuesta a esta interrogante no puede ser sino negativa" (96). With respect to the transition to democracy, I agree with Moulián and others that the transition is still in process because of the dictatorship's on-going laws, legacies, and politicians. However, I am skeptical as to whether an accurate timeframe of dictatorshiptransition-democracy can be delimited, and whether this would be useful outside of historiography. Because references to transition remain problematic, I opt for the term post-Pinochet, because of the dictator's symbolic death, as a moment that did not "free" the country, but rather proved that the dictatorship had not been dealt with and provoked lingering antagonisms. In addition, his death – without judicial processing or presidential honors – paradoxically represents the on-going legacies that the country continues to face. Historian Steve Stern describes Pinochet's death as a "memory knot" because of the eruptions in the public

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lenses of (Post)memory

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

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

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

⁶ Furthermore, there is "a perennial tension between *open* and *closed* narrative forms, between works that try to make 'sense' of the past - to tell a story of the catastrophe or provide resolution to the traumatic moment - and works that, in their very composition, seek to reveal the limits of narrative representation after trauma" (Lazzara 32-33).

⁷ Although Weigel states that the media would assume the position of a historical index for the marking of generations" increasingly in the 21st century, his statement is equally applicable to the 20th century (264).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Medial Memory, Remediation, and Mediated Memories

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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