Activism in transition: generations and political subjectivation in the Chilean post-dictatorship student movement.

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Abstract

This thesis aims at understanding the process of political subjectivation in the post-dictatorship student movement in Chile. To do so, it compares the life stories of two generation of activists: those involved the 1997 student mobilization and those involved in the 2011 mobilization. Through the use of a narrative perspective, the analysis springs two main axes: memory and class.

In the case of the 1997 generation, memory is a complex issue as they struggle to construct a collective identity and political subjectivation that is able to both relate to the past, but also to reflect the new character of their struggle. For the 2011 generation, they build their collective identity through a process of postmemory, allowing them to produce a coherent and proactive political subjectivation. Regarding class, the 1997 student movement memories are shaped by class distinctions, however they do not translate into class grievances. In the case of 2011, class identification fosters a strong political subjectivation from first generation students who feel emboldened by the pervasive character of this framework.

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Glossary

ACAS	Asamblea de Centros de Alumnos de Santiago (Assembly of Student Councils of Santiago).
ACES	Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios (Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students).
ACU	Asociación Cultural Universitaria (University Cultural Association).
AES	Asamblea de Estudiantes Secundarios de Santiago (Assembly of Secondary Students of Santiago).
AFD	Aporte Fiscal Directo (Direct State Contribution).
AFI	Aporte Fiscal Indirecto (Indirect State Contribution).
CAE	Crédito con Aval del Estado (State Guarantor Loan).
CODE	Comités Democráticos (Democratic Committees).
CONFECH	Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile (National Confederation of Chilean Students).
CP	Communist Party.
CY	Communist Youth.
DC	Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democrats).
DINA	Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate).
EEII	Estudiantes de Izquierda (Left-wing students).
ENU	Estudiantes por la Nueva Universidad (Students for the New University).
FEC	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Concepción (University of Concepción Students' Federation)
FECECH	Federación de Centros de la Universidad de Chile (Students' Centres Federations of University of Chile)
FECH	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile (University of Chile Students' Federation).

FEUSACH	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Santiago (University of Santiago Students' Federation).
FPMR	Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (Patriotic Front Manuel Rodriguez).
FSCU	Fondo solidario de Crédito Universitario (University Credit Solidarity Fund).
GANE	Gran Acuerdo Nacional (Great National Agreement on Education).
JUNAEB	Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas (National Board of School Aid and Scholarships).
LGE	Ley General de Educación (General Law of Education).
LOCE	Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación (Organic Constitutional Law of Education).
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Revolutionary Leftist Movement).
MPR	Movimiento de Estudiantes por la Reforma (Students' Movement for the Reform).
NAU	Nueva Acción Universitaria (New Universty Action).
PRP	Política de Rebelión Popular (People's Popular Rebellion).
PUC	Pontificia Universidad Católica (Pontifical Catholic University).
SMO	Social Movement Organization.
UCEN	Universidad Central (Central University).
UCH	Universidad de Chile (University of Chile).
UMCE	Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación (Educational Sciences Metropolitan University).
UP	Unidad Popular (Peoples' Unity).
UTEM	Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana (Technological Metropolitan University).

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2011, hundreds of thousands of Chilean students from around the country occupied their universities demanding free public education. For eight months, they brought the country to a standstill, fostering the biggest mobilization since the end of the dictatorship (1973–1990) (Aguilera, 2016; Fleet & Guzmán-Concha, 2016; Guzmán-Concha, 2014; Mayol & Azócar, 2011; Ruiz Encina, 2013). In September of that year, I found myself attending one of the many demonstrations as one of the thousands of protestors. However, I could not help but wonder at the origins of this demonstration. As I marched through that hot spring afternoon, the character of the mobilization, its joyful anger, the creativity of its repertoires of contestation and the revolutionary atmosphere of its demands gave rise to two conflicting feelings in me: I felt a strong emotional and rational bond with the mobilization – the demand for free public education and its direct challenge to the neoliberal character of Chilean education was akin to my own political beliefs; however, I also felt foreign and out of place amongst the other demonstrators. As I observed the activists that were heading the mobilization (between five and nine years younger than me at the time) – their confidence, the lack of fear towards the police and their unapologetic stance with which they put forward their demands – I concluded that I was witnessing the workings of a new generation.

I was by no means alone in this perception. As the cycle of protest became stronger, various academics, journalists and columnists all pointed towards the particular modes of expression of this 'new generation'. This was confirmed by the student leaders themselves, who felt part of a new breed of political activists (Figueroa, 2013; Reyes & Vallejo, 2013). At the heart of this difference was the fact that the activists leading the 2011 demonstrations had never lived under the seventeen years of the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

When researching student movements in Mexico and Chile, Portillo et al. (2012) make the distinction between two different generations: Generation X and Generation @. The first refers to the generation born during the various dictatorships that became common in the second part of the twentieth century in Latin America: *'the parents of Generation X were forced to migrate, to exile, and in some cases, were systematically disappeared'* (Portillo et al., 2012, p. 140). The human rights violations, the disappeared, the executed, the exiled are part of a past that is not so distant in the memory of those born in this context, and it influences the way they understand politics. As the different transition processes unfolded in Latin America, this generation was deemed as problematic, politically apathetic and with an unclear future (Aguilera, 2016). The '@ generation', on the other hand, was born during the democratic transitions of the Latin American countries and is characterized as developing a new understanding of political action owing to that fact, less influenced by political violence and its consequences. These young people were born in the age of the internet, which is something that fundamentally determines their activism. As Reguillo (2017) notes, these activists develop their activism as an everyday practice, embedded in their subjectivity. In this sense, their activism is not related to the traditional times and spaces of politics, but it is exerted as a constant political becoming.

The following research aims at understanding the differences and similarities in the political subjectivation of two generations of activists involved in the post-dictatorship student movement in Chile; the first cohort was involved in a cycle of protest in 1997 and the second in 2011. For this purpose, this research calls upon the life stories of activists, aiming at aiming at disclosing the generational difference between their political subjectivation.

This first chapter will be devoted to introducing the research topic. To do this, the first section will explain its origin through its author's life story, understanding how the experiences of exile and transition influence the perspective of this research. The next section will look at

the conceptual framework that supports this research, focusing on the topics of generations and political subjectivation. Further, the following section focuses on the research design, finishing with the thesis outline.

Exile and Transition

I am undoubtedly part of what Portillo refers to as the 'X generation'. I was born in 1983, during my parents' exile in Ecuador and this experience is of significant relevance for me. As a son of exiles, I was on the receiving end of transmission of memory of the tragic history of Allende and his government. However, this history contrasts with my own experiences of witnessing the referendum that inaugurated the transition to democracy and my political experiences as an activist. These elements will be detailed in this section in order to understand the research topic, and more importantly the perspective that guides this research. I am hereditary to what Stern (2009) refers to as memory as rupture, where the event of the coup represents a significant rupture in my family's collective memory.

Both of my parents were university students when the 1973 coup occurred. They were both heavily involved in two of the organizations that supported Allende's government: Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Left-wing Revolutionary Movement, MIR) in the case of my father and the Communist Party (CP) in the case of my mother. My father came from a working-class background, he was the eldest of two sisters and one brother. He was a son of a carpenter and a housewife who did not have any political activism. My mother, on the other hand, came from a middle-class family, daughter of two state school teachers. My grandfather was an active member of the Communist Party and had been involved in different positions in various left-wing governments.

On the day of the coup, my mother went to the centre to meet my grandfather; as the bombing of the government palace happened she recalls going to the basement of my grandfather's office to seek refuge. My mother remembers hearing in shock and awe as the palace was being bombed by the air force. My father, on the other hand, was home resting – a couple of days before he had been run over and had broken one of his legs. This unfortunate

event became a blessing in disguise as he, as a member of MIR, was supposed to go to one of the different points of resistance to fight the military actions but was spared because of his injury. As Stern (2009) mentions, these points of resistance were decimated by the military forces, resulting in a catastrophic loss of lives.

A few days after the coup, my father was called to present himself at his university. Unaware of the brutality of the government, he went in crutches having not yet recovered from his injuries. As he arrived at his campus, he met one of his classmates who warned him against presenting himself. My father recalls that moment – his classmate shouting at him, imploring him to go home – as the first time he realised the severity of the situation. On his way out, he ran into a school classmate from 'Patria y Libertad' (Country and Freedom), a neo-fascist organization that openly called for a coup to topple Allende's government. My father recalls having a nervous small chat, wondering if he was going to be denounced by his old classmate. Fortunately, he refrained from doing so, and allowed my father to continue with his journey.

These stories became engraved in my memory from my youth, becoming part of my understanding of not just the history of Chile, but also of my family's history and, in many ways, of who I am. Probably the most striking sense that I get from these stories is that of powerlessness. At any moment, my father could have been taken by the police and have become one of the thousands of activists murdered or, worse, disappeared. In this sense, fortune and a portion of good judgement are the reasons why my father was spared, and how my sisters and I were able to exist. These stories bear the sense of tragedy of those who were not so lucky. All of my father's closest comrades were murdered or remain part of the hundreds of disappeared.

A few months after the coup, my father realised that it was too dangerous for him to remain in Chile, and decided to flee first to Argentina, where he was followed by my mother. Unfortunately, in 1976, the Argentinian coup took place, leaving my parents again in a

dangerous situation, as the police and different neo-fascist groups were chasing Chilean refugees in the capital. As the situation became increasingly dangerous, they decided to return to Chile, and seek refuge in another country. At that time, Romania was one of the first countries to offer asylum to Chileans escaping persecution. Despite having little knowledge about the country, they decided to apply for asylum which was fortunately granted. After struggling to raise the money needed for the trip, they took the flight without knowing if they were ever going to return. At the airport, my father's passport was branded with an 'E', forbidding his return to the country and transforming him and my mother into exiles.

They spent a total of six years in Bucharest, Romania, where they completed their university studies and gave birth to my eldest sister, Olaya. During that time, they surrounded themselves with other exiled from Chile and other countries in Latin America. For my parents and the other exiled, the memory of this period is marked by experiences of hardship and comradery, as they had to endure the cold winters of Bucharest and homesickness. After finishing their studies, they moved to Quito, Ecuador where my other older sister and I were born (1981 and 1983 respectively). In 1988, my father was allowed by the government to return, ending a fifteen-year exile. A few months afterwards, a referendum was celebrated which would signal the beginning of the end to Pinochet's dictatorship. My father became heavily involved in the opposition campaign. Through his participation we were indoctrinated into the Concertación narrative so common during the election: the possibility to carry a peaceful transition to democracy, the chance to forget the painful events of the past to rebuild the country.

I have very little memory of the day of the referendum, nevertheless I recall the environment of tension in my house before the results were given and the joyful celebration afterwards. After seventeen years of dictatorship, Chile had started its democratic transition.

Two years after, Patricio Aylwyn became the first democratic president, beginning a twenty-year string of governments led by the centre-left coalition 'Concertación'. One of the first memories that I have of that time is going to a demonstration to support the newly elected government. I remember thousands of people gathered to celebrate the elections. However, after watching President Aylwyn drive by, the police suddenly started throwing tear gas and beating the protestors. My father and I had to run in order to avoid being beaten. As I would later find out, the newly elected government wanted to avoid any kind of social mobilization, including the ones of their own supporters. Ever since that day, I feel significant dread every time I come across a police officer.

Throughout my childhood and adolescence, I was a supporter of the government. As a middle-class kid from an exiled family, I found Concertación's arguments very compelling. After all, my family's history for the first decades of democracy was successful. During the first two years back in Santiago we lived in a working-class neighbourhood, however, as my parents accessed better paying jobs we moved to Providencia, a traditional upper- and middle-class borough of Santiago.

My school years were spent in different private middle-class schools. When I started to develop a political opinion (around thirteen and fourteen years old) I was enrolled in a private liberal school with kids from similar backgrounds (left-wing families, a significant number of former exiles) which meant that the rare political discussions would be among people with the same opinions. When I was fifteen, my parents moved me to a more conservative private school, where political discussion was avoided entirely, reflecting the environment of post-politics that dominated the country (Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998). On the rare occasions where political discussions took place, the performance was extremely awkward. I remember I loathed having to uphold the fact of the human rights violations of the regime and then prepare myself to hear either an outright negation of the crimes or an absurd and cruel

justification of them. On a few occasions, supporters of Pinochet would even celebrate the state violence of the regime, claiming it was the only choice against the rise of Communism, going as far as to qualify that the regime's failing was in not killing enough Communists. These encounters always had a strong impact on me, as I could not help but imagine what would have happened to my parents if they had decided to stay in the country. Eventually everyone tried to avoid these kinds of discussions as they were deemed uncomfortable and volatile.

This environment was in direct contrast with my home, where political discussion was always relevant, but strongly framed within the boundaries of transition – that is, the need for slow an incremental change in favour of governance. However, what this discourse hid was that this incremental change meant to avoid a reckoning with the crimes of dictatorship.

Political violence has an enduring effect not just on those who directly suffer it, but also on those who are not even alive in that moment in time (Assman, 2006; Barbera, 2009; Brockhaus, 2012; Jara, 2016; Lechner, 1992; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998; Schwab, 2012). Periods of violence leave a numbing effect on societies, establishing a new status quo from which it is difficult to escape. Political transitions are built in this context, aiming at establishing sources of legitimacy that are bearable and shared by the different actors involved (Assman & Shortt, 2012). To establish these sources of legitimacy, the transitional governments create narratives about that past which are able to lessen the divisions between the groups in conflict and provide legitimacy to the new order. Kubal & Becerra (2014) term this as 'mythic memories', namely, the construction of a narrative about the past which highlights certain events in a manner which is favourable for those in power.

In the case of Chile, this narrative portrayed the coup as the consequence of Chilean society's failure to come together. This narrative is most present in the inaugural speech of the first president after dictatorship, Patricio Aylwin, on the 12th of March 1990. Although there are

multiple references to this narrative throughout the discourses of the transition presidents, this is probably the most explicit example.

Referring to the reasons behind the 1973 coup, the newly elected President argued:

> Ideologically driven and divided by irreconcilable utopias, for a moment, hatred prevailed over solidarity and force was imposed over reason. After years of bloody divisions and the predominance of violence, today we meet again, with a patriotic spirit and a willingness to understand, ready to make Chile reach the dawn of the new century as a prosperous and peaceful nation. (Aylwin, 1990)

As the quote demonstrates, the core of this speech projects the imaginary of the coup as the consequence of the inabilities of two opposing sides who, blinded by ideology, grew distant from each other, eventually prompting the 1973 coup. The most evocative element of this narrative is what it leaves unstated, as it does not mention the army and their role in seventeen years of human rights abuses. This quote also projects the future of transition as the coming together of patriots who leave behind their differences of the past for a prosperous country. As Oyarzo-Vidal (2007) argues, this speech focused on establishing the difference between dictatorship and democracy through painting the first as a dark but vague past and the latter as the uncertain but promising future; key to this operation is imposing a forgetfulness regarding the past.

The speech does mention the human rights violations on several occasions, however it does so without mentioning those responsible and, most remarkably, it conditions the unveiling of the truth about state crimes to 'prudence' – the raison d'état (Karmy-Bolton, 2018) related to the agreements in which political transition was constructed:

> We have said – and we reiterate today solemnly – that the moral conscience of the nation demands that the truth be clarified regarding the disappearances of people, of horrendous crimes and other serious violations of human rights that occurred during the dictatorship. We have also said – and I repeat it today – that

> we should approach this delicate matter reconciling the virtue of justice with the virtue of prudence and that, given that the personal responsibilities are established, the hour of forgiveness will arrive. (Aylwin, 1990)

Hence, the transitional narrative focused on establishing a vague assessment of the past to hide its complexities and focus on the future (Karmy-Bolton, 2018; Richard, 1998). To do this, violence is mentioned as a consequence of the inability of the country to come to terms with its issues. In this sense, democracy is portrayed as the chance for these differences to be forgotten in favour of a brotherly embrace between former foes:

> The task before us is beautiful and multiple: to restore a climate of respect and trust in the coexistence among Chileans, whatever their beliefs, ideas, activities or social status, be they civil or military, indeed, gentlemen, indeed, compatriots, civilians or military: Chile is one! The deeds of some cannot compromise everyone! We have to be able to rebuild the unity of the Chilean family! (Aylwyn, 1990)

I felt emotionally attached to this narrative. Born during my parents' exile, the stories of dictatorship and the mythic narrative of transition were significant in my upbringing.

After finishing my secondary studies in 2001, I was enrolled into a private university called Universidad Alberto Hurtado to study sociology. Universidad Alberto Hurtado is a Jesuit university with a perspective of social responsibility, which meant that it levied fees which were comparatively more affordable than other private universities, thus allowing for a small number of working-class students to enrol. The experience of sharing a classroom with students from working-class backgrounds was extremely illuminating. Most of them were studying on an onerous loan, which would become a heavy burden for them in the future. At that time, I was completely unaware of my privileges and operated under the false impression that my lifestyle was common among most of Chileans. The conditions of some of my classmates and the struggles they suffered to undertake their studies had a profound effect

on me, leading me to distrust and question the transitional discourse and the ideology of Concertación.

During my five-year spell of undergraduate studies, there were few political organizations. Although the university did have a student federation, it was led by different affinity groups which had no political expectations further than improving the quality of the services that the university provided. This was a common theme amongst most private universities at the time, where political organizations were few and without much significance (Thielemann, 2016).

In my final year of university in 2006, I was involved in what would be known as the 'Penguin Revolution', a secondary student movement. As a final year student, I was in the midst of completing my dissertation and starting my apprenticeship, which did not leave me with enough time to participate actively. Nevertheless, I supported the movement in any way I could. Together with a small group of politically motivated students, we guarded one of the school occupations. At the time, there were neo-Nazi groups attacking occupied schools, beating up the students and thrashing the buildings. Although, fortunately, we were not subject to any such violent encounters, the experience of being in an occupation was also significant, as it gave me time to experience the difficulties that drove the mobilization: the inequalities between the private and public schools. As I spent time in the school, I saw the precariousness of the institutions and became aware of the struggles of working-class students. In this sense, the defeat of the movement had a significant impact on me, as I witnessed the failings of the political elites to properly deal with the demand for education.

After the 2006 mobilization was defeated, I worked in different organizations as a sociologist. During this time, I started to inform myself about issues surrounding transition. Probably one of the most relevant books which was crucial in this process was Moulian's 'Chile Actual: Anatomía de un Mito' ('Nowadays Chile: An anatomy of a myth') (1997). In this book, Moulian described the process of transition as a cover-up of the crimes of dictatorship, where the

governing elites agreed to maintain the economic and social structures of dictatorship in favour of obtaining power. According to the book, this was achieved through the establishment of clear limits to democracy. This simple idea had a profound effect on my perception of the democratic transition, unveiling the contradictions which were embedded in its process. This was a personally taxing process to undertake, as a significant part of my own identity was linked to the narrative of transition.

Coming from a process of introspection, the 2011 mobilization reflected my beliefs regarding the issues with democratic transition. However, student mobilizations did not simply start on 2006 or 2011, rather they have a long history in Chile which goes back to the beginnings of the twentieth century. Thus, I was interested in the contrast that the 2006–2011 movements had with those coming from the early transition period.

Luis Thielemann (2016), one of the most renowned historians of the student movement, entitled his book about the student movement of the nineties 'La Anomalía Social de la Transición' (The Social Anomaly of Transition). This reflects the enduring character of the student movement in the nineties, in so far as whilst most of the social organizations were being dismantled, the student movement remained active, leading several social mobilizations. However, they had significantly less relevance and notoriety.

Before 2006, I was vaguely aware of some of these mobilizations. This could be due to my former pro-government bias, but also because they did not have the same impact as those of 2006 and 2011. As a young boy, I remember hearing about mobilizations in public universities every year; it was almost a routine for students to occupy their institutions in protest. These mobilizations received very little coverage by the media, and the coverage they did receive was mostly negative, focusing on the violent clashes with the police. As a private university student, these mobilizations seemed foreign. This is partly because student organizations of

the time looked upon private universities as part of the problem, which meant that most of their demands did not address any of their issues.

Nevertheless, these mobilizations are crucial to the development of the student movement, as they organized the first mobilizations against the democratic governments. After researching the small bibliography on students' movements, I have decided to focus on the 1997 protest as it was highlighted as the most relevant university mobilization of the period (Moraga, 2006; Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011; Thielemann, 2016).

Conceptual Framework

This thesis focuses on analysing and comparing the construction of political subjectivities in the post-dictatorship student movement in Chile. For this purpose, the research calls upon the life stories of activists involved in two different cycles of protest, the first in 1997 and the second in 2011, in order to understand the generational differences between both cohorts and how they influence the construction of political subjectivities.

This research focuses on the concept of political subjectivation as the central theoretical tool. For this purpose, the research combines different perspectives. First, social movement theory, especially the concepts of collective identity (Holland, Fox, & Daro, 2008; Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Snow & McAdam, 2000; Tilly, 2002) and collective memory (Gongaware, 2010; Halbwachs, 1992; Kubal & Becerra, 2014; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, 2011). To establish this link, the theory on memory and transitions (Barbera, 2009; Gaudichaud & Ortega Breña, 2009; González-García, 2016; Jara, 2016; Jelin, 2002; Stern, 2004, 2009, 2010; Wieviorka, 2014; Wilde et al., 1998; Zamponi, 2018) is particularly relevant as it provides the link between the experiences of activism of the interviewees and their past.

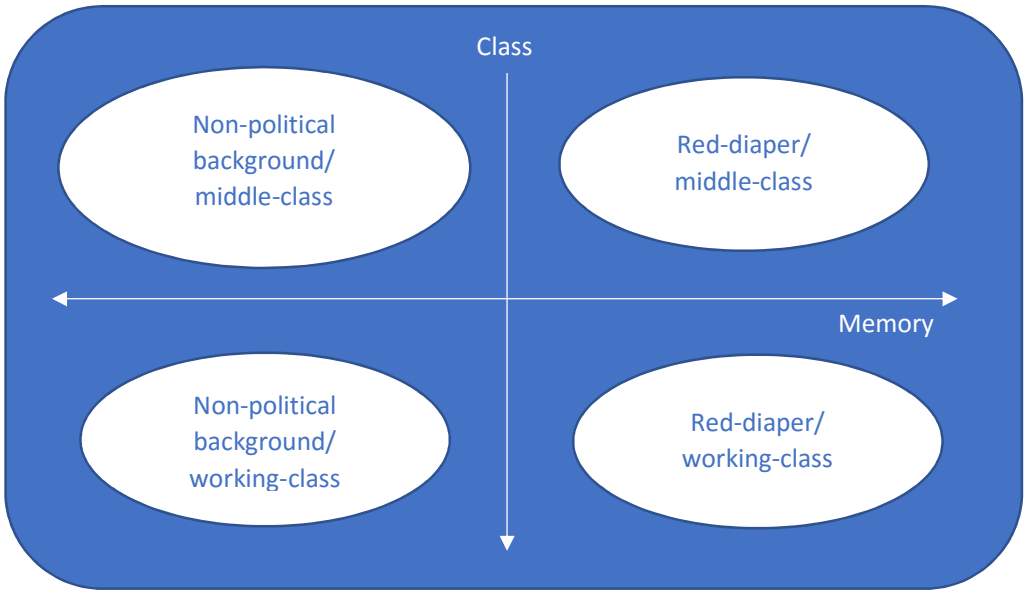
Another concept that is crucial is the concept of generation. This concept is understood as a form of social stratification that considers the roles that time and history play in the development of social beings. As Mannheim (1993) argues, the historical and political context in which an individual is born has a significant effect in the way in which a person thinks and acts. This simple idea has epistemological relevance as it focuses sociological analysis in a historical perspective. In this sense, the historical context in which the activists are born is considered as a relevant aspect to understanding the particularities of their political subjectivation (Aarelaid-Tart & Johnston, 2014; Edmunds & Turner, 2002). Crucial to this

argument is the experience of state-terror and how it is passed down generations (Assman, 2006; Belnap, 2012; Kogan, 2012; Portillo et al., 2012).

Finally, the concept of class is also considered a relevant element to the understanding of activists' experiences (Skeggs, 2005). In looking at this, the research focuses mainly on the experiences of working-class activists enrolled in universities (Hurst, 2010; Lehmann, 2009; Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009; Thiele, Pope, Singleton, Snape & Stanistreet, 2017).

In view of these concepts and the emerging topics in my interviews, I developed four generational units for each cohort.

Image 1: Conceptual Framework Diagram



These generational units are crucial for the understanding of the historical processes of transition and the construction of political subjectivities. The class axis explicates a continuum line from working-class at the bottom to middle-class at the top, whist the memory axis delineates from a non-politicized background on the left to a strongly politicized background on the right. The interaction between these two axes describes the different generational units that are part of the analysis.

'Non-political background/middle-class' are those activists who come from an upper/middle-class family which does not have a political involvement in the struggle against dictatorship. This is one of the less common generational units in my analysis, however it is relevant for grasping the pervasiveness of the working-class narrative inside the student mobilization. Similarly, 'non-politicized/working-class' are also few in my sample, however they are significant, especially for the 2011 generation, in terms of understanding the galvanizing effect that working-class narrative has in the development of their activism.

Moving from left to the right on the horizontal axis, the chart shows the different levels of political involvement of the families. I borrow the terminology 'red-diaper' from Kenneth Keniston's seminal work: 'Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth' (1968). Red-diaper are those activists who come from a left-leaning political involvement; in other words, those who have a family member that was politically involved in left-wing activism. In the case of both generations researched, this means that they were actively involved either in the political movement of the sixties and seventies for Allende's government or the struggle against Pinochet's dictatorship. 'Red-diaper/middle-class' are the most common in my research; most of their stories gravitate around the experiences of violence and forced disappearances that are present in their families, and through this their sense of purpose inside the student movement is established. In the case of 'red-diaper/working-class activists', these are the rarest. Nevertheless, they shed a light on the galvanizing effect that the working-class narrative has when it is inhabited by an activist that comes from this class background. Although it varies significantly from one generation to another, it still has a strong influence on the way in which they develop their political subjectivation.

Research Design

In this section I will give a detailed account of how the research was carried out. For this purpose, I will first present the research question to then discuss the main and specific objectives. Next, I will present the sample to finally discuss the research techniques.

Research question

What are the main differences and similarities in the political subjectivation between activists involved in the 1997 and 2011 student mobilizations?

Objectives

General Objective:

To analyse and compare the political subjectivations of activists involved in the student mobilizations of 1997 and 2011.

Specific objectives:

1. To describe the political and social field that frame both cycles of protest.
2. To analyse and compare the life stories of both cohorts.
3. To analyse and compare the experiences that had the strongest influence on their involvement as activists.

As I have discussed throughout this chapter, the main focus of this research is to compare and understand the differences and similarities between the political subjectivation of activists involved in two students' mobilizations, the first in 1997 and the latter in 2011. As two cohorts involved in the student movement, their introduction to politics was set in two significantly different contexts: participants in the 1997 cohort were born during dictatorship (1973–1990) and developed their activism in the early days of transition when the boundaries between

dictatorship (1973–1990) and democracy (1990 onwards) were in the process of definition, leaving a liminal space where political roles and identities were yet to be determined. For those in the 2011 cohort, they were born in democracy and developed their activism in it. This research aims at understanding how the differences in their social and political background impacts their political subjectivation and ultimately the character of their mobilization.

By political subjectivation I refer to the process by which a person develops a political subjectivity. It is the process by which an individual develops a unique trajectory, always related and intertwined with both discourses of power and knowledge, but in a constant process of definition and differentiation (Deleuze, 2015; Foucault, 1982). In the case of political subjectivation, this is the process by which an individual is influenced by his/her history and experiences and develops a political view of the world. Thus, political subjectivation is driven by a process which is both conscious and unconscious (Lazzarato, 2006; Tassin, 2012).

To understand this process, the research utilised a qualitative perspective, focusing on the construction of meaning that individuals make of their own actions (Bryman, 2012). However, this research considers this meaning not to be necessarily accessible to the individual. As Holloway & Jefferson (2000) argue, individuals are both psychic and social beings which means that their actions are representations of both conscious and unconscious drives. In this sense, it is important to consider both aspects to understand what motivates them. For this purpose, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is crucial as it situates both in an intersubjective situation which elicits emotions and representations between them. As Holloway and Jefferson argue:

> (…) mental boundaries are porous where unconscious material is concerned. This means that both [the interviewer and interviewee] will be subject to the

> projections and introjections of ideas and feelings coming from the other person. It also means that the impressions that we have about each other are not derived simply from the 'real' relationship, but that what we say and do in the interaction will be mediated by internal fantasies which derive from our histories of significant relationships. (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 45)

The understanding of these procedures and the contextualized meanings are crucial to grasp the process of political subjectivation. As a process that involves unconscious drives, the context of an interview is unique as it allows one to understand these drives by being aware of defence mechanisms. As defended subjects, individuals tend to produce these mechanisms in order to avoid anxiety, and these mechanisms are only possible to understand in the context of the interview provided there is a conscious stand by the researcher to look for these traits (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). In this sense, this research aims at analysing not just the content of the interview, but also the relationship that is expressed in the context of the interview.

This research uses a life story interview in which each activist is asked about their life to understand their process of political subjectivation. As a particular interview technique, life stories centre the analysis of social events in individual narratives. This is because this technique understands that social and historical process are enacted and created by 'normal' people. Unlike official historical narratives, life stories focus not on leaders or experts, but those who lived a historical process from a position of anonymity. According to this perspective, their viewpoint is important to understand wider social process. Also, life stories highlight the relevance of time, and how the past has an influence on the present. Unlike traditional interviews, life stories focus on how individuals change and develop over time, and the reasons behind this change. Finally, this perspective focuses on the interactions between public and private life, understanding the personal practices of individuals as a relevant aspect of who they are (della Porta, 1992, 2014).

However, there are certain shortcomings related to this technique. As a methodology that relies mainly on the person's memory, it is subject to distortion related to different aspects: from a person's ability to retain certain events, to the mood in which they are in, to the length of time from the moment s/he is asked to remember – all play a role in their ability to remember certain events (Plummer, 2001). Nevertheless, memory is a complex phenomenon, in which forgetfulness is crucial (Jelin, 2002). Remembrance is always embedded with meaning, which means selecting and interpreting certain events in a way that they make sense for the present. In this sense, forgetfulness allows a person to do this, as it selects certain events whilst leaving behind others. Thus, although oblivion is considered as a possible shortcoming to the research, it is understood as part of the elements that define the relevance of memory.

The analysis considers a narrative perspective, where the stories that were shared by the activists are assessed in consideration to their structure and order. In this sense, the stories that were shared by the activists were not assessed in terms of their veracity, but mainly for the emotions and drives that were shared in the context of the interview. As Davis (2002) argues, stories as social practices establish relationships between the teller and the interpretative audience. In the context of the interview, the stories that were shared about their family, friends and their personal activism were delivered in the intersubjective context of the interview. In this sense, the intention, order and character of the stories shared are aspects that are critically assessed to understand the underlying psychosocial process that precedes it.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork was carried out between September 2014 and January 2015 in Santiago. I interviewed a total of seventeen activists, eight from the 1997 cohort and nine from the 2011 cohort, out of which thirteen were considered for the analysis according to their relevance to the research. Considering the different types of interviews, I undertook a total of thirty-eight, thirty-five with activists, and three with key informants.

The research used a non-probability 'snowball sampling'. This sampling method consists of contacting people that are relevant for the research and asking for the contact details of other relevant subjects (Bryman, 2012). As Ken Plummer (2001) argues, life stories are not interested in representativeness, instead they are interested in samples that are 'information rich', which means specific subjects that are relevant to answer the research question. This sampling technique was useful as most of the activists remained in contact with each other, making it relatively easy to go from one activist to the other. I also conducted interviews with three academics who were helpful in terms of providing contacts and alternative perspectives to the research. These academics were Victor Muñoz and Luis Thieleman, both of them historians of the student movement, and Oscar Aguilera, a renowned sociologist in the subject. I also interviewed one student leader, Francisco Figueroa, who was vice-president of the 'Federación de Estudiantes de Universidad de Chile' (Universidad de Chile Student Federation, FECH) in 2011.

The sampling considered a critical case sampling approach (Plummer, 2001), where only activists involved in one of the cycles of protest were considered. To be eligible for interviewing, an activist must have had an active role in the mobilization, which means that s/he must have participated in at least one occupation or strike for more than a week. I interviewed only rank-and-file activists, which means a person who had an active role in a

cycle of protest but did not exercise any political role representing the interest of the movement; leaving aside political leaders or members of a Student Federation. Members of political student organizations such as political parties or collectives were considered for the sample as they did held a representative role beyond their political affiliation.

The research considered an in-depth free-association interview. This kind of interview considered an interview schedule with themes to be covered, however the order and character of the questions varied according to each interviewee (Bryman, 2012; Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). Following Holloway & Jefferson and Kenniston (1968), the interviews were divided into two and sometimes three sessions. The first session focused on the activist's experience in university, from their first experiences and impressions of the institution and their classmates, to their involvement in the cycle of protest. The second interview focused on their family history and political involvement, whilst in the case of a third interview, this addressed issues that had not been not covered in the previous ones. The division of the interviews was done for mainly two reasons. First, to establish a rapport before addressing sensitive issues: as mentioned throughout the research, political experiences of family members sometimes involved sensitive issues such as torture or even forceful disappearing. In this sense, it was preferable to establish some level of trust before asking about these matters. Second, the time between the first, second and third interviews allowed me to revise the material in advance, tailoring the interview schedule to address inconsistencies or blind spots in the previous session(s). This was extremely useful as it allowed me to go deeper on certain issues and clarify aspects of the activist's experience.

The location was usually chosen by the interviewee according to their availability and time. However, I was always careful to ask for locations which did not have too much noise that could hamper the quality of the recordings.

For the analysis, I used a mixture of in-depth individual analysis and thematic analysis. In the first instance, I read the transcriptions of the interviews together with the recordings from the sessions. This gave me an in-depth knowledge of the case and the nuances of the interview. After this, I began analysing the interviews through the 'QSR NVIVO' software. This allowed me to create overarching categories to compare the different interviews. The first categories were general as they expressed certain events or situations such as 'occupations' and 'family during dictatorship'. I then started producing sub-categories which represented nuanced specific experiences such as 'demonstrations' and 'torture'. I decided to produce only two layers of categorizations as I found that introducing more layers tended to erase the particularities of the experiences, conflating radically different experiences.

Having constructed the categories, I started writing the analysis focused on each generation separately to produce an in-depth analysis of each generation, before going into a between-generations comparison. This was significant as it allowed me to have a clear perspective on the particularities and nuances of each period, before going into broader analysis.

Thesis Outline

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The second chapter focuses on the historical and political background in which the student movement is embedded. It begins with a summary of the political developments in the country since dictatorship to the 2011 student mobilization. After this, the chapter presents a review of the educational system in the country; from the legislation that supports it to the different institutions that are involved. In the last section, it summarizes the history of the student movement in the country.

The third chapter presents a discussion of the relevant literature. To do so, it focuses in presenting an analysis of the main concept of this research: political subjectivation, linking it to the theories of memory and emotions.

The analysis chapters are organized around the two cohorts: chapters four and five centre on the 1997 generation, and six and seven on the 2011 generation. Chapter four focuses on the memory of dictatorship amongst the 1997 generation, ranging from the experience of human rights violations that affected their families to different experiences of violence in their schools and neighbourhood. However, from this environment of fear, the stories also tell of small acts of resistance which have a deep impact on their perception of politics.

Chapter five focuses on their activism, in particular on the liminal space between democracy and dictatorship in the early days of transition. In this context, the 1997 generation goes through a profound process of identity formation, rebuilding the student mobilization by differentiating themselves from the struggle against dictatorship. This identity building gives rise to two different subjectivities, one that is significantly related to the tradition of the left, and another that aims at building a new kind of political identity.

Chapter six deals with the construction of political subjectivation in the 2011 cohort through the use of postmemory. As a generation born in transition, the 2011 cohort rescues the memory of the past, but modulates it through a different perspective. Through their accounts, it is possible to see how memory changes through time and how these changes are crucial for understanding the political subjectivation of activists.

Chapter seven deals with arguably the most remarkable feature of the 2011 generation: the construction and development of a working-class subjectivity. In 2005 a system of tuition loans was implemented across the country to provide university access to working-class students. However, the predatory conditions of the loan, plus the discrimination they suffered because of their class conditions, built a sense of grievance that is at the heart of the 2011 student mobilization.

Finally, in the conclusion, I provide a comparison of both generations along the lines of the conceptual framework discussed above. First, related to the differences between memory and post-memory of dictatorship, following Wieviorka (Wieviorka, 2014), I argue that post-memory allows for the construction of a solid collective identity, which is a crucial aspect in the development of an antagonistic political subjectivation. On the other hand, the 1997 generation is crucial to the development of the following cycles of protest – including the 2011 cohort – in terms of their process of identity building. Second, class plays a significant role. In the case of the 1997 cohort the universities were class-homogenous, whereas the 2011 generation brought class struggle back into the forefront of the mobilization, something that is crucial in terms of its relevance and its social impact.

Chapter 2: Historical and Political Background

Introduction

This chapter will provide the necessary historical and political background of both mobilizations. The first part will provide a summary of the most relevant historical events of the country from the dictatorship to the democratic transition, demonstrating the influence that dictatorship had on democracy in three major aspects. First, that state violence had an enduring effect on the subjectivities by imposing a sense of distrust and fear amongst neighbours. Second, that the imposition of a market-based social framework significantly transformed the provision of public services in the country – from pensions, to health provision and public education, they were all reformed according to a neoliberal framework. Finally, that the dictatorship necessarily transformed the political system itself, ensuring its social reforms remained even after the end of the authoritarian regime.

The next section examines the educational system in the country, which is significant to understanding the roots of the mobilization. As part of the policies implemented during the dictatorship, the public educational system was transformed into a pseudo-market (Crist Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014) where families are expected to choose between an offer of both public and private education providers who compete for fees. On the one hand, this system has been a success in terms of expanding the offer of educational establishments in the country, but on the other it has seen a significant inequality (Ruiz-Schneider, 2010).

In the final section, the document provides a summary of the most significant events in the development of the student movement. As a movement that grew from public education in the early days of the twentieth century, the student movement developed a strong working-

class discourse. However, this discourse contrasts significantly with the middle-class character of most of the students. Nevertheless, students and their organizations are intertwined with left-wing political parties and ideas, playing a significant role in the election of Allende and one of the strongest oppositions to dictatorship. This history bears a collective identity that influences the student movement even to this day.

Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy

The post-dictatorship student movement is rooted in a complex historical process. In this section, I will summarize the most relevant elements that constitute the background of the movement – the particular social framework out of which the movement constructs its identity and its sense of opposition (Touraine, 1977). To do so, it is necessary to reflect upon the last forty years of Chilean history, from the military coup to the end of the dictatorship and the transition to democracy.

Dictatorship

The military coup of 1973 is arguably the most relevant event of the second half of the twentieth-century. It constitutes a breaking point in the history of the country that has determined the framework in which the political and social struggle has developed in the last forty years. Tomás Moulian (1997) argues, current Chilean society was created by the dictatorship; it is the direct descendant of this period.

This event marks what Stern (2009) defines as 'memory impasse', where the public memory of the country splits into different camps according to the experience they endured after the coup.

Chilean dictatorship began on the 11th of September 1973, when the three branches of the military and the police staged a coup against the democratic government of Salvador Allende. This event and its consequences became a rift in the experiences of Chileans, dividing the public memory into different collective memories according to private experiences during the dictatorship. These collective memories are deeply emotional and bear a great deal of significance to the identity of a significant number of Chileans.

The coup was orchestrated by the political and economic elites with support and finance from the United States. Salvador Allende's government lead a coalition of left-wing parties called 'Unidad Popular' (People's Unity, UP), during his short-lived regime they pushed a series of reforms aimed at redistributing the wealth in the country, from the nationalization of several industries and copper production, he also pushed for redistribution of land through the expansion of the agrarian reform and several other social and educational policies.

As Stern (2009) mentions, Allende's election was the consequence of several decades of political agitation by the left that began in the early days of the twentieth-century, with the rise of what was dubbed as the 'social issue' (Collier & F. Sater, 2004), namely, the continual degradation of the economic and social conditions of the working classes, an issue that was becoming increasingly prominent throughout the continent (Hobsbawn, 1995). Marxist-oriented parties such as the Socialist and Communist parties thrived by articulating the demands of the working poor, developing coalitions able to effectively complete in democratic elections. However, in 1959 the Cuban revolution happened, bringing the fear of a Communist takeover on the continent, sparking the interest of the US in the continent.

