Living Through the Chilean Coup d'Etat:

The Second-Generation's Reflection on Their Sense of Agency,

Civic Engagement and Democracy

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my children, Alejandro, Josefina and Elisa who are part of the generation without fear, who were lucky enough to be born in a democracy. My message to you is simple and from all of my heart; it is important to be resilient, to never give up because despite all the difficulties you will confront during your lives you will always need to think that you are capable to keep going because the sun will come out again.

To Patricio my husband, thank you for our interesting and long conversations which many times brought back nostalgic memories from our youth when Chile was going through difficult times. Thank you for the shared coffees, cookies, glasses of wine, and for encouraging me all the time to finish my research.

To Margarita, my second mom, who has always taken care of me. Thank you for your lovely lunches and dinners made with all your love while I was working on my dissertation until late every day.

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Abstract

This dissertation illuminates how the experience of growing up during the Chilean dictatorship (1973–1990) affected the individual's sense of self as citizen and the impact on their sense of democratic agency, civic-mindedness, and political engagement in their country's current democracy. To understand that impact, the researcher chose to study her own generation, the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) and interviewed those who were part of the Chilean middle class, who despite not being explicit victims of perpetrators, were raised in dictatorship and surrounded by abuse of state power including repression, disappearance, and imprisonment. The theoretical frame of the Socio-Political Development Theory (Watt, Williams, & Jagers, 2003) helped to understand the process that participants went through and how they moved from an A-Critical Stage, with a complete absence of awareness and understanding about what was happening in their world at the time of the coup d'État, to a stage of critical consciousness surrounded by empathy for those who were suffering human rights violations which were the main drivers to latter participate in a liberation process. This development of a critical consciousness was influenced—among others—by specific family and social context which promoted transgenerational (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014) and intergenerational dialogue (Reyes, Cornejo, Cruz, Carrillo, & Caviedes, 2015) processes, where values, heritage, and ways of acting were transmitted. The narrative approach helped to elicit stories about participants' life events from the coup d'État to present. Through the exploration of 15 narrative interviews it was also possible to collect participants' memories and observe how they currently manifest their civic commitment and social responsibility. Their collective memory, influenced by a collective grief (Métraux, 2005b), still lingers over 40 years later and helps us to understand their life-long commitment and passion to fight for justice. This

generation was part of a social movement that managed to set aside its political and economic divides and its personal self-interests with the collective goal of restoring democracy.

Keywords: Leadership, Socio-Political Development, Critical Consciousness, Sense of Agency, Civic Engagement, Social Responsibility, Transgenerational Trauma, Historical Trauma Intergenerational Dialogue, Collective Identity, Collective Memory , Collective Grief

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Chapter I: Introduction

Three major historical moments have determined the last 45 years of Chilean history: the coup d'État on September 11, 1973, that broke the country's democratic tradition and is remembered as a terrifying time of state-sponsored crimes including human rights violations during which many Chileans died, disappeared, or fled (Frei, 2015); the plebiscite on October 5, 1988. when the option "No" won, which set the stage for the country to hold democratic elections and initiated "the truth and reconciliation in Chile under the weight of military veto powers" (Frei, 2015, p. 4); and finally, March 11, 1990. when Patricio Aylwin, the presidential candidate from the coalition of center-left political parties ("concertación de partidos por la democracia") won the elections and assumed the presidency as the first democratically elected president of Chile after the military dictatorship of Pinochet. Thus, the country suffered a long, almost 17-year rupture in its democratic traditions, a break which can be referred to as a Chile before and after Pinochet.

In 1990, after 17 years of dictatorship, Chile reestablished democracy and its people could vote and express their opinions without feeling threatened or silenced. The institutions of a democratic country were back in place. But what was the long-lasting impact on those who lived through this nightmare? What is the impact on the sense of democratic engagement among those who lived through such an intense social and personal experience during so many years? What is their current experience of democracy and sense of agency as democratic citizens for those coming of age during Pinochet's era? These are some of the questions that frame my interest in this proposed research.

Undoubtedly, living through a brutal dictatorship such as that of the Pinochet's military regime has had very real and psychosocial consequences on the immediately affected generations

as well as subsequent generations, and this can "continue to have clear impacts on contemporary individual and familial health, mental health, and identity" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 321). It is hard to imagine the impact on those who lived through a period during which, according to reports, 40,000 Chileans were political prisoners, executed, and disappeared (Gomez-Barris, 2010). This does not even take into account the many who fled the country and the millions of others who lived their lives in fear and silence.

The ruthless and inhumane Pinochet dictatorship represents a long and bitter period in Chilean history. Significant research has laid the groundwork to understand the impact of historical events on successive generations impacted by historic trauma, in Chile and elsewhere (Drake & Jaksic, 1999; Carrasco, 2016; Toro, 2008b). Significant research has also examined the consequences of the Chilean dictatorship specifically in the psychosocial, political, historical and cultural realms (Faúndez & Goecke, 2015; Cornejo, Morales, Kovalskys, & Sharim, 2013; Frei, 2015). These areas of study provide the context for this research dissertation. What has not been studied to date is the impact on the Chilean generation's sense of civic engagement and democratic citizenship into adulthood.

Purpose of the Study and Research Question

This proposed study will explore the experience on impacted generations, particularly as it affected one's sense of democratic agency. As Mouhibian (2016) states, when Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma (ITT) takes place, it could affect an entire generation. There is no question that the Pinochet dictatorship provoked an historical trauma that affected not only individuals but also families and communities. As stated by Evans-Campbell (2008),

> a collective complex trauma inflicted on a group of people who share a specific group identity or affiliation—ethnicity, nationality, and religious

> affiliation. It is the legacy of numerous traumatic events a community experiences over generations and encompasses the psychological and social responses to such events (p. 320).

This study illuminates in what ways the experience of growing up and living through the Chilean dictatorship affected the individual's sense of self as citizen and the implications for their sense of agency, civic-mindedness, and political engagement in their country's current democracy. Since the past informs the present and is a prelude to the future (Griffin, 2004; Gomez- Barris, 2010), it is crucial to understand the social and personal memories of these individuals and how those memories are constructed and organized in their minds. Through this examination, it is important to uncover the lasting impacts from that period and how those experience frame how the period's survivors face their country's future.

The study sheds light on what happened to the survivors sense of self as citizen and how those individuals have lived in a democracy since then. Thus, specifically, the central research question to be addressed was:

> How do individuals who grew up during the Chilean dictatorship reflect on their sense of agency in their country's current democracy?

The timeframe analyzed in the research starts with the beginning of the military regime (1973). Depending on the participants' age at the time, they were asked to reflect on their experiences and memories of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood as they relate to the themes of this study.

The topics explored were:

- Do memories of the dictatorship ever emerge in the present and if so, under what conditions? What are their feelings about these memories? How do they feel remembering that time?
- What are their most powerful memories about the coup d'État, the images of the military regime and Pinochet in the media? What do they remember about what was communicated in schools, the press and the family?
- Did they participate in efforts to bring about the end of the dictatorship and the return of democracy? In what ways did they participate? How did they exercise their rights as citizens?
- Do they consider themselves actively engaged in contemporary democracy and if so, in what ways? How do they currently engage in Chile's current democracy? Do they feel empowered as citizens in their country's current socio-political movements?

The Research Context

As this introduction was being written, the world commemorated 100 years since the end of World War I. This armed conflict was described as one of the cruelest in human history during which approximately one percent of the world's population died, and more than ten million people were injured. Despite what people thought at that time, that this was the last war in Europe, the trauma suffered and inherited by the civilian and military population engendered feelings of such hatred and resentment that two decades later another world armed conflict (WWII) emerged, worse than the previous; generating more trauma, unimaginable pain, grief, and death.

Several decades after the end of the World War II, researchers began to study the consequences of the war and the murder of over six million Jews, known as the Holocaust

(Danieli, Norris, & Engdahl, 2017). The investigations initially were with the children of Shoah survivors who showed different symptoms of stress associated with the experiences that their parents lived during World War II (Dale, 2015; Simmons, 2008). At that time, the discussion centered on the long-lasting effects the Holocaust caused to survivors and their offspring. How did survivors redefine themselves over time? What kind of resilience process caused many of them to start again, in a new country, with strange people and a foreign culture and history (Simmons, 2008)? A huge field of scholarship emerged from that horrific time that studied the impact of enduring trauma on generations of survivors (Cornejo et al., 2013; Cummings, 2015; Faúndez & Goecke, 2015; Frei, 2015) and such is the case in Chile.

Chile is a divided society and much of that is rooted in this historic trauma and rupture. Even today, 45 years later, political discussions between friends, neighbors, and relatives tend to divide between those who supported the coup d'État and Pinochet, and those who did not; between those on the right and left wing. According to scholars, "broad sections of the population were either indifferent to or even satisfied with the military regimes" (Frei, 2015) and those divisions set at that time continue in contemporary society. Such polarizations have much to do with the positionality of those involved—their power, class, social standing, economic privileges, and so forth. These differentiations have characterized Chilean society, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, and it is not surprising that they manifested in the ways in which the Chilean society supported or abhorred the dictatorship.

That is why Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, and Sztompka (2004) consider traumatic events and their consequences to be socially constructed. Thus, in their analysis of cultural trauma, they identify four ways in which individuals narrate a difficult past but also how the phenomenon is relativized depending on the interpretation that is made. These four frames

provide the theoretical context for this study as well and are briefly described herein to foreshadow the framework more fully developed in Chapter II.

The first frame, "the nature of the pain," is what actually happened to the specific group and to the broader community; the second, "the nature of victim," refers to the people who were affected; the third, "the relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience," is often referred to as the empathetic process between a wider audience with victims; and finally the fourth is called "attribution of responsibility," to establish the identity of the perpetrators. According to Alexander et al. (2004) this process is a social construction (p. 15). The past and its impact on people's lives is part of a process of social and personal construction of the phenomenon framed by a unique interpretation. The latter also depends upon where we locate ourselves in the society (gender, social class, age). As Blumer (1969) states, "The actor selects, checks, suspends, regroups and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his action" (p. 5). The aforementioned reveals the importance of ensuring that personal testimony emerges in ways that allow individuals to identify themselves and their own socially-constructed reality.

To understand the impact of the military regime on a group of individuals who grew up and lived in dictatorship from childhood to young adulthood uncovered the ways in which this second generation, called the "Pinochet-era generation" (Cummings, 2015) was affected by the dictatorship. They were typically not the immediate and direct victims as were the adults, labor organizers, students, and activists. That is why it is of interest to examine how their sense of democratic agency was impacted. This dissertation hopes to reflect their stories and expand the understanding of the experiences of these people. The study contributes to an understanding of

the research on historical trauma and the impact caused by dictatorships on a younger generation whose members today are in their 40s and 50s.

An understanding of what happened to the generation who were children in 1973 and experienced the coup d'État and who grew to young adulthood during the dictatorship is one of the central goals of this research. It allows me to explore the ways in which living through the Chilean dictatorship impacted their sense of democratic agency, meaning their sense of political and social responsibility to engage as civic-minded citizens. The study explores how these values have been expressed over time, once democracy was reestablished. In what ways did a sense of civic engagement and political commitment ebb and flow after the return of democracy in 1990? In what ways and around what causes has that engagement manifested?

The impact of living through Latin America's dictatorship has been studied, as explained more fully in subsequent chapters. In order to position this work in that research tradition, the four general research approaches in this field are briefly described herein and are more thoroughly discussed in Chapter II. The first is from the psychosocial approach, which has four primary categories. First is the study of memories, both individual and collective, and how they have been built over time. Narrative studies with second and third generation and how the stories have been constructed by grandchildren of former Chilean political prisoners are an example of this research approach (Faúndez & Goecke, 2015). Second is the understanding of the trauma experienced by people who worked in the area of political violence. This was the case of the research carried out with professionals in the Chilean National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture (Brackelaire, Cornejo, & Gishoma, 2017) who endured the task of listening to torture testimonies. Narrative methodologies using life's stories were chosen in this approach. Third are studies in intergenerational trauma in which victims of human rights

violations who suffered extreme traumatization pass that trauma on to future generations. An example of this type of research was the research on Chilean political activists who later secured mental health treatment (Cornejo et al., 2013). Fourth are studies within the psychosocial tradition examining the impact of the Chilean dictatorship within the cross-national context. An example of this approach was a study that examined people who lived during dictatorship in Argentina and Chile, locating them in a wider political, economic, and social context, and identifying the impact of the experience, such as on their fear of speaking their mind and conflict management. This approach was innovative because it included people from the right wing and also contributed to understanding the political culture in both countries (Frei, 2015).

While research that examines psychosocial trauma was one relevant path of research for this study, another research tradition that studies the impact of dictatorship examines social development and public rights, political participation, and democratic transition since the return of democracy in Chile (Drake & Jaksic, 1999; Carrasco, 2016; Toro, 2008b). Likewise, different analyses of several Latin American dictatorships compared political and economic characteristics as well as styles that dictators and "juntas de gobierno" have shown to maintain and exercise power (Rama, 1982; Crespo, 2017). Although these research approaches developed very interesting theoretical perspectives to understand the impact suffered by the different generations that experienced the dictatorship, there remained a gap. These previous studies only considered generations directly affected by the repression of the dictatorship: that is, children or grandchildren of political prisoners, victims, or activists. Thus, "ordinary Chilean people," meaning those without explicit political affiliation or belonging to a political elite who also lived during those terrifying years and who were affected in one way or another by political and/or

economic consequences of state terrorism and economic changes dictated by the military regime, have not been a subject of research.

The goal of this study is therefore to illuminate how members of a generation who grew up during those years, part of the Chilean middle class, “ordinary Chilean people” who did not belong to the political elite nor were explicit victims or perpetrators, were indirectly affected by the Chilean dictatorship. It will also fill a gap in that the study does not examine the psychosocial impacts as much as it reflects on the individuals’ sense of civic agency in the current democratic system and whether or not a critical consciousness was developed which in turn could lead to generating a civic engagement.

This study illuminated the processes that individuals experienced and the consequences on the development of a sense of social, civic engagement as well as political commitment and the degree to which it has played a role in conscious and or unconscious fears to participate in any community or social activities.

Positionality

I have been thinking a lot about agency, my own sense of agency, as I contemplated this research. Many Chileans have wanted to leave the past behind. After the 1978 Amnesty Law, which granted amnesty to all civilians and military personnel involved in criminal acts as “authors (meaning authors of actions, those responsible for those actions), accomplices or concealers,” (of acts committed between September 11, 1973, and March 10, 1978) many Chilean citizens wanted to simply leave the past behind and not actively engage with the socio-political consequences of that past era. Nevertheless, under the refrain "No forgiveness, No forgetting,” new cases of crimes under the dictatorship continued to emerge and individuals directly involved were brought to justice.

I was one of those Chileans who thought that the past should be left behind and that we should continue to build the future. I am of the generation who grew up during the years of the dictatorship. I was born in 1967 and lived through those 17 years as a child and young teenager. I have become increasingly aware through conversations and published writings of many in my generation that they (we) experienced a fear of authority and a deep contempt towards the military which, at that time, represented the state terrorism and human rights abusers. Others expressed fear of losing work, fear of talking too much, fear of thinking too much or taking action. It made me think of my own silence: What had been the impact on me?

According to Alwin and McCammon (2003), some historical periods and certain social movements produce distinctive experiences on the youth of that time. In my country, at least three generations were affected by this ominous period of Chilean history. The first was the generation that corresponds to that of my parents, also known as the Reform Generation, which refers to the social movements that propelled changes in the country beginning in the 1930s, whose main period was between 1960 and 1973. Part of this generation sought to achieve greater social equity for society's most disadvantaged groups. This generation, in their thirties and forties at the time of the military coup on September 11, 1973, suddenly saw that all their liberties were obliterated from one day to the next. Many were sent to prison, others were tortured, disappeared, exiled, or silenced. They had to raise their families, work, and live under the conditions of state terror.

The second affected generation, referred to as the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015)—my generation—experienced the dictatorship first-hand as young people. This generation was afraid to speak for fear of being betrayed, afraid to meet in public for fear of being taken in custody, afraid to protest for fear of being disappeared. I was. And so were my friends and

classmates. I remember when one of our friends did not come to school one day, to our elementary school classroom. He never returned. We never knew why. We never asked. My generation was between one and eight years old when the dictatorship started and 16 to 23 when it ended. Today, we are in our late 40s and early 50s. We are the generation now in charge, heads of organizations, running companies, serving as politicians and mentors.

Finally, the third affected generation is "la generación sin miedo" (The generation without fear). These are my generation's children; they have been born in democracy (Cummings, 2015). This generation does not know state-induced fear first-hand because they have freedom of expression although, from my perspective, unfortunately, not of action. The latter is due to the fact that, given the long period Chile was under dictatorship (between 1973 and 1990), all prior reforms had been abolished and laws that could have advanced rights such as abortion, gay marriage, and women's equality were postponed or turned back decades. This is a generation who has the freedom to express their opinions through protests, marches, and strikes, but even so, it has been very difficult for them to make progress on significant social issues such as access to public, quality education, and socioeconomic and gender equity to name a few (Cummings, 2015).

This study focuses on the second generation, my generation, the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015), those who were raised in the years of dictatorship during which the abuse of state power including repression, disappearance, imprisonment, and societal polarization was omnipresent—whether explicitly spoken about or whether present in the silences—it crystallized into a fear that has characterized our everyday lives.

It is a premise of my research that this fear to speak, to act, to be identified as the "enemy," "the subversive," "the terrorist," with the consequence of being betrayed insinuated

itself in the collective unconscious of this generation. My generation. I believe a certain type of behavior was established in each of our daily life: to be fearful. It is a fear I know. This research is my break with my own silence.

On that fateful day in September 1973, our life abruptly changed from one day to the next. Our parents stopped talking about politics and started talking about soccer and TV shows in order not to get involved and take risks. We had to show respect to military authority at school and gather in formation every Monday to salute the Chilean flag and sing the national anthem as a military march. In classrooms we stopped sharing our opinions about political issues for fear of being betrayed and turned in to the police. I remember that several kids from my class never returned after the coup d'État. We never knew where they went.

As old classmates left, new ones arrived. They were children of military parents who we had never seen before. They scared us by telling us what they heard in their homes. I remember the fear I felt when one of these new classmates told me that she knew that my family and I were communists. At the young age of six my only answer to her was that she was wrong. My six-year-old inner self could feel that this could bring me problems. I felt a lot of fear although I was not sure exactly why. I just knew something was not right.

Linked to that fear, silence was the common denominator everywhere—on the streets, in the schools, at work, at home, everywhere. The distrust was omnipresent and one controlled one's fear of being betrayed by being silent. Unfortunately, after 17 years, when the dictatorship came to an end, this fear stayed within us.

In addition to the political repression, the extreme economic changes imposed by Pinochet left many Chileans without any work possibilities. This deepened the harshness of

times we were living. My father, a middle-class businessman, saw his business ruined in ways that affected us directly as a family.

My interest in this study emerged from my own experience of being part of this second generation, those who directly experienced omnipresent fear and deep distrust and widespread economic instability, as well as basic doubts about our rights as citizens of a formerly democratic and free country. It felt important to me to illuminate the ways in which these conditions affected members of my generation. I also needed to understand what happened with that fear, which was felt by many in my generation, whether it remained static or transformed over time and how it influenced individuals in their democratic participation and civic commitment once we became free citizens again. I am compelled to look inside as I look outside.

The Chilean dictatorship, as with all dictatorships, had as one of its main objectives to generate permanent fear, terror, and insecurity in the population, especially those who had supported the democratically elected socialist government of President Salvador Allende (1970–73). Given the ways in which trauma is socially constructed, it is therefore appropriate to assume that the persons who lived through this experience would be affected by it. But how? That is my place of wonder.

My position as a person of the professional middle class “center-left” obviously affected my experiences during the dictatorship and my sense of civic engagement today. The deep splits in Chilean society between those who supported the military regime and those who did not lasted well beyond the 1988 plebiscite, between those who supported the "No" option, choosing to end the military regime and have new elections and those who supported the "Yes" option, choosing the continuity of the dictatorship. I believe it plays out even today in both conscious and unconscious ways.

How these various perspectives and socially constructed lived experiences of the dictatorship influenced and continue to influence how these individuals view themselves as democratic actors and citizens today is the essential examination of this study. And, in that study, I also want to better understand myself.

Key Terms

As explained above, this study examines the impact of living through dictatorship on one's sense of agency and civic engagement. Therefore, it is important to briefly define how "agency" and "civic engagement" are considered in the research literature germane to this study. They will be more fully discussed in Chapter II.

Sense of agency. Basically, "agency" is defined as "a person's ability to control their actions and, through them, events in the external world" (Haggard & Tsakiris, 2009). The latter is related to the very basic and general idea that every time we perform actions such as walking, running or jumping, we experience a sense of agency because we are the ones who control these movements with our body, it is our agency or a person's ability to control their actions. People are accountable for their actions; thus, there is a "subjective experience of agency."

In terms of this study, agency is examined in terms of actions related to socio-political life and civic engagement, it refers to a sense of agency as part of a process looking to achieve social changes in a community or a country. In fact, the sense of agency could be defined as "a combination of self-acceptance and self-confidence, social and political understanding, and the ability to play an assertive role in controlling resources and decisions in one's community" (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p. 726).

Civic engagement. Moreover, "civic engagement" is a complex concept that has two parts. The first is a cognitive component which in turn is associated with the duty that every person has to contribute to the welfare of a society. This one is noted as social responsibility. The

second component is linked to specific actions through which people who have already developed a consciousness about what is happening around them achieve this Common Good through political participation (Lenzi, Vieno, Santinello, Nation, & Voight, 2014, p. 253).

Outline of Chapters

Chapter II presents a critical review of the scholarly literature that frames this study including the context of Chile, the study of generations and transgenerational trauma, and the concepts of agency and civic engagement. As foreshadowed in this introduction, the chapter first provides a "portrait" of Chile, briefly reviewing the historical and socio-political context from 1973 to date. Within this important context-setting, I also focus on relevant research and scholarly literature about the country regarding the social and political commitment of the generation who grew up in the Chilean dictatorship as well as their electoral participation during and after the return to democracy and their participation in recent social movements. This does not consider their participation in the recent social demonstrations that began on October 18, 2019, where people from all sectors have participated protesting and marching all over Chile, demanding better life conditions and public policies. These powerful Fall 2019 events occurred after the data for this study were gathered.

The second major section of Chapter II examines how scholars understand, define, and study a generation and its experiences (Manheim, 1952; Wolnik et al., 2017; Alwin & McCammon, 2003). I also address how the collective memories and collective identities are built and transmitted from one generation to another. In that context, it is relevant to address the transmission process from one generation to another, or across several generations that could be affected by dictatorship, war, and genocide, and how the intergenerational space is reconstructed once these conflicts come to the end (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014; Irwin-Zarecka, 2017; Coman, Brown, Koppel, & Hirst, 2009; Hirst & Manier, 2008). The chapter reviews research

conducted on the impact of the dictatorship specifically in Chile and the generation who lived and grew up during the dictatorship.

The third section of Chapter II examines how scholars define and understand transgenerational and historical trauma, especially the psycho-social impacts, collective grief, and collective loss which are addressed to understand the process that people experience during and after suffer a trauma and how and under which conditions they are overcome (Faúndez, Cornejo, & Brackelaire, 2014; Métraux, 2005b). In the final section, I examine the concept of agency as it is defined in the psychological and sociological literature and the relationship "between the sense of oneself as an agent and one's awareness of one's own actions" (Marcel, 2003, p. 49).

Complementary with the concept of sense of agency the chapter also reviews the Socio-Political Development Theory (SPD) (Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003) as a theoretical framework that helps to understand the process about how certain events and milestones in an individual's life could help to develop a critical consciousness and lead to taking actions in order to make changes in society. The SDP theory gives relevance to social context, including an individual's significant life experiences as triggers of sequential stages of critical consciousness development. Thus, five stages are included, from the complete lack of awareness about social injustices to a Liberation Stage where "discontent, indignation, empathy, and other emotions provide the driver to act as well as understand" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 188).

Chapter III describes the methodological framework and provides the rationale for why Narrative Inquiry is the most suitable approach for this research. This is followed by a full and detailed design of the study itself including the use of peer bilingual coders. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the proposed study and the ethical

considerations that could be confronted doing this research, one of which is conducting interviews in Spanish and then accurately translating the emergent themes during the data analysis into English.

Chapter IV presents the study's results and findings constructed around thematic categories that have emerged through the data analysis. Chapter V addresses the implications of the study including its contributions to a broader understanding of Socio-Political Development Theory and its application to the formation of an individual's critical consciousness over time as well as the understanding of transgenerational and historical trauma in post-dictatorship societies for those hoping to heal wounds and strengthen democracies.

The chapter also includes reflections for me personally as I discover my own historical trauma. This has enabled me to become a stronger democratic citizen and socially-engaged researcher and it informs my consideration on areas for future research.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter focuses on the literature most relevant to this proposed research providing the socio-political context of Chile, the nature of generational studies, and the scholarly research that frames critical concepts of transgenerational trauma and civic agency. These components are all essential for understanding how this proposed study both draws from and contributes to the literature.

The portrait of my country, Chile, examines the socio-historical moment in 1973 in order to understand what the Chilean people lived through immediately before, during, and after the infamous coup d'État. The first section includes an analysis of the elements that gave rise to the socio-political crisis of 1973. The section then focuses on socio-political elements that allowed for the 1988 plebiscite and afterwards the democratic elections in 1990. The section concludes with a review of aspects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission after the return to democracy. The section is not meant to be a comprehensive retelling of Chile's history, for that would be impossible; rather, its focus is to draw out the critical elements of the country's recent history that provide the background context for what the study's participants experienced and about which the impact of that experience is paramount.

The second section of this chapter examines the ways in which scholars construct "generational" studies and how the notion of "generation" is framed and characterized. After reviewing the literature on generational studies, this section concludes with the definition of the specific generation examined in this proposed dissertation. Historical moments influence the shared identity of people who experienced those moments. The historical moments can be shared by several generations, but each generation defines their own identity (Alwin & McCammon, 2003, p. 24).

The penultimate section of this chapter examines the significant research that illuminates the concept of transgenerational trauma, with the goal of understanding how the concept is defined and understood. The section reviews a number of relevant studies about consequences of experiencing horrendous historic times such as dictatorships, the Holocaust, genocides, and so forth. The section examines several frames utilized by scholars: the psycho-sociological approach as well as the concept of historical and cultural trauma and how it is defined as socially constructed. The section concludes with lessons that illustrate the nature of generational trauma experienced by those surviving the Chilean dictatorship specifically.

The final section of this review of literature examines the critical concept of agency. Because the proposed study intends to examine the impact of living through the Chilean dictatorship on a generation's experience of democratic agency and engagement, it is important to explore the notion of agency from the point of view of civic responsibility, civic engagement, and political participation. The chapter concludes with the relevance of the social participation and political commitment of the second generation, the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) after the return to democracy.

Chile: A Portrait Socio-Political Crisis of 1973

To understand the socio-political crisis experienced in Chile from the presidential elections in 1970 to September 11, 1973, which culminated in the military coup d'État and subsequent 17 years of a brutal dictatorship, it is important to provide a brief review of the significant elements that influenced that crisis, understanding that this cannot be comprehensive in nature but rather illustrative of the underlying conditions.

Socio-Political Causes

Historians identify a set of political causes of the crisis experienced between the presidential elections in 1970 and the coup d'État in 1973, which established a "*Junta de Gobierno*" composed of the Chilean Armed Forces' high command. The combination of both internal and external causes that influenced/precipitated the Chilean coup include external issues such as economic support and interference from foreign countries and internal issues such as socio-economic and political conditions, government reforms, and political opposition movements (Loveman & Lira, 2007; Manzi et al., 2004; Taylor, 2006; Quinn, 1994).

Presidential elections in 1970. The review starts with the 1933 Chilean Constitution, which established that the presidential candidate who obtained the highest percentage of votes in the first round would assume the role of president.

Thus, in 1970 Salvador Allende, the candidate of a left-wing political coalition called *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity), obtained 36% of the popular vote. The front-runner, however, was the right-wing candidate, Jorge Alessandri, who obtained approximately 35% of the popular vote. Adhering to the Constitution, the National Congress ratified Salvador Allende and he was sworn into office in November 1970. This was the first openly socialist government that gained office without an absolute majority of the votes cast. According to Manzi et al. (2004) the Chilean model was considered by many as a political threat because it was an example of a pacifist transition to a socialist system. Clearly the popular vote was very divided and Allende assumed the presidency of a polarized country. Unfortunately, his socialist-inspired government was rather quickly opposed both from the center- and the right-wing sectors. The country eventually entered into a period of extreme internal oppositional movements and democratic institutions were challenged.

International context and Cold War. The Chilean crisis played out, as with many other Latin-American crises, on the global stage of the Cold War. "As a Cold War theater with deep US involvement, no South American country ranks close to Chile. Washington actively worked to destabilize the socialist government of Salvador Allende, celebrated the 1973 military coup that deposed him, and then supported the anti communist dictatorship that replaced Chile's democracy" (Williams, 2017, p. 921).

At the end of the 1950s the world was split between two superpowers: on the one hand, the Soviet Union with its communist agenda and, on the other, transnational capitalism represented by the United States and its allies. Thus during the period known as the Cold War, the US evoked its power as designated in the Monroe Doctrine and sought to prevent the spread of Soviet influence in Latin America. By the end of the 1960s, the US provided military aid and intelligence gathering throughout Latin America to halt any real or perceived expansion of communism and/or Soviet Union, especially after the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Furthermore, the US, as part of its foreign missions' tasks implemented the National Security Doctrine in Latin America and carried on several campaigns whose major objective was to establish Latin American Armed Forces as the guards against any initiative, project or idea associated with communism. This was confirmed by the Rio Treaty signed in 1947 which was a reciprocal assistance agreement among the US and the Latin American countries. "The United States, which due to its power and prestige in the world community, has the primary responsibility for the leadership in the defense of the Western Hemisphere" (Garcia-Mora, 1951, p. 20). The American National Security Doctrine (NSD) then became a "theory of military intervention." However, the NSD was not a military doctrine for war per se but a political doctrine for the

military (Rosenberg, 2009, p. 4). As a consequence of that the power, of the Armed Forces was legitimized as well as the means that they used to accomplish its tasks were considered justified.

Many members of Latin American militaries attended the US-funded sponsored School of the America (SOA) located in Panama and founded in 1946, "with the mission of developing and conducting instruction for the armed forces of Latin America" (Grimmet & Sullivan, 2001, p. 1) and "to bring stability to Latin America" (McSherry, 2000, p. 28). Once there, some of the Chilean high command along with other Latin American militaries were trained in counter-insurgency methods such as the tactics of infiltration and repression, which had been "the methods applied by the 'French school' in Indochina and Algeria and adopted by the Americans during the Vietnam War, which were later taught at numerous military and ideological training centers in Latin America" (Feierstein, 2010, p. 489).

This fear of the spread of communism and the role of global powers in interfering in Latin American internal politics by supporting military interventions and strong armed forces provides some context for what was to come in the next decade in Chile, as well as in Argentina and other Southern Cone nations. According to Weiss (1992), the brutal repression used by militaries in those countries was justified because they were "in a war against an ideological enemy that, like a cancer, would destroy society if not extirpated" (p. 3). This enemy was communism and everything and everyone that was associated with it.

Domestic context and coup d'État. On September 11, 1973, President Salvador Allende intended to announce a referendum to decide on the government's future. However, the Chilean Armed Forces seized control of the state. President Allende died that fateful day at the seat of government, La Moneda.

Given the global context just described, it is not surprising the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was involved in the lead-up to and what transpired on that day and in the years ahead (United States Senate Report, 1975; Rama, 1982). For example, the CIA secretly gave funds to *El Mercurio*, one of the most important Chilean journals at the time and one of the most vitriolic opposition voices against the democratically elected Allende government. As the U.S. Senate's Report (1975) noted, the 40 Committee, which was a secret group that oversaw all CIA covert operations during Nixon administration, "authorized $700,000 for *El Mercurio* on September 9, 1971 and added another $965,000 to that authorization on April 11, 1972" (p. 8). While this is a brief mention, it illustrates how the already polarized domestic internal conditions were intensified and exacerbated by external forces convinced that a stand must be made in Chile against the perceived spread of communism.

Interference did not stop with the media. A massive nationwide truck drivers' strike, which lasted 26 days, provoked widespread shortages of foods and gas, which in turn provoked a sense of chaos among the population. "The majority of more than $8-million authorized for clandestine C.I.A. activities in Chile was used in 1972 and 1973 to provide strike benefits and other means of support for anti-Allende strikers and workers" (Hersh, 1974). Again, according to the U.S. Senate's Report (1975), the C.I.A. "financed activities covering a broad spectrum, from simple propaganda manipulation of the press to large-scale support for Chilean political parties, from public opinion polls to direct attempts to foment a military coup" (p. 1).

Shortly after the coup d'État, the Chilean military participated in the infamous *Operación Condor* (Operation Condor), an effort whose main objective was the coordination and support of dictatorships across Latin American. According to Ugás (2015) on November 25, 1975, the first meeting of the Operation Condor was held in the Chilean Intelligence Service Offices. At the

reunion were intelligence agents from Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. At that time, they agreed to a strategy and they developed a campaign of political repression and state terrorism (Alén, 2015). The efforts to stop the perceived spread of communism and to promote neoliberal policies knew no bounds.

It is estimated that in those countries where the Operation Condor was implemented, 400,000 people were deprived of freedom, approximately 50,000 people were executed and nearly 30,000 people were disappeared (Ugás, 2015, p. 91). State terrorism was justified (González, 2013).

The Chilean military seized power, imposed curfews, illegally detained thousands, killed thousands, and disappeared many thousands more. Several high profile murders against high ranking members of the democratically elected Allende government occurred. Among the most notable were General Carlos Prats, the former commander of the Chilean Army and previous Minister of Interior, and his wife, who were murdered in Buenos Aires in 1974 by a car bomb; Orlando Letelier, the former US Chilean ambassador and renowned politician who was also murdered by a car bomb in Washington, D.C. in 1976; and Bernardo Leighton, a Chilean politician, suffered a terrorist attack, but fortunately survived. As recently as in January 2019, a Chilean court convicted six individuals of poisoning the former centrist President Eduardo Frei Montalba, who died in 1982 at the age of 72. Frei Montalba was one of the leaders of the opposition and the military government considered him an important threat.

The social and socioeconomic issue. If the above-stated domestic and international politics were not enough, during the 1960s and 70s subsequent Chilean administrations implemented a series of measures that aimed to generate greater equality in the population,

trying to mitigate excesses and end old systems that only favored privileged sectors of the Chilean population.

One significant example was that of the Agrarian Reform in 1967. For years large landholdings or estates were in the hands of a few owners, a situation which maintained an unfair social and economic system across the countryside. This system had its roots in the *Encomienda*, an organization of labor developed in colonial times in which Spanish conquistadors and their descendants were given huge properties along with the indigenous people to work that land.

The *Encomienda* system was later replaced by another very similar system, *el Latifundio*. This latter system established a legal framework that ensured that the "tenants" or peasants of the land worked the owner's land in exchange of housing, a small plot of land to grow food and tools to work the land (Garrido, Guerrero, & Valdés, 1988). In the 1960s, the Catholic Church and the Cardinal Silva Henriquez together with President Eduardo Frei Montalva, under the slogan "the land belongs to those who work it," pushed reforms to expropriate the *latifundios*. Despite that, former owners still held on to a total of 80 hectares maximum each. Between 1965 and 1970 a total of 1400 *latifundios*, equivalent to 3.5 million of hectares were expropriated. As one might imagine, the wealthy landowners opposed these reforms. Their anger would find its home with movements opposing other worker and labor reforms promoted by the Allende government.

The Chilean labor movements saw huge migrations of workers to cities at the beginning of the twentieth century, looking to improve their living conditions. The urban working class found itself living in very precarious conditions in the city and the country began to see a rise in demands for education, housing and better living conditions. "Conditions for this incipient working class were frequently terrible, with long hours of work and wages that barely supported household subsistence" (Taylor, 2006, p. 13).

At the same time, the country's middle class saw growth coupled with the expansion of opportunities for education. Primary and secondary schools as well as technical training centers were created where students could obtain a teacher's degree or an occupation that allowed them to work. According to Drake and Jaksic (1999), by 1970, 84% of the population between 6 to 14 years old was attending primary school and 38% of the population between 15 to 18 years was attending high school. Eight percent of the population was enrolled in universities. It is significant to note that Chile has had one of the most literate populations of any Latin American country (Drake & Jaksic, 1999).

That Allende's government program (Programa Básico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular, 1969) included the nationalization of natural resources, financial institutions, and utilities coupled with the expropriation of large landholdings, as well as the expansion of education to all sectors, met with extraordinarily strong opposition and as the above section was shown, its roots can be traced back decades prior to Allende assuming the presidency.

The Chilean Dictatorship and State Terrorism

The Chilean dictatorship was based on a strong authoritarian model, which was concentrated in one person: the US-backed General Augusto José Ramón Pinochet Ugarte. The fundamental elements of the Pinochet regime were captured in the absolute control over the civil society based on the National Security Doctrine (NSD) whose mission was to combat Marxism and banish it from the political life, "The anti-Communist crusade became the primary strategic mission, and it combined military, economic, and political interests" (McSherry, 2000, p. 28). This included an end to democratic institutions, the closure of a free press, the silencing of all expressions of opposition to the regime including political parties.

The economic system to support this totalitarian state was a neoliberal model led by Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago, known as "The Chicago Boys" (Barber, 1995; Letelier, 1976). Under their direction, a range of measures were implemented such as the liberalization of the market; privatization of state services such as water and sanitation, electricity, ports, gas, among others and cuts in social welfare systems such as health, pensions and retirement (Drake & Jaksic, 1999). In a nutshell, all the previous reforms discussed earlier in this chapter were eliminated. The consequences for some Chilean sectors were immediate.

The economic model promoted by economists Milton Friedman and The Chicago Boys was based on one main principle, that of an imagined society of perfect competition producing quality outcomes as described by classical liberal economists. However, reality proved much more complicated than the theory. According to Orlando Letelier (1976), the former Chilean ambassador to the US during Allende's government who was later murdered by orders from Pinochet, the approach was being applied to a situation where extreme inequality existed (p. 47). What followed were a reduction in wages and a higher unemployment rate for the less privileged sectors to the consolidated middle class. Yet despite this, some considered Chile an economic success story and an example of the implementation of neoliberal economic policies and trade liberalization (Santa Cruz, 2010; Landman, 2004). The reality on the ground was quite different. "In 1983, for instance, the country struggled with a financial crisis, and from 1982-84 real wages fell by 10.7% and unemployment reached an alarming 23.5%. Sacrifices were required, and government spending was cut from 30.7% of GDP in 1984 to 20.6% in 1989 to narrow deficits" (Santa Cruz, 2010).