Allende's government was resisted from the beginning; winning by a narrow majority of just 36.6% of the votes, he faced opposition from the old economic elites who saw the government as an existential threat, but also from 'Democracia Cristiana' (Christian Democrats, DC) the incumbent centre party, that saw the Socialist government with a great deal of mistrust (Stern, 2009). The US believed that a successful Allende government would encourage the growth of other socialist governments in the region, therefore, as soon as he assumed power, Nixon and his advisor Henry Kissinger set out to make Allende's government impossible. To do this, they carried out a series of measures; from drastic reductions in economic help, to covert financing of antagonistic press and strikes against the government.

Four days after the election of Allende, Nixon is famously quoted as saying '*make the economy scream*' in Chile '*to prevent Allende from coming to power or to unseat him'* (Kornbluh, 1998).

To counter this narrative, Allende stressed the democratic character of his government, asserting that he was leading the 'vía chilena al socialismo' (the Chilean way to socialism), based on the long-standing tradition of democratic stability in the country. Nevertheless, Allende's government faced a serious of challenges: it had an ambitious program of structural reforms that would introduce Chile into socialism, however it did not have enough support to carry these reforms. This meant that Allende he was forced to push forward with his program in constant contradiction with parliament, resorting to the use of presidential decrees to carry out legislation. Also, he was leading a motley coalition of parties, some of them committed to the democratic transition to socialism, whilst other interested in pushing forward for even more radical demands and proposing a complete takeover of the government. Finally, from the beginning, his government was haunted by political violence. In 1970, a neo-fascist group called 'Patria y Libertad' (Country and Freedom) murdered General Schneider, a member of the military loyal to the constitution and against plotting a coup against the president (Collier & F. Sater, 2004).

This scenario was used by the heads of the armed forces and the police to stage a coup establishing a military junta at the head of the country. To some parts of Chilean society, the coup was perceived as the salvation of the country. As it is exposed brilliantly by Stern (2009), to the most conservative groups of society, Allende was perceived not only as a threat to their economic prosperity, but also as a threat to the soul of the country. In the midst of the Cold War, Allende's government was perceived as a descendance to the chaos of Communism, ushering the arrival of a civil war. Thus, the traditional economic elites became mobilized throughout Allende's government, organizing demonstrations and strikes which enjoyed the support of the US government. These demonstrations were usually met by the supporters of

the government, which also commanded massive demonstrations in favour of Allende and his program of reforms. Sometimes, both groups met, devolving into physical violence, contributing to the climate of chaos that reigned in the last year of Allende's presidency.

For conservative groups, the coup was interpreted as a rescue mission (Stern, 2009, p. 43). As the demonstrations became more regular, these groups perceived that the only way to avoid an open civil war was through a military intervention. Thus, they celebrated the 1973 coup as the salvation of the country. This narrative was adopted and promoted by the dictatorship to justify their intervention, and later the brutality of their crimes. The pervasive character of this narrative is clear as it remains a source of meaning for a considerable minority of people in Chile today.

Chilean dictatorship was built upon on a pact between the military, neoliberal intellectuals and national businessman (Collier & F. Sater, 2004; Jocelyn-Holt, 2014; Stern, 2004). These groups played a fundamental role in forging the political and economic structures that rule the country to this day. From the constitution, to the electoral system and the economic infrastructure, these crucial aspects of government were overhauled during the seventeen-year-long dictatorship (1973–1990). The reasons behind the endurance and legacy of the government are numerous, but perhaps one of the most relevant is a complex set of cultural, political and economic structures that allowed its reproduction. These set of structures are referred as 'the model': the combination of neoliberal economic policies and the political apparatus supporting them (Mayol, 2013).

Chile was the first country in the world to enact neoliberal economic policies (Harvey, 2005). Before Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US, Chile implemented several laissez-faire policies that are common to austerity regimes in today's Europe. Following the advice of a group of young economists who studied under Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago, the military regime adopted a wide range of measures that aimed at reducing as much as

possible the role that the state played in the economy and in the provision of services. These measures included selling most of the state owned companies, the privatization of pensions, opening healthcare to private investors, among many others (Collier & F. Sater, 2004). This overhaul installed what is known as a subsidiary state (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014), which meant that instead of being directly responsible for the provision of services public services, it would open markets for the investment of private entrepreneurs. The state, in this sense, only provides the service when there are no private providers, or a person cannot afford their services.

The dictatorship was able to introduce these reforms thanks to the installation of a regime of terror. In November of 1973, Pinochet ordered the creation of the 'Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional' (National Intelligence Directorate, DINA), a secret police tasked with the surveillance and persecution of opposition to the regime. With the participation of the police and the different branches of the armed forces, the authoritarian regime established concentration camps where prisoners were questioned, tortured and some of them killed; including those who remain missing even until this day. According to the official figures, over 40,000 people suffered a human rights violation of some sort and 3,225 were killed or remain missing (Valech & Sepúlveda, 2011). This repressive system had an enduring effect not just on the victims or their families, but on society as a whole, fostering what Lechner (1992) calls a paranoid society: namely, a social environment of distrust, where everyone outside a small group of friends and family are viewed with suspicion. As the secret police was a constant threat to members of opposition, it became crucial to understand the boundaries of what could be said and could not be said in public.

Naomi Klein has defined this modus operandi as 'shock treatment', and it is characteristic to the way in which neoliberal policies were installed in a range of underdeveloped countries during the second half of the twentieth-century (2010). The basic blueprint is the imposition

of the neoliberal plan of development (free enterprise and reduction of the state's involvement in economy) in the context of state terrorism. The intentions behind this operation were clear: to create a 'clean slide' situation where the unpopular new policies were to be implemented without having to face any resistance.

From the early days of the dictatorship, the families of victims of the regime and human rights organizations struggled to find answers. They were usually met with a mixture of indifference and outright lies by the courts, which became complicit with the regime from the beginning. Nevertheless, the families organized mostly through the action of the church, first through the 'Comité Pro-Paz' (For-Peace Committee) and later through the 'Vicaria de la Solidaridad' (Solidarity Vicariate) and the Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos (Association of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees, AFDD). These organizations gave shelter and guidance to the victim's families, providing a space in which they could meet and organize. Nevertheless, the experience of continually searching for missing siblings, forges what Stern (2009) characterizes as memory as rupture; to these individuals, the experience of losing a beloved family member means that the remembrance of the coup and dictatorship is undeniably marked by the pain of those experiences.

A brutal dictatorship such as the Chilean could not hope to remain in power eternally and needed to establish a political structure that would allow the reproduction of the same neoliberal order even after the end of dictatorship. Thus, the regime set itself the task to create a constitution that would limit the possibilities of change within democratic rule. The 1980 constitution consecrated the market-led reforms and provided a series of restraints to the democratic process, making it almost impossible to introduce significant changes to the established order (Garretón et al., 2011).

Chilean sociologist Manuel Garretón (2011) terms these policies as 'authoritarian locks', namely a series of rules and regulations consecrated in the constitution which secure the

continuation of the social and economic legacy of the dictatorship. Among the most relevant locks are: nine designated senators – some of them with a life-term – which were selected by state institutions (four by the armed and police forces, three by the supreme court, and two by the president, who had to choose between former university rectors and former ministers); the prohibition to remove any commander-in-chief of the army – which allowed Pinochet to remain in his post; a 'Consejo de Seguridad Nacional' (National Security Council) integrated by members of the government and the armed forces which could be summoned independently from the president, and; a binominal system which forced the existence of two major political forces with almost equal representation regardless of the election results. Regarding the judiciary, the armed forces limited the advance of human rights causes through the implementation of an amnesty law which protected state agents involved in such crimes (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011).

This constitution was approved through a dubious referendum, with no voter registration or freedom of expression, making it impossible for the opposition to publicize its ideas. The election proclaimed Augusto Pinochet as president, covering his regime with a thin veil of democracy (Collier & F. Sater, 2004).

However, the continuity of the model cannot be explained merely by the restrictions imposed by the authoritarian order. The nature of the process of transition to democracy and the accommodation of the political elites to the rules imposed in dictatorship are key aspects in understanding its endurance.

In 1982 a serious economic crisis hit the authoritarian regime. As an open market based on the exportation of commodities such as copper and wood, the Chilean economy was susceptible to the fluctuations of the international markets. Consequently, Chile was one of the countries most affected by the slowdown of the 1980 world economy. The crisis saw a reduction of 14.3% to the country's GDP and unemployment rose to a staggering 23.7%

(Salazar & Pinto, 2002). This economic crisis fuelled discontent against the regime which erupted in 1983 with some of the biggest national demonstrations of the time. These demonstrations were significant both in terms of the number of people that came to the streets, but also the violence that they fostered. Throughout the country, young people started to organize through underground networks, printing pamphlets and spray painting walls calling for the deposition of Pinochet. These demonstrations were especially violent in working-class neighbourhoods, where the battles with the police carried on for hours (Salazar, 2012). Demonstrations would continue for six years in total, eventually forcing the regime to negotiate with the opposition.

Partly, the regime kickstarted negotiations with opposition parties in order to legitimately conduct a new referendum. These negotiations established the conditions in which the referendum campaign would function, but also the boundaries of the democratic governments (Moulian, 1997; Salazar, 2012).

Transition to Democracy

In 1988 Pinochet was defeated in referendum by a coalition of centre-left parties named 'Concertación' (Agreement). The referendum gave two choices: 'Sí' (Yes) to allow Pinochet to continue as president for the next eight years or 'No' to call for a presidential election in 1989. The results declared 55.9% of votes in favour of 'No', establishing the opposition as the winner. In 1989, new presidential and parliamentary elections were run, pitting Hernan Büchi, a former economy minister of the regime against Patricio Aylwyn, a member of the DC and a moderate within the opposition. On the 14th of December 1989, the results gave Aylwyn the victory with 56.3% of the vote.

This new coalition started governing the country under the watchful eye of Pinochet, who remained as commander-in-chief of the army and a vociferous defendant of his 'legacy'. His

presence was a constant threat to the democratic process, as he ensured that the qualifying conditions of transition would be fulfilled. In 1991, due to a money-laundering scandal dubbed the 'Pinocheques', he was asked to resign his post. He responded by ordering the quartering of the army, as an obvious threat of a coup. In 1993, when the same investigation reopened, Pinochet ordered troops to surround the Defence Ministry, in what would be known as the 'tanquetazo'.[1] Both situations depict the frail character of democracy and the power that Pinochet had even after leaving the government.

The Chilean transition to democracy was carried out as a constant negotiation every step of the way. Due to the authoritarian locks left in the constitution, any decision to be made in the parliament meant a negotiation between the ruling coalition 'Concertación' and the right-wing coalition 'Alianza por Chile' (Alliance for Chile). The latter was firstly loyal to Pinochet's regime, but it gradually started to distance itself from his figure as the truth of the human rights violations became incontestable.

The first years of transition were strongly devoted to what Moulian identifies as a whitening of the country (1997). By this term, the author refers to the efforts made by the new coalition to portray the country as the perfect transition to democracy – a place where the ghost of the violent past was exorcised and replaced by the unity of the consensus. The idea of the new coalition was to demonstrate palatable governability, and to show their opponents that they were not the crazy left-wing activist of the seventies, but a group of responsible statesmen interested in prudent macroeconomic indicators.

However, the political violence has an enduring social effect (Assman, 2006; Barbera, 2009; Brockhaus, 2012; Jara, 2016; Lechner, 1992; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998; Schwab, 2012). The dictatorship became a 'social catastrophe' (Jelin, 2002), breaking the links of trust among

[1] A reference to the tanks used in the action.

citizens and establishing a climate of distrust and fear between citizens. This is the context in which Chilean transition is grounded (Assman & Shortt, 2012). Thus, developed a mythic memory (Kubal & Becerra, 2014) of the dictatorship as the consequence of the breaking up of the Chilean family (Karmy-Bolton, 2018). As Moulian (1997) perfectly summarizes, this narrative whitewashed the violence of dictatorship through establishing a zero-sum game in which everyone and no-one is responsible for the human rights violations. Since the dictatorship, and its crimes, is the responsibility of everyone, then human rights violations and the violence becomes a part of a shared burden of guilt for all. This mythic memory was spread and shared throughout transition to support the legitimacy of the new order.

The transitional government created its own narrative that supported the complexities and contradictions of the period. In general terms, this narrative worked as a fable that portrayed Chile as a big family that started to break apart in the seventies. Thus, transition was the moment in which this family reunites and starts building a new future for the country (Karmy-Bolton, 2018; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998).

Nevertheless, a great deal of effort was put into recognizing the human rights abuses and establishing an official truth regarding these crimes. In the early days of his presidency, Aylwyn formed a commission tasked with clearing up the facts regarding the violation of human rights during dictatorship called 'The Rettig Commission' (named after its president, Raúl Rettig). This commission carried out eight months of research, interviewing victims and their families coming up with the first account of the crimes of dictatorship (Collier & F. Sater, 2004).

This scenario gave birth to 'agreement politics', one of the most notable features of Chilean politics during transition (Moulian, 1997). Thanks to the 1980's constitution, the governing coalition was forced to constantly negotiate with the opposition for any substantive policy or reform. This secured the reproduction of the economic and social framework of dictatorship

by making it almost impossible for any government to alter its foundations. As the years progressed, the political game became more and more like a simulacrum, a theatrical performance with no real substance. Forced to negotiate on terms that were mostly settled, both coalitions began to resemble each other in their policies in ways that would become almost impossible to differentiate. Chilean society experienced an increasing process of demobilization, brought about mainly by the lack of possibilities that the political spectrum offered (Moulian, 1997).

Nevertheless, as the democratic governments advanced, the character of transition changed, especially regarding the authoritarian locks of the constitution and the recognition of the human rights violations. Regarding the authoritarian locks, some of them were effectively removed in Ricardo Lagos' government (2000–2006) which drafted what was supposed to become a new constitution for the country. Although this new bill removed some of the most extreme restrictions – such as the designated senators and the prohibition that the president had to remove the commander-in-chief of the army – it failed to live up to its promise as it did not effectively change relevant aspects of the electoral system and congressional voting quotas.

Regarding the issue of human rights violations, the change was altogether more significant. In 1998 the detention of Pinochet in London brought a wave of memory which the country had not seen before. Taking advantage of a health trip to the English capital by the then-former dictator, Spanish judge Baltazar Garzón ordered his capture and extradition to Spain to face trial for crimes against humanity. However, Pinochet was returned to Chile under the excuse of, paradoxically, humanitarian reasons due to his advanced age. This process however had an invigorating effect as several human rights cases were reintroduced to the courts, allowing the prosecution of several mid-rank officers (Jara, 2016).

In 2003, during the thirtieth-year commemoration of the coup, a 'commemorative boom' occurred in which different victim organizations erected monuments and plaques in emblematic sites of torture. The next year, the Valech commission was issued by the National Commission Political Imprisonment and Torture, prompting President Lagos to ask for forgiveness on behalf of the state. During that period, the government opened the door through which the body of Allende was taken out after the coup, and a monument was erected in front of the governmental palace to honour the memory of the fallen president. As Wilde (2013) notes, during this time public opinion shifted from indifference to a support towards the prosecution of these crimes and establishing truth on the matter. A final key stone was achieved by the government of Michele Bachelet in 2006. A victim of torture herself, during her tenure she implemented different memory initiatives which had an enduring effect, the most notable being the building of a Memory Museum which focused on the stories of victims of human rights violations (Jara, 2016).

Individual Responses to Dictatorship and Transition

From the point of view of the individual, the changes in the political structure of the country had different impacts. The violence of dictatorship and the collective repression of transition had a significant effect on the social framework of the country. The state violence during dictatorship broke the links of trust between neighbours and friends, leaving an enduring sense of fear (Jelin, 2002). This sense would linger during Transition as Chilean society struggled to come to terms with its past.

As Assman and Shortt (2012) argue, transition is a process which countries that suffered periods of violence and trauma must undergo in order to build a collective sense of identity and legitimacy. In the Chilean context, this process was conducted by the political elites, aiming at silencing the violence of the past (Moulian, 1997). This silence meant that the shared experiences of violence remained repressed, lurching in the social unconscious of the country. In her research of shanty towns organizations in Chile, Barbera (2009) discovered that these feelings of distrust and fear remained active in Chilean society even a decade since the end of dictatorship. Her interviewees, members of different grassroots organizations, claim that for them dictatorship remains present in their everyday experiences through personal memories and psychological and physical scars. However, these memories remain hidden and repressed, as the social environment of the country actively discourages these memories to be shared in openly. As one of her interviewees recalls:

> I participated for many years in a grassroots human rights group in the población[2]. After the end of the military regime our human rights group asked the council at our chapel, where I was an active member of the Christian community, if we could use the meeting room for our human rights meeting. The council voted against

[2] Shanty town.

> our petition – they were afraid, in 1990, to be associated with human rights. (Corina in Barbera, 2009, p. 81)

Moulian argues that the most relevant characteristics of the transition are twofold: oblivion and consensus. The first refers to the tendency by the majority of Chileans to forget the sufferings of dictatorship (1996, p. 31)[3] in favour of a constant fixation on the present. This forgetfulness is characteristic of societies that undergo traumatic periods in their history (Assman & Shortt, 2012), where the past becomes an uncomfortable topic which is constantly avoided (Richard, 1998).

Consensus is the ultimate state of oblivion, the staging of the epic narrative of the transition where old foes are reunited in a brotherly embrace. In this framework, political differences are avoided by a celebration of the present. As Nelly Richard (1998) argue, in the early days of transition consensus functioned as a common boundary which dictated what could and could not be discussed about the past, a way in which personal experiences were reshaped to fit into a mould which cast aside possible disagreements.

As the sense of distrust developed, Chilean society became increasingly individualistic. Since the second half of the eighties, mass consumption spread across all social strata. Consumption established itself as a new form of sociability, as a form of citizenship (Moulian, 1997). As Idelver Avelar stated: *'The Chilean dictatorial state operated culturally by the imposition of a veritable passion for consumerism, the absolute privatization of public life, the obsession with individual success and aversion to politics and collective initiatives'* (1999, p. 66). As political life became part of the past that needed to be forgotten, and other forms of public participation remained strained, individualism flourished. In the context of a highly neoliberal

[3] Own translation.

society which favoured success more than anything, society gravitated towards consumerism (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012).

However, consumption alone was insufficient to establish long-lasting social relationships between the individual and society. The contradictions of a society with one of the highest levels of inequality in the world – second to Mexico according to the OECD (2015) – started to become evident: on the one hand, a small group with overflowing wealth, and on the other the majority of Chileans, living in precarious conditions (Mayol, 2013; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014).

Nevertheless, the devices of domination that were inherited from dictatorship were still operating. These institutions allowed social life to function as normal. However, a new sense of unrest was growing among the population. As Mayol and Azócar (2011) argue, since the end of dictatorship the Chilean population has undertaken a process of accumulation of unrest. This phenomenon is explained as a consequence of a crisis of legitimacy of political institutions, which are incapable of providing solutions to a social reality that is perceived as unjust. As the political system became increasingly impervious to the issues of inequality, it started to lose its legitimacy, becoming alienated to the people it governed. However, this did not translate into social mobilization, as the generations who experienced the pains of dictatorship viewed development of contentious politics unfavourably.

According to Mayol and Azócar (2011), Chilean society perceives injustice and abuse as a common reality, as a relevant foundation of social relationships. This common diagnosis is processed in three ways. First, the atavistic dimension: 'it has always been this way and it will always be'. Second, the closure of opportunities: where the sources of mobility such as the education are perceived as a farce. And third, the abuse: where the rich people are perceived

as inhabiting a completely different reality from the rest of the population. In the background of all of these interpretations is inequality, a social condition without solution.[4]

The student movement was one of the few social mobilizations that developed a social condition that directly attacked neoliberalism. In the next section, I will review the institutional framework of public education in order to understand the grievances that fuelled the student mobilization.

[4] Chile is the country with the highest Gini coefficient in the OECD, 0.5.

A Brief History of the Chilean Student Movement

By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, new social groups had started to emerge in Chile. Drawn from the growth of the state and the increasing industrial and commercial activities, a new middle class developed. Driven by the expansion of public education, they accessed higher education at the Universidad de Chile (Garretón et al., 2011). Politically active, they formed in 1906 the 'Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile' (University of Chile Students' Federation, FECH). This was the first and most salient student federation of the country and the institution from which the student movement flourished (Moraga, 2006; Roco, 2005). From the beginning it had a left-wing ethos which contrasted with Pontificia Universidad Católica (Pontifical Catholic University, PUC), an institution with deep links to the Catholic Church and the wealthy elites.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the student movement actively participated in the political struggles that would lead to the socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970–1973). During the sixties, the student movement focused its efforts on an internal reform that was aimed at increasing the levels of democracy inside the student bodies named the 'reforma' (reform). During Allende's government, students played a significant role. They were called to become the vanguard to lead the working classes into the socialist future (Garretón & Martínez, 1985).

During Allende's short-lived government (1970–1973), the student movement was split between the Pontificia Universidad Católica (Pontifical Catholic University, PUC) and the rest of the universities in the country. The first being dominated by a right-wing movement called 'gremialismo' (Trade Union) and the second by parties involved in the ruling coalition 'Unidad Popular' (People's Unity, UP). In this tumultuous period, the student movement was circled around Allende's democratic socialism, a project that was strongly challenged by the

conservative sectors of the country. Ultimately, the UP government would be toppled by the military coup in 1973 (Garretón & Martínez, 1985).

During dictatorship, the student movement was effectively decimated. The organizations were declared unlawful and their leadership murdered or disappeared (Salazar 2013). Whilst some student leaders and organizers fled the country, others decided to go underground from where they carried insurrectional actions against the authoritarian regime. Nevertheless, the student movement as it had been known was over.

During dictatorship, public universities were administratively intervened by the army, with the rectors (the ultimate authority of a university) replaced by members of the military and the student federations closed or replaced by puppet organizations. Nevertheless, as early as 1976 the student movement started reorganizing as cultural collectives; front organizations formed to challenge the imposed order. At the same time, traditional left-wing parties – declared unlawful by the government – started to organize clandestinely inside the universities (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2006).

The dictatorship introduced significant changes in education that would overhaul the entire system. This was made possible thanks to the enactment of two laws during dictatorship: the 1981 'Ley General de Educación' (General Law of Universities, LGE) and the 'Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación' (Organic Constitutional Law of Education, LOCE), included in the country's constitution in 1990, only days before the new democratic government took power.

LGE divided the, at the time, eight public universities into smaller regional ones and allowed the creation of private universities. This law caused three major ruptures: first, it stripped Universidad de Chile (University of Chile, UCH) – the oldest and most prestigious university of the country – of its national character. Until then, UCH was a national university which had different headquarters around the country, from 1981 onwards each headquarter became an

independent institution. This partition allowed them to have a stronger grip on the student movement as it dismembered the most relevant organization. A second rupture was allowing the inclusion of private entrepreneurs in higher education, this significantly changed the landscape of higher education as it forced public institutions to compete for students' fees. The free market approach meant that now public institutions had to refocus their efforts from teaching to implementing marketing strategies to become competitive in the newly formed education market. The third and final rupture came with ending free education and the imposition of self-finance. Until then, public education had no charge to students; the imposition of fees meant that students who accessed public universities had to either pay the fees or get into debt (Moraga, 2006).

Both private and public institutions depended mainly on student fees. In the case of low-income students, there were few scholarships and various students' loans. From the beginning, the state loans became a heavy burden for the universities. Administered by the universities, they were a constant source of conflict between the academic authorities and the students; as state funds decreased, the amount of money available for loans became increasingly smaller, awakening the unrest amongst students who saw their possibilities for carrying on their studies dwindle.

In 1977, a group of students of UCH formed the 'Asociación Cultural Universitaria' (University Cultural Association, ACU), which, fronting as a cultural organization, challenged the legitimacy of 'Federación de Centro de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile' (Students Centres' Federations of University of Chile, FECECH), the military puppet organization that replaced FECH. At the same time, students all around the country were forming 'Comités Democráticos' (Democratic Committees, CODE), whose main objective was to democratically elect the class representatives, which in that time were being designated by the authorities. In October 1984, defying the authoritarian regime, the newly formed 'Coordinadora de Centro

de Alumnos Democráticos' (Democratic Alumni Centres Coordinator) called for an open election to reinstate FECH as the official Student Federation of UCH. With 67% of eligible participation, the elections were a success, democratically electing the first student leaders since the coup in 1973 and establishing a dual power inside Universidad de Chile (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2006).

By 1987, the student movement inflicted one of the first and most sounding defeats to dictatorship. After the decision of the government to enact further cuts to the funding of UCH and changes in the loan system, the students responded with strikes. The regime reacted by designating a new rector: José Luis Federici. During his tenure, Federici tried to enforce the edicts of the government with full force, resorting to expelling students, deans, academics and members of staff, and even closing university campuses. The students received the support of the academics and members of staff, staging an occupation which lasted over two months. The main motto of the occupation was 'La Universidad No' (Don't Mess With the University), exclaiming that *'the neoliberal rationalization would clash with a historic institution which by definition was public, plural, and autonomous*' (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011, p. 117). Eventually, the mobilization would force Pinochet to fire Federici.

In following years, the movement would be fully engaged in the referendum campaign which would occupy most of the students' efforts.

Following the end of the dictatorship, most of the student organizations were controlled by the political parties of the new ruling coalition: 'Concertación'. In the early days of the nineties, Concertación demanded the student leadership put forward a less politically active student movement, and that the student unions renounce the ideological and political objectives in favour of a 'students' welfare approach' concerned with the organization of parties and concerts (Moraga, 2006; Thielemann, 2016). This scenario ensured that in the first

years of the nineties most of the Students' Federations were significantly de-legitimized and questioned by politically active students, which saw them as tools of demobilization.

The first student mobilization since the end of the dictatorship came in 1992, where politically active students staged strikes and occupations of their academic campuses. They demanded an increase in the funds given for the students' loans, which at the time were insufficient to cover the fees of a great number of students. The mobilizations started in Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación (Educational Sciences Metropolitan University, UMCE), but soon spread to other universities; they were led by the Communist Youth and a new collective of students called 'Estudiantes de Izquierda' (left-wing students, EEII). When the movement started to become prominent, it was defused by the Concertación student leadership, which gave preference to their political parties over the students' demands.

In 1993 the decomposition of the student federations came to a head after serious cases of corruption and mishandling of funds implicated many of the Students' Federations. The severity of these cases brought about the end of FECH, the oldest and most prestigious student federation in the country. Two years prior, the student leadership of Universidad Austral (Austral University, UAUS) had to resign for similar reasons, whilst in 1993 Universidad de Santiago (USACH) and Universidad de Concepción (University of Concepción, UDEC), both traditional universities, were also left without student federations (Thielemann, 2016). Nevertheless, the conflict surrounding the funds for the student loans remained. In 1994 the UCH, UMCE and Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana (Technological Metropolitan University, UTEM) began charging bills of exchange to students with outstanding debt, leading to occupation and strikes. Despite not having a student leadership, the mobilization lasted over a month and ended after a police officer was shot outside one of the campuses of UTEM (Thielemann, 2016).

The political situation in the universities during those years meant that the parties involved in 'Concertación' became increasingly isolated, allowing the more radicalized left to gain support. Hence, the Communist party represented by its youth movement, 'Communist Youths' (CY), and EEII took leadership of the students' movement, something which would have significant consequences for the future. Also, as the democratic transition progressed, the hegemonic discourse of the ruling coalition began to lose power, giving way to the first significant criticism of their policies. On the 11th of March 1994, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle was elected president, the second Christian Democrat to fill that post. With a moderate discourse, his government would continue the neoliberal policies of his predecessor. For higher education this meant that public universities were forced to sell part of their assets and transfer their debt collecting responsibilities to banks. UCH sold its television channel and started charging students privately run bills of exchange (Thielemann, 2016).

By 1995, the Communist Youth together with EEII reinstated FECH. This new federation was dominated by the CY, which would reflect the distance between the government and the students. This new FECH leadership focused their efforts on two main issues: democratization of the university and resisting the marketization of public education (Thielemann, 2016).

Alongside with FECH, the 'Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Santiago' (University of Santiago Students' Federation, FEUSACH) was also reinstated, as well as the 'Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Concepción' (University of Concepción Students' Federation, FEC), this time by a collective called SURDA, a movement made of left-wing disenfranchised students further to the left of CY. Seizing the new reconfiguration of students' leaderships, different student federations began articulating between each other, forming a new organization called 'Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile' (National Confederation of Chilean Students, CONFECH). This organization coordinated the efforts of

the different university federations of the country and would become a crucial player in the development of the student movement (Thielemann, 2016).

Parallel to these events, the government pushed forwards with the neoliberal policies of education through a bill commonly referred to as the ‘Ley Marco’ (Framework Law). This law galvanized the process of self-funding that had been being implemented since dictatorship. With brand-new leaderships, the student movement staged different occupations in UCH and UMCE which effectively halted the parliamentary discussion of the law. However, the real struggle would come the next year.

1997 Mobilizations

The new articulation of the student movement in the federation of students composed by radicalized left-wing leaders allowed the formation of a more integral and coherent mobilization. Unlike the student protests from 1992 to 1994, these new mobilizations were led by elected and legitimized leaderships which effectively represented the demands of a majority of students.

The 1997 cycle of protest focused on two main demands: an increase in the amount earmarked for the student loan and a rejection to the Ley Marco which was still being pushed by the government. This law regulated the operation of the state-owned universities in the country. According to Thielemann (2016), there were two different aspects to this struggle: one national and another one specific to the issues of universities from the capital. Nationally, the struggle was focused on the democratization of universities and the demand for more student participation. Hence, the demands gravitated towards the end of LOCE and Ley Marco. Regarding local demands, these were concentrated on the struggles of two of its biggest universities: UCH and USACH, which were more focused on their internal demands for democratization and reform of the statutes inherited from dictatorship. Both student federations were led by CY presidents, which facilitated communication between its leaders, allowing them to head the movement.

The first mobilizations started in UCH in the first semester of 1997, with strikes and occupations throughout the different campuses of the university. On the 17th of May, the leadership of FECH delivered the demands to the Rector, Jaime Lavados. They included a strategic plan for the university, a modification to the statutes of the university (carried over from the dictatorship) and fair funding for the university; together with a demand for the resignation of the maximum authority. On the 28th of May, a demonstration gathered a total of 3,000 students in Santiago, one of the biggest at the time. By the first week of June, thirteen

campuses were occupied. During that same period, USACH, UTEM and UMCE joined the mobilization with their own set of demands, and four private universities declared themselves in state of alert. This environment reactivated CONFECH as a coordinating organization (Moraga, 2006). In the south of the country, on the 12th of June, students from Universidad Austral of Concepción went on strike and occupied several university buildings. By the end of June, all of the state universities were in some form of mobilization, either on strike or with several occupations of their campuses; even PUC – a traditionally conservative university – joined the struggle through occupations and strikes on some of its campuses.

From the government, the strategy focused on delegitimizing the students by accusing them of asking for joint-governance, namely, that students and academics share the same weight in the decision making inside the university, something that was not included among the demands. The students were asking for participation in the election of the university authorities - part of the accomplishments of the struggles of the student movement in the sixties and seventies that were erased during dictatorship - and a say in the reforms implemented inside the university. Another flank of attack was publicising the 'subversive' character of the movement, focusing on the Communist leadership and a supposed infiltration from an insurrectionary militia movement called 'Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez' (Patriotic Front Manuel Rodriguez, FPMR) (Moraga, 2006).

Nevertheless, the movement remained strong, especially in UCH. On the 12th of June, students occupied an administrative building of the university called 'Tower 15', effectively paralyzing the university. On that same day, a demonstration summoned by CONFECH gathered 14,000 students who marched to the Education Ministry. By that time, the struggle in UCH was gaining support among the academics, further isolating the rector. The culminating point of the mobilization was when UCH students occupied the main campus of UCH. The rector Lavados then ordered the eviction of the students, something that was

recorded by TV cameras broadcasting the brutal action of the police. This further delegitimized the position of the university authority.

The movement suffered its first defeat when a student leader and party member of Concertación – Rodrigo Peñailillo – decided to break rank from CONFECH forming a new confederation called CONFESUR, which summoned students from student federations from the south of the country loyal to Concertación. Through this organization, Peñailillo started negotiating with the Ministry of Education, isolating CONFECH and the student leadership. This rupture was the start of the defeat of the movement, as although it was not definitive, it was a significant blow which weakened their negotiating position (Thielemann, 2016).

Ultimately, FECH rescued a partial victory for Universidad de Chile through the implementation of a council which reformed the statutes of the university with the participation of the student body. This resolution precipitated the end of the mobilization for UCH. Although other universities remained occupied for a little while, the defeat of the national movement was certain with the government sending the Framework Law to parliament (Moraga, 2006). Although this bill included some improvements to the university funding, it did not fully address the mounting crisis that public universities were carrying since the reforms implemented during the dictatorship.

The defeat of the movement had an enduring effect on the perception of mobilized students towards CY. Committed to the national struggles, these students felt betrayed by the actions of FECH and its communist leadership whom they perceived dropped the national demands in favour of their internal struggle (Moraga, 2006; Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011).

According to Thielemann (2016), the 1997 mobilization was relevant as it successfully positioned students as important political actors, proving the strength of the student mobilization. As the first national mobilization, it asserted the student movement as a force

to be reckoned with. Finally, it successfully installed the issue of the crisis of public education in the country. I would also add that this cycle of protest constituted the first shock to the democratic regime, questioning the hegemony of the consensus-based democracy. In this same sense, this cycle of protest allowed the emergence of new radicalized groups that were external to the two-party system of post-dictatorship Chile. The 1997 mobilization set the framework for what would be the future struggles of the student movement by establishing its institutional and ideological base. Institutionally, it became the first test for the newly-formed Students' Federations and especially CONFECH, an organization which would play a key role in future mobilizations. Ideologically, it established the student movement to the left of the government, becoming a relevant critic of the development of neoliberal policies in education.

After the mobilizations of 1997, the student movement entered a process of introspection. The defeat of the national movement was the peak of student mobilization since the end of dictatorship. From this process, Thielemann (2016) developed two relevant insights: that the movement was able to overcome the 'end of history' crisis, so typical for end of twentieth-century social movements, becoming a relevant opposition to the neoliberal agenda; but also, that it did not have the strength to effectively impose itself against the government, opening a period of latency that would last for over a decade. The elections after the 1997 mobilization were significantly negative for the left. The 'Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica' (Catholic University Students' Federation, FEUC) which in 1997 was led by a coalition of CY and other left-wing collectives was defeated by a group of students close to Concertación, a similar case to FEC where the Christian Democrats (DC) won the elections in 1998, and the following year it was a coalition of both Christian Democrats and right-wing activists which would lead one of the most historic Students' Federations: FECH (Thielemann,

2016). This meant significant setbacks to the radical transformations of the left within the student movement.

In 1998, Pinochet left his post as commander-in-chief of the army to assume the role of a constitutionally designated senator. This was met with significant opposition by the students who participated in different demonstrations against his appointment. In the same year, he was imprisoned in London, later to be released and returned to the country under humanitarian reasons in 2000. The latter was a significant event as it roused the memory of dictatorship all around the country (Jara, 2016). His return to the country provoked one of the most violent demonstrations that the country had seen until then. It was during one of these demonstrations that a student called Daniel Menco, a twenty-three-year old student from Universidad de Tarapacá, was killed by the police. The authorities were indifferent about his death and decided not to take part in the investigations and gave their full support to the institution. Following the procedures from dictatorship, the investigation was carried out by the military police and resulted in the officer responsible for Daniel's death being transferred from his post without any form of punishment. In that same year, four student leaders were arrested and held for sixteen days under the charges of inciting violence after calling for a demonstration. Hence, the first wave of post-dictatorship student demonstrations ended in the same manner as it began, suffering the remnants of dictatorship.

As a generation born during dictatorship, this cohort faced the early years of transition in the country, years marked by the narrative of 'the end of history' and the hegemony of the neoliberal system. In this context, they defined a new political identity by breaking free from the transitional cleavage of democracy/dictatorship. However, they failed to persuade the wider population and the generation that would lead the student movement from this point onwards would eventually surpass these boundaries by integrating wider elements of society into the educational struggle.

2006 Penguin Revolution

In 2006, thousands of schools were occupied around the country demanding the end of LOCE, the constitutional law that regulated the educational system in the country. This would be the start of a cycle of demonstrations that would eventually lead to the biggest demonstrations since the end of dictatorship. These demonstrations were led by a new generation, one that would head significantly changes in the repertoires, culture and practices of the student movement (Aguilera, 2014).

After a series of demonstrations led by the 'Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios' (Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students, ACES) in 2005, the educational authorities created a negotiating table with the students' organizations to come to solutions for both long and short-term issues in public education. Eventually, the outcomes of those negotiations were forgotten as that same year, presidential elections were held and the new elected authorities disregarded the agreements of those discussions (Donoso, 2014; OPECH, 2009).

After the frustration with the negotiating table, both the ACES and the 'Asamblea de Centros de Alumnos de Santiago' (Assembly of Student Councils of Santiago, ACAS) leadership decided to join forces to create a new organization: the 'Asamblea de Estudiantes Secundarios de Santiago' (Assembly of Secondary Students of Santiago, AES), this was the deciding moment where the Penguin Movement was born. The name 'penguin' comes from the resemblance of the school uniform to the colours of a penguin.

The first mobilizations started in April of 2006, when AES organized different demonstrations throughout the country. These protests usually ended up with violent clashes between students and the police, the media focusing its attention on these clashes, depicting a negative image of the movement to the wider public. This prompted the decision of the

student leadership to change the repertoire of mobilization, from demonstrations to occupations. This change of strategy was significant as it shifted the attention from the violence of the demonstrations to the demands themselves, showing a more favourable aspect of the mobilization. By the end of May, 200,000 students were involved in the mobilization in Santiago, and another 100,000 in the rest of the country. Around the same period, AES called for a national student strike, which prompted the participation of university students through occupations and 'days of reflection' (Donoso, 2014).

During the occupations, the media showed the dire conditions of the public schools around the country, which were accompanied by the opinions of articulate student leaders who challenged the political officials' failure to properly address the mounting crisis. One of the most resounding arguments was the state of crisis of Chilean education, in which students from wealthy backgrounds and who had therefore studied in private institutions, received much better education than those who came from poorer backgrounds and attended municipalized or subsidized institutions (García-huidobro, 2006). Eventually, the demands began to concentrate on the 'Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación' (Constitutional Organic Educational Law, LOCE) as the most relevant piece of legislation responsible for the conditions of education. From that point onwards it became clear that the legislation had to be replaced by a new law that strengthened public education (Donoso, 2014; OPECH, 2009). Behind slogans such as 'we are students and not consumers' this mobilization tapped into a general sense of unease against the marketization of education, gathering support for their demands. At the height of the mobilization it reached an 87% of approval (Donoso, 2014).

After three months of mobilization, the intensity of the movement started to wane. The government seized upon this to create the 'Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación' (Presidential Advisory Council for Quality in Education)', an advisory council which called different stakeholders to discuss the necessary measures to improve the education in

the country. The students reluctantly agreed to participate, deposing the occupations (Donoso, 2014).

The early results from the council meetings were encouraging: the main demand of the movement – to derogate the LOCE – was included in the bill, together with the elimination of for-profit schools, and the termination of selection tests for students in both public and subsidized schools. However, these results were met with resistance by the political parties in congress – both opposition and parts of Concertación – who modified the agreements of the council in congress. With vested interest in the educational market, most of the elected officials would not allow for the reforms to the educational market to be passed. The bill as it was approved stood against most of these measures, meaning that – with the support of the right – it had successfully stripped the legislation of any of the relevant demands of the students (Donoso, 2014; Reyes & Vallejo, 2013).

In June 2009 the government celebrated the signing of the new law as a success by both coalitions. The most powerful image of the signing was a picture of the politicians involved in the agreement with their hands raised, celebrating the signing of the new law. The students, on the other hand, felt betrayed by the political structure and tried to reinitiate the mobilizations; they were unsuccessful (OPECH, 2009). The movement showed the complete disparity between the political class and civil society, which as a whole demanded a major shift in education but was denied this by their own politicians.