According to Drake and Jaksic (1999) the economic legacy of the Chilean dictatorship had two sides: on one hand, an economy with balanced economic indexes; a private sector that

had planned its investments and a country that began to show, starting in 1986, an economic growth with low inflation and new job creation; on the other hand, a country that showed greater social inequality regarding wealth concentration as well as deteriorated public services, education and health, as a consequence of the decrease in public spending (p. 6). Waissbluth and Lara (2007) suggest that the Chilean state could be classified as a “State-Market-Entrepreneur" model (p. 286) in which the existence of more jobs is considered more important than having security at work. Income inequalities grow but they become more acceptable. Healthcare and education system gets privatized. Taxes are reduced and the safety net decreases. All of this occurs under the assumption that the country will eventually achieve greater growth and prosperity, and that prosperity will trickle down.

In addition to the new economic model and its direct impact on the lives of everyday Chileans, the dictatorship needed to maintain a population that would be obedient to the new government and its policies. Towards that end, the dictatorship founded the *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional*, DINA (National Intelligence Directorate, NID), which as the Chilean secret police, was the state organism in charge of ensuring enforced obedience. Under special laws imposed by the military government, DINA had the power to detain individuals arbitrarily, hold them for as long as deemed necessary without charges or rights to a trial, torturing and violating them and, in the cases of thousands, killing, maiming, and disappearing them. In 1977, Pinochet replaced the DINA, buckling to pressure from the US because of the organization’s complicity in the murder of former Minister Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. Pinochet then created the *Central Nacional de Informaciones*, CNI (National Center of Information), which had basically the same tasks that DINA had in the past: persecution, kidnapping, murder, and disappearance of political opponents.

At the same time, the Catholic Church created the *Comité Pro Paz* (Committee of Cooperation for Peace) in October 1973, to help people who were being persecuted. The military shut the organization down after two short years, alleging that the Committee was hiding two Marxist leaders. Shortly thereafter, the Catholic Church funded the *Vicaria de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity) established by Pope Paul VI in 1976 which protected thousands of Chileans who were persecuted, detained, tortured, and murdered by the Pinochet regime. As a matter of fact, the Vicariate record identified 19,000 cases of human rights abuses during Pinochet's time (Vicariate of Solidarity, 1984).

In 1980 the military government put forth a new constitution and called for a referendum. Many irregularities existed in this process. There was no voter registration of citizenship, opposition voices did not have access to the media, there was no monitoring of vote counting and so forth. Thus Pinochet won through voter fraud, giving him the authority to remain in office for another eight years (Valenzuela, 1997).

In 1983, the first protest and marches against the dictatorship began. Students and workers were the first protagonist of these marches. Political parties began to form. The middle class, which had been so severely affected by Pinochet's economic policies and the crisis of 1983, stepped gingerly into public demonstrations. These were the first cautious steps to reestablish democracy in Chile. In 1988 Pinochet called for a national referendum, which was held on October 5 of that year. It was called the plebiscite of the Si and the No. The main objective was to decide whether Pinochet would continue in power for eight more years (Si) or would stay for one more year (No) and then democratic elections would be conducted.

The No side won with 56% of the votes (Chateau & Rojas, 1989). Due to international pressure, Pinochet accepted the results. But, as was stated by the Chilean Constitution of 1980,

former presidents could be senators and "... Senators shall hold their positions in their own right for life" (Constitución Política de la República de Chile, 1980, p. 27). That is why after the plebiscite, Pinochet continued as commander-in-chief of the army and then as Senator. In 2000, his status was changed to that of ex-president, which granted him immunity and protected him from being charged for his many crimes against the Chilean people.

As this terrible Chilean period drew to a close, and with the return to democracy, two commissions emerged in Chile; one in 1990—the *Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación* (National Truth and Reconciliation Commission)—and the other in 2003, *Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura* (National Commission about Political Imprisonment and Torture). The stated purpose of these Commissions was to address, among other things, the trauma and suffering experienced by those living during these years (Cárdenas, Zubieta, Páez, Arnoso, & Espinosa, 2016). The importance of these institutions was to have the possibility of generating a transition from a climate of violence to one of peace, "the social importance is the need for groups and communities to confront the past and deplore the calamities and misfortunes that happened" (Cardenas et al., p. 423).

One Commission identified that there were at least 3,000 deaths in the hands of the military during that time (Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, 1996; Feierstein, 2010). It is also important to recognize that while Pinochet was still in power, an Amnesty Law was passed that granted amnesty to all civilians and military involved in criminal acts as authors, accomplices or concealers, committed between September 11, 1973, and March 10, 1978. This law followed the dissolution of the DINA, Pinochet's secret police, after the assassination of Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. in September 1976 (Morley & McGillion, 2015; Rama,

1982). So at the same time that information was finally coming to light about the brutality of the regime, its perpetrators were finding refuge in the law.

Chile ratified the Statute of the International Criminal Court in The Hague in 1998 and long after democracy had returned to the country, some cases of crimes against humanity started to be investigated. Despite that, it was not until 2014—41 years after the coup d'État—when newly elected president Michelle Bachelet fulfilled her campaign promise. However, the phrase "ni perdón ni olvido" (We will not forgive nor forget) still resonates among those who believe the perpetrators have not been brought to full justice. There remains a pact of silence among those who committed these atrocious crimes against humanity. As Michelle Bachelet expressed in the 41st commemoration of the coup d'État: "Mucha gente en nuestro país está muriendo y está muriendo sin la verdad" (Many people in our country are dying and they are dying without the truth). In many cases, the judicial processes have been slow and the conviction rates low, which makes prison sentences minimal.

Given the focus of this proposed study, it is important to note that among those in the third and fourth generations—meaning Chileans who were born after the dictatorship and born in democracy—skepticism about the apologies and forgiveness was highest. They want to know the truth. They are open to sharing what really happened. The first and second generations are not as willing to talk about what happened in the past. According to Arnoso, Cárdenas, and Páez (2012) the Chilean process is very similar to what happened in Spain with the grandchildren of the Civil War generation because that younger generation wants to look at that dark history of executions, murders. and social exclusion, to that hidden past upon which books and historical research have shed so little light. The third generation in Spain has become the locus for the recovery of memory (p. 21).

What followed after the conclusion of the commissions was a series of laws instituted to compensate for the enormous suffering and trauma not only to those who were direct victims of state violence, but also to those who indirectly suffered its consequences. Unfortunately, although the information gathered in these processes served to clarify many of the crimes committed, the commissions did not fulfill all the objectives for which they were created. Cárdenas et al. (2016) defined the importance of these commissions not so much by their concrete actions but for their role in generating a transition from a climate of violence to one of peace. "The social importance is the need for groups and communities to confront the past and deplore the calamities and misfortunes that happened" (p. 423).

But how does a society move from dictatorship to democracy? A seismic cultural change happened under Pinochet. Chile had a traditionally collectivist culture, which under the dictatorship shifted to an isolated and individual orientation with overwhelming general distrust of each other and in social institutions. The terror and violence by the state created a collective distrust and collective fear that seems to have remained in power long after the military disappeared.

The question of those who suffered is different. Do they remain quiet and silenced even though democracy has returned? In Chile nowadays, some speak of serious violations of human rights and others frame it merely as political mistakes, some speak of a military coup and others that describe it as a military proclamation. Chile is very divided, and those divisions will remain until what happened is brought out in the light of day, where those who lost their lives and to some extent those who still survive share the past and ask for forgiveness in public.

Thus the essential question of this proposed study is: what was the impact on living through that period on survivors' sense of agency and democratic engagement?

Defining Generation

For the purpose of this study, and taking into account that the Pinochet dictatorship covers an extended historical period of time that affected several generations during the years in question, this section examines how scholars understand, define, and study a generation and its experiences from a socio-historical and cultural point of view (Manheim, 1952; Wolnik et al., 2017; Alwin & McCammon, 2003). The following section discusses how the notion of collective identity and collective memory are defined and how one influences the other (Hirst & Manier, 2008; Gillis, 1994; McDowell, 2016; Irwin-Zarecka, 2017) and how collective memory is similar to and different from shared individual memories (Coman et al., 2009; Hirst & Manier, 2008). The chapter then turns its focus to the relationship between collective memories and a generation's identity (Irwin-Zarecka, 2017; Hirst & Manier, 2008). The final section focuses on the transmission of collective memories from an older generation to a younger generation, as well as a review of the notion of transgenerational trauma (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014) and the concept of intergenerational dialogue (Reyes et al., 2015), both theoretical constructions, that are relevant to understand the basis of this proposed research study. This section concludes with the definition of the Chilean generation who will be the focus of this proposed study.

The Concept of Generation

According to Leccardi and Feixa (2012) the concept of generation has been broadly studied in the social sciences. A definitional characteristic could be date of birth; another could be having lived during the same decade or having experienced the same historical events. Leccardi and Feixa (2012) state, based on Mannheim's definition (1952), that a generation includes all people with the same age who experienced the same historical process. Thus, this latter concept of generation is framed within two essential elements: first, the significant events

experienced by individuals that break with the continuity of prior generations and secondly, the age of individuals when they experienced these events. The latter point suggests the importance of a person's age as it relates to the formation and construction of reality, prior to that person's socialization process concluding into a fixed identity formation (Leccardi & Feixa, 2012, p. 17).

Taking into account that an individual's interpretation of events, especially when that person is of a younger age, is not final or conclusive at time because their identity is still being formed, the interpretation they make of historical occurrences can be markedly impacted by interactions with significant others such as family, friends, school, and work.

What is important here is the recognition that being part of a generation is not established simply by sharing the same birth date or year but for having lived the same social events. These events in turn help construct an individual's identity and later the collective identity. Likewise, Wolnik et al. (2017) state that collective memories and collective identities of a people are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Several scholars have argued that the concept of generational identity is determined by the socio-cultural context in which an individual is immersed (Hirst & Manier, 2008; Alwin & McCammon, 2003). Thus, understanding how a generation interprets past events provides some insights into the construction of a generation's social identity, a common shared experience within a shared historical period. "Historically based influences shaped the development of all or most people growing up at a particular time and that there is nearly always a shared cultural identity that sets them apart from the parental generation" (Alwin & McCammon, 2003, p. 24). The authors are affirming that a generational phenomenon emerges from historical moments that influence the development of people in a given time, which causes a shared cultural identity different from that experienced by those before or after. Thus, "how people think about the social

world around them may depend as much on what was happening in the world at the time they were growing up as it does on what is happening in the present" (Alwin & McCammon, 2003, p. 24). This then leads to the question of how the collective memory and collective identity can be understood.

Collective Memory and Collective Identity

Collective memory and collective identity are closely related. "Just as autobiographical memories are individually held memories that bear on the identity of an individual, collective memories are widely held memories of community members that bear on the collective identity of the community" (Hirst & Manier, 2008, p. 184). Thus, it is crucial to be aware and understand the role and the meaning that a specific collective memory plays in society in the construction of a specific collective identity.

According to Gillis (1994), the capacity to remember something from the past is the essential foundation for any individual's identity. Furthermore "memories are seen as selective and partial and used to fulfill individual, group or communal requirements of identity at a particular time and in a particular space" (McDowell, 2016, p. 42). For Irwin-Zarecka (2017) a collective memory is related to a collective identity common to a particular social group. Members of a group or community, therefore, share an experience and collective reflection on what is right or wrong, as well as the moral imperatives and obligations. Furthermore, a "collective memory - as a set of ideas, images, feelings about the past- is best located not in the mind of individuals but in the resources they share" (Irwin-Zarecka, 2017, p. 4). In this regard the collective memory is formed during a collective social process rather than through individual experiences.

Historical moments as memories are also shared across several generations. However, the interpretation that individuals attribute to those events can differ, depending on whether the person is living the experiences as a member of an older or younger generation and/or whether the individuals involved are paying attention to their lived experiences or not. “It is the meaning given to the event rather than the event itself which may create a community of memory” (Irwin-Zarecka, 2017, p. 49). The process of interpretation is so complex such that individuals can change the interpretations, associating other images or feelings to past events, which in turn can completely change memories, and create different collective memories and collective identities.

Scholars differ on where they place the emphasis. Given the complexities of changing interpretations and varying experiences mentioned above, memories are usually framed in a specific social context wherein social constructions and interpretations of reality are held in different contexts such as a family’s special moments as they are “a prime time for the construction, reconstruction, and repair of family memory” (Irwin-Zarecka, 2017, p. 55). The context- private or public - is dynamic and changing but all of them contribute to the building of the collective memory. For instance, family and friends belong to the private sphere, while church, state and school to the public one. Irwin-Zarecka (2017) considers private history-telling such as the family context as that which facilitates the preservation of memories by communities. The author notes that “A community can-and often would- preserve memories of its past primarily through private telling” (p. 13). Irwin-Zarecka (2017) argues that the private sphere assigns more stability to the interpretation of the facts in a community and it is the main influencer in the construction of collective memories.

Conversely, Coman et al. (2009) emphasize that the public sphere is the main influencer of collective memories, arguing that “individuals make up communities and communities act

through individuals, but in the end, it is the actions and dynamics of a community that matter, making it almost beside the point to discuss collective memories as shared memories" (p. 126). Clearly, these two scholars suggest a different emphasis for the primary influencer on the interpretation of memory, with Irwin-Zarecka (2017) emphasizing the private sphere and Coman et al. (2009), emphasizing the public sphere.

That collective memories are formed in a shared and common space does not mean that they are the same as shared individual memories (Coman et al., 2009). The authors consider “the social artifacts guide the remembering of not just one, but most, if not all members of the community (...) members of a community may have had individually distinctive memories, but social artifacts, such as memorials and commemorations, reshape these memories in a manner that leads to community-wide shared memories” (Coman et al., 2009, p. 129).

Hirst and Manier (2008) suggest that collective memories can be divided into communicative and cultural memories, providing a social context and setting limits which, in turn, could influence the interpretations. Communicative memories are transmitted between people and are held by individuals for a specific period of time, while the cultural memories are a consequence of “objectivized culture” (p. 186) or cultural formations such as texts, monuments, symbols, practice, and so forth and could last centuries. According to Hirst and Manier (2008) “(...) cultural memory, not communicative memory, grounds the collective identity of a society” (p. 186).

As noted, collective memories serve to establish the identity of a generation (Irwin-Zarecka, 2017). Collective memories of an experience or historical moments are recognized and constituted social artifacts “when even the minimal signs of memory work are missing, when graves are left invisible and unattended, for example, or stories remain untold, these are strong

indications indeed of a past confined to oblivion" (p. 13). Similarly, Hirst and Manier (2008) state that it is crucial to be aware of the role and the meaning of a specific memory, arguing that "just as autobiographical memories are individually held memories that bear on the identity of an individual, collective memories are widely held memories of community members that bear on the collective identity of the community" (p. 184). Thus, a memory that has little meaning or is given little recognition for a community is considered simply as a collected memory and it does not affect the identity of the group. Conversely, if a fact has significance for the community it will be part of the collective identity of that group.

Based on this differentiation, the Pinochet coup d'État in 1973 constitutes a historical moment that is part of many collective memories rather than simply an individual's memory. As a collective memory, the coup created the country's history as a Chile before and after Pinochet. Hirst and Manier (2008) state:

> Just as a virus must be transmitted across a population, and must remain stable for a period of time in order to be rightly classified as an epidemic, so also must a memory be transmitted across a community, take on a similar, shared form, and be stable over the long term in order to properly be called a collective memory (p. 192).

For the purpose of this study considering the construction of collective memories in a specific social context is considered essential because the different interpretations of the past events during Pinochet dictatorship could lead to different constructions of collective memories and collective identities. In fact, it is very possible that in the case of Chile, the interpretation of events during the Pinochet dictatorship and after return to democracy, may fuel very diverse and even opposing senses of agency, civic engagement and sense of democracy, which is part of the discover hoped for in this proposed research.

The Transmission of Collective Memories

One of the relevant and essential questions underlying this review of the literature is then, how collective memories are constructed and transmitted from one generation to another? Specifically, how is this collective memory, such as the Chilean coup d'État, transmitted from one to several generations, and how do generations build their own collective identity? This section will discusses the different elements that can affect the nature of transmission of collective memories and will also tackles the transmission process itself.

According to scholars, the transmission of collective memories from one generation to another is impacted by a variety of forces. While some collective memories are formed without a transmission from a prior generation, generally speaking "individually held memories must be transmitted across a community before a collective memory is formed" (Hirst & Manier, 2008, p. 192). The transmission occurs in two ways. The first is when community members experience an event but they interpret it differently, which in turn, produces different memories. The second is when information about what happened, as opposed to the direct experience itself, is transmitted from one community member to another. In both cases the collective memory forms in a common space where it is shared, such as among family members and friends, in houses of worship, classrooms, neighborhood organizations, and such. Moreover, it is also relevant to analyze the nature of the networks in which the transmission occurs, meaning it is important to take into account if the transmission is among members of the same community or individuals belonging to different groups. "The effect that a speaker has on her own memory and the memory of a listener is more likely to be stronger when the speaker and listener are members of the same group than when they are members of different groups" (Hirst & Manier, 2008, p. 193).

As a consequence, the convergence of shared memories will be more powerfully aligned inside the group than outside the group.

Another variable that can affect the nature of the transmission of the memories and their subsequent shared interpretation by the community is the continuity of the group. “Shared individual memories do not constitute a collective memory unless they remain stable over time” (Hirst & Manier, 2008, p. 193).

The relevant question for this proposed study focuses on what memories are transmitted from the older generation to the next generation, and specifically what memories of the Chilean coup were transmitted to younger generations. Uwineza and Brackelaire (2014) have developed the concept of *transgenerational recreation,* which refers to a specific process of “re-creation” so named because the inheritance of a generation is recreated for and with the next generation. This re-creation process is carried on in a shared space that belongs to both the older and younger generations, it is an act of recreation that occurs in this common space of community culture, values and heritage. The transgenerational process also allows members of one generation to overcome traumatic experiences that they could have lived through in the past (p. 155). Uwineza and Brackelaire (2014) concluded, after working with survivors of the Rwandan genocide, that community values persisted despite the trauma. Thus, several generations—children, parents, grandparents—shared a physical and emotional common space and rediscovered their community values. All of this is possible due to the process of transgenerational recreation.

Another concept similar to that of transgenerational, is the term *intergenerational dialogue* (Reyes et al., 2015). This term is related to the relational space shared by two or more successive generations in which there is a transmission of values, ideas, and ways of acting. In that space, there are also different types of relationships between members such as cooperation,

collaboration, and even debate, exchanges that enrich the transmission (Reyes et al., 2015, p. 257). The intergenerational dialogue could happen in many contexts but one of the most important is within the family unit since that affects powerful emotions related to memories.

Both concepts, intergenerational dialogue and transgenerational re-creation, are important for this proposed study for several reasons. Firstly, the natural processes of intergenerational dialogue were broken as a consequence of the Chilean coup, and fear and distrust permeated across and within the population. Although that intergenerational dialogue slowly recovered with the return of democracy, the prior suppression of political discourse and debate had its impact. The disrupted collective memories could have affected the sense of agency, civic engagement, and the belief in democracy of the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) and those beyond. Generations recognize themselves and develop an identity thanks to memories. Although younger and older generations are distinct, they have to interact together to achieve the transmission of collective memories (Carrillo Magna, 2014). In this way, the intergenerational dialogue transforms the memories for the future and also defines the role new generations have to play as social actors who are part of a living community. In a nutshell, the memories of Chile's past will have an impact on the actions of a current generation. What those impacts are and how those memories live on is a large part of the focus of this proposed study.

Secondly, the concept of transgenerational recreation could illuminate and help to understand how the recreation of the generation's identity and its sense of agency and civic engagement was re-constructed in safe spaces, such as family and church, with the return of democracy. Essentially, multiple generations—those who lived through the experience and those who did not directly experience the recent past—have roles to play in the reconstruction and transmission of past memories to the next generations and to the society in general (Reyes et al.,

2015, p. 256). For example, the Chilean coup ruptured the intergenerational transmission of functions such as socio-political practices that were usually transmitted from older generation to younger ones (Reyes et al., 2015, p. 257). What needs to be remembered and what should not be forgotten are fundamental issues for individuals as they confront their past. This is very important because the debate and discussion among members of an older generation typically set the stage for what a subsequent generation is going to inherit. (Reyes et al., 2015 p. 257).

The relevant and essential question grounded in this review of the literature for purposes of this proposed study is to focus on the narrative that has been established about the coup d'État and the dictatorship. What has been transmitted through the process of intergenerational dialogue?

In this context, memories transmitted from one generation who experienced the dictatorship to another younger generation who did not experience it in the same way, happen in a new shared space. In that space, old memories are formed and reproduced. Facts and events from the past are re-interpreted and re-signified. It is through the debate, dialogue and intergenerational communication that the memories are reconstructed (Carillo Magna, 2014, p. 8). In this space, the recognition of the other in the dynamics of the intergenerational dialogue, and the diversity of opinions, meanings and interpretations are very important for the reconstruction of the collective memory about what happened in Chile, during and after the coup d'État (Carrillo Magna, 2014, p. 27).

In conclusion, the concept of generation of this proposed study is defined from a socio-historical point of view. That means that the also called "Pinochet-era generation" (Cummings, 2015) is composed by Chileans who lived and were raised during the years of dictatorship, experiencing the pervasive abuse of power, brutal repression, and omnipresent fear

which became embedded in the collective unconscious of many from that generation. This "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) also experienced an interruption and disruption of the intergenerational dialogue with the previous generation, the silences, absence of political and civic education, and a lack of transparency about the transmission of historical past events. Finally, this generation experienced a re-construction of the collective memory and the re-creation of the generational identity, using a transgenerational space, the last years of the dictatorship when democracy's arrival was imminent and after the return of democracy. What impact this had on the generation's approach to engagement and democracy will be the focus of this proposed study.

Transgenerational Trauma: The Dictatorship from One Generation to the Next

This section examines approaches to transgenerational trauma, a concept relevant to study of the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015). The first section reviews the concept of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and its individual and psychological consequences (Barocas & Barocas, 1983; Yehuda et al., 1998) and moves to a broader approach when trauma is transmitted across generations and re-defined as an historical-transgenerational trauma (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Mouhibian, 2016; Fred Alford, 2015). The concept of Cultural Trauma is then reviewed based on the process of empathy that people develop towards the individual or individuals who experienced the trauma (Alexander et al., 2004). Understanding this context illuminates the differences between individual trauma and grief, and when these develop into collective grief and collective loss (Métraux, 2005a; Sanz, 2012). This section concludes with a review of the research on trauma as a result of the experiences the dictatorship in Southern Cone countries and specifically in Chile (Faúndez et al., 2014; Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012) and the stages of fear that the Chilean dictatorship generated and transmitted to the people of the country

(Garretón 1992; Corradi et al.,1992) from one generation to the next. It is important to understand the nature of the trauma experienced by the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) in order to understand its impact as a context for the lives of the participants in this proposed study.

From PTSD to Historical Trauma and Cultural Trauma

Transgenerational trauma has been studied for decades (Barocas & Barocas, 1983; Yehuda et al., 1998). Studies initially focused on the children of Holocaust survivors who showed different symptoms of stress associated with the experiences that their parents had lived throughout World War II. At that time, the discussion centered on the the long-lasting effects of the Holocaust on the offspring of survivors. Barocas and Barocas (1983) observed depression, anxiety and misbehavior in those children. Yehuda et al. (1998) interviewed parents and children to understand how the trauma suffered by the survivors influenced their children, and specifically sought to find the similarities and differences between the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) that each generation experienced. This diagnosis of PTSD, defined in 1980 (American Psychiatric Association, 1980) requires that "the person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others" (Fred Alford, 2015, p. 264). Events mostly associated with PTSD were rape, child abuse, combat experience, physical attack and/or being threatened with a weapon (Evans-Campbell, 2008). For a number of decades PTSD was the way to approach the consequences of a trauma suffered by an individual, and the way to overcome this situation was through an individual psychotherapy.

Over time it became apparent that PTSD only addressed some symptoms related to traumatic experiences and primarily at the individual level, and a broader approach began to

emerge. Researchers sought a more expansive understanding of trauma that was more holistic and that incorporated the long-term, multiple, sustained and complex effects and their consequences on the individual, and at the level of family and community. From this, emerged the concept of historical trauma and the idea that traumas could be transmitted across generations. From that moment this model began to be applied to understand traumatic processes such as the Armenian Genocide (Mouhibian, 2016), the internment suffered by the Japanese Americans (Arai, 2012), and also for those communities where the trauma has been permanent as the case of Native Americans (Evans-Campbell, 2008).

Historical trauma. Historical trauma is "a collective complex trauma inflicted on a group of people who share a specific group identity or affiliation—ethnicity, nationality, political and religious affiliation. It is the legacy of numerous traumatic events a community experiences over generations and encompasses the psychological and social responses to such events" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 320). Thus, traumas generated by dictatorships, genocides, and war are considered historical traumas that have psychosocial consequences on the affected generation as well as future generations and they continue to have "clear impacts on contemporary individual and familial health, mental health, and identity" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 321).

Historical trauma is also a transgenerational trauma because the transmission of trauma (ITT) takes place when "the effects of trauma do not remain frozen in the past" and could affect an entire generation such that the "children and grandchildren of trauma survivors are often exposed to explicit and implicit traumatic sequelae" (Mouhibian, 2016, p. 16). Thus, for instance, in the case of the Holocaust, "historical trauma means trauma that affects a large group of people at a certain point in history, massive trauma that destroys not only millions of victims, but leaves its survivors with an experience which is difficult to convey" (Fred Alford, 2015, p.

264). These horrific experiences are transmitted via formal and informal ways and means such as books, photographs, videos, family histories, the media, community leaders and teachers and so forth. According to Evans-Campbell (2008) historical trauma has three components:

(1) The traumatic event is widespread as it affects many people;

(2) The events produce higher levels of collective grief, pain and distress;

(3) Outsiders with destructive and disruptive intentions produce these events.

In addition, a transgenerational historical trauma can have consequences on three interdependent but different levels, the individual, the family and the community. The first consequence could "fall within the context of individual mental and physical health and may include symptoms of PTSD and guilt, anxiety, grief, and depressive symptomatology" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 322). The second consequence is related to conflicts within the family and the way that the members of the family communicate amongst themselves, which can lead to chronic dysfunction behaviors such as alcoholism and drug addiction. Finally, the third consequence of a historical trauma is associated to the damage to cultural values as community well-being (p. 22).

In addition to PTSD and Historical-Transgenerational Trauma approaches, a third more recent approach has emerged, Cultural Trauma, which is based on the concept of empathy towards the victims who experienced the original trauma (Alexander et al., 2004) such that, "When members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 1).

Cultural trauma. Cultural Trauma is experienced when a trauma generates empathy in people who have not been direct victims of the aggression but they share the victims' pain as if they were direct victims. "It is by constructing cultural traumas that social groups, national societies, and sometimes even entire civilizations not only cognitively identify the existence and source of human suffering but 'take on board' some significant responsibility for it" (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 1).

This approach considers that a societal disruption suffered in basic institutions such as education, government and the economic system is not necessarily sufficient to generate a trauma. However, any societal disruption can become a cultural trauma when and if the entire collective is affected by the crisis. Cultural trauma is defined by four characteristics (Alexander et al., 2004). The first is the *nature of the pain*, which is related to what exactly happened to a particular group, set of individuals or society as a whole. It is defined by the event or events which are objective undeniable fact(s). The second is the *nature of the victim*, those directly affected by the pain. The essential issue here is whether or not the event(s) affected the whole society or just a particular group, which helps predict in some ways the impact of those events. The third aspect is the *relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience.* This is related to the extent to which members of the whole community have a common identity with the affected group. "Typically, at the beginning of the trauma process, most audience members see little if any relation between themselves and the victimized group. Only if the victims are represented in terms of valued qualities shared by the larger collective identity will the audience be able to symbolically participate in the experience of the originating trauma" (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 14).

Finally, the fourth element is the *attribution of responsibility*, which is associated with the identity of the perpetrator who caused the trauma. Generally speaking, "this is a matter of symbolic and social construction" (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 15). For instance, in the case of the Chilean coup d'État, it is relevant to know whether it was domestic right-wing parties who toppled the democratically elected government of Allende or if it was foreign forces such as the US Central Intelligence Agency. Knowing this is important because it impacts who the survivors blame for the trauma. In essence, who perpetrated the harm.

Drawing on these four elements, a dominant narrative is created in which trauma can be discussed in arenas such as religion, the arts, law, media and state bureaucracy (Alexander et al., 2004). All of these have a role to play in the societal construction of the trauma. As an example, in the Chilean government, two Truth and Reconciliation Commissions were created in order to recognize the suffering perpetrated by the military regime. This type of process made palpable that the cultural trauma existed far beyond individuals who were supporters of Allende's government and, in turn, it showed that the country's democratic tradition of open debate among different political positions had been catastrophically ruptured for many years.

Such cultural trauma can generate a sense of moral responsibility towards the group, collective or society which had been affected. Individuals could be agents of their moral responsibility taking concrete political actions and engaging actively in civic life. It is also possible that others choose to ignore the suffering of the victims and thus are not confronted with a moral dilemma that leads them to assume any social responsibility. It will be the focus of this proposed study to explore the multiple ways that this sense of moral responsibility has played out in the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015).

The degree to which and different ways in which individuals experience the historical and cultural trauma can impact their sense of agency. Historical and Cultural trauma are both based in a societal context, one in which the collective—all members of the society across generations—has been affected. For Métraux (2004) the analysis of the context of events must be expanded to explore the relationship between individual trauma and collective trauma. At the outset, Métraux (2004) distinguishes between trauma and grief. While both are psychological processes caused by a loss, there are differences between the two. When analyzing the consequences of genocides, wars, and dictatorships, he asserts that "although in these cases the resulting trauma is undeniable, it dissimulates loss, that of a sense of self, and of the world, crushed by unspeakable experiences" (Métraux, 2005b). From his view, grief can invoke creativity while trauma always has a destructive impact and the traumatic image "never stops" (Métraux, 2005a, p. 114). This is because traumatic events return to the individual time and time again with the same images that caused the pain, whereas the loss is always remembered in different ways over time with new feelings. This is important because people can either become stronger and empowered or conversely more fearful and indifferent, and this affects their sense of agency.

Even if trauma and grief can be integrated over time, Métraux (2005a) suggests that there are three main differences that are crucial: they have different *sensorial experiences*; they have *opposite mnemonic mechanisms* and they have a *different narrative identity*. The *sensorial experience* of trauma means individuals experience feelings/sensations that are impossible to absorb because people can only take in what is happening when they are in a contemplative state. If those feelings are frozen the individual is incapable to react (Métraux, 2004, p. 40). After experiencing the trauma which "produces both irretrievable memories of unspeakable facts and

the repetitive resurgence of traumatic events, known as flashbacks" (Métraux, 2005a, p. 115), individuals manifest the desire to forget the images that continuously haunt them. When a loss of this nature occurs, there is an absence of sensory stimuli, a feeling of emptiness that what was there before no longer exists.

Concerning *opposite mnemonic mechanisms*, memory reacts differently in the face of loss and trauma. In the first case (loss), the object is remembered while in the second case (trauma) to relive the experience is painful and complicated (Sanz, 2012, p. 47). This is important because it suggests that through remembering a loss people can construct a narrative about what, when and how things happened, illuminating and understanding of the phenomena. In this regard, the *narrative identity* is also differently experienced for grief and trauma because narrative always has a temporal and figurative dimension which is not found in both processes. Sanz (2012) states that these do not exist in trauma, since events are remembered as if they happen for the first time over and over again. In other words, trauma victims only relive the event describing its horror in concrete terms. Conversely in grief, people can tell their story with narrative continuity, generally rich in metaphors, with an elaborated language, giving meaning to the unique narrative. "By creating memories, grief links past to present and allows past experiences to be used as bricks to construct the future. This is undoubtedly essential during periods of social reconstruction" (Métraux, 2005b, p. 115).

It is relevant to connect these important distinctions with the lives of those in the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015). Loss can be associated, for example with the disappearance of a loved one, an object or even a dream or an ideal to which the individual has committed. Grief is the psychological process that comes after that loss. Human beings are exposed throughout their lives to many losses, large and small. In this sense it is possible to

differentiate between two types of grief following the loss. Some types have a relationship with external losses to the subject (a loved one, an object), called *deuils de toi* (grief or mourning for you (an other) and those that refer to the death of a part of one's self, *deuils de soi* (self-grief) (Sanz, 2012, p. 52). In the first type "mourning or grief of you," loss is exterior to the self, and even when the outside world changes the interior of oneself remains stable. In the second type, self-grief, the loss occurs within the individual. That previous individual disappear although the references of the outside world remain.

The essential question for this proposed study is what happens if a significant number of individuals, a generation, experience the same loss? Is there something known as collective grief? According to Métraux (2005a), collective grief is not simply the sum total of individual losses, "even though the emotions might be more or less similar among all group members, it does not necessarily imply a collective process" (p. 48). In order to rise to the level of collective grief, that community must have lost something significant in common. For instance, in a context of a dictatorship, a man who "is disappeared" constitutes an individual loss for a woman searching for him and she experiences a personal grief, but "the collective loss concerns the absence of remains, of corpses, which is shared by all these women and even is the meaning of their organization" (Métraux, 2005a, p. 48). Métraux is referring here to "*La Asociación Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*" (The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo), the Argentine organization of mothers and grandmothers whose children, husbands and family members disappeared during that country's military dictatorship (1976-1983). The organization is so named because it has marched silently in protest every Thursday in front of the La Casa Rosada (Argentina's executive mansion and Office of the President) since 1977. Only a community, notes Métraux (2005a),

"defined by a presence of a collective self and shared meaning, may experience a collective loss."

What happens when the collective self and a collective meaning are lost as the result of a coup d'État? How are memories and collective identity recovered by subsequent generations? According to Métraux (2005a) "A current community never is the mere copy of the past and future communities, as meanings die, change and flourish, as each community has a memory of its past articulated by collective narratives" (p. 119). For instance, when a coup d'État occurs, people are forced to live in the present because it is not possible to plan for the future. They suffer a *frozen grief.* According to Métraux, in this Stage Zero, "individuals are bound by this collective imperative: they do not have the freedom to choose to do things their own way, or even work through their grief before the whole community begins such processes" (Métraux, 2005b, p. 117).

After this frozen stage, communities move into a denial phase. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions' originating documents, demonstrated the intention to overcome the denial stage and moving forward to an opening stage with recognition that the past losses were irreversible but no longer deniable. The community has to accept the truth about past events that will never be fully known. If this truth is not recognized then a community could remain in a stage of permanent denial, unable "to restore the lost collective self" (Métraux, 2005b, p. 120).

In the case of Chile, for example, this means it was not only necessary to bring to justice human rights violators but also, as part of the strategy for reconciliation, those perpetrators had to demonstrate genuine contrition for their actions. Forgiveness requires both recognition of the acts as well as the perpetrators' recognition of their role in perpetrating those actions

(Harizmendi, 2014). Perpetrators need to show some acceptance of moral responsibility in the face of the historic facts. This is the way to move forward. A society cannot look to the future if people remain tied to an unrecovered past.

When a society does not move through its traumatic past in this way sits in denial, a "fossilized grief of meaning that will impregnate society" (Métraux, 2005b, p. 120). For example, if a partial collective self is constructed that only includes the disappeared persons and their immediate families, it will exclude the dictatorship's survivors, the tortured and exiled. It will also exclude those who were fortunate enough not to lose anyone during those brutal years. This partial recreation will produce new divisions that will tear the social fabric (Métraux, 2005b, p. 121).

In Chile, this divisive process had been reinforced by actions of the state. On one hand, former President Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010; 2014-2018) pursued a commitment to the truth of those years when she was in office and overturned the Amnesty Decree Law (2014) which had protected perpetrators. On the other hand, current President Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014; 2018-present), has chosen to release from prison and parole former National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) and National Information Centre (CNI) agents who had been sentenced for their crimes during the dictatorship.

Only when a society manages to fully accept the truth and the irreversibility of its past can it move through the next phase, the stage of great sadness, where it feels guilt and sorrow for what happened. This is a natural reaction to the loss. Finally, after moving through the stage of depression, a society can enter "the memory stage, and the community creates a new collective meaning adjusted to its new self" (Métraux, 2005b, p. 122).

The death of a loved one can cause suffering for days, months, years, but not knowing what happened to a loved one who disappeared destroys a person's entire life trying to understand what happened and where one's loved ones are. The members of the Chilean military have a pact of silence and this has ruptured Chile's social fabric, and despite what appears to be a reconciled country, it is unable to move forward. In the words of Carmen Frei, former Senator and daughter of the former President Eduardo Frei Montalba, who had been murdered by Pinochet henchmen, " No me puedo sentir en convivencia con gente que no quiere reconocer lo que pasó" (I cannot live in coexistence with people who choose not to recognize what happened).

It is crucial that Chilean society, especially those who have supported the dictatorship admit that happened in Chile was not only that the military took power and brought order to society, but rather, it was political genocide (politicide) because Pinochet tried to wipe out an important part of the population just because they had a political affiliation and thoughts contrary to his. Chile could heal and have a new beginning as society but only by acknowledging the truth about what happened and reflect on the impact of those experiences across generations.

Chile: The Trauma and The Recovery

As discussed earlier in the chapter, state terrorism was used as a method to intimidate and control the Chilean population during the brutal years of the Pinochet dictatorship. It generates omnipresent pervasive collective fear among country's citizens. Research into this theme has focused on the micro-level individual experience (Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012; Cornejo et al., 2008; Cornejo et al., 2013; Faúndez & Goecke, 2015) as well as the macro-level consequences in the social and cultural sphere (Corradi et al.,1992; Alexander et al., 2004). Psycho-sociological approach's narrative and personal histories illuminate how individuals experienced the dictatorship first hand and what happened in their lives and the lives of those around them.

This approach helps to understand how life stories are recreated by those trying to make sense for their own processes, which while different from is also part of a collective sense-making (Cornejo et al., 2013). According to Volkan (2001), "While each individual in a traumatized large group has his or her own unique identity and personal reaction to trauma, all members share the mental representations of the tragedies that have befallen the group" (p. 9).

In this regards, research on Chile regarding the intergenerational trauma has identified three categories (Cornejo et al., 2013). The first is related to the memories, both individual and collective, and how they have been formed and reformed over time. The second concerns the trauma suffered by people, many of whom were part of the Chilean National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture in 2003-2004, and who had the job of listening and recording the oral testimonies of political victims of the Chilean dictatorship. The third area is related to intergenerational trauma experiences among people who are related to those who were victims of human rights violations, such as opposition activists who were subjected to extensive harassment in order to annihilate their personhood (Cornejo et al., 2013, p. 272).