Nevertheless, there were significant elements to rescue from this mobilization. One of the most relevant was the alliance that was made between secondary and tertiary education students. The participation in the 2006 mobilization left bonds of trust among organizations which would be crucial for the future. This mobilization allowed the politicization of a great number of students who did not have any prior political participation. Their experiences,

knowledge, networks and especially their sense of betrayal became fertile ground for the 2011 student mobilization (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013).

2011 Student Movement

In 2005, the government created a credit system for lower-income students called 'Crédito con Aval del Estado' (State Guarantor Loan, CAE). As the name indicates, this loan was funded and managed by private banks leaving the state as a guarantor. CAE opened the doors to a generation of students whose family had never studied in higher education. However, the system had many issues: first, the interest rates were extremely high (from 5.8% yearly) which meant that most of the students would end their university years with a burden of debt that went far beyond their income; second, the loan created a financial bubble in which fees for higher education institutions increased significantly – leaving the students and their families to pay the difference (Monckeberg, 2007).

In 2009, Chile elected the first right-wing president since the end of dictatorship, ending the twenty-year rule of Concertación. Sebastián Piñera was the representative of a right-wing coalition composed of former members and supporters of Pinochet. This election was interpreted internationally as a definitive shift-to-the-right for the country. The next year, on the 27th of February, the country suffered one of the most devastating earthquakes of its history, followed by a tsunami that erased entire cities from the coast (Figueroa, 2013). This event had a significant effect on the population as it revealed the precariousness of the emergency system of the country, but also the consequences of dwarf-state, which looked helpless as it struggled to provide support for the victims. This scenario forced the re-articulation of social networks which proved to be more effective than the government in the provision of relief. In this context, the student movement became a relevant actor, as through its different Students' Federations it responded to the tragedy by articulating and aiding the victims. This had a significant effect on what was to come the following year, as it reactivated or even created new networks between students and organizations, which were

communicating and working together for the first time. It also broadened the scope of the movement by including students who were not among the usual audience (Figueroa, 2013).

Despite the tragedy, Piñera's government had a strong popularity, especially after the rescue of the miners that gained him a 63% approval rating (Adimark GfK, 2010).[5] Given the circumstances, nothing would prepare the government for the events of the next year.

In 2011, a series of mobilizations started to erode the popularity of the president. According to official figures, only in the Metropolitan Region, 240 demonstrations were authorized by the government, compared to 134 the previous year.[6] Nationally, there were a total of 6,000 public demonstrations, with approximately 2,000,000 protestors. These were the highest levels of participation since the demonstrations of the ninety-eighties (Segovia & Gamboa, 2012, p. 67).

The year 2011 began first with a regional demonstration in the southern region of the country Aysen and Magallanes fuelled by an increase in price of petrol in the region. This mobilization was followed by the student mobilization and then the mobilization against the massive hydroelectric dams called Hidroaysen (Segovia & Gamboa, 2012). The mobilizations captured the support of most of the population, which condemned the erratic response of the government and the excessive violence of the police. The series of mobilizations dashed the popularity of the president from the aforementioned 63% in October 2010 to 43% in January the next year (Adimark GfK, 2011).

The student mobilization began with the actions of a private university: Universidad Central (UCEN). This university was in the middle of the process of being sold from an academic

[5] In August of 2010, thirty-three miners were trapped in a mining accident. The government, together with the help of foreign organizations, were able to successfully rescue the miners, prompting a rise in the popularity of the president (Flores & Rozsa, 2015).
[6] A region which contains Santiago and a few smaller cities.

council to a private investor. On the 4th of April they enacted a student strike and marched to the Education Ministry to demand this process be halted. This demonstration received very little interest from the press and was dismissed by the government as an issue between private entities. Nevertheless, the student leadership of FECH followed these issues closely, seeing them as a possibility to establish an alliance with students from private universities (Figueroa, 2013).

The first relevant mobilization came on the 14th of April, when students occupied the offices of the 'Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas' (National Board of School Aid and Scholarships, JUNAEB). The mobilization was prompted by a delay in the distribution of scholarships and student aid. According to student leaders, they were expecting around fifty students, however 300 showed up for the occupation (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013). This rise in student participation was encouraging as it hinted towards a favourable political environment among students.

The student movement that year was led by CONFECH, an organization that grouped the different federations of traditional universities in the country. That year, the leaders of the movement came from left-wing movements: Camila Vallejo from the CY in UCH, Giorgio Jackson from a newly formed left-wing collective called 'Nueva Acción Universitaria' (New Universty Action, NAU) and Camilo Ballesteros also from CY in USACH (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013). This was in stark contrast with previous years, where the student leadership had a significant number of pro-government students which halted any kind of strong political actions. Also, ACES remained an active organization which would actively coordinate with CONFECH.

The first student demonstration summoned by CONFECH happened on the 28th of April. This demonstration considered a total of twenty-nine demands among which the most relevant were:

1. basal funding for public institutions to allow free education;
2. the creation of a national network of technical education;
3. to guarantee the inclusion of academics and students in the government of education;
4. an end to for-profit institutions in higher education;
5. and finally, the implementation of measures which favour equality in the access to public education.

The demonstration gathered 10,000 protestors, a number that was far greater than expected. In the meantime, CONFECH organized a campaign called 'por estudiar estoy endeudado' (thanks to education, I am indebted) which consisted of taking pictures of students who had acquired a massive debt because of its education. This campaign among others proved the willingness of the movement to communicate not just with the student body, but with the entire population (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013).

After the success of the previous mobilization, CONFECH called for another demonstration on the 12th of May; this time with the backing of the main public workers union. The demonstration gathered approximately 60,000 around the country, and 20,000 in Santiago (Segovia & Gamboa, 2012). Little by little, students began to incorporate new repertoires of contestation that would be characteristic of this mobilization: from banners filled with creative messages, to artistic interventions and floats. These new tactics were effective in terms of gathering support among the wider population, as they conveyed a political message in a humorous manner. The demonstration was met with violent repression by the police, something that would have a negative impact on legitimacy of government.

Every 21st of May, the Chilean president addresses the nation through a speech that summarizes the accomplishments of the government and announces the relevant policies for that year. Historically, student movements concentrate demonstrations around this date with

the purpose of pressuring the government to address their demands. In 2011 there were high expectations on the speech of the president, however none of the demands of the students were considered. In response, the student leaders decided to deliver a letter to the Education Minister on the 26th of May expressing their discontent with the presidential speech and stating more demands: an increase of funding for public institutions, an end to the debt of the families and an effective prohibition of for-profit institutions to work in higher education. The demands were presented as an ultimatum, leaving the 1st of June as the deadline, otherwise they would call for a national strike (Figueroa, 2013). On the 30th of May, the student leaders met with the Education Minister, Joaquín Lavín under the pretences of discussing the demands. However, none of them were discussed, infuriating the student leadership. Hence, on the 1st of June, the students successfully called for a national strike, gathering around 30,000 protestors, including secondary students through ACES, teachers' union, and even some of the university authorities.

From this point forwards until November of that year, the CONFECH demonstrations became almost a weekly phenomenon, gathering larger crowds each time. In the same period, students started to strike and occupy their universities. These spaces – occupations – were crucial to the development of the movement. As Francisco Figueroa, one of the student leaders from UCH would define them:

> The occupations function day and night. In them the students argue, organize activities, draft resolutions and communicate with their representative institutions. But also eat, dream and love. They are identity factories, a mix of ideas and drives, of passionate initiatives and existential claims. (Figueroa, 2013, p. 16)

As meeting points, the occupations and student strikes sustained the movement by allowing the deepening of the discussion among students and the commitment of those involved.

Although they were unarguably exhausting for the students, it also allowed them to build a sense of belonging which was crucial to the development of the mobilization.

In the month of June there were three major events: on the 9th, students occupied the main headquarters of UCH, which became the main centre of operation of the mobilization. Based in the centre of the city, just a few steps from the governmental palace, it was covered with the banner: 'Educación Pública y Gratuita' (Public and Free Quality Education) (Figueroa, 2013; Reyes & Vallejos, 2013). On the 13th, a group of students calculated how much would it cost to provide free education, coming up with the number of 1,800 million dollars. Inspired by that figure they inaugurated the campaign '1,800 horas por la educación' (1,800 hours of education). This campaign consisted of running around the governmental palace the same number of hours as dollars would be needed to fund free education, to do this, they would take turns between different people. The idea, resisted at first by the student leaders, was extremely effective as it gathered not just students, but office workers, athletes, and even comedians. After seventy-five days, they reached the goal, something that was publicized on different media around the country. Another creative demonstration was the 'thriller for education', where a group of students danced to the popular song 'Thriller' by Michael Jackson in front of the governmental palace. Dressed as zombies they danced to the message 'education produces indebted zombies'. A few weeks later, another group of students called for 'Genkidama for education' reproducing the popular characters of the Japanese series 'Dragon-ball', and the students constructed a ball which resembled a massive ball of power which they dropped in front of the government palace (Figueroa, 2013). These repertoires of contestation constitute a major shift in the strategies of the student movement, as they incorporate an emotional perspective which allows the distribution of their message among a wider population (Reguillo, 2017).

The month of July was signed by a proposal of the government called 'Gran Acuerdo Nacional de Educación' (Great National Agreement on Education, GANE), which created an educational fund of 4,000 million dollars, granted access through a scholarship to the poorest 40% of students and reduced the CAE interest rate from 5.8% to 4%. This proposal was also rejected by the leadership prompting a massive demonstration on the 14th of July which gathered 100,000 in Santiago and 200,000 in the rest of the country (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013). This mobilization was not authorized by the government, but the police were unable to stop it due to the great number of protestors it gathered. Not long after, the Education Minister was forced to resign to be replaced by Francisco Bulnes.

This was perceived as a major shift by the movement, a chance to have an effective communication with the government. However, the next few months proved that their hopes were misplaced. On the 21st of July, Recaredo Alvarez – a student leader from Concepción – was captured by the police and severely beaten. When taken to the hospital, police officers refused any medical examination of him and he was detained and accused of the attempted murder of a police officer. Similarly, on the 25th of June a group of female students from ACES reported being forced to strip in front of a female officer, after which she proceeded to touch them inappropriately and insult them. The new strategy of the government seemed to be more related to violence than dialogue (Figueroa, 2013; Reyes & Vallejo, 2013).

On the 1st of August, the government announced a new proposal for education; this proposal included an increase in funding for scholarships but no significant change to the education system. Once again, the student leadership rejected the proposal and called for two new mobilizations on the 4th of August. This would be a tipping point in the mobilization. The mobilization was divided in two, one in the morning called by ACES, and one in the evening called by CONFECH. The government responded by forbidding both mobilizations under the excuse of the property damage caused by protestors. As on previous occasions, the students

defied the prohibition by the authorities and carried out the demonstrations, however this time they faced the full retaliatory force of the police. The centre of the city was covered with special forces, which did not allow any kind of gathering, and those who were able to gather met by water canyons, mounted police officers, and tear-gas. Faced with this level of repression, the student leadership regrouped and reassessed the situation. As the day moved on, the only images of the day were police brutality and violence, something that did not help to gather support for the movement. As they surveyed the different TV channels, they saw a group of parents banging pots outside a police station demanding the release of their children. They seized the opportunity and called for a 'cacerolazo', namely the tradition of banging pots as a sign of protest. The repertoire was extremely effective, as throughout the country people from different ages went to the street banging their pots protesting police brutality.

The rest of the month followed a similar trajectory of the government continually making other offers which were rejected by the students as they did not fulfil the demand of a real reform of the education system. CONFECH reacted by calling for a family demonstration on 7th of August which gathered 100,000 people. Following the escalation of violence, the biggest workers' union of the country decided to call for a two-day general strike on the 25th and 26th of August. On the 25th, 200,000 protestors gathered. The authorities responded with violence and repression. On the night of the 26th, a young student, Manuel Gutiérrez, was watching a scuffle between protestors and the police from afar when one of the officers decided to fire his weapon at protestors, unwittingly killing Manuel in doing so. Manuel's death had a significant effect on the mobilization and in the government, prompting the organization of a new meeting. They held the meeting on the 3rd of September. As in previous meetings, they were unable to come to an agreement, reaching the solemn conclusion that maybe it was impossible to do so (Reyes & Vallejo, 2013).

On the 22nd of September, CONFECH organized a new demonstration which gathered 180,000 protestors in Santiago and 300,000 in the rest of the country. With the legitimacy of the last mobilization, the students agreed to negotiate with the government, but without accepting the condition of stopping the strikes and occupations. During that period, a survey showed an 89% support for the student demands, and a mere 22% support for the office of the president (El Dinamo, 2011). On the 29th of September the student leadership had another unsuccessful meeting with the Minister of Education, as the minister demanded that the students cease striking and occupying. Nevertheless, the students remained hopeful of a new meeting where they could discuss their core demands, especially free education. However, the government pushed forwards and presented the budget for next year without any chance of including any of the core demands of the students, also pushing forwards a bill which criminalized demonstrations as a clear sign against the mobilization.

In response to the actions of the government, the teachers' union called 'Colegio de Profesores' (School of Teachers) decided to call for a referendum for education. Mimicking the 1988 referendum, they called for an election to assess the support for the student demands. The results yielded 87.1% of the vote in support of the student demands. This was the last relevant action of this movement, as at the beginning of November, most occupations and strikes were dropped.

Ultimately, the mobilization did not achieve any of its stated objectives. The tenacity of the mobilization was met by a government unwilling to significantly reform the educational system. Nevertheless, culturally it became a significant shift in the political discussion in the country. In the words of Giorgio Jackson, student leader of FEUC, 'the conquest of the student movement is centred on discourse, in hegemony. It has to do with how before there were inequalities that we accepted, which today, after 2011, we simply don't' (Giorgio Jackson in Donoso, 2014, p.40).

Conclusion

Throughout this first chapter I have summarized the historical and political background of the country, to then present the structure of the educational system, and finish with the development of the student movement since the end of dictatorship.

The first part recounted the influence that dictatorship has in the construction of contemporary Chile and how it was sustained and even deepened by the centre-left coalition. This process was made possible thanks to the institution of what was called 'authoritarian locks' and a general sensation of fear left by the state violence performed during dictatorship.

The educational system is a direct reflection of these authoritarian locks. Developed in the first few years of the eighties and secured through a constitutional reform in the last days of the dictatorship, it focuses on 'academic freedom', creating a pseudo-market of education which exacerbates and entrenches the social inequalities between rich and poor.

The final part of this account dealt with the development of the student movement in the country. The analysis showed a dynamic and complex process that began in the early days of the twentieth century with a clear and resounding left-wing perspective. The final part of this section dealt with both the 1997 and the 2011 student movements. The first was enacted by a generation that resurrected the student mobilization in the country through the construction of new practices and identities. Faced with the political context of 'end of history', this generation lived the contradictions of newly-born democracy by distancing from the transitional cleavage. The 2011 movement is part of a new generation, born in the struggles of secondary students, and faces the shortcomings of democracy by denouncing its relationship with dictatorship. As a generation born during the internet revolution, they gathered the support of the wider population, directly challenging the legitimacy of the order.

The development of the student movement shows a dynamic of continuity and change that can only be understood through a generational perspective. This chapter described the social and political context in which both mobilizations are grounded, which was to provide the framework to understand them. The next chapters will deal with individual stories of activists involved in each mobilization. Their stories will help to understand the generational differences between each cohort, and how memory and class influence the construction of their political subjectivation.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Introduction

This section will be devoted to characterizing and defining the concepts and theories that guide this research. For this purpose, I will first review the research that has been carried out regarding the student movement in Chile, to then focus on the relevance that the concept of political subjectivation has for the understanding of social movements.

This research focuses on the concept of political subjectivation, understanding it as the process by which a person becomes political engaged. This concept has a longstanding tradition in French political theory, however it has only recently started to become relevant in the field of social movements. In this sense, this section will problematize this concept by reviewing foundations and the relevance it has for the understanding of contentious action.

Thus, this research centres its attention on the subjective experiences of activists, trying to find the link that binds individual and social movement together. To this perspective, there are two relevant concepts: memory and generations.

As the research reviews the ways in which an activist becomes politically engaged, memory becomes a significant element. The process of political subjectivation of activists is grounded in the context of political transition in Chile. This process has a significant effect on the way these activists construct and develop their political perspective. Thus, memory focuses on how individuals and the collective interpret this past, and how that influences the present. In this sense, the concept of generations becomes relevant, as the research analyses the experiences of two cohorts of activists (1997 and 2011) and their particular memories reflect the experiences of two different periods in the Chilean transition. These differences are

crucial to understanding their political subjectivation process, as the social and political environment of the country influences the way in which they become politicized. Thus, generation reflects the interaction between individual experiences and the socio-historical conditions in which they are inserted.

As the research uses to life stories, the presentation of their narrative and their storytelling becomes crucial to understanding the relevance that their recollection has for their political subjectivation. In this sense, emotions are a key aspect of this research, as it assesses the relevance that certain memories have on their political subjectivation.

Research on Student Movements in Chile

The 2006–2011 student movement brought a new rise in social movement research in Chile (Aguilera, 2012, 2014; Gajardo, 2007; Jofre, 2013; Miranda Leibe, Rutllant & Siebert, 2016; Paredes, 2018; Reyes & Vallejo, 2013). Until then, the study of contentious action was an underrated topic in academic research (Garretón et al., 2011). The scale of the mobilization and the impact it had on the social and political discourse generated a great amount of research, which contrasted with previous decades where research in social movement was almost non-existent. The common belief among the literature was that Chile had a *'conspicuous absence of contentious politics'* (Silva in von Büllow & Donoso, 2017, p. 4).

Nevertheless, social movements were indeed taking place, however they did not have the scale and magnitude of those in other countries in Latin America. These mobilizations were concentrated mainly in the universities, which were among the most organized opposition to the dictatorship and resisted the neoliberal policies from the beginning of democracy (Moraga, 2006; Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011; Thielemann, 2016). Luis Thielemann (2016) calls the post-dictatorship student movement the 'social anomaly of Transition', because in a period of demobilization the student movement became one of the few political actors that remained politically active during the first decades of democracy. In those years, the student movement brewed a sense of opposition, political discourse, repertoires and organizations that would become the backbone of the twenty-first century student movement.

Research regarding student mobilization, prior to the 2006–2011 cycle of protest, is scarce. One of the first pieces of academic research done on the topic was by Garretón & Martínez (1985) which, over the course of ten volumes, gave a thorough picture of the history of both the universities and the student movement in Chile, and highlighted the relevance of this movement to political struggles since the beginning of the twentieth-century. In the same

year, one of the most prominent intellectuals of Concertación, and future Minister of the same coalition, José Joaquín Brunner published a report called 'El Movimiento Estudiantil ha Muerto: Nacen los Movimientos Estudiantiles' (The Student Movement has Died: the birth of the Student Movements) (1985). Foreseeing the creation of a democratic government, Brunner argued that a student movement, understood *'as a youth mass movement relatively homogeneous, that are identified by relatively stable oppositions and alliances, that aims at influencing the development of the university institution (…) this student movement has passed away and shall never return'* (1985, pp. 19–20). Through this quite provocative statement, Brunner summarized both the academic and governmental perspective regarding the student movement in Chile. As the transition to democracy was drawing near, and a greater number of students were entering higher education, the general feeling was that the student mobilization would become dispersed, focused on their private interests and without a national perspective.

Since then, there has beenwas little interest in researching the student movement. As Oscar Aguilera (2016) argues, social research on youth movements focused instead on 'urban tribes', 'barras bravas' (football hooligans), and social deviance, depicting young people as unmotivated and a socially dangerous group.

The birth of the 2006 'Revolución Pingüina' (Penguin Revolution) sparked new interest in the student mobilization. The relevance and scope of this mobilization started to revive interest in the student movement. One of the earlier works in this topic was done by the historian Víctor Muñoz (2006), who published a seminal work on the re-articulation of the student movement during dictatorship. Another relevant work is from the historian Fabio Moraga (2006), who provided a thorough revision of the university student movement after dictatorship (1990–2001). Further, the 'Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Educativas' (OPECH, 2009) (Chilean Observatory of Educational Policies, OPECH) which reviewed the different

documents coming from the students' organizations during the 2006 cycle of protest. Another piece of relevant research was done by Cristián Bellei et al. (2010) who provide an analysis of the impact that mobilization had on educational policies.

Since the start of 2011, a significant amount of literature has been produced on the topic. As it is impossible to cover all, I will focus on the most significant productions. One of the first and most relevant publications on the topic comes once again from historians: 'Generaciones: Juventud universitaria en izquierdas políticas en Chile y México (Universidad de Chile – UNAM 1984–2006)' (Generations: university youth and political lefts in Chile and Mexico) by Víctor Muñoz (2011). In this work, Muñoz does a comparison between the political processes of student movements in Chile and Mexico. From the social sciences, the research has focused mainly on the innovative character of 2006 and 2011 mobilizations, and it relevance for the becoming of Transition in the country. One of the most influential works on the topic was carried out by Alberto Mayol, who published two books in the topic: 'No al Lucro' (No to Profit) and 'El Derrumbe del Modelo' (The Crumbling Down of the Model) (2012, 2013). In these books, the author puts forward the argument that the 2011 student movement was the outcome of the unrest that had been brewing in the Chilean population since the end of dictatorship. The 2011 mobilization was the political expression of this unrest and opened the way for the definitive crumbling down of the political and socio-economic model developed in dictatorship and inherited and deepened by the democratic governments. The analysis of the sense of unrest and its relevance to the development of this mobilization is an interesting input, however the foregone conclusion of the crumbling of the model did not hold ground, as after the mobilization the social and political foundations remain intact.

Another perspective depicts the student mobilization as part of a wider process, one that opens a new chapter in Chilean history. This view is held by the United Nations Human Development Program, which in 2015 diagnosed the arrival of a new era of politicization in

the country (PNUD, 2015). This era was characterized as the redefinition of what politics is. Unlike previous decades, politics was defined as a twofold: on the one hand the structure of political parties and government; and on the other, politics as everything a society defines as being subject to social decision. Politicization means the incremental growth of the latter definition. As institutional politics became less relevant, Chilean society tended to push for having more influence on the organization of society. The eruptions of social movements, and especially the relevance of the 2011 student movement, are the consequence of this shift. Politicization opens the possibility of the instigation of a new social order, according to the capabilities of the political system to effectively interpret the wants and needs of Chilean society (Ruiz Encina, 2013). Politization does not directly mean the birth or crumble of a particular social or economic system, but a change in the understanding of the role that citizens play in society.

Regarding analysis of the 2011 student movement itself, the literature has focused mainly on gathering the experiences of those who participated, especially the leaders of the movement. Reyes & Vallejo (2013) provide an interesting perspective as they compile the testimonies of the leaders of the movement. From biographical perspectives, these authors give an interesting insight into the lives of the student leaders and how their upbringing and experiences affected the development of the movement. Another relevant perspective is that of Francisco Figueroa (2013); as vice-president of FECH on 2011, he provides a privileged view of events of that year, including relevant analysis of the motivations and behind-the-scenes stories of the movement.

From a sociological perspective, Nicolás Somma (2012) provides one of the most influential analysis, of the student movement and the social and economic structure of the country, claiming that mobilization is the unintended by-product of the rapid growth of higher education guided by market principles. Oscar Aguilera (2014, 2016), offers an in-depth

analysis of the culture that animates the student mobilization. He uses a wide range of techniques, from life stories to in-depth interviews with activists involved in the mobilization, to provide a look at the construction of a socio-political environment that animates the mobilization. Another interesting viewpoint is that of Sofía Donoso (2013, 2014; 2017) who throughout her work provides an historical perspective regarding the birth and development of the post-dictatorship student movement.

Recently, there have been three relevant publications on the topic. First, the previously mentioned 'Anomalía Social de la Transición' by the historian Luis Thielemann (2016) who does a thorough revision of the history of the post-dictatorship student movement from the perspective of the development of the left-wing organizations. From the social sciences, 'Protestar es de Buena Educación' (2016) (To Protest is of Good Manners) is the most thorough revision of the demands, mobilizing structures and ideologies of the twenty-first century student movement. Finally, Carlos Duran and Víctor Muñoz (2019) provide a historical analysis of the student movement in Chile, considering a large time period; they argue for a new periodization of the movement taking into account the different cycles according to the struggles of the time.

All of these perspectives are valuable sources and inform this research, however this dissertation aims at providing a different scope to the understanding of post-dictatorship student movement. This research provides the socio-historic perspective of the movement, understanding its development in light of the historical struggles of the country, especially in relation to the cultural and subjective consequences of dictatorship. To do this, it focuses on the perspectives of rank-and-file activists – this is done in order to understand the socio-historic processes related to activism. For this purpose, the research considers two cohorts, 1997 and 2011, researching their life-stories in the hope of understanding the different experiences and their rational and emotional interpretation that drove them to political

activism. For this purpose, the research focuses on the concepts of generation and political subjectivation, understanding them as perspectives which shine a light into the social and subjective process that are at the forefront of the mobilization.

Political Subjectivation and Social Movements

The concept of subjectivation derives mainly from the French theorist Michel Foucault (1982), whose work on power and discourse aimed at understanding the way in which humans become subjects. According to Foucault, human beings are shaped into subjects by different discourses of power and knowledge. These discourses represent the social and political articulation of their time, providing the general framework by which human beings are subjectified.

Deleuze's (2015) interpretation of Foucault's oeuvre expands the scope of subjectivation, establishing it as an independent axis to power and knowledge. This perspective understands subjectivation as the coming of the subject, from an undefined human being, to a socially constructed individual.

The major contribution of Deleuze is describing two movements at the same time: the movement of power and knowledge which frames the subject as part of the social and political environment of its time, and the movement of subjectivation, which is described as an independent axis, constantly interacting with the other two axis, but describing its own trajectory. This double motion portrays subjectivation as both a process that is heavily socially influenced and also one that describes a unique trajectory.

When dealing with the political aspects of subjectivation, the topic adds another layer of complexity. It does not only reflect on the construction of the subject, but also his/her becoming a political being. The concept of political subjectivation suggests that in order to fully understand participation in contentious politics, it is necessary to reveal the process through which the individual feels compelled to participate in them; therefore, it aims at understanding political involvement through considering personal narratives, emotions, and political and social discourses (Echandia, 2015).

Recently, one of the most relevant perspectives on political subjectivation is the one put forward by Jacques Rancière (2006). According Rancière, politics is first and foremost disagreement, which can be defined as the tendency of different political actors to express antagonistic opinions according to their interests and perspectives. The antagonistic character is crucial as it allows for the development of a political struggle which Rancière considers as the soul and purpose of politics. Following Marx's perspective on class struggle, Rancière positions disagreement as the sine qua non condition of politics.

The centrality of conflict for politics is given by the innate egalitarian logic of democracy. By a review of Greek classics, Rancière argues that democracy – as a historical construct – is the forcefull insertion of equality at the centre of social conviviality. According to Rancière, the social order is determined by what refers to as '*distribution of the sensible'*, that is:

> (…) the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it. A distribution of the sensible therefore establishes at one and the same time something common that is shared and exclusive parts. This apportionment of parts and positions is based on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity that determines the very manner in which something in common lends itself to participation and in what way various individuals have a part in this distribution. (Rancière, 2011, p. 12)

This distribution establishes a certain order of equalities, where certain groups are considered as part of the commons, whilst others are excluded. This order shows itself as obvious, as part of the way in which the world is understood – as common sense. The nature of this structure highlights the hierarchical character of society, where specific groups determine the commonality by excluding others.

However, this order is not fixed; as a field of struggle the distribution of the sensible constantly incorporates/rejects subjects. To Rancière, this struggle is what defines politics: a

clash between an excluded group that demands equality in the space of the commons and the resistance of those in power. The resistance is what Rancière refers to as police: namely the order that determines and secures the reproduction of the status quo. Thus, politics is the clash between the police and the demand for equality by excluded groups.

Thus, for politics to be possible, the political subjectivation of the excluded individuals it is necessary. In their condition of being excluded, their being is not considered equal to those who hold power. By their demand of equality, they question the distribution of the sensible by exposing its partiality. This exposition is what constitutes political subjectivation, as those excluded put forward the demand for their inclusion in the commons. Political subjectivation is the embodiment by individuals, and their networks, of a claim of equality, a process that entails the disruption of the values of the police order in hope of changing its structure to include them as one of the equals.

Rancière's definition of political subjectivation highlights the construction of political subjects as a disruption of a hegemonic order. However, the concept fails to provide an understanding of the specific way in which the individuals are shaped as political subjects, their particular becoming and the factors that influence them.

On a similar note, the Italian philosopher and sociologist Maurizio Lazzarato (2006) provides another perspective on political subjectivation. His theory circles around the ethics of alterity and the politics of the event. The event is understood as a space-time shift that generates new forms of assemblages, pointing towards that which is unbearable in the context of its time. Political subjectivation, in this sense, is a specific assemblage prompted by the event in which its externality becomes interior within the subject. For this purpose, subjectivation does not involve merely a rational process, but it is heavily engaged with the emotions of the subjects as it draws links between his/her subjectivity and the event.

Political subjectivation according to Lazzarato is the process by which individuals become political subjects. This process involves a number of different sources of signification which unfold throughout the activist's life. Political subjectivation is a particular assemblage prompted by the action of the event, which unfolds in a plane of immanence. By a plane of immanence, Lazzarato refers to a space of uncertainty, where the subjectivations can be shaped in infinite different ways.

To think that a single event would define a subjectivation or multiple subjectivations is rather narrow. A person's life is shaped by an infinite number of moments, some of which might be understood as meaningful, others as traumatic, while others might be buried in the unconscious. To fully address the process of subjectivation, one must acknowledge the great level of uncertainty that this task entails – the reconstruction of events which bear relevant meaning for the political becoming of the activist.

Another relevant perspective is developed by Massimo Modonesi (2010). Drawing from Gramsci's work, Modonesi describes political subjectivation as a dialectic process which involves three general stages: subalternity, antagonism, and autonomy. Following a Marxist perspective, Modonesi defines political subjectivation as '*(…) the ways and dynamics of formation of political subjectivities around a group or of collective experiences born out of relations of domination, conflict and emancipation'* (Modonesi, 2014, p. 1).

As a Marxist thinker, his interest in social movements is focused mainly on mobilizations that are antagonistic to the hegemonic order, centred on student and working-class movements. In this context, subalternity is defined in relation to hegemony – namely, the subjectivity that is born out of domination from a dominant group to another subordinated. The concept of subalternity highlights the subordinate condition of domination, where the subaltern internalizes the values and morals of those that lead the historical process. However, this condition is by no means stable and absolute, but is grounded in a constant process of revision

and conflict, thus, the political subjectivation by subalternity is composed by '*unstable equilibrium of a consciousness composed and tensioned by opposite tendencies of conservative and transformative character*' (Modonesi, 2014, p. 28).

Antagonism is the development of a political subjectivation forged in conflict, in the experience of insubordination, where the subordinated subject incorporates the experiences of struggle into his social being, creating a disposition to act as a class. Unlike subalternity, antagonism is developed when the subordinate groups challenge the hegemony of the dominant classes, questioning the values that support consensus and prompting the development of a struggle.

Finally, autonomy is defined as independence from the dominant class. As part of the subordinate groups, the antagonistic actions are still developed in the context of domination. Autonomy, however, is the development of a political subjectivation that is no longer secondary to the dominant classes but develops its own set of values and norms. In this sense, autonomy is a challenge of hegemony as it involves the emancipation of subaltern groups from domination. Autonomy as political subjectivation deals with the prefiguration of practices that are detached with the logics of capitalist domination. Thus, autonomy as political subjectivation is expressed through '*practices and experiences of liberation, forged in the dialogue between spontaneity and consciousness*' (Modonesi, 2014, p. 124)

Modonesi's work on political subjectivation is relevant as it helps us to understand the transition from subordinated subjects to the development of antagonistic and autonomous subjectivities. However, this transition is difficult to grasp if it is not grounded in subjective process which support it. When dealing with political subjectivation it is important not only to define the different stages of political subjectivation, but also to understand the experiences that ground the transitions between them (i.e. from subalternity to antagonism); without them, we only have a partial view of this process. In this sense, to understand political

subjectivation it is necessary to delve into the experiences of the activists. As social beings, activists are dependent on others and are involved in social practices; they are sentient and evaluative beings who consider the past in order to make decisions about the present, and whose decisions are based not only in rational thinking, but often involve their emotions (Sayer, 2011). This argument applies not only for Modonesi's reflection regarding political subjectivation, but all the different perspectives afore mentioned. It is necessary to develop research that translates the abstract concepts of political subjectivation into the experiences of activists involved in social movements, so we can understand how and why they participate in contentious action.

As relevant as the concept of political subjectivation is for contentious action research, its application for research is still in the early stages. Relevant work has been carried out by Riisgard and Thomassen (2016) with their research on the symbolic density that mask-wearing has in terms of political subjectivation in local–global protests, also the work of Sumi Madhok (2018) in her work on political protest in the context of 'state of exception' regimes, she resorts to the concept of political subjectivation as a way of understanding political acts of resistance, refusal or disavowal of the law of exception. Also the work by Melissa García-Lamarca (2017), which uses political subjectivation to understand the process by which people facing foreclosure and eviction become political subjects, joining one of the organizations fighting evictions in Barcelona: the 'Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca' (Mortgage-affected People, PAH). Boja Bacá (2017), researches political subjectivation in the context of a citizen mobilization in Montenegro. Focusing on Rancière, he highlights the power that identity cleavages have in mobilizing a large number of people behind civic values. In Latin America, significant work has been done by María Mercedes Palumbo (2017) who researches political formation workshops in popular movements with a 'de(s)colonial' perspective, highlighting how this perspective allows the construction of politically engaged

subjects. Also significant is the work by Mina Lorena Navarro (2013), who researches the birth of resistance in socio-environmental struggles through impulses of political self-determination and political self-regulation. Claudia Luz Piedrahita Echandía (2015) analyses the concept of political subjectivation in light of innovative pedagogic practices implemented by teachers' collectives in Bogota, Colombia.

Undoubtedly, these perspectives are relevant to the understanding of political subjectivities, however they tend to miss the relevance individual experiences have in this process. This tendency, portrays social movement organizations and other social structures as the main sources for the construction and development of political subjectivation, disregarding the relevance that past experiences have in this matter. This research will focus on individual experiences and memory to understand the construction of political subjectivation. For this purpose, memory is a central aspect. The next section will look at memory and its relationship with political subjectivation.

Memory and Political Subjectivation: An Issue of Generations

In the context of Deleuze's lectures regarding Foucault's oeuvre, he gets asked about the relationship between memory and subjectivation, to which he responds: *'the real name of subjectivation is memory'* (Deleuze, 2015, p. 140). Through this response, Deleuze affirms the memory as the keystone of subjectivation. To Deleuze, subjectivation was the expression of the question regarding what a subject is; this question was always related to the orders of truth and power, tracing its own trajectory but always in direct relationship with these orders. In this sense, to properly analyse the development of subjectivation it becomes necessary to understand the personal experiences of a person, and how they impacted his/her life.

Memory has a long and rich history in social sciences. As a field of study, it has been researched through different disciplines – from sociology, history, cultural studies and literature (Zamponi, 2018), making it *'a nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise'* (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 106). In the last few decades, the issue of memory has seen an '*explosion'* (Jelin, 2002), from autobiographies of public figures, to historical novels, TV shows, and finally academic research. According to Jelin (2002), the sudden focus on the past is a reaction to the fast pace of contemporary life, which offers a lack of references or roots to the individual. In this context, memory becomes a deeply meaningful role as it is a cultural mechanism that strengthens a sense of belonging. This is particularly significant for marginalized groups, who develop their sense of identity through the remembrance of a shared past, allowing the cration of pride and self-confidence.

Although this explosion has been varied, there has been a tendency to characterize memory as *'something socially constructed, inherently plural and contentious'* (Zamponi, 2018, p. 13). Indeed, research about memory has tended to highlight its social character, how past events are not just stored in the mind of those who live it, but they are a set of symbolic and cultural

narratives which are shared among a community and form part of their understanding of who they are (Halbwachs, 1992; Jelin, 2002; Kubal & Becerra, 2014; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, 2011; Zamponi, 2018). Under this conception, memory provides the guidelines to understand not just the past, but also the present, as individuals assess their decisions by reflecting on past experiences.

Central to this social conception of memory is the concept of 'collective memory'. Drawing from the seminal work by Maurice Halbwachs (1992), collective memory refers to the development of a set of social frameworks which are part of groups, grounded in social relationships. The concept of collective memory highlights its socio-political character, as frameworks that are shared within a specific community are subject to change and revision through time. A key element of collective memory is its contentious character, a fertile ground for political struggle. As Kubal & Becerra argue, '*collective memory is a powerful cultural resource used to build active movement communities, shape public opinion, and alter institutional action'* (Kubal & Becerra, 2014, p. 865).

Arguably, the most significant aspect of Halbwachs' concept of collective memory is the notion of 'social framework' (Halbwachs, 1992). Individual memories are always socially framed, this means that they carry the value and moral representation of a specific society or group. According to Halbwachs, the possibility of remembering is conditioned on the fact that we interpret these events within the frames of a group's collective memory. Collective memories refer to shared memories which become overlapped thanks to multiple social interactions, socially framed and subject to power relations. Thus, a key element of collective memories are the social institutions that (re)produce them, from family, class, party, etc., these institutions allow the construction and development of social links which create a sense of shared future, allowing the development of common remembrance of the past (Zamponi,

2018). In this sense, it is possible to believe in the existence of multiple collective memories according to different groups which are part of society at any given time.

Zamponi (2018) argues the existence of not only multiple memories, but also different layers of memories. This conception challenges the existence of a monolithic national memory which is shared by every person living in that specific territory, highlighting the pluralistic character of memory. Zamponi offers the following classification: *'collective memory is defined as the memory shared by a particular community or group, social memory as the memory spread across the entire society, and public memory as that part of the latter which refers to the public sphere'* (Zamponi, 2018, p. 15). This multi-layered conception of memory allows for a person to have different memories according to the different groups that s/he is part of and the positions s/he occupies in those groups.

Although there are multiple types of memories, their interaction varies significantly. Public memories – social memories which refer to the public sphere – vary their interactions, from moments where a narrative about the past becomes prominent, sometimes even hegemonic, to moments where there are multiple narratives and interpretations in competition. The difference between each period is set by the political struggles of the time, where a hegemonic interpretation is the consequence of the victory of a group over the other, whilst a state of contention is the consequence of an ongoing struggle for power. Nevertheless, even considering the hegemony of a specific memory, there are always subalternate memories which defy the consensus about the past (Ricoeur, 1999). In this sense, there is no such thing as oblivion regarding public memories; the imposition of silence about the past is, in turn, the struggle between two distinct memories, one that is hegemonic against another that is subalternate (Jelin, 2002).

While it is true that the public sphere is subject to greater levels of confrontation due to its relationship with political power, the relationship between the different layers of memory –

collective, social and public – implies that the others are also subject to contention. As a multi-layered phenomenon, memory is constantly changing; this change may occur in a specific layer, but it undoubtedly influences the others. This influence means that the contention from public memory has a direct effect on the character and narrative that is portrayed in the social and collective memory. In this sense, every layer of memory is subject to contention. This is an important issue to take into account in order to avoid portraying a monolithic version of both social and collective memory.

The issue of memory is particularly relevant for societies that undergo periods of violence. As a social construction subject to power relations, memories constitute a valued resource for periods of transition. These periods are characteristic of societies that undergo periods of what Kaes refers to as 'social catastrophes' (Kaes in Jelin, 2002, p. 11), namely, periods of violence that leave deep wounds that fraction the social fabric of society, creating profound divisions between groups of people and an environment of deep mistrust between fellow citizens. Transitions are political periods where countries that undergo a social catastrophe rebuild a sense of legitimacy by rearranging the political and social identity of society. They are the construction of a new relationship between victors and losers, perpetrators and victims, in the hopes of constructing an integrated society (Assman & Shortt, 2012). As a historical process, transitions are deeply contentious as they imply a reconfiguration of the narrative about a painful past. Transitions create scenarios of confrontation between opposing groups, with different experiences and political aspirations. These differences are not only expressed in political projects, but also dictate a perspective about the past and a program on how to process it (Jelin, 2002, p. 45).