In this latter category, Faúndez et al. (2014) found that the grandchildren of Chilean political prisoners experienced their grandparents' trauma of torture, exile and detention through silences and evasion when the topic arose, as the grandparents' approach to shielding the future generations from further danger. Some of the most traumatic experiences have never been communicated to subsequent generations and have remained locked away in survivors' memories. Without access to the information, the children and grandchildren are unable to mourn or resolve the trauma, as discussed previously.

How subsequent generations live out that trauma is, of course, at the core of this proposed research. Ulriksen de Viñar (2012) studied how terror was imprinted upon the psyche

of victims of violence in South American countries during dictatorships and the transmission of this to the next generation. The author noted that "very few are able to put into words and convey the experience of having suffered or even worse of having participated in a shameful or degrading act" (Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012, p. 97). Ulriksen de Viñar also added that when people do decide to share humiliating and degrading experiences such as torture, they often encounter blanks in their memories, which makes the process very painful (Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012, p. 97). It is a kind of phantom. It is "an unspeakable secret of the patient, such as an experience or a memory that, because of its extremely painful quality, has been buried in the individual's psyche" (Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012, p. 98). However, these phantoms are often communicated through silences, signs, words, and behaviors, even while not being able to construct an explicit narrative about what happened in the past (Ulriksen de Viñar, 2012, p. 100). "This places a model of unconscious emotional fears and cognitively distorting mechanisms of psychological defense between the external shattering event and the actor's internal traumatic response" (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 5). In essence, when people survive such terror, they can be so scared that they repress the experience of trauma itself and they pass that terror on to the future through silences, spaces and stories.

According to Castillo, Becker, and Díaz (1992) the actions of the military regime not only sought to dismantle social organizations and disappear anyone who opposed the regime, but also sought to generate fear among the population in general. If, based on the research noted above, many of those in Chile today would have inherited this historical trauma, a collective unconscious fear, then an important question for this proposed research is what is the impact of that trauma and pervasive fear, and how has it ultimately affected current generations' participation in Chile's democracy.

Several authors have researched the transmission of fear that permeated countries during military regimes during the 1970s and 1980s in countries such as Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil. This was “the creation and implementation of terror” that caused “unprecedented levels of personal insecurity among citizens” (Corradi et al., 1992, p. 2). Lerner (1992) argues that in South America, diversity of thought and open political expression were perceived as a danger, synonymous with chaos and disorder. The dictatorships used and manipulate fear to squelch dissent and silence democratic debate.

Indeed, during dictatorship both victims and victimizers experience fear; the former called the loser’s fear, associated with a feeling of powerlessness and failure; the latter, winner’s fear, the sense of an ephemeral victory that could change with time (Garretón, 1992, pp. 13-14). Specifically, in the case of Chile, Garretón (1992, p. 17) identifies four phases of the Pinochet dictatorship.

During the first phase, the *Reign of Terror,* supporters of Allende's government were considered enemies to be eradicated. Fear and distrust are rampant. The winner’s fear propels them to demonstrate how powerful, justified and effective are their tools of repressions. Conversely, the losers develop a “terror of death and loss of physical integrity; they feared disappearance and torture” (p. 18).

Pinochet declared all who did not support the coup as “subversivos” (subversives), and enemies of the State. The stretch reached all citizens, not only those who were militantly opposed, but to the larger Chilean society who were not members of opposition organizations. The justification, to impose a new socio and economic order (Veto, 2011) used terror, fake news, and a full scale assault in their war against communism. As an example, seven days after the coup, *El Mercurio*, the right-wing journal published ran a fabricated story about a “ Plan Z,” that

members of the former Allende government were going to murder generals and their families and lead an Allende coup d'État.

Next came the phase of *Impotence and Sublimation.* Violence as well as a new social and economic order were formalized and institutionalized. Prior reforms were turned. Distrust was rampant. Loser's fear (meaning the opposition's fear) increased in this phase due to the uncertainty about the future. The military patrolled the streets, curfews and states of emergency were considered normal events. As Feitlowitz (2011) argues, the military redefined the concept of war as a permanent state of military vigilance, "The war could not be located-temporally, spatially, or materially. Its crowning triumph could not be measured. This was indeed a very new form of battle. People were disappearing, but aside from that, life was normal. Adults went to work, children went to school, families took vacations". (p. 37). Pinochet continued with his slogan "Vamos bien, mañana mejor" (We are good and tomorrow we'll be better). Garretón characterized this period as "the era of the schizophrenic society: the miracle and euphoria, the underground and the fear" (Garretón, 1992).

During the third phase, "*Hope and Uncertainty*," the military regime tried to survive but the cracks in its power were beginning. A perception began to emerge: the regime is weak and opposition began to feel stronger (loser's fear begin to decrease). Marches, protests and strikes brought feelings of hope about future changes. In the face of this, the military tried to assert its strength with brutal repression. But hope was beginning to replace fear. Finally at the last phase, "*Regressions, Residues and Exorcisms,"* the primary focus was the military's exit. The winner's fear had become the loser's fear as those in command claimed their innocence and immunity.

Despite the 1991 return of democracy, “We are faced with an unknown,” wrote Garretón. “We do not know how much of the fear created by the military regimes will haunt individuals and stain collective memory” (Garretón, 1992, p. 24). What is the legacy that has been transmitted across the generations affected by the Pinochet dictatorship between 1973 and 1990? Furthermore, what is the legacy being transmitted to the replacement generation?

It is important to recognize that under the military regime, people survived under tremendous odds and demonstrated extraordinary resilience. “The struggle to gain civil liberties, to marshal resources for self defense in a situation where the judiciary was essentially nonfunctional, to denounce crimes, and to mobilize against torture, disappearances, and the repressive apparatus in general, in an attempt to impose limits on state power, was nothing less than an effort to overcome or confront the known fear of danger or threat” (Garretón, 1992, p. 23). Given this, is it possible to find a sense of socio-political responsibility that can be associated as a corollary to have grown up living through this dictatorship? What happened with their sense of agency and sense of democracy? These are some questions which are at the core of this literature review.

Defining Sense of Agency

The concept of agency has been approached in the scholarly literature from a wide range of perspectives and disciplines, from political science to psychology among others (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Bandura 1986; Bandura 1999; Cummings, 2015; Delli Carpini, 2000; Haggard & Tsakiris, 2009; Watts et al., 2003; Somma, 2012). For the purpose of this proposed study, a “sense of agency” will be primarily considered from the lens of Socio-Cognitive Learning Theory (Bandura, 1986) and Socio-Political Development Theory (SDP) (Watts et al., 2003). The section then examines how a sense of agency is related to the concepts of civic

engagement, political participation and social responsibility. Finally, the section concludes with a review of research specific to the political and civic engagement in Chile, after the return of democracy. Understanding agency and civic engagement are essential for the purposes of this proposed study given its intent to illuminate the impact of the "Pinochet-era" generation's lived experience of the trauma of the dictatorship on their sense of empowerment and social action.

Sense of Agency

One of the very early definition of agency comes from the social cognitive learning theory developed by Bandura (1986) that " To be an agent is to intentionally make things happen by one's own actions" (p. 1). Such agency refers to the capacity of each human being to be aware of "when and whether they are, themselves, in control"(Metcalfe & Greene, 2007, p. 184) . Individuals are agents that can proactively make that things happen because they have a sense of agency, a sense of empowerment, a sense of control to ensure that they can make things happen rather than letting things go by without any deliberate action. This latter is relevant because to have a sense of agency is an extremely important condition to pursuit effectivity in political actions and consequently changes in the community or society and is essential lifeblood for vibrant democratic citizenship.

"Self-efficacy" as developed by Bandura (1986) helps to explain how individuals hold a belief that they can pursue a task successfully and links with ways in which individuals make an assessment of predicting the consequences of actions they take. In other words, human beings have a mechanism that allows them to anticipate the consequences of their actions. The outcome can serve as motivator in the exercise of their sense of agency. "What people think, believe, and feel affects how they behave" (Bandura, 1986, p. 25). If people have a high sense of self-efficacy it is more likely that they will take on challenging task, conversely if individuals have a low

sense of their self-efficacy, they are more likely to fail in their actions. “In self-motivation through goals aspirations, it is partly on the basis of efficacy beliefs that people choose what goal challenges to undertake, how much effort to invest in the endeavor, and how long to persevere in the face of difficulties” (Bandura, 1999, p. 28). An individual who has self-efficacy knows him/herself and believes they are capable of taking action to a successful conclusion.

In addition to that, Bandura (2001) explains that “Personal agency operates within a broad network of social structural influences. In these agentic transactions, people are producers as well as products of social systems” (p. 24). It is important to consider the external influences in the internal psychological elements of an individual to understand the human behavior. “The self is socially constituted but, by exercising self-influence, human agency operates generatively and proactively on social systems, not just reactively” (p. 24).

Thus, having a sense of agency is part of an individual’s process in seeking to make social changes in a community or a country. It is “a combination of self acceptance and self confidence, social and political understanding, and the ability to play an assertive role in controlling resources and decisions in one’s community” (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p. 726). Implicit in this definition is the notion of empowerment, which is the personal conviction that one has to carry out effective action. This latter implies “ a perception of personal control, proactive approach to life, and a critical understanding of the social environment” (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 581).

Understanding how individuals manage their self-efficacy beliefs clarifies, on one hand, how people intend to achieve social changes and, on the other hand, it also shows people's interest in terms of their civic engagement and social responsibility towards society, which is the main interest of this proposed study. “Social reformers believe that collective effort will bring

social change. Although their beliefs usually go unrealized, they sustain reform efforts that achieve lesser, but important, gains" (Bandura, 1986, p. 9). This is where an individual's belief in their ability connects with engaging in action.

From the perspective of Socio-Political Development (SPD) theory, as individuals begin to understand cultural and political forces in society they develop a "*critical consciousness*" (Watts et al., 2003). This consciousness is related to a "process of growth in a person's knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and capacity for action in political and social systems" (Watts et al., p.185). The capacity of action is central in Socio-Political Development (SPD) as is the willingness to act in order to do away with the oppression caused by unequal distribution of power and ideological and/ or physical violence and to end an "unjust use of power by one socially salient group over another" (Watts et al., p. 186).

The Socio-Political Development (SPD) process has five stages (Watts et al., p. 186):

(1) The A-Critical stage, characterized by lack of awareness about inequalities, oppression and differences in the society;

(2) The Adaptive stage, in which individuals become aware of inequalities but they accommodate to that situation;

(3) The Pre-Critical stage, in which individuals start to feel empowered with a sense of agency to act and feel that they can change the inequalities;

(4) The Critical stage, in which individuals develop emotions such as discontent, indignation, empathy about the inequities, and it is those emotions which become drivers to act. At that stage, they feel that the sense of agency coupled with an urgency to make the changes for the welfare of the community and, finally

(5) The Liberation stage, in which people engage in specific social action and political

participation such as marches, protest, strikes, and so forth.

The willingness to act implies that individuals feel psychologically empowered to make things happen. This willingness is " a construct that links individual strengths and competencies, natural helping systems, and proactive behaviors to matters of social policy and social change" (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p.726). In other words, it is necessary to be psychologically empowered to develop a sense of agency. "Self and political efficacy, perceived competence, locus of control and desire for control appear logically related to the broader construct of empowerment" (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988, p. 726).

Thus, to develop a sociopolitical sense of agency can be associated with an specific political behavior which can, in turn, be influenced by individual's sense of social responsibility, which has developed over time. According to the Socio-Political Development theory, social responsibility could merge with the fourth or critical stage of political participation into the fifth stage or liberation stage.

Civic engagement happens when social responsibility and political participation come together, defined as "The willingness of an individual to actively take on the role of being a citizen, being concerned about the welfare of others, not only at a personal level but also at societal levels" (Lenzi et al., 2014). Civic engagement is the manifestation of "attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, and skills" to help society to be a better place for all.

From this lens, social responsibility is the "attitudinal component of civic engagement" (Lenzi et al., 2014, p. 253) and is associated with personal feelings that individual has towards the larger community, an assumption that everyone has a role to fill that allows them to contribute towards the welfare of the whole. "This value orientation, which is based on empathy with others, transcends self-interest and links one's well being and fate with those of fellow

human beings. Thus, social responsibility refers to obligations for our common good or shared self-interest with fellow citizens and human beings" (Flanagan & Christens, 2011, p. 4).

Engaging in individual or collective action in order to produce changes through political behaviors can take many forms such as voting, signing a petition, organizing groups, attending meeting, protesting, participating in community education, working on political campaigns, and so forth. In this perspective, political participation and social responsibility come together in an individual's manifestation of civic engagement emphasizing values of social care and social justice.

This forming and merging of one's beliefs and engagement has its roots often in the family unit and the socialization process, transmitted mostly by parents, where young people at an early age acquire lasting political orientations, beliefs and values. Parental discourse, behaviors and actions influence the young adult political participation (Beck & Jennings, 1982, p. 106). "In families where parents endorse a system of beliefs emphasizing the importance of contributing to the common good and encourage their children to be actively involved in the life of the community; indeed, it is plausible that in those families young people have more opportunities to reflect on their values (e.g., by discussing civic values with parents)" (Lenzi et al., 2014, p. 255). Ideas change over time through the exposure to new visions and opinions. Children and young people observe their parents' behavior and listening to their parents' conversations about their values and beliefs (Bandura, 1986). It is nothing new to confirm that parents are significant role models for children and adolescents.

Taking into account that political contexts were formally and informally restricted and prohibited by the military regime, it is interesting to discover which elements related to civic responsibility were transmitted within families during the dictatorship.

Flanagan and Christens (2011) found that young people are more likely to engage in civic issues if they have participated during adolescence in political discussions with parents, peers and adults. This latter can produce young people who can and will take a political stand because it is during those critical years when political orientations are formed (Schuman & Corning, 2012, p. 24). "Socio-Political Development is as a cumulative effect of many transactions over time that increase sociopolitical understanding (insight and ideology) and the capacity for effective action (liberation behavior)" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 192).
"Early life experiences are generally considered to form the basis for political attitudes (e.g., political values and identity), political engagement (e.g., political interest and political efficacy), and ultimately political behaviors (e.g., conventional and unconventional forms of political participation)" (Neundorf & Smets, 2017, p.1).

Thus, the presenting question for this proposed research is what does it mean for a generation when those parental behaviors are constricted by political situations and when those family conversations are silenced by unspoken fears? One has to wonder what the impact on children's sense of efficacy, responsibility and engagement will be.

This brings us to those young people who were raised during the Chilean dictatorship. What do we know about the attitudes, interests and types of political participation that emerged as expressions formed during the specific context of omnipresent fear and brutal repression? In what ways is socialization different from those who lived in the safety of democratic societies? In addition to living under a regime of repression and constant fear, Chileans were incessantly exposed to a political discourse that served the dictatorship by demeaning politicians and debasing political expression, hoping to generate a rejection of democratic expression among the population.

Moreover, the political socialization process during democracy can be considered relatively stable over time compared to what happens in a context of a dictatorship. In a democracy, the socialization process is compared to a "finite bookshelf that holds our political values, identities, and behavior" and continuously is filling with new material such as conversations, experiences, observations until the bookshelf gets full. In there, individuals find many answers to many situations (Neundorf & Smets, 2017, p. 5). During dictatorships political conversations and political expressions are suppressed. The relevant questions are then, how civic engagement has been stocked on that bookshelf? What is in that library that conditions or influences "Pinochet-era" generation's sense of agency?

According to Jennings (1989):

> Young adulthood is the time of identity formation. It is at this age that political history can have a critical impact on a cohort's political make-up in a direct, experiential fashion…. The political significance of the crystallization process lies in the content of that which is crystallizing, the social, political, and historical materials that are being worked over and experienced by the young during these formative years. For it is this content that colors the cohort. If the color differs appreciably from that attached to past cohorts, we have the making of a political Generation (p. 347).

In this regard Schuman and Corning (2012) suggest that experiences of critical events that occur during later childhood, adolescence as well as early adulthood can contribute to generation-defining memories. In this way members of the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) differ in their socialization with respect to other generations and it shows a very definite sense of agency exercising their right to vote in large numbers to get rid of the vestiges of the dictatorship (Cummings, 2015).

Enduring generational experiences also affect the civic engagement of members of a cohort. “The idea behind the life-cycle or age approach is that people’s patterns of political behavior change as they age, and that the relationship between age and political behavior is curvilinear: people are most active in middle life and least active in the earliest and latest stages of the life cycle” (Neundorf & Smets, 2017, p. 10). In general scenarios, young people have a low attachment to civic life because they are occupied with events that are not associated – at least in their minds – to specific civic behaviors, such as education, mobility, psychological transformation, etc. During adulthood, close to middle age, people have the opportunity to participate in different scenarios where political participation can be motivated and promoted by various reasons such as income taxes, mortgages, health insurance, etc. Finally, older people become less independent and less engaged in social life, thus their participation rates decline (Neundorf & Smets, 2017).

In this way members of the “Pinochet-era” generation (Cummings, 2015) differ in their socialization with respect to other “classic/normal” generations and showed a very definite sense of agency in exercising their right to vote in large numbers to get rid of the dictatorship. Incredibly, there was a 91% of participation of young people in the plebiscite in 1988 (Cummings, 2015). Is there a sense of agency including socio-political responsibility and political participation (Stage 3 and 4 of SPD) that can be associated as a consequence to have grown and living during dictatorship?

Indeed, to have self-efficacy and to exert one’s sense of responsibility for others after the return to democracy was not an easy process. Self-efficacy and social responsibility “vanishes in the terror and horror of its crushing and destruction" (Brackelaire et al., p. 384). The responsibility as a social being is also defined in relation to the role that one has in

front of others “Apportioning responsibilities, as a function of respective duties with respect to others” (Brackelaire et al., 2017, p. 385).

A number of scholars have examined the political participation of Chileans who voted for the No and Yes plebiscite in 1988 (Neundorf & Smets 2017; Toro, 2008b). As discussed earlier, this election was a milestone in Chile’s history and in the restoration of its democratic traditions. Despite the fact that Pinochet had tried to permanently depoliticize Chilean society, when the population finally had its opportunity to engage in 1988 historic election, approximately 91% of those between 18-29 years voted. Most identified in the left and center-left wing (Toro, 2008a; Beyer, Fontaine, & Paúl, 1990). It is noted that high-stakes elections tend to attract more voters than elections in which the outcome is a foregone conclusion. This mobilization effect is strongest for young voters, however researchers have also showed that, “Those coming of age in a highly polarized political context are less likely to vote in later life” (Neundorf & Smets, 2017, p. 9). This seems to be the case in Chile.

After the return to democracy, political participation by young people decreased as well as their explicit political identification. Political participation decreased from 91% in 1988 to 55% in 1993, reflecting similar levels of participation observed before the coup d’État, and finally, to only 24% in 2005, showing the lowest participation in Chile’s history. The decline in voting might be due to a lack of identification with social reforms; lack of knowledge of political processes; disinterest in politics and finally mistrust in political and government institutions (Toro, 2008a).

In addition, it is possible that the unimaginable terror of political, civic, emotional, and psychological tensions of 17 years lived in dictatorship were fading and the problems of the

current were not as terrible as those previously experience. In this regard, both Stage 1 and Stage 2 of the Socio-Political Development (SPD) suggest the lack of awareness of inequalities and social injustices identified with the Adaptive Stage (Stage 2) could help us understand response to those social issues at that time.

It is also possible that young people were experiencing a sense of civic alienation, since their own life projects were not aligned with the existing political ideas. Toro (2008b) argues that the decline does not represent a detachment from the democratic system itself. Rather, young people had a different understanding of democracy than that of the political elite. This makes sense to me, taking into account that after the return of democracy the Chile new administration was built around an elite-centered form of politics focused on consensus-building and negotiation. I addition to that, the new government was formed by former politicians and the young leaders who fought against the military regime were not considered in the new democracy. "Key leaders of the student movement of the 1980s found themselves boxed out of the new political scene" (Cummings, 2015, p. 60).

It is only in recent years since the 2005 election and during the years of President Michelle Bachelet, that it is possible to see a slight shift in political generations and also in their social demands. "Average incomes increased, poverty rates decreased, and the number of positive reviews of Chile democratic institutions rose. Despite this progress, massive student-led protest waves in 2006 and 2011 demonstrated high levels of subjective discontent in Chile" (Cummings, 2015, p. 49). This discontent was fueled by inequalities linked to the access to education even while the country was showing positive economic indexes. "School segregation, high tuition rates, and the unequal distribution of Chile's wealth held capabilities below expectations. The result was discontent" (Cummings, 2015, p. 61). In addition, as a progressive

candidate, President Michelle Bachelet had raised the expectation about social reforms and significant social changes as campaign promises.

Furthermore, these young people were fearless in their dissent. They seem to lack fear of a future possible destabilizing force that would rupture Chile's democracy. They have demonstrated high civic engagement as well as social responsibility and political participation never seen before. After all, they were the first generation born in democracy. Between 2005 and 2007, nearly 800,000 students participated in massive mobilizations and between 2010 and 2011, this number raised close to a million of high school students and university students (Somma, 2012). "They became a collective identity that united students and motivated them to take protest action" (Cummings, 2015, p. 64).

If this generation is analyzed according to Bandura (1986) terms this "fearless generation" developed a high level of Self-efficacy belief. Likewise, according to the Socio-Political Development (Watts et al., 2003), it is an empowered generation because "Being born into democracy was used as a justification for not being fearful and for fighting for democratic values" (Cummings, 2015, p. 67). This was the reason to take action and to have a developed sense of agency. But what of those who grew up in the dictatorship, the focus of this proposed study. How did they and do they engage?

Conclusions of Chapter II

In conclusion, this chapter has presented a portrait of Chile from the socio-political and economic point of view about the changes the country experienced in the past. This provided the necessary context to understand the conditions Chileans experienced during the presidential election in 1973, the coup d'État, and 17 years of military rule.

The concept of generation was then examined, concluding that a generation's identity is formed based on common shared experience within a specific socio-historical period. As a consequence of having shared and lived common experiences, the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) was defined, which included young people who lived and grew up during Chilean dictatorship, who experienced—using the transgenerational space—a re-construction and re-creation of a generational identity.

The transmission of trauma and how it could affect generations was then addressed reviewing the relevance of concepts such as PTSD as well as Historical and Cultural Trauma. The chapter examined transgenerational recreation, including fear and silence.

Finally the concept of agency was addressed through the lens of Socio-Political Development theory (SDP) as well as well as self-efficacy.

This review, constructed as it has been, has laid the groundwork to explore the sense of agency and social responsibility as well as political participation among the "Pinochet-era" generation (Cummings, 2015) as it leads in today's Chilean democracy.

Chapter III: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is divided in three main sections: First, the purpose of the study and the main research question that guided the investigation are described. Secondly, the research design is addressed including method of research, sample selection, and criteria of inclusion and then, the third section describes the research procedure, data collection technique, and interviewing process as well as the coding, interpreting, analyzing, and reporting. The chapter concludes with a section on researcher bias as well as the limitations of the study and ethical issues.

Purpose of the Study and Research Question

In this study, I explored the impact of the "Pinochet-era" generation's lived experience of the trauma of the dictatorship on their sense of agency and social action. In this regard it was interesting to listen to them, to gather their stories and experiences during their whole childhood and adolescence capturing not only their feelings and emotions about that time but also their actions then and nowadays. That is why the central research question addressed was: how do individuals who grew up during the Chilean dictatorship reflect on their sense of agency in their country's current democracy? What was of specific interest was to explore if living through this experience had implications for an individual's sense of agency, specifically in an individual's civic engagement, sense of social responsibility, and political participation in his/her country's current democracy.

As discussed previously, sense of agency is defined as the sense of control over an individual's proper actions and their consequences. It could be defined as "a person's ability to control their actions and, through them, events in the external world" (Haggard & Tsakiris, 2009). For this study the sense of agency is linked to an individual's civic engagement which is

defined as “the manifestation of attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, and skills” (Lenzi et al., 2014, p. 253) that individuals have or develop to generate a social change. In this regards, civic engagement is composed of two main elements: the individual’s sense of social responsibility and his/her political participation. The first concept, sense of social responsibility, corresponds to an individual’s feelings of personal contribution to the welfare of a community or society, and it is characterized by a moral obligation towards that community. The second concept, political participation, is related to activities or actions that seek to affect political and civic life. These actions could include but not be limited to signing a petition, voting in elections, participating in political campaigns, participating in marches, donating money to a cause, joining a political party or interest group, occupying a building (school, university, hospital, etc.), or taking part in a protest action.

To uncover how an individual’s sense of agency was impacted it was necessary to utilize a methodology that allowed data-gathering processes without predetermined assumptions so that personal testimonies could emerge unconstrained.

Research Design

Being asked to recall experiences from the brutal Pinochet dictatorship was difficult. Likewise, understanding how individuals managed their agency during and after the brutal years of the dictatorship in the world was a complex task. However, with the appropriate methodological approach, it was possible to understand how the Pinochet dictatorship affected these individuals’ sense of agency and their civic commitment, which were both essential parts of the research question.

Consequently, the study used interviews within a narrative approach, focusing on an extended period of time. “The aim of narrative interviews is to elicit interviewees reconstructed

accounts of connection between events and contexts" (Bryman, 2012, p. 584). In this regard the study used a qualitative descriptive narrative research method because it best suited the research question. This narrative technique provides the story of the events experienced by individuals during a specific period of time. Through the exploration of what happened during that period of time coupled with an understanding of the participant's inner world, the individual's sense of agency, civic engagement, and social responsibility were illuminated.

The method. The narrative inquiry is a type of research which derives its name from the Latin word *narrare*, that means to report, to tell a story. This type of research can use narrative interviews among others techniques to collect data. Through the narrative interview, the researcher sets out to elicit stories and obtain relevant information about an individual's life events in a determined context and specific period of time, which helps to give shape to the phenomena being studied in which the individual was immersed. (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Likewise "people select certain events when recounting their lives, thus leaving aside a great deal of information and avoiding contentious matters while making other aspects salient. Story coherence involves selecting and connecting events" (Frei, 2015).

As a research technique the narrative interview has three characteristics, which were relevant for this study (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000):

(1) Detailed Texture: As narrative interviews have to be understood by the audience, in general the storyteller provides many details in order to have a more fluid comprehension of the story;

(2) Relevance Fixation: The storyteller selects only events that are relevant for him/ her;

(3) Closing of the Gestalt: The main narrative events that are selected by the participant, have to have a beginning, a middle and an end to make the story flow.

Relatedly, in a narrative interview individuals "recall what has happened, put experience into sequence, find possible explanations for it, and play with the chain of events that shape individual and social life" (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p.2). The stories told are immersed in a specific time and context. "Events under study are in temporal transition" (Clandinin, 2006, p. 479) and are considered within an "inseparability of contexts, temporal factors, and physical and psychological phenomena" (Altman & Rogoff, 1987, p. 9). In this regard, events are taken as "holistic entities," composed of aspects rather than separate parts of elements (Gibson, 1979).

Narrative interviews were the most appropriate technique for this study because they allowed an opportunity for individuals to reflect on their socio-political understanding through the stages of dictatorship and democracy in Chile. It invited them to tell their own version of the events they experienced in a specific period of time and socio-historical context. Through the exploration of what happened they had the opportunity to deepen their understanding of the etiology and form of their civic engagement and the influence that dictatorship has had on their actions.

In this context, this study intended to uncover how the experience of growing up and living through the Chilean dictatorship affected individual's sense of agency, which was informed by a process of remembering and narrating past events. These events, these past experiences were framed in temporal boundaries with a before and after in a socio-historical context, creating the storyteller's narrative. Each one of these processes constituted an holistic unit of analysis (Altman & Rogoff, 1987). "Social actions occur in the context of prior actions and have implications for future actions, the understanding of events require attention to dynamic and emergent processes that are not wholly predictable from separate knowledge of the setting or its participants" (p. 28) Hence, memorable experiences as a unit of analysis were explored (Watts

et. al., 2003). “The structure of a narration is similar to the structure of orientation for action: a context is given; the events are sequential and end at a particular point; the narration includes a kind of evaluation of the outcome. Situation, goal setting, planning, and evaluation of outcomes are constituents of human goal-directed actions” (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Telling the story allowed for reflection and recreation and also the recalled events made meaning in that context.

From the Socio-Political Development (SPD) lens interviewees can choose to share meaningful events that contributed to their socio political development (Watts et al., 2003). In that way it is the participant who creates meaning during the interview rather than the interviewer. The researcher places him or herself in a second level of interpretation, interpreting a narrator’s production, which in turn is an interpretation of the narrator’s own lifetime in his or her own temporality and context (Cornejo et al., 2008).

For the purpose of this research, three historical markers constitute moments of life experience of those belonging to “Pinochet-era” generation: the coup d’État; the Chilean Dictatorship from 1973 until the plebiscite in 1988 finishing with the first democratic elections in 1989 and the reestablishment of democracy in 1990; and the democratic period from 1990 to today. These moments have been discussed previously in Chapter II and are not recounted here. What is important here is to recognize that the interviews and the analysis utilized those three periods as significant markers.

Participants. The study interviewed 15 middle-class Chilean women and men born between 1965 and 1972, meaning they lived their childhood years and part of their adolescence during the Chilean dictatorship. Participants’ age range corresponded to the individuals being between one to eight years old when the coup happened and not beyond being 20-25 years old

when Chile reestablished democracy in 1990. As discussed in Chapter II, these people are also defined as the "Pinochet-era" generation.

The sample did not intend to provide a broad representation of the Chilean population. Rather, in terms of selection, the study participants were not part of the political-military elite nor the Chilean aristocracy, nor have belonged for a long time to socio-political organizations, such as those in defense of human rights. In short, the study sought out participants who were not explicitly engaged in any form of political activism because those individuals would already be showing a high level of civic engagement through their active political participation. Participants were not direct victims of the dictatorship themselves or had relatives who experienced extreme political violence, persecution and/or the loss of family or close friends. Finally, participants remained in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship and did not leave the country because of economic or political exile.

There were two main justifications for the approach to the sample selection: (a) In terms of the age range, according to scholars (Reyes et al., 2015) the influence of socio-political events are better remembered and exert major and more long-lasting influence on people when they occurred during childhood and adolescence; (b) A number of studies have already been done in Chile with people who have been direct victims of human rights violations or are relatives of those who were (Faúndez & Goecke, 2015, Cornejo et al., 2013) thus this selection brought light on a different population and contributed new understandings to the research landscape.

Sample selection. Consequently, the initial participants were selected by the purposeful sampling method:

- I identified six individuals known to me who fit the inclusion criteria. Through email contact I introduced myself and the study and I requested that they consider participation.

At this time, they replied via email if they were interested in learning more about the study and potentially participating (see Appendix A/A-1). I responded to those interested in a more detailed email description of what they might expect if they decided to participate. I also offered different times for us to meet in person in Chile and/or videoconference, or teleconference. The informed consent was attached to the email so they had an opportunity to review it prior to agreeing to meet and speak with me (see Appendix B/B-1).

- The remainder of participants were selected using the snowballing technique. They were identified by inviting first participants to reach out to individuals whom they know who might also be interested in participating in the study. I provided an email that described the study that participants used to contact other potential volunteers (see Appendix D/D-1).

Data collection technique. Interviewing is a very well-established research technique in the social sciences. Different kinds of interview approaches but they all have in common one central aspect: they elicit information from the interviewee to questions posted by the interviewer. I used narrative interviews based on a narrative inquiry, and each interview began with participants being asked to tell their stories about specific moments (identified previously) in their lives.

Consequently, the narrative that emerged was a story that the individual told about a period of time in their lives. In this story a sequence of events were selected by them in a specific order. This selection was made taking into account those events that were relevant for the purpose of their story and to making a point about certain actions, moments or situations that occurred. Consequently narrated events were there not because of causality,

meaning that one event caused the other, these narrated events were configured in a plot line of the interviewee's choosing, which gave meaning to the story that she/he narrated and in this way, participants reflected on past experiences related to different moments of their lives (Polletta, Pang Ching, Gharrity, & Motes, 2011). This is how individuals reflected about their lives in the past, where events, contexts and relevance recreated a story with a plot and a personal sense that may or may not be shared collectively.

Interviewing process. Participants reflected on their past experiences related to three specific historical periods from the coup to the present day. This exploration also examined reflections on the impact of having lived those three historic moments on an individual's sense of agency and social responsibility, how they positioned themselves in a democratic society, and the roles they played as a citizen.

Each interview lasted between one to two hours. My first question was to describe any recollections they have of September 11, 1973. What they remembered about that day, where they were and what they did, what they felt and so forth. This elicited interviewees' reconstructed accounts of connections between events and between events and contexts (Bryman, 2012, p. 584). Participants were asked to similarly share moments in their lives during the dictatorship, plebiscite of 1988, elections in 1989-1990, and then their socio-political participation from the reestablish of democracy in 1990 until present.

In order to clarify this latter point, meaning an individual's social and civic participation in democracy and how their experience of having lived during those four socio-political points in time of the Chilean history may or may not have influenced current attitudes and behaviors, I explored for instance how participants engaged in political life in current democracy, how they manifested their civic engagement and social responsibility as citizen and how they identified or

not with recent calls for justice linked to crimes against humanity committed during the dictatorship as well as their participation in current movement for gender equality, young voting participation and public, a quality education, among others.

It was also relevant to explore interviewees' feelings and reflections about their sense of the strength of Chile's democracy and whether they had concerns about its future.

> The narratives combine life stories and the socio-historical contexts. While the narratives reveal individual experiences and may shed light on the identities of individuals and the images they have of themselves, they are also constitutive of specific socio-historical phenomena in which biographies are rooted (Muylaert, Sarubbi Jr., Gallo, Neto, & Reis, 2014, p. 187).

As the interviews evolved, I was deepen the proves seeking clarification regarding certain moments in history associated with specific emotions such as fear, distrust or empowerment in order to confirm or not the influence of those events in individual's sense of agency and civic engagement in current democracy.

In-the-field interviews. I traveled to Chile (April 22-30, 2019) and contacted potential participants to conduct face-to-face interviews following the protocol discussed earlier in the Chapter. I conducted six face-to-face in-depth interviews while in Santiago, Chile, in April 2019. The remaining interviewees of the purposeful sample were identified by inviting participants to reach out to individuals they knew, family members, friends, colleagues whom they believed might be interested in participating in the study and meet the criteria for inclusion. I followed the protocol previously discussed. If and when potential volunteers contacted me, I sent them an email with the Informed Consent as well as convenient times to have Skype or phone interviews.

I conducted the remaining nine interviews upon my return from Chile and through June and July 2019.

The identical questions were asked whether during the face-to-face interviews as well as those conducted via Skype. During the face-to-face interviews I used audio recording. The video or teleconferencing interviews were recorded via telephone line and audio recording. No video recording existed from the Skype interviews. All interviews were conducted in Spanish. All interviews were approximately one to two hours.

During the interview process I took limited notes and after finishing I wrote additional notes for myself concerning the most relevant part of the interview. I transcribed all interviews in Spanish word-for-word indicating hesitations, idiomatic expressions, as well as silences or pauses as interviewees told their stories. I obtained approximately 23 hours of transcribed audio. I listened to the audio recordings of the voices of the participants multiple times and this was one of the main advantages to transcribing the interviews myself. I retained an intimacy with the data, and began identifying key themes by noticing differences and similarities among participants. Once transcribed in Spanish, I sent interviewees the full textual transcription of their interview and asked them to review the transcription. At that time, each participant had the opportunity to clarify, change, add or remove content from the transcript. I gave them two weeks for any changes. Half of the participants answered me given their explicit approval of their interviews; if participants did not communicate back with any changes, I took that as an acceptance of the transcribed text. I then changed all interviewees' names and replaced them with a naming protocol known only to me as the researcher.

Analysis of the Data: Interpreting Narrative Interviews

The goal of the study was to understand the impact of the dictatorship upon an individual's sense of agency and civic engagement and their democratic participation once democracy was reestablished in Chile. In this regard since the study sought to understand the effects of certain historical events and milestones on the civic commitment of "Pinochet-era" generation it was appropriate to use a thematic analysis to uncover the type of experiences and emotional tenor voiced by individuals. During the narrative analysis phase, I focused my attention on how people make sense of what happened because "stories are nearly always told with a purpose in mind" (Bryan, 2012, p. 582).

According to Ryan and Bernard (2003), a thematic analysis results in themes across all stories being identified through the use of categorical coding by the researcher. In this case, it was constructed by codes which were identified in transcripts and that supplied a conceptual and emotional description of patterns of the data.

I read the interviews multiple times to allow me to make sense of the data and I looked for themes focusing on the following characteristics (Ryan & Bernard, 2003):

- Repetitions, meaning topics that repeated over and over, which represented importance;
- Metaphors and metonymy, which were representations of interviewees' thoughts;
- Similarities and differences, meaning how some topics were discussed from several points of view that were similar or different among interviewees; and,
- Linguistics connectors, such as words like "because" or "since" indicating most of the time causal links in interviewees' minds.

I did three types of analysis using a mix of inductive and deductive analysis techniques as follows.

First phase of analysis: Deductive coding used to establish SPD. For the first part of the analysis, I chose deductive coding and I assigned directly those codes to the narrative and examined the ways in which the memories of 15 participants' recollections aligned with the five stages of Socio-Political Development Theory (Watts et al., 2003). Prior to reading the transcriptions, I assigned a number and a color for each of the five stages of the Socio-Political Development, in order to facilitate the analysis and also to make codes visually identifiable for each interview to assist in the analysis. The five stages were identified as follows: (1) Code SPD1 and color yellow to The A-Critical Stage; (2) Code SPD2 and color blue to The Adaptive Stage; (3) Code SPD3 and color green to The Pre-Critical Stage; (4) Code SPD4 and color violet to The Critical Stage and finally (5) Code SPD5 and color grey to The Liberation Stage. I went through each transcribed interview line-by-line selecting relevant excerpts and I assigned each of them a code and a color depending on the associated SPD stage represented. For this analysis I also looked at narrative sequences to discover and particularly to think about the sequential or linear order of the occurrence of stages. In that sense I looked for what participants did, how often they did some actions, and if they did before or after an specific event or milestone.

Next, I created an Excel spreadsheet structured by three research historical periods:

(1) The Chilean coup on September 11, 1973, and the days immediately thereafter;

(2) The Chilean Dictatorship from 1973 to the plebiscite on October 5, 1988, to the Democratic Elections in 1989; and

(3) The Reestablishment of Democracy in 1990 to the present.

I distributed the identified excerpts already classified- by color and code- to each period. At the end of this analysis I had a large visual Excel spreadsheet that allowed me to clearly observe which expressions of Socio-Political Stages (SPD) populated each of the three historical periods, eventually noting in the analysis whether they appeared once or coexisted and whether they appeared in sequential order or more random.

To ensure *confirmability* in the coding process for this section, seven interviews in total were analyzed and in part coded by a bilingual co-coder—Spanish, English—and compared for discrepancies. The peer bilingual co-coder was trained by Dr. Elizabeth Holloway, a member of the committee. The co-coder was a current doctoral student in the PhD in Leadership & Change Program, a native Spanish speaker, who was also studying narrative method.