Memory is a key feature of this process: it is the medium used to create a new shared narrative that is able to integrate formerly divided perspectives, forging a powerful link between past atrocities and a peaceful future (Assman & Shortt, 2012). Political elites at the

head of transition processes aim at creating a narrative about the past that springs a widespread sense of belonging, healing the wounds of the past in favour of the legitimacy of the new regime. This usually means developing a mnemonic project, able to resonate with the different collective memories of the period. The character of this project is highly dependent on the balance of power of the political elites, and the historicity of the social catastrophe. Thus, when the transition is lead as the confirmation of power of a particular group, the mnemonic project tends to be imposed as a hegemonic public memory, whilst in cases where transition is contentious, the mnemonic project is much more complex and open to debate.

According to Assman & Shortt (2012), there are six general shifts that define the format and status of memory in periods of transition:

1. From silence to speaking out: this relates to the place that the victims occupy in the official mnemonic project, from a status of oblivion, uncomfortable truth or part of public narrative about the past.
2. Second, the status that different collective memories have in the memory process of transition: some can be part of the social public memory of the past whilst others become counter memories, narratives of subalternate groups that defy the official discourse about the past. This condition of the memories can change periodically, subject to the different political struggles of the present.
3. Memories can go from being a topic heavily discussed in the public sphere (hot memories), to becoming an almost forgotten issue (cold memories) (Jelin, 2002).
4. Another transformation is when memories become part of scholarly debate: this happens when historians rescue certain collective memory, transforming it as part of the historical debate. This shift is not without struggle, reflecting the structure of power within the academic field.

5. A collective memory can change from embodied communicative memory to symbolically encoded cultural memory. This happens when a certain collective memory is mediatized, shifting from the hands of a particular group to become part of the social memory. This shift involves a written, visual, or digitalized form that can be stored and shown to a wide audience.
6. Finally, memory can move from informal, ephemeral memory to public, monumental or ritual. This shift focuses on the durability of memory, how it can shift from being part of a specific community to become part of erected monuments, consecrating them for generations to come.

This list illustrates the changing character of memory within periods of transition. The most significant aspect in these processes is the relevance that social and political struggle has in the definition of the narrative regarding the past. As a significant tool in the definition of a common identity, public memory is at the heart of transitions, this is why political elites invest significant amount of effort into establishing a narrative that legitimizes the working of the transitional governments (Jelin, 2002).

As historical periods, it is usually fairly straightforward to determine the beginnings of political transitions: they usually involve the celebration of the first democratic elections and the institution of a new democratic government. However, it often becomes quite a difficult task to determine their ending. As political periods, transitions are defined by the unravelling of what Salvador Aguilar (2008) defines as 'transitional cleavages'; this concept defines the political struggles that a young democracy has to deal with in order to consolidate as fully democratic. This process involves not just institutional arrangements, but social and political processes which develop in different directions according to the social contract that is behind the transitional process. In this sense, there can be processes of consolidation and de-consolidation: this means, socio-political events that either signal towards a consolidation of

democratic values and institutions, or signal towards '*an anchorage of parts of the population to the values of the old regime'* (Aguilar, 2008, p. 6). Usually, political transitions take several decades and the struggles are never fully resolved, as societies are constantly haunted by conflicting interpretations about the past.[7]

There are several aspects to be considered in the development of a political transition. Assman & Shortt (2012) characterize time as a relevant element. For them, time works as a force which automatically and silently fades memory into oblivion; the only way to stop this process is though remembrance. Elizabeth Jelin (2002), on the other hand, offers a less definitive relationship between time and oblivion. For Jelin, oblivion is an integral part of memory, as a person is incapable of remembering everything about past events; oblivion constitutes a relevant aspect of remembering, allowing the selection of certain narratives which are vested with meaning. Like Assman & Shortt, Jelin conceives definitive oblivion – the total erasure of facts and events from the past – as a logical consequence of historical becoming, however, she finds it difficult to assess as its occurrence means that it is impossible to have an example of its working. Instead, Jelin highlights the recurring character of collective memories, constantly returning to the public debate even after they are declared deceased and buried.

Thus, although it is impossible to deny the possibility of definitive oblivion, collective memories – especially those connected with social catastrophes – seem to endure the test of time, constantly returning to stir the public debate about the past. However, this resistance is carried by people through political struggle. They are, what Kubal & Becerra refer to as, 'memory entrepreneurs' (Kubal & Becerra, 2014); namely activists who carry an embodied memory, which they share with younger generations. Their relevance cannot be

[7] Probably the most notable is the example of Germany where even several decades after the fall of Hitler, the country is still haunted by the memory of Nazism and periodical awakenings of the far-right (Assman, 2006; Brockhaus, 2012).

underestimated as they carry an emotional link with the past. When memory entrepreneurs vanish, memory is represented only through mediated representations of the past, either by second-hand storytelling or prosthetic memory (archives, statutes, TV shows, etc.). This condition leaves memory more prone to being used by the political elite's mnemonic project. In this sense, time is crucial, not as an independent factor, but because of the consequences it has on people and their embodied memories.

Another relevant element is how transitions deals with trauma. Violence during periods of social catastrophe leaves definitive marks, not just on the victims, but also on society as a whole (Barbera, 2009; Belnap, 2012). These marks do not go away after the election of a new government, but tend to linger decades after the events. Jelin (2002) describes trauma as an unconscious reaction to a past which is so painful that it is impossible to re-appropriate as a coherent narrative, forcing it into oblivion. However, the powerful nature of the event manifests in different forms, from silence to other forms of unconscious reactions. After periods of violence, transitional societies tend to go through mnemonic cycles of forgetting, what Ricoeur (1999) refers to as evasive oblivion, in which people who suffered a social catastrophe avoid discussing the past because of its painful nature. However, soon after memory returns to the public sphere and stirs up the debate about the past. Usually, this return comes in the shape of commemorations, where the silence about the past seems to break to give way to painful remembrance (Wilde et al., 1998). Thus, transitional societies then are faced with the challenge of either pushing these traumatic experiences into oblivion or discussing them and incorporating them into public debate. In this scenario, public memory is crucial, as it allows the incorporation of events as part of debate about the past through storytelling. This incorporation helps the victims to mourn, breaking the fixation on the pain, and opening the process of working-through (Jelin, 2002).

In periods characterized by state terror, fear becomes a traumatic reaction. Human rights violations and the work of secret police means that society as a whole is subject to a constant state of fear. This scenario helps to bring about a culture of mistrust, which permeates throughout society (Barbera, 2009; Lechner, 1992; Wilde, 2013; Wilde et al., 1998). This environment of fear endures even after the election of new democratic government, as the social fabric is torn, breaking basic links of trust between fellow citizens. Transitions, in this instance, aim at reconstructing these links of trust by developing a unifying narrative about the past that bears a common identity.

Finally, as time passes, the transitional cleavage evolves in different ways according to the political struggles of the time. However, significant change can be brought by the arrival of a new generation. Indeed, as time passes, and new generations take the centre stage, they bring fresh outlook to the past according to the struggle that they face in the present (Jelin, 2002). As mentioned previously, social catastrophes leave societies traumatized. However, this trauma is experienced in different ways from generation to generation. Those who have first-hand experience during the social catastrophe bear the weight of the psychological consequences of terror (Jara, 2016). Similarly, those who experienced the environment of fear in their early years of childhood, and especially those who suffered the victimization of one of their relatives, also bear the consequences of this event. In both cases, their interpretation of the past is grounded on the political struggles for memory and the different agreements between those involved in that struggle. However, the generations that are born after this period seem to develop a different outlook on the struggles of the past, developing new narratives that sometimes challenge the agreements of transitions, developing new interpretations about the past.

Key to this process is the concept of 'generational imprinting' (Kubal & Becerra, 2014), namely how exposure to emotionally charged events during formative years has a direct effect on the

present. However, this does not mean that entire cohorts are equally affected by these experiences in the same way. Generations are not monolithic; they interact with other forms of stratification such as class, sex, etc., conditioning the way in which an event is presented to different groups. As Mannheim (1993) argued, cohorts are divided into different groups according to the space they occupy in the social order. This space determines the way in which emotionally charged experiences are perceived, this is especially relevant for societies that undergo social catastrophes, as the experiences of groups are different according to their relationship with the regime. From the opposition or resistance, to those who are part of the social and political elite.

Memory and Social Movements: Collective Identity, Emotions and Narratives

Research in memory is a field which is becoming increasingly significant for social movement studies. As organizations that articulate political action outside the political parties, social movements are bearers of historicity. This means, the accumulation of experiences that allow them to interact and exert significant changes in a socio-political scenario (Touraine, 1977). In this sense, memory is crucial as it constitutes the grounding out of which social movements derive meaning to their actions. Nevertheless, until recently social movement theory has tended to overlook this issue. As Zamponi (2018) argues, recent interest in memory in collective action research is due to the '*widespread interest in the social construction of social identities and the symbolic dimension of social action, which has been typical of the scholarship in social movements in the last two decades'* (2018, p. 19).

Indeed, social movement research related to memory has typically focused on the issue of identity, specifically how social movements are able to develop a collective identity through the common interpretation and development of the past. This concept refers to the process by which the individual relates its subjectivity to the one of the movement. As Gamson argues, '*collective identity operates to blur the distinction between individual and group interest*' (1992, p.57). Hence, the individual enlarges his/her own identity, aligning it with that of the movement. This process usually establishes a long-lasting relationship through the creation of a sense of '*one-ness*' between participants (Snow & McAdam, 2000).

However, as we introduce 'self' into the definitions regarding the relationship that identity forges between social movements and individuals, the concept becomes increasingly complex. Snow & McAddam (2000) offer a detailed revision of identity and the processes of construction and development in social movements. In broad terms, their definition of identity follows a clear interactionist perspective in which the effectiveness of collective

identity depends on the interface between the individual and the movement. An identity is thus described as multiple in character, with diverse definitions in each individual which interacts according to the situation and the roles that they have to play in a specific time. This interaction is what Gamson (1992) refers to as the identity construction process, which can involve anything from the amplification of certain aspects of an identity, to a complete makeover of the conception of oneself according to the frames and activity of the movement.

Although, there is consensus regarding the relevance that memory has in the development of collective identity, there is still little information regarding the specific functions that memory plays in this process: how does memory operate in the construction of a collective identity that supports contentious action. As Polleta & Jaspers argue:

> We still know little about the cultural building blocks that are used to construct collective identities. Laws and political status have been studied as a source, but we should learn more about how intellectuals and group leaders use nostalgia and other elements of collective memory to construct a past for a group. (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 299)

A second branch of research involving social movements and memory deals with the influence that public discourse and political culture has on the development of a movement's culture (Zamponi, 2018). This perspective focuses on how culture has an effect on the individual life of an activist and their introduction into contentious action. This perspective has a particular interest in issues traditionally disregarded by social movement research such as emotions (Eyerman, 2005; Jasper, 1998, 2011; Klandermans, 1996) and narratives (Benford, 2002; Davis, 2002; Polleta, 2002; Tilly, 2002).

In recent years, the issue of emotions has become a significant aspect of not only social movement research, but in social sciences in general. This has been characterized as the affective turn (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010), a focus on emotions as a relevant element to understand both individual and social behaviour. As Sayer noted (2011), up until recently the

focus of the social sciences was put on abstract concepts such as ideology, hegemony, class, etc., disregarding emotions as part of the elements which are relevant to understanding the driving forces behind individual actions, and how they affects society. Sayer characterizes individuals as having a relationship of concern with the world, this means that a person's action cannot be merely the consequence of rational thinking, or discourses and power, but a series of rational and emotional drives. These drives have to be considered, otherwise, social sciences present a partial and unrealistic version of human behaviour. For this purpose, Sayer focuses on values and emotions, as much as rationality, understanding them as crucial elements for the understanding of human behaviour.

Similarly, Martha Nussbaum (2001) focuses her attention on emotions as a relevant part of ethical thinking. Nussbaum defies the classical dichotomy 'rational vs. emotional' to highlight the intertwined relationship between them, as both play equal part in the decision-making processes of individuals. *'Emotions are not just the fuel that powers the psychological mechanism of a reasoning creature, they are the parts, highly complex and messy parts, of this creature's reasoning itself'* (Nussbaum, 2001a, p. 3).

Anger is one of the emotions to which Nussbaum dedicates a significant amount of attention. Through an ethical analysis of anger, Nussbaum understands it as a crucial emotion to combating injustice, as it helps to protect the dignity and respect of a person who suffered a wrongdoing. This is because anger is unequivocally tied to seeking retribution, taking both the action and the perpetrator seriously (Nussbaum, 2016). Thus, anger has three major useful features for justice: it directs oneself and others toward a wrongdoing; it provides motivation to address an unjustice; and finally, it acts as a deterrent to others, discouraging their aggression. However, anger can also become a major impediment to justice, as with a mere focus on punishment it can create new wrongdoings. Thus, it is crucial for anger to transition from the mere quest for retribution, to other more productive thoughts.

Emotions have become a central part in the research of social movements, especially in the analysis of alter-globalization movements. The alter-globalization movement is a series of social mobilizations that were born in the last decade of the twentieth-century against the neoliberal character of globalization and its consequences (Pleyers, 2010). Inspired by the social upheaval of the Zapatistas in Mexico, these movements have a series of features that defy the normal frameworks of traditional social movement organizations organization (SMO). First, the alter-globalization movement is led by heterogenous organizations around the world. Unlike traditional social movement, the alter-globalization campaign is not based around a single organization, allowing it to tackle different issues in a local way. In this sense, different organizations such as the Zapatistas in Mexico, Occupy Wall Street in the US and the self-organized factories in Argentina are all part of a global movement that challenges the hegemony of neoliberalism across the world. That heterogeneity allows a relationship between global and local issues, bellowing a wide-ranging critique of the character of global capitalism. Also, despite the heterogeneity of the movement and the wide range of demands that encompasses, it does have a unity in social meanings (Habermas, 1983; Laclau, 1987) which are shared across different regions and issues. Pleyers summarizes the central message i: *'citizens and social movements can have an impact on the way our common global future is shaped'* (Pleyers, 2010, p. 11). This demand springs from a frustration with the political system, which seems to be impervious to their demands against neoliberal policies.

Pleyers's research into these movements shows two political cultures: one that focuses on subjectivity and creativity and a second one that focuses on reason and rationality. The first political culture is defined as a defence of their subjectivity and creativity against consumer-market forces and its instrumentalization under capitalism. For these activists, change is made through everyday practices which challenge the norms and values of not just neoliberalism, but an array of other forms of exploitation throughout the world. For this purpose, they aim

at establishing autonomous spaces which are delivered from power relations, where they experiment with horizontal networks, alternative consumption and participatory process (Pleyers, 2010). According to Pleyers, these activists are interested in implementing change through a bottom-up strategy, challenging the power relations of their society by establishing alternative discourses and practices (Pleyers, 2010, p. 12). The second type of activist focuses their activism on developing alternative politics that defy the neoliberal agenda. They aim at implementing change through denouncing the irrationality of the free-market policies and the development of political alternatives. For these activists, change needs to be implemented from the top-down, from strengthening and democratizing globalized institutions that can challenge the neoliberal consensus.

Although the description of both political cultures is interesting, the stated differences between them is problematic. As Sayer (2011) argues, human action involves both a rational and an emotional perspective, to try to isolate one of these sides is to present an incomplete perspective on why people act as they do. This is particularly true for activism; as an action that almost always involves a significant amount of time and effort, emotions are a key feature of its function. To disregard emotions, or just to place them in a particular political culture, solidifies the myth that it is possible to establish a difference such as rational versus emotions.

An interesting perspective is developed by Rossana Reguillo (2017), who also analyses the rise of alter-globalization movements – defined as network movements – especially regarding the construction of practices that they develop through the internet. According to Reguillo, the spirit and practices of network movements are defined by the appropriation and use of the internet as a tool that significantly changes the way in which humans communicate and interact with each other. In her analysis, she highlights the relevance that emotions have in the study of network movements in three nodal issues: first, to challenge the false opposition

brought by the modern rationality between logos and emotion; second, the production of what she calls 'intensity zones', namely the collaboration between network and street movement; and finally, the reconfiguration of the affective orientations through technologically mediated contact (Reguillo, 2017, p. 144). Through this definition, Reguillo stresses the relevance that emotions play in contemporary social movements, especially regarding their relationship with the internet and '*the street*'. Through analysis of the practices of these movements, Reguillo points toward their ability to articulate emotions, congregating different individuals according to the commonality of their grievances. In this process, the internet is crucial as it allows different individuals to connect in strings of emotions, resonating throughout society.

> We can thus argue that it is not that we are in front of an emotional or affective turn in social movements, but that today our tools of knowledge are capable of "hearing" and attending to the affective tones that are activated by and also drive the network movements as key expressions of today's global discomfort. (Reguillo, 2017, p. 154)

As crucial elements of human interaction, emotions are at the forefront of contentious action and as such they must be part of the study of political subjectivation.

Similarly, Klandermans (1996) focuses his attention on the dynamics of participation or disengagement with contentious action. In other words, the level of commitment that the individual activist has with the social movement. He describes commitment as a psychological phenomenon that is both a cause and effect of ongoing participation expressed in terms of affection and continuance. Affective commitment refers to the scope in which the individual is emotionally involved in the movement, whilst continuance refers to how much the person believes in the possibility of the success of the mobilization.

Klandermans' (1996) perspective highlights some pertinent aspects to the study of social movements, especially regarding the relevancy that emotions and experiences have on the

construction of collective action frames and for the development of mobilizations. One of his most relevant arguments is the emergent perspective regarding the creation of collective action frames as a dialogic phenomenon that involves interaction between leaders and common activists. Both Jaspers (1998) and Eyerman (2005) show the decisions regarding participation in processes of mobilization involve both rational and emotional aspects: emotions are a key feature in participation within social movements as they provide a subjective bond between the activist and mobilization. Without this emotional bond, it would be difficult to explain how activists expose themselves to situations in which their own safety is potentially compromised. In this context, stories are crucial as they fuel the emotional link of the activist with his/her comrades and with the process of mobilization itself (Davis, 2002; Polleta, 2002).

Part I: 1997 Generation

1997: Constructing Disagreements

The political subjectivation of the students that participated in the 1997 student mobilization is constructed by a fundamental contradiction: these students were born and raised under dictatorship, but their political involvement was developed in the early days of transition. This means that the foundations of their political subjectivation are in direct contradiction with the scenario in which they developed their activism, and this contradiction is fundamental to understanding the character of their mobilization.

Following Lazzarato's (2006) political subjectivation theory, the 1997 student mobilization can be understood as a contradictory collective becoming driven by the material, political and subjective assemblages of early transition and dictatorship. Thus, the political subjectivation of the activists is constructed as a combination of two historical events: dictatorship and democratic transition. The interaction between both events and the activists' subjectivities are the source of their political subjectivation.

In this sense, the common experiences of dictatorship and the shortcomings of democracy constitute a thread that binds the articulation of narratives which are at the heart of political subjectivation of these activists. This articulation happens in transition, where the limits between both historical events are in a constant process of struggle. This is what underpins this generation's crisis of identity: it is a generation built by the materials of dictatorship but which faces the contradictions of a young democracy. In this process, memory also functions as a contradictory element – it is both a major influence upon their political subjectivation and a major restraint in the development of their own collective identity:

> We were a lacking generation, that hadn't lived the struggle against dictatorship because we were too young, we didn't get it. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

> It was heroic because it was dull, nothing was happening and you had to make things happen. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

In these next two chapters, I will be looking at two main issues: these activists' memories of dictatorship and the development of their social movement organizations (SMOs). In the first chapter, I will delve into their early experiences before they joined the ranks of the student movement to understand the complex and sometimes contradictory memories that these activists have regarding the dictatorship. In the second, I will look at the processes by which they started to participate in the student movement, understanding how their previous experiences impacted them.

Chapter 4: The Conflicting Remembrance of Dictatorship

Introduction

The formative years of the 1997 generation are deeply affected by dictatorship. Most of the activists interviewed were born between the last years of the sixties and first half of the seventies, this means that they lived their formative years during dictatorship (19731980). These experiences have a significant effect on their lives, as the climate of political violence and the different forms of resistance influenced the way in which they understand political activism. This chapter will delve into these experiences and how they impacted the future activists.

There are two main events which are crucial to understanding the political climate of the time: the 1980 national referendum and the massive demonstrations from 1983 to 1986. In 1980, the military junta called for a referendum to approve the enactment of a new constitution. This constitution was drafted by civilians close to the authoritarian regime and consecrated neoliberal policies which would become the main feature of the regime. Without electoral records and no control over the election process, the regime would eventually ring in a resounding electoral success.[8] In 1982, a major economic crisis hit the country, fuelled by the implementation of the neoliberal policies and the reckless behaviour of the national banks. The crisis meant a reduction by 14.3% of the GDP and a rise in overall unemployment to a staggering 23.7% (Salazar & Pinto, 2002). In that same period, new findings regarding the violation of human rights revealed the full brutality of the regime. In 1978, a pit full of fifteen bodies – those of farmers who went missing after being captured by the police in 1973 – was

[8] 67.04% in favour of the regime (Collier & F. Sater, 2004).

found in the countryside close to Santiago. This was the first time that a mass grave of political dissidents had been found in this period, and caused a backlash of outrage against the regime (Salazar, 2012).

Both the economic crisis and the first indisputable findings of human rights violations fuelled the eruption of nationwide demonstrations during 1983. Coordinated by underground organizations through pamphlets and posters throughout the country, they were able to mobilize a great number of protestors. These demonstrations were significant in terms of the levels of violence across them which pushed the government into negotiations to avoid them becoming a flashpoint for more widespread conflict. (Salazar, 2012).

During this period, the general environment was mainly of fear, where politics was a topic that was generally avoided in the public space. This environment meant that the level of information available varied greatly from household to household. For some of the activists, the dictatorship and crimes were part of their everyday family discussion, whilst for others there was a deafening silence on the matter. For the latter, their awareness about these events came from different sources: from classmates, alternative media (radio, mainly), etc. Human rights violations played a significant role in the political subjectivation of all of the activists; the atrocities of the regime and the utter lack of justice are crucial to understanding their political involvement.

The experiences regarding dictatorship are significantly influenced by two major elements: the level of politicization already present within their families and their class background. Regarding politicization, red-diaper activists tend to present their narrative in what Daniela Jara describes as a psychogeography of fear, *'[a] landscape centred on the distinction between the inside and the outside. People became suspicious of each other, because the 'Other' could potentially become an enemy and a political threat'* (2016, p. 48). In this environment, children of politically-engaged families internalized a dislocation between their private and

public space; whilst in the private space they discussed and enacted their political beliefs, in public space they were restrained and feared exposure of this. Regarding class, the memories varied greatly: those coming from a middle-class background tend to recall these events in an almost fond manner, those coming from the working class tend to project a more anxiety-driven narrative. This difference was crucial in terms of how they would build their political subjectivation in the future.

Considering these boundaries, the provided narratives of activists concerning this period are varied. Whilst most of them have disturbing memories of dictatorship, they are punctuated by other moments of the joyful games of childhood. Additionally, amongst these stories there is a wide variety of political actions: from violent scuffles against the police, to small acts of dissidence amongst fellow students. This variety is crucial to understand the character of their future mobilization.

In this chapter, I will delve into the memories of the activists stretching from the period of dictatorship to the celebration of the 1988 general referendum. Throughout their stories, the differences between cultural and communicative memory are at the forefront of this analysis, as the narratives regarding experiences of violence are mixed with family scenarios which render their narratives with affective content, influencing their process of political subjectivation.

Early Memories: Establishing the Inside and Outside Borders

The imposed environment of fear during the dictatorship had different effects on the lives of future activists. For those coming from a family that directly suffered the hallmark human rights violations, this environment was particularly pervasive. As Barbera (2009) argues, torture and other forms of political violence do not just affect those who are direct victims, but extends to the persons' networks and eventually to society as a whole. Political violence installs fear in the hearts and minds of those who oppose the regime. This sense of fear and precariousness is probably never as pervasive as when a family member is victimized.

In her research regarding the experiences of sons and daughters of the holocaust, or the 'second generation' as she terms them, Assman (2012) argues that family memories are particularly pertinent in terms of the emotional fingerprint they leave on their subjectivities. As the sons and daughters of holocaust survivors, they become the inheritors of their parents' legacy, and this constitutes a significant component of how they understand themselves; usually, this memory is recorded on their bodies and minds as a crucial part of who they are. Family memory is deeply embedded in their emotional relationships, meaning that the information that they draw from the past is not just a reflection of a particular period, but a constant source of identification (Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Levy, 2011).

This is the case for Raquel, an academic from the department of Philosophy in one of the most prestigious universities in the country. Her involvement in the 1997 student mobilization was performed through her participation in the 'Juventudes Comunistas' (Communist Youth, CY), the youth movement of the Communist party.

Raquel comes from a long line of Communist Party members on both sides. On her mother's side, her grandfather had been a Union organizer and member of the CP, whilst her

grandmother was a religious woman who was not involved in politics. On her father's side, her grandmother had become a widow at a young age, which forced her to live with her brother and his wife, state teachers who Raquel views as her grandparents as well. Raquel's father is an accountant who worked for an aviation company whilst her mother is a state teacher. Although none of her parents joined the CP, they were active supporters of Allende; both worked for his campaign and after his election were involved in his government.

Her family's involvement with Allende meant they had to pay a heavy toll. Her grandparents on her mother's side were both imprisoned by the regime, spending time first in Estadio Nacional and after in Estadio Chile, two of the most emblematic torture centres of the regime. After which, her grandfather was sent to a concentration camp in Chacabuco, in the north of Chile, where he suffered a one-year spell, whilst her grandmother was imprisoned in Estadio Nacional for three days.

Inside her household, information and accounts of the imprisonment of both of her grandparents were commonly discussed. '*Regarding my grandmother, it was something I've always known, it is not like one day they [her parents] came to me and told me: "we have to tell you about your grandmother."*' Unlike the narratives of 'memory as rupture' described by Stern (2009), her perception of that period is filled with contrast: from fond memories of childhood, to funny anecdotes. At one point she shared a funny anecdote from her grandfather's imprisonment in 'Estadio Nacional'.

> There was this guy in the stadium that kept complaining about how stupid he was. When a fellow prisoner asks him why he was complaining, he tells the story that actually he wasn't imprisoned because of his political activism, but because he got drunk one day, and went to the 'Estadio Nacional' demanding to see a football match. After the soldier told him to leave, he kept insisting until the soldier got fed up and pushed him inside with the rest of the prisoners (laughs). Every time my grandparent told the story we would laugh our asses out, sometimes we

> would even ask for an anecdote, so that is the way in which I found out about my grandparents. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

However, her understanding of what her grandparents experienced was not complete; she was never sure whether they experienced torture. During our conversations she mentions that she refused to ask them this because of the traumatic character of their experience. Nevertheless, their experiences of violence become a significant source of identity, attaching an emotional character to their story.

> [Regarding her relationship with her grandmother] I have a very special relationship with her, and I think that it is mediated by this story. I mean, I can forget whatever I want, but if I forget that my grandmother was imprisoned then I am a motherfucker. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

As Jara (2016) argues, some siblings of victims of human rights violations tend to construct an identity related to this story. This identity is heavily influenced by the emotional inheritance of their sibling's stories. As Assman (2006) argues, family memory is different from other sources of memory, as its transmission is bodily mediated, this means that the transmission of memory is based on face-to-face interactions with a family member, imprinting an emotional character to the narrative. In Raquel's story, this narrative is emotional, creating an affective link between the past and her understanding of who she is (Dawney, 2013; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010).

The particular way in which this memory influences their identity varies according to the way in which they are exposed to these events. In the case of Raquel, her exposure to the human rights violations was mediated through anecdotes and laughter, allowing her to grasp the relevance of that story but also preventing it from becoming traumatic. This is what Jara (2016) refers to as 'poisoned knowledge', namely the awareness of the violence suffered by their family members, but without the elements of fragmentation and irrationality of trauma. Unlike the narratives of second-generation victims shaped by intergenerational transmission

of trauma (Belnap, 2012; Kogan, 2012), 'poisoned knowledge' refers to the ability to coherently understand these experiences, avoiding their dissociation. This coherence allows them to vest these memories with meaning, permitting second-generation victims to interpret and draw meaning from these events (Jelin, 2002). Nevertheless, these memories are characterized as poison, as the environment of dictatorship means that they are to be kept secret from the world, circumscribed to the family environment.

This memory transmission from her family does not mean only the transmission of certain narratives, but also, more importantly, a social framework (Jelin, 2002) that influences the way in which she sees and understands the world. This is arguably the most significant aspect in the process of memory transmission, as it is the foundation of their family collective memory. Jelin (2002) mentions two general conditions for the transmission of memory: the existence of basis for a process of identification – the construction of a sense of 'us' – and allowing the appropriation and interpretation of this memory to the younger generations. In the case of Raquel, this seems to be related to her belonging in a Communist culture. This culture is significant as it develops a sense of identity and unpacks a perspective that can be modulated according to her individual perspective.

> I think that I felt as being part of something, (…) it endures until today, I feel really comfortable identifying with that world (…) of the left and of human rights (…) I never felt ashamed or anything, on the contrary (…) I think that I even felt proud, and it makes me feel part of the people that I admire. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Despite her grandparents' experiences, politics remained a significant part of her life from being a little girl. Born in 1973, she lived her entire childhood under the dictatorship in a house where political dissent was a widely discussed topic. '*(…) more than political discussion, there was a lot of information circulating, my parents would talk with my grandparents [about politics], with my uncles, etc.'*. This environment allowed her to develop an interest in politics,

escaping the political shut down that was normally characteristic. Besides the political discussions, her parents displayed small acts of defiance that were significant to her, as they showed her that even in the context of a brutal dictatorship it was possible to rebel.

> Whenever Pinochet gave a national statement in the TV, my dad would blast music by Violeta Parra or Inti-Illimani,[9] or anything of the sort as an act of protest. We were all scared, although it was a small thing it was still dangerous because you could get caught. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Raquel was born into a Communist culture that contained a series of features: aesthetics, cultural expressions, narratives and storytelling. This social framework provided a sense of identity and purpose that would become crucial in her future activism. Raquel's membership in this culture was created done through the process of memory transmission, where she absorbed and developed the social framework in her particular way. Although there are certain aspects of this process that are unconscious, there are other aspects that are conscious, and done with intent:

> I remember how my nephew found out that my grandfather had been imprisoned (…) he was three years old, it was around 2000, we were talking in our beach house in the dining room and, of course, as always, very naturally the topic comes up … my dad says something along the lines of: 'yes, like when my dad was in the stadium [imprisoned]' and my nephew started saying: 'What?! What?! He was imprisoned? Was he a thief who stole toys from children?!' (laughs) (…) So we had to explain to him: 'Look what happens is that ... blah-blah' – when he was three years-old! (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Raquel's narrative about the dictatorship is interesting in terms of its complexity. It is filled with experiences of fear that reflect the environment of the time, but also of warm memories of childhood. One of the most remarkable aspects is that amongst her fondest memories are the recollection of days of protests in the eighties, insofar as these massive demonstrations

[9] Both famous Left-wing artist.

were extremely violent and usually resulted in general blackouts and hundreds of people being incarcerated.[10]

> I remember that we always got together (…) for protest days, my father would leave work early (…) we would go see my uncles or my grandparents (…) we all got together and everyone would arrive: cousins, uncles (…) my cousins that where older than me [told us about how they] had been to a few protests in the morning, and everyone would start arguing. We always left when there was only twenty minutes remaining until the curfew and I would get really scared because we would arrive just about on time to our home for the start of the curfew, I swore we wouldn't arrive. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

This story is remarkable in terms of the level of fondness which she uses to describe this situation. These days of protest were significant in terms of their scale and spread of violence, however, for Raquel, these days are remembered with a great deal of affection. This is not to say that she was completely oblivious to the violence of those days, but her own perception was mainly focused on her family. The fondness of this memory allows one to understand the emotional attachment that Raquel developed in her activism in the future. This sense of fondness and also adventure is crucial, as it explains her disposition towards contentious action.

Nevertheless, the next quote shows the pervasiveness of the environment of fear that imbued these days:

> We were [she and her family] running towards the house a few minutes before the curfew, and I remember that one of my shoe laces were untied, and that I did not have the nerve to tie it because we would lose time, because the street was packed with soldiers … To be fair it was Ñuñoa,[11] it was not a dangerous area, but nevertheless there were military vans all over the place and I was a bit scared, but

[10] Between 1983 and 1986 massive demonstrations were organized to pressure the dictatorship to resign (Salazar 2012).
[11] A middle-class borough in Santiago.

> I was also very excited, because it was not like we were being terribly irresponsible; nothing would happen to us, but I never understood why did we have to wait until the last three minutes to arrive home. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

As this quote shows, the fear of the military was very much present in her mind as a child, however this fear was contextualized by a sense of adventure.

Another significant element is how class contextualizes her experience. Even from an early age she is aware of the class differences in terms of violence: as she runs to avoid the curfew, she reflects on the protection that she and her family had from living in a middle-class borough. This protection is a relevant differentiation in the memories of activists, as their experiences during dictatorship vary greatly according to this.

The openness in which their family discusses politics is a dire contrast with the environment of silence that is characteristic of dictatorship, where fear towards the secret police and its consequences meant that political discussions were avoided (Lechner, 1992). This openness had a significant effect on her future activism, as politics and activism were part of everyday discussion.

Wladimir is an activist from Santiago. Like Raquel, Wladimir comes from a long line of political activism, tightly related to the history of struggle against fascism in Europe. His grandfather on his mother's side was a Spanish immigrant who fought against Franco during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), after which he emigrated to the USSR where he became a pilot, fighting the Nazis during WWII. After the war, he established himself in Chile where he got married and worked as an electrical engineer. On the other side of the family, his grandparents were a Jewish couple who emigrated to Chile before WWII. Wladimir's father was part of the Communist Youth during his university years and worked in the government of Allende. After the coup, he worked in a private university and in an NGO related to issues

of agricultural production, whilst his mother worked as a secretary for Allende's government and remained there until her retirement in 2006.

During his childhood, Wladimir lived at his grandfather's (on his mother's side) house, set atop a large piece of land in the middle of Ñuñoa, a classic middle-class borough of Santiago. He recalls his childhood as a mix between the tensions of dictatorship and a very comfortable middle-class life. Although his grandfather was not politically active, he had friends and family who were important members of the left-wing elite, which made him a constant target of the repressive agencies of dictatorship. In the early days of dictatorship, one of his grandfather's brothers was kidnapped by the secret police and remains one of the thousands of 'missing'.

Although Wladimir acknowledges the tensions at home which came from the violence of dictatorship, he depicts his experience as being one of protection, excluded from the environment of fear characteristic to dictatorship. Secluded in the walls of his grandfather's home, they spent most of this time playing football in the backyard, oblivious to the tensions. In one of our conversations, he recalls a day when there was a massive water supply shut-down, and the only place he could get water was in a nearby university. However, on that particular day, the university campus was surrounded by police because of a student occupation, which meant that they only allowed children to get water from the university wells. Reflecting on this episode, Wladimir recalls:

> If you had asked me in that moment, I wasn't afraid, I mean, I had not a sense that something bad could happen to me. I mean it was almost like an absurd situation, there wasn't a family tension or anything, because we were bossed around by our parents. I think also that there was the sense that much of that violence was a bit of a pantomime, that they couldn't do harm you if you were not involved in something. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation).

Throughout our conversations, Wladimir highlights a sense of ease regarding his childhood and the violence he witnessed. Although he was aware of the human rights violations, his

experience seems to be unaltered by the environment of fear of dictatorship; according to him, this was possible because most of the cases of violence were openly discussed amongst the family. Similar to Raquel, Wladimir's transmission of memory was based in a family environment that contradicted the environment of fear common to dictatorship. Once again, this becomes blatantly obvious during the days of demonstrations in the early eighties:

> In the house there was a massive drum, so for a day of demonstrations me and my cousins would take turns banging the drum (laughs), bickering about whose turn was next. It was almost an affective situation for me (…) after this we would go inside the house, a blackout would happen so you would bring out your candles, you would chat, then the helicopter would fly over … but it was a borough where nothing happened, it was not like Departamental [a working-class borough] where people would get abducted from their homes in the middle of the night. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

Like Raquel, Wladimir's story regarding the days of protest is centred in his family's experience and conjures a fond memory of these events. This context helps to understand the development of a political subjectivity that is prone to activism, as the violence of dictatorship is contextualized in childhood games, it is possible to see how this allows the development of an antagonistic perspective, one that is able to surpass the environment of fear that was characteristic of dictatorship. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight the class distinction that Wladimir makes. Coming from a middle-class family, he is aware that the chances of being victimized by the regime were little.

The politicized environment of both of their families clashed directly with what happened in the country during dictatorship, where political discussion was generally avoided. In the case of Raquel, she developed clear boundaries regarding the places and people with whom she could share this information. Jara (2016) argues that owing to the psychogeography of fear during dictatorship, second-generation children have to quickly learn the limits and 'borders' of how sincere they can be regarding their opinions and their history, and this is done in order

to protect both themselves and their family members. This next story reflects this point clearly:

> I remember that once I was invited to the birthday party of a classmate who was the daughter of a soldier (…) and everybody said that he wasn't only a military soldier, but also a member of CNI[12] (…) and I remember that we went with a friend, Pancha, we were in a corner looking at each other nervously; at one point one said to the others: 'my mum told me not to say a word in this place', 'my mum said that exact same thing' (laughs) and then we started chatting … Of course, both of us imagined that we were going to peek inside a room and see a torture rack (laughs), but we still went to the birthday. Both of us were warned by our parents not to say a word. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

The story that she shared is significant in terms of how it represents the environment of dictatorship. As a middle-class child, she attended a school in which she shared classrooms with other middle-class children from varied backgrounds. This meant that from a very young age she was forced to hide her opinions and background to avoid putting herself or her family in danger.

However, the context of dictatorship meant that she was drawn into situations like the one above, situations in which she felt exposed and threatened. During the interview, she constantly laughs recalling the event, something which was shocking to me as I found the events of the re-telling to be incredibly frightful. When I asked her why her mother exposed her to this, she stated that it was her friend's party and that she wanted to go. This storytelling is interesting in terms of how it explains the experiences of a young child growing up in dictatorship. Although she was aware of the crimes of the dictatorship they were part of her everyday experience, part of her reality. This story exemplifies the concept of 'poisoned knowledge' (2016, p.43), as both Raquel and her friend are aware of the extreme violence of

[12] The dictatorship's secret police.

the regime, their awareness is not fragmented or irrational, but owned and embodied to the point of becoming a normal piece of information. This awareness means that their experience of going to a friend's party is permeated by the fear of violence, to the point of imagining finding a torture room inside the house. However, this piece of information is not conveyed as a traumatic event, but as a funny anecdote, as part of the 'normality' of those years.

In both schools in which Raquel was enrolled, there was a mixture of students coming from left-wing families and right-wing families, some of them even sons of high-ranking officers. During her first years of school, the political differences did not permeate into her school friendships, however when she started her second school – at the age of ten – these differences started to bear meaning. This date coincided with the start of the demonstrations against the regime in 1983–84 across the country, which meant that political divisions had started to become more prominent. As tensions grew, the political differences created a divide in her classroom.

> It was funny because everyone knew who was who; I mean who was left wing and who wasn't. But in any case, you would throw some innuendos to know if you were 'amongst friends' and have a chat (laughs). (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Despite the restrictions to political discussion of the period – her notebook was periodically searched by one of her teachers – the students staged micro-struggles within the classroom which reflected the political tensions that were emerging. In this scenario of narrow possibilities of political expression, she and some of her classmates developed a sort of affinity group that would stage small acts of protest in her school.

> To give you a typical example: [imitating her teacher] 'today we are going to talk about the democracy in Greece.' And all of us [the opposition] would say: 'What do you mean by that word?' [referring to democracy] as a joke (…) so then the

> sons of officers would say: 'these fucking communists, they should all be killed.' (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

> During the civic ceremonies on Mondays[13] (…) we would sing the chorus loudly and then no one would sing the second verse.[14] (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Raquel and her classmates recreated the political divisions of the country in different ways: from the position the different groups occupied inside the classroom, to jokes they would crack in class. Regarding the first quote, what is remarkable is the reaction of her right-wing classmates, in the face of a challenge to the established order the threat of death is the instant recourse. This strategy was common in those years, where death was part of the political discourse (Jara, 2016). In the case of the national anthem, this action is of great significance as it shows an act of defiance in the face of a patriotic action of indoctrination. These actions are also similar to the ones performed by Raquel's father (listening to protest songs during Pinochet's address to the nation), staging small acts of defiance against the order.