Based on Drs. Alexandre' and Holloway's determination, the process was as follows:

(1) The first complete interview was coded in its entirety by both the researcher and the bilingual co-coder. Our notes were compared, discrepancies noted and discussed;

(2) After reviewing criteria and discrepancies, the coding of excerpts of the next three interviews were made by both and again a revision process was conducted when discrepancies emerged;

(3) Three final interviews were coded only by the researcher and the co-coder reviewed them and confirmed the coding to complete the process.

Second phase of analysis: Inductive coding for emergent themes. For the second part of the analysis, I used an inductive coding identifying an initial list of meaningful topics that emerged from the data after carefully reading each of the interviews multiple times and following recommendations indicated by Ryan and Bernard (2003). I identified themes from the respondents' stories of life.

Once I had my emergent themes identified I returned to the interviews and re-evaluated the transcripts affirm that the most predominant feelings and actions were captured. Then the complete set of themes were placed into categories of feelings (such as sadness, disappointment, fear) and/or actions (such as hiding, marching, voting) were then categorized within the three historical research periods. It was important to make an analysis by historical periods, because as one can observe later in Chapter IV where the results are exposed, some periods were characterized mostly by actions—social and political—and some others by images, sounds and feelings.

To facilitate this illumination by period, I created an Excel spreadsheet which allowed me to organize these recurrent topics in order of frequency and intensity mentioned, meaning, how often participants expressed the emotions or actions. This latter helped me later to point out which ones were the most relevant topics for participants -feelings and actions- per historical period. Next excerpts that represented their actions and feelings were selected for each of these topics.

Third phase of analysis: Descriptive deductive analysis. My third phase of analysis conducted in this research study focused on how members of the "Pinochet-era" generation reflected on how the dictatorship affected their commitment and civic participation in Chile's current democracy. Participants were asked this specific question directly at the close of each interview. For this analysis I gathered participants' recollections of the personal consequences of having lived in a dictatorship and how this has manifested in their current civic and social engagement. I read each interview multiple times and collected the responses to the respective questions. The data was placed on an Excel spreadsheet with similar responses placed in categories and counted. This analysis indicated the relationships among Socio-Political

Development Stages and individuals' sense of agency and civic engagement during the periods they lived.

The Challenge of Doing Cross-Language Research

Given that language influences what can be expressed and that "social reality as experienced is unique to one's own language" (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010, p. 314), a qualitative cross-language research study has a double challenge because firstly not only the researcher has to interpret from how the world is told and experienced by participants in their original language but also the researcher has to translate this interpretation to be understood by the target audience (Santos, Black, & Sandelowski, 2015). Because of that, it was relevant to articulate the bilingual process incorporated into this design and to handle their different stages from the data collection and in-field interviews to the analysis, selection of quotes, translation of them including the colloquial phrases, jargon, idiomatic expressions, word clarity, and word meaning used by participants (Oxley, Günhan, Kaniamattan, & Damico, 2017). Data translation is a crucial issue not only in globalized business and management research (Xian, 2008) but I would argue in all international and cross-cultural research. In fact that was a challenge that I overcame and I solved it in the best possible way, making meaning of the information collected and not losing the essence that interviewees illuminated through their narratives.

Santos et al. (2017) states that during this type of research it is crucial to handle specific matters such as the timing of the translation; what to translate and also who is going to verify these translations. All these matters are addressed below.

Timing of translation. As all participants as well as the researcher were native Spanish language speakers, Spanish was the language used for the in-field interviews, the transcription process, coding, and data analysis. This decision was taken to conserve the quality and fidelity of

the collected data. The original and first phase of reviewing the data and excerpting relevant data for all three phases of analysis described above were conducted in Spanish. The translation process was postponed after the data analysis was made. Stories, concepts, themes were first generated in Spanish and then translated into English as were the excerpts that helped to understand and give meaning to the data by the audience (Chen & Boore, 2010).

With the guidance and agreement of members of the Committee,

- The IRB consent form was written in Spanish.
- All interviews were conducted in Spanish, the first language of all interviewees and the researcher. As an Spanish native speaker, I did not have any language barrier between me as the researcher and the participants who all were Spanish native speakers (Squires, 2009). Going even further, the researcher and participants were all Chilean natives, thus their cultural linguistic references and idiomatic expressions were commonly understood.
- All researcher notes made at the time of the interviews and after were written in Spanish.
- All transcriptions in Spanish were sent to the interviewees to secure feedback.
- All complete transcriptions of the entire interviews were written in Spanish.
- The review of the transcripts in the native language of the interviewees was read multiple times and, as a native Spanish-speaking researcher, I identified themes that emerged from the respondents' stories of life during the historical periods, the Socio-Political Development stages, and the recollections of civic engagement. Original Spanish phrases and idiomatic expressions were included.

Thus as Van Nes et al. (2010) state, I did not encounter any difficulty concerning language differences during the data gathering, transcription as well as during the first analyses because the codes reflected the data that I previously gathered. However, it was critical to try and

ensure the highest levels of authenticity and trustworthiness of the data as we moved into the next step, which was the translation. As mentioned previously, the intention to minimize any negative impacts from the cross-language translation led to delaying the translation to English until the latter stage of analysis and in employing a peer bilingual coder.

Translation process: Spanish to English. As it was mentioned above, at some stage it was necessary to shift to English in the analysis and reporting out. That is why it was decided that—at the completion of the coding process—that all themes from Spanish to English were translated as well as the excerpts from the transcripts that illustrated these themes. One of my concerns as a researcher and English-as-a-Second Language speaker was maintaining the meaning of the participants' ideas during the process of translation of themes and excerpts. whether there was confirmation that I had excerpted correctly and drawn themes from the data appropriately. This was done for the phase one part of analysis, which examine the stages of Socio-Political Development and as discussed earlier in this chapter, a trained peer coder reviewed my analysis of the data from seven of the 15 interviews. Thus, the second bilingual coder was able to affirm my initial approach to the coding in the data analysis.

The second level of translator of the words and themselves. In that case some authors recommend to use a "word-for-word" or verbatim translation of the data into the presentation language as a safe path to reassure participant's interviews meaning. I used this method and I tried to take into account the cultural differences in particular in some concepts which could have a different meaning or relevance in English than Spanish (Elderkin-Thompson, Silver, & Waitzkin, 2001; Wong & Poon, 2010). After finishing the process of translation of themes and excerpts from Spanish to English, I needed a second set of translator eyes on my work and to have a professional with the necessary skills to contribute to the validity of the translation and

the accuracy of the concepts, words and meanings. It was also important that this person not only had a good understanding of the participants language, but also knew the cultural connotations associated with the words used by the participants (Oxley et al., 2017). As Chen and Boore (2010) state " It is important that the translator is fluent in both the source language and target language and is knowledgeable about both cultures" (p. 236). Thus, a translation revision procedure Spanish-English was implemented.

The professional translator revision: Spanish-English. All excerpts (in Spanish and English) selected and used for the analysis were read, corrected and the translation approved by the committee chair, Dr. Laurien Alexandre, who is also a professional Spanish-to-English translator and also has a deep knowledge of Latin American history and culture having written and translated several books by Latin American scholars (González-Manet, 1988, 1992) and well as conducted analyses of Spanish-language media (Alexandre & Rehbinder, 2002, 2008). Since the translation process is considered an act of interpretation during the process itself and "when different cultures and language are involved epistemological difficulties in identifying similarities and differences are compounded" (Chen & Boore, 2010, p. 236) successive interchanges of filters and point of view were carried on between both the committee chair and the researcher to reassure this process (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). However because metaphors are different from culture to culture and are very language-specific (Van Nes et al., 2010) in those instances, where a Spanish expression and/or metaphor was not easily translated to English, it appeared in both languages. In fact, the determination was made to include all excerpts selected for presentation in the final dissertation document in both Spanish and English.

Figure 3.1. summarizes the translation procedures developed by the researcher and the timing when the translation revision process from Spanish to English was carried out.

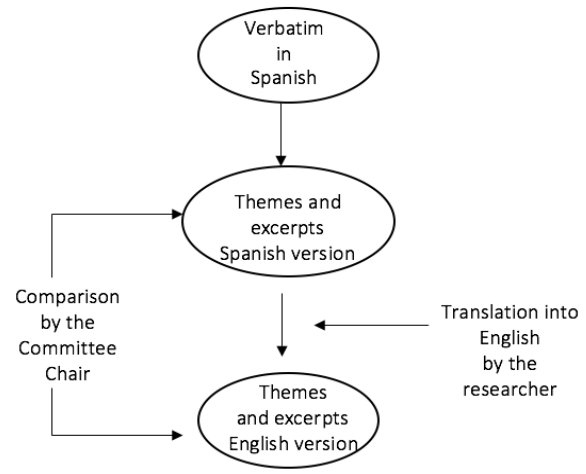

Figure 3.1. The translation procedure developed by the researcher and the professional translator revision.

Researching Sensitive Topics

Conducting research about traumatic events such as living through brutal dictatorships and seeking information about experiences and emotions such as omnipresent fear and surviving loss of loved ones clearly constitutes sensitive topics. Qualitative research that involves sensitive topics contains a number of challenges throughout the research process. These challenges can impact both the researcher and the participants and that is why it is important that they need to be alerted to the possible issues that can emerge during and after the research is done. Some of these challenges are related to the interview process itself such as self-disclosure, reciprocity, emotional safety and conflict roles and others are connected to the consequences after the process is done such as vulnerability and exhaustion (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007). In my research I dealt with four of them as follows:

Self-disclosure. Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) state that disclosure can enhance if there is a even a minimum level of rapport between the researcher and participants. Because I already knew some of the participants and the remainder were friends or colleagues of them, none of participants seemed to show reticence about self-disclosure because they felt distrust being

interviewed by a stranger. In fact, the willingness to disclose was likely heightened because I am a fellow member of the "Pinochet-era" generation and I also offered a trustful and safe space to interact with me.

In order to create as much psychological safety during the interview I also clarified that their shared stories do not mean they are claiming some absolute truth for all; instead the most important was the authenticity to their own experience. In this way I was stressing the importance of an honest self-disclosure, which enhanced the interview showing respect for them and validating participants' stories (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007). I also assured them that I was not there to judge their actions. "The narratives are considered representations and interpretations of the world and therefore, are not open to evidence and cannot be judged as true or false, they express the truth of a point of view in a particular time, space and socio-historical context" (Muylaert et al., 2014, p. 186). These efforts tried to minimize and overcome the possibility of interviewees' fear of sharing their stories as if their stories were not worthy of telling.

Emotional safety. Concerning the emotional safety of the participants, they were assured that they could stop the interview at any time if it turned out to be emotionally overwhelming or painful. Thus participants had the right to refuse to continue with the interview at any time if that happened. Despite that in some cases, questions were met with long silences and stores were shares with tears none of them asked to stop the process. In these cases, I offered my comprehension and my compassion. Moreover, I showed my support and offered to continue with another general topic to come back later to the interview. As one of my advantages was sharing similar experiences, culture, and values with them I tried to offer culturally sensitive emotional support (Leininger, 1977) This caring behavior was characterized by offering

participants compassion, concern, empathy, interest, involvement, sharing, support, and trust from my part and as a result of that all interviews went to their full conclusion.

Conflict roles and addressing researcher bias. One of the most relevant issues of researcher bias might stems from my own positionality as I am one of the "Pinochet-era" generation. I grew up and lived 17 years through the dictatorship. I realize I carry within me memories of fear and repression. This raises the challenges a researcher's positionality as an "insider" by looking at "others" (participants) similar to oneself. As a researcher my own personal experiences shaped this research inquiry, positioned me in the interview process, informed my analyses and enabled my theorizing process.

In terms of the interview process, I believe my condition as being an insider and part of the "Pinochet-era" generation contributed to establishing trust and honesty within the participants and me during the interview. As a researcher I think the shared positioning enabled the interviews at the level of depth that was required to both share stories and understand the feelings experienced during all these years. Some of their stories had in fact never been shared previously nevertheless as Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) states "when a research participant feels that they are in a safe place, they may feel more inclined to share some aspects of their lives that they may not have shared previously" (p. 338).

In terms of data analysis and theorizing, a researcher needs to develop "theoretical sensibility" (Glasser & Strauss, 1967) in order to avoid partial ideas that could generate erroneous conclusions. I tried to be as reflexive and self-aware as possible during the process. I had to be ready to face participants feelings as well as my own feelings, some previously held quite deep inside. As Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) state "when qualitative researchers interact with research participants on a personal level, there is a possibility that the boundaries between

the researcher and the research participant can become blurred" (p. 336). That is why in some moments during the interview, I shared part of my history with them and we established an emotional bond, as participants had something in common with my own history and we had lived similar experiences during the dictatorship. However, that helped enormously to get truthful and honest information. Being classmates, friends, or friends of my friends, they trusted me during the interview process and they felt safe, as a number of participants told me at the end. They were very intense and relevant moments taking into account that it was the best kept secret for years and for some of them it was the first time they shared their history with someone outside their orbit of their family life.

As far as I was conscious about my role conflict and research bias most of the time, I tried to keep my own experience apart to try to avoid unduly influencing neither the interview process nor the ulterior data analysis. This required me to listen very carefully to the interviewees' stories and to be very conscientious about not layering my memories on top of theirs.

Researcher vulnerability. As it is stated by Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) be in charge of a qualitative research can have a deep impact in the researcher's life because not only they can think about their own vulnerability and their own internal process but also they can understand deep feelings about themselves they did not know until then.

In fact during and after the interview process I developed deep feelings of empathy, sadness and compassion towards participants which were also drivers to develop a caring behavior toward them during the interview process (Leininger, 1977). I also turned inward to understand my own secrets and sadness. After the interview process ended, I looked for some peer support such as family and friends to debrief my feelings and emotions. The literature points

out that these sources can constitute an informal and valuable support network, however it is important to arrange- if the researcher need it as well as the study is prolonged and intensified- a formalized peer support program where researchers who are involved in similar research can participate (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007). As states by Warr (2004), if a researcher does not have the opportunity to debrief he or she can be emotionally affected. Because of that, specific formal research guidelines has to be taken into account if some support is needed. In the case of this specific research the contact information for trauma relief counseling was available for both researcher and participants if they need it (see Appendix E).

There is no question that my own understanding of myself grew tremendously as I learned about and understand the experiences of other members of my generation through the course of this study and those reflections are shared at the conclusion of the document.

Ethical Issues and Considerations

In general terms, this study followed the general standard measure to protect the participants that were part of the investigation. Participants gave their prior consent to be interviewed, signing a form that included all the details about the research, benefits and confidentiality of the interviewees.

In terms of actions taken by participants during the years of the dictatorship there was minimal risk. I reassured them when some emotional episodes prompted tears and silences, telling them that they could stop the interview at any time if it was becoming emotionally overwhelming or painful. At the conclusion of the interview I offered them the contact information for trauma relief counseling that was available in case they need it (see Appendix E).

Beyond the potential for stimulation emotional and psychological reactions that could be addressed as discussed above, the research did not pose real immediate risk for participants'

safety because as the focus was centered — for the most part — in their process of socio-political development from decades ago as well as their civic engagement since Chile reestablish democracy in 1990. In this regard, it was a more descriptive study about an individual's actions as a self-conscious and responsible citizen. Thus, the primary focus on the interview was centered on their actions as citizens of a democratic country.

In order to safeguard their confidentiality, I implemented the following measures:

(1) I personally recorded, transcribed, and analyzed all interviews. In this regard, full confidentiality was ensured because there was no outside transcriptionist or other coders who could hear the audiotapes or read the transcript with their names associated;

(2) Real names and any other identifying information was expunged in the aggregate reporting of narrative themes and aliases used;

(3) They were assured that any information that they do not want to be shared, was not shared in any identifiable way such as names or also participant names people or places. Instead participants' names were replaced with a fictitious name;

(4) They were given the opportunity to review their own transcript and remove any information that they felt would result in identification or discomfort;

(5) All transcripts and audio recordings were kept in a password protected location and separate from the Informed Consent form.

Considering benefits, it is important to point out that here were no direct benefits to participants such as compensation. The benefit was increased personal awareness and reflection about their own civic engagement, political participation as well as social responsibility towards a democratic society. In this regard, the interview was an instance of trust and a safe place to share one's own commitment to the society, and how this has been influenced by their lived

experience of a dictatorship. The benefit was the opportunity to share secrets locked away if they chose to do so. And many did.

Conclusions of Chapter III

This chapter reviewed the purpose of this research and discussed the appropriateness of narrative interviews as a research technique for this study. A qualitative descriptive narrative research method seemed best suited to answer the study's central question because during the narrative interviews, memorable experiences were explored in a specific context. The criteria of participant inclusion was presented as well as the snowballing technique to secure the 15 participants. The chapter presented the interview process as well as the approach to coding and analysis. Discussions of the challenges of conducting cross-language research and the ethical challenges of researching sensitive topics were also discussed. The protocol and forms for communication with participants are included in the dissertation's appendices.

Chapter IV: Research Findings

This chapter provides answers to the main purpose of this research, which was to explore the experience on a particular generation, called "Pinochet-era" generation impacted by 17 years of dictatorship, regarding their sense of democratic agency and civic engagement. Thus, in what ways the experience of growing up and living through one of the cruelest dictatorships of the twentieth century affected their sense of self as citizen and what are the implications for their sense of agency, civic mindedness and their political engagement over the last 30 years in their country's current democracy. These are the primary questions that are explored through examining the recollections shared by 15 Chilean citizens who lived through those years.

This chapter is divided into three section. The first section, Part I, examines the experiences in terms of Socio-Political Theory; the second section, Part II, examines the data for emergent themes found in the participants' memories of the Chilean coup d'État and years of dictatorship, and the feelings and actions related to this study's focus on civic agency and engagement; and the third section, Part III, explores participants' sense of the strength of their country's democracy.

As fully described in Chapter III, the 15 interviews were conducted in Santiago, Chile, or via Skype between April to July 2019. The interviews were fully transcribed by the researcher. Every transcribed interview was read multiple times to allow for sense-making of the data. Each section required slightly different approaches to analyzing the data, as fully described in Chapter III.

The first section, Part I, used direct coding of the narrative and examines the ways in which the recollections of 15 participants' recollections align with the five stages of Socio-Political Development theory (Watts et al., 2003). What will become apparent is at times, one

stage is present; at other times, two or more stages coexist at the same time. It also is apparent that the stages do not always appear in a sequential or linear order.

Next, the second part of the Chapter IV shares memories that emerged from the interviewees. As opposed to capturing recollections as manifestations of a pre-existent theory, such as SPD, this section examines the recollections of the lives torn asunder at each of the specific period of time. During the interviews, it was the interviewee who decided which stories to be shared, what memory most served to express their feelings and experiences. It is in this section that the noises, colors, and images of critical moments are captured and as will be seen, are still in the minds of participants and have remained there over the years. Thus, in this section, the researcher read the interviews multiple times to find categories of feelings and actions that emerged from multiple sources. This emergent coding was then used to return to the interviews and re-evaluate the transcripts to be sure that the most predominant feelings and actions had been captured. These are presented in the section. Here, too, the categories of feelings and actions are presented within the three historical periods defined in Chapter III. What emerged was that some historical periods were heavy with emotions and less action, particularly during the worst years of the dictatorship; others periods were replete with robust actions and civic engagement, particularly towards the end of the dictatorship and when democracy returned.

For the third and final part of this chapter, interviewees were asked specific questions concerning their reflections on how the dictatorship affected their current political commitment and civic participation. Part III, shares participants' recollections of the personal consequences of having lived in a dictatorship and how this has manifested in their current civic and social engagement. As a corollary, the section illuminates how participants view the current state of Chile as democratic country and how they reflect on their own civic and social commitment as

current citizens living in a democratic system, and how they contribute (or not) to building a more just and egalitarian society.

Part I. The Socio-Political Development Theory and Children of the Chilean Coup

As fully discussed in Chapter II, Socio-Political Development Theory (SDP) identifies five significant stages of socio-political development.

(1) The A-Critical Stage during which individuals do not understand what is happening around them, they are not conscious about events and many of real danger. They are unable to understand and articulate that dangers around them. If they feel unsafe they can not put that into words.

(2) The Adaptive Stage during which individuals are aware of injustices, oppression and inequalities. They adapt to the circumstances around them, they get used to it.

(3) The Pre-Critical Stage during which individuals begin to develop critical thinking about what is happening around them and start to develop a sense of awareness and empowerment.

(4) The Critical Stage during which individuals develop empathy towards the social injustices, oppression and inequalities, and emotions and feelings constitute drivers to act against those forces.

(5) The Liberation Stage during which individuals start to participate in actions focused on the goal to end the oppression, social injustice, human rights violations and all kinds of repression present in the society. In this stage, individuals participate in marches, protests, voting, belonging to political parties, among others activities.

Based on the elements that emerged through the analysis of the interviews, Part I illuminates the predominant SPD stage(s) in each of the three historical periods presented in Chapter II:

- The Chilean coup d'État on September 11, 1973, and the days immediately thereafter;
- The Chilean dictatorship from 1973, to the plebiscite on October 5, 1988, to the democratic elections in 1989; and
- The Reestablishment of democracy in 1990 to the present.

Historical period 1: The Chilean coup d'État on September 11, 1973. As shown in Figure 4.1., the dominant SPD stage represented by participants during this historical period was the A-Critical Stage.

	Historical Period of Research
	First Historical Period The Chilean Coup d'État on September 11, 1973
A-Critical Stage	Dominant Stage
Adaptive Stage	
Pre-Critical Stage	
Critical Stage	
Liberation Stage	

Figure 4.1. Socio-Political Development Stages by The First Historical Period of Research

This stage is characterized by a lack of understanding about what is happening within society. People are unaware of the social injustices such as social inequalities or human rights abuses in a society. "Asymmetry is outside of awareness, or the existing social order is thought to reflect real differences in the capabilities of group members" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 188). It is apparent through the interviews that participants did not consciously realize that they were living in a country characterized by a climate of violence or repression. Eight of the 15 interviewees, all of whom were young children on the day of the coup d'État, shared vivid memories of that day,

etched in their memories, but they were unable to recollect that they had any understanding what was going on around them. They had no explanation for the sounds, the sights or the emotions. Concerning the events they experienced, they recalled feeling confused. Most interviewees remember that they did not hear from the adults around them any explanation other than to "keep quiet."

In trying to remember what they felt at the time, interviewees expressed that they remembered feeling bewildered and confused because they could feel the fear and stress of others around them, such as family members, but did not know, in their young minds, why. They shared vivid memories of those fateful days, but the memories are spotty and incoherent. In a child's mind, the events made no sense. As children, the interviewees did not understand the crucial events, the political upheaval, nor the meaning or a military coup. Evidence of presence of the A-Critical stage was abundant from the interviews. Examples were numerous such as: Clara who was five at the time, shared:

> Me quería quedar en la plaza y al final llegamos a la casa. Yo no entendiendo nada, mi mamá y todo el mundo estresado y mi abuela justo estaba en mi casa y estaban todos preocupados por mi abuelo, porque el vivía en frente de La Moneda.
>
> I fought because I wanted to stay at the playground and finally we got back to the house. I wasn't understanding what was going on. My mom and everyone was stressed and my grandma was at my house and they were all worried about my grandfather because he lived in front of La Moneda *[the Presidential Palace]*.

Carlos who was five years old at the time remembered:

> Cuando mi papá se queda sin pega, mi papá no tenía pega, no nos dijeron nunca eso, por lo tanto al principio era qué es esto?, nunca nadie me dijo, esto es un golpe militar. Yo en mis imágenes que yo rescato hacia atrás yo me di cuenta que ese fue el inicio mi primer contacto con algo que podía estar sucediendo en el país, pero que yo no sabí.
>
> When my father got fired, my father didn't have a job. They never told us about that, so from the outset it was like, What's this? Nobody ever told us, this is a coup. I can recall some images from back then and I realized that this was the

> beginning of something that was happening in the country, but I didn't know what it was.

It is reasonable that much confusion and lack of understanding of that historic day is based on the young age of the participants at that time, as they were all between the ages of four to eight years old. They had neither formal knowledge nor past experiences to make sense of the adult world around them. Only four of the 15 interviewees mentioned that their parents or relatives told them what was happening. In the majority of cases, the adults remained silent and provided no explanation. Maria who was also five at time shared:

> Yo sentí mucho pero mucho miedo y nosotros sin saber que estaba pasando porque mis papas a nosotros nos mantuvieron dentro de una burbuja.
>
> I felt a lot, a lot of fear and we didn't know what was happening because my parents kept us in a kind of bubble.

Claudia remembered:

> A nosotros como niños, piensa que yo tenía, tenía cinco años, no se puso en el lenguaje el hecho, y yo creo que eso es parte del trauma yo creo como de no habernos explicado de alguna manera, de no haber por último de metaforizado, no era, nada, era silencio, era la tensión en el ambiente, era así como, como explicarte, llegaron los marcianos ponte tu, llego un monstruo gigante terrible pero no se puede hablar, no se puede hablar, no se habla.
>
> As children, I was only five years old at the time, the events were not put into words and I think this is part of the trauma because they didn't explain it in any sort of way, even to make up a metaphor, nothing. It was silence. There was tension everywhere. How to explain this to you? It was like Martians had arrived, like a big terrible monster but you couldn't talk about it. No one talked about it.

Many of the interviewees commented that they observed intense emotions in the adults around them; only five of the 15 interviewees experienced those feelings as their own. Interviewees recalled for example, seeing their parent cry, as Claudio shared:

> No era un miedo propio sino que era un miedo de la visibilizar las emociones de mi mamá y mi tía, sentía temor porque las veía llorando a ellas no porque me estuviera pasando algo, a mi no me pasó nada, pero si temor por ellas, porque algo pasaba.

> It wasn't my own fear but it was fear at seeing my mom's and my aunt's emotions. I was afraid because I saw them crying not because something was happening to me. Nothing happened to me but I was afraid for them because something was going on.

This palpable sense of fear deepened as the intensity of the moment increased. Interviewees emphasized in their recollections that they were not knowing, not understanding what was happening. They could not explain at their young age why they were hearing gunshots in the streets or why the household felt so tense.

Fernando, who was five years old at the time shared:

> Yo sentía la tensión que estaba pasando y disparos y yo preguntaba qué está pasando y no, no me acuerdo que fue lo que me, me respondieron. Mi papá no estaba.
>
> I could feel the tension and the gunshots and I asked what was happening and no, I do not remember what it was that they told me. My dad wasn't there.

In addition to their age, another factor mentioned by interviewees that led to their lack of understanding what was happening around them has to do with being locked in their houses, kept away from school. They were not able to talk with classmates or friends. This situation lasted for several weeks and families remained at home because of curfew and the imminent danger outside their houses. There was in reality no one to talk with.

Maria remembered:

> Estaba chica pero era super observadora, había un ambiente super enrarecido, nosotros lo pasábamos super bien, porque varios días hubo estado de sitio y después el toque de queda, nosotros nos quedábamos jugando, porque no hubo colegio.
>
> I was a little girl but I was super observant. There was a very strange atmosphere. We were doing ok. There was a curfew, we ended up playing because there was no school.

Based on the participants' recollections, they were at the A-Critical stage on the day of the Chilean coup d'État on September 11, 1973, and the days immediately following. Their memories are characterized as children not being able to make sense of what was happening

around them, in their schools, in their neighborhoods, and with their friends and of course in their country.

Historical period 2: The Chilean Dictatorship: September 11, 1973 to the plebiscite on October 5, 1988. Fifteen long years passed from the day of the coup d'État to the day of the plebiscite. Evidence of four stages from the Socio-Political Development Theory were apparent and commingled during these long and difficult years, based on the memories of the interviewees. Following the dominance of the A-Critical Stage in Phase 1, during these 15 years, one finds examples of the Adaptive Stage, the Pre-Critical Stage, the Critical Stage and the Liberation Stage all present during this 15-years period as it is showed in Fig.4.2.

Stages of Socio-Political Development (SDP)	Historical Period of Research			
	Second Historical Period The Dictatorship (15 Years)			
	The First Years after the Coup	The Beginning of the 1980's	The Years leading up to the Plebiscite in 1988	The Day of the Plebiscite on October 5, 1988.
A-Critical Stage				
Adaptive Stage	Dominant Stage			
Pre-Critical Stage		Dominant Stage		
Critical Stage		Coexist Stage	Coexist Stage	
Liberation Stage			Dominant Stage	Dominant Stage

Figure 4.2. Socio-Political Development Stages by The Second Historical Period of Research

All participants in this study lived their childhood and almost all their adolescence years during these 15 years. As their childhood turned to adolescence, as some normalcy returned to the ordinary activities of everyday life, and as the brutality of the military regime continued day

after day in omnipresent ways, the interviewees began to find their voice, they talked at school and home, they encountered victims of the repression, they heard sentiments of opposition, and as evidenced from their recollections, they themselves began to develop a critical understanding of the reality around them.

Based on the interviews it became apparent that different SPD stages emerged, co-mingled and ebbed and flowed over the course of these 15 years, it made most sense to divide the entire Phase 2 into sub-periods during which different SPD stages were more or less dominant. For purposes of sharing the findings, the sub-periods below are: the first years after the coup; the beginning of the 1980s; the years immediately preceding the 1988 plebiscite; and, the day of the plebiscite, on October 5, 1988. This decision to divide this 15-year period into these four sub-periods was taken after the analysis of the interview results showed that the groupings of interview recollections fell into these categories, likely because participants showed increasing awareness about was happening around them as they grew up and started secondary school and later university.

The first years after the coup: 1973 to the end of the decade. This period is most characterized by the Adaptive Stage, where "Asymmetry may be acknowledged, but the system maintaining it is seen as immutable" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 188). The interviewees were all still pre-adolescents during these years. Based on an analysis of their recollections, it was apparent that they still did not grasp fully nor could not make sense of what was happening around them. They adapted to living in a dictatorship surrounded by soldiers and silence. They accommodated to new realities and followed the rules imposed by the regime to control daily life.

As an example of this, Sara remembered the imposition of new rules at school:

> Después del día del golpe todos los días lunes estábamos obligados a cantar los 4 himnos militares, el himno de carabineros, el himno de los marinos, el himno del

> ejército, y el himno del colegio, entonces había cambiado todo en el colegio y estábamos obligados a cantar todos esos himnos y ya había cambiado todo en el colegio, era todo diferente.
>
> After the coup, every Monday we were forced to sing the four military anthems: the hymn of the Police, the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force, and the school's anthem. Everything had changed at school and we were forced to sing all those military hymns.

Claudia recalled the imposition of new rules at home:

> No había conversaciones de política, no había conversaciones de actualidad, no veíamos las noticias, mi papi no quiso que nosotros tuviéramos tele en muchos años, no para que echaba a perder el cerebro, no servía para nada pero yo creo que también allí hay una cosa como de negación como que no viéramos noticias.
>
> There were no conversations about politics. There were no conversations about current events. We didn't watch the news. My dad didn't want us to have a television for many years. Not because it was useless, a waste of time but I think that there was also something like a denial if we did not see the news.

The fact that the participants recognized the imposition of new rules at home and school and adapted to them as the new normal is indicated of the SPD Adaptive Stage, the stage most in evidence in the interviews during this sub-period.

The 1980s begin. The Pinochet dictatorship had now been in place for six to seven years. Participants were now young teens as the decade began, with most being between 12 to 15 years old and in their recollections they shared that they remembered hearing more information about the dictatorship and the atrocities being committed by the military regime. They remembered that they heard their parents and other adults talking about what was happening always, of course, being very careful with whom and where they talked. Participants also had contact with other relatives such as older siblings and cousins who are already participating in movements of opposition and they became aware of the repression and cases of human rights abuses. All of this was the basis for developing a consciousness regarding violations of civil and human rights, and

the daily oppression of living under a dictatorship. An emerging sense of empowerment to change this situation began to take root.

This sub-period is characterized mostly by the SPD's Pre-Critical Stage of a complacency that "gives way to awareness of and concerns about asymmetry and inequality" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 188). Taking into account that the SPD is " a cumulative and recursive process where future transactions are guided and given meaning by previous ones" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 188), it is possible to witness through the interviews that over a relatively short period of time participants move from one stage to the next, i.e. from the Pre-Critical Stage to the Critical Stage, which is defined as "a desire to learn more about injustice, oppression, and liberation. Through this process, some will conclude that the asymmetry is unjust and social-change efforts are warranted." In the recollections of the participants, they developed feelings of empathy for victims of injustices and also remembered feeling a rage and hate against the military. The more they learned of the injustices, the more they expressed a sense of empowerment, which led to a subsequent SPD stage in the following phase in the majority of interviewees.

Clara expressed evidence of Pre-Critical Stage as expressed by the following:

> Yo recuerdo haber tenido mucho más clara la película, haber leído, empezar a leer mas libros en la línea del pensamiento mas crítico, y más revolucionario, y a escuchar la música, y ya incluso en mi casa se instaló la música de Víctor Jara, y Silvio Rodríguez
>
> I remember the whole picture becoming much clearer, starting to read books based on critical and more revolutionary thoughts, listening to the music, even in my house we used to listen to the music of Victor Jara and Silvio Rodriguez.

By the end of this sub-period, many (11) participants had moved to the Critical Stage. This is exemplified, for example, by Clara's memories, which show clearly how she began to become aware of the inequalities around her:

> Mis hermanos estaban en la universidad y ahí empecé a tener otra información y empecé a ir a las peñas, y empecé a cachar lo que decían en las universidades y empecé a conocer

(…) allí entonces yo tome una postura más de izquierda.

My siblings were in the university and there I started to get other information and I started to go to the gatherings where we'd sing folk songs, and I started to hear what was being said at the universities and I began to understand (…) and from that point on I became more of a leftist.

Maria also recalled her emerging awareness by learning the truth from elders. It was her first signs of the Critical Stage:

Mis primos mayores cuando yo cumplí como 15 años, me contaron la papa, lo que realmente había pasado porque ellos estuvieron ahí el día del 73, estuvieron ahí, y ahí me contaron que habían entrado no se si los pacos o los milicos y se habían llevado algunos cabros que ellos habían arrancado y todos arrancaron.

When I turned 15, my older cousins told me the truth. They told me what had really happened because they were there on that day in 1973. They were there. They told me that the police or the soldiers, I'm not sure, they barged in and grabbed some of the students. My cousins ran, everyone ran.

Through their recollections, participants shared how their awareness continued to grow even in the face of caution and fear. They slowly moved from the Adaptive Stage to the Pre-Critical Stage to the Critical Stage during the years right before the plebiscite in 1988.

The years leading up to the plebiscite in 1988. In the years immediately preceding the October plebiscite, the nation lurched toward a referendum on the dictatorship. Participants' memories of this sub-period showed a growing awareness of what had happened and was continuing to happen in the country. That awareness from the prior stage now moved them to action. Their articulated empathy with the suffering of others motivated them to fight for the restoration of democracy. The Critical Stage now intermingled with SPD's Liberation Stage, when the involvement of people in social actions and community development becomes more frequent. Adaptive behavior, accepting the unacceptable, is no longer acceptable.

As participants shared recollections, it became clear that the critical understanding of the reality of the abuse of power as manifested in the prior sub-period led to efforts to change the

socio-political system. An analysis of the interviewees' recollection shows their emerging sense of social responsibility leading to frequent and tangible political participation. Claudio's memory provides a glimpse of the sense of collective responsibility that had emerged:

> Yo creo que estábamos todos con la consciencia que teníamos que botar a la tiranía, y que era necesario no solamente recuperar la democracia sino que restablecer el orden político nacional en términos de justicia social y que los partidos políticos nuevamente pudieran ser los canalizadores de las justas aspiraciones sociales que habían sido desvinculadas después del golpe.
>
> I believe that we all shared the awareness that we needed to get rid of the tyranny and that it was necessary not only to restore democracy but to reestablish political order in terms of social justice so that once again political parties would be the path for fighting for just social aspirations that had been disregarded after the coup.

Sara's recollection too reflected that moment to speak out:

> El que hablaba lo mataban, el que hablaba, desaparecía pero en el minuto en que Pinochet cede y dice ya ok, hagamos un plebiscito, ahí yo dije este es el minuto, nosotros podemos cambiar la historia de Chile.
>
> Those who spoke out got murdered. Those who spoke out disappeared. But, in that moment when Pinochet gave in and said, 'OK, let's do a referendum,' in that moment there and then, I said 'This is the time. We can change the course of Chile's history."

Fernando shared how he got involved:

> Yo sentía que tenía que estar, ese era mi compromiso con la lucha contra la dictadura salir a protestar, que era la lucha callejera, del pueblo, de lo que todos querían que terminara la dictadura.
>
> I felt that I had to be present, that was my commitment to the fight against the dictatorship, to go out to protest, to fight in the streets, for the people, for what everyone wanted, the end of dictatorship.

Every one of the 15 interviewees recalled getting involved in political and civic action, from demonstrations (13); to joining a political party (6); to attending political meetings (5); to becoming a member of students federations (4); and, to participating in "tomas," meaning, occupying schools (3). One of the most important acts of engagement was to register to vote for the hoped for referendum.

Marcela recalled:

> Cuando llamaron a inscribirse para votar yo creo que fui la primera que fui, agarre a mi hermana y dije ya vamos y nos fuimos a inscribir (…) porque yo dije bueno tenemos que hacer valer nuestra opinión, tanto tiempo sin poder decir nada y bueno ahora hay que hacer valer la opinión.
>
> When the call to register to vote came, I think I was one of the first to do it. I grabbed my sister and said, 'We are going.' And we went and registered (…) because I said ok we have make our opinions mean something. We had gone so long without being able to say anything and like okay, now we have to stand up for our opinions.

Javier shared:

> Lo mío era botar al Pinocho y tener una sociedad sin susto una sociedad democrática (…) lo mío era recuperar la democracia, no era construir el socialismo.
>
> For me it was about getting Pinochet out and having a society without fear, a democratic society (...) For me it was about reestablishing democracy. It wasn't about building socialism.

The above quotes are but a few of the examples of participants' recollections of the emergence of their sense of social responsibility towards society. This emerged the fourth or Critical Stage of political participation into the fifth stage of Liberation Stage. The recollections of civic engagement reflected by the participants happens when they assumed responsibility towards their country and they manifested this responsibility through active political participation despite the risks.

October 5, 1988, the day of the plebiscite. This day, so full of emotion and celebration, is without any doubt characterized as the precedent by the Liberation Stage. The Stage, as defined by a liberation behavior where people have a proactive and concrete approach to express their discontent to political repression or any kind of social discriminations. All but one of the 15 participants, who was a minor, voted on that day. A few (3) were political party delegate monitoring the entire voting process to insure there was no fraud and helped count the ballots at the end of the day.

Javier recalled:

> Fue un día glorioso, glorioso, totalmente glorioso, increíble, inesperado (…) parecía una tarea imposible, parecía que no se iba a reconocer, parecía que no lo iban a permitir, parecía que iba a haber fraude, que lo iba a reprimir, parecía que la gente, la gente se iba a asustar y al final del día se iba a dar vuelta la chaqueta de susto, todo eso parecía.
>
> It was a glorious day, glorious, totally glorious, incredible, more than one could have hoped for. It had seemed an impossible, that it wasn't going to be recognized, that it wasn't going to be allowed, that there would be fraud, that it would be repressed, that people were going to be scared and that, in the end, they were going to turn and run. But no, that didn't happen.

Maria shared:

> Había mucha fila porque mucha gente quería votar … fue un voto histórico, bueno voté que No, la gente tenía mucho miedo de ver a los milicos ahí guardando todo, se notaba el miedo, se notaba el miedo de ver a los milicos.
>
> There was a long line because a lot of people wanted to vote … It was a historic vote. I voted *No*, people were very afraid to see soldiers guarding everything. You could feel the fear, the fear of seeing soldiers.

Luna shared:

> Yo participe estuve en una mesa, tuve que militar en un partido para poder ser apoderado de mesa.
>
> I participated I was at a table. I had to be a party activist to be able to serve at the table.

As discussed in Chapter II, the *No* vote carried the day. It was "No" to the dictatorship and mainly to Pinochet and all the cruelty that he represented. The country now moved to national democratic elections and the participants in this study had moved over the course of 15 years, from children to adolescents and from the A-Critical Stage to the Liberation Stage. Thus a critical consciousness developed through the course of the years of this sub-period that was crucial to motivate the widespread sociopolitical action that led to the reestablishment of democracy.

Historical period 3: Living in democracy. From the elections in 1989 to the present.

The fateful two years: The 1989 elections and reestablishment of democracy in 1990.

As described in Chapter II, after the plebiscite's "No" option won, the path forward to the democratic elections in 1989 and the reestablishment of democracy in 1990 was drawn. As visualized in Fig. 4.3. the dominant SPD stage represented by participants during the two first years of this historical period (1989-1990) is mainly characterized by a Liberation stage followed by the emergence of an Adaptive stage again. Once individuals develop a critical consciousness about social injustices, as discussed by SPD Theory, emotional and psychological factors influence civic and political behavior empowering a sense of agency which is necessary to motivate effective political action (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). In trying to understand then the return to an Adaptive stage, utilizing the concepts of Socio-Political Development Theory, participants expressed disappointment and frustration after the return of democracy because their expectations had not been met. The big change, the efforts focused on the plebiscite and removing the dictatorship from power, had passed; disappointment in the failure to establish and robust democracy based on social and economic equality took over. The recollections of interviewees show this trajectory from the Liberation Stage to the Adaptive Stage.

Stages of Socio-Political Development (SDP)	Historical Period of Research
	Third Historical Period Two first years: The elections in 1989 and reestablishment of democracy in 1990
A-Critical Stage	
Adaptive Stage	Coexist Stage
Pre-Critical Stage	
Critical Stage	
Liberation Stage	Dominant Stage

Figure 4.3. Socio-Political Development Stages by The Two First Years of the Third Historical Period of Research

Four of the 15 interviewees worked on the campaign of Patricio Aylwin, who was Chile's first president after Pinochet. Half of the participants indicated they voted for him. However, after the election and the first measures of a new democratic order, six of the participants shared their memories of feeling frustration and disillusionment, and acceptance. In their recollections, 14 participants shared the ways they adapted to the new situation, which was characterized by a pervasive lack of justice, especially in terms of the failure to bring those responsible for the dictatorship to trial. Soon after assuming office, Aylwin declared that justice would be done to the degree possible ("en la medida de lo posible"). It was only going to go so far. And it only did. Those who committed the atrocities were not charged, brought to trial or sentenced for their crimes until decades later.

As discussed in Chapter II, the outgoing dictatorship of Pinochet negotiated with the incoming democratically elected government for the transition. As part of that, the military escaped judgment. The neoliberal economic model established by Pinochet was maintained as was the 1980 Constitution [Note: A replacement to the 1980 Constitution was only possible after an agreement was signed to replace it after protest took place in Chile from October 18, 2019, onwards, at the writing of this dissertation].

The journey from glorious Liberation to disillusioned Adaptation is evidenced in many of the participants' recollections. As examples of this transition of SPD stages, Amanda shared:

> Ahora va a cambiar, van a ser las cosas mejores, no, van a tomar presos a gente que tienen que tomar presos. Va a haber juicios, entonces no pasó nada. Al contrario, entonces, fue super distante, fue frustración. Yo creo, yo y un montón de gente debió haber sentido lo mismo (...) de alguna forma estaba siempre la mano oscura dentro de la dictadura, influenciando. Porque además Pinochet estaba vivo, yo creo que mas emocionante fue cuando Pinochet estuvo preso. Yo creo que eso fue, yo creo que ese hito fue para nosotros más importante. No había justicia, no había justicia (...) yo esperaba justicia primera cosa (...)
>
> Now it's going to change. Things are going to be better. They are going to put in jail all those who should be prisoners. There are going to be trials. But nothing happened. On the contrary, it was super frustrating. I believe that I and a lot of people felt the same way. Somehow the dictatorship's dark hand was still influencing things. Pinochet was still alive. I think the most emotional moment was when Pinochet was taken prisoner. I think that was the most important milestone. There had been no justice. I had expected justice would be the first act.

Javier also shared:

> Vote esperanzado… pero también el Pinocho estaba ahí presente, el Pinocho seguía hueveando, el Pinocho se pegaba cuartelazos y los milicos no se iban presos y el Contreras seguía dando vueltas y empecé a cachar que la hueva "en la medida de lo posible."
>
> I voted hoping … but also Pinochet was still around. He was still manipulating things. The soldiers [who had committed atrocities] were still not in prison and then Contreras was still around. I began to understand what it meant to only go "as far as possible"

As the realities began to set in, in addition to the disillusionment expressed by participants with the fact that human rights violators were not brought to trial, interviewees also adapted to a civil society marked by tremendous social and economic inequities. Seven of the participants mentioned their frustrations in this way:

Claudio commented:

> En ese momento mirábamos al futuro y por eso yo creo que fue tan bonita la reacción que tuvimos y tan decepcionante posteriormente como se desarrolló esta democracia, esperábamos, yo esperaba cambios más radicales (...) primero que nada cambiar esa constitución si era obvio que la constitución era un freno y

> es un freno todavía, para lo que estamos conversando … los pobres siguen siendo pobres, los ricos siguen siendo ricos (pausa) no se ha cambiado mucho la desigualdad en nuestra nación, y eso es complejo, complejo de ver.
>
> At that time we looked to the future and it was so beautiful and that is why I think it was subsequently as disappointing as this democracy developed, we hoped, I had hoped for more radical changes … First, the Constitution needed to change. It was obvious that the Constitution was an obstacle and is still is an obstacle for the what we are … the poor remain poor, the rich remain rich (pause). Inequality in our nation has not changed much, and this is complicated, difficult to witness.

For those participants who had not held such high hopes for democracy, their disillusionment was obviously therefore less. As Luna shared:

> Para mi era como paso a paso, no estamos en un país de cambios radicales, siempre hemos sido mitad y mitad, es una cosa intuitiva, me conformaba con poco.
>
> For me it was like step by step. We are not a country of radical changes. We have always been half and half; it is an intuitive thing. I adapt to little [steps]

Democracy from 1990 to the present. This final sub-period of study covers a long period of 29 years starting from the reestablishment of democracy in Chile in 1990 through the present, at least up through Summer 2019, when the country's situation dramatically changed, but it is beyond the scope of this study. It is important to recognize that Chile, its democracy, and its people, have entered a period of sustained protest and turmoil. The interviews for this study were completed in Spring 2019 and therefore prior to the advent of the current period. Chapter V will address some of the current situation, but it is important to recognize the SPD stage most dominant below is the Adaptive Stage which, as one sees in the current events, again commingles with the Liberation Stage.

Stages of Socio-Political Development (SDP)	Historical Period of Research
	Third Historical Period The Reestablishment of democracy in 1990 to present
A-Critical Stage	
Adaptive Stage	Dominant Stage
Pre-Critical Stage	
Critical Stage	
Liberation Stage	Coexist Stage

Figure 4.4. Socio-Political Development Stages by The 29 Last Years of the Third Historical Period of Research

As visualized in Figure 4.4. this sub-period is also characterized as the previous period was by the coexistence of two stages of Socio-Political Development in the study's participants. The Adaptive Stage and the Liberation Stage. While on the surface this might appear contradictory, the participants' recollections were expressions of both continued engagements in the Liberation Stage as well as manifestations of the Adaptation Stage to the new era.

During the first years after the return of democracy and where the Adaptive Stage was predominant, one of the most significant societal issues were the impunity granted to the violators of human rights and continued existence of unfair social economic system implemented by Pinochet and affirmed by the 1980 Constitution. When sharing their recollections, interviewees remembered feeling frustrated, angry and full of despair that immunity was granted to hundreds of human rights violators. Interviewees expressed their empathy with the pain and grief that relatives of victims were experiencing, and they expressed their solidarity with those in search of prisoners and detainees still missing, the disappeared. Fourteen of the interviewees expressed their belief that human rights violations was the worst thing that happened during those years of the dictatorship and they expressed their unequivocal rejection of granting of immunity for those terrible acts. The above can be seen in the following comments.

Fernando shared:

> La crueldad con la que, lo que hicieron, como mataron gente, como hicieron desaparecer, no han pedido perdón (pausa) tampoco han entregado el paradero de, hay un montón, no sé cuántos quedan que nadie sabe y los milicos tienen que saberlo (pausa) más encima se siguen burlando, se ríen de lo que hicieron, están como orgullosos.
>
> The cruelty with which, what they did, how they murdered people, how they made them disappear. They haven't asked for forgiveness (pause) nor have they given up [information] about their whereabouts. There are a lot of them. I don't know how many are still missing that nobody knows about and the military must know (pause) and on top of that, they keep mocking, laughing at what they did, they are proud of it.

Maria Rosa commented:

> Lo de Pinochet en Londres fue una burla y creo que fue una burla a todo el pueblo cuando se levantó y salió caminando, yo creo que es una burla, creo que las cárceles de Cordillera y Punta Peuco son burlas y son migajas de justicia, no han caído, ya no cayeron...
>
> The issue of Pinochet in London was a joke and I think it was a mockery to all when he stood up and walked out. I think it was a mockery. I think the prisons of Cordillera and Punta Peuco [military prisons] are jokes and are crumbs of justice. They [former soldiers] haven't gone down and they won't go down.

While the above reflects the disappointment and frustration with the lack of legal due process, participants also expressed their disappointment and disillusionment with the social economic system implemented by Pinochet. Interviewees argued that despite Chile being a country with fairly positive macroeconomic indicators, high rates of social injustice and economic inequality were very prevalent. Yet, the participants' reflections about living with these societal circumstances illustrated a certain passivity. They were not motivated enough to be part of a new process of political action to end these social injustices. It is understandable. As a consequence of the negotiation from the military regime to democracy, participants experienced disenchantment when democracy was reestablished. They had expected more. This was reflected in the following comments:

Fernando shared:

> La clase política que llegó después de la dictadura no cambió nada. Dijo: perfecto este modelo listo, sigamos con el mismo modelo. No cambiaron ni una coma del modelo, nada, nada. El golpe de estado fue absolutamente decisivo, el golpe de estado barrio, limpio a Chile y lo hizo de nuevo.
>
> The political elite that came to power after the end of dictatorship didn't change anything. They said: this [economic] model is perfect, let's continue with the same model. They didn't change even a comma, nothing, nothing. The coup d'État had been absolutely decisive, it had swept Chile clean and created it anew.

Maria also commented about the big gap between social classes:

> Somos un país desarrollado a medias las brechas son tremendas, entre las mil familias más ricas de chile y las familias más pobres, hay una brecha tremenda. La gente vive endeudada, porque para poder aparentar que eres otra cosa usan las tarjetas de crédito.
>
> We are a developed country and the gap between Chile's thousand wealthiest families and the poorest families is huge. The difference is enormous. People live in debt because in order to act as if you are something else, they use credit cards.

Likewise, seven participants mentioned the absence of a sense of collective engagement which could bring together people and motivate them through mass mobilization, as it was at the time of the dictatorship as Claudio shared:

> A partir de los años 90 en adelante, con el retorno a la democracia no veo discursos que sean transversales, sino que trincheras particulares
>
> From the beginning of the 90's onwards, when democracy restored, I don't see transversal speeches but own spaces trenches [personal spaces]

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, commingled with the Adaptive Stage was evidence in interviews of the existence of participants in the Liberation Stage as well in the more recent years. Participants shared stories of their involvement as responsible and participatory citizens (Watts et al., 2011) who, on the one hand "demonstrates citizenship through individual acts such as volunteering" and on the other hand " the participatory citizen who engages in local community affairs and stays current on local and national issues" (p. 2). Despite accepting and

adapting to the neoliberal socioeconomic model as unalterable, interviewees shared their individual civic commitment to contribute to efforts to redress gender equality and promote inclusiveness and diversity. Six participants mentioned ways in which they are involved from their local neighborhoods. As an example, Javier shared:

> Tenemos varios programas trabajando en los campamentos, abordan a los cabros en los ratos que los papás los dejaban solos porque estaban trabajando entonces ahora los cabros están vinculados con los colegios, entonces para trabajar niño por niño su rendimiento académico, tenemos una casa de la juventud para que los cabros salgan de la droga, tenemos como 12 bibliotecas para llevar libros a los campamentos.
>
> We have several programs working in camps that help children during the times that their parents leave them alone because they are working. Currently children are linked up with schools and we work one child at a time to improve their academic performance. We also have a youth house to get kids off of drugs. We have about 12 libraries to take books to the kids' camps.

However, in the last years of this period under review, some interviewees have taken steps to become justice-oriented citizens, getting into in collective actions to make structural societal changes. Six of the 15 study participants shared that they have participated in recent marches for women's rights and "No mas AFP" movement ("No more AFP," which is a private retirement pension system).

These following examples show how the Liberation Stage is also present at this last historical period.

Sara mentioned:

> Yo participo en todas las marchas que se pueda y estén de acuerdo con lo que yo pienso, no más AFP no más discriminación, siempre (...) estoy metida en movimientos feministas ahora, creo que me identifica mucho más que un partido político, mi hija de hecho es una militante activa del movimiento feminista, ella es directora de movimientos feministas y de agrupaciones feministas en publicidad y en acoso.
>
> I participate in all the marches I can which are in agreement with what I believe, No more AFP, no more discrimination. I'm always involved in the feminist movement now. I think I'm much more identified with that than a political party. My daughter is in fact an

> active feminist militant. She is a director of feminist movements and feminist groups against advertising and harassment.

Voting represents another way to express their opinion and participate in the democratic process. All interviewees shared that they vote in the elections because they recognize the high price for the right to exercise this right of citizenship. Marcela commented:

> Cuando hay consultas y hay que ir a votar, vamos y vamos con los niños. Osea los niños tienen conciencia de que es importante que uno participa en estas cosas (...) no hay votación que yo haya faltado. Osea yo voy siempre, a todas, siempre. Alcalde, presidente, lo que sea, consulta, yo voy si. Siempre voy. Si porque creo que, yo creo que uno tiene que estar comprometido.
>
> When there are elections and you have to go to vote, we take the children. The children are aware that it is important to participate in these things. I haven't missed one vote. I mean, I always go to everyone for mayor, for president, whatever, elections I go, yes. I always go. I believe that one has to be committed.

As discussed, the findings from participant interviews demonstrate that this historical period is characterized in the early years by participants' frustration and disenchantment with democracy since their expectations were unmet. They witnessed the trade-off of immunity and impunity for the possibility of living in a democracy. Indeed, a very high price cost was paid. So, people adapted to this new society. Nevertheless, with time, they realized they could contributed to a social change and they started to create spaces to work with those disadvantaged in the new society. Participants demonstrated their sense of collective responsibility linked to specific social actions in pursuit of a more just society. This together with the act of voting in every election constitute evidence of living in the Liberation Stage.

Conclusions Part I

As was previously mentioned in Chapter II, the SPD emergent theory offers an explanation of the Socio-Political Development of individuals and refers to the trajectory of

development from lack of awareness to critical consciousness, which creates a sense of urgency that empowers and motivates actions for liberation.

Stages of Socio-Political Development (SDP)	The Complete Socio-Political Development Stages by Historical Period of Research						
	Historical Periods of Research						
	The Coup d'Etat on Sept.11, 1973	The First Years after the Coup	The Beginning of the 1980's	The Years leading up to the Plebiscite in 1988	The Day of the Plebiscite on October 5, 1988	The Democratic Elections in 1989	Democracy from 1990 to the present
A-Critical Stage	Dominant Stage						
Adaptive Stage		Dominant Stage				Coexist Stage	Dominant Stage
Pre-Critical Stage			Dominant Stage				
Critical Stage			Coexist Stage	Coexist Stage			
Liberation Stage				Dominant Stage	Dominant Stage	Dominant Stage	Coexist Stage

Figure 4.5. The Complete Socio-Political Development Stages by Historical Periods of Research

Figure 4.5. illustrates how the study's participants moved from a complete absence of awareness and understanding in the first days of the Chilean coup d'État to a full critical conscience and liberation behavior at the time of the restoration of democracy. The coexistence of the Adaptive and Liberation stages from the election year of 1989-1990 through the subsequent 29 years of democracy shows simultaneous processes. The participatory citizen stays "current" on social issues but a critical reflection on the root causes of social conditions is not a priority. In contrast, the justice-oriented citizen is oriented toward collective action and structural perspectives on community betterment " (Watts et al., 2011, p. 2). As demonstrated in this chapter's first section, findings from the review of participants' interviews illustrate that over the course of Chile's last 46 years, all stages of Socio-Political Development (SDP) stages were present and being observed, although not necessarily in a sequential order. During the three

historical periods there were dominant stage evidenced in the participants' recollections; while in others periods, SPD stages coexisted.

Part II. The Emergent Elements of a Collective Memory

As discussed in Chapter II, being part of a generation is more than simply sharing the same birth date or year. It is about having experienced and shared certain social events and historical moments. As part of a generation, collective memories are shared which in turn create collective identities (Alwin & McCammon, 2003). To understand the collective identity of the "Pinochet-era" generation, it is therefore crucial to understand the shared historical events and how these were experienced by members of that generation. Thus, the section below brings forward the interviewees' most vivid memories of critical moments and events. In presenting the findings from the interviews, excerpts of interviews are thematically organized into the same three historical periods utilized in the prior section.

Historical period 1: The Chilean coup d'État on September 11, 1973. The memories. Each of the 15 interviews conducted for this study began with a simple question: What do you remember about September 11, 1973? Followed by, what do you remember feeling? Who were you with? Where were you? For some interviewees, it was the first time in 46 years that they have ever shared or talked about some of the experiences lived during those very first days of the coup d'État.

All 15 participants shared powerful and evocative memories filled with terror and an unknowingness. Although the imagery was powerful, half of interviewees were incapable of offering a coherent narrative nor sequential account of how the events of that day unfolded, perhaps because of the trauma of the day, perhaps because of their young age on that day. Whatever the case, the memories shared in the interviews were replete with images of intense

moments, of soldiers on the streets, the presidential palace [La Moneda] in flames, planes roaring above and bonfires below, loud gunfire and the color red, images evocative of war. These were memories of sights, sounds and colors. Below are a few of the more poignant representations of these memories shared during the interviews.

La Moneda in flames. One of the most iconic images of the Chilean coup d'État was the bombing of the Chilean Presidential Palace, La Moneda. This was the most singular image shared by nearly all participants. Nine of 15 remembered seeing the image broadcast on TV, hearing it on the radio, or actually seeing it from a distance. The Chilean Armed Forces were bombing La Moneda.

Sara who was eight years old at the time, remembered:

> Yo estaba en la casa, … mi mamá lloraba, que en la televisión mostraban que estaban bombardeando La Moneda, pero no entendía lo que estaba sucediendo.
>
> I was at home,-... my mother was crying, on the TV they were showing the bombing of La Moneda. But I couldn't make sense of what was happening.

Claudio shared a powerful memory about what happened in his family when the bombers flew above his apartment building and he saw from far La Moneda in flames:

> De repente ahí queda la embarrada un ataque de histeria de mi mamá con mi tía cuando pasan los Hawker Hunters, porque pasan por encima de la torre, a bombardear La Moneda, y se veía La Moneda en esa época, allá lejos… entonces al final fue todo un tema muy traumático, ese día.
>
> Suddenly the worst happened. My mom and my aunt became hysterical as Hawker Hunter bombers flew over our building to bomb La Moneda. I could see La Moneda at that time over there at a distance... In the end, it was all very traumatic, that day.

Hawker Hunters above. Memories of terror as planes in the skies flew too close, shaking windows and roaring by as they dropped their bombs was shared by eight of the 15 interviewees. On that first day, Hawker Hunters, jet-powered fighter planes, were on a mission to bomb the Presidential Palace, La Moneda and also President Salvador Allende's house in Tomas Moro. Of

course, as children the interviewees had no way of knowing that these were Hawker Hunters.

They did not know what was being bombed. They could not make sense of what was happening.

They just knew it was terrifying.

Amanda, who was seven at that time, remembered:

> Mi mamá me fue a buscar al colegio y me acuerdo que cuando llegamos a la casa sentimos los aviones muy cerca. Me acuerdo que, nunca me voy a olvidar de esa sensación de que los aviones casi tocaban el techo.
>
> My mother came to pick me up at school and I remember when we got home… we could feel the planes flying very close. I remember that. I will never forget the feeling that those airplanes seemed to be almost touching the ceiling.

Maria who was five years old at the time recalled:

> Yo debo haber tenido cinco años y estábamos jugando en el jardín y pasaron los aviones como por arriba de nosotros y salió mi mamá histérica gritando "éntrense, éntrense, que viene la guerra." Y nosotros nos entramos y mi mamá tenia la radio prendida. No se que radio y lloraba así lloraba a mares y dijo, "Esta es la guerra, la guerra la guerra" y me acuerdo que estaban hablando que habían bombardeado la casa de Allende en Tomás Moro.
>
> I had to be about five and we were playing in the garden and the planes flew above us and my mother came out screaming hysterically, "Get inside, get inside. The war has begun". We went inside and my mother had the radio on. I don't know what radio station. She cried and cried an ocean of tears and said, "It's the war, war, war" and I remember they were talking about the bombing of Allende's house in Tomas Moro.

Javier who was seven shared:

> Yo también vi los aviones de La Moneda. Los vi. No vi el bombardeo pero vi por la ventana los aviones y nos obligaron a todos tanto a mi hermano, a mi tío a todos los que estábamos ahí, todos a tirarnos como debajo de las camas en ese departamento, en ese departamento terminamos debajo de las camas cuando hubo el bombardeo.
>
> I saw the airplanes over the La Moneda Palace. I saw them. I didn't see the bombs but I saw the planes through the window and we all had to dive under the beds. All of us in the apartment, my brother, my uncle, everyone who was there, we dove under the beds. That's where we were, under the beds, when the bombing happened.

Soldiers on the streets. Another vivid and shared memory was that of soldiers, the military was everywhere. Of the 15 participants, eight remembered images of seeing soldiers on the streets, armed with automatic weapons and wearing helmets and in combat gear. This was one of the most indelible memories shared of those first days.

Maria Rosa who was eight years old at the time, remembered:

> Eso me llamaba la atención y que estaban los milicos afuera, que estaban con metralletas y con cascos de guerra.
>
> What caught my attention was that there were soldiers outside, they were holding automatic weapons and wearing helmets.

Claudio who was four on that day:

> Tu veías los buses de militares en Portugal con la Alameda, en ese sector con Marcoleta, buses y buses y buses de militares saliendo de las calles, custodiando, entrando a las casas…si tengo flash, de ver como hormigas, eran como hormigas que salían de los buses y disparaban.
>
> You could see the military buses at the intersection of Portugal and Alameda streets, near Marcoleta. There were buses, buses and more buses of soldiers filling the streets, guarding and entering houses ... I'm having a flashback. They were like ants crawling out of the buses and shooting.

Gunfire and screams. Eight of fifteen participants remembered the sounds: hearing the shots fired, the roar of helicopters circling and the screams of neighbors. Interviewees recalled their fear and terror. The noises made them feel unsafe. Some hid under their beds. One remembered being so scared they threw up.

Valentina shared:

> Yo me acuerdo que mi mamá se arrastraba para poder hacer el almuerzo. Se arrastraba por los pasillos porque se escucho toda la mañana, era disparos, disparos, disparos, entonces yo me acuerdo que yo estaba muy nerviosa, y comíamos y yo vomitaba.
>
> I remember my mother crawling her way [to the kitchen] to cook lunch. She was crawling along the hallway because the whole morning we could hear the shooting, shooting, shooting. I remember being so anxious that I ate and then I threw up.

Maria Rosa shared:

> Yo me acuerdo que mi mamá nos hacia tirarnos en el suelo, cuando se escuchaban estos gritos (…) el edificio de enfrente (…) yo me acuerdo que cuando íbamos a comprar el pan estaba bloqueada, la entrada de esa torre estaba bloqueada y en la noche se escuchaban balazos, se escuchaba gente.
>
> I remember my mother made us dive to the floor when we heard the screams from the building next door. When we went out later to get bread, I remember the entrance to the building was blocked, and at night we could hear gunshots, we could hear people.

Fernando remembered:

> Todavía me acuerdo, si claro, sentía que estaban acribillando la puerta, heavy, mis tíos todos, nos fuimos a la última pieza y claro, con el miedo, claro yo sentía que iban a abrir la puerta. Mira ahora me acuerdo, van a abrir la puerta, que vamos a hacer ahí, adonde nos vamos a meter, pero no pasó nada entonces parece que después supe que habían unos focos de resistencia y ahí se estuvieron agarrando algunos que defendían a la unidad popular con los milicos me imagino.
>
> I still remember it, yes of course. It was like they were firing at the door. Everyone, my uncles and aunts, we all went to the back room and, of course, we were filled with fear. Look, even now I remember it. I felt like they were going to break open the door. What are we going to do? Where are we going to hide? But nothing happened. Later we learned that there had been some pockets of resistance nearby and I imagine soldiers were attacking and arresting those people who had been defending the Popular Unity government.

Military raids. Recalling soldiers breaking and entering into homes and destroying everything they found in their path was another vivid memory shared by at least five of the interviewees. Claudio who was four at the time shared:

> Bueno allanaron inmediatamente el departamento, rompieron todo. Me acuerdo fue como bien desastroso. A nosotros no nos hicieron nada, pero si recuerdo haber visto a mi mamá contra la pared y a mi tía también que estaba en ese momento en el departamento.
>
> They immediately raided the apartment. They broke everything in sight. I remember the destruction. They didn't do anything to us but I remember seeing my mom up against the wall and also my aunt, who was in the apartment at the time.

Maria Rosa shared:

> Eran las amiguitas con las que yo jugaba todos los días y no se cuanto tiempo transcurrió en que subimos a su departamento y la puerta estaba hecha pedazos con un hacha, porque de eso me acuerdo claramente y adentro ya no había nadie(…).
>
> These were friends with whom I played every day. I don't know how much time passed before we went up to their apartment and the door was hacked into pieces. I remember that very vividly. There was no one inside.

Curfews. In addition to the sights and sounds, participants shared other memories of their experiences of that traumatic day. The military had declared a nationwide curfew. The streets of Santiago were empty, except for the soldiers, the screams, gunfire. Four participants remembered being locked indoors, being inside their homes. They did not know what a curfew meant at the time. They were inside the locked doors of their house. They could not go outside. Some remembered interacting with family members, others recalled just sitting inside.

Amanda shared:

> Todos andaban muy para adentro, todos se iban para la casa, nadie salía, empezaron los toques de queda. Y así empezó a marcar un poco los primeros años que fueron los más duros.
>
> Everybody turned inward. Everyone went to their homes, nobody came outside, the curfew started. And that how the first years of the dictatorship began. They were the hardest.

Bonfires blazing. Being found with books, literature or documents that the military had declared subversive could be cause for detention or worse (Edwards, 1984). In some cases, Chileans civilians burned their own books and documents so they would not be found in their possession; in some cases, the soldiers burned books they found during raids. Whether at the hands of soldiers obeying orders or civilians trying to protect themselves and their families, booked burned everywhere. That is why bonfires blaze in participants' memories. Four of the 15 participants remembered the fires.

Sara who was seven at that time remembered:

> Mi papá agarró uno de esos baldes … y veíamos como mi papá quemaba papeles dentro de ese latón grande y quemaba muchos papeles y era como extraño que quemara tantos documentos y sucedían cosas muy extrañas entonces. Nosotros como cabros chicos no entendíamos qué estaba sucediendo.
>
> My dad grabbed one of those buckets … and we watched as he burned papers inside that big bucket and he burned lots of papers and it was strange that he burned so many documents. Very strange things were happening. As children, we didn't understand what was happening.

Marina shared:

> Nosotros vimos en mi casa como se quemaban los libros, nos llevaron a ver este espectáculo, esto lo estamos haciendo… y explicándonos "Hijos, estamos botando estos libros porque estos nos comprometen".
>
> We saw them [our parents] burning books in my house. They made us watch as they were doing this, explaining "Children, we are getting rid of these books because it is dangerous if we are found with them".

Fernando remembered:

> Volví a mi casa y salíamos a mirar así como de lejos (…) y miraba como, como quemaban los milicos, hacían fogatas, en la calle quemando libros.
>
> I came back to my house and we went out to look from a distance (…) and I saw how the soldiers were setting fires, burning books in the street.

Valentina shared:

> Mi papá tenia mucha literatura marxista, y yo le ayudaba, yo tengo la noción de que yo ayude a quemar muchos libros y quemamos, quemamos, quemamos libros.
>
> My father had a lot of Marxist literature, and I helped him, I have the impression that I helped burn lots of books and we burned, burned, burned books.

While not as widely shared among the participants, individual interviewees also recalled vivid memories of hiding under beds, of people with arms raised and hands against the wall and of the color red. As we explore the collective trauma of this generation, it is important to share these images too, because these individual experiences could have been experimented also for

many people who were in the same conditions at that time. Thereby, the degree and also the ways in which individuals experience the trauma can influence their sense of agency in different degrees.

Hiding under beds. Three of the participants recalled hiding in small dark protected places, under beds. No longer were there open windows and sunlight. Javier who was seven at the time remembered vividly:

> Yo lo que veía eran milicos disparando y nosotros metidos debajo de las camas porque podían entrar balas, no entró ni una, (…) pero nosotros estábamos debajo de las camas porque podían entrar balas por las ventanas o por las paredes (…).
>
> I saw soldiers shooting and we hid under beds because bullets were flying everywhere. No bullets came in but we were under the beds because bullets could come through the windows and through the walls.

Claudio also shared:

> Lo tengo muy patente eso estar con mi hermana abrazados debajo de la cama, un año menor que yo, abrazado con la Carito, tenia cuatro añitos la Carito y yo tenía cinco abrazaditos debajo de una cama, mi mamá nos puso unas alfombras que nos rodearan, estábamos como encerrados ahí, esperando que terminara, no terminó nunca la balacera, de repente nos sacaron para comer.
>
> I have this very clear image of being with my sister who is a year younger than I, holding on to each other tightly each other under the bed. Carito who was four years old and I was five, both holding on to each other under a bed. My mother wrapped some rugs around us. It's as if we were locked up there waiting for the shooting to end but it didn't. At some point they took us out to eat.

Hands up! Another vivid memory shared by three of the interviewees is the image of people against a wall with their hands up, a scene they saw outside their windows, from cars or while they were at a playground. Two participants even remembered seeing guns being pointed at their parents.

Amanda shared:

> Me acuerdo una vez que íbamos de vuelta y los milicos nos sacaron (…) me acuerdo que nos paraban a cada rato, nos sacaban a todos y nos ponían al frente del auto y ponían a mi

> papá y a mis tíos con metralletas.
>
> I remember one time that we were out and the soldiers pulled us over. They made us get out of the car and they made us go to the front of it and they pointed their rifles at my father and my uncles.

Javier also recalled:

> No solo vi milicos disparando, vi gente parada en paredones, o sea murallas, así con los brazos arriba, los milicos apuntando, sí, vi mucha violencia en ese minuto.
>
> I not only saw soldiers shooting, I also saw people up against the walls with their arms held high, soldiers pointing (guns). Indeed, I saw a lot of violence in that moment.

Red was everywhere. Finally, the memories of that day 46 years ago are drenched in a color, one color that seemed to stand out. It was vivid. It was powerful. It was red. Several participants shared their memory covered in red. At the time, they did not consciously think of it as blood. That realization only came later.

As Javier shared:

> Mi recuerdo de niño es gente tirada en la calle. No se si muerta o viva y recuerdo rojo, recuerdo el camino de vuelta… rojo.
>
> My childhood memory is of people lying on the street. I don't know if they were dead or alive. I remember red. I remember on the way back on that street ... red.

Or, the recollection of Claudio:

> Cuando volvimos sentimos las matracas cuando estábamos en el ascensor. La matraca me refiero a la ametralladora y gritos y cuando volvimos a bajar que fue como a las dos horas estaba todo lleno de sangre osea que fusilaron ahí gente…Ahora si tu me hubieras preguntado en la época, no tengo idea que pasó, estaba manchado de rojo.
>
> When we returned we felt the rattling when we were in the elevator. By rattling, I am referring to the gunfire and screams and when we went back down about two hours later, there was blood everywhere, they shot people there ...If you had asked me at the time, I didn't have any idea of what happened. It was simply stained with red.

In sum, these 15 participants shared powerful memories of that fateful day September 11, 1973, including sights, sounds and colors. These individual recollections could well represent the

memories of many people of that same generation. In some ways, the historic trauma was revisited as the participants shared the powerful images and emotions of so many years ago (Métraux, 2005a, p.114). As findings are shared and eventually an analysis of them will be made, it is important to recognize that these powerful memories belong in a common space or collective memory that is part of the collective identity and trauma from the "Pinochet-era" generation.

Historical period 2: Living in dictatorship from 1973 Chilean coup to 1988 plebiscite. The memories. After sharing vivid memories about the day of the coup d'État, the interviews moved into the second historical phase. During this 15-year period, from the 1973 coup to the 1988 plebiscite, ordinary citizens were confronted with realities of struggle, often which prompted empathetic emotions and feelings towards those who were suffering or being victimized by the regime. As noted previously in Part I of this chapter, critical consciousness appears in the interviewees' recollections toward the middle of the 1980s, when participants started to become aware of the injustices and cruelties carried out by the military regime. Participants became more aware of what was happening in the country, they had more contact with people who were victims of repression and a number of interviewees also experienced first-hand the military's repression. Participants also noted becoming more attentive to the conversations among family members, relatives and friends. Through these conversations with others, the participants developed an understanding of the importance of ending the dictatorship and restoring the country to a democracy. During the years leading up to the 1988 plebiscite, a sense of collective empowerment led to active political participation and civic engagement. Interviewees spoke of a sense of selflessness and altruism, a caring for the wider social good, and a sense that anything done to restore democracy was worth it. The section below illustrates from

the interviews the recollections of memories of emotional shifts and the movements and emergent political action.

The first years. Twelve of the 15 participants recalled the ways in which daily life changed, in one way or another, in the years immediately after the coup. Despite the seeming normalcy of going to school and playing with friends, even in their young minds they started to notice some changes at home, in their families, in the neighborhood and at the school. Memories of a generation emerged 46 years later in the participant's interviews.

Sadness for what was. In the days and early years following the coup, eight participants noted that they could feel the ambiance at home shift from happiness to a heaviness, and civic involvement to a nostalgia and a sense of defeat because of an inability to change the reality that surrounded them. Interviewees remembered their recognition of these sorts of feelings in the course of conversations, especially with their parents.

Luna remembered:

> Me acuerdo si de los domingos en mi casa, escuchando Quilapayún e Inti-illimani, y mi padrastro así corriéndole las lágrimas… eran muy tristes los domingos(…) si, yo vi un cambio brutal en mi familia, con la que yo vivía digamos, de frustración, de pena, de pobreza también.
>
> I remember Sundays in my house, listening to Quilapayún and Inti-illimani, and my stepfather had tears streaming down his face. Sundays were very sad (pause) yes, I saw a really rough change in my family … I was experiencing the frustration, the pain, the poverty also.

Clara remembered:

> Cuando llegaban a un encuentro familiar yo cachaba que la gente hablaba de cosas, en contra de la dictadura y que hablaban pestes y que " no esto se tiene que acabar" (…)yo escuchaba que decían esto está mal, esto no es tan así como parece, y entonces veía a mis papas que tenia otra postura que era super pasiva yo creo que movidos por el miedo.
>
> When there would be a get-together for family and friends, I'd hear people say things against the dictatorship and they'd talk about how bad it was and say, "This has to end." I'd hear them say that it was awful, that it was wrong, that things

> weren't how they seemed. I saw that my parents had a different approach that was super passive. I think it was motivated by fear.

Claudia shared:

> Yo creo que asumí que había un (pausa) como explicarte que había un problema insuperable, insuperable porque ¿como tú superas la amenaza de morir?
>
> I think I assumed that there was a (pause), how should I explain it to you, that there was insurmountable problem with no solution, unsolvable, because how you get over the threat of death?

Luna remembered:

> Yo trataba siempre que estuviera todo bien… trataba de ver lo bueno, no lo malo y era como testigo de toda esa tristeza, de todo lo que iba pasando, de las dificultades, pero mientras yo tuviera a mi mamá cerca, estaba todo bien
>
> I always tried to believe everything was fine… I tried to see the good side, not the bad and yet I was witness of all this sadness, to everything that was happening, the hardships, but as long as I had my mother close by, everything was okay.

Taboo topics. As participants talked, they often reflected that their parents probably tried to protect them by keeping silent about the dictatorship. So although the participants could sense something was wrong, they learned not to question the situation because they felt it was not right to ask questions. Six of the fifteen participants expressed this belief as exemplified by the excerpts below:

Claudia shared:

> Estudiemos música, hay que leer esto, escuchemos esta ópera, miren que lindo no se que, no se que, como una especie de…., como un mundo de fantasía (…) pero cero contacto con, o sea no había conversaciones de política, no había conversaciones de actualidad, no veíamos las noticias.
>
> We studied music, we read this or that, listened to that opera, look how nice that is. I don't know, it was kind of like a make-believe world with zero contact with, I mean there were no conversations about politics, there were no conversations about the current realities. We didn't watch the news.

Fernando remembered:

> Mi mamá estaba en la casa, siempre mantuvo tranquilidad entre nosotros, tampoco supe que estuvo preso hasta mucho después, mi papá… como que me ocultaron, o no me contaron en realidad para que yo estuviera tranquilo además yo era un cabro chico de cinco años.
>
> My mother was in the house, she always maintained a calmness between us. I also didn't even know my Dad was imprisoned until much later … like they were hiding it, or they did not tell me so that I'd keep calm. I was only five-years old.