The chorus of the national anthem is: *'That you be either the tomb of the free, or a refuge from oppression'* (Lillo & Carnicer, 1847). This part of the national anthem was used by the opposition to protest against the regime. The famous third verse was from the original lyrics of the anthem; however, it was taken out decades before the coup. It was Pinochet who decided to reinstate it to honour the action of the military during the coup. This verse said: '*Your names, brave soldiers, That you have been the support of Chile, Our breasts are engraved with your names, our children will know them too'* (Lillo & Carnicer, 1847). By singing the chorus loudly and refusing to sing the third verse, they were expressing their opposition to

[13] During dictatorship, schools were forced to celebrate a civic ceremony every Monday as part of the indoctrination of the regime. In these ceremonies, it was customary to sing the national anthem whilst standing in formation.

[14] During dictatorship a second verse was included in the national anthem which honoured the role of the military and the police.

the dictatorship. In the general environment of fear, these actions of protest challenged the repressive character of dictatorship, resurfacing political dissent in an environment in which these actions could carry dire consequences.

In the environment of dictatorship, enacting dissent was a dangerous ordeal. At the core of authoritarian governments is the clear imposition of authority by strength, and challenging this authority is an offense to the core to its legitimacy. As Rancière (2006) argues, politics as a phenomenon is based on the staging of dissent; in this sense, the actions of Raquel and her fellow classmates – as small as they may have been – reintroduced politics into the environment of dictatorship, something that was crucial in challenging an authoritarian regime. They were not by any means alone in this endeavour, there were multiple demonstrations all over the country which were pushing for the end of dictatorship (Salazar, 2012); their small acts of dissent were part of the same effort.

Most of the time these tensions did not amount to much, however she recalls an incident in which she experienced a strong act of intimidation.

> I remember one time, around '86 when (…) me and my friend – both of us kind of hippie-ish and obviously lefties; not involved in a political party or anything of that sort, but we would listen to Victor Jara[15] and that sort of thing – we were outside the school talking, and suddenly these two assholes pass in their car with an army chauffeur and shout: 'Those on the corner, they are the ones! Those ones over there are communists!' And I remember that I felt incredible terror, I mean like 'fuck, what are they going to do to us?' Eventually nothing happened, but for someone to shout that at you like that, in the middle of the street, it was extremely intimidating. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

This last quote shows that although it was possible to perform acts of disobedience, the repressive character of the regime was very much present. As it is with brutal dictatorships,

[15] A Chilean folk singer murdered by the military regime in 1973.

violence (or the threat of it) is a language that is commonly used to reinstate order, to discipline those who are trespassing the limits of discourse (Barbera, 2009; Jara, 2016). Although these threats were never fulfilled, they had an enduring effect on Raquel and her classmate, reminding them of the constant possibility of death. This is the main feature in the psychogeography of fear during dictatorship: although dissent was possible, it was always accompanied by the possibility of death.

In a different context, but with similarities in terms of subjectivation, is the case of Amanda. A middle-class activist from a non-politicized background. She is the oldest daughter of four (two brothers and one sister). At the time, her father worked in various trades, from mechanic to computer technician. Her mother, on the other hand, worked as a housewife. Amanda's parents divorced when she was thirteen years old, and from then on, she lived with her father.

Both of Amanda's parents came from a wealthier background, however they suffered different spells of financial difficulty. During these spells, her family was excluded and discriminated by her extended family. This had an enduring effect on her perspective; as someone that came from a wealthy family, the contrast that she experienced between her situation and the situation of her extended family was significant for her own conception of self and her political subjectivation. According to Amanda, this sense of exclusion had an important impact on her political motivations:

> One day I arrived at my grandfather's house with my dad, and my dad was carrying a trophy that I had won in a bicycle tournament, first place in an important tournament. And my dad showed it to my grandfather, and my grandfather says something like: 'ultimately, the only famous person in our family is Humberto Gordon,' and I was left flabbergasted. I was twelve or thirteen years old, and I remember being super excited with my trophy and after that I was deeply disappointed. Later, I found out that he [Humberto Gordon] was a member of the military junta (…) What annoyed me were two things: a certain level of

> discrimination towards my own dad because we were poor (…) and also the fact that he had some level of respect towards that guy, I found that to be simply … macabre. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

This quote is interesting as it mixes two aspects which are crucial in understanding the development of Amanda's political subjectivation: there is her complex relationship with her family and the overarching presence of the dictatorship. As the quote shows, her grandfather's dismissal of her sporting achievement is rooted in his conflictive relationship with Amanda's father. However, this relationship is contextualized in the political conflicts of the country. This mixture between family feuds and political context is crucial for Amanda's political subjectivation. Although she was not fully aware of who Humberto Gordon was, she had a few notions about the dictatorship and its abuses. This awareness, mixed with the dismissal of his grandfather because of their economic situation, left an undeniable impression on her subjectivity, a feeling of rejection that would eventually follow her into her activism.

Both of Amanda's parents were opposed to the regime but they did not have any kind of relationship with either Allende's government or the resistance against dictatorship. Nevertheless, Amanda's political subjectivation is deeply rooted in her awareness regarding the human rights violations of the regime, an awareness that came from a friendship with a second-generation victim and her personal curiosity toward the subject.

> (I was briefly enrolled) in a British school which was sort of progressive, where there were some classmates that were sons of victims of human rights violations, directly or indirectly, and the teachers were generally progressive too. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

> The toughest thing that I heard during the dictatorship, something that made me go [makes a 'surprise' gesture], was when they told the cases of the 'quemados' (burnt alive). I remember that it was by night, and the radio host narrated the

> cases of Rodrigo Rojas and Carmen Gloria de Negri;[16] I remember the news saying something like: 'they found some burnt bodies on the street' (…) I can't remember the exact details, but I think they found them during the day, people from a nearby slum. I remember hearing the news by night and it was tremendous. (…) for people like me it was huge, they were young, and the way that they found them, just laying around by the side of a road. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

As Stern (2010) mentions, during the eighties there was a significant shift in the memory of dictatorship, as the economic crisis was hitting the country, the truth behind the human rights violations started to permeate the media. The brutality and scale of the crimes shifted the narrative, rallying the opposition. Whilst for some of the victims of dictatorship, this period was perceived as a rupture, for people like Amanda – who found out about the human rights violations by alternative media – this information became a *'moral awakening of consciousness'* (Stern, 2010. p. 5). For her, the news of the violence of dictatorship had a significant effect on her subjectivity, leaving her in shock and awe as a child. The case of Amanda is remarkable in this regard. Despite not suffering human rights violations in her family, she was drawn into this story by friendships she built in school. As previously discussed, the main objective behind political violence is to install fear in the minds of people, however, this is not always the case (Barbera, 2009; Briceño-león, 2016; Gaudichaud & Ortega Breña, 2009; Jara, 2016). For Amanda, her sense of solidarity was stronger, pushing her to participate in political actions. This is what Lazzarato (2006) refers to as the plane of immanence of an event; how an event can have different consequences in different people. Whilst for most, political violence was a strong discouragement against becoming politically involved, in the case of Amanda it became a driver in her desire for political participation.

Enrique is a red-diaper working-class activist from Santiago. During dictatorship, his father worked in a shoe factory and acted as a union leader, whilst his mother was a housewife. In

[16] Activists who were caught by the police and burnt alive.

the case of Enrique, his recollections of the dictatorship are less ambiguous than those from middle-class activists. Although they are still varied and complex, the violence of dictatorship is significantly more present than in the memories of Raquel and Wladimir. Raised in a working-class borough of Santiago, he lived in an enclosed community of workers surrounded by slums. His family experiences were shaped by both his father's dealings with the police and the violence he witnessed in his neighbourhood.

Regarding his father's experience as a union leader, he recalls the following story:

> It must have been one of these two to three-day demonstrations in the eighties, he stayed at his job until late, about 9:30 (…) it took him about two hours to get home, avoiding the barricades around Departamental. He arrived home with bullets in the car, completely petrified [with fear]. (Enrique, Entrepreneur, 1997 Generation).

Once again, this early memory is situated in one of the massive demonstrations of the eighties. Unlike Raquel and Wladimir, Enrique's narrative is significantly different, highlighting the violence of the demonstrations. Coincidently, he mentions the same borough that Wladimir mentions as an example of violence: Departamental. This shows the clear and established class distinctions that were present during dictatorship and the relevance it had for the chances of being subject to political violence.

The next story also highlights the environment of violence and fear that was predominant during the dictatorship.

> For one of the demonstrations, around '83 or '84, a rumour was spread [around the neighbourhood] that the people from one of the nearby slums were planning to loot our houses. Thus, people started to prepare themselves, and everyone started coming out to the streets, it must have been after two or three days of strikes, with helicopters flying very low. We had to wear a white bandana to differentiate ourselves from those that would supposedly come to loot (…) It was

> kind of like a war environment, because of the stress, the helicopters flying by, kids crying, and all of that. (Enrique, Entrepreneur, 1997 Generation)

One of the most interesting features of this narrative is the rumour that is shared amongst neighbours. As mentioned previously, the environment of fear that was predominant during dictatorship meant that there was a general environment of distrust towards everyone. This distrust was exploited by the regime to avoid the formation of an organized resistance. This is what Lechner (1992) identifies as a paranoid society, a social milieu characterized by the constant mistrust between people. This explains the sense of war that Enrique describes so vividly, as part of an enclosed community of workers; instead of an organized resistance against the regime, there was a sense of being under attack by the nearby slums.

A distinct feature of this story is the emblem of the bandanas. During the coup, the soldiers wore a white bracelet on their arms to distinguish themselves from soldiers that supposedly were loyal to Allende (Collier & F. Sater, 2004). The fact of the matter is that there were no soldiers loyal to Allende on the streets during the coup, rendering the bandanas useless. Nevertheless, the fact that the bandana appeared once again on the basis of this rumour speaks volumes to its political content. This story reproduced the hegemonic order by citing the traumatic event of the military coup. This reference has the ability of linking this historical event with the demonstrations of the eighties and establishing a dividing line between people of similar class backgrounds. It is important to bear in mind the climate of war in which the rumour was shared. The rumour in this sense has a clear disciplinary role, establishing a clear dividing line between law-abiding residents, and the 'savage' rioting slum-dwellers.

Manuel is a working-class activist from a non-politicized family. He was born in a small town close to Santiago called San Vicente from which he and his family moved to a slum located in the outskirts of Santiago, called Santa Elena. His father, who was originally a farmer, transformed into a construction worker upon his arrival to the city. Manuel did not have a

direct connection with the opposition to the government. Although his father was an Allende supporter, he was not involved in any organizations that supported him or part of the resistance against the regime.

From the first interview, Manuel highlights the relevance that living in this space had in his political subjectivation.

> The slum is called – until this day – 'Santa Elena'. And that's where we spent our childhood, we went to a school there, in fact the school where I studied was half a block from where I lived and ... I went to high school eight blocks from where I lived, I went on foot ... and therefore we built our lives there. When I went to uni, I was still living there, when I finished uni I was still there living in the same slum. So ... we had a run in a place that somehow ... marked our lives, that crossed our lives (…) it gave us a certain identity. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

His memories of dictatorship are significantly shaped by his participation in the massive demonstrations of the eighties. His involvement in these activities came from his participation in student organizations in his school.

> My political involvement starts in the context of my high-school years, participating in the space of the student organizations (laughs), it was always related to the slum [I used to live in]. I began participating in 1983, I was thirteen years old, I can remember as if it was today, the first demonstration on May of '83. I didn't feel any retribution, I felt the need for freedom of expression; I felt that my anger was being channelled into something. By that time, I already had some political consciousness about what the dictatorship was, there were a lot of stories going around of human rights violations, of persecution by '83 (…) So, there was enough indignation on our behalf, and there was a figure which concentrated it which was Pinochet; thus, demonstrating against the dictator made us feel very good (…) (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Similar to Amanda, Manuel's political consciousness comes mainly from the awareness of human rights violations and the sense of repression which he experienced living as a slum

dweller. The quote also depicts the relevance that the figure of the dictator had for the left. It was a rallying figure against whom building an opposition became urgent (Stern, 2009). Although there was a sense of fear in terms of the consequences of standing against the regime, the prominence of the figure of Pinochet gave the opposition a source of purpose, prompting the organization and the construction of an emotional and rational political consciousness which animated their struggle.

One interesting feature is how these actions were marked by a sense of spontaneity, and the level of energy that they created.

> As soon as we heard about the demos, we would start gathering materials during the week: tires, petrol, everything that was needed to build a barricade, big stones to put on the road, etc. The idea was to stop the traffic … some of us would make 'miguelitos' [bent nails] to stop police cars … we would get up in the early hours of the morning, around 4, 4:30 in the morning, by 5, 5:30 we were already on the streets. Back then there was a lot of commitment. It was very powerful for us, because there was an unknown force which gave you the will to prepare, to wake up in the morning. At the time, we were all of kind of lazy [in terms of waking up in the morning], but when there was a demonstration, all of us would be outside at 5 am … because there was an aim, an aim upon which we would focus all of our energy, and it was the dictatorship or the dictator in particular … and the police forces of which we knew what they were up to, we knew about their practices, and somehow we channelled our anger towards them (…) Back then, these were the types of organization, there was no party or structure commanding or leading, it was very much spontaneous, but organized at the same time, with a lot of self-discipline. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

These demonstrations were significant both in generational and personal terms. In generational terms, they became the most relevant demonstrations against dictatorship and ultimately forced the regime to negotiate a democratic transition (Salazar, 2012). On

individual terms, they provided the first sources of organizations for the youth movements in the eighties and ultimately became the blueprints for the later university collectives.

These actions represented a form of venting against the violence of dictatorship. As it is mentioned in the quote, during the early eighties there was increasing unrest against the political violence of dictatorship; the curtain of silence surrounding the human rights violations of the regime was being permeated, allowing a greater number of the public to know the horrors of the political crimes of the regime. Although for some people these events became a warning against being politically involved (Barbera, 2009), in the case of some of the activists it became a motivation. As Lazzarato argues (2006), the particular assemblage that certain events as a form of political subjectivation depends upon is largely uncertain, and varies from individual to individual. In the case of human rights violations, these events became drivers for political action for some of the young people.

As is mentioned in the quote, from these experiences Manuel would continue his political involvement by first forming an independent grassroots organization in the slum he lived.

> By '85 I was much more involved, by the end of '84 I participated in a political militancy experience. A little earlier than that we had created this new organization called 'Juventud Popular Santa Helena' (People Youth Santa Elena, JP) (…) with friends from the same block, we organized children's entertainment, and soon enough we had an organization, and we used to run workshops, cultural activities – while we were still little buggers, teenagers – and we were involved in this for a long time, and some of us started affiliating with political organizations. Some of us to the CP, others socialist, and others still the MIR. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

As his political involvement became more prominent, he received an invitation to participate in the Socialist Party, which was an underground organization at that time. This was the starting point of his activist career. Eventually he would become part of the central committee

of the party. What is remarkable in this process is the description of the undercover world of political militancy during dictatorship. As will be discussed further on, the culture and practices of this world had a significant impact on the modes of this generation's political culture.

He was invited by a neighbour to join, someone who he had known since childhood, but who had concealed his own political involvement.

> In the slum, on the same block, there lived a guy to whom no one payed much attention; as a matter of fact, he identified himself as being right wing but he ended up being a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party. But in the slum, he didn't seem to do anything. He was kind of close to us, kind of a friend of us [members of the collective], and sometimes we would have a chat with him, he would come by and then leave without much notice. We never knew much about him (…) he was one of the organizers of the 'Socialist Commander' factions. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

After his formal involvement in the party began, he then started to participate in the underground political activism, which involved a course on 'conspiratorial methods':

> [On] my first course [both laughs], everything was new to me, I had no experience, my dad was never politically active, and so the guy [who invited him to the course] tells me: 'You are going to meet with someone that will be holding a green apple in his left hand and he will ask you where Constantinopla [a street] is, and you have to go with him. You will also have an apple in your hand, and you have to switch it from left hand to right hand three times, reply something previously accorded to you, and walk with him.' That was called the 'communication plan', and I start walking with him (…) and the guy starts coming and going from different streets, I was already a bit lost with all the turns and suddenly he tells me: 'we were being followed for at least the last three blocks, but don't worry he is one of us'. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

The story continues in the same vein describing tactics to detect if you are being followed and how to find out if your house had been raided. The relevance of this story is that it gives a good description of the political culture of the left in those years, deeply influenced by the environment of fear of the dictatorship, this political attribute did not die with the end of dictatorship, but lingered into the culture of activism during transition.

The 1988 referendum was a significant event for this generation. As the first real democratic election since dictatorship, it was this generation's first experience of an electoral process. For some of the activists, the campaign leading to the election opened up the possibility to express their political views with greater ease.

For Wladimir it was significant as it became one of the first moments in which he was able to express his political perspectives with greater ease:

> I remember for instance, by '88 – I was 13 years old … it is a year where things start to get political, to externalize stuff. So you would see 'Sí' pins and 'No' badges at school,[17] and people started to discuss this sort of stuff and you could see it (…) I mean, teachers told you to take them off [the pins], but as soon as you could you would put them on again. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

Forced by this campaign, the regime softened its position on political activism, allowing the opposition to have meetings, celebrate demonstrations, etc. These were the first political rallies in which most of the activists participated.

> In the seventh grade, 1988, I went to four or five 'No' demonstrations, the largest 'No' demonstrations, and usually I went with classmates or sometimes by myself. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

[17] The referendum campaign was based on the two options on the ballot, Yes (Sí) meant that you supported the dictatorship remaining in power, and No meant the opposite.

> As for the referendum [campaign], I did participate, I went to a couple of demonstrations (…) it was completely packed, with Aylwin[18] speaking to a crowd of thirty, fifty thousand people" (Enrique, Entrepreneur, 1997 Generation).

During this period, it was possible for some of the activists to publicly state their political perspectives, even openly challenging the sympathizers of the regime. For Raquel, this meant conveying her personal suffering as part of making a political argument.

> I remember that once I was with a classmate that was 'momio'[19], but we were really good friends. It was close to the '88 referendum, and he says something in the lines of: 'where Pinochet failed was that he didn't murder all the communists.' And I reply: 'Oh yeah? Like who for instance?' [to which he replies]: 'Like all the people that were jailed in the National Stadium,[20] they should have all been killed'. 'Oh yeah?' – I replied – 'the only problem is that it would have left me with no grandparents.' And that just finished him (laughs). [Referring to his classmate's answer]. 'No, I'm sorry, I didn't mean to say that.' [Her answer] 'Well, that's exactly what you said. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

This was a crucial moment for victims of the regime and their families, as for the first time their sufferings became part of contemporary political discussion. The opposition capitalized on the shift of the narrative regarding human rights violations by broadcasting a TV advertisement with testimonies of some of the mothers and widows of those forcefully disappeared and executed. This TV advert became one of the first public recognitions of the crimes of the dictatorship, something that emboldened the activists and gave hope to the general public (Stern, 2009).

Throughout the country, new forms of political organizations started popping up, and one of the most relevant at that time was the 'Comites Democráticos' (Democratic Comittees, CODE), an opposition student organization which campaigned against Pinochet across schools

[18] Opposition leader and first democratic president after dictatorship.
[19] Derogatory term used to refer at supporters of the dictatorship.
[20] The National Stadium was the main prison during the mass incarcerations of the dictatorship.

and universities. This organization was banned from schools which meant that they carried out their activities covertly. However, this was not an impediment for Raquel, as she quickly joined this organization as soon as possible.

> Suddenly a kid approached me and asked if he can talk to me, he said 'we wanted to ask you to join CODE' – a friend of mine had tipped them off, I didn't know about it – (…) and I said to them 'can I invite a friend?' (laughs). [To which he replies] 'OK, but your friend who is she?' (…) 'OK, later on I'm gonna give you the address, but you have to keep it to yourself.' I felt terribly important! (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

The environment of secrecy was part of the appeal by which these young people understood politics. Raquel mentions that during her meetings with CODE, she and her comrades decided to use codenames. This was a measure taken by underground organizations during dictatorship in case one of their members got imprisoned, he/she would not be able to properly identify the rest of the organization. The appropriation of this tactic by her and her comrades did not respond to an actual concern about their safety, but to a game of pretend. Nevertheless, it is significant in terms of the appeal that the culture of underground struggle had for this generation.

Despite their secrecy, Raquel's parents would found out about her , and their reaction was a clear depiction of the generational struggles during the last days of dictatorship. According to Raquel, her involvement was disclosed by a friend of hers, a member of her clique that she had always been suspicious. When her parents found out about her political involvement, it resulted in a big argument.

> They yelled at me – that I was being irresponsible, that what was I thinking, that I would be kicked out of the school, that my brother would also be kicked out, that my father would lose his job – just a mess. That what was I thinking by taking those risks, that it was pointless because nothing would ever change. In summary, a defeatist and fearful argument. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Raquel rebelled against her parents and remained a member of the organization. When I asked her the reasons behind her resilience, she mentioned that she was fed up with her parents' fear, and that she considered that at that time it was important for her to participate. This rebellion is interesting as it illustrates the zeitgeist of her generation: the struggle against dictatorship and especially against the figure of Pinochet. As Stern (2010) argues, the figure of Pinochet rallied the opposition, pushing different individuals to the point of even risking their lives to defeat the dictator. This feeling was especially pervasive among the young, who were part of the massive demonstrations that pushed for the plebiscite. However, among the older generations, the violence of dictatorship lingered, permeating their subjectivities. Raquel's parents had suffered the consequences of dictatorship which made them pessimistic and fearful, something Raquel's generation rebelled against.

Probably one of the most relevant political events for these activists occurred on the morning of the 5th of October 1988. On this day, the government revealed the results of the referendum, marking the defeat of Pinochet's regime and the beginning of transition. The mood of that morning was shaped by the climate of uncertainty of the previous evening, where the regime refused to deliver the results and rumours of a second coup were hanging in the air. As Enrique explains:

> It was fear mostly, and some euphoria but you couldn't really celebrate. Ultimately, you didn't have the official results, and you would hear that there were soldiers on the streets, you would hear shootings and everything; you couldn't celebrate. I believe that we celebrated after a few days. (Enrique, Entrepreneur, 1997 Generation)

Eventually, the government gave the results, announcing a resounding victory for the opposition and the first electoral defeat of the dictatorship. The next morning, there were joyful celebrations in the streets as the end of dictatorship was drawing near. Raquel shared her memory of this moment:

> I experienced the referendum, it was kind of a breathing space, the school forbade us from campaigning, but we did it anyway. As a matter of fact, I have a very emotional memory from the 7th of October – because no one went to school on the 6th, we all went to the demonstration – I remember that I ran with a classmate and we hugged each other, we were on the brink of tears, and beside her there was this asshole – the son of a police officer – that was completely sure that 'Sí' would win. I mean, I think that one of the worst things that could have happened to him was our joy. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

However, this impression was not shared by all the activists. In the case of Manuel, he and the members of his party had their reservations regarding the election, especially in terms of the future consequences for the country.

> There was a debate inside our side of the party regarding the transition, or the beginnings of transition. We were against the referendum and we decided not to participate in the election, we called for a social protest against the referendum (…) I consider that it was the right position, I believe that it was [the referendum] one of the biggest cons of the twentieth century – that election consolidated and legitimized the neoliberal system. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Manuel was the only activist I interviewed who held this perception regarding the referendum. His political involvement in subversive politics gave him a unique perspective in comparison with the rest of the activists interviewed. Nevertheless, his perception regarding the referendum and the politics of transition is crucial to the development of the student movement until today. The next chapter will focus on the formation of activism during democracy, and how this generation built an opposition in democracy.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the memories of dictatorship held by activists involved in the 1997 student mobilization.

From different backgrounds and contexts, the activists involved in the student mobilization bear a memory of dictatorship from which they built identities that foster their activism. This memory is by no means one-sided or monolithic, but instead is varied and sometimes even contradictory, significantly influenced by the social positions that each activist occupied during childhood. In this sense, there are two main axes of analysis that explain these differences: class and the family of origin's political involvement. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the core of their antagonism: the figure of Pinochet and dictatorship.

In the case of red-diaper, middle-class activists, the memories of dictatorship are mixed between the fondness of childhood memories and experiences of violence. As mentioned throughout the analysis, the psychogeography of fear imposed during dictatorship meant that, for these future activists, there were clear boundaries regarding who they could share their background with and with whom they could not. A notable feature of their experiences is how they normalize experiences which would otherwise seem to be traumatizing. Another notable feature of their experience is the emotional interpretation that they have of extreme situations. An example would be Raquel's warm recollection of protest days or Wladimir's sense of affection when taking turns in banging the drum with his cousins. For both activists, the experiences of demonstrations are bonded with positive feelings, something that undoubtedly has a galvanizing effect on their political subjectivation.

For those coming from a non-politicized background, this relationship is more complex. In the case of Amanda, her political becoming seems to be related to experiences of exclusion with

her wider family which are contextualized in a political manner. This mixture between family feuds and politics is crucial in her political motivations. A second source of subjectivation comes from the human rights violations. By the time these future activists were becoming adolescents, news regarding the crimes of dictatorship started to permeate wider society. From classmates' stories, to alternative news outlets, there was a wide audience who became aware of the atrocities of the regime. This shift in the memory of dictatorship is relevant, as it shows the uncertain consequences of political violence: in most of the cases it provoked paralyzing fear, but in others it awakened political commitment.

Finally, the 1988 referendum was one of the defining moments for these activists. The campaign prior to the election became a breeding ground where victims and their relations were able to share their experiences with a wider audience. Indeed, political activism became increasingly more accepted which helped the wider expression of discontent. Most of the activists interviewed see this event with a sense of nostalgia, and as a defining moment of freedom, with the sole exception of Manuel. His involvement in the underground struggle means that he views the referendum with great suspicion, and as a betrayal of the struggle against dictatorship. This mix of perceptions is crucial to the understanding of the future student movement.

Chapter 5: Political Activism in Transition

Introduction

The general environment of the country after the 1988 referendum was dominated by a sense of post-politics as the end of dictatorship meant a release of tension inside the country. The figure of the dictator and the military junta inside the palace of government married and concentrated the various efforts of resistance and opposition, therefore upon deposition a yawning political void was left in place. The general perception was that the new-found democracy was weak, and it was thus necessary to allow the new governing elites some leeway to allow for the construction of what would become the most valued aspect of transition: governance (Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014).

Memory regarding human rights violations remained contentious during this period. Although, the public memory of dictatorship shifted from the official narrative of the regime to focusing on the stories of human rights victims, it remained a contentious topic as the need for reckoning for the victims and their families clashed with Pinochet and his power as commander-in-chief (Stern, 2009). During President Aylwyn's government, a commission was appointed to research and establish a definitive historical truth regarding the crimes of dictatorship called the 'Rettig Commission'. After eight months of work, the commission recognized the crimes of dictatorship and provided a document that contained the victims' testimonies, describing the horrors of the human rights violations under dictatorship. Once the report was published, the newly elected president addressed the nation to solemnly ask for forgiveness in the name of the Chilean state. However, this act of recognition clashed with

Pinochet's power, as he openly challenged the veracity of the report and refused to acknowledge the scope and atrocity of these crimes (Jara, 2016).

In this context, the memories of state repression and human rights violations remained an uncomfortable topic which was not generally discussed publicly. As the first years of transition progressed, memory became one of the central issues for the development of the new democratic government, as it struggled to establish a legitimacy to its ruling. María Angélica Illanes (2002) has termed this environment a '*battle for memory'*, where different narratives about the past were in a constant state of struggle, trying to establish one as the hegemonic. This state of constant conflict, where the need for reckoning for the crimes seemed unavoidable, but the process of implementing it was deemed dangerous, prompted an ambivalence about the past, even among human rights activists (Stern, 2010). This environment became hostile to victims, as the public debate about their experiences started to be framed as a sum-zero game. Whilst some of them remained mobilized, a significant number of victims tended to hide their experiences even from their close families (Gaudichaud & Ortega Breña, 2009; Jara, 2016).

In this political climate, student activism was rare and frowned upon. During the early days of Transition, the political elites favoured a top-down approach, forcing the establishment of wide-ranging agreements that impeded the birth of conflicts among political forces (Karmy-Bolton, 2018; Moulian, 1997; Stern, 2010). This was in direct contrast to the last decade of dictatorship, when the student movement played a significant role in challenging the regime – through occupations and demonstrations it constituted one of the strongest and most coordinated oppositions to the dictatorship (Garretón & Martínez, 1985; Salazar, 2012).

The beginnings of Transition saw a complete overhaul of the student organizations. After a deep crisis which saw the disappearance of most of the Students' Federations, politically

active students began rearticulating by focusing on both the funding crisis that affected public universities and the authoritarian leftovers that remained in the universities' governance (Moraga, 2006; Thielemann, 2016). However, this process required a transformation both in the student organizations and the collective identity, something that would be crucial to the development of the post-dictatorship student movement.

In this chapter, I will focus on this process by looking at the trajectories of activists involved in the mobilization and the development of their activism within their organizations. The analysis will show the construction of a collective identity based on two different political subjectivities: a traditional identity based on the historical narratives of the left, and a transgressional one which aims at constructing its own narrative, defying the traditional framework of the left. In a climate of political disarticulation and social amnesia, the issue of memory was at the centre of the rebuilding of the student movement.

The Roots of the Mobilization

In 1980, the dictatorship implemented a complete overhaul of the education system. Amongst other policies, it imposed what was termed the self-financing of education. This meant that the State renounced most of its funding responsibilities in higher education to give way to the formation of an educational market, where both public and private educational providers would compete for students' fees. For students with insufficient funds, there was the option of a new 'State Loan', which had to be paid by the student once they finished their studies. These measures precipitated a funding crisis which would be at the heart of the nineties student movement. As the government reduced significantly the funding, universities struggled to make ends meet. By 1987, the biggest and most prestigious institution in the country, Universidad de Chile, was receiving a third of the revenue it received in the previous decade, and similar situations were realised across the rest of public institutions (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011).

A second relevant element of this overhaul was the imposition of a series of authoritarian measures aimed at reducing the democratic elements inside universities. Among the most relevant, the regime implemented a total ban on political activism inside university campuses, forbidding any kind of student political organization. Also, they implemented a system of governance based on unipersonal authorities which were completely unaccounted for by staff, students and academics and deferred directly to the government (Moraga, 2006; Thielemann, 2016).

Despite this, the student movement remained one of the most relevant oppositions to dictatorship. Since 1984, the students from state universities, led by Universidad de Chile, staged different demonstrations and occupations demanding the end of dictatorship and

opposing the advancement of market-based policies in higher education. In the last years of the eighties, students reforunded FECH, in defiance of the prohibition by the authoritarian government. This opposition culminated in one of the first and most emphatic defeats to the authoritarian regime during dictatorship: the deposing of the head of Universidad de Chile, José Luis Federici in 1987 (Moraga, 2006; Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011; Thielemann, 2016).[21]

After the 1988 referendum and the election of Aylwyn as president, most students hoped for a reversal in the neoliberal policies of the government. However, the coalition commitment to free-market policies meant that most of these policies were to remain. Further, the structure of governance inside institutions of higher education remained almost entirely intact. As Víctor Muñoz argues:

> Against what was projected and desired by the non-conforming students, after the departure of Pinochet it became increasingly clear that dictatorship had led to radical changes that were to remain in Chile and inside the University campuses after the return of democracy. (Muñoz Tamayo, 2011, pp. 120)

At the beginning of the nineties, universities had two sources of funding besides student fees: the 'Aporte Fiscal Directo' (Direct State Contribution, AFD) and the 'Aporte Fiscal Indirecto' (Indirect State Contribution, AFI). The AFD was constituted of direct funding to state universities, however, 5% was given according to criteria, by assessing an administration's 'efficiency'. The AFI, on the other hand, was distributed according to the number of high performing students that a particular university was able to recruit. Both sources of funding were subject to a 47% reduction in real terms from 1982 to 1990, which meant that public universities were forced to compete for student fees and the funds coming from the 'Fondo Solidario de Crédito Universitario' (University Credit Solidarity Fund, FSCU), a loan administered by the universities. This move imposed competition as the main driver behind

[21] This episode is explained in greater detail in chapter two.

higher education, fostering a funding crisis which would see several public universities reducing their staff significantly or even being forced to sell part of their infrastructure (Thielemann, 2016).

In terms of governance, public universities did not change their structure. This was perceived by the students as the continuation of dictatorship inside the university campuses. Also, amongst the staff there were academics who had collaborated with the dictatorship. These were both part of the grievances that animated the mobilization during the nineties.

The 1997 student mobilization was the culminating point of a struggle that started with the end of dictatorship, focused on halting the marketization process of higher education and on increasing the levels of democracy inside the universities (Thielemann, 2016). As the most significant student mobilization since the end of dictatorship, it was one of the first social movements which directly challenged the agreements of transitional governments.

Building Disagreements: Memory and the Conflicting Character of Transition

As it is mentioned in chapter two, in 1990 the first democratically elected president – Patricio Aylwyn – started his first and sole tenure (1990–1994). After defeating the right-wing candidate, Hernan Büchi.

His time as president marked the beginning of Transition. In his tenure, a great effort was put into portraying Chile as a solid and stable country, a fertile ground for foreign investment. Paramount in the steps to achieve this was putting an end to mobilizations. This meant everything from blunt repression of streets demonstrations, to the prosecution of subversive movements. (Salazar, 2012).

The pace and character of democratic transition in Chile was influenced directly by the balance of power between the different factions. The negotiations that decided the 1988 referendum meant that the military, and its civic collaborators, had a strong grip on power even after the general election. For politically active students, most of the expectations built around democracy remained unsatisfied. As Rodrigo Roco, the 1997 president of FECH, argues:

> From 1990, most of the democratic expectations of Chileans since the eighties would be in many ways frustrated. Chilean politics would run under a small framework of anti-democratic locks, with paralyzing consensus, and with discourses openly calling for individualism and historical oblivion. Chile was torn by great social mutations (…) and under a great perplexity and incapacity to come up with a collective understanding of the seventeen years of horrors during dictatorship and its cultural, political, economic and social effects. (Roco, 2005)

Wladimir's parents perceived this new environment thus:

> When Aylwyn was elected, around 1990, I was already 15 years old, I remember that I went [to a demo] with my mom and dad. Aylwyn was returning from

> Valparaíso[22] and we were somewhere around Alameda[23](…) Aylwyn passed by and then the cops came and covered the streets with tear gas and water cannons, violently dissolving the demo. I had never seen something like this before, not even during the referendum campaign. And I remember a conversation between my mom and my dad when we were heading home: 'It seems that the instruction is clear, the party is over: no more people on the streets'. It was one of the first times that I remember feeling almost drowned in tear gas (…) I vividly remember his recollection was extremely clear and completely true; from then on, any type of gathering was violently repressed. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

This context clashed with the expectations built around the new democratic government. The hopes of a democracy that would allow greater degrees of freedom was in contradiction with authoritarian practices that were not only applied to street demonstrations but transposed to other social institutions, such as schools.

> When I was in my third year of high school,[24] I was in my house cleaning up my room – it must have been around 1991 – and I found some pamphlets from before the referendum [1988]. I was with my friend Ricardo and said to him: 'Why don't we drop these things around school, just to have a few laughs,' and so we did! CODE was already gone and we suddenly witnessed how the old snitches came to life again! (…) We saw one of the cleaners bursting out from the toilets to the principal's office with one of the pamphlets in his hand! It was soaking wet, and he was taking it to the principal's office as proof. It was extremely silly (laughs). As a matter of fact, around the same time there was a fire (laughs), a classroom was destroyed by a fire that started owing to an electrical issue. Three weeks after that event, Ricardo and myself were bored in class and we decided to write in the toilets: 'We will keep burning, signed CODE' (laughs). We were just taking the piss! And the same thing happened: thirty minutes after we wrote the thing, the same cleaner came and erased the message. But by that time they kind of knew that it was us, because the principal called us to his office – he even had us taken out of class – and asked us: 'What do you know about the reforming of CODE?' [to which

[22] Coastal city where both houses of parliament are located.
[23] Santiago's main road.
[24] High school in Chile is composed of four years.

> they replied] 'We have no idea', and then he showed us the pamphlets: 'Because this appeared on the toilets'. We showed ourselves as surprised (laughs); but we were merely two kids who were bored, who saw that a classroom had burned down and thought it was a good opportunity to take the piss out of the elders, nothing else! (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

Wladimir and his friend's actions can be understood as part of a juvenile act of transgression, however they reflect two important elements: on the one hand the state of vigilance that existed in the first days of transition, and on the other how this generation stood in reference to this context. Regarding the state of vigilance, the disproportionate reaction of the authorities of the school reflect how, even after the referendum, there were still significant levels of surveillance of any political activity. In this sense, dictatorship instituted repressive practices that remained active even after the democratic elections. As Jelin (2002) states, this is a common consequence of dictatorship, as the effect of repression and violence linger in the attitudes and practices of the people who endured it. Thus, this was, in a sense, part of the various tasks that this generation faced, as it became necessary to culturally implement democratic practices and values in the different institutions of the country.

The students' political struggles of the nineties were characterized by the definition of the borders between dictatorship and democracy. The first years of the nineties were characteristically complex, where the borders between dictatorship and democracy were porous, giving way to intimidating actions which would accompany the actions of the activists. This is the context in which the 1997 generation began their activism. The next quotes show the environment of fear within which the activists started to develop their political commitment.

> There were several – quite harsh – acts of intimidation … some noise-bombs. There was one in particular, quite early in the morning, in which they unfolded a banner which had written: 'Red Dawn' (…) I remember that the dean called us –

> because we had very good relationships with the dean (…) We were all very much surprised. The first thing that came to our minds was that it was a right-wing action (…) because it was extremely ridiculous for us to even fathom a left-wing organization that would be up for that, or that would be interested in doing something of the sort in our faculty, especially not using that name, so we interpreted it as having been an act of intimidation from right-wing students. [You have to consider] that it was only four years after dictatorship or even less, so they were still active groups, or at least that's what we thought. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

> Together with a classmate we organized a cultural activity in the main faculty of the university, it must have been as a commemoration for the twenty years of the coup, with music, a slideshow, around seven in the evening … and suddenly a car stops and my classmate gets taken, he gets sort of kidnapped and they drive all around the city! He never found out who they were, they only harassed him, telling him: 'Don't get involved in this shit.' So those sorts of things still happened, it was quite a strange environment, but we never took much notice of that. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

This tenuous line meant that some of the common practices of dictatorship remained as part of the political landscape inside the university campus, acting as a reminder of dictatorship and highlighting the frailty of democracy.

Assman and Shortt (2012) argue transitions are a remedy administered on top of a serious problem; with a backdrop of trauma and violence, it is the process by which societies rearrange their sources of legitimacy through a profound change in the political and social identity of a country. Democracy does not only mean opening elections, but also establishing democratic practices such as free speech and freedom of association, and a climate of respect among citizens, etc. The implementation of these practices is complex and is dependent on the capacity of the new government to deal with the past.

The years separating the election of the first democratic president and the 1997 cycle of protest are characterized by a pronounced decrease in student participation and a general

crisis in the mobilizing structures of the student movement. In the early nineties, the students' federations were led by parties of the coalition government, whose necessary allegiance with the government meant that they avoided any kind of significant opposition. This frustrated the mobilized students who demanded a more combative leadership. Further, by 1994 a series of economic scandals affected these federations, leading to the disappearance of most of them (Moraga, 2006; Thielemann, 2016). This happened in an environment of general demobilization, where political discussion was avoided by the general public. As Wladimir recalls:

> The context was very adverse, Chile was Chino Ríos with the 'couldn't care less' [attitude],[25] the engineering students wanted to finish [their courses] as quickly as possible to start earning money. Hence, all these [political] conversations were pretty much out of place. Also, the assemblies were tiny, I mean the number of left-wing students was eight to twelve, max! In a campus of 4,000 students! (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

In the context of the crisis of the students' federations, the activists animated the 1997 student mobilization through either joining non-conforming student organizations or by starting to construct their own collectives. The principle of opposition in these groups was the character of the democratic transition, and in particular against the ruling coalition Concertación. This opposition, however, did not correspond with the borders of the political system in the country. The student organizations built their organizations from the left, broadening the borders of political discussion in the country (Thielemann, 2016). The traditional right-wing parties were left out of the picture, leaving Concertación parties as the most conservative. On the left, there were organizations that ran from the Communist Youth (CY), to a wide range of collectives that fostered different left-wing political tendencies: from

[25] Chino Rios was the nickname of the famous Chilean tennis player Marcelo Ríos. On one of his most notable television appearances he was asked if he had any kind of interest in politics, to which he replied: 'I couldn't care less about politics.'