My parents told me everything. In stark contrast to the experiences shared above, four of the 15 participants remembered their parents talking with them about current politics and the military dictatorship. They even explained to their children what was happening and the importance of not talking about it with others for safety reasons. For some participants, knowing actually prompted a sense of foreboding about what could happen to their parents as well as themselves as illustrated below.

Marina shared:

> Nos hablaron de la DINA. Nos hablaron de que había gente que delataba. Nos contaron todo, todo, todo nos contaron que habían amigos de ellos que habían salido a la calle con gente de la DINA. "Chicos, te estoy diciendo esto." Y que les decían dime quienes de estas personas son de izquierda, para que delataran, que se transformaran en delatores, delatores cachai, y que eso se estilaba y que por eso nos pedían a nosotros que no participáramos en nada.
>
> They talked about DINA [the Security Forces]. They talked about informers. They told us everything, everything. They told us about friends of theirs who went out on the streets with people from DINA. They say, "Kids, I am telling you this." They told us that these friends were asked to name people who are part of the Left. They turned them into informants. And that was common and that's why they asked us to not participate in anything.

Valentina shared:

> En ese minuto yo me acuerdo que mi papá me decía que los militares podían venir y que si encontraban esa literatura se lo podían llevar, entonces había que quemarlos, y entonces yo le ayude a quemarlos.

> Just now I'm remembering that my Dad told me that the military could come and if they found that literature they could arrest us, so we had to burn them, and so I helped.

Maria Rosa remembered:

> Se daba mucho en la conversación del almuerzo dominical, hablaban mucho de política, ellos y uno estaba ahí escuchando y yo iba como registrando sin tomar ninguna posición sin tener ninguna conciencia todavía.
>
> They talked a lot about politics during Sunday lunches at the house. And I would be there sort of listening, like taking it all in without taking any sides. I still didn't have any political consciousness yet.

Valentina:

> Como a mi siempre me hablaban en la casa y siempre se hablaba de política y todo, digamos yo tenía conciencia de que habían detenidos desaparecidos, que habían torturado.
>
> They always talked at home and always talked about politics and everything. Let's say that I had awareness that there were people being prisoners who had disappeared, who had been tortured.

In addition to conversations at home changing, four interviewees recalled that there were financial problems at home associated with what was happening because their parents lost their jobs due to their political participation during Allende's time. This too increased feelings of insecurity and instability.

Marina shared:

> Nos pedían que nosotros no nos manifestáramos, porque hoy día teníamos este puesto de mi mamá que era estable, pero mi papá estaba sin pega (...) porque "a mí esta cuestión me va a costar la pega y necesitamos vivir", o sea hijos perdónenme pero no se pueden meter en política.
>
> They [my parents] asked us to not to go to demonstrate since at the time our Mom had stable job now but Dad was unemployed and they'd say "This will cost me my job and we need to live. I am sorry, children, but you can't get involved in politics."

Luna remembered:

> Si tu me preguntas, dejaron de leer…dejaron de ir al cine…como que eran momentos de subsistir, de buscar pega…de trabajar, mucho trabajo, de eso (...) porque se quedaron sin

> pega.
>
> If you ask me, they stopped reading, going to the movies, these were tough times of barely getting by, it was about looking for work, a lot of work (...) because they had lost their jobs.

Carlos shared:

> Me daba cuenta de que el país estaba mal, me daba cuenta de las protestas, de la junta de gobierno, me daba cuenta de Pinochet que era un dictador, siempre tuve conciencia de eso, entonces me revelaba frente a esa realidad y mi padre en un tiempo que fue más o menos prolongado mi padre estuvo sin pega.
>
> I realized the country wasn't doing well. I saw the protests against the coup. I knew that Pinochet was a dictator. I was always aware of that. I had that level of consciousness and therefore I rebelled against that reality. And, for a pretty long period of time, my father did not have a job.

Family, friends and teachers have to leave. One of the interviewees' strongest memories was recalling the feeling of bewilderment as participants shared the experiences of noticing that family members, friends, neighbors, were gone. Disappeared. There was no explanation. People were suddenly just gone and were no longer at school or in the neighborhood. Participants became accustomed to this little by little, but did not understand really what was going on until several years. Three of the fifteen participants expressed this situation, as illustrated by the following excerpts.

Claudia shared:

> Yo que asumí que había un… como explicarte que había un problema insuperable, insuperable porque como superas la amenaza de morir? De que desaparecían tíos, de que amigos de mi papá se iban rápido…"No es que los Pérez se fueron" Como se fueron?... "Se fueron" listo, ah ya… listo se acabó, nunca más había que preguntar nada.
>
> I think I assumed that there was a ... how to explain that…that there was an insurmountable problem because how do you get over the threat of death? Uncles disappeared. My dad's friends left in a hurry ... It wasn't like the Pérez's left and how did they leave?" It was just "They left," period, end of story, you couldn't ask about it again.

Amanda shared:

> Los amigos se iban, la gente que uno quería, los amigos de mis papas que igual los querían, super buena onda así como que y de repente ya no estaban, ya no estaba la misma gente, se había ido, de uno u otra forma se habían ido.
>
> My friends were leaving, loved ones, my parents' friends, really good people, they were suddenly no around any longer. Those people were not here anymore. They had left. One or another way, they were gone.

Marina shared when her grandfather returned after being detained:

> Cuando el llego a la casa, era verano, o sea fue mucho tiempo (…) y llega mi nana y dice: llegó su tata del sur, y nosotros corrimos con mi hermano me acuerdo y mi impresión de ver a este tata (…) nunca me voy a olvidar, los ojos celestes, se le veían los puros ojos, delgado y se estaba afeitando, contento de vernos, fue super, hoy día tú piensas lo que fue, fue super emotivo porque nosotros recuperamos a nuestro abuelo.
>
> It was summertime when he came home. A long time had passed. My nanny said: "Your Grandpa has come from the South," and I remember running with my brother and my impression of seeing him, I'll never forget, his blue eyes, you could only see his eyes, he was thin and he had shaved. He was happy to see us. If you think back today how it was, it was incredibly emotional because we gotten our Grandpa back.

Our "brave" soldiers. Among other changes in their lives during those early years, participants recalled that the government imposed military-like formations in schools. On Mondays as each week began, students in most Chilean schools had to stand in rows at attention to salute the Chilean flag as it was hoisted. Also, at the beginning of the week, students had to sing the national anthem, which now included an added section "*Vuestros nombres valientes soldados, que habéis sido de Chile el sostén, nuestros pechos los llevan grabados; los sabrán nuestros hijos también*" (in English: "The names of our brave soldiers who have been the backbone of Chile are engraved in our chests. Our children will know the names as well"). Pinochet officially added this stanza to the national anthem to praise the Armed Forces and soldiers who enforced the dictatorship. In addition to that, all military anthems of the Chilean

Armed Forces were taught in the schools and were sung at celebrations. Two of the 15 interviewees recalled that they felt a sense of bewilderment with this strange new ritual. As Claudia shared:

> Cuando había que cantar los himnos de los pacos … nos enseñaron todos los himnos de los aviadores … pero de todas las fuerzas armadas y había que cantarlos y decía " Duerme tranquila niña inocente, de que me estas hablando… era un poco una realidad loca, una realidad loca que no podías integrar, claro, era como esa la sensación.
>
> When we had to sing the anthem of the police… they taught us all the anthem of the Air Force… but of all the Armed Forces and we had to sing them and it said, "Sleep in peace, little innocent girl." What are you talking about? It was a bit unreal, a crazy reality that you couldn't make sense of, well, that was like the feeling.

From the beginning to the middle of the 1980s. This period is characterized by participants as some of their darkest times during the years of the dictatorship because the military regime strengthened its grip and everything was under their control. It was also a period when the Pinochet's 1980 Constitution was fraudulently approved in a controversial referendum, and Pinochet was then subsequently sworn in as constitutionally backed President. During this period, the study's participants were in their last years in high school and their first years in college.

It was during this darkest period that many of the interviewees shared stories of their awakening. During this period, participants recalled better understanding what was happening and they realized the fundamental danger they faced: a brutal dictator, a cruel and ruthless enemy, who wants to perpetuate himself in power. They had experienced the terror, the silence, and the distrust of strangers. It was then that the first movements against the dictatorship begin to take place and interviewees remembers their own first steps to participate in the mass actions against the dictatorship. The interviews illustrate the ways in which, little by little, participants developed the sense of agency to overthrow the military regime, a sense of collective

empowerment. This emergent sense of collectivity inspired political action leading to the 1988 plebiscite, achieving the impossible, the electoral overthrow the Chilean dictatorship.

Raising consciousness, but also fear and terror. Six of 15 participants shared recollections of their emergent critical consciousness about what was happening around them. They remembered becoming aware of injustice around them and a growing sense that something needed to change. They started to pay attention at school and later in college, getting information, listening more to conversations. In their recollections, friends, siblings, older cousins and family in general contributed to this awakening. Memories shared about this period were less about events, such as the sights and sounds and colors of the first days of the Chilean coup and more moments of growing awareness, of reading, of developing feelings of empathy for the victims of human rights crimes committed by the regime. They also developed a sense of empowerment that led by the mid-1980s to some political actions based on a sense of collective empowerment and hope that they could stop the military regime.

Clara shared:

> Yo recuerdo haber tenido mucho más clara la película haber leído, empezar a leer más libros en la línea del pensamiento mas crítico, y más revolucionario, y a escuchar la música, y ya incluso en mi casa se instaló la música de Víctor Jara, y Silvio Rodríguez
>
> I remember having a clearer picture of what I was seeing. I started reading more books that had a critical and revolutionary line of thought, and listening to music including, in my home, we'd listen to Victor Jara and Silvio Rodriguez.

Marcela shared:

> A la universidad, yo ahí empecé a ver que la cosa no era tan, empecé a ver el abanico de las posibilidades de la política de lo que significaban ciertos movimientos y un poquitito más a tomar conciencia que había otra cosa distinta a lo que yo estaba acostumbrada (...) la verdad es que en la universidad yo veía como, entraban (refiriéndose a las fuerzas policiales) mientras nosotros estábamos en clases, entraban los carabineros a sacar compañeros míos de las salas porque pensaban que estaban afuera tirando piedras, siendo que estaban en clases.

> At the university I began to realize things were not as they seemed. I began to see the possibilities of certain political movements and I started to become more conscious about other realities than the ones I had gotten used to. The truth is, at the university, I saw how they [the armed police] would barge into classrooms, grab fellow classmates who they thought had been outside throwing rocks, even though they were inside the classroom.

Four of the 15 participants shared that they recalled feeling fear the more they became aware of the injustices and brutality around them. Terror filled their memories. Fear filled their lives at school. Clara shared:

> Yo creo que si yo tenía mucho temor, yo creo que tenía temores, yo era miedosa…Ese temor tenía que ver con el tema económico, y el tema de que yo sentía el terror en la gente. Yo intuía, mi familia nuclear de la que yo venía tenía un estilo también muy obediente del sistema. Mi papá me decía incluso, cuando uno ya empezó a pensar, me decía: "No te metas en nada, no te metas en nada." Y mi mamá también no se meta en nada, y yo con ganas de meterme pero no podía, o sea yo tenía super claro que tenía que hacerles caso.
>
> I think I felt a lot fear… I was full of fear … It had a lot to do with the economic Situation and because I could sense the fear around me. I could intuit it.
> My own family was very obedient when it came to the political system. My father told me, at the age when one starts to think for oneself, he said, "Don't get involved in anything, not in anything." My mom also didn't get involved. I wanted to get involved but I couldn't, I mean, it was very clear to me I needed to listen to my parents.

Marcela remembered:

> Entraban y sacaban a los cabros arrastrándolos de la salas, o sea esa cosa fue bien cruda estábamos de repente en el coro y nuestra salas daban a Grecia (calle) y entran las lacrimógenas (se refiere a bombas de humo) rompían los vidrios y nosotros, como entraban las lacrimógenas teníamos que salir arrancando.
>
> They burst into the class and grabbed classmates, dragging them out. It was very rough. We were in the classroom looking out at Grecia Street and all of the sudden we felt the tear gas. They broke the windows. We left running.

It was not just the fear experienced in everyday life on the streets at in the classrooms. Five of the 15 interviewees explicitly recalled the sense of fear due to their political participation. They were a generation growing up under a cloud of fear. Soldiers patrolled the streets and a state of emergency was seen as normal events because Pinochet himself said that Chile was at

constant war and needed be vigilant (Feitlowitz, 2011). It is apparent in the recollections of participants that they, as representatives of a generation traumatized by dictatorship, eventually found agency in the face of fear. Participants became activists. A sense of collective empowerment emerged in the years leading up to the plebiscite.

As was previously discussed in Chapter II, from the mid-1980s forward to the 1988 plebiscite, the military regime become weaker and opposition to the regime became stronger (Garretón, 1992). It was during this time that Pinochet tried to assert his power with some of the cruelest cases of regime-approved murder, part of his strategy of selective repression. Maria shared:

> Me acuerdo que cuando quemaron a Rodrigo Rojas and Carmen Gloria[1] , los pacos estaban brígidos, y yo corro super lento y nos íbamos arrancando y los pacos nos gritaban una cantidad de cuestiones, " Las vamos a violar," Comunistas culias," "Arránquense no más si las vamos a pillar igual", y yo me dije conchas de su madre me van a violar y yo dije no huevón (tono afligido) y ahí me metí por uno de esos pasajes que hay en el centro, llegue como hasta la plaza de armas corriendo(...)
>
> I remember when they set Carmen Gloria and Rodrigo Rojas on fire. The cops were terrifying. I'm a slow runner and we were escaping and the cops were yelling at us, "We're going to rape you," "Fucking communists," "Run but we're going to catch you anyway." I said to myself, "These motherfuckers are going to rape me and I told myself, no, I was defiant, I ran down one of those alleys in downtown, I got to the Plaza de Armas running.

It was during this period of the early 1980s, even in the face of fear and the repression all around as mentioned above, that the first signs of popular protest also emerged. Seven of the 15 interviewees remembered participating in public acts such as painting graffiti on walls and joining demonstrations against the dictatorship. Another seven interviewees recalled participating in meetings organizing the overthrow of the dictatorship; seven joined a political

[1] Rodrigo Rojas de Negri and Carmen Gloria Quintana were two young people who were burned alive during street demonstrations against the Chilean dictatorship. Rodrigo died four days after the attack and Carmen Gloria survived with many injuries.

party; seven participated in student federations. During the interviews, they shared the feeling of taking risks as they committed to these acts of rebellion. Fourteen of the 15 participants in this study shared their recollections of moving from not knowing what was happening in those early days of the coup d'État, when they were only four, five or six years old, to memories of engaging for the first time in protests and voicing their political awareness publicly.

Maria Rosa who was 15 at the time, remembered:

> Me acuerdo cuando se hizo el tema de Frei en el Caupolicán, que fue el 81. Me acuerdo que fuimos. Yo tenía 15. Ese fue mi primer acercamiento real, en todavía no entendía mucho que estaba haciendo ahí (...) entonces ahí me empecé a dar cuenta de cosas, estaba en la tercera fila, estando llenísimo, estaba lleno, lleno, lleno, lleno y yo me acuerdo del impacto de haber sentido y la voz de " y va a caer…". Entonces ahí me empecé a conmover si tu quieres con todo lo que estaba viviendo ahí.
>
> I remember when Frei [former President of Chile] spoke at the Caupolicán Theater in 1981. I remember we went. I was 15 years old. That was my first real experience and I didn't completely understand what I was doing there (...) but that's when I started realizing what was happening. I was in the third row. It was completely packed. Full, full, full. I remember the impact of the feeling and his voice singing "It will fall... (Pinochet)." I was very moved in that moment with everything I was experiencing there.

Sara, who was 19 years old at the time, recalled:

> Armábamos nuestras protestas y nuestros meetings y armábamos lienzos, unos tremendos lienzos y salíamos a las 6 de la mañana y nos tirábamos en la calle.
>
> We organized our protests and our meetings and we made signs, some huge signs, and we went outside at 6 am and we went into the streets.

Claudio who was 16 at the time shared:

> Desde las FESES, La Federación de Estudiantes Secundarios de Santiago (in English: High School Student Union of Santiago) participé tan activamente que era del grupo de choque, defensivo de las FESES, éramos de los que planificábamos las tomas, nos tomamos el Valentín Letelier, el Alessandri, participe de todos esos temas de las tomas.
>
> I was so deeply involved that I was even part of the most militant group of FESES, the sort of front-guard. We were the ones who planned the school occupations, we occupied the Valentin Letelier High School, the Alessandri High School. I was involved in all of these occupations.

As participants recalled this period, their stories were about the development of their awareness of the inequalities and human rights violations coupled with memories of their growing sense of empowerment, a sense of collective activism. Whereas their memories of the early part of this long 15 year- period focused more on emotions—loss, sadness, fear—during this period the memories were of acts and actions as reflected in the following quotes.

Maria shared:

> En la universidad si, ahí yo comenzó mi vida ahí yo comencé a cachar todo lo que había pasado, yo no sabía quién era Víctor Jara hasta que salí del colegio y ahí un compañero que había vivido en Alemania, el me dijo, ven pa acá yo te voy a contar todo lo que pasó porque él había sido exiliado. Estaba en primer año, me tocó una marcha, esa fue la primera marcha a la cual yo fui.

> My life began to change at the university, that is where I started to understand what was happening. I didn't know who Victor Jara was until I graduated from high school. I had a friend at school who had living in Germany in exile. He told me, "Hey, come here, I'm going to tell you everything that has been going on. I was in my freshman year. I went to my first protest march.

Fernando, who was 14 at the time, recalled:

> Me gustaba salir a rayar, en las noches en las protestas me agarraba con los pacos a hondazos, salía a hacer barricadas…Ahí estábamos meta y meta hondazos con los pacos ahí y ellos nos tiraban bombas lacrimógenas y le devolvíamos las bombas lacrimógenas a los pacos en primera línea! Teníamos 14 años, 14 años!! En primera línea agarrados con los pacos.

> I liked to go out at night and spray graffiti. I would fight the police with my slingshots. I would put up barricades in the street… We were there head to head and the police would throw tear gas and we would throw them back at the cops in the front line! We were 14 years old. Fourteen! Right up front, fighting with the police.

As these first public acts of civic protest took place in the streets and schools, the military regime tightened its control, demonstrating its power and brutality. There were widespread violations of human rights. Some emblematic and well-known cases of brutality and murder at the hands of the regime happened during this time, such as the 1982 case of Tucapel Jimenez, a

union organizer and ex-president of "la Agrupación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales" (National Association of Fiscal Employees), who was shot repeatedly in the head ("Pinochet Generals Given," 2009); or the 1985 "Caso Degollados" when three teachers were ruthlessly murdered ("Caso Degollados", n.d.), as well as the case of students severely beaten and set on fire by the police, killing two and leaving the others with lifelong injuries ("Rodrigo Rojas de Negri", n.d.). Luna recalled the period this way:

> Hasta esa época uno había dejado de escuchar ese tipo de noticias y como que Pinochet se quiso reafirmar entonces me acuerdo de dos casos seguidos, el Caso Quemados y el Caso Degollados, pero el Caso Degollados me llegaba mucho porque eran profesores, los habían atrapado en el propio colegio a vista y paciencia de sus hijos, fue una cosa espantosa.
>
> Up until that time, you had just stopped hearing that sort of news. It seemed that Pinochet wanted to reaffirm at that point his rule and then I remembered two cases in a row, the "Case of The Burned" and the "Case of the Slit Throats." It was the case of the "Slit Throats" that really got to me because they were teachers. They were taken at school in full view of their students. It was a horrific thing.

Participants shared these stories of acts of brutality and demonstrations of bravery during those years. As they became increasingly aware of the dictatorship they also learned how to live with it and how to cope with it. While some protested and shared those stories, others talked about learning not to ask, to be silent, to take care of themselves and to know who to trust and who not. This ability to survive was strengthened in the years approaching the 1988 plebiscite as more and more Chileans showed their commitment toward the return to democracy through actions. It became clear – and a matter of life and death – to interviewees that they learned what places and spaces were safe. Even though fear was omnipresent, so too was the desire for democracy.

Family conversations, a safe space. While talking openly in public about the injustices and atrocities committed by the dictatorship was dangerous and, in some cases, could carry the

penalty of death, one's family was considered a safe place to talk. It was in homes where, in many cases, parents opened the door to conversations critical of the military dictatorship, thereby empowering their children with a political consciousness and critical thinking skills. It was in the family space where they found strength. According to eight of the 15 interviewees, shared memories of talking about the political situation around the dinner table on Sundays or in other family settings.

Luna shared:

> Como yo era de una familia de conciencia social, siempre escuche la Cooperativa, siempre tuve mucha información, se hablaba, o en mi casa o en la casa de mi papá, lo que estaba sucediendo entonces yo siempre viví con eso muy muy presente, la parte social. Después en el colegio fui parte de la Federación de Estudiantes Secundarios de Santiago, FESES, después milite en las Juventudes Comunistas pero no duré mucho, en el colegio, tercero cuarto medio.
>
> Since I come from a politically aware family, I had heard about the Radio Cooperativa. I always had a lot of information. In my house or in my dad's house what was happened was always talked about I was always, always aware of all of this. Then in school I joined the High School Student Union of Santiago. After that, I joined the Communist Youth but that didn't last long, just junior and senior year at school.

Valentina recalled:

> Como a mi siempre me hablaban en la casa y siempre se hablaba de política y todo, digamos yo tenía conciencia de que habían detenidos desaparecidos, que habían torturados.
>
> Because they always talked with me about politics and everything at home, let's say that I knew that there were prisoners who had been tortured, who had disappeared.

But even talking at home carried risks if somehow something got shared, even inadvertently, beyond the family circle. That is why participants vividly remembered their parents warning them of informants working for the secret police and intelligence agencies of the Pinochet dictatorship. The National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) and the Chile National Intelligence (CNI) both secretly infiltrated universities with the mission to find and detain

political activists. Interviewees shared that one of the lessons they learned during this period was that what was talked about at home stayed at home. Talking about current events with the wrong people might compromise not only themselves but also their family and friends. Seven of the 15 participants recalled these sorts of circumstances.

Claudio shared:

> Tenía más miedo por mi mamá, que por mi, que le pudieran hacer algo a mi vieja, más que hacer algo, que perdiera la pega, porque era muy difícil conseguir trabajo, era más difícil que ahora, entonces tenía miedo por mis hermanas, tenía dos hermanas estudiando en el colegio ya, más miedo por los otros que por uno mismo porque uno era riesgo calculado, por algo estaba en el grupo de seguridad, era un riesgo calculado sabíamos que lo peor que nos podía pasar era que nos llevaran detenidos, porque en esa época ya no habían detenidos desaparecidos.
>
> I feared more for my mom than for myself, that they could do something to her, that she could lose her job, because it was very hard to get a job in those days, it was harder than now. I feared for my sisters. I had two sisters studying in school at the time. You worried more about others than oneself because you made a calculated risk about yourself. It was a calculated risk to be in a 'safe' group. We knew that the worst that could happen was that we would detained because in this period, there were no more disappeared.

Valentina remembered:

> Nos decían que teníamos que tener cuidado con quien habláramos, que no podíamos hablar con cualquier persona (…) el miedo a perder la pega, el miedo hablar delante del otro de cosas que nos podrían afectar, esas cosas como que quedan.
>
> We were told that we needed to be careful with whom we talked, that we couldn't talk to just anyone (…) the fear of losing a job, the fear of talking in front of others about things that could affect us. These things, it's something how they remain with us.

Maria Rosa remembered:

> Empezó el cuídate y él "No comentes estas cosas fuera y no vayas a hablar de estas cosas afuera," Así que mucho de eso, no hables, cuidado con quien hablas.
>
> It started with "Be careful," and "Don't talk about these things outside," There was a lot of this, don't talk, and be careful who you talk with.

Amanda shared:

> Con cuidado que no le vaya a pasar algo, que los milicos, que todo era cuidado que todo todo todo, había que tener mucho cuidado con todo.
>
> Be careful that nothing happens to you, watch out for the soldiers. It was all about being careful about everything, everything, everything, I had to be careful about everything.

As apparent from these excerpts, this period was marked by the interviewees gaining a better understanding of what was happening around and, while facing fear and terror, they also began to mobilize. The first movements against the dictatorship take place and participants began to participate in the first mass public acts against the dictatorship. Excerpts noted the growing sense of collective identity. This sense of collective inspired political action that led to next period, achieving the impossible, to voting the dictatorship out.

The years leading up to the 1988 plebiscite. During this period, the latter years of the dictatorship of mid-1980s to1988, participants recalled their emotions were strong and this led them to an even greater sense collective than experienced in the earlier years. All 15 interviewees expressed in one way or another their increased commitment to the overthrow of Pinochet, the restoration of democracy and their desire to live in a free and democratic society. This desire and urgency was expressed by all of the participants and, based on evocative memories, led to concrete political behavior. Six of the 15 were involved with political organizations and became strong activists; eight of them recalled taking big personal risks during this time; 13 shared memories of participating frequently in public acts, protest and demonstrations against the regime. Some of the participants dedicated themselves exclusively to the task of ridding the country of Pinochet and the military regime; three of the respondents abandoned their university studies because they spend to much time in political activism and did not achieve the minimum GPA required.

The goal that united: End the dictatorship and reestablish democracy. All interviewees shared memories that illuminated their growing commitment to assume responsibility for and involvement in efforts to restore democracy. Nine participants actually used words like "crusade" to describe the power of their belief. During this period, adapting was no longer acceptable. The participants' memories are of action.

Sara shared:

> La dictadura eran tan tan fuerte, tan fuerte, había tantos asesinatos y tanta tortura que no había ninguna opción que esto iba a terminar pronto. No había forma de pensar que esto a un corto plazo iba a terminar, porque el que hablaba lo mataban, el que hablaba, desaparecía pero en el minuto en que Pinochet cede y dice " Ya, ok, hagamos un plebiscito," ahí yo dije este es el minuto, nosotros podemos cambiar la historia de Chile.
>
> The dictatorship was so strong, so strong. They had been so many killings and so much torture. There wasn't an option this would end soon. There wasn't a way to think that this was just for the short term. Whoever spoke up got killed. Whoever talked, disappeared. But the moment Pinochet conceded and said "Ok, we'll do a referendum," I said to myself, this is it. We can change the course of Chile's history.

Marcela shared:

> Me daba rabia, eso me daba, no me daba miedo, me daba rabia porque me daba rabia la injusticia. Que como, que nosotros estábamos en clases, si bien es cierto mis compañeros de repente la revolvían igual como la revolvíamos nosotros pero no éramos de los que andaba tirándole piedras, ni las Molotov ni nada. Nosotros éramos super pacíficos. Nos sentábamos en la calle, no dejábamos que pasaran los autos, cachai de esa onda.
>
> I was angry, that's what I felt. I wasn't scared. I was angry at the injustice. We'd be in classes and, sure, even though my classmates got involved sometimes, we weren't the ones throwing rocks or Molotov cocktails. We were very peaceful. We did sit-ins in the streets, we didn't let cars go through, you get it, that was our style.

Claudio mentioned:

> Lo primero era recuperar la democracia, para todos nosotros era un sueño, nosotros nacimos en un gobierno democrático, no lo vivimos, pero vivimos toda nuestra vida en un mundo que no tenia democracia, entonces aspirábamos a una democracia no solamente como forma de gobierno sino que formato de vida.
>
> The main thing was to restore democracy. This was the dream for all of us. We had been born under a democratic government, but we didn't grow up in one. We had lived

> our entire life in a world that had no democracy so we aspired to a democracy not only as a sort of government but also as a way of life.

My uncle's pain is my pain. Participants identified different events that triggered different their intense reactions of fear as well as empathy at the time. Memories of friends and relatives suffering at the hands of the regime were painful recollections to share during the interviews and caused pain at the time. One participant told the story of the murder of his uncle at the hands of what was referred to as "The Caravan of Death," a Chilean army death squad and how this fact, which he learned about many years later, impacted his political activism. Telling this story during the interview for this study was actually the first time Fernando had shared this story with someone outside his immediate family in over 40 years.

Fernando recounted:

> El hermano de mi mamá … si, él era militante socialista y para el golpe estaba aquí en Santiago entiendo, pero dijo "Bueno el golpe, yo me voy a ir a Antofagasta. Si ya esto es un golpe ya voy a entregar mi cargo y todo el cuento." El tema que lo detuvieron, y vino la caravana de la muerte y lo mataron, lo degollaron y le dispararon.
>
> My mother's brother … yes, he was a militant socialist and during the coup, he was here in Santiago I think, and he said "Well, a coup, I'm going to Antofagasta [a city in northern Chile]. I'm going to hand over my responsibilities and all that." But they caught him. The Caravan of Death came and they shot and killed him, they slaughtered him.

While other participants did not share memories of crimes against family members, six of the 15 participants recalled painful memories of terrible things that happened to friends or neighbors.

Sara, for example, shared:

> Lo que pasa es que ahí había compañeras que las tenían detenidas y las torturaron, las violaron (…) me di cuenta que efectivamente había tortura, existieron torturas, existió de todo, asesinatos, torturas, violaciones, de todo, absolutamente de todo (…) las historias de vida de mis compañeros, hicieron que yo empatizara con ellos, porque es imposible no empatizar con esas historias de vida, uno no puede no empatizar, uno no puede no sentir, el dolor que hay tras una historia de vida respecto del dolor que se

> siente tras una tortura, por eso.
>
> There were friends who had been arrested and tortured, raped … I realized that it was all happening, torture, murders, rapes, absolutely everything…my classmates' stories made me empathize with them because it is impossible not to empathize with those sorts of life stories. It is not possible to not empathize. One cannot not feel the pain that lingers in those stories in terms of the pain felt after a torture.

The risks were warranted; the goal was in sight. Even during these last years of the dictatorship, while the fear of being imprisoned, disappeared or dead was always present, participants recalled taking more and more risks. As was previously mentioned, eight of 15 participants remembered taking serious risks during that time. The dictatorship was about to end and the political activism and collective commitment was so strong that people were risking everything in order to end the dictatorship.

Sara remembered:

> Me acuerdo que estábamos en Vicuña Mackenna sentados en un sitting con las micros ahí y de repente alguien grita " Los pacos" y había que arrancar (...) me acuerdo que me puse a correr y de repente me di vuelta y vi que venían los pacos marchando como agarrados del brazo. Me quedé paralizada y mire alrededor y no había nadie conocido. Yo llevaba un mes en clases no conocía a nadie, y veía que venían y yo nada… un compañero de universidad que no me acuerdo ni de que carrera era que me tomo de la mano y me vio que estaba petrificada. Me tomo de la mano y me hizo correr y me sacó.
>
> I remember that we were in doing a sit-in at Vicuña Mackenna and the buses were over there and suddenly someone yells "the cops" and we had to run. I remember that I started running and suddenly I turned around and I saw that the cops were coming, marching arm in arm. I was paralysed and looked around and there was no one I knew. I had only been in class for a month and I didn't know anybody. I saw that they were coming and I couldn't move, I was paralysed. A classmate who I don't even remember his major in school, well he took my hand, he saw that I was petrified, he grabbed my hand and made me run and got me out.

Fernando, whose uncle had been murdered, shared:

> Siempre que habían protestas….en el centro, ahí la adrenalina a tope, agarrándome con los.. tirándoles piedras, a hondazos y los pacos de repente arremetían y aparecían por otro lado y te encerraban. Por suerte nunca me agarraron porque yo veía como les sacaban la… los pacos eran terribles, o sea ahí agarraban y pegaban a matar…pegaban a matar…no yo ahí me re-cagaba de susto pero, yo en el fondo era la adrenalina porque

a la otra iba igual.

> Whenever there were protests ... in downtown, there was a rush of adrenalin, throwing rocks, and the cops suddenly appeared on the other side and they'd surround you. Luckily they never caught me because I saw how they'd grab you and beat you to death ... the cops were terrible. They would beat to kill. And there I'd me, scared again but deep down it was the adrenaline that kept me going.

As evidenced by these quotes, participants shared many memories of being actively involved in protests, demonstrations and political meetings. Fourteen shared stories of being involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in efforts to bring about democracy. Participants expressed that they felt strongly about the importance of their involvement in the fight against dictatorship. Javier shared:

> Fue una época de hacer muchas cosas, de exponerse a muchas cosas pero también de vivirlas muy convencidos, muy intensamente, no me arrepiento nada de eso.
>
> It was a time of doing many things, of being exposed to many things but also to live them with a lot of commitment, very intensely. I don't regret any of it.

Maria Rosa shared:

> Yo creo que el objetivo que tenía yo personalmente era que yo no concebía la vida sin esa lucha, para mi el día a día, puede ser muy raro lo que te voy a decir pero que el día a día se justificaba en la medida que yo estaba haciendo algo… terminar con la dictadura y haciendo lo que tuviera que hacer y desde el rol que me tocara.
>
> I think that my personal purpose was that I couldn't imagine my life having value without this struggle. My daily routine - it may be very strange to say this to you now - but the everyday was justified to the extent that I was doing something to end the dictatorship and playing the part I could.

Sara remembered:

> Íbamos a todas las marchas y a todos los eventos(…) hacíamos propaganda, así que esa época fue bastante bullada porque hacíamos de todo para concientizar, nosotros sabíamos que ganaría el No, pero hacíamos harta concientización para que la gente perdiera el miedo … la gente supiera que tenía que votar que no les iba a pasar nada, porque la gente tenía miedo de que si votaban alguien iba a saber.
>
> We went to all the marches and all the events … we did political outreach. This period

> was really busy because we did everything to raise awareness. We knew that the No vote would win, but we had to do enough so that people would lose their fear… People knew that they had go to vote and that nothing was going to happen to them, because people were afraid that if they voted someone would know.

The October 5, 1988. The plebiscite. All 15 participants, without exception, voted on October 5. Five of fifteen remembered that day as monumental in their lives. Through collective action and individual risk, they had achieved a dream. It was one of the happiest days of their lives. Although some indicated that they were worried about Pinochet's reaction, at the end of the day when the results were made known, seven of the 15 interviewees told stories of the celebrations that went on for days. They participated too.

Sara lit up as she shared:

> Cuando ganó la opción del No yo ya estaba allá, estaba con mi bandera y estuve hasta el otro día de madrugada, si, y lo celebre toda la madrugada completa, con toda la gente lo celebre, absolutamente con toda la gente (...) si fue el día más feliz de mi vida.
>
> When "No" won, I was already out there, I was with my flag and I stayed out and celebrated till dawn. I celebrated with all the people… yes, it was the happiest day of my life.

Maria Rosa remembered

> Me sentía plena, feliz, desarrollada, sentía efectivamente que Chile había cambiado que iba a ser otra cosa, que se iban abrir las grandes alamedas, … y si estaba contenta, muy contenta, muy contenta, si, feliz y con esperanza, y con esperanza.
>
> I felt full, happy, complete. I really felt that Chile had changed, that it was going to be something else, that the big avenues were going to be opened… I was happy, very, very happy and hopeful.

Fernando, who had lost so much, remembered:

> Fue fantástico (…) el día lunes el centro era una locura, o sea yo nunca en mi vida había visto una manifestación social tan potente como ese día lunes, era una efervescencia, el centro era, todo el mundo se abrazaba con todo el mundo hasta los pacos!
>
> It was amazing … downtown that Monday was crazy, I mean, never in my life had I seen such a powerful demonstration as on that Monday. Downtown was sheer joy. Everyone hugging, even the cops!

Clara recalled:

> Bueno al día siguiente el día 6 de Octubre salíamos a las calles,(…) y ahí todos bailamos yo recuerdo que ese día de la vida fue para mí muy feliz, muy profundamente feliz, fue un día yo creo que fue un día profundamente feliz profundamente.
>
> Well, the next day, October 6th, we went out into the streets…and we all danced. I remember that this day of my life full of profound joy, It was profoundly happy. It was a day full of happiness.

Memories of that day, October 5th, 1988, were full of joy and elation. It also brought hope for a future. In recounting that moment, nine of the interviewees shared their hope for democracy at the time. They shared their vision of living in a more equal society, with equal access to education and healthcare. They shared their hopes to back democratic institutions. For six of the interviewees, however, their goal had been met, the dictatorship was over.

Luna shared:

> Era cumplir un sueño, ahora, a mi me pasó personalmente con esto y después con la salida de Aylwin que mi única expectativa dentro de mi cabeza joven era que no siguieran muriendo más personas porque pensaban diferentes, pero nunca imaginé un cambio radical nada, yo tenía super claro que el poder lo seguía teniendo la derecha.
>
> The dream had been achieved for me. In my youthful mind, my only hope was that people wouldn't keep dying for thinking differently, but I never imagined a radical change at all. I was very clear that power was still in the hands of the right.

As previously stated, collective identification includes feelings of solidarity, empathy, collective empowerment, and shared values (Gutierrez, 1995). It is clear from the stories shared by participants during this grueling period of the dictatorship, the growing awareness turned to empathy which motivated people's commitment. The stories are of action, of protests and marches on the street, all with the same ultimate objective: to end the dictatorship and restore democracy.

The day of the plebiscite, on October 5, 1988, is remembered as a glorious day and as one of the happiest days of their lives. The joy was monumental. A dream had been achieved. A new stage full of hope lied ahead.

Historical period 3: Living in democracy. From the elections in 1989 to the present. The memories. Based on the interviews, participants entered this historic period with high hopes after the election on December 14, 1989. On March 11, 1990 democratically elected Patricio Aylwin assumed the presidency of Chile. Pinochet stepped down from the presidency but remained as Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army until 1998, a division of power that was fully endorsed by the Constitution of 1980.

As this section illustrates, participants' hope for the return to democracy and a more just society turned to disappointment, their sense of empowerment turning to frustrated powerlessness. The section begins with examples of the expressions of hope upon the return of democracy, covers the growing frustration, and then moves to participants' reflections about their current experience. The value of examining their sentiments about the current state of democracy in their country is that this illuminates one of the major questions of this study: what is the impact of growing up under dictatorship on one's sense of agency including socio-political responsibility and political participation?

The 1989 elections: Democracy returns in 1990. While none of the interviewees spontaneously mentioned the 1989 election itself, when asked, four of the 15 shared that they worked on President Patricio Aylwin's campaign. It was apparent from the interviewees' reflections, that the epic moment in their memories was the October 5th, 1988 plebiscite and the days following. That was when they knew Chile would return to a being a democracy.

Conversely, memories of the 1989 election and the reestablishment of democracy in 1990, a period that had been so eagerly awaited, were full of recollections of emotions such as frustration and despair. Neither the military nor Pinochet himself had yet been brought to trial for the atrocities committed. Six of 15 participants mentioned the sense of deep frustration because the trails had not happened.

Luna shared:

> Los milicos nunca pidieran perdón y que siguieran justificando hasta el día de hoy las atrocidades que se cometieron(...) deja a mucha gente sin poder hacer justicia, y luchando toda su vida pero con una frustración enorme y que lo único que los mantiene vivos es seguir peleando, seguir peleando.
>
> The military never asked for forgiveness and they continue up to today to justify the atrocities they committed…So many people are left without justice. They are fighting all of their lives but with huge frustration and the only thing that keeps them going is to continue to fight for justice.

Claudio shared also his feelings:

> Murieron mis amigos, si lo que te estoy contando es poco, murieron mis amigos, mataron a muchos de mis amigos, a otros los detuvieron a otros los torturaron a otros los exiliaron.
>
> My friends died. What I'm sharing with you now is so little in comparison. My friends died. They murdered so many of my friends. Others were detained and others were tortured and others went to the exile.

Claudia shared:

> Mi papi perdió amigos, le mataron a algunos de sus mejores amigos… yo esperaba mucho que de verdad hubiera gestos no de reconciliación sino de justicia. A mi la reconciliación nunca me hizo mucho sentido … hasta el día de hoy me hace sentido la justicia que nunca ha llegado o ha llegado muy poco.
>
> My dad lost friends, they murdered some of his best friends. I had high hopes that there would be actions not of reconciliation but of justice. For me, reconciliation never made much sense … up through today, I feel a sense of that justice never came or it came too little too late.

Participants expressed their high hopes for the return of democracy, to live in a more just, more egalitarian society, with access to education and healthcare. As these hopes were dashed, interviewees shared their range of emotions, from frustration and sadness to their sense of feeling betrayed and cheated by the political elites who took the power. Seven of 15 participants specifically called out this situation as demonstrated by the following comments:

Valentina shared:

> Saliendo Pinochet, iba a ver otro mundo, otro país, pensamos que ingenuamente, pensábamos que los dirigentes de esa época eran unas personas que realmente luchaban por el pueblo, que realmente luchaban para que llegara una democracia y sentíamos yo personalmente sentíamos que íbamos a llegar a la democracia y me costó pensar que no estamos en democracia todavía.
>
> With Pinochet out, there was going to be a new world, another country. We naively thought that the era's leaders were individuals who really fought for the people, who really fought for democracy and we felt, I felt, that we were going to secure a democracy and it is really hard to realize that we still aren't there yet.

Amanda commented:

> Todas las expectativas, como que iba a llegar un cambio de verdad, de verdad (…) y pensábamos que realmente iba a cambiar. Y claro pasaron los años, pasaron los años y no pasó nada.
>
> All those hopes, like there was going to be a true change… and we thought it was really going to change. And the years rolled by, the years passed, and nothing happened.

Claudio shared:

> Fue todo bonito bello, esperábamos justos cambios como te decía yo, que la política retornara a ser la canalizadora de las justas aspiraciones sociales cosa que no fue, por eso estamos tan desencantados algunos de la época.
>
> It was all beautiful, beautiful. We expected changes that would be just and fair, as I told you, that politics would again be the catalyst for just societal goals, which didn't happen. That is why some of us from that era are so disenchanted.

This very brief period of two years began with high hopes but ended with disappointment. President Aylwin was president. Pinochet's 1980 Constitution remained in place

and accomplished its purpose: Maintain his power and restrict on democracy in the post-military period.

Twenty-nine years to reestablishing democracy. Participants were asked to share their reflections about the current state of the nation's democracy. Seven of 15 participants shared their sense of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the current political-economic system and six commented on the injustices they see all around them. These sentiments are exemplified by the quotes below.

Fernando reflected:

> Con el golpe de estado arrasaron con toda la estructura, arrasaron con todo lo que es se había construido en la historia de Chile hasta ese minuto… se fue todo a la mierda, como que limpiaron todo el mapa de Chile y dijeron ya como vamos a construir de nuevo este país, si así fue, no quedó nada…nuevas estructuras económicas fundamentalmente eso, fundamentalmente un neoliberalismo que hasta el día de hoy, sustenta el desarrollo de este país.
>
> The coup wiped away the entire system. They destroyed everything that had been built over the course of Chile's history to date … It was all for shit. It was as if they washed away the entire map of Chile and then they said, now how are we going to build this country from the ground up. That's how it was. Nothing was left… fundamentally it was a new economic system, a neoliberalism that remains in place today supporting the country's development.

Luna commented:

> El sistema neoliberal se instaló para quedarse y que si bien no hay una dictadura, la hay igual porque en términos económicos la derecha sacó mucho provecho y se instaló.
>
> The neoliberal system was put in place to stay whether there's a dictatorship or not. It doesn't matter because in economic terms the right-wing profited a lot by setting it up.

As participants reflected on the state of their country's democracy, it became clear that the economic system is perceived as a motor force of inequality. Four of the interviewees expressed that they did not feel there would be fundamental change and equality in the future

because the economic structure remains in place as well as the 1980 Constitution, which institutionalized and legitimized unfair social structures and inequalities.

Fernando commented:

> El consumismo hace que el país funcione y después todo es maquillaje, después los políticos pertenecen al sistema, son parte del sistema, no lo quieren cambiar, de izquierda a derecha, podrán cambiar algunas cosas, mínimas, pero la estructura no, no la van a cambiar que funciona con el capital.
>
> Consumerism is the basis of the country's functioning and after that, everything else is just the frosting. The politicians belong to that system, they are part of the system, they don't want to change it, whether from the left-wing to right-wing, they can change some little things here and there but not the basic structure, they aren't going to change what functions with capital.

Luna added:

> Todavía tenemos la misma constitución que avala un sistema sumamente injusto, de salud, de educación, está instalado.
>
> We still have the same constitution, which guarantees a system that is extremely unfair in terms of health, education.

In addition to these structural economic inequities, demands for human rights trials are still pending, and there a growing feminist movement demanding gender equality. Reference to this will be made in Chapter V as those movements took center stage in the streets across Chile in Fall 2019. However, at the time of the interviews in Spring 2019, six participants explicitly mentioned the new generation's greater awareness for gender equality and women's rights as well as access to education and health care. The following excerpts exemplify this sentiment.

Valentina shared:

> Si yo creo que el feminismo nos va a llevar a algún cambio el feminismo real estoy hablando del feminismo más radical.
>
> Yes I believe that feminism will lead us to some type of change. I am talking about real feminism, the most radical feminism.

Amanda commented:

> Eso me hace ver un mundo de esperanza que realmente las cosas están cambiando. Sobre todo para nosotras porque el mundo siempre ha sido de los hombres, al menos el mundo que nosotros conocemos ahora.
>
> That makes me see a world of hope that things are really changing. Especially for us because the world has always been for men, at least the world we know now.

These brief two years is not a time during which the participants held strong memories, neither of events nor emotions. Likely the 1988 plebiscite itself was such an enormous milestone in their lives that the memories were of exhilaration carried them forward. However, as they moved into the long period of democracy being restored, participants recalled their feelings of frustration and disenchantment. According to the interviewees this happened because their high expectations were not met. For ten of them, the promise of the “No” campaign slogan "Chile, the joy is coming" never came. Why? On the one hand, the human rights violators continued to walk free, protected by immunity. Trials for those responsible for atrocities were not held. Pinochet remained as Commander-in- Chief of the Chilean Army until 1998 and thereafter, as a Senator-for-life with immunity from prosecution, a privileged granted to him by his 1980 Constitution. And, on the other hand, the economic system that had imposed such hardship continued on. The new Chile was no more equal.

Participants also shared that after the mass mobilizations leading up to the plebiscite, the new democracy offered little in the way of deep political engagement. The new political system was filled with politicians from the old order coupled with pervasive nepotism. Participants’ level of civic responsibility was reduced to a vote in each election and no more than that. Thereby, for many years, the participants dedicated themselves to home life, forming a family, and developing as professionals as half of them expressed.

Conclusions Part II

In conclusion, in the first sections of Part II: The coup d'État and the first years after the coup, participants recalled strong and badly images and feelings as memories linked to the situation they and their families went through that day. Among them are La Moneda in flames, soldiers and screams everywhere, military raids and planes crossing the sky. The recalled emotions are sadness, nostalgia, feeling of bewilderment and also a sense of defeat among adults who were surrounded them. During that period, participants got used to not to question past situations keeping themselves in silence, as well as seeing that everything changed, including schools and neighborhood. Family members, friends, neighbors, and loved ones were suddenly disappeared without saying goodbye.

In the second and third section of Part II, meaning from the beginning to the middle of the 1980s and the years leading up to the 1988 plebiscite, participants recalled to be more participative due to the consciousness that started to grow about what was happening in the country. Conversation about the human rights violations are being carried in safe places such as family environment. They understand why it is crucial to overthrow the regime and how their participation can contribute to that. These phases are characterized by a mix of feelings but also concrete actions.

Finally, in the fourth section, the plebiscite is experienced by the participants as the achievement of a dream. They celebrate and feel huge amounts of happiness surrounded them. It is also remembered as a day which brought hope to the future, feelings that after several months when democracy was reestablished in 1990, were converted into strong frustration and deception because the neoliberal system implanted by Pinochet which support an economic system

responsible for the inequalities continued to sustain the country, as well as the questioned 1980 Constitution written and approved during the Pinochet dictatorship.

Part III. Civic Engagement in Chile's Democracy

What is the impact of living through the 17 years of Chile's dictatorship on survivors' sense of self as citizen? Specifically, a central question of this study is how do individuals who grew up during the Chilean dictatorship reflect on their own sense of agency and civic engagement in their country's current democracy.

As related to this study, in this final section of Chapter IV participants' reflections on the impact of growing up in the dictatorship in terms of their own sense of agency, political commitment, and civic engagement is explored.

The interviews probed the participants' participation in current socio-political life and their assessment of their contribution to Chilean society. Each interview concluded with asking participants to share their reflections on how the dictatorship affected their current political commitment and civic participation. In response to the open-ended question participants shared their own thinking about how living through the dictatorship affected their civic commitment as citizens in a democracy. They spoke of feelings that have stayed with them for their lifetimes.

The dictatorship's impact on them. In response to the question about how they made sense of the dictatorship's impact on them as individuals and citizens in a democracy, many of the participants stared off into the distance, as if focused elsewhere. They spoke of sadness, fear and vulnerability that they carried within themselves. As they were bringing back those feelings, some of them were emotional: this brought tears to participants (3); some looked down and lower their voice slowly (4) and some even showed anguish in their tone of voice (5).

Clara reflected:

> La sensación de vulnerabilidad, de miedo, el miedo, yo creo que el miedo que quedó instalado (pausa) yo le tengo miedo a los milicos, (pausa) si el miedo a perder lo que uno quiere y por uno mismo (…) morir, morir y desaparecer, o sea yo creo que si, o sea a la fuerza bruta, no a la inteligencia sino a la fuerza bruta, eso es lo peor, y yo creo que cuando digo eso es el miedo, el miedo, el miedo.
>
> The feeling of vulnerability, of fear, of fear, I believe that fear remained embedded inside. (Pause) I am afraid of the military. (Pause) Yes, the fear to lose what one loves and fear for oneself, to die, to disappear. I mean, yes, I mean I am afraid of brute force, not of intelligence but of brute force. That's the worst, and when I say this, it's about the fear, fear, fear.

Claudia shared:

> Siguen apareciendo estos fantasmas cachai, que tienen que ver con el miedo, (...) era un miedo a un hombre a un ser humano que podía llegar y te podía matar, te podía arrebatar a tu papá (...) porque hasta el día de hoy a mi me da pena hablar de esto, me da pena, me da pena, me duele el alma, se me aprieta el corazón (...)
>
> The ghosts [of the past] continue to appear. They have to do with fear … a fear that a man, a person, could arrive and kill you. He could take your father away. To this day I am sad to talk about this. It makes me sad. My soul aches, my heart tightens.

Seven of the 15 participants mentioned the ongoing sadness they continue to feel, especially in relation to loved ones who are gone.

Sara lamented:

> Lo peor que me dejó la dictadura es eso la pena, la amargura, la tristeza , tengo lapsus de mucha, mucha tristeza por esa época, tengo recuerdos muy tristes de esa época.
>
> The dictatorship left me with sorrow, bitterness, sadness. I have periods of tremendous sadness about that period. I have very sad memories of that time.

Fernando shared:

> Si, claro me hace mal [recordar], es mucho, porque eran muchos tipos como mi tío, la mayoría eran como mi tío, gente buena que estaba comprometido con un ideal, un ideal político de sociedad, entonces lo otro que te meten en la cabeza que eran terroristas, que eran malos.
>
> Yes, of course it hurts me [to remember]. It's too much because they were lots of men like my uncle, most were like my uncle, good people who were committed to a vision, a

> political vision of society, then the others, they tried to get into your head that they were terrorists, that they were bad people.

Javier commented as to what remains:

> El susto, la indefensión, la vulnerabilidad y la pena por los que se fueron.
>
> Fear, defenselessness, vulnerability and grief for those who are gone.

What else lives on? Of the 15 interviewees, seven mentioned that despite all the risks, the fears, the sorrows, there was one positive, the development of a commitment to fight against a common enemy and the collective will to do so. For these participants, the most important outcome was their deep belief in the cause for which they fought. It was not for personal gain. There was nothing in return. It was about their dedication to achieving a greater good for the country, to fight for the restoration of democracy. This was a commonly held dream. In this sense and according to the interviewees, the generation that survived through the dictatorship shares a commitment to the common good.

The majority of interviewees felt that despite—or perhaps because of—the hardships of the dictatorship they were more caring, more empathetic people. Five of the 15 participants noted that through those years they developed a sense of social justice, a greater understanding of the importance of social equality, and an awareness of the value of life and its purpose. Four participants also mentioned solidarity and loyalty as an important values in their lives. This is indicated in the following comments:

Amanda commented:

> Yo siento que soy mucho más solidaria que otras personas. Que soy capaz de hacer cosas sin esperar plata por medio. Siento que esto de los ideales son de la dictadura. Esto de tener un ideal y decir yo quiero luchar por estos ideales. Esto era yo, viene de eso. Si, viene de eso. Eso de que se puede hacer algo, ser solidario, juntarnos todos, luchar por lo que queremos, salir adelante.
>
> I feel that I am much more supportive than other people. I'm willing to do things for

> others without expecting anything in return. I feel that these values are consequences of the dictatorship. It's about believing in an ideal and saying I want to fight for it. That's me, it comes from that. That something can be done, to be in solidarity with others, to come together and fight for what we want, to move forward.

Maria Rosa shared:

> Esos fueron tiempos muy intensos de cosas muy bonitas, muy dolorosas, pero también muy bonitas en que el vivir la vida de esa manera justifica muchas cosas de cómo te defines para adelante, el ser capaz de entregar todo si fuera necesario por algo en lo que tu crees.
>
> Those were very intense times full of very beautiful and very painful things. Beautiful in the sense that living life in that way provides a way to define yourself, to be able to give up everything if necessary for something you believe in.

Sara shared:

> Yo aprendí de todo esto que me pasó a ser mejor persona. Después de haber vivido la dictadura soy una persona empática, soy una persona solidaria.
>
> I learned from all of this to be a better person. As a result of having lived through the dictatorship, I am an empathetic person, I am a supportive person.

Maria commented:

> Yo le doy las gracias al periodo que viví porque gracias a eso se lo que cuesta como que se lo que cuesta conservar una democracia, se lo que duele porque he empatizado con el dolor de los demás, porque mi propia familia lo vivió.
>
> I'm grateful for the period I lived because thanks to that I know what it takes to hold on to a democracy. I know what it means to hurt because I empathized with the pain of others because my own family lived it.

"Never again" and their lifelong commitment to fighting for democracy. While being able to find the good in the horrific as noted above, 13 of the 15 participants were in agreement about the worst of their experiences, which was living through the brutal violations of human rights. They reflected on the impact of that experience on their sense of democracy and the commitment to "never again," the value of human life and to insuring that Chile is a society without violence and a better place for all. While four participants noted that the country is

divided between those still awaiting justice and those who feel it is time to move on, 13 of the participants felt it was their obligation to continue to speak out. Their civic responsibility as illustrated by the excerpts below:

Marina shared:

> Sin perdón ni olvido, o sea si tu me preguntas a mi no han pagado nada para el daño que hicieron los milicos, nada, nada y yo encuentro que uno no se puede olvidar y yo en el fondo me encargo a diario a decir que, y a quien puedo se lo recuerdo, no hay perdón no hay olvido (...)
>
> No forgiveness nor forgetting, I mean, if you ask me, the military has not paid for the damage they caused. Nothing. I think that one cannot forget and I basically take that as my responsibility to say that, every day, whomever I can. There is no forgiveness, there is no forgetting.

Clara shared:

> Hace como cuatro años atrás conversé con mi hijo mayor y me decía: tu que crees mamá que va a pasar y yo le dije vamos a seguir estando divididos, hasta que no haya justicia.
>
> About four years ago, I was talking with my eldest son and he asked me, 'What do you think will happen, mom' and I told him we will continue to be divided until there is justice.

Despite having lived through 17 years of dictatorship in response to the impact, participants were virtually unanimous in their individual commitment to the value of democracy and civic involvement. Instead of dampening their sense of responsibility, it is unquestionable from these participants that the experience insured they would fight, that never again meant they would speak out against abuses of human rights and they would not be silenced.

Chile today … what's up? Because this study is interested in exploring the impact on a sense of democracy and civic engagement among those who lived through the dictatorship, interviewees were asked for their observations the strength of Chile's democracy and their concerns about that. Seven of the 15 participants shared an observation that Chile was a deeply polarized and highly individualistic society without a shared sense of the common good that they

expected this could lead to mass mobilizations in the future. Given this study's interest in generational experience, the Pinochet-generation participants explain some of this polarization as an expression of a generational divide. This way of thinking is reflected in the following comments:

Javier shared his perspective in this way:

> La gente esta en otra, en que sentido esta en otra?, en que esta hiper hiper hiper hiper atomizada, la época antigua la época nuestra era una época de masas, donde tú te ponías la bandera y era parte de un grupo gigante y eso tenía valor, ser parte de este lado, o de este otro lado.
>
> People are not really present. In what sense aren't they? They are hyper hyper hyper hyper isolated. Our era, that old period, was a time of mass movements, where you grabbed a banner and you were part of a gigantic group and that had value, to be part of one side or another.

Maria added:

> Nosotros lo que yo siento que nosotros peleábamos, nosotros sabíamos que estábamos haciendo algo por el país(…) es muy raro que un Millennial dure dos años en una pega, porque el se aburre y se va, y junta las lucas pa viajar y ellos no tienen creencias no les importa nada.
>
> What I believe is that we we were fighting, we knew we were doing something for the country. It is really unusual for a Millennial to last two years in a job because they get bored and leave. They save enough money to travel. They do not believe in anything. They don't care about anything.

Javier shared:

> La épica, el compromiso, la causa, el riesgo … te estoy diciendo de los Millennials de ahora, salir del yo, no es que yo no voy a ir, que me van a dar si es que yo me levanto a las 5 de la mañana para ir a una barricada, que gano yo ahí? … no se me habría jamás en la vida haber hecho esa pregunta, no se me habría ocurrido nunca, qué gano yo ahí.
>
> The epic [moment], the commitment, the Cause, the risk … I am telling you, Millennials nowadays, come from a place of self-interest, "It is not that I will not go but what will I gain for me if I get up at 5 in the morning to go to a barricade. What is in it for me? ... Never in life would I have asked that question. It would never have occurred to me, what is in it for me?

Participants shared a sense that economic hardship under the dictatorship brought people together for the common good, whereas participants felt that economic difficulties today are making people more individualistic and selfish.

Clara shared this view in the following way:

> Con el tema económico uno vuelve a vivir esta sensación de que te pasan a llevar (...) es como una especie de dictadura velada … o sea es otra violencia, es otra violencia por eso digo con como los síntomas de la dictadura, la violencia económica porque en el fondo cuando tu no tienes un plan de salud, o un plan de jubilación que sea acorde a tus años de esfuerzo a lo que has entregado, y además para tener una mínima, un pasar mínimo, es complejo.
>
> In terms of the economic issue, one relives the feeling that they coming to get you. It is like kind of veiled dictatorship … another kind of violence. That is why I say it is like the symptoms of the dictatorship, this economic violence because basically when you do not have a healthcare, or a retirement plan that is consistent with your years of work in order to have a basic standard of living, it is complicated.

Valentina commented:

> El sistema ha hecho muy bien su trabajo, lo hicieron muy bien, la gente es muy individualista, piensa en sí misma, no existe el concepto de colectivo, no existe el concepto de comunidad.
>
> The system has done its job very well, they did very well, people are very individualistic, think of themselves, there is no concept of collective, there is no concept of community.

The interviewees suggested that a common collective must be generated taking into account unresolved economic claims and social demands, which should be grouped into common motivations, not isolated but transversal to all society and people from all sectors.

Amanda:

> Yo creo en que todos podemos hacer algo. Cuando logramos unirnos en dictadura, pudimos derrocar al dictador. Porque fue la presión de la gente, no fueron los políticos, fuimos nosotros que dijimos esto se acabó. Se acabó porque ya la crisis ya no daba más. Esto se acabó y cuando decidimos eso, se acabó (...)
>
> I believe that we can all do something. When we managed to unite in dictatorship, we were able to overthrow the dictator. It was the pressure of the people, it wasn't the

> politicians, it was we who said this is over. This is over because the crisis was untenable. This is over and when we decided that, it was over (...)

Claudio:

> (...) a diferencia que en esa época el discurso era compartido (...) de distintos mundos nos agregamos en un proyecto común, y el proyecto común era retornar a la democracia. Lo que veo a partir de los años 90 en adelante, con el retorno a la democracia es la desagregación, no veo agregación, no veo discursos que sean transversales, sino que trincheras particulares (...) de que el futuro puede ser mejor, juntos que lo podemos construir juntos, generar relatos colectivos yo creo que eso falta.
>
> (...) unlike that at that time the discourse was shared (...) from different worlds we unified in a common project, and the common project was to return to democracy. From the 90s onwards with the return to democracy I see disaggregation, I don't see aggregation, I don't see speeches that are transversal, but rather particular trenches (...) the future can be better, together we can build it together, generate collective narratives, I think that is missing.

Thereby, hopes are focused on the new generations who have taken new flags of common causes and who manifest themselves without fear for not having been victims of the past in dictatorship.

Clara shared:

> (...) creo que en las generaciones posteriores o las que vienen, (...) hay muchos jóvenes idealistas que también están por la causa de la vida y que enfrentan otras situaciones complejas, distintas pero complejas que también tienen que ver con la injusticia también tienen que ver con la desigualdad.
>
> (...) I think that in later or future generations, (...) there are many young idealists who are also pro-life and who face other complex, different but complex situations that also have to do with injustice and also have to do with inequality.

What is their current contribution to the Chilean Society? For all respondents without exception, exercising the right to vote is a citizen's duty and that it is associated with how difficult it was to recover democracy after 17 years of dictatorship. It is for this reason that all of them vote when they must do so, accompanied by some of their children, and they argue that they also create awareness of the citizen's duty and right exercised with the vote.

Along with voting six of them have actively participated in the recent marches regarding gender inequality, feminism, and against the pension system as well as commemorative marches of May 1 and September 11.

Maria Rosa shared:

> (...) para mi las marchas sagradas son las del 11 de Septiembre y las del 1 de mayo (...)
>
> (...) for me the sacred marches are those of September 11 and those of May 1 (...)

Some of them also establish their commitment through the work they do locally from their professions and social activities. Six of the interviewees mentioned developing some activity with groups that are at social risk, such as extreme poverty camps, children at social risk and prisoners.

Claudio commented:

> (...) por eso me metí a trabajo social y fui canalizando mi faceta que la tengo muy desarrollada, (pausa) por toda esta experiencia de vida, mi ligazón al mundo sociales super desarrollada, super desarrollada, y por eso quizás me metí a las cárceles y por eso trabajé como reinsertar socialmente a esta gente y tratar de recomponer esta sociedad.
>
> (...) that is why I studied social work and I was channeling my interest that I have very developed, (pause) for all this experience of life, my link to the social world is super developed, super developed, and that is why maybe I got into prisons and that is why I worked on how to socially reinsert these people and try to rebuild this society.

What they think about the future, about democracy. Finally, as a latent fear is the fear of returning to Chile under a dictatorship of the right, that manifested three of the participants:

Luna shared:

> Claro es cómo sin darnos cuenta llegamos a lo que llegamos y tengo mucho miedo, tengo mucho miedo de un Kast sea presidente es como un Bolsonaro, cachai un Kast en Chile, cuando yo escucho que ya es lastimero, que nos han estrujado yo no se que mas nos pueden estrujar.
>
> Of course, it is how without realizing it we get to what we have arrived and I'm very afraid, I'm very afraid of a Kast being president is like a Bolsonaro, you realized a Kast

> in Chile, when I hear that it is already a pity, that they have squeezed us [the economic system] I don't know what else can they squeeze us.

Clara commented:

> Hay mucho Pinochetismo renaciente así como que están renaciendo, hay mucha gente, osea creo que es peligroso, es muy peligroso.
>
> There is a lot of Pinochetism again, it is like they are being reborn, there are many people, I think it is dangerous, it is very dangerous.

Despite having lived for 17 years in dictatorship, the participants showed a commitment for a cause that makes everything worthwhile. The final result, which was the recovery of democracy, shows that despite the fact that they experienced a cruel repression exerted by military and the permanent fear of them during many years, the interviewees maintain the force as a generation to establish a common objective to end dictatorship in a totally selfless way.

Likewise, participants acknowledge that the worst, undoubtably, were the human rights violations, which can be observed during the interviews, in grief, in fear, pain, and sadness and the feeling of insecurity and vulnerability that some of them still have. These feelings are part of the trauma that identifies this generation and has probably been to some extent transmitted to subsequent generations in an intergenerational space of conversation and dialogue.

Conclusions of Chapter IV

This chapter shares the findings of the narrative interviews conducted with the 15 participants who grew up and lived through the Chilean dictatorship to inform how these past experiences affected them and impacted their sense of agency and civic engagement in democracy.

Part I showed how participants' Socio-Political Development was aligned with the three historical period studied: The Chilean coup on September 11, 1973; the Chilean dictatorship from 1973 to the plebiscite held on October 5, 1988; and finally, the democratic elections in

1989 and reestablishment of democracy in 1990 to the present, Spring 2019. It also illuminated which Social-Political Development stage was most predominant during which of these historical periods.

Part II focused on emergent themes revealed through participants' feelings and actions and the effects of those experiences in terms of transgenerational trauma.

Finally, Part III shared how participants reflect about contemporary democracy and the manner in which they express their civic engagement and social participation in a democratic country, which reestablished democracy more than 29 years ago.

Part I. The Major Takeaways

Over the course of the last 46 years, meaning from September 11, 1973, to the present, participants experienced different stages of Socio-Political Development from the A-Critical Stage, when participants were oblivious about what was happening in the country, to the Liberation Stage, when participants increased their active participation against the dictatorship through marches, protests, barricades among others activities. They had developed self-confidence and felt empowered to have power to generate positive societal outcomes, specifically the possibility to overthrow the dictatorship. Each of the historic periods were characterized by a predominant stage of SDP. For example, the coup d'État and the first years after the coup were dominated by the A-Critical and Adaptive stage respectively. During the following years two SPD stages were expressed contemporaneously, that is the case of the beginning of the 80s where a Pre-Critical stage dominated the period moving to participants' development of social and political understanding about what was happening in Chile followed by a Critical Stage where they gained engaged in their community such as schools, universities, neighborhood and even within their families.

Something similar happened during the years leading up to the plebiscite in 1988. Participants had the capacity for critical thinking about what was happening, increased their empathy for the victims of the brutality followed with feelings such as anger and sadness. Ultimately, this empowered them in collective spaces such as schools and universities and motivated them to participate in liberatory actions such as marches and protests, which are characterized behaviors of a Liberation Stage.

During the democratic elections in 1989 and afterwards with the reestablishment of democracy in 1990, the Liberation stage was still evident because participants continued working for the democratic elections but subsequently became frustrated and disappointed because their expectations about democracy failed to materialize. No trials for the human rights violations were pursued and the Pinochet's economic model remained in place. This left the door open for the development of an Adaptive Stage in which individuals are aware of injustices but adapt to them. At this point, the Adaptive Stage turned into the predominant stage and Liberation Stage became less pronounced. The latter stage was apparent in the ways participants continued to vote and to pursue their commitments to helping society's marginalized communities. These commitments though were more nested in individual and professional engagements and not from a shared collective societal space.

Part II. The Major Emergent Feelings

Living in a dictatorship for 17 years was a difficult and painful period to survive. Participants remembered the fear and terror experienced during this time and they also remembered feelings of solidarity, altruism and commitment to fight for a just cause. Achieving the goal of a return of democracy in Chile had many costs including trauma, grief, and pain. For many, the feelings that still lived in the souls of the interviewees.

The Chilean coup on September 11, 1973. During that day, the most important memories were:

- The images of La Moneda, the presidential palace in flames, which was very important due to the symbolic meaning associated to the overthrow of the democratically elected President Allende.
- The sights and sounds of Hawker Hunters bombing La Moneda at 11:52 am. The aircrafts flew over Santiago and participants remembered vividly seeing and hearing them.
- Soldiers on the streets, everywhere, getting off the buses, pointing guns at people. burning books. Participants talked about their feeling to be in a war zone because soldiers were wearing a helmet and automatics guns.
- The sounds of guns and screams coming from the streets.
- Hiding under beds to shelter from stray bullets from shots being fired on the streets.
- Neighbors with their hands up against the walls with soldiers checking documents.
- Finally color red everywhere.

The first years after the coup. During the 15 years that followed the coup d'État to the plebiscite in 1988, participants remembered a series of feelings that sensations about the new social order. Among the most important feelings and impression that emerged from the interviews:

- Everyday reality seemed to changed everywhere: family, school and neighborhood.
- The ambiance in the house changed too. Family members were sad and nostalgic for what life was before the military regime was installed in their lives.

- A sense that something was amiss but not having sufficient information to make sense of it. For many, parents remained silent but for a few, they explained everything but also the importance of not talking for security reasons.
- Feelings of bewilderment because some relatives, friends and neighbors were suddenly gone. Disappeared. And, somehow they knew that they should not ask why.
- Participants also remember the imposition of new rules imposed at school, like military formations.

From the beginning to the middle of the 1980s. During that period participants' consciousness developed about the regime. They recalled feeling terror and fear but also empathy toward the victims of dictatorship. They began to have contact with people who were involved in the fight against Pinochet, and they developed awareness about abuses and cruelty of the regime. Their homes — considered a safe space to talk about the injustices and human rights violations — also generated a sense of empowerment for participants as youth. Parents worried, told them to be careful and take care of themselves, to keep quiet. It was during this time that some of the participants recalled taking their first political actions against the military.

Participants had powerful memories. Their consciousness had been awakened. They could not be silent in the face of the injustices. Not surprisingly this was also the period when the dictatorship implemented a selective repression against protest leaders and activists. Participants remembered those murders and the feelings associated: sadness, anger, and vulnerability. These were the makings of the collective memories that became the generational trauma.

The years leading up to the 1988 plebiscite. During this period, participants developed deep feelings of empathy for the victims of the regime. Those feelings acted as drivers and motivated the participants fight against the dictatorship. They felt empowered to overthrow

Pinochet despite all the risks involved. Their commitment was very powerful. They talked about being on a crusade-like mission to end the dictatorship. Their goal was collective and singularly focused: to overthrow the dictatorship and reestablish democracy. Their participation was constant: marches, protests, occupations of buildings and schools ("tomas"). They fought and risked their lives and livelihoods because they were convinced about what they were doing. The feeling of empowerment was deep and intense.

The October 5, 1988. The plebiscite. This day was remembered as one of the happiest of participants' lives. An immense all-encompassing happiness surrounded them with the feeling of having achieved a dream. Participants mentioned that they felt that all their efforts had been worth it. They had a smile on their face and a shine their eyes as they remembered how on October 5, they celebrated non-stop into the wee hours of the night. They celebrated for Chile and its people. No more human rights violations, no more cruelties, no more murders and no more disappeared people. The nightmare was over. They danced, they hugged each other in the streets of downtown Santiago. Without a doubt, October 5, 1988, was an epic day in the lives of the participants, as the day that Chile recovered its democracy after 15 years of dictatorship.

The 1989 elections and the return of democracy in Chile in 1990. This period was remembered as one of disenchantment and frustration because the expectations about democracy were not fulfilled. Participants referred to the fact that there were no trials of the perpetrators of human rights violations. Pinochet remained Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army and later as a Senator-for-Life. The inequitable economic system that had been established remained in place anchored in the 1980 "Pinochet-era" Constitution, which had been drafted and approved in dictatorship and whose legitimacy has been constantly in doubt. In short, it was a period filled with despair and frustration.

From 1990 to the present, after 29 years of democracy. The last almost three decades have been remembered with mixed feelings by the participants. On the one hand after feeling that the expectations of living in democracy had not been fulfilled, the interviewees shared how they chose to make their lives. Some have a family, others finished their formal studies, then they worked. Some expressed disappointment and doubt that the system was going to change. To make that level of structural change would necessitate broad-based collective action. That is what they said in Spring 2019 … unaware of what was to come that Fall.

Part III. Civic Engagement in Chile's Democracy

Despite having suffered the trauma of living through a dictatorship over 17 years, participants still showed civic engagement and social commitment. They maintained their commitment to vote in each election because the right to vote was a precise and hard-earned right. They were not going to shirk that responsibility of being a citizen in a democracy.

With the disappointments experienced in a democracy that failed to live up to their expectations, many turned to professional goals, and raising their families. It was that time of their lives. A number of them understood that their contributions to society could be done as socially engaged professionals. They became committed to working with marginalized communities. When they were asked about democracy and its stability in general they expressed fear because of the absence of leaders who could guide the country in the future. Despite that, they were convinced that a dictatorship as it happened in would not be possible again.

That said, they recognized several problems inherited from the dictatorship such as failed education and health care systems, and an insufficient pension system for retirees. Their generational experience taught them that to make changes in Chile's socioeconomic would

require large scale collective action. That was why participants did not believe Chile was going to fundamentally improve.

Finally, when they were asked about those deep-seated feelings from the era of the dictatorship that they continued to wrestle with, participants reflected on their fears, their sense of vulnerability and profound generalized sadness. These still caused pain, not in the same intensity as during dictatorship time but the memories still hung over their lives. That is why they mentioned that they have a commitment to fighting for democracy and never again in Chile to risk the democracy and allow a dictatorship come back.

Chapter V: Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

Overview

The purpose of this study was to explore and understand the impact of growing under the Chilean dictatorship on an individual's sense of civic-mindedness and political engagement. In that sense, this research is two-fold: On the one hand, it hoped to illuminate the memories and experiences of the period from the 1973 coup d'État through to the return of democracy and, on the other hand, to explore the ways in which that experience impacted the participants' engagement in democratic citizenship then and now. Through the course of interviewing and analyzing the powerful stories of the participants, the study has fulfilled its intentions.

This generation, known as the "Pinochet-era" generation has been neglected in the study of the impact of the dictatorship and its victims because its members were typically not the direct victims of the regime's atrocities (Lopez, 2018). Yet, the members of this generation were undoubtedly affected in many ways as their childhood through adolescence was experienced in a country without freedom and filled with terror. Yet, little of this has been documented. This topic is important on its own merit as it expands our understanding not only of the Chilean dictatorship, and on our understanding of generational memory and transgenerational trauma. It is also of value for me personally. I lived this experience too. This is my generation.

Through this research, members of my generation had the opportunity to share their memories and express their feelings, their grief, hopes and disappointments. It was important for me to gather experiences in an effort to understand this generational experience—now over 46 years—and make sense of the impact of those experiences collectively on our civic and political engagement. Understanding this helps to illuminate what remains felt and remembered in the hopes and disappointments as this generation lives today. The research has certainly provided me

with the opportunity to understand myself better as well, my own fears and my hopes, for my country and for my children.

This concluding chapter first briefly summarizes the findings presented in Chapter IV and analyzes them relative to the body of scholarship and the degree to what has been learned from this research contributes to further understanding the experiences of those living through dictatorships. Next, the chapter focuses on the finding's implications for leadership and change, particularly as they relate to both societal processes that engage those who have lived through dictatorships in building democracy, as is the current situation in Chile today. Next, the chapter suggests areas for future study suggested by this research. And finally, the chapter concludes with my own reflections as a researcher studying the trauma of my own generation and my growth as a socially-engaged scholar and a citizen-activist.

The Findings and Making Meaning

This section briefly summarizes the findings and analyzes them relative to the body of scholarship examined and the degree to what is learned from this research contributes to further understanding the experiences of those living through dictatorships.

Socio-Political Development and the Chilean Dictatorship

Based on in-depth interviews with 15 participants, the findings of this research relative to the first area of exploration, Socio-Political Development Theory (Watts et al., 2003), affirmed that each interviewee grew from the SPD's first stage, the A-Critical Stage, to further developed stages. While not every participant traversed the entire developmental journey to the Liberation Stage, each grew significantly in terms of their consciousness and activism. This may well be expected due to the fact that all were pre-teens at the dawn of the coup and the very nature of human development from child to young adulthood would assume the development of

consciousness. As the literature informs (Watts et al., 2003), the Socio-Political Development of individuals as a process leading to them being persons involved in social change actions is influenced by the social context and the socialization process they experience. This concept of experience has to do with developmental periods (Watts et al., 2003) wherein specific socially engaged education in venues such as family, neighborhoods and community groups – occurring from very young to high school - play an important role in the critical thinking development of these young activists.

As well, the participants of this research as representative of the "Pinochet-era" generation, collectively demonstrated all the stages of Socio-Political Development. Even during the most brutal days of the dictatorship, or perhaps precisely because of it, the members of this generation showed increasing critical consciousness from the A-Critical Stage to the Critical Stage and then finally, to the Liberation Stage, which culminated with their active participation against the Pinochet dictatorship and for the restoration of democracy. In fact, every one of the study's participants actively contributed to end the dictatorship. Their not-knowingness of their childhood days turned to critical awareness as teens, their sadness turned to discontent, their loss turned to empathy, their indignation turned to action. It was the movement from the early SPD stages to the final ones that was imperative in order for the participants to fight for the restoration of democracy.

To the degree that the study's 15 participants are representative of a generation's experience, it is almost that the very conditions of dictatorship incited or inspired them to action. It may well also have to do with the power and trauma of the events they experienced, and as many noted in interviews, the growth of deep empathy in the face of witnessing brutal abuses of human rights. Watts et al. (2003) put forth that both social context and the external and internal

social conditions are of great significance because, if actions are supported by a large part of the society, a Liberation Stage can be established. Events, actions, influences and attitudes produce cumulative effects, which in turn influence the way people think and behave. This happened with the “Pinochet-era” generation which instead of being and becoming silenced and stymied, assumed a leadership role among others social movements and communities.

Furthermore, as told through the stories of these 15 participants, through their participation in protests and marches as public expressions of civilian opposition motivated also by the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s, this generation showed forcefully they wanted to reestablish democracy, even though they were fully aware of the risks with such actions. In addition, Watts et al. (2003) argue that “critical consciousness can lead to different ideological outcomes" (p. 187) and from that point of view, the Liberation Stage can culminate differently as “gaining concessions from existing systems to the total deconstruction and reconstruction of systems” (p. 187). That is why the authors consider it most important to achieve the Liberation Stage and not necessarily an ideological stance. During this last stage, human rights have to be assured eliminating the roles of oppressor and oppressed, which was the goal for which the “Pinochet-era” generation was fighting. Unfortunately, during the final outcome of that process many political and social concessions were accepted, including accepting no judicial trials of human rights violators, which was one of the main concerns of that generation. In that sense the results confirmed the attainment of the Liberation Stage as well as different ideological outcomes.

Another important finding from the interviews is that while not every participant in the study developed to the Liberation stage, the majority of participants did and those who did, remained at that stage. While suffering disappointments with the failures of the successive new

democratic governments, the “Pinochet-era” generation has continued to demonstrate a sense of civic and social responsibility that has lasted to nowadays. Many of the study’s participants, in fact, continue electoral activities such as voting, and participating in several social communities trying to ameliorate the living conditions of the most marginalized in society.

And as will be discussed later, many members of the “Pinochet-era” generation participated in the mass demonstrations that rocked Chile in the Fall of 2019, well after the interviews for this research had been completed. As Watts, Griffith, and Abdul-Adil (1999) state, SPD is a journey from uniformed inaction, Stage 1or A-Critical Stage, to one of sustained, informed and strategic action, Stage 5 or Liberation Stage. This journey could be individual or collective. There is no unified starting or ending point in the process as each individual’s journey unfolds differently. From the theoretical point of view, people can move back and forth in this process but ideally they move to a place of strategic and liberation action. Relative to the findings of this research, the majority of the 15 participants remained engaged and active in the current efforts to improve their country. One possible implication of this finding is to posit that for those who lived through the Chilean dictatorship as children, the development of their critical consciousness and involvement in liberatory actions was so strong, that they continued to passionately fight over all these years. Thus, during the whole process and years living in dictatorship they not only gained knowledge and awareness of how the Pinochet oppression regime harmed a society triggering their political and social involvement but also began and continued to believe in themselves, developing a sense of empowerment which have lasted since the recovery of democracy.

During the historical periods covered in the research, from the day of the 1973 coup d'État through the 1988 plebiscite, all study participants to one degree or another developed a critical consciousness around social injustices and inequalities during the Chilean dictatorship. The majority of study participants noted significant events or actions that impacted their SPD development the most. The events—most notably human rights violations—prompted empathy for the pain and suffering of the victims, which in turn created an emerging critical consciousness. Participants became more aware of the disconnect between that what they were being told officially, what they were seeing around them, and what they were feeling and knowing. This was the first step to move from a-criticality to generate later development stages, such as The Critical Stage and later a Liberation Stage (Watts et al., 2003).

Most of the study's participants recognized that their consciousness emerged over the course of time and it was a process stimulated by events and critical conversations firstly with their families and close relatives and latter while sharing information with classmates and friends. In many cases, it was what they heard and talked about within their private safe spaces that provided the initial awareness of what was happening in the country. This latter point reveals an important finding of the research, meaning, the importance of the role family played in creating awareness during extremely traumatic processes such as a dictatorship. In fact, those who had families that talked about what was happening and shared honest and clear information, developed an earlier awareness than those in the study who did not, which in turn allowed an early political engagement against the dictatorship. Then, sharing this critical consciousness with others such as friends, classmates, coworkers, political partners, generated the need to address these injustices in some way. They felt a responsibility to act, to participate and change the country's situation, meaning, to end human rights abuses and to overthrew the dictatorship. As

Watts et al. (2003) argue, critical consciousness is also related to the capacity for action in political systems. Thus, without the sense of empowerment and belief that change could have been possible, previous awareness would only have reached a stage of adaptation to the Pinochet dictatorship.

Another relevant finding from the analysis of the interviews is that Socio-Political Stages can coexist both within one individual and amongst individuals of a collective body. Thus, SPD stages can either develop in a sequential order within each participant but with different pacing and, at times, stages can coexist at the same time within individuals. Watts et al. (2003) states that despite the fact that critical consciousness can lead to different outcomes such as moderate reforms on the one hand or radical revolutions on the other hand, the SPD model has five stages emphasizing an evolution as a prerequisite for further development. However, being that SPD is not a fixed and rigid notion, an individual's progress related to their consciousness has to be considered according to that person's unique circumstances and context (Watts et al., 2003). That is confirmed by the findings of this study which showed that the path to critical consciousness was varied, taking longer in some, moving more quickly in others. In part, this variation seems to have had to do with those who had more information at a younger age than others who were kept in the dark, as was previously addressed.

According to SPD theory, an individual does not experience multiple stages at the same time. However, initial findings of this research of 15 individuals appear to show that SPD stages not only progress forward but also may regress, which allowed that in certain historical periods two stages coexisted at the same time. That was the case between 1989-1990 and from 1990 to present.

During the period right after the plebiscite and the reestablishment of a democratic government, meaning, from 1989 to 1990, two non-sequential SPD stages appear to coexist; The Adaptive Stage and The Liberation Stage with a pre-dominance of the latter. However, during the democratic period, from 1990 to present, participants again exhibited the coexistence of the same stages, but this time The Adaptive Stage had predominance over The Liberation Stage.

Why did this happen? It seems that the answer informs two different levels of analysis, the first one at macro or societal level and the second one at a personal/local or micro level.

Thus, during the two years that happened after the plebiscite, participants indicated it was difficult to accept and adapt to the terms of the 'new' democracy. Participants continued to want action. Why? Much of the anger that led to the fight for democracy had to do with the empathy for the dictatorship's victims and outrage over the human rights violations at the hands of the military regime. After the newly elected democratic government was voted in, Chileans faced wholesale amnesty laws to protect the abusers and non-trials against the dictatorship. Moreover, Pinochet stayed on as a Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army and later on as Senator-for-Life, which meant he had diplomatic immunity for his crimes for the rest of his life. As the popularized slogan at the time stated, justice would happen only to the extent possible ("en la medida de lo posible"). Therefore, this period was remembered by the study's participants as one filled with tremendous frustration and despair. They simply could not accept the minimal realization of justice for which they fought so hard. They resisted simply adapting although in the end they did. From their point of view, it was impossible to start a new fight against the new socio-political establishment, the "new democracy." This suggest that despite the partial adaptation to the new situation, participants also continued to show a Liberation Stage behavior through the vote and their participation in democratic elections.

During the 29 years which followed the reestablishment of democracy in 1990 to present, participants continued to exhibit deep disappointment and frustration. However, they shared that despite being aware of the lack of justice for the human rights violations and the persistence of economic injustices during all the democratic governments from former President Aylwin forward, participants decided to make contributions for positive social change and be civically engaged. They chose to contribute to bettering society, and to do so from their personal level and professional capacities. Although the Chilean society continued applying the liberal economic model installed by Pinochet and "The Chicago Boys," maintaining social and economic inequities through the years, the aspiration they fought for, the idea of a more just and equal Chile, did not come to pass. Thus, many refused to settle. Participants continued to vote, and to engage in political actions such as marches and social movements.

In conclusion, SPD is a useful construct to understand the stages of socio-political awareness as individuals living through the dictatorship moved from bewilderment and fear to empathy and outrage, to action. It became apparent that at times, one stage is present; at other times, two or more stages coexist at the same time. It also is apparent that the stages do not always appear in a linear order nor do they always lead to the ultimate stage for all.

The findings from this study illuminated how critically conscious Chilean youth developed into adults who have a robust sense of civic engagement and social responsibility in a democratic society. This finding confirmed the scholarship of the Socio-Political Development emergent theory and its relationship with democracy (Tunstall, 2011). It will also be explored later in this chapter.

The Trauma. The "Pinochet-era" Generation: A Reflection

The second area of research reflects the study's interest in illuminating participants' memories of the events and emotions experienced during the dictatorship, which were still potent, even 46 years later. As shared by these 15 study participants, what filled their recollections about the immediate days after the coup were powerfully evocative impressions and feelings; what tended to fill their memories of the many long years of the dictatorship were recollections of actions and events.

As shared in Chapter IV, participants recalled the terrifying images of the coup's first days, the sounds of low-flying bombers, the presidential palace enveloped in flames, armed soldiers on the streets, gunshots, screams, and the color of red, everywhere, red. They also remember silences, tears, doors being locked, windows being closed, and hiding under beds.

From that traumatic day forward, participants felt something had changed, everywhere it was different at school, home, the neighborhood. As children, they felt bewildered. For most, they were not told what was happening in the country. They were only told to be quiet. Sadness, anger and a sense of vulnerability also accompanied those feelings. As years passed, participants developed not only a fear the military and a distrust of others, but also felt empathy for people who were suffering, victims of human rights violations. As years passed, participants developed not only a fear the military and a distrust of others, but also felt empathy for people who were suffering, victims of human rights violations. As the years moved forward, they recalled experiencing a sense of joy and empowerment as they remembered the victory of the plebiscite and the return of democracy. The people, united, were not defeated. They won. In the words of participants, those were some of the happiest days of their lives. The powerful convergence of

these individual memories formed into a collective memory, that collective identity of the "Pinochet-era" generation.

What does this tell us about the concept of collective memory, trauma and grief? How do the participants' narratives during the dictatorship, from their childhood to their adulthood, link to theories of generational memory? How does what we learned from this study contribute to our understanding of that profound collective experience?

First, the entire historical trajectory from the coup d'État through the dictatorship, from the plebiscite to elections and the return of democracy, is part of this shared collective memory. While the events were experienced differently by different members of this generation, every one of the study's participants described similar images, feelings and memories of that past. In fact, as part of a generation, with shared memories, participants have, as Hirst and Manier (2008) stated, a collective memory that has lasted over time and has been transmitted within and across a community, thus becoming a shared collective memory. This collective memory has served as the identity of that specific generation as argued by Irwin-Zarecka (2017). But how were the collective memories transmitted?

According to Hirst and Manier (2008) such transmission happens in two ways. The first one is when community members experience events and interpret them in the same ways, producing similar memories. The second is when information about what happened is encoded differently and the memories which are communicated from one community member to another transform the collective community members in the process. As apparent in the findings of participants in this study, these members of the "Pinochet-era" generation built a collective memory in the second way. Firstly, all participants experienced the Chilean coup and the immediate days with associated events and images, although naturally they were experienced

differently among each other, and in different ways with a child's mind. These memories of noises, the images of colors, the sensation of emotions were held in personal places, as unique experiences, yet they were held over all these years in their collective memory of a traumatic experience. After the trauma of the coup d'État itself and its immediate aftermath, the second major collective memory of this generation took shape in the mid-1980s as the human rights violations became known. While alternative media, cafes, and concerts were sources of information, the sources most referenced by this study's participants were family members, relatives and friends. It is clear in their narrative that participants exchanged with their parents and family members in ways that enriched the transmission of their collective memory. This finding, of the importance of these exchanges, parallels what other scholars have identified as the space of intergenerational dialogue (Reyes et al., 2015). All these different renderings helped to build the collective memory of that generation.

Evans-Campbell (2008) defined an historical trauma as a "collective complex trauma inflicted on a group of people who share a specific group or affiliation such as ethnicity, nationality, or political and religious affiliation" (p. 320). It is this legacy of multiple traumatic events visited upon a community that encompasses the psychological and social responses to such events over generations. In this regard, many of participant's narratives illuminate characteristics of an Historical Trauma. The Chilean coup provoked abrupt and devastating social, economic and political changes of the Chilean society in 1973, literally overnight and for years to come. The dictatorship inflicted terror and prompted deep feelings of despair, insecurity and vulnerability, as apparent in the recollections of this study's participants. They lived not only surrounded by a permanent fear of being disappeared, being tortured and murdered, but also of being betrayed by neighbors or schoolmates because anyone could likely be turned into an agent

of the state. They learned not only to keep silent and to take care of themselves, but also to incorporate into their daily lives a profound distrust, a sense of constant foreboding and omnipresent fear. They learned to live with sadness for friends and family who disappeared or went into exile. Later, they learned to live with disappointment for how Chile failed to live up to the idealized democracy for which so many had sacrificed so much. These were indeed psychological and emotional responses that became deeply embedded in the generation. As shown by the narratives of this study's participants, these traumatic feelings and emotions which are part of the collective memory of the historical trauma produced by the military regime has been part of the collective identity of this generation over years.

The dictatorship could be—I would argue, should be—considered as a transgenerational trauma because when the Intergenerational Trauma Transmission (ITT) occurs it transfers some effects of the original trauma from one generation to the new one, represented by the children or grandchildren of the former generation (Mouhibian, 2016). Thus, as one of the consequences of having lived through and survived the Chilean dictatorship, ongoing trauma seems to sit just below the surface in the lives of many of the "Pinochet-era" participants. Some expressed their lingering fear of the police or wary of those in uniform which, for example, leads them to be overprotective when their children chose to participate in protests and marches. Garretón (1992) wrote, "we do not know how much of the fear created by the military regimes will haunt individuals and stain collective memory" (p. 24) and apparently it still does.

Métraux (2005a) defines the concept of loss to be associated with the disappearance of a person, an object, a dream, or something of importance for the individual while the concept of grief is the psychological process that comes after loss. The latter has been observed in the narrative of participants in their telling of sad and emotionally wrenching memories. Just being

interviewed and sharing painful memories brought tears to the eyes of several participants, many decades after the events, their lifetime. The study's findings suggest that the "Pinochet-era" generation suffered a collective grief: on one hand, a concrete loss represented by the death, disappearance, imprisonment or exile of friends and relatives and, on the other hand, the loss of an ideal, a vision and aspiration for a 'new' democracy, a just society that never came. Furthermore, it is possible to observe through the participants' narratives that not only do they live with a deep sense of disappointment but also they sense that they are living in a divided reality, a country split by those who opposed and suffered the dictatorship, and those who participated in and profited from it. This is a deep wound that has not healed. According to Métraux (2005b), to accept the irreversibility of facts is the first step for the society to build a collective memory. This is happening with the "Pinochet-era" generation. As the study's findings illustrated, participants believe the truth about what happened, and the fact that what happened to the disappeared will never be known and the military will never be judged. This latter explains the continuing sadness for the past, the sense of deep vacuum of a loss, the victims and the country as a whole. This profound loss is part of the collective memory of this generation. That is why, by accepting the loss the grief is present in their collective memory.

The Sense of Democracy, Civic Participation, and Social Responsibility

The third part of the research addressed participants' civic engagement, sense of social responsibility and thoughts about currency state of Chilean democracy. The exploration around these sets of research questions ultimately led to conversations about how the participants were experiencing the current historic moment in Chile and the degree to which they themselves were involved in the massive Fall 2019 protests and demonstrations demanding a fairer and just society.

The good, the bad, the moral, and the immoral. Alwin and McCammon (2003) established that "how people think about the social world around them may depend as much on what was happening in the world at the time they were growing up as it does on what is happening in the present" (p. 4). This makes this research study all the more relevant, as it explores a generation's reflection on the collective trauma of the military coup and brutal dictatorship informing its member's thoughts about right or wrong, what is moral and immoral for a society.

Through their narratives, participants shared their deep sense of moral right and wrong. This was most poignantly observed in two aspects: Outrage over the historic human rights violations and the absence of justice; and, a lifelong pursuit of participation grounded in the fight to reestablish democracy.

Firstly, participants vehemently opposed the absence of trials against perpetrators who committed these crimes, and the immunity from prosecution that they were granted. Participants in this study were indignant. As representatives of a generation, they expressed moral outrage and demanded justice.

Secondly, participants expressed a high personal sense of civic duty and social responsibility founded in their own active role in mobilizing for the plebiscite and participating in the return of democracy. For them, participation was a moral duty, unquestioned, a selfless commitment that reflects an idealistic, altruistic, and socially engaged generation. This generational identity became quite apparent when participants compared themselves with Millennials, whom they described as "individualistic," "without commitment to social causes," "selfish," and "opportunistic." They expressed the need to develop a sense of civic interest and

care for the common good in their children's generation, who they considered more engaged than Millennials.

As we have seen, participants expressed a way of thinking that asserts the need to contribute to the welfare of the society and transcend self-interest. This point confirmed what seems to be known, that of the likelihood of individuals to demonstrate civic and political engagement if they have developed critical consciousness during their adolescence, through discussions with family and friends about politics and social injustices (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Flanagan & Christens, 2011) and early life experiences that can define later political attitudes, political engagement and behaviors (Flanagan & Christens, 2011; Neundorf & Smets, 2017). But how could this have been passed on to the "Pinochet-era" generation if parental behavior was restricted by political situations and family conversations were silenced by fears during the Chilean dictatorship?

What appears to be the case as illustrated in this research is that contrary to what may have been assumed by me at the beginning of this research, the intergenerational space and the transmission of a collective memory was not totally broken as a consequence of the Chilean coup. Despite the omnipresent fear and distrust across the population, people did continue to talk and share the values that were part of the Chilean democratic heritage. In their narratives, participants confirmed that often it was through Intergenerational Dialogue (Reyes et al., 2015) and Transgenerational Recreation (Uwineza & Brackelaire, 2014) that participants little by little, strengthened their sense of agency and civic engagement.

According to the participants' narratives, in some cases, parents explained what was happening in the country's darkest days, making clear though that there was danger around if participants talked about or participated in politics. In other cases, when parents were not

discussing these matters, participants recalled that they learned about the social reality in close contact with other relatives, friends or classmates who were older and had suffered human rights violations. This transgenerational communication was a very important driver motivating the active participation in the fight against dictatorship and the years leading to the plebiscite in 1988. Their civic commitment was constructed and reconstructed in safe places. Those interviewed learned how to participate in politics, how to vote, and how to become resilient against the dictatorship. The lesson to be learned from this is that it indeed 'takes a village' so to speak, many actors helped build a generation that could stand up, such as family, relatives, friends and classmates and also alternative media, political associations and political parties.

This study's findings also show that over the years, participants continued to be active and engaged civic and socially minded citizens. On October 18, 2019, a new wave of mass protests took to the streets of Santiago and other cities across Chile. Many of this study's interviewees participated. These social movements are clearly a testimony of the cumulative discontent of Chileans over the last 30 years. The findings confirmed that many of this study's participants still have an active engagement in Chile's current democracy, which answers one of the primary questions that guided this research. As one example of this, they have continued voting in every presidential election since the return of democracy. The right to vote was hard fought and many lives were lost. It is a right that cannot be taken for granted by those of this generation. Through their narratives they pointed out that as a civic right, the vote must be exercised as an act of democratic citizenship. It must be preserved because "never again" should Chileans suffer under the brutality of a dictatorship.

As Carrillo Magna (2014) reminds us, generations recognize themselves and develop an identity thanks to memories. This generation built its collective memory through the most

difficult of experiences and unimaginable hardship, which gave them a clear collective identity. Part of that identity is related to their sense of agency, a strong sense of duty and a clear sense of what is wrong and right. This should be understood in the context where, when and how they grew up, as survivors, as members of the "Pinochet-era" generation.

Implications for Leading Change. Understanding Chile Today.

This research showed that the "Pinochet-era" generation was part of a social movement that managed to set aside its political and economic divides and personal interests with the aim of restoring democracy in Chile and for Chileans, ending the dictatorship of Pinochet. In concert with others, this generation has demonstrated an important lesson about movements for social change: that it was possible to come together across class differences and partisan politics in order to bring down a dictatorship and to establish a democratic government. As the protest song across Latin America says, "The people, united, shall never be defeated" (El pueblo, unido, jamás será vencido).

Bringing that lesson forward, Chile was rocked again in social upheaval in Fall 2019. Widespread disappointment in the failures of the economic-political system over the past 30 years to create an equitable and just society was expressed by this study's participants. In addition, they noted that Chile nowadays is a deeply polarized and highly individualistic society without a shared sense of the Common Good. This social movement that took to the streets across the country with the slogan "Chile despertó" (Chile woke up) was noteworthy on many levels, but specifically to the point being made here, it included not only students, activists, labor organizers but also members of the working class, and the lower and middle class who have seen three decades of economic decline, who are all struggling with the high cost of living, low wages, unfair retirement programs, as well as high profile episodes of corruption and tax-evasion

from the Chilean's political and private corporate elite. Here too we see people coming together across class differences and partisan politics to address social inequities.

Lessons Learned

Unfortunately, while the cause is just, these protests have witnessed incidents of extreme violence from those who protested as well as from the police. Human rights commissions such as Amnesty International and the UN Human Rights Office have condemned the extreme violence that has left many Chileans maimed and blind, resulting from bullets shots and pellets police have used to control the protesters. Formal national leadership that would be needed to truly lead and guide the country has been lacking, both on the part of Sebastian Piñera, Chile's current president, as well as from his cabinet of ministers and main political parties from across the whole spectrum. It is my opinion that none have demonstrated the leadership necessary and capable of offering a solution to this crisis.

And here too comes the hard-earned lesson again: despite the absence of 'official leadership,' it was those grassroots individuals crossing economic sectors and political parties, including those of the "Pinochet-era" generation, who found common effort to reach a peaceful settlement leading to a referendum in April 2020 on the "Pinochet-era" 1980 Constitution, which was approved fraudulently during the dictatorship and remains as one of the most significant obstacles to the strength and viability of Chile's democracy.

The hope is that a new constitution will be drafted and that this time all social sectors will be included explicitly and intentionally thereby creating opportunities for participation by professional associations, neighborhood councils, labor unions, human rights organizations, student associations, and so forth. Here would be the opportunity to think intensely about the need to rebuild the social fabric and to promote a fair, equitable and secure environment for all

citizens. As this study showed, if a society wants to organize for democratic change and build a democratic and just country, it is important to consider all democratic sectors to pursue the task, as was done with the 1988 plebiscite. The "Pinochet-era" generation never gave up, despite fear and suffering. They fought hand-by-hand with all democratic sectors to reestablish democracy, leading change together. That is their lesson for leading change.

In that sense, the belief to make the change—to wake up—is a feeling that has re-emerged again in Chileans who have been protesting since October 18th, 2019. They have recovered their belief that change is possible. If a change in the 1980 Constitution is finally approved, this will show once again that members of the "Pinochet-era" generation, in concert with others, can change the course of its country.

Limitations of This Study

One of the first limitations of the study is inherent in the nature of the research method, the fact that it was exploratory, deductive-inductive research and allowed me to shed light on the topic but it is not necessarily in forward knowledge meant to be transferable nor conclusive. In addition, the selection process itself intentionally limited the breadth of data gathered and thus, its transferability. The fact that 15 people were chosen who had a particular set of characteristics by that very nature, means that the findings might not resonate similarly with individuals of different characteristics. Let us remember, this study's participants had the following characteristics: The study limited its findings to those who lived in Santiago, Chile's capital, and thus, their experiences could well be quite different from those of the same generation but who lived in rural communities. As well, the study focused on those who were born between 1965 and 1972 so members of a shared generation, but with particular characteristics which limited the representativeness of that generation to some degree. For one, the age group criteria left out

people who were still even younger during those years and in some way they are also part of the "Pinochet-era" generation.

Another limitation of this research emerges from the fact that the study's focus was to explore the experiences of "ordinary Chileans," not the children of the military and supporters of the coup d'État, who lived through the period under review and are also part of the same "Pinochet-era" generation. But they experienced it from a much different lens. While interesting, that would open the door to understand the impact of growing up on the side of the perpetrators, which could be in fact another research and reminds me of the literature that looks at the children of members of the Nazi SS (Crasnianski, 2016). But, that is not this study.

Similarly, the research also limited participants to be those not from families who were explicitly involved in resistance or directly victimized by the dictatorship. Once the research began, some interviewees shared that they had indeed lost family members and/or friends in the disappeared, but certainly that was not part of why they were chosen to be research participants or was it part of the initial criteria for inclusion. Here too, those who grew up in families who had members on the political left or had lived in exile for years, are also part of the "Pinochet-era" generation but lived it through a different lens. Again, not this study.

Another limitation of this study was its focus solely on the impact of dictatorship on a generation of Chileans, although many South American countries had military dictatorships during the same period of the 1970s and 1980s such as Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. This study only speaks to the Chilean experience. Chile has significant socio-political differences from its other Southern Cone neighbors. Despite that all dictatorships in Latin America committed human rights violations, the Chilean dictatorship had its own peculiarities that makes

it unique. In fact, the findings of this research are situated in specific historical contexts and specific important aspects of that world (Bryman, 2012, p. 392).

Paths for Future Research

This study answered many questions and, as is the case with research, opened up many more. A number of the limitations just discussed lead to possibilities for further inquiry.

First, in terms of the participants themselves, further exploration of current involvement in the movements since Fall 2019 would be illuminating and as a way to understand notions of life-long commitments to the fight for justice. It would also be interesting to interview the children of the participants to explore the very important role of intra-family communication, which appeared as so critical in the findings of this study. To what degree have the participants, as parents, spoken of their past and of Chile's past, to the subsequent generation? Do they feel they have a responsibility to do so knowing, as they do, the underbelly of being silent?

Second, it would be interesting to understand the ways in which the generational experience documented in this study is similar or different to others of the same generation but from different locations places. This relates initially to the experiences of members of "Pinochet-era" generation who were not from the capital city of Santiago, but from elsewhere in the country such as Valparaiso, Viña del Mar and Concepción, which were not only very important in terms of population but also in terms of their political participation in Chile's history.

It would also be fascinating to explore the similarities and differences in experiences of socio-political development, critical consciousness, democracy-building and civic engagement across the same generation but from other Southern Cone countries, such as Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, where brutal dictatorships also were in place during the same years. Entire generations across the continent experienced the silences, the disappearances, the violations, and

abuses. What in this regard does the "Pinochet-era" generation have in common with, say, the Videla-era generation in Argentina and to what degree can those differences be understand given the context of national histories and cultures?

And what of younger generations? Participants in this study accused the Millennials of being self-centered and selfish, more interested in themselves and personal gain than in the common good. How do generational identities emerge in generations after a society trauma such as a dictatorship? How do subsequent generations make sense of their country's history, the "Pinochet-era" generation's idiosyncrasies and peculiarities, not only in terms of values and social and political engagement towards society but also in terms of feeling free to exercise their civic and social rights.

Finally, a number of avenues of future research were opened with regards to socio-political development and critical consciousness. While one might presume that living under a dictatorship would inhibit the development of critical consciousness the findings of this study were completely different. It appears that surviving through the dictatorship and witnessing its abuses actually fueled socio-political development and the call to action. This is a rich area for further study. To what degree and in what ways dictatorships, abuse of power, devastating social inequalities actually stimulate generations to act, such as we see currently in Hong Kong, Lebanon, or South Korea? And what are the political and emotional capacities inspired by the hard-won resilience of those living through dictatorships to turn outrage to action?

Finally, at the individual and not generational level, what enabled some to develop to the Liberation Stage and take action, and others not? It would be very interesting to expand our understanding of the role of family in building awareness. As indicated in this research, it appears that the importance of truth-telling to young people is related to their socio-political

development, and that those who were told earlier made sense more quickly, which led to critical awareness and to action. It would be incredibly interesting to explore the intersection of these phenomena. This could be very powerful as potential research in the field of social psychology research as well as political leadership.

Reflections as a Researcher and as a Member of this Generation

This chapter concludes with my own reflections and growth as a socially engaged researcher studying the trauma of my own generation. This was a personal journey for me.

As a survivor of the Chilean dictatorship who lived through such an intense social and personal experience over the years, this research project turned into an unexpectedly significant and meaningful journey. It helped me to understand many things about the past, especially to realize that my experiences were common to many of my generation. That experience — frequently neglected — was in fact very important and helped me to understand my own process and sense of agency not only towards democracy but also in my personal and professional life.

When I decided who should participate in this study, I had an internal hope that some would be untouched. I sought out those were not direct victims from the dictatorship such as children of political prisoners, family members of those disappeared, friends of those exiled. However, after conducted the interviews I realized with a deep sadness that everyone who participated in this study was in some way or another connected to someone—a relative, a friend or just a coworker—who suffered some kind of human rights violations such as torture, exile, political prosecution, harassment or rape, murder. Even one of the participants—a friend of mine who I have known for years—had an uncle who was a victim of the Caravan of Death, a Pinochet special squad responsible for spreading terror in the first months after the coup. His

mother's brother was detained, tortured and finally shot and slaughtered cold-blooded. I never knew until now.

While conducting the interviews, listening to participants' testimonies over a relaxed cup of coffee, as we were sharing "the best kept secrets," significant feelings and memories about my own past welled up. My memories, the same as participants' memories, came to the fore. At that moment I realized that not only common spaces of fear and sadness existed within and between us but I encountered memories and feelings I had neglected over the years. They were so deeply hidden I did not know they existed. This helped me to understand not only my own memories and feelings about the past and my own life's journey in general but also how these are linked to the ways I have particularly approached democracy over the last 29 years after dictatorship ended. It helped me to reflect on my own path and to understand my family history because this day, September 11, 1973, determined and changed my family, and the lives of many friends and their families.

To assume the risk of being involved in the research because I was also part of that history was well worth it in so many ways. It was the first time that I am aware of that my generation had the opportunity to express their feelings, hopes, sadness, and disappointments in a formal research. It was important for them and for me to collect these experiences to understand what has transpired over 46 years of history. It was important to me to give a voice to that "Pinochet-era" generation who also suffered their whole childhood and adolescence living in a country without freedom and democracy. I think that they have been neglected because they were not direct victims of the atrocities of the regime. This generation grew up in the shadows, firstly observing, then learning and finally acting to conquer democracy. In a way, my research gave them voice. And gave me voice too.

Unfortunately, after democracy returned, there was not enough space for everyone. Thus, and after having been protagonists of Chilean history, they had to shrug, pull the curtains closed, and walk away for a while until a new cause emerged in their personal space. They have now shown up again, motivated as socially active and civically responsible citizens driven by the lessons of their past.

This neglected generation will never again be neglected.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Sample Contact Email to Potential Participants

Dear *Name*,

How are you? How is life going on?
I'm contacting you because I'm doing my PhD in Leadership and Change at Antioch University in the US and I'm currently working on my research dissertation.

I'm going to be Chile between the 22nd and the 30th of April and during that time I will do part of my research related to people's civic engagement after democracy was reestablished in our country.

I would like to know if you would like to participate in my research. If you decide you may want to do so, I will send you a follow up email which will fully describe my research and details about interview process.

Thank you beforehand,

Denise
[phone number redacted]

Denise Tala
PhD Candidate
Antioch University

Appendix A-1 (Spanish Version): Sample Contact Email to Potential Participants

Estimado (a) *Nombre*,

Como estás? Como va la vida?
Te estoy contactando porque estoy haciendo mi Doctorado en Liderazgo y Cambio en la Antioch University, en Estados Unidos, y estoy trabajando en estos momentos en mi investigación de tesis.

Iré a Chile entre el 22 y el 30 de abril y durante ese tiempo realizaré parte de mi investigación que está relacionada con el compromiso cívico de las personas después de la recuperación de la democracia en nuestro país.

Me gustaría saber si desearías participar en mi investigación. Si decides que podrías hacerlo, te enviaré un email en donde describo mi investigación en su totalidad además de los detalles del proceso de entrevista.

Muchas gracias de antemano.

Denise
[número de teléfono editado]

Denise Tala
PhD Candidate
Antioch University

Appendix B: Email with the Informed Consent

Dear *Name*,

I'm sending this email because you confirmed by email that you may be willing to participate in my research. As I told you in my last email, I'm going to be in Chile between the 22nd and the 30th of April and during that time I will do the interviews.

I wanted to know what are the best mutually convenient time for you to have the interview. In addition, I attached an informed consent form that you need to approve and sign with your initials and return to me in order to participate in my research.

In that consent form, you have all the information about the research and the procedure to interviewing you and so you will have an opportunity to review it prior to agreeing to meet with me.

I appreciate If you know other people who may also be interested in participating in my research.

I will provide an email that describes my research study that you may be used by you to contact potential participants.

Thank you very much in advance for your participation.

Denise
[phone number redacted]

Denise Tala
PhD Candidate
Antioch University

Appendix B-1 (Spanish Version): Email with the Informed Consent

Estimado (a) *Nombre*,

Te estoy enviando este correo porque confirmaste que podrías estar dispuesto a participar en mi Investigación. Como te mencioné en mi último email, voy a estar en Chile entre el 22 y el 30 de abril, y durante ese tiempo voy a realizar entrevistas. Por eso, me gustaría saber cual es el horario que más te acomoda para entrevistarte.

También te adjunté el formulario de Consentimiento Informado que debes enviarme de vuelta aprobado y firmado con tus iniciales, para poder participar en la investigación. En este formulario de Consentimiento Informado, está toda la información acerca de la investigación y sobre cómo se realizará la entrevista, así tendrás la oportunidad de revisarlo antes de que accedas a realizarla.

Te agradecería mucho si conoces otras personas que podrían interesadas en mi investigación.

Te adjunto un correo que describe mi investigación y que podrías usar para contactar a los posibles participantes.

Muchísimas gracias de antemano por tu participación.

Muchos saludos,
Denise
[número de teléfono editado]

Denise Tala
PhD Candidate
Antioch University

Appendix C: Informed Consent to Participate in a Dissertation Research Study

Name of Researcher: Denise Tala
Name of Organization: Antioch University, PhD in Leadership and Change Program
Name of Study: Living Through the Chilean Coup d'État: The Second-Generation's Reflection on Their Sense of Agency, Civic Engagement and Democracy

This Informed Consent Form as two parts:

- Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)
- Certification of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)

Part I: Information about the Research

Introduction : My name is Denise Tala. I am a Sociologist and I'm doing my doctoral research project. I am currently doing my PhD in Leadership and Change at Antioch University and I would like to invite you to be part of my research.

You don't have to decide today whether or not you will participate. You can may talk to anyone you feel comfortable talking about this research and you can take time to reflect on whether you want to participate or not.

Purpose of the Research Study: The purpose of my research is to investigate in what ways the experience of growing up and living through the Chilean dictatorship affected the individual civic engagement, political participation and social responsibility in Chile current democracy.

Type of Research Intervention: This research involves your participation in an interview that will take approximately one hour. During the face-to-face interviews audio recordings will be used. The video or teleconferencing interviews will be recorded via Skype or telephone line. No video recording will exist from the Skype interviews. If you wish to review the transcript of your interview it will take approximately 30 minutes to review.

Participant Selection: You are being invited to participate because you are part of the generation that lived under Chilean dictatorship and your experience can contribute to the understanding and knowledge of that generation. Your participation is absolutely voluntary and if you don't want to participate you have the right to refuse and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Confidentiality: I will safeguard your confidentiality with the following measures:
I'm not going to share any information about you, and nobody else than me will listening to, transcribing, or analyzing the interviews.

All transcripts and audio casts will be kept in a password protected location. I will use a pseudonym and not your real name to maintain your anonymity. If there are any information that you do not want to be shared, I will respect your desire. At the end of the interview after I finish the transcription, I will share with you, and you can add, remove or clarify the contents.

All audio and Skype recording will be destroyed at the conclusion of the data analysis.

Confidentiality/ Limits of Privacy: Generally speaking, I can assure you that I will keep everything you tell me or do for the study private. Yet there are times where I cannot keep things private (confidential). The researcher cannot keep things private (confidential) when:

- The researcher finds out that a child or vulnerable adult has been abused.
- The researcher finds out that that a person plans to hurt him or herself, such as commit suicide.
- The researcher finds out that a person plans to hurt someone else.

There are laws that require many professionals to take action if they think a person is at risk for self-harm or are self-harming, harming another or if a child or adult is being abused. In addition, there are guidelines that researchers must follow to make sure all people are treated with respect and kept safe. In most states, there is a government agency that must be told if someone is being abused or plans to self harm or harm another person. Please ask any questions you may have about this issue before agreeing to be in the study. It is important that you do not feel betrayed if it turns out that the researcher cannot keep some things private.

Benefits: There will be no direct benefit to you other than increased personal awareness and reflection about your own civic engagement, political participation as well as social responsibility towards a society in Democracy.

Who to Contact about questions: If you have any questions in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact number is [researcher telephone number]and my email address is [researcher's email]

If you have any questions about ethical concerns, please contact Lisa Kreeger, she is the Chair of the Institutional Review Board, Antioch University Ph.D. in Leadership and Change. Email: [email redacted]

Part II: Certificate of Consent

I have read the above information and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study

Name of Participant (printed):_____

Signature of Participant :_____

Date: _____

Appendix -C1 (Spanish Version): Informed Consent to Participate in a Dissertation Research Study

Nombre de la investigadora: Denise Tala
Nombre de la Organización: Antioch University, PhD in Leadership and Change Program
Nombre de la investigación: Living Through the Chilean Coup d'État: The Second-Generation's Reflection on Their Sense of Agency, Civic Engagement and Democracy

Este Formulario de Consentimiento Informado tiene dos partes:

- Información (proporciona información sobre el estudio)
- Formulario de consentimiento (para firmar si está de acuerdo en participar)

Parte I: Información sobre la Investigación

Introducción: Mi nombre es Denise Tala, soy Socióloga y estoy realizando mi Doctorado en Liderazgo y Cambio en la Antioch University en Estados Unidos, y me gustaría invitarte a participar en mi investigación de la tesis de mi doctorado.

No necesitas decidir ahora si quieres o no participar. Puedes hablar con alguien con quien te sientas bien hablando de esta investigación y tomarte el tiempo que necesites para reflexionar si quieres o no participar en ella.

Propósito de la Investigación: El propósito de mi investigación es descubrir en qué medida el haber crecido y vivido durante la dictadura chilena afectó el compromiso cívico, la participación política y la responsabilidad social de las personas en democracia.

Tipo de Intervención de Investigación: Esta investigación implica tu participación en una entrevista de aproximadamente una hora. Esta es una entrevista personal que será grabada (audio). También podrá ser registrada por Skype o teléfono (solo audio). Si deseas revisar el audio de la entrevista podrás hacerlo. Esto tomará aproximadamente 30 minutos, una vez concluida la entrevista.

Selección de los participantes y participación en el estudio: Has sido invitado a participar en esta investigación porque eres parte de una generación que vivió en Chile durante la dictadura y tu experiencia puede contribuir al entendimiento y conocimiento de esta generación. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y si no quieres participar estás en todo el derecho a retirarte del estudio en cualquier momento.

Confidencialidad: Voy a resguardar tu confidencialidad con las siguientes medidas:
No compartiré ningún tipo de información tuya y nadie mas que yo escuchará, transcribirá y analizará las entrevistas. Todas las transcripciones de audio se guardarán en un lugar protegido con una contraseña. Usaré seudónimos y no los nombres reales de las personas para mantener el anonimato. Si existe alguna información que no quieras compartir, respetaré tu decisión. Al final de la entrevista y luego de terminar la transcripción, la