Trotskyists and Anarchists to spawn organizations coming from the struggle against dictatorship (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011).

Within the left, the main difference between the groups was given by the distance with the traditional left-wing culture of the country. Those who came from a traditional left-wing background were driven to join the Communist Youth – as the Youth organization of the Communist Party – whilst those who came from non-traditional political backgrounds tended to form political collectives which had a critical perspective regarding them. As it will become clear in the analysis, at the heart of this differentiation is how they deal with memory.

The Inheritors' Collective Identity: Communist Youth

As an established political youth organisation, CY was an organization that mainly attracted activists with some level of background in the struggles of the left. Founded in 1932 as the youth group of the Communist Party, it played a significant role in the development of the student movement and in the formation of leaders for the Communist Party (CP). During dictatorship, the CP was banned by the military junta and suffered a cruel persecution by the regime. In this same period, it aligned itself with what would become known as the 'Política de Rebelión Popular' (People's Popular Rebellion, PRP) theory, which proposed toppling the dictatorship by 'all means necessary'. For this purpose, it created the 'Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez' (Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, FPMR), a militarized organization which carried the violent operations aimed at overthrowing Pinochet. During the referendum campaign (1988), the CP called to boycott the election under the suspicion of a possible electoral fraud. After the defeat of the regime was confirmed, the CP called to support Aylwyn as candidate, but remained outside of the elected government. From this point onwards, CP acted as the left-wing opposition to the coalition government until 2009 when it was integrated into a new alliance with Concertación parties. Throughout the first two decades after the referendum, CP failed to have representation inside the parliament, something that was mainly due to the binominal structure of the electoral system – part of the authoritarian locks left by dictatorship which prevented minority parties from having political representatives in power. This situation left them in a complex situation, as the party lived through a profound rearrangement, coming to terms with the end of the USSR and having almost no political influence. This scenario forced them to focus their attention towards student organizations and labour Unions as their only positions of power (Pairican, 2016).

The Communist Youth (CY) reformed in the mid-seventies, becoming one of the largest political youth organisations inside UCH. In 1984 and 1985, they won the vice-presidency of

the newly reformed FECH. By 1990 however, they had suffered from internal divisions which forced them to break with the party (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011). Nevertheless, CY offered a powerful collective identity to red-diaper students; as the only traditional left-wing political organization that was not part of the government, it provided an identity of continuation, relating their struggle to the historical struggles of the left. It provided a sense of inheritance, developing a collective identity heavily grounded in collective memory.

Raquel's family was heavily related to the CP on both sides of her family. This relationship meant that even before starting her studies she knew she was going to join the CY. Her first encounter with the party came in her last year as a high-school student, where she collaborated with the parliamentary campaign of a Communist candidate. However, she does not attribute much significance to this early encounter. For Raquel, her political activism began in university. She started her studies at Universidad de Chile in 1990, joining CY in that same year. She describes the early days of her political involvement as tumultuous, influenced by both the international and national context.

> Between 1988 and 1990 there was a huge crisis in CY that had to do with a wide range of issues, from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the way in which Transition was developing in Chile. The party didn't know what to do, and the role that it would play in transition. It wasn't involved in the government, but it wasn't the opposition either – 'constructive independence' was the term being used or something of the sort. But before that, and particularly in my university in 1990, and especially in my faculty [history] it happened that all of the activists were leaving the party (…) it was a depressing environment, it was something like 'After Pinochet, what do we do? After the Berlin Wall what do we do?' (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Despite these internal conflicts, the CY was a party with a longstanding tradition inside the student movement. This tradition was extremely appealing for students coming from a red-diaper background, who could see themselves taking part in the same party of their elders.

However, this heritage was also a way of dealing with their own crisis of identity. As the first generation to lead the student movement after dictatorship, they were in search of an identity which would give legitimacy to their struggle. As the fall of the USSR constituted the defeat of 'real communism' and President Aylwyn was taking power, both the CP and its Youth movement were left scraping for new points of reference to cling to. Excluded from the coalition, the Communists were left in the uncomfortable place of being part of the opposition to the government that defeated Pinochet. Raquel summarizes this situation as: '*the environment [inside the party] was depressing, there was the hope that the party played a role in the Transition, that it would have a place in Concertación*'.

However, this environment meant that the CY had a great level of independence from the CP, allowing it to develop its own political approach to the higher education crisis. Whilst the CP itself was involved in a crisis of identity, the CY developed its own policies to engage with the new democratic context. It is in this context that it started developing a wider critique of the socio-economic policies that remained after dictatorship. Key to this process were the 'Encuentros Nacionales de Estudiantes Comunistas' (National Encounters of Communist Students) which were meetings that congregated students from around the country, and where issues were discussed such as student fees, democratization and how to implement transition inside public universities. At the same time, the CY decided to implement a new relationship with the student base. As the mood of the early days of transition did not favour the formation of massive political parties, the CY decided to act through the formation of wide political assemblies (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011; Pairican, 2016; Thielemann, 2016). These assemblies would cater not just to party members, but also left-wing students who shared similar political views but were not interested in joining a political party. This was the birth of the 'Estudiantes de Izquierda' (Left-Wing Students, EEII), an assembly that would foster one

of the most successful periods in the history of CY, winning the presidency of FECH from 1995 until 2003 (Victor Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011).

Through Raquel's participation in the student mobilization, it is possible to see the distinctive character of her and her comrades' political subjectivation. As members of the CY, their activism is closely related to an articulation of memory referring to Allende's government and the struggle against the dictatorship. This articulation is driven sometimes by conscious action of remembrance and sometimes as an unconscious reaction.

The practices of remembrance were obvious during election campaign celebrations, where CY and their allies from EEII used the signifiers of the left to commemorate their triumphs. Through this procedure, they linked their success with the struggles of the past. These moments were deeply emotional, as some of the activists participating were sons or daughters of victims of the regime, and these celebrations not only conveyed them but also the memory of their elders. As in the case of Raquel, whose grandparents were victimized by the regime.

> [Recounting the moment when they first won the Students' Federation in 1995] Someone had the idea to put on 'Venceremos', and it was very emotional, we almost cried. From that point onwards the celebrations of CY triumphs would always use this anthem. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

The relevance of 'Venceremos' (We Shall Overcome) cannot be understated. This song was part of an album called 'Canto al Programa' (Chant to the Program) by the Chilean group Inti-Illimani. This album musicalized Allende's program to make it more accessible to the wider population. The album finished with 'Venceremos' as a 'call to arms' to Allende's supporters and from then on it became the anthem of his government. In this sense, the inclusion of this anthem as part of the celebrations is not only an act of remembrance, but also an assertion of their own collective memory as the continuers of the struggles of Allende and its 'Unidad

Popular' (People's Unity, UP). As Zamponi (2018) mentions, collective memory is a crucial element in the construction of contentious action, as it allows the development of a common identity among those who participate. Thus, the inclusion of 'Venceremos' in their celebration, is a way of both establishing a link among themselves as a group and a continuity between their struggle and the struggle of the Left in the country. Their act of remembrance defied the environment of social amnesia in the country by bringing back the memory of UP and Allende's short-lived government.

A second reference comes from a less jovial situation. In the context of the first struggles against the implementation of bills of exchange inside the universities around 1994 or 1995, Raquel and her comrades from EEII occupied the main campus of Universidad de Chile. After failing to negotiate, the head of the university decided to oust the students by means of force. This event triggered the memory of dictatorship in Raquel in very peculiar way:

> The cops entered, and most of the students panicked (…) we decided to burn all the documentation that we had, pamphlets, etc. … for no reason really. I think it was 'chaladura' (act of madness) from dictatorship. (Raquel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Coming from a family that suffered human rights violations by the regime, her political involvement was significantly tainted by the experiences of her elders. In this sense, the practice of burning the documentation unconsciously remembered the struggle against dictatorship but was positioned in a different context. In hindsight she recalls the event as 'chaladura' from dictatorship. 'Chaladura' is a colloquial and its closest translation would be 'act of madness', however since it is contextualized in dictatorship it carries a burden of memory. As an instinctive reaction, it reflects her and her comrades' unconscious fears. Several years following the end of dictatorship, the consequences of the state terror left a mark on the minds and bodies of Chileans, and these marks are particularly palpable in reactions to situations of stress. During dictatorship, burning documentation was necessary

to avoid being framed by the police, however in the case of a small occupation it was completely unnecessary. Nevertheless, her experiences growing up in dictatorship partly explain this behaviour. Jelin (2002) recalls similar experiences in Argentina, when after dictatorship, during days of demonstrations she and her comrades resorted to the same behavioural patterns, revealing the enduring character of dictatorship. For Raquel, the violence of the detention instantly triggered the memory of resistance, prompting the dramatic reaction of burning their documentation.

Wladimir also began his studies at UCH, but a few years later than Raquel (1994). Unlike Raquel, Wladimir's narrative is centred in his character and its uniqueness. Although he comes from a politically involved family, his storytelling regarding his political involvement rarely mentions this fact. For him, his political involvement is related to the struggle against the continuation of neoliberal policies inside the university.

> The discourse from the early Concertación governments was 'we are in favour of public education' but at the same time, the privatization and the policies of dictatorship were still operating and even deepening, so at that moment the contradiction between discourse and action was pretty clear. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

His involvement with CY is different from Raquel's. According to his first-person narrative, his political activism was not something that was settled beforehand, but something that responded to the political context inside his university. Nevertheless, he hints towards an inherited political perspective, a perspective he relates to Universidad de Chile and its middle-class, left-wing culture.

> My perception was that if we didn't do something, we would get wiped out, there wouldn't be any university left (…) CY had a political orientation in defence of the public character of education. Besides, I could have studied at other universities, but I decided to study at UCH because of a particular perspective of the country. (Wladimir, Engineer, 1997 Generation)

As the oldest and most prestigious university in the country (founded in 1842), UCH is related to a traditional middle-class, left-wing culture which Wladimir feels part of. This culture is clearly manifested in its student federation, FECH, the first and most significant student organization of the country. Rodrigo Roco, president of FECH in 1997, summarizes this culture succinctly:

> The existence of FECH to this day can be understood as part of the eruption (…) of the middle classes into the political arena of the country. This eruption presupposes a narrative strongly linked to, on the one hand, meritocracy, and on the other, the will to amplify individual and collective freedoms, to laicize social and political life, and to build democratic frameworks for public action. (Roco, 2005, p. 52)

Coming from a middle-class family with a longstanding tradition of left-wing struggle (his grandfather was involved in the struggle against Franco in Spain), his participation in the student movement is framed within this culture. Wladimir views the struggle for public education as an extension of this culture, and thus, part of the memory of the left. As in the case of Raquel, his participation inside the CY responds not only to an alignment to the traditions of the left and its historical struggles, but also to his family heritage, continuing the struggles of his family.

The Communist Youth is, in this sense, an organization that is depositary of these more traditional subjectivities, those who feel compelled to carry on a legacy. Their footing in this traditional narrative allows them to develop a clear and attractive collective identity, gathering support from likeminded individuals.

Hybrid Collective Identity: Political Collectives

Although the CY was a relevant figure in the student mobilization, it did not appeal to the totality of mobilized activists. A significant number of left-wing students did not feel comfortable with organizations that were directly related to the historical narrative of the left. Coming from non-politicized backgrounds they did not interface with the appeal of its culture and felt the need to develop their own identity. Additionally, these organizations gathered activists which came from subversive organizations such as the 'Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario' (Left-wing Revolutionary Movement, MIR) or 'Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez' (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, FPMR), organizations that were involved in the armed struggle against the dictatorship for which they were heavily persecuted. These organizations developed a hybrid collective identity, one that rescued aspects of the historic struggles of the left, mixing them with new references that reflected the new environment of post-dictatorship.

Amanda is one of these activists. Raised in a non-politicized family she constructed her activism from different sources:

> I became a punk, I was attached to its aesthetics and the ideas, punk was to us a source of identity that gave us a source of criticism to not only the dictatorship and the human rights violations, but also to culture and all the political structure that came afterwards. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

The types of subjectivation that animated these organizations were characteristically mixed, with a wide range of sources. In many ways, this reflected the character of activism in the developed world, encompassing a wider range of topics such as feminism, indigenous rights, environmentalism, etc., whilst also aiming at the construction of a new brand of politics, one that would allow a greater participation of excluded groups. This new brand of activism is reflective of what Habermas, Laclau and others have termed new social movements (NSM),

namely organizations that do not fit into the classical political scheme of parties and aim at the construction of new forms of politics (Habermas, 1983; Humphrey & Slater, 1987; J.F. Day, 2005; Laclau, 1987). They organize around the assembly as an ultimate decision-making institution as a means of dissolving the structure of hierarchies present in traditional parties.

Their criticism of the left was not only aesthetical, but also pointed to its inability to incorporate a wider critique of the socio-political changes that the dictatorship had inscribed in the country. As Amanda argues:

> My criticism of the left was (…) that it was unable to see the profound transformations that neoliberalism had installed and had only a reactive discourse to the issue of Human Rights violations. It couldn't interpret the discontent that was present in the wider society. I felt part of that society which was not directly affected by human rights violations, but was affected in economic, social and cultural terms (…) [the left] wasn't able to offer a utopia, and us youngsters demanded a utopia. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Amanda's criticism of the left came mainly from a cultural perspective, as a literature student she felt that the changes that were implemented by the dictatorship went beyond the political and economic structures and had significant consequences on the subjectivities of the population. She reflects on how the implementation of the neoliberal policies in the country, mixed with the state terror, significantly changed Chilean society. As different authors have claimed (Garretón et al., 2011; Lechner, 1992; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014; Ruiz Encina, 2013) the dictatorship had a revolutionary character as it completely overhauled the way in which social life was articulated in the country. State terror disentangled the nets of support and collaborations of the middle and working classes, such as workers' unions. The imposition of neoliberalism and consumerism meant that the population tended to become increasingly individualized, becoming uninterested in, and unmotivated by politics. However, this articulation tended to accumulate a great deal of

unrest, as the flagrant inequality of the country forced most of the population to acquire massive amounts of debt.

Amanda and her comrades considered that the left, and especially the CY, focused excessively on the human rights violations, failing to perceive the mounting unrest that neoliberal policies had ensured. They perceived that it was necessary to tap into this unrest, but through different cultural images that escaped the gloom of the traditional left. For this purpose, they used different cultural references.

> The motto of the collective that we formed – Changó – was 'From War to the Celebration', which suggested a cultural and a subjective challenge. (…)[we felt] that we were from a different generation, therefore we don't want to keep mourning what happened [referring to dictatorship] and we wanted to construct a rebelliousness with joy; we wanted to build with colours, we wanted to leave the bleakness and the mourning behind (…) We started looking for alternative references, our references were the Central American revolutions (…) we were looking for new images: Che Guevara, Changó who was a Cuban god from Santeria, amongst other references. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

It is possible see here the identity building process which was mentioned previously. As a generation born in dictatorship, but which faced their activism in the beginnings of transition, their identity as a social movement was in contestation. Whilst for CY activists, they felt comfortable continuing with the culture of the left, students that came from untraditional backgrounds tried to build a new identity, one that would reflect their own political background.

In one of our interviews, Amanda was kind enough to bring a poster of one of the mobilizations in which she participated. The next quote comes from the moment when she presented the poster to me:

> [Reads from the poster] 'We are the generation born in the darkest night of this country, and the possibilities to live something better haven't yet arrived; this is the starting point of our dreamers essence' [stops reading] There is an assessment of the nineties, it says: [continues reading] 'Recalcitrant is the time that we have to live, and the university is a reflection of that, authoritarian structures, a system that benefits only those with money … etc.' [stops reading] And it has to do with irreverence, that statement 'the nineties generation reviews democracy' is because there was a sense of disbelief towards the pacts that had been formalized under transition. (Amanda, academic, 1997 Generation)

'Movimiento de Estudiantes por la Reforma' (Students Movement for the Reform, MPR), another collective that she participated in, aimed at creating a movement inside university campuses to oppose the neoliberal policies of the government and reform the authoritarian structures of governance inherited from dictatorship. For this purpose, it functioned as an assembly in which the students decided the actions through direct democracy (Thielemann, 2016).

The quote that Amanda mentions from the poster is remarkable in terms of the identity work that it performs. First, it grounds their cohort as born in dictatorship but with a deep disappointment regarding transition. This becomes clear in the phrase: 'the possibilities to live something better haven't yet arrived'. This was a clear reference to the referendum campaign, where the Concertación's main slogan was: 'Chile, la alegría ya viene' (Chile, joy is coming). This quote beautifully summarizes the crossroads that this generation faced in their activism, as a generation that was politically active after the end of dictatorship they were challenging its promises. Compared to the CY, Amanda's narrative focuses on the generation as a source of identity, establishing a difference between the struggles of her generation, and the continuity of the struggles of the left. Although she saw aspects of affinity with the struggles of the left, her storytelling focuses on highlighting the differences as a source of her collective identity.

As was presented previously, Amanda's narrative is driven by her feeling of being an outsider. Her family background meant that she felt as being part of the poorer side of the family, something that she resented. During her time as a university student, she again felt like a misfit because of her non-politicized background.

> I came from a completely non-politicized background, so for me everything was new. I was a bit embarrassed at first. After a while it was the complete opposite, for me it became a place of self-enunciation, coming from outside politics, it allowed me to have a critical perspective on the inbreeding dynamics of the left. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Her allegiance to her collective comes from her self-perception as a misfit in the political context of her university. This feeling not only stems from her political background, but also from her class. As a middle-class activist from an untraditional background, her class origin is constantly challenged. Unlike the rest of her fellow middle-class activists, she does not have the left-wing credentials that support her belonging to the activist culture of the movement. As Benford (2002) argues, narratives in social movements are controlled and managed, allowing some to become hegemonic whilst excluding others. In the case of the Chilean student movement, there is a prominent narrative highlighting either the traditional middle-class/red-diaper background or a working-class background. These narratives are policed constantly through everyday practices of the students.

> I knew that there were people saying: 'this one is a posh … she has a car' because I always had a car, you know? My dad gave me a Fito 600, it was his dream to give a car to both of his children. It was the period when my dad had more money so I would arrive in the Fito, therefore I was like the little posh girl, I knew it was like that. But they didn't really know, because I would tell them that my life hadn't been like that (…) I didn't come from a rich family, etc. (Amanda, Academic, 1997 Generation)

What is remarkable about this quote is how aggravated Amanda feels regarding her comrades' perception. Although she tries to deny it, the quote shows that their perception of her as a 'posh girl' impacts her deeply. This is interesting in terms of how the working-class narrative works, although she denies it in the quote, her comrades policing of her background affects her deeply as she struggles to defend herself. As a social movement identified with a particular political and class background, this identity works both as a source of identification but also as a source of exclusion, establishing the borders of which can be understood as part of the 'movement'. Her class background trespassed these borders for which she was policed, fuelling her sense of inadequacy.

In Manuel's case, his activism is also related to disenfranchised political collectives. His background in the struggle against dictatorship left him with a critical impression about the trajectory of the democratic transition. After finishing school, he worked as a house painter: coming from a working-class family meant that going to the university was not among his family's expectations. Nevertheless, he was a good student at school, his predilection for books enticed him to continue his studies. At the age of twenty-five, he entered UTEM to study 'pedagogy in history'. As he began his studies, he joined one of these non-conforming collectives called ENU.

> ENU quoted the 'Escuela Nacional Unificada' [Unified National School], which was Allende's educational project, but in our case was [reframed as] 'Estudiantes por la Nueva Universidad' [Students for the New University]. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

In this case, their reinterpretation of the acronym aimed directly at bringing up the memory of Allende's and the tradition of the left, but with a new perspective. That is why the adjective 'new' is relevant, in that it makes the statement of the necessity of a new perspective in the students' movement. In the case of Manuel's organization, the identity of his organization is

a mix between the past and the present, trying to build a bridge between the struggles of Allende's government in the context of transition.

> I think that the novelty that we offered as a collective (…) was a discursive rupture with the traditional discourse of the time, extremely attached to dictatorship, and we started coming up with new discourses. A discourse that was in direct conflict with the traditional left, in conflict even with the so-called revolutionary left, despite many of us coming from that world … and in direct conflict with Concertación and Transition. (Manuel, Academic, 1997 Generation)

Manuel's collective was referencing and reflecting the discursive conflict that was developing inside universities at the time. Dictatorship had a looming presence in political discussions inside the campuses, however the new political scenario of democracy demanded new forms of engagement. The traditional discourse of the left did not have the appeal of before, especially considering that it was a generation that had been raised mostly without those narratives as a source of reference. During dictatorship, the cultural and political signifiers of the left were banned, which meant they were only accessible to a small group of individuals with strong connections to this world. For most of the population they became the memory of a long-lost past.

Collectives such as the ones that Amanda and Manuel participated in offered a different brand of politics. In the case of Manuel's group, they had a remembrance component which was combined with a new political discourse. This new discourse highlighted the need to develop a practical criticism of everyday issues that affected the students. Instead of referring to capitalism as the overarching issue to tackle, they focused on issues of funding, the availability of loans, and the democratization of the university, aspects that directly affected their everyday lives. This perspective is common to most of student mobilizations after the referendum; in a climate of post-politics where traditional discourses of the left lost appeal,

student organizations focused on concrete issues to politically engage students (Donoso, 2014).

In the narratives of both Amanda and Manuel, the collective identities of their organizations are less focused on the memory of the left and more on creating a new narrative that would allow them to address the issues that were affecting the students. In this sense, they developed a collective identity based on their generational struggles, establishing necessary differences with the struggles of the past.

Conclusion

The student mobilization of 1997 represents the culminating point of the student struggles of the nineties. Situated at beginning of transition, this generation faced a period in which the borders between dictatorship and democracy were significantly undefined. The authoritarian government left an indelible print on the country which transposed into the university, from members of staff directly involved in the regime, to authoritarian structures of governance, and to drastic reductions in the funding of public institutions.

In this context, the student movement went through an intense process of rearrangement which ended with the disappearance of all the major Students' Federations of the country. During this time, non-conforming students started organizing around either traditional organizations, such as the Communist Youth, or creating their own political collectives. Both types of organizations vary significantly in the character of the activists that inhabit them, which is reflected in the collective identity they build for each organization.

In the case of the Communist Youth activists, these activists usually come from politically involved families. They view themselves as the natural inheritors of the left, which means that they ground their collective identity as a continuity with this struggle. Through their acts of celebrations or even their instinctive reactions to violence there is a clear and constant reference to the past. In the case of activists involved in collectives, they develop a hybrid collective identity. This identity rescues aspects of the struggles of the left but combines it with new references. These references include cultural movements such as punk and Latin American struggles such as the Nicaraguan revolution and the Zapatistas. This mixture reflects a critical perspective about the left, but also the need to build a new identity that interprets the conditions of a new scenario.

The encounter of both political groups is what animated the 1997 student mobilization. Both groups developed a complex relationship with and between each other, sometimes through electoral alliances, and sometimes in direct confrontation.

At the heart of this struggle is the issue of memory in early political transitions. In a state of general amnesia, the struggle of memory in victims and their organizations tended to focus all the attention to the classical left. In an environment where the classical references of socialism seemed defeated, the possibilities to offer cultural and political guidance to social movements became difficult. After seventeen years of dictatorship, the cultural and social signifiers of the left remained part of a politically burdened past, becoming alien to most of the new generations that accessed university. As will be discussed in the following chapters, this struggle will be crucial to the development of the 2011 student movement.

Part II: 2011 Generation

2011: Harvesting the Seeds of Transition

The generation that led the 2011 student mobilizations is one that grew and developed during Transition. This process, implemented by the pacification of the political struggles under a tacit agreement on the social and political conditions of democracy, installed a post-democratic environment where politics worked as a theatrical performance, creating a sense of an 'end of history' (Moulian, 1997; Ruiz Encina, 2013). Unlike previous generations, the 2011 student movement significantly challenged the socio-political agreements of Transition by constructing disagreements against two of its most pervasive elements: oblivion and neoliberalism.

As Assman and Shortt (2012) argue, transition is a process which countries that suffered periods of violence and trauma undergo in order to build a collective sense of identity and legitimacy. In the Chilean context, this process was conducted by the political elites, aimed at silencing the violence of the past to construct a new society (Moulian, 1997). This silence resonated throughout the personal experiences of victims, pushing them to hide their personal tragedies. However, this is a maladaptive process which leaves different residues that impact their lives and the lives of their families. This chapter focuses on the effect that these experiences had for activists and how it affected the development of their own political subjectivation. This process is remarkable in the sense that through the transmission of memory this generation defies the transition's imposition of oblivion.

Portillo et al. (2012) argue that the generation that led the 2006 and 2011 cycles of protest establishes a rupture with previous generations, constructing new forms of organization that

are at the heart of the resonance of both mobilizations. According to these authors, there are three main characteristics. First, a different understanding of politics. Whilst politics for previous generations is grounded on specific physical sites (congress, or political parties), for this generation it is something that is experienced in their quotidian. From participation in political collectives to practicing veganism, their political involvement is not confined to the traditional sites, but embedded in the minutiae of their everyday lives. Second, politics inhabits a new space which is known as 'Internet 2.0' (Facebook, Twitter), a space characteristically filled with intense political discussion where information is crucial to its development. Third, this is a generation that faces increasing levels of worldwide exclusion, in turn precipitating their demand for a greater say in politics.

A second source of subjectivation comes in the form of working-class discourse. The 2011 generation is constructed as a generational unit by the contradictions of neoliberalism. The movement was galvanized by the influx of working-class students into higher education (HE) through the enactment of a loan system called 'Crédito con Aval del Estado' (State Guarantor Loan, CAE). As will be discussed further, this loan allowed a great number of first-generation students to access HE; a group of students with significant grievances and organizational skills which would place them at the front of the student mobilization (Somma, 2012).

The pervasiveness of the working-class discourse becomes obvious throughout their life in different aspects, from their family history to their school interactions. Nevertheless, it is with their interactions at university where this narrative becomes a salient feature in their political actions. For working-class students, the university environment becomes a place where class differences are laid bare, facilitating the construction of grievances towards the social and political system that supports them. This discourse becomes paramount to subverting the hegemonic environment of higher education by affecting the subjectivities of middle- and upper-class students.

Chapter 6: Postmemory, Trauma and the Political Subjectivation of Red-diaper Activists

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the construction of political subjectivation in the 2011 generation through postmemory. This is achieved by focusing on the narratives of three activists, all of them with a family member involved either in Allende's government (1970–1973) or in Pinochet's dictatorship (1973–1990).

As I noted throughout the interviews, these memories were always significant for these activists; they were a relevant element of how they understood their place in activism and the development of their political ideas. One very interesting feature of this process is that, unlike the 1997 student mobilization, their narrative regarding the student mobilization is significantly more cohesive and the assessment they make about the period and the consequences it had to the country is far more poignant. Where 1997 activists had mixed memories of playful games together with traumatic events of violence, 2011 activists conveyed mostly traumatic events that affected their families.

When analysing the content of these narratives, it became obvious that their origin was different. The 2011 generation activists constructed these memories through interaction with their families' stories about the past but were also influenced by the shifts in the collective memory of dictatorship (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, 2011). As Assman and Shortt (2012) argue, memories are always changing across time and within different contexts. In the case of memories regarding contentious issues such as dictatorship or human rights violations, this process is even more significant. As Illanes (2002) argues, in Chile, the remembrance of the dictatorship is circumscribed to a '*battle of memory'* where the general state of social amnesia

imposed by the regime is challenged by the memories of victims and families of the regime who continually search for truth and justice.

In the case of Transition, the recognition of human rights violations by the authoritarian regime was a long process. Although the first president, Patricio Aylwyn, implemented a commission which recognized the human rights violations (Rettig Commission), the impunity of the amnesty law and the authoritarian locks of the constitutions, together with the presence of Pinochet as commander-in-chief of the army, meant that the validity of these stories was constantly challenged. Nevertheless, as the years passed, and thanks to the action of human rights organizations, a greater level of recognition was extended to these stories. Also, several events brought the memory of dictatorship to the general public, from Pinochet's imprisonment in London, to the different commemorations of the coup, creating spaces where the memory of human rights violations became increasingly accessible to the wider public.

The recognition of human rights violations was crucial to shift the collective memory of dictatorship, from a place of social amnesia to something altogether more politicized. This chapter focuses on this process, understanding the role of the postmemory of dictatorship in the construction of activists' political subjectivation.

Interpreting Violence

One of the most salient characteristics of the 2011 generation is their proactive use of the memory of dictatorship. As a generation born entirely in democracy, dictatorship is part of a period of which they have no direct experience, and for which they construct their own narrative by an interaction between the stories that are told by their parents, media, history books, etc. The literature identifies this as 'postmemory', a relationship that is established with a traumatic past by second generations:

> Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch, 2008, p. 106)

In the case of red-diaper activists, this transmission of memory is crucial for their political subjectivation, as it is a significant reference point for their own identity as activists. The most salient feature of these narratives is the peculiar reinterpretation they perform of the violent past of their parents, delivering a constructive narrative of the events by linking them to the present and effectively disarming the numbing effect of the transitional discourse.

As Wieviorka argues, memory is a crucial aspect in the process of subjectivation (or subjectivization). Although he does not specifically refer to political subjectivation, he does an analysis of the relevance of memory in the construction of a person's subjectivation in the context of African and Latin American political transitions. According to his theory, when individuals carry a cohesive collective memory of the past they *'(…) have effected a process of mourning which has enabled them, at one and the same time, to introduce the past into the present, and to project themselves into the future. In these instances, memory is associated*

with a highly successful process of subjectivization' (2014, p. 104). Conversely, those who carry an incoherent, confused or unstable memory tend to undergo a process of what the author refers to as 'de-subjectivization', where an activist is incapable of *'extricating oneself from the past to insert it into the present and project it into the future, the imposition on others of a certain sort of memorial discourse which precludes their construction of themselves as subjects'* (2014, p. 114). Both poles are in a continuum, where different levels of subjectivation take place. Jelin (2002) describes a similar situation as she reflects on the issue of remembrance, pointing out the dangers of what she calls an excess of past, namely the compulsion to commemorate and relive the past without establishing the necessary distance to incorporate it in the present.In the case of 2011 activists, their interviews give an extremely cohesive and poignant narrative about the past, a relevant element for understanding their process of political subjectivation.

Paramount to the process of political subjectivation is the interplay between collective, social and public memory (Zamponi, 2018). Collective memory refers to memories which are shared among a particular social group (family, class, party, etc.) which reflect a sense of belonging to a common past and a shared social framework to understand the present (Halbwachs, 1992; Jelin, 2002; Kubal & Becerra, 2014). Social memory is the memory that is spread across society, whilst public memory is the part of the latter which refers to the public sphere (Zamponi, 2018, p. 15). The interaction between these different layers of memory are at the front of the political interpretation about the past and play a significant part in the political subjectivation process of the 2011 activists.

As sons and daughters of victims of the regime, their political subjectivation is significantly shaped by the tragedies of their parents. However, this process is deeply affected by the environment of Transition, where the memory of dictatorship remained a contentious field of struggle and where the individual memories of victims are part of multiple narratives in

dispute (Gaudichaud & Ortega Breña, 2009; Illanes, 2002; Stern, 2010). Indeed, the family's collective memory of dictatorship is subject to the political struggles for the past, changing from a state of social amnesia in the early years of transition, to a state of ambivalence, brought by the tensions between the unavoidable need for reckoning of the dictatorship's crimes and the perceived dangers that this reckoning had for the future of the democratic process (Stern, 2010). This environment forced a significant number of victims to repress their experiences, some of them keeping them as family secrets, whilst others not communicating them at all.

Nevertheless, unlike previous generations these activists were exposed to different sources of information regarding the crimes of dictatorship, allowing them to construct their own perspectives. Crucial to this is the process of recognition of human rights violations during Transition. This recognition was performed by different sources, from state sponsored initiatives, to commemorations and acts of resistance from human rights organizations. Also, the activists of the 2011 generations witnessed and participated in different experiences where the memory of dictatorship surfaced into the wider political forum. Wilde et al. (1998) refer to these instances as irruptions of memory: commemorative events in which repressed memory is unleashed, unearthing divisions that remain hidden in everyday life. These divisions focus mainly on the interpretation of the dictatorship and its consequences in Chilean society. During these events *'Chile becomes an arena of deeply divided public discourse, shot through with contending and mutually exclusive interpretations of the past'* (Wilde et al., 1998, p. 475).

Arguably the most significant of these events was the incarceration of Pinochet in London (1998). This event triggered what would be known as the 'Pinochet effect' (Jara, 2016), a significant rise in the attempts to investigate and prosecute the crimes during dictatorship. Other significant events were the thirtieth anniversary of the coup in 2003 and Pinochet's

death in 2006. In 2003, a second commission was appointed to research the crimes of dictatorship called 'Comisión Valech' (Valech commission), which surveyed a total of 35,000 victims of the regime (Valech & Sepúlveda, 2011). In 2004, President Ricardo Lagos opened the door by which the corpse of Allende was carried out of the governmental palace as a symbolic gesture. In 2006, a milestone was reached when Michele Bachelet, a victim of torture, was elected president. During her tenure, a series of recognition initiatives were carried out, the most important being the inauguration of the 'Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos' (Memory and Human Rights Museum) in 2010 which displayed the horrors of the human rights violations during dictatorship. This museum aimed at cementing the condemnation of human rights violations in the country by contextualizing them in the larger frame of international law and transitional justice (Jara, 2016).

Additionally, it is important to bear in mind that the fieldwork of this study was conducted in 2014, a year after the fortieth anniversary of the coup (2013). This final commemoration had a significant effect on the data collected since this particular anniversary saw the most active and widespread acts of remembrance of the dictatorship. From TV series and documentaries, to massive mobilizations commemorating the violence of the period, these events brought forth irruptions of memory in the families of some of the activists interviewed which were significant in the way in which they conveyed their stories.

Although the memory of dictatorship remains a contentious subject even to this day[26], these acts of recognition and the events of commemorations allowed for the newer generations to construct an informed perspective about dictatorship and its consequences. The 2011

[26] In 2015, the future Minister of Culture questioned the Museo de la Memoria, calling it a *'montage, whose only purpose – which it has undoubtedly accomplished – is to cause shock and awe to its visitors, denying them the possibility of reasoning'* (Rojas, 2018). These statements resurfaced in 2018, sparking a debate about the suitability of his selection as minister, eventually forcing his resignation. Nevertheless, the president Sebastián Piñera decided to order the construction of a Museum of Democracy, whose display would attempt to show the divisions that supposedly brought upon the 1973 coup.

generation bears the generational imprinting (Kubal & Becerra, 2014) of these events which significantly shifted the collective memory of dictatorship. This shift had a strong effect on the political subjectivation of the activists involved.

Laura is a working-class activist from Santiago. Her family's story is shaped both by the silence of her parents about politics and their experiences of poverty. Her family's early history was focused on her mother and father, both of them being actively involved in Allende's government. As her story progressed, she incorporated her stepfather as a crucial character in her family narrative.

Both her mother and father were part of Allende's government: her father as a state school teacher and mother as secretary to the Minister of the Economy. Their involvement had devastating consequences during dictatorship. Shortly after the coup, her mother was imprisoned and her father was blacklisted, forcing the family into poverty. The family's experiences during dictatorship were not discussed, covered under a veil of silence. However, this had an enticing effect on Laura:

> There are many things that I found out on my own … for instance that my mom was imprisoned. I found out about this by listening behind doors, by staying up late and listening to my parents talk; because it was never openly discussed. In general, we don't talk much about politics. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

Laura's parents avoided sharing any of their experiences under the dictatorship. For Laura, this silence was something that puzzled her; silence was a presence that constantly surrounded her relationship with her parents, drawing her into her family's past. This is a common feature of intergenerational transmission of trauma, where trauma is silenced in order to avoid reliving the pains of the past (Brockhaus, 2012; Schwab, 2012).

In the case of Chile, it was part of a general discourse of transition, aimed at blocking sources of conflict in the general spirit of consensus (Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998). A remarkable feature of the quoted story is the conflation Laura makes at the end between human rights violations and politics. As a general measure, political activity was perceived as confrontational and avoidable, and this reluctance was founded on the centrality that violence had in the political discourse of transition. As usually happens with transitional societies (Aguilar, 2008; Gajardo, 2007), political discussion gravitated towards discussion about human rights violations, and as victims, Laura's parents avoided this issue completely.

As a second-generation activist, born after dictatorship Laura was exposed to different sources regarding the human rights violations of the regime: books, documentaries, films; there is a wide variety of documents from which she constructed her own perception of the dictatorship. These sources combined with the little information that she collected from listening behind doors to help her to create a narrative about her family's past.

> [Regarding her mother's imprisonment] I mean, I know that it happened, I don't know exactly what happened, because I don't want to know, you know? I once told my Mom: 'I don't want you to tell me to what happened to you, I know what happened to other women prisoners, but I don't want to know what happened to you' (…) because it is just too hard for me. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

Laura's reaction to her mother's experience is significant in terms of the emotional response – a key element in the process of breaking the silence of transition. Laura's acknowledgement of her mother's experiences of dictatorship breaks the silence of transition; even though she does not want to hear the details of her mother's imprisonment, she nevertheless recognises the violence of her experiences and emotionally engages with it.

As Brockhaus (2012) argues, one of the most relevant behaviours to help break states of communicative silence is the emotional engagement of the second generation. Those born after the traumatic events – Nazi Germany in Brockhaus' research – critically review those

historic events by confronting their parents. In the case of Nazi Germany, this brought about a generational split, preventing the younger generation from identifying with their parents' history. In the case of Chile, this confrontation seems to build a bridge between the generations, linking the struggle against dictatorship and their current struggle for education.

Although she was never politically indoctrinated by her family, Laura's political participation began in one of the most traditional political parties of the country: the Communist Party (CP). When conveying her story regarding her induction into the party, she made sure to assert her ignorance about politics.

> I knew very little [about the CP]. I don't come from a Communist family, they are very much to the left politically, but we never discussed politics in my home. So I didn't know much (…) all that I learnt about the CP, I did as an activist. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

However, she described her family's reaction to her political involvement as quite emotional:

> We started having political discussions when I joined the party (…) and, of course, my parents were ecstatic that I did, they almost cried when I told them. Because my brother is 'facho'. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

'Facho' is a term whose relation to fascist is quite obvious, however the term is sometimes used loosely to mean right-wing supporters. As I was already aware of her mother's imprisonment, I reacted with surprise asking her what she meant by 'facho', to which she asserted that her brother was a Pinochet supporter. I felt compelled to ask her for her explanation for this, to which she provided the following response:

> I think that loneliness made him that way, because we left the country in '97 and he stayed with my dad and his new family. My dad fell ill and passed away in a couple of months after. Hence my brother was left alone. He then divorced his wife and started dating the daughter of a cop, who proselytized him. Besides, I imagine that he – as the eldest, born in '73 – lived a big part of his life under the dictatorship, meaning there are things that he yearns for, and that he yearns for

> a time when things were better for him, before he was alone. But he doesn't have an informed opinion, he is, like, viscerally 'facho'. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

What is interesting about the story regarding her brother, is the contrast that it offers to her own political becoming. The relevance that her family's history has for Laura, especially her mother's imprisonment and possibly torture, plays a significant role in her political subjectivation. As Jara (2016) argues, usually for second-generation victims the sufferings of their elders is a significant source of identity, an inheritance which influences their own self-perception.

Laura's brother's loneliness after their father's death seems to draw a distance between him and the family's narrative. This detachment, and some level of resentment to the rest of his family moving abroad, seems to fuel his rejection of his family's legacy. Another significant element is Laura's mention of her brother's experience during dictatorship. It is possible to argue that since his experiences of dictatorship were perceived as a child, his perception of the period is significantly more complex than his sister's. For Laura's brother, his perception is shaped by childhood games, his father's early passing, and the splitting of the family. Unlike her brother, Laura's postmemory of dictatorship is soundly grounded on an emotional and historical narrative which bolsters the formation of her political subjectivation.

In 2013, one year before the fieldwork was conducted, the country commemorated the fortieth year anniversary of the coup. This was a deeply emotional moment for the country, where different forms of 'irruptions of memory' were performed throughout the country (Wilde et al., 1998). From massive demonstrations, to TV series and documentaries, for the first time the violence of dictatorship was a topic which was being openly discussed on national television. This had a profound effect on victims of the regime, who felt the possibility of openly sharing their own stories of violence thereby allowing for a process of national

mourning. Schwab (2012) mentions a similar process in Germany, where an American series recounting the crimes of the Holocaust unleashed an emotional response from a public previously submerged in a process of silencing and emotionless psychiatric paralysis.

> The fortieth commemoration of the coup was a massive event, very emotional as well. The TV broadcasted shows regarding the dictatorship (…) I would watch a show and call my mother, who was watching the same show and we would cry over the phone together. On the day of the commemoration, I went to my parent's house and during supper, Joseph [Laura's stepfather] started retelling his experience [during the coup]. It was intense, it was like having living history in one person: everything that you read, everything you watched on the TV shows, everything that you discussed with your friends (…) being told by your father in flesh and bone, because it was his experience. It was extremely intense. Also, we had time to ask questions, to go deeper in topics that I was always interested but couldn't ask before. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

These experiences of mourning and recognition are significant for the development of this generation's political subjectivation. Although this specific irruption of memory happened after the 2011 cycle of protest, it is a good proxy to understand the relevance that these events had on the development of activists' political subjectivation. As second-generation victims, the experiences of their parents remained repressed, constituting a mystery. These events allowed for these memories to come forward, unleashing a mourning process which had effects not only on their families, but also on the rest of society. As Wieviorka (2014) argues, these processes of mourning are crucial for the development of an effective subjectivation, as they allows people to project the past into the present.

Javiera was involved in a similar process of mourning. As a middle-class activist, she came from a long line of left-wing activists. Her family's story is significantly influenced by the violence of dictatorship: in the early days of the regime, her great aunt was captured by Pinochet's security forces and forcefully disappeared. This tragic event prompted a self-

imposed exile by her grandparents to Venezuela, where her father spent his early childhood. After reaching the age of eighteen in the mid-eighties, he returned to Chile to join an underground political movement called MIR. Shortly after he began his activism, he was imprisoned and tortured by the security forces. After his imprisonment, he studied film and joined an independent production company where he met Javiera's mother. In this company, they recorded and broadcasted news that denounced the situation in Chile to the international community. After the end of dictatorship, Laura's parents divorced. She went to live with her mother in a small town outside Santiago called Melipilla.

Coming from such a violent and painful background, Javiera was made aware of a significant part of her family's violent past by her mother, whilst her father refrained from talking about the subject completely. The first two family narratives that Javiera received were: the forceful disappearance of her great-aunt and the role that both parents played in the production company. Her father's imprisonment and torture is not mentioned until a much later point in time.

> (…) I mean, I always knew that my dad worked in the production company, but it has always been easier for me to talk to my mom about it, as she has always been open with me and has told me everything … well, I guess not everything. However, she was always very open to talk to me about these issues (…) but my dad not so much. Actually, very recently we are just starting to talk about these issues, he is beginning to tell me everything that he experienced: his return to Chile, my aunt who participated in MIR,[27] my aunt who was arrested and is still missing. It is like he had always silenced that part, but not because he doesn't want to talk, but because it is just too difficult for him. He wants to talk, but he has many things repressed, so it is hard for him to talk about these issues. It is something that he is starting to do now. We started to talk about it two years ago. (Javiera, Undergraduate Student, 2011 Generation)

[27] Revolutionary Left-wing Movement.

What is interesting is the relevance that her father's silence has in her storytelling. Although she was already aware of her father's circumstances, she decides at first not to mention her father's silence about the past. This decision highlights the impact that both this silence and the relevance of her father's story has on her subjectivation. This became evident when I asked her about her reaction when she found out about her father's sufferings:

> (…) I sincerely had no idea about a whole era of my father's life, I just did not know (…) it was a strong experience and it was … (long pause) although it was not pride, pride is not the word, because I was really sad (…) but it's like (…) it showed me my dad's commitment. (Javiera, Undergraduate Student, 2011 Generation)

In this quote, Javiera struggles with two conflicting significations. On the one hand, she feels saddened by the sufferings inflicted on her father, and on the other hand, she also feels a strong sense of pride regarding her father's political commitment to the struggle against dictatorship. As the quote shows, she struggles with her ambivalent signification, trying to repress the sense of pride, but giving it away in its negation. The quote shows how deeply committed she is to this narrative and how much it affects her own political subjectivation. Also, it shows a certain glorification of the struggle against dictatorship. The pride that Javiera tries to deny comes from the fact that in many ways she glorifies the actions of her father, even considering the consequences that it brought to him. As Jara (2016) argues, for most second-generation victims, the stories of their parents are a significant source of identity formation. In the case of Javiera, her father's imprisonment and torture reflect his commitment, something she holds dear and something that allows her to position herself as an activist in the history of the left.

This process is significant in the way in which she understands herself and her struggle.

> [Referring to a documentary produced by her mother about female slum-dwellers and their organizations during dictatorship] It showed all the organization of the women during dictatorship, how they would organize through soup kitchens, how

> they would hide people being persecuted, how they had the houses prepared to receive those people (...) and that particular documentary ends when 'No' wins [1988 general election]. It was very powerful, I vividly remember the final speech of one of the female leaders of the slum, she was saying something like: 'Finally as women we have succeeded, we have earned our freedom' (…) It leaves you with a great sense of impotence, I mean they really had a hope with this [democracy] (…) and now we have the same thing. (Javiera, Undergraduate Student, 2011 Generation)

As mentioned before, both of her parents worked in a production company that recorded videos related to the struggle against Pinochet. At some point in the interview Javiera mentioned that she helped her mother to digitalize these videos, which meant watching them one by one. This experience became crucial, as she learnt about the sufferings of dictatorship through these videos in the context of a bonding experience with her mother. Thus, the postmemories of dictatorship are bound with an emotional experience, solidifying its subjective effect.

To assess the veracity of this story goes beyond the objectives of this research, however it is relevant to understand what Davis (2002) characterizes as 'emplotment'. By this term, Davis refers to the process by which narrative explanations construct a plot, which means the reconfiguration of the past into a story, vesting it with continuity and meaning and projecting a sense of what shall happen. In summary, the particular way in which a storyteller organizes and selects the elements which take part in their story. In Javiera's story, she produces an emplotment which is telling in terms of meaning creation. When she reflects on her mother's recordings of female activists from a slum in Santiago, she highlights the abilities of these women to organize against the state terror (how they had different safe-houses for people avoiding persecution, the soup kitchens that they would organize, etc.) Thus, the female slum-dwellers are the main characters and heroes of this story. Her story then progresses to describe the main characters' joy after the 1988 referendum, to then finish on a sour note

with a critical assessment of democratic Chile. Now, this story is relevant not only because of its content, but the social processes from which it emerges. As Tilly (2002) argues, to analyse stories through a sociological perspective it is important to focus on the social process that determines the appreciation of the story. In the case of Javiera, her story provides a glimpse into her generational narrative regarding dictatorship. The plot of the story centres on the 'treasonous' character of transition, as the expectations of the slum-dwellers were betrayed by the democratic governments. The social processes that allow the appreciation of this story are based on quite a cohesive and clear idea about dictatorship and the conclusion is based on a judgement of both the democratic transition and dictatorship. The conditions of possibility for this story to emerge are the postmemories that are inherited through her family, as well as the different social and historical process which are part of the transition to democracy, especially regarding the assessment of dictatorship and its crimes. As Zamponi (2018) argues, social movements' interpretations of the past are interesting as they reveal the success or failure of mnemonic projects. Javiera's interpretation of history reveals a critical review of the process of the transitional fable (Karmy-Bolton, 2018), criticizing its relationship with dictatorship.

This narrative does not only inform her perception about the past, but it is also a source of meaning for the present. As Halbwachs (1992) argues, the relevance of collective memory rests in the social frameworks that are embedded; to Javiera the story of her parents' experiences is not just a narrative about their past, but is a source of meaning that informs her life. As the quote shows, Javiera's interpretation links the struggles of her parents with her own, establishing a connecting line that challenges the hegemonic discourse of transition. This link is not only due to the experiences with her family but is also developed through her own experiences of activism. In this sense, it is possible to see what Wieviorka (2014) refers

to as effective subjectivation – the ability to use the past to understand the present and project the future.

Javiera's political background clashed with the environment of transition, where political issues of the past remained silenced. In most schools, political organizations were restricted, especially in the case of right-wing towns such as the one that Javiera is from. Melipilla is a rural town in the outskirts of Santiago; mainly focused on tourism and agriculture, the town remains deeply tied to its conservative roots. Despite this repressive environment, she managed to find a way to develop her activism. Interestingly, she did it by participating in a cultural activity which directly cites the struggle against Pinochet: a 'peña'.

> My interest in politics came from my family and was always there, but when I was about to finish school is when me and my group of friends became politically active. We felt that Melipilla didn't gave us much, we didn't have much to do besides hanging out in the town centre … it was kind of a bubble. Out of this environment, a teacher [from my school] opens a 'peña', which became a meeting point for left-wing people in the town – because Melipilla is an extremely right-wing town. Hence, we started meeting there, and the conversation became increasingly political and from thereon I became increasingly interested in politics. (Javiera, Undergraduate Student, 2011 Generation)

A peña is a type of venue that was culturally established in the nineteen-sixties as a place devoted to folk music. These venues gave birth to what was known as 'Nueva Canción Chilena' (New Chilean Song), a mixture of folk music from different parts of South America and traditional Chilean folk music. These songs were infused with highly political messages about working-class struggles, becoming keystones in the cultural movement that supported Allende's government. This music trend would foster figures such as Victor Jara, Violeta Parra and Patricio Manns, with bands such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun (Memoria Chilena, n.d.). After the coup (1973) most of these venues closed as they were considered as gathering

points of the opposition, however some managed to stay open in the underground, remaining places of cultural resistance against the regime.

As a red-diaper activist, Javiera was strongly influenced by her family's history in her political subjectivation. However, the town where she lived and the school she studied at discouraged her from becoming politically active until she started hanging out in the 'peña'. What is interesting in this trajectory is the historical reference that is embedded. The 'peña' provided her with the physical and cultural support that resonated with her political subjectivity, allowing her the space she needed to develop her activism. This is possible thanks to the cultural signifiers of the left, and their constant reference to the past. The 'peña' works as a place of memory (Nora, 2008), in which the cultural and political signifiers of the left and its past are expressed in full form, allowing Javiera to draw meaning out of the cultural frames that are produced in this space.

Lautaro is a middle-class student from Santiago, and similar to Javiera, his family story circles around the experiences of his father: a university lecturer from a working-class background who held an active participation in the underground struggle against dictatorship.

> My dad began his activism in university during the dictatorship. He joined the Socialist Party when it was planning to overthrow Pinochet, my dad was an active member at that time. This brought certain consequences for my family, because my parents were about to have my older brother at the time, whilst also finishing their undergraduate studies … around '82, at the beginning of the economic crisis. Nevertheless, my dad decided to remain politically active, forcing my mother to find a job. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

His narrative focuses primarily on the actions of his father, leaving his mother in a secondary role. Jara (2016) identifies this trend as the 'Antigone model', namely the tendency to position women in the secondary role of mourning and searching for the bodies of their male partners.

This becomes clear very early in the interview; whenever I ask about his family history, he insists on situating his storytelling in the actions of his father.

> I was always interested in my family's history, how my parents met, the things that are important to him [his father]. Besides, I have always seen my father as someone that was very much faithful to his ideas. As an anecdote, in my father's library there is a picture of Marx and Engels that my dad took from a book, as a kid I would ask him who those people were, to which he would reply: 'They are your uncles'. Also, on the 11th of September,[28] he always wakes up and listens to a radio show that narrates the events of that day, from beginning to end. All these practices have had a significant impact on my home, it's impossible not to ask where all this interest comes from. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation).

This is a common feature of the red-diaper activist's narrative, the link between politics and their family's history are interwoven, creating a strong subjective attachment to activism. The mention of both the ritual of the 11th of September commemoration and the Marx and Engels picture reflects this clearly: both anecdotes establish the emotional link between left-wing politics and the identification with his father's narrative. This became significantly important when he described his introduction to student politics at school.

Lautaro's focus on his father is a clear indication of his identification with his political activity, something that he is very much aware of. This specific trait became significant when I started to dig deeper into his father's narrative.

> [Regarding his father's refusal to tell him about his underground actions] He tells me that when the time comes he will tell me, because of the severity of the things that he experienced, that he lost comrades, that he almost died, apparently; a lot of things that he nowadays has ethical issues concerning. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

[28] 11th of September 1973 is the date of the coup.

Although the underground character of his father's activism is something that Lautaro is very much aware of, his father's refusal to share the details surrounding his experiences is intriguing. According to Lautaro, this is due to the fact of the severity of the events and activities that he was involved in. However, what is interesting in this quote is how his father leaves a window of opportunity open regarding the detail of his experiences. This open space of possibility seems to be designed to capture Lautaro's imagination, linking him to his father's narrative.

Belnap (2012) argues that trauma is passed through generations as life lessons, and thus becomes part of the family heritage and identity. Most of the time, trauma is left unnamed if not constantly present in the familiar interactions. In the case of second generation, this silence is interpreted in different ways. In the case of Lautaro, his postmemory of his father could not be interpreted as trauma, as the interpretation of these stories and the meaning that is drawn from them are quite clear and coherent (Jara, 2016). However, it is possible to see a mnemonic intention in the way in which his father passes this information to his son, leaving what is almost a rite of passage, telling him that it is something that he will communicate to him once he is ready.

Lautaro's narrative shows the importance that his father's history has for his political subjectivation and the relevance that the traumatic experience of his father has on his political becoming. This in the context of a challenge of masculinity from father to son. The complex relationships which are embedded in the passing of these narratives are crucial for understanding their pervasiveness. This context acquires new levels of significance when we dwell on the origin of his activism.

Most of Lautaro's adolescence was spent in a traditional school in the centre of Santiago called Liceo de Aplicación. This school is one of the oldest and most traditional in the country. Founded in 1892, this public school is accordingly one of the most prestigious in the country.

During dictatorship, its students played a significant role in the resistance against dictatorship, especially during the 1982–83 demonstrations (Salazar, 2012). This historicity had a significant effect on Lautaro's political subjectivation: *'The legacy of the Liceo de Aplicación was like that, always to uphold the discussion, to stand your ground, to give your perspective on the spaces of struggle'* (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation).

Although significant in his political subjectivation, the way in which his relationship with activism began is rather peculiar. His enrolment at Liceo de Aplicación happened after he consciously failed his application to an even more traditional school called Instituto Nacional. His father attended the latter school and pushed Lautaro to pursue the same path. For this purpose, Lautaro's parents enrolled him into private tutelage to prepare him for the selection test. However, Lautaro consciously decided to fail the test. When I asked him the reasons behind this, he provided the following explanation:

> Because it was something that my dad had done, it was his legacy, my dad was the one that constructed an identity around 'Instituto Nacional', he wanted me to be the same as him, he wanted to me to move up the social ladder, and that was the first thing that I rejected. And the second thing that I rejected was an almost fascist [identity] logic that both 'Instituto Nacional' and 'Liceo de Aplicación' have.[29] So much so that they can't stand each other, that if they saw each other [Liceo de Aplicación and Instituto Nacional students] on the streets there would be fights. I found that sort of thing kind of animalistic almost. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

His enrolment in Liceo de Aplicación happened as the second choice after he consciously sabotaged his admission test to Instituto Nacional. Lautaro's story indicates that the sabotage of the test was an act of rebellion against what he felt was the imposition of his father's trajectory onto his own. This turn in his story is interesting considering how much of his

[29] As two of the most traditional schools in the country, the students of both schools have a long-standing feud which sometimes culminates in violence.

family's narrative was based on his father. The interaction between the demands of his father and the identity logics of the school sprung a specific trajectory of activism.

> The opposition to those kind of logics [school identity logics] is what led me to anarchism, because I came to the conclusion that those sort of thing led to nothing but segregation. This is, of course, something that I developed over time, but it was something that I felt in my gut from the beginning. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

> I became an anarchist in terms of participating in the student organizations, to push the assembly as way of participation; also in terms of accumulating strength through our working-class identity instead of the identity of the school. We saw the school identity as imposed by the school authorities, which allowed for the invisibilization of the real issues: that we had our own working-class identity. Our main criticism was that the school was a place where working-class kids went to leave their class behind. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

Through this story he asserts his trajectory as independent to his father's, rebelling against the imposition of his story into his own. Kogan (2012) argues that there are two ways in which transgenerational trauma occurs: one is through primitive identification where the child unconsciously assimilates the parent's self-image in an attempt to heal him/her. This form of identification leads to loss of the child's sense of self, and an inability to differentiate between the self and the damaged parent. The second is deposited representation, where the parent unconsciously or even consciously forces aspects of himself on to the child, affecting the child's sense of identity and giving him a certain specific task to perform. Under this transmission, the child become reservoirs of the deposited images connected to trauma, often initiating unconscious fantasies linked to them.

Both the narrative about his father's experiences during dictatorship and his adamant imposition towards the selection of the school seem to imply a great effort by his father for him to continue his own legacy. These procedures are significant to Lautaro's political

subjectivation, but not in the way in which they were intended. Lautaro seems to rebel against this imposition, aiming at constructing his own political trajectory. Nevertheless, this trajectory is never completely separated from the one of his father.

His family's history and the interactions inside the school are also involved in the development of his political perspective. His school was filled with various political organizations: from active cells of the Communist Party, to different factions of MIR, and other anarchist organizations. In this context, he and a couple of friends organized a direct-action cell inside the school which focused its efforts on violent confrontation with the police.

> It was a direct-action collective. We used to gather around to discuss, as a group of friends mainly, but we were very much politically committed as well. We would discuss the latest political news … but our focus was direct action, almost as a military organization against the police. We would go out and use the trash cans [to build barricades], and to have a clear idea to choose the most convenient streets [to fight police], to have a strategy to protect the mass mobilization, that was our objective. (…) our main concern was to protect our classmates, that common identity, to try to reinvigorate our working-class identity based on our camaraderie. Sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn't, many of the people involved in the movement would call us 'pistol-heads'. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

What this quote shows is the construction of a political identity by the interaction of his father's inherited identity and his own experience. His involvement in a direct-action collective undoubtedly referenced the undercover actions of his father. In these actions, violence and anonymity are the signifiers that link both trajectories. Lautaro, by his use of violence, seems to re-enact his father's traumatic experiences. Although the social and political scenario are different, the link between them is evident.

Another interesting feature of the quote is the derogatory term 'pistol-head'. As he mentioned this term, I instantly recalled that that was term used by one of my father's oldest

friends to refer to my father. As I explained in the introduction, my father was a member of MIR, a political party which upheld political violence as a necessary means to achieve socialism in the country. Besides the anecdotal, the continual use of this term indicates a transmission of memory from the seventies until this day, especially in the context of institutions with a rich political history such as Liceo de Aplicación. On the other hand, it also connects him to his father's history, recreating the contradictory character of his subjectivation. In some ways, political violence is the continuation of his father's legacy in his political action.

Collective Memory and Repertoires of Contention

During the 2011 mobilizations, memory emerged out of different places, contextualizing the students' demands in the wider history of social struggles. This was a phenomenon that had a twofold explanation: on the one hand, it was a very well thought out strategy by the student leadership to relate student demands to a wider audience, but it was also the unexpected consequence of different moments in which certain events stimulated the collective memory of students and the general public. As Polleta (2002) argues, social movements consciously use stories in order to spread their message, plotting the memory of a past event to contextualize the present struggle.

As has been discussed previously, memory is always a contentious field where different actors aim at controlling its interpretation (Gaudichaud & Ortega Breña, 2009; Jelin, 2002; Zamponi, 2018). In the case of Chile, the process of transition created a hegemonic interpretation regarding dictatorship, aiming at establishing it as a dark past to be forgotten (Karmy-Bolton, 2018; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998). In this sense, the use of a repertoire of contention of the struggle against dictatorship not only aims directly at challenging the democratic character of the government, but also at engaging the general population into the students' struggle. Thus, the student movement worked as memory entrepreneurs (Kubal & Becerra, 2014), using the memory of dictatorship to frame the understanding of their current struggle.

Probably the most significant moment in which memory became a relevant factor was on the 4th of August. On this day, the student leadership called for two separate demonstrations: in the morning, ACES, the secondary students' organization, and in the afternoon, CONFECH, the federation of university student unions. Both demonstrations were banned by the government, supposedly because of the violent character of previous protests. Despite this, the student leadership decided to move forwards with both demonstrations. On that day, the

centre of the city was filled with riot police, violently opposing any kind of gathering, resulting in clashes throughout the afternoon. The violence of the police effectively stopped the workings of the capital. In response to this, the student leadership called for a 'cacerolazo' in protest for the state violence (Figueroa, 2013).

This gesture was significant for its memory content. Cacerolazos are a repertoire of contention that were popular during dictatorship, where people would take out their pots (cacerolas) and bang them as a sign of protest against the regime. They were particularly significant during the days of national demonstrations in the early eighties (Collier & F. Sater, 2004; Salazar, 2012). The cacerolazo was an effective way of demonstrating at the time as, on the one hand, it was anonymous – a person could bang their pots inside the house without drawing attention to themselves, and on the other, it was resounding as it gathered a great number of households, becoming impossible to disregard.

The cacerolazo called by the students in 2011 was aimed at protesting the excessive use of violence by the police during the demonstrations. However, this response was not planed in advance but instead followed the example of previous protests. Francisco Figueroa was one of the student leaders of the 2011 mobilization, and in his memoirs of the mobilization he recounts the events of that evening:

> On television, the only positive image of the day showed a group of parents taking their pots and spoons on to the streets to protest their children's detention. They inspired the 'cacerolazo' that we called for that evening. Camila's twitter account,[30] with more than 100,000 followers, was the perfect amplifier. We couldn't regroup to protest, but we were able to successfully do a cacerolazo. (Figueroa, 2013, p. 142)

[30] Camila Vallejos was the main student leader for that mobilization, president of FECH and main speaker for CONFECH.

Unlike other forms of protest such as the '1,800 hours for education' or the 'Thriller for education', this repertoire was invoked spontaneously as a response to the violence. Nevertheless, it was not produced in a vacuum – it is the direct quotation of the past that frames the understanding of the present. As a performance, it establishes a link between the current struggle of education and the struggle against dictatorship. This link is of significance in terms of its political content: it directly challenges the legitimacy of transition by questioning its real difference with dictatorship. In the following section, I will discuss different stories related to this event to understand its relevance and the different processes that were involved in its performance.

David experienced most of the day of protest inside the main campus of Universidad de Chile. From there, he and couple of his comrades tried to join the main demonstration in 'Plaza Italia', but their efforts were halted by the water cannon and tear gas.

> We couldn't even get near to the demonstration because of the tear gas, the water cannons – we had to retreat. We were all incredibly pissed off. I don't know if it was like a systemic anger, it was something like: 'Bloody hell, it can't be that you just can't walk freely on the streets, that you can't demonstrate if you want to. (David, Student, 2011 Generation)

This sense of frustration was significant in political terms as it contradicted the subjective understanding of what a democracy was supposed to be. David and his comrades' frustration regarding the violence of the police and their inability to exercise basic freedoms activated the memory of dictatorship. This became evident when the police forcefully entered his university by breaking one of the main doors. In this next quote, he describes his feelings during this episode:

> I felt two different things: First, I felt that we had to do something, because the police violence was too much. And second, that they were capable of anything, because it wasn't a demonstration. I mean, when you are at a demo you expect to

> get a bit roughed-up, a bit bruised – it's obvious, if you want to protest you are going to have a response from those that want to defend themselves – but that time it was simply too much. (David, Student, 2011 Generation)

An interesting feature of this quote is what is left unspoken. The expression 'capable of anything' is significant in terms of what it hides. As an activist involved in the mobilization, he was accustomed to being on the receiving end of police brutality, however when the police entered the university there was a new feeling – a sense of vulnerability which he had not experienced before that moment. This is what the expression 'capable of anything' hides. This feeling is confirmed by the discussions he held with family about the event.

> In parallel, you spoke with your uncles, cousins, even the press (…) and you realized that it was like a powerful shock to everyone, that things started to feel like during dictatorship. That was very surprising to see, that's what happened to me. (David, Student, 2011 Generation)

David's perception of violence is significant in terms of how the collective memory of dictatorship was activated by the events of that day. Although it is impossible to fully determine the way in which it activated (i.e. whether it was an automatic individual response or whether it was influenced by someone else), its resonance was important not only amongst the students, but also for the general population.

Whilst researching the sit-ins during the sixties in the US, Francesca Polleta (2002) highlighted the relevance that storytelling had in the development of this repertoire; how students would share stories of previous sit-ins amongst them in order to make sense of the mobilization and sustain morale. In the case of the 4th of August, the violence of dictatorship almost naturally brought back the memory of dictatorship, summoning the stories from that period and relating them to the violence of that day. David's account shows how 'cacerolazo' seized upon the irruptions of memory (Wilde et al., 1998) in order to frame them in the context of the

students' struggle. This frame resonated beyond the students involved in the struggle, effectively mobilizing their friends and family.

> I arrived home, and me and my roommates turned on the TV to see what was going on, and we found out that the student leaders had called for a cacerolazo, and in that instance we started to hear the cacerolazo from our house! So I told my roommates: 'Guys, you know what, I haven't asked anything from you this entire time, but now we have to participate in this [cacerolazo]'. And we did! We went to the corner of our house and started banging our pots for 10 to 15 minutes (…) My parents called to tell me that they were the only ones in Graneros that were participating.[31] (David, Student, 2011 Generation)

As the quote shows, David found in the cacerolazo an effective way to express his anger against police brutality. Not only this, but he also asked for his roommates to participate, both of them undergraduate students who were not actively involved in the mobilizations. The cacerolazo, as a peaceful protest, gave them the opportunity to show their discontent with the government without having to participate in massive demonstrations which could expose them to the brutality of the police. Similarly, David's parents also participated from their house in Graneros.

In the case of Guillermo, his experience is significantly related to the postmemory of dictatorship and how it was framed through the cacerolazo.

> I went out that day, and in in the evening took the bus to Osorno [south of Chile]. But on that day, in downtown Santiago, the mixture of the rain and the tear gas was like watching Santiago from the eighties, like being in the midst of dictatorship. The whole city smelled like tear gas, people on the streets banging their pots … I took the bus in the evening, which coincided with Vallejos [student leader] calling for the cacerolazo. The bus was leaving at that moment, when suddenly I see a bunch of people with pots, it just gave me the chills! I think that that day as the climax of the mobilization because it was during that day that a kid got murdered, thus it was

[31] A small town located in the south of the country.

> very shocking because of the police violence … it was like the crisis of democracy. (Guillermo, Student, 2011 Generation)

As Guillermo's story reveals, the remembrance of dictatorship was not only activated by the cacerolazo, but it was effectively activated by the experiences of violence during the day of struggle. This is relevant in terms that it reveals the salience of the collective memory of dictatorship in the struggle (Kubal & Becerra, 2014). As an immanent narrative, the memory of dictatorship is present in the psyche of the country, available to be activated at any given time. The cacerolazo was a repertoire that effectively framed the process of remembrance and was triggered by the state violence. As a frame, it seized upon the collective memory of violence, and its links with dictatorship, resonating with the larger population. It is interesting how the concept of a 'crisis of democracy' was part of Guillermo's storytelling. Undoubtedly, the cacerolazo and its reference to dictatorship had a significant effect on his perspective.

In Javiera's case, the 4th of August was also significant but in a different way.

> I remember that those demonstrations were not authorized, I met some friends and tried walking towards the city centre but we ran into the water cannon which left us soaking wet. We had awful run-ins with the police. After that we went to a friends' house to rest and later we went to the demonstrations in the afternoon, in the city centre, we stayed briefly because it was, again, extremely violent. We were completely exhausted. My dad called me afterwards to spend the rest of the evening with him; the cacerolazo had already started so I joined him. He was with his partner and my sister, and we stayed there from nine till one-thirty in the morning. (Javiera, Student, 2011 Generation)

The violence of the morning contrasted with the spirit of communion in the evening where different generations gathered to participate in the ritual:

> It was a very beautiful scene, because it was the struggle beyond collective violence, it wasn't only the students, but the society in general supporting a struggle that you felt to be your own. At the beginning, I thought that the students' struggle belonged

> to the students only and that's why we were on the streets, but afterwards I felt differently. It was nice to see all of society coming together. To see my little sister participating – she was eight or nine years-old at the time – my older brother that usually didn't participate in demonstrations, a couple of grandmothers that brought their pots ... It filled you with hope to see everyone fighting for the same cause. (Javiera, Student, 2011 Generation)

The cacerolazo became a ritual that effectively gathered a wider group of people, erasing the lines between activists and the rest of the population. This was possible mainly thanks to the deep roots that the repertoire had in Chilean history and its relationship with dictatorship. As a performance, the cacerolazo summons the private space of those involved, the use of a common house implement such as a pot invites the participation of not only students, but the family as a whole.

In the case of Lautaro, his involvement in the 4th of August started late in the day. He did not participate in the demonstrations during in the morning, but went to 'Plaza Italia' in the evening. His perception of violence is significantly different to that of David regarding the use of violence.

> We got together in Parque Bustamante and the whole place was a mess: water cannons, police vans, tear-gas vans, mounted police. We [the protestors] were constantly being pushed back and forth – actually, I remember it being at least three hours of running back and forth. I remember that the most important thing for us was to go to Alameda, to take it back again. We were conscious of what we were doing, we had to take back Alameda because it was the space that was being taken from us by the action of the police. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

The sense of anger with the restrictive actions of the police is significant. As was mentioned before, during his time in school, Lautaro was involved in a direct-action collective which was focused on battling with the police. However, after leaving school he had ceased to engage in those sorts of actions – until that day. As in the case of David, his grievance was focused on

the prohibition by the state and the police to access the main road of the city. Although, to fully understand his grievance it is necessary to ground it in the political history of the country.

Alameda is the oldest and most iconic street in the city. It crosses Santiago from east to west, passing by the government palace (La Moneda) and the most important government buildings. Most of the massive demonstrations are carried out in this street for the sheer fact that it bears great significance for social movements. As a matter of fact, the street gets mentioned in Allende's last speech, a few hours before he died:

> Workers of my country, I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men will overcome this dark and bitter moment when treason seeks to prevail. Go forward knowing that, sooner rather than later, the great Alamedas will open again where free men will walk to build a better society. (Allende, 1973)

The relevance that this street bears is undoubtedly immanent in the activists' stories, although not explicitly mentioned, and it is part of the historicity of the street – which explains Lautaro's reaction to the police action. Locations such as Alameda bear a mnemonic content as their social construction is politically embedded, drawing meaning according to the collective memory of different groups. This is what González-García (2016) refers to as the 'spatiality of memory', as certain places bear the collective memories of certain groups, awakening the historical experiences of political actors. The Alameda and governmental palace bear an undeniable memory content as the place where Allende died and where the 1973 coup took place. The historicity of these places is what drives activists such as Lautaro to battle with the police: its symbolic character of the street meant that it became an imperative to be able to demonstrate in it.

After a couple of hours battling with the police, Lautaro and his comrades decided to return to their houses by walking:

> The 4th of August is the crystallization of the people's commitment to the movement – as everyone participated. I remember that day that we kept battling with the police until it became pointless. It was getting late and we all decided to walk home. (…) And whilst we walked, for some reason we felt safe because it wasn't like walking home in the middle of the night drunk, afraid you might get mugged. We were walking home safe because everywhere you looked there was a barricade, people protesting, working-class people, elders, etc. Besides, whilst we were walking, the cacerolazos started and everyone was outside their houses, and it was extremely significant for us. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 generation)

For Lautaro, the cacerolazos were a clear manifestation of the support from the general public. What is interesting in the quote is the contrast between the feelings of frustration against police violence and the sense of ease and comfort the street demonstrations provided. This seems to be related to a sense of purpose in their struggle. In this experience, memory is again crucial, as it brings a clear intent to the grievances of Lautaro.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the political subjectivation of activists involved in the 2011 generation, focusing especially on postmemory. The generation that led the 2011 mobilization represents a rupture with previous generations. Born and raised after the end of dictatorship, this generation was involved in two of the most significant mobilizations since the end of dictatorship: the 2006 Penguin Revolution and the 2011 student protests (Portillo et al., 2012). This cohort could be understood as a strategic generation (Edmunds & Turner, 2002), a generation able to effect significant change in the environment within which it lives.

The first section of the chapter focused on the construction of postmemory and the effects that it has on the construction of their political subjectivation. According to Wieviorka (2014), an effective subjectivation is when a generation has undergone a process of mourning, allowing them to introduce the past into the present. In the case of the 2011 generation, they have witnessed an evolution in the collective memory of dictatorship, from the state of collective amnesia of the early days, to a widespread recognition of the crimes. This evolution regarding the memory of dictatorship allows them to develop a poignant and critical perspective about the human rights violations, fostering a political subjectivation that is significantly more cohesive than that of the 1997 generation.

The second section was focused on a particular day of demonstrations on the 4th of August 2011. Besides being one of the most violent demonstrations of that cycle, this demonstration became significant because it was the first time since the end of dictatorship that cacerolazos were performed. As an effective repertoire of contestation during dictatorship, cacerolazos took advantage of a series of irruptions of memory to frame the character of the mobilization and relate it to the struggle against dictatorship. This use of memory proves the effective character of this generation's political subjectivity, something that is crucial to understanding

its resonance.

Chapter 7: Working-class Subjectivities: The Unexpected Guest of Transition

Introduction

One of the most salient features of this generation is the class content that is expressed in their narratives. This generation is composed of a great number of working-class students who were the first of their family to access higher education (HE). For most of them, their access was made possible through a loan called the 'Crédito con Aval del Estado' (State Guarantor Loan, CAE), which was implemented in 2005. This loan, implemented by the government with the purpose of widening the access of working-class students to higher education, had the peculiar feature of being run by private banks but with the Chilean State as its guarantor.

The introduction of credit to fund higher education is among the most common neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2005; Larner, 2000). It is part of a wider process of expansion of credit into different aspects of social life. As Maurizio Lazzarato (2012) argues, this expansion entails the development of a new subjectivity: the indebted man[32]. This subjectivity is the outcome of a power relationship between creditor and debtor, in which the first imposes a morality on the latter. Nevertheless, the development of the 2011 mobilization implies a rebellion to this imposition as the students demand the removal of these dynamics from HE. This chapter will analyse the construction of this subjectivity by analysing their experiences as students and activists.

[32] Lazzarato's title only mentions man, however it is necessary to add that the expansion of this subjectivity does not discriminate by gender.

CAE is a loan run by private banks at a 5.8 % interest rate, it granted access to higher education for a great number of first-generation students. However, it also became a source of considerable grievance for working-class students. The loan covered part of the fee for each course, which meant that even after taking the loan most of the students had to, besides the loan, pay a substantial amount of money (Guzmán-Concha, 2014; Mayol & Azócar, 2011).

According to data by World Bank (2011), the loan left the students with an acquired debt averaging 180% of their annual income, with the monthly payments averaging 18% of their salary over fifteen years. As a result, some 50% of students failed to repay their loans on time, leaving them with a significant burden of debt.

Despite this, a great number of working-class families saw the introduction of the loan as the only chance for their children to access HE, ascend the social ladder and enjoy a better life for themselves. The number of students participating in the scheme in its first year (2006) was 21,317, rising to 213,350 by 2010 (World Bank, 2011). According to data released by the government, from 2006 to 2011 the access for young people from the two most deprived income quintiles rose from 14% to 21% for the first, and from 17% to 28% for the second (CASEN, 2013). This massive influx of working-class students into the HE system significantly changed the class composition of respective HE institutions, creating tension within the university campuses. This tension was crucial for the 2011 movement. As Nicolás Somma (2012) summarizes, the HE system sowed the seeds of the conflict by allowing a great number of working-class students into its institutions, whose grievances and sense of organization realized the biggest mobilization since the end of dictatorship.

Although CAE became a relevant and considerable source of grievance for working-class students, their political subjectivation is also the consequence of the interactions within HE institutions. Students who came from a working-class background inserted themselves into institutions which were predominantly middle and upper class, leaving them in a condition of

disparity with the rest of their classmates. In this section, I will analyse the experiences of these students and their struggles within the confines of HE institutions. For this purpose, I will dialogue with the literature around experiences of working-class students in HE. Unlike this literature, the present analysis shows how activism within the boundaries of student movement is based upon a working-class discourse (Benford, 2002), which in the case of this generation serves as a catalyst for mobilization.

From Strangers in Paradise to Abajismo

There is a vast body of scholarship regarding the experiences of working-class students in universities (Lehmann, 2009, 2013; Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009; Thiele, Pope, Singleton, Snape & Stanistreet, 2017). Most of this literature points to the sense of being 'out of place' that working-class students experience in HE institutions. By focusing on their subjective experiences, the literature highlights the clash between the middle-class character of HE, and the working-class background of these students. This clash usually leaves them at a crossroads between their class heritage and the demands from these institutions, with two possibilities for going forwards: either the student goes through an intensive process of what Lehman refers as 'habitus transformation' (2013) in which they incorporate middle-class practices predominant in the university environment, or they develop a critical and sometimes resentful attitude towards the institution of university and of their classmates. The literature generally focuses on the subjective changes that these students have to endure in order to address the demands of HE. Reay et al. refer to this process as rendering 'strangers in paradise' (2009), where working-class students feel as if they do not or cannot 'belong' in these institutions. Certainly, the interviews partly point to this process, especially with regard to what Sennet & Cobb (1972) refer to as 'hidden injuries of class', namely, the class traits of students which make them feel inadequate in the context of HE.

However, the interviews also point towards another outcome. In the context of the 2011 student mobilization, these students undergo a process of reaffirmation which is possible thanks to the pervasive class narrative that the movement has, permeating all of its members. This narrative is so effective that it drives middle-class students to hide their own distinguishing class traits in order to follow suit with the demands of the movement, a process

which one of the activists terms 'abajismo'. Thus, working-class identity becomes a controlling discourse which subverts the class hegemony inside the HE institutions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the working-class narrative arises frequently and with considerable force amongst activists when questioned about their early experiences in university, especially for those who went to private universities. Laura is red-diaper working-class activist, with her first experiences in politics being before university when she joined the Communist Youth (CY). Her first impressions of her classmates are less than favourable:

> In the first semester, my impression of my classmates was that they were all a bunch of posh assholes, a bunch of hippies, and that all they cared about was smoking pot. It was like, 'Are ***these*** my classmates? For real?' I had a different idea of what a university was supposed to be like. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

Although this first impression changed over time, there was a sense of grievance borne against her more affluent classmates. As the interview progressed, she revealed the main reasons behind this:

> Anger, a lot of anger, because I had to work in my spare time alongside my studies, whereas most of my classmates didn't. My classmates had their weekends off, their parents gave them money, some of them were even gifted a car when they started uni! And it always pissed me off because … I had always good grades during uni, actually I was third in my class, but I always felt that I didn't have enough time to study – I had to stay up late at night because during the weekend I had to work in a fucking restaurant to wait tables for other posh assholes. (Laura, Public Servant, 2011 Generation)

As the quote shows, the class differences between themselves and their more affluent classmates created a sense of grievance amongst working-class students, who faced conditions which were significantly different from students that came from more affluent

backgrounds. Laura's story was particularly telling in terms of her class grievances, with her feelings of anger meaning that she excluded herself from establishing friendships with her middle-class classmates.

Laura's class grievance expressed into feelings of anger, firstly towards her classmates and later towards the educational system. As Nussbaum (2001) argues, emotions are a key feature of rational thinking, and more importantly to the ethical reasoning of any human being. In this sense, Laura's sense of anger is crucial in understanding the development of her political subjectivation as an activist. Her experiences as a working-class student in a private university fueled a sense of anger drawn from the class differences that she experienced. As an emotion, anger is crucial in the development of a political movement, as it is crucial in pointing out an injustice and highlighting its relevance. However, anger can also become an impediment to the pursuit of justice, as it can block sentiments of generosity and empathy (Nussbaum, 2016). In the case of political action, anger is a significant driver, as it emotionally binds an activist to a particular cause.

The established literature shows how unprivileged students tend to undertake adaptive strategies to fit into the middle-class environment of the university or tend to sequester themselves within groups with similar backgrounds to theirs. According to Hurst (2010), there are three general types of adaptive strategy outcomes: loyalists, renegades, and double agents. The first group remain strongly committed to their working-class roots, rejecting the identities and values of this new middle-class environment. The second group, renegades, are students who distance themselves from their working-class roots to assimilate middle-class culture and aspirations, eventually viewing their working-class heritage as a burden which they strive towards erasing. The third group, double agents, move constantly between both worlds, portraying different sides of their personality in order to fit in. Throughout these strategies, there is a common experience of dislocation which the students endure by means

of the conflicting demands from their background and the HE environment. In Laura's case, her strategy is clearly the loyalist one, as she reaffirms her working-class identity, contrasting it with the middle- and upper-class identities of her classmates.

An interesting feature of her story is the almost complete absence of reference to adaptive strategies to the middle-class environment of university. In turn, she describes her feelings of anger and frustration which are at the core of her political subjectivation. To the 2011 student movement, class grievance is crucial, as it laid bare the mounting inequality that three decades of neoliberal policies had created in the country.

The differences in terms of background create a tension amongst classmates which ultimately gives a clear character to this mobilization. In some cases, alignment with a working-class narrative begins with interaction in university; for others, it is a longstanding commitment that builds up from experiences of their parents and through their childhood.

Francisca is a working-class student from a non-politicized family in Santiago. She lives in Maipú, one of the largest working-class boroughs. Her father works in various low-paying jobs and her mother works as a domestic worker. When she tells the story of her family, she particularly focuses on her father: A working-class man born into a peasant's family in the outskirts of Santiago. As a child, he divided his time between studying and working on his family's small piece of land. He excelled in school, which allowed him to continue his studies in university through one of the few scholarships that were available at the time. However, his family did not approve of him studying beyond his school years. As a family who worked on a farm, he was expected to carry out the same labour. Eventually, his family forced him to drop out of university after a few semesters.

During his time at university, he supported himself by teaching private lessons to classmates. It is in the context of one of these lessons in which this next story is told:

> Once, he went to a classmate's house to teach. This classmate was particularly wealthy, and they were at her house on an extremely hot day. Nevertheless, my dad was wearing a jumper which he didn't want to take off because underneath his shirt was ripped. And his classmate would exclaim, 'Jorge, why don't you take your jumper off? It's so hot in here!' He refused to do it because it was like a constant reminder of his class origin. (Francisca, Student, 2011 Generation)

The telling of this story is significant in that it is the transmission of a working-class memory. This memory is crucial to the formation of Francisca's identity, as it positions her and her family within a working-class framework, becoming a crucial part of how she understands herself. As any memory transmission, it provides her with a social framework out of which she draws meaning and helps her to construct her own political identity (Halbwachs, 1992; Jelin, 2002). This story is particularly pervasive in its emotional character. Considering Davis' (2002) perspective, this story is significant in terms of the emotional content that it bears. It focuses on the uncomfortable situation that her father suffers as a working-class man, trying to hide the conditions of his class in plain sight of his classmate. Sennet & Cobb (1972) terms this a 'hidden injury of class', a traumatic event which leaves emotional wounds on working-class subjects. This wound was so significant to him that he passed it on to his daughter, bearing a sense of identity which is significant in the development of her working-class political subjectivation.

Nevertheless, the working-class grievance does not seem to become prominent until there is interaction with people from a different background, particularly one prompting a sense of awkwardness and discomfort. As the next quote illustrates:

> (…) In my first days at uni I felt uncomfortable, because there were a lot of people that were not from my same … class background. I didn't think that way in that moment, but it was kind of an awkward feeling. (Francisca, Student, 2011 Generation)

Although Francisca, like Laura, had to work in order to support herself, she did not build a sense of grievance about the differences between her and her classmates' respective backgrounds. Instead, she felt a sense of unease, an awkwardness we see in the previous quote. This resonates with what Reay et al. (2009) term a 'fish out of water', a metaphor to describe how working-class students feel in the context of elite universities. Although Francisca's university is far from being elite, it is still a significantly different environment from that which she was accustomed. When I asked her about the things that made her feel uncomfortable she mentioned a myriad of aspects:

> Various things, from aesthetics – the way I looked changed massively from when I started at uni – (…) the way my classmates spoke. Also, the fact that there were a lot of things that I didn't understand about the courses at first, things that my classmates would understand right away because they had a better foundation in philosophy. Further, they had knowledge of study methods, and they would go home and their conditions were significantly different to mine. I was very aware of these differences, and I had a really hard time aligning myself to them. (Francisca, Student, 2011 Generation)

In Francisca's case, there was a process of mutation in several aspects of her behaviour, from the way in which she spoke to the way she dressed; little by little she incorporated middle-class mannerisms, something that would be noted by people from people of her same background:

> I feel that I was significantly more aggressive than them [classmates from privileged backgrounds]. Nowadays I'm less aggressive than before, but back then I was much more aggressive than them. In ways of speaking, I felt that with my best friend [privileged background], she was much more diplomatic, I was more direct. (…) we had different slang. Actually, one time I met one of my old friends from school (…) and she would note that I was picking up a lot of slang from my classmates. Also, I started to perceive my friends from before differently, as kind of vulgar, and I started to project those distinctions onto the way they would dress and stuff. (Francisca, Student, 2011 Generation)

Unlike Laura, Francisca's experience with her more privileged background classmates was less confrontational. She became best friends with one of her classmates from a wealthier background, something that is crucial to the way in which she confronts the class differences. This approach meant that she lives a deeper process of adaptation, similar to the one that Hurst describes as the 'double agent' (2010), namely, someone who inhabits a liminal space between their working-class background and their new middle-class environment. An interesting feature of this process is the incorporation of aesthetic distinctions. This process points directly to what Lehman (2013) refers to as 'habitus transformation', namely, the incorporation of the aesthetic perspective and forms of distinction from the middle class. However, Francisca was cautious of completely transforming herself: *'I was wary of not trying to give the wrong impression of who I was, to always speak about my roots, of who I was.'* This is a conscious decision that perfectly describes the struggles of double agents: as she inhabited this new middle-class environment which influenced and changes her, she also felt morally obliged not to forget her background, where she came from.

From her first year at university, she started participating in activism together with some of her classmates. She notes that this was mainly due to the contentious character of her generation compared to others who were significantly more passive. When I asked her the reasons for this difference between generations, she mentioned the fact that they were a generation that had a large number of students entering university through CAE, the government loan that was mentioned previously. For her this meant that:

> We were poorer students, students who needed the loan to study … that wouldn't be able to study otherwise (…) if I didn't have the loan it would have been impossible for me to pay for university. (Francisca, Student, 2011 Generation)

The greater influx of working-class students gave rise to a contentiousness in the university which became crucial for the development of the student movement. Besides, some of these

students were involved in one of the most significant student mobilizations of the country: the 2006 Penguin Revolution. Their participation left them with significant knowledge and the experience to lead a mobilization. As Somma argues, the students that led the 2011 generation had *'unprecedented organizational skills, communication networks, and grievances – the basic ingredients that nurtured the movement'* (Somma, 2012, p. 296).

This is the case of Ignacio, a working-class/non-politicized student from Osorno, one of the largest cities in the south of Chile. Unlike Laura and Francisca, Ignacio shared his classroom with students of privileged backgrounds from an early age. Coming from a small town in the outskirts of Osorno, he first carried out his studies in the town's deprived public school, later attending one of Osorno's most renowned private schools by way of a scholarship. His contrasting experiences between each school was crucial for the development of his political subjectivation.

Regarding his experience in public schooling, he argues:

> I am thankful that I studied in a public school until sixth grade (…) I got to know realities that people sometimes distort or refuse to believe exist (…) being there significantly shaped my social beliefs. I had classmates that sometimes didn't have enough to eat in their homes, so the school provided for them with breakfast and lunch; after that, though, no one knew if they would have any food at all (…) My best friend at the time, he was going through some rough times financially, one day he passed out in the middle of the class because he had nothing to eat since the previous day. (Ignacio, Student, 2011 Generation)

His classmates' experiences of deprivation left an enduring impression on his political subjectivation, influencing his perspective on the class differences in the country. These experiences contrasted heavily with his experiences in the private school, where he suffered a great amount of bullying stemming from his class background.

> My arrival to San Mateo [a Catholic private school] was difficult, they called me flayte[33] because I listened to cumbia[34] and hip-hop music, and they were musical genres that were frowned upon, I don't know why – well, people from Osorno are very classist. (Ignacio, Student, 2011 Generation)

Unfortunately, this perception did not only come from his fellow classmates, but also the teachers at the school.

> On one occasion, a teacher asked me about my previous school, and when I told him that I came from a public school he said: 'Well that's unfortunate for you, because you will never have the cultural capital of your classmates,' and from then on, I was stigmatized as lazy. (Ignacio, Student, 2011 Generation)

As Thiele et al. (2017) argue, poor expectations from classmates and teachers play a relevant role in working-class students' sense of self. In some cases, these expectations are so pervasive that they impose upon the identity of students, becoming a detriment to their academic performance. However, in the case of Ignacio, these perceptions became a driving force behind his academic success. Ignacio developed a sense of pride in his background, something that helped him endure the challenges of his elite school.

Ignacio's first political involvement was related to the 2006 cycle of protest. As was presented previously, the 2006 movement was led by secondary school students who occupied hundreds of public and semi-public schools all over the country. Their main demand was the abolition and replacement of the constitutional law that governed education: 'Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación' (Organic Constitutional Law of Education, LOCE), a law which, in being enacted, formed the heart of the market-based educational system of the country.

[33] Derogatory term to refer to people from working-class backgrounds, similar to 'chav' in the UK.
[34] Afro-Caribbean type of music originally from Colombia which spread throughout Latin America, becoming one of the most popular genres in the continent.

There are several aspects as to why this cycle of protest is crucial to understanding the 2011 movement; however, since this issue was described in detail in the historical account chapter, I will concentrate on two of the most relevant aspects. To begin with, it was the first mobilization experience for a significant number of students that would be involved in the student movement five years later. Until that point, it was the most significant cycle of protest since the end of dictatorship (Garretón et al., 2011). For most of the students involved, it was their first experience of occupations and demonstrations and helped them develop their organizational and communicational skills: tools that would prove crucial for the success of the 2011 cycle of protest (Donoso, 2014; Somma, 2012).

The second aspect was that the aftermath of the mobilization left a sense of betrayal that would resonate in the 2011 student mobilization. After four months of mobilizations, the occupations were dropped in favour of participation in a presidential commission that would elaborate a new legislation governing education, including the demands of the students. Eventually the commission would conclude in a bipartisan agreement to leave most of the student demands out of the final bill. Naturally, a generation of students felt themselves betrayed by the political class, a sense of injury that would inform the 2011 mobilization (Figueroa, 2013; Miranda-Leibe, Rutllant & Siebert, 2016; Somma, 2012).

As the 2006 student protest began, Ignacio took a leading role in supporting the mobilization, becoming the main organizer in his school. When I asked him, what motivations were behind his involvement, he gave me the following account:

> I felt that it was necessary, as I've been telling you, in that I come from that type of school [a public school], and those schools were genuinely in need of a student movement that produced changes in the logic of the educational system in the country, and that's why I put so much effort into participating in the mobilizations, because I knew that if San Mateo [the private school he was enrolled in at the time] was involved, we would get much more notoriety than my old school;

> because no one cared about my former school, things were a certain way and they would never change (…) I always thought about my former classmates, some of them just disappeared, went off the radar – no one knew what had become of them. (…) I knew I was fighting for them. (Ignacio, Student, 2011 Generation)

Ignacio was one of the most forthcoming in terms of relating his working-class background to his activism. For most of the working-class students interviewed, this was more a part of their history, and did not employ such a clear narrative as to its impact on their participation in the student movement. Ignacio's focus on his experiences gave him a source of purpose to continue his activism in the 2011 student movement, cultivating both the organizational skills and the narrative that were crucial for the success of the 2011 mobilization.

Guillermo is a working-class student from a small town in the south of the country called Graneros. He studied at Universidad de Chile, one of the most prestigious public universities in the country. He recalled the first weeks of getting to know his classmates.

> One of the first things you do when you start uni is ask a person where they come from, and almost all of my classmates came from the same rich boroughs of Santiago (…) only a couple came from working-class boroughs – it was a completely different reality. [To give examples] One of my closest friends lived in Spain for four years because his father was a diplomat, my girlfriend lived in Spain because her dad was doing a PhD, my other friend had a heated pool in his school, another friend went to the US for vacations after his dad retired. I had only been to the beach on a couple of occasions at the time. (Guillermo, Student, 2011 Generation)

As the quote shows, Guillermo experienced a great sense amazement upon getting to know the living conditions of his classmates. As mentioned previously, the contrast between the middle/upper-class students and working-class students was a relevant driver for political activism. However, unlike Laura, Guillermo chose not to build an identity around his class conditions.

> I was always wary of not building an identity of 'that guy that comes from a public school'. (…) [nevertheless] you realize that things are easier for them [classmates of privileged backgrounds]. My parents didn't graduate from higher education, but I didn't want them [classmates] to judge me because of my background, they could judge me on whether I was a good or bad sociologist, or student, or activist … but not because things were more difficult for me – although they were. Because, of course, it's gonna be significantly more difficult [for people like me]! It's not the same having a mum who is a psychologist, or a dad who is a lawyer, who can help you with an essay, [compared] to not being able to live with them [parents] – of course it has an impact. But it was my decision not to build an identity around that. (Guillermo, Student, 2011 Generation)

This last quote from Guillermo is telling in terms of how he deals with the underlying conflict that is brought up by his experiences at university. As a working-class student, he is very aware of the class differences between him and most of his classmates. However, he consciously decides against building an identity around this. Nevertheless, this decision is not straightforward; as the previous quote shows, there is a great deal of internal conflict in Guillermo. This conflict springs from the decision between the identification with a contentious narrative which puts him in direct confrontation with most of his classmates and a less conflictive identity. The amount of effort that it takes him to opt-out of a class grievance allows us to understand the pervasive character of this narrative. During one of our interviews, he goes on and off the topic of class differences:

> My classmates are nice, I try to be nice to them too. I'm not going around telling them: (…) 'My mum does domestic work in a hotel in which probably one of your parents stayed in.' No, what a drag! Actually, during my third year, I moved into the place of one of my classmates in Las Condes [one of the richest boroughs of Santiago], it was an amazing house, they had rooms and bathrooms to spare. I moved there and his mum refused to accept money for the room, and I lived as a brat from Las Condes, had nice meals [and so on]. My best mate was a guy from Las Condes. (Guillermo, Student, 2011 Generation)

This last quote is relevant in the sense that it describes how his 'double-agent' attitude has a long-term benefit. As he does not engage with a class narrative, he is able to acquire long-lasting friendships with classmates from wealthier backgrounds. This perspective has a positive outcome, as it provides shelter for Guillermo in a time of need. This is not to say that Guillermo was disingenuous in his attitude, but it is also impossible to deny how his prerogative has positive outcomes both in the present and possibly in the future. Bourdieu (1999) calls this 'sense pratique' (practicality): the ability that some agents have to unconsciously take a position that benefits them in the particular field that they are engaged. Guillermo is one of the few working-class students who are able to access this elite university; in this context, it is undoubtedly more helpful to have a friendlier approach to those coming from wealthier background. Guillermo's conflicting emotions in this regard may be due to his desire to put forward a more contentious stance which conflicts with his sense pratique.

As has been shown throughout this section, working-class discourse is a galvanizing factor in the development of political subjectivation. However, an interesting feature of this discourse is that it permeates far beyond working-class students themselves, becoming a subjectivation factor even for middle- and upper-class students.

Lautaro is a middle-class activist from a red-diaper family. As discussed in the previous chapter, Lautaro studied at 'Liceo de Aplicación', a traditional working-class public school in the centre of Santiago. His experiences at this school were crucial for his sense of identity and how he developed his activism.

> When I first started uni, I came from a public school (…) a reality that was very different from my university, and despite the fact that some of my classmates were studying on a loan, and came from working-class boroughs of Santiago, the scenario was very different from my school. In my school all of my classmates came from working-class boroughs, when I first started uni it was truly shocking … meeting people with whom I would have never had any kind relationship

> before, people from Vitacura, Las Condes [wealthy boroughs of Santiago]. Also, from elite schools, but not from elite public schools, from private schools. That was really shocking. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

When I started asking him further questions regarding his shock upon meeting more affluent classmates, he revealed an interesting aspect that was compelling in the terms of understanding interactions between students from different backgrounds.

> My classmates that came from privileged schools (…) they tended to be 'abajistas', they constantly tried to appear as if they didn't come from a privileged background, trying to distance themselves from their class background, and I never saw something like that amongst my classmates in school, no one tried to appear as something that they were not. (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

'Abajismo' is a behaviour amongst middle- and upper-class students, who, faced with the differences of background with less privileged classmates, try to cover it by hiding their class traits. However, these differences are evident in various aspects such as manners of speaking, clothes, holiday destinations, etc. Naturally, these differences are usually indicative in academic success, where students from more affluent backgrounds tend to have better academic performance than those from less privileged backgrounds.

> It gave me a great sense of injustice, it was like the inequality crystalized in the grades, in the academic performance. Ultimately, when we started with the mobilization, those who were always calling for the occupation and portraying as 'abandoning their lives for the struggle' were those who had good grades, who knew that if the university came crumbling down, they would still be able to study. My former partner, she had to study and work at the same time, therefore she couldn't leave everything for the struggle, she just couldn't! (Lautaro, Student, 2011 Generation)

Abajismo as a behaviour unveils the pervasiveness of working-class discourse in the student movement. As students from wealthier backgrounds shared a classroom with less privileged ones, this experience had a permanent effect for both groups. For some upper-class students,

this experience drew a sense of solidarity which drove them to participate and support the struggle. Nevertheless, the mobilization is framed as a working-class mobilization, developing a working-class collective identity. In this context, privileged students felt compelled to hide their class traits to become rightful flagbearers of left-wing struggle. This behaviour seems to have gone as far as overcompensating their condition by taking radical positions which even some of the working-class students did not or simply could not support.

> I didn't buy into the whole anarchist discourse, the anti-state discourse, anti-university, anti-academy discourse. Their discourse was very tough: 'I am against everything,' and I knew what was behind that discourse, that constant gesture of trying to hide things that were plain to see – the inequality of those relationships. (Lautaro, Student 2011 generation)

Abajismo can be understood as the outcome of the politicization of class identities inside the student movement, as the mobilization acquired a working-class identity, some of those who participated tended to modulate their own within this framework. In this sense, abajismo is both the expression of solidarity between classmates from different background and the magnification of this difference, as those exerting it were those who had the material conditions to exert it.

Hence, working-class identity and its different modulations have a significant influence on the political subjectivation of activists involved in the student movement. In the case of working-class students this discourse enables them to reaffirm their class condition and galvanizes their political activism, whereas in the case of students from privileged backgrounds, it makes them hide their class in order to approximate the expectations of left-wing struggle.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have analysed the relevance that class has for the subjectivation of activists from the 2011 generation. Class is one of the main axes of analysis of this thesis. As an emergent category, class plays a significant role in the development of a political subjectivation for both generations, however it is in the 2011 cohort where it has its most pervasive power.

One of the main features of this generation is that it is constituted of a significant number of working-class activists who are the first in their families to access HE. Before 2005, higher education in Chile was historically a middle-class institution, which only a small number of working-class students could access.

The experiences of working-class students are shaped by their sense of discomfort. The literature indicates three general reactions to this discomfort: loyalists, renegades and double-agents. Throughout the narratives of different activists, it was possible to understand how class interacts and modulates political subjectivation. For loyalists, their class background strengthened their political perspective by highlighting the differences between them and their more privileged classmates. In the case of double-agents, they seemed to be in a constant identity struggle between a contentious identity which put them at odds with their classmates and a friendlier approach. Although working-class activists undergo a process of mutation, the context of the student mobilization tends to highlight their class identity.

Class as a discursive framework is pervasive, having a direct effect on the subjectivities of middle-class students through what is termed by one of the activists as ‘abajismo’: a tendency by middle-class students to hide their class condition. Hence, social mobilization seems to prompt a subversion of middle-class spaces such as higher education by highlighting class

differences. This phenomenon galvanizes processes of mobilization by infusing the demands with class grievances.

Conclusions

Throughout this research, I have analysed the life stories of activists involved in two different student mobilizations, 1997 and 2011, to understand their process of political subjectivation in the context of the Chilean Transition to democracy. This analysis was set-up in order to understand the generational differences between activists.

My main argument is that there are significant differences between these groups based on their upbringing in two radically different historical contexts in the country. For the activists of 1997, they lived their childhood under dictatorship whilst their political activism in the early days of transition. For the 2011 generation, they did not have any direct experience with dictatorship and grew up during the democratic governments. This difference has a significant effect on the way in which they construct the memory of dictatorship and ultimately, their political subjectivation.

The wounds of the past are very much present in both generations; the consequences of dictatorship – the human rights violations and the general climate of violence and fear – left a permanent impression on the subjectivities of both cohorts. Thus, the interviews revealed a memory transmission process that was crucial for their political subjectivation. However, this issue was dealt with in a different way according to the zeitgeist of their time. In the case of the 1997 cohort, their early experiences were framed in the context of dictatorship, where the exposure to the climate of state terror, but also the resistance, had a significant effect on the way they understood politics. However, this cohort unpacked their activism in the context of early transition, dominated by the social amnesia regarding state violence (Barbera, 2009; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998). At the same time, they were the first to face the struggle against the marketization of education in the context of democracy (Moraga, 2006; Victor

Muñoz-Tamayo, 2011; Thielemann, 2016). For this generation, their task involved not just confronting the government, but also the construction and development of an identity that on the one hand provided a sense of continuation with the past, but on the other, developed an identity that reflected the struggles of the present. These two perspectives were interpreted by two generational units: the Communist Youth and the Political Collectives.

In the case of the 2011, their construction of the memory of dictatorship was contextualized in a different environment (Jara, 2016). Through different irruptions of memory (Wilde et al., 1998), the public memory of dictatorship changed, giving way to a wider discussion about the crimes of the past. Although silence was still present for some of the victims, there was significantly more information regarding crimes of the regime which were publicly recognized by the state and discussed in different forums. This mixture between the memory transmission of their parents and the circulating information about the regime allowed them to build a postmemory (Hirsch, 2008) regarding the crimes of dictatorship. This postmemory was fertile ground for the development of a number of antagonistic narratives which contextualized the struggle for education with the struggle against dictatorship. These narratives had been brewing inside the student movement from the early days of transition, however they became significant in the Penguin Revolution in 2006 and consolidated in the 2011 cycle of protest. These narratives successfully permeated the mainstream with an overarching narrative that contextualized the neoliberalization of the country as an inheritance of dictatorship (Donoso, 2014).

For the 1997 generation, their memories of dictatorship are varied: from childhood games, to traumatic experiences of violence, to the fear of undercover police, to fond memories of banging drums in the streets to protest the regime. Their recollection of this period is inhabited by conflicting experiences which create a complex narrative about the regime. Also, their activism is situated in the social amnesia imposed in the early days of transition

(Gaudichaud & Ortega-Breña, 2009; Moulian, 1997; Richard, 1998; Wilde et al., 1998) which leaves them in a constant crisis of identity. Hence, one of the most remarkable features of this generation is how they developed a contentious identity to face the struggles of transition. This construction was crucial in that it provided the foundations for the development of the student struggle in the future.

In the case of 2011, their recollection of dictatorship is constructed through postmemory: documents, second-hand story-telling, documentaries, etc. Although this recollection is by no means unique and without contradiction, it is significantly more structured than the memories of the 1997 activists. This cohesiveness allows for a greater use of the memories of dictatorship, allowing the construction of a critical discourse about the transition and its inheritance from the authoritarian regime. In this sense, the 2011 generation was extremely efficient in seizing the changes in the collective memory of the dictatorship, contextualizing with the struggle against the marketization of education.

Going into the more micro-level aspects of activism, there are two general elements which are crucial in understanding the political subjectivation of both generations: class narrative and political background. Both aspects interact and mould the narratives of activists differently according to the struggles of the time.

Regarding the class narrative, the analysis shows that the post-dictatorship student movement was influenced by a working-class narrative. For the 1997 activists, class narrative was relevant to the telling of their memories of dictatorship, where the class condition elicited significant differences between each activist. Whilst in the case of 2011, there is a clear influence of working-class discourse in terms of how students developed their activism. This was possible because the latter was one in which there were larger numbers of first generation working-class students. Their experiences of discrimination and the uneven

conditions that they faced created grievances which were crucial to the character and strength of this cycle of protest.

Regarding political background, political subjectivation was influenced by the political involvement of the activist's family. Many of them are sons and daughters of victims and members of the resistance against Pinochet; they are the recipients of a memory transmission that significantly influences their identity (Jelin, 2002). This is not a highly contentious argument to make as it has been agreed as a relatively established fact for more than forty years (Aarelaid-Tart & Johnston, 2014; Kenniston, 1968). However, an interesting feature is the way in which different generations learn and process this inheritance. In the case of the 1997 generation, the context of social amnesia of the early days of transition meant that they went through a complex process of identity building. In the case of the 2011 generation, they developed their activism in an environment where there was a wider recognition of the crimes of dictatorship and significantly more information about the topic. This context allowed them to develop a more cohesive narrative about the past, allowing a sounder political subjectivation (Wieviorka, 2014).

Class Subjectivation: Between Discursive Framework to Galvanizing Effect

Class subjectivation is another significant aspect in the political subjectivation of both generations. Its relevance comes from the interaction between class-based subjectivities and the class narrative that is present in the student movement. As mentioned previously, the relationship between the working class and the Chilean student movement is a complex one. As in most countries, higher education remained a privilege for a few (CASEN, 2013). However, as was presented in chapter two, the Chilean student movement has been deeply involved with the workers' movement since its inception. Since the foundation of FECH in 1906 – the first and most relevant student union of the country – the student movement has circled around the cultural and political narrative of the left (Miranda-Leibe, Rutllant, & Siebert, 2016). Its allegiance to this narrative does not only mean a political stance, but a commitment to a political and cultural landscape which enables certain discourses but constrains others. Thus, the student movement fosters a contradiction between the subjectivities that inhabit it and the narratives that control it.

In the case of the 1997 generation, the class composition of the students clashes significantly with the working-class narrative of their organizations in the activists' culture. At the time, only a small minority accessed higher education, therefore, the working-class credentials of the vast majority of students were questionable. However, the working-class narrative was pervasive, as middle-class activists felt compelled to reaffirm their working-class condition to the extent of contradicting their own background.

In the case of the 1997 cohort, non-politicized/middle-class activists constantly felt compelled to reaffirm their position as legitimate activists of the student movement by positioning their story within a working-class narrative. Since they do not have a political background, their political subjectivation is related to a rejection of left-wing culture and the construction of

new political and cultural references which become crucial in the identity work of this generation. Nevertheless, the pervasiveness of the working-class narrative means that they feel compelled to constantly defend themselves. Another interesting feature of class, is how it features in the recollections of dictatorship. Whilst most middle-class activists have quite fond memories regarding the national days of protest in the early eighties, working-class activists have quite vivid memories of violence, becoming witness to the brutality of the regime. These differences are crucial to the way in which they understand and develop their activism.

In the case of working-class activists, their narrative is grounded on their working-class credentials; however, this identity does not evolve into a wider political grievance. This is probably due to the fact that – at the time – they were part of a small minority of working-class students in higher education. Although most of the demands of the movement were aimed at making university more accessible to the working class, there is not the same level of grievance regarding the class disparities inside the universities.

This is significantly different from the 2011 generation. This generation fosters a large number of working-class students who were able to access university through an onerous loan. The arrival of working-class students to higher education institutions was a shock to the HE system. As the literature shows (Lehmann, 2009, 2013; Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009; Thiele, Pope, Singleton, Snape & Stanistreet, 2017), universities are traditionally middle-class institutions, which makes them a difficult place to inhabit for working-class students. Throughout the interviews it was possible to see a clear sense of grievance from the working-class students regarding the social and economic disparities of their more privileged classmates. Although it varied from full-blown rage to a more controlled anger, the interviews were filled with experiences of shock regarding the cultural and financial differences with middle- and upper-class students. The mixture between the working-class narrative of the

movement and the changes in the class composition of the universities galvanized the sense of grievance within the mobilization.

For working-class activists, this sense of grievance tapped into their political background creating a political discourse which is crucial in the understanding of this mobilization. Their narratives are filled with experiences of discrimination and the sense of unfairness regarding their more affluent classmates. However, there were different interpretations of this grievance. Some activists established strong bonds of friendship with their wealthier classmates, whilst others it became a source of anger driving them to seclude themselves from establishing lasting relationships with wealthier classmates. In both cases, it is possible to see the pervasive character that class differences play in their political subjectivation.

Abajismo is the tendency of some middle-class activists to hide their class traits in front of their less fortunate classmates. Contrary to what the literature on experiences of working-class students in university argues, due to the working-class narrative that dominates activism in the student movement, middle- and upper-class activists feel compelled to hide their class condition to fit into this narrative. The most distinctive feature of this performance was their tendency to convey a more 'radical' discourse regarding the mobilization.

Thus, the student movement suffers a constant crisis of identity between a working-class narrative and the middle-class subjectivities that inhabit its organizations. This contradiction develops in different ways according to the nature of the struggle and the balance of class composition within the movement. In the case of 1997 generation, the class narrative is present in the individual positioning of the activists but is absent in the grievances that animate the mobilization. In the case of 2011, this mobilization is significantly influenced by the intake of a large number of working-class students into the movement; an intake that would prove to be crucial for the development of student mobilization.

Future Research Directions

This dissertation opens up a great number of avenues in terms of future research. As a research that combines both a synchronic and diachronic it offers a number of possibilities to future research in different social and political contexts.

One of the most valuable aspects of this dissertation is its generational perspective. As a longstanding social movement, the Chilean student movement offered a chance to develop a perspective that considered not only the most recent and relevant cycle of protest, but also the previous ones, in order to understand the complexities of its evolution. In this sense, further research could consider older generations, as well as those beginning their involvement in the movement today. Some research is already being done in that regard, considering the 2011 student movement as the reference for a new political action (Araya-Guzmán, 2018). However, there is a space for further research which considers a wider timescale. A valuable source of material in that regard is the recently founded 'Archivo FECH' (FECH Archives) and the 'Archivo General del Movimiento Estudiantil' (General Archive of the Student Movement) (Mayol, 2018). Both of them store publications and general archives regarding the history of the student movement: the first focused on FECH, and the latter focused on information about the student movement in general from 2011 onwards.

Another path for future research is the comparison between countries. Chile is not alone in having an influential student movement. In the context of Latin America, Argentina, Mexico, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Brazil all have influential student movements (Meyer, 2008). In this sense, relevant research could be carried out considering a comparative perspective between these different countries, especially considering the commonalities in terms of the processes of dictatorship and transitions.

Another valuable aspects of this research is the use of memory and its influence on the construction of political subjectivation. In this sense, future research could consider a similar perspective to understand other relevant social mobilizations in Chile. Nowadays, several social mobilizations are taking place in the country: from the Mapuche indigenous struggle (Youkee, 2018), to the 'feminist wave' (McGowan, 2018). Since 2011 social mobilizations have become and every year feature of the country. Further research could consider the use of a similar perspective regarding the birth and development of these other mobilizations, this would allow for the construction of a general idea regarding the political subjectivation of activists in twenty-first century in Chile, and its relationship to the past.

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Appendices

Participant Information Sheet

Table N°1: Participant Information Sheet

Psedonym	Age	Occupation	Type of Organization	Year of involvement	Class	Political inheritance
Francisca	22	Unemployed	Collective	2011	Working-class	No politicized
Lautaro	23	Student	Collective	2011	Middle-class	Red diaper
Enrique	41	Entrepreneur	Collective	1997	Working-class	No politicized
Ignacio	23	Student	Collective	2011	Working-class	No politicized
Javiera	22	Student	Collective	2011	Middle-class	Red diaper
Laura	25	Unemployed	CY/collective	2011	Working-class	Red diaper
Amanda	41	Academic	Collective	1997	Middle-class	No politicized
Raquel	39	Academic	CY	1997	Middle-class	Red diaper
Wladimir	41	Engineer	CY	1997	Middle-class	Red diaper
Manuel	45	Academic	Collective	1997	Working-class	No politicized
Guillermo	22	Student	Collective	2011	Working-class	No politicized
David	23	Student	Collective	2011	Working-class	No politicized

Ethical Approval Form

Application for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants

This application form should be completed for any research involving human participants conducted in or by the University. 'Human participants' are defined as including living human beings, human beings who have recently died (cadavers, human remains and body parts), embryos and foetuses, human tissue and bodily fluids, and human data and records (such as, but not restricted to medical, genetic, financial, personnel, criminal or administrative records and test results including scholastic achievements). Research should not commence until written approval has been received (from Departmental Research Director, Faculty Ethics Committee (FEC) or the University's Ethics Committee). This should be borne in mind when setting a start date for the project.

Applications should be made on this form, and submitted electronically, to your Departmental Research Director. A signed copy of the form should also be submitted. Applications will be assessed by the Research Director in the first instance, and may then passed to the FEC, and then to the University's Ethics Committee. A copy of your research proposal and any necessary supporting documentation (e.g. consent form, recruiting materials, etc) should also be attached to this form.

A full copy of the signed application will be retained by the department/school for 6 years following completion of the project. The signed application form cover sheet (two pages) will be sent to the Research Governance and Planning Manager in the REO as Secretary of the University's Ethics Committee.

1.	Title of project: Becoming activists: Life Stories, Generations, and the Chilean Student Movement

2. The title of your project will be published in the minutes of the University Ethics Committee. If you object, then a reference number will be used in place of the title. Do you object to the title of your project being published? Yes ☒ / No ☐

3. This Project is: ☐ Staff Research Project ☒ Student Project

4. Principal Investigator(s) (students should also include the name of their supervisor):

Name:	Department:
Student: Nicolas Ortiz	Sociology
Main supervisor: Dr. Yasemin Soysal	Sociology
Second supervisor: Dr. Mike Roper	Sociology

5.	Proposed start date: 2nd of September
6.	Probable duration: 28th of February

7. Will this project be externally funded? Yes ☒ / No ☐

If Yes,

8.	What is the source of the funding?
	Small grant from the Sociology Department

9. If external approval for this research has been given, then only this cover sheet needs to be submitted

External ethics approval obtained (attach evidence of approval) Yes ☐ / No ☐

Declaration of Principal Investigator:

The information contained in this application, including any accompanying information, is, to the best of my knowledge, complete and correct. I/we have read the University's *Guidelines for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants* and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in this application in accordance with the guidelines, the University's *Statement on Safeguarding Good Scientific Practice* and any other conditions laid down by the University's Ethics Committee. I/we have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting this research and acknowledge my/our obligations and the rights of the participants.

Signature(s):

.....

Name(s) in block capitals: NICOLAS ORTIZ RUIZ

Date: 19th of June 2014

Supervisor's recommendation (Student Projects only):

I have read and approved both the research proposal and this application.

Supervisor's signature: .....

Outcome:

The Departmental Director of Research (DoR) has reviewed this project and considers the methodological/technical aspects of the proposal to be appropriate to the tasks proposed. The DoR considers that the investigator(s) has/have the necessary qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in this application, and to deal with any emergencies and contingencies that may arise.

This application falls under Annex B and is approved on behalf of the FEC

☐

This application is referred to the FEC because it does not fall under Annex B

☐

This application is referred to the FEC because it requires independent scrutiny

☐

Signature(s):

.....

Name(s) in block capitals:

.....

Department: ……

Date: ……..

The application has been approved by the FEC

☐

The application has not been approved by the FEC

☐

The application is referred to the University Ethics Committee

☐

Signature(s): .....

Name(s) in block capitals:

……..

Faculty: ……

Date: ……

Details of the Project

1.	Brief outline of project (This should include the purpose or objectives of the research, brief justification, and a summary of methods. It should be approx. 150 words in everyday language that is free from jargon).
	The main objective of this research is to compare and analyse the life stories of activists involved in two cycles of protest in Chile: 1997 and 2011. This research aims at establishing the differences and similarities between the individual experiences of activists, in order to understand how students became activists. The differences in these experiences will explain a great deal about the characteristics of each mobilization and will shed a light on the development of the student movement in the country. The research entails semi-structured life-story interviews.

Participant Details

2. Will the research involve human participants? (indicate as appropriate)

Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Who are they and how will they be recruited? (If any recruiting materials are to be used, e.g. advertisement or letter of invitation, please provide copies).

The research considers two groups: the first are students involved in the 1997 mobilization and the second students involved in the mobilization of 2011. The activists considered have had an active role in their cycle of protest but without having a representative position in a student organization.

Will participants be paid or reimbursed?

No.

4. Could participants be considered:

to be vulnerable (e.g. children, mentally-ill)? Yes ☐/ No ☒

to feel obliged to take part in the research? Yes ☐/ No ☒

If the answer to either of these is yes, please explain how the participants could be considered vulnerable and why vulnerable participants are necessary for the research.

Informed Consent

5. Will the participant's consent be obtained for involvement in the research orally or in writing? (If in writing, please attach an example of written consent for approval):

Yes ☒ No ☐

How will consent be obtained and recorded? If consent is not possible, explain why.

The consent will obtained through a written form.

Please attach a participant information sheet where appropriate.

Confidentiality / Anonymity

6. If the research generates personal data, describe the arrangements for maintaining anonymity and confidentiality or the reasons for not doing so.

All interview participants will be given anonymity and a pseudonym to guard their identity. The key of the pseudonym will be kept in a file, protected by a password on a locked computer. The research will gather biographical data. The participants will be informed about this, and will be asked to give their consent for the information to be used.

Data Access, Storage and Security

7. Describe the arrangements for storing and maintaining the security of any personal data collected as part of the project. Please provide details of those who will have access to the data.

The recorded and anonymous data will be kept in a locked cabinet in a locked room. All digital recordings will be protected by a password on a locked computer.

It is a requirement of the Data Protection Act 1998 to ensure individuals are aware of how information about them will be managed. Please tick the box to confirm that participants will be informed of the data access, storage and security arrangements described above. If relevant, it is appropriate for this to be done via the participant information sheet ☒

Further guidance about the collection of personal data for research purposes and compliance with the Data Protection Act can be accessed at the following weblink. Please tick the box to confirm that you have read this guidance (http://www.essex.ac.uk/records_management/policies/data_protection_and_research.aspx) ☒

Risk and Risk Management

8. Are there any potential risks (e.g. physical, psychological, social, legal or economic) to participants or subjects associated with the proposed research?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If Yes,

Please provide full details and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place to minimise the risks:

9. Are there any potential risks to researchers as a consequence of undertaking this proposal that are greater than those encountered in normal day-to-day life?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If Yes,

Please provide full details and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place to minimise the risks:

10. Will the research involve individuals below the age of 18 or individuals of 18 years and over with a limited capacity to give informed consent?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If Yes, a criminal records disclosure (CRB check) within the last three years is required.

Please provide details of the "clear disclosure":

Date of disclosure:
Type of disclosure:
Organisation that requested disclosure:

11. Are there any other ethical issues that have not been addressed which you would wish to bring to the attention of the Faculty and/or University Ethics Committees

none

Becoming Activist: Life Stories, Generations, and the Chilean Student Movement

Consent form

This research aims at understanding and comparing the life stories of activists involved in 2 student led mobilizations in Chile: the first in 1997 and the latter in 2011. The goal of this project is to understand the differences and similarities in the experiences of activists of both cycles of protest. For this purpose, the research considers in-depth life stories interviews with activists involved in the mobilizations.

Your name and personal information will be kept in confidence and – unless you request otherwise – you will not be identified or your name used for any publication or discussion.

I consent to be interviewed ☐

Name of Participant_____

Signature of Participant_____

Date_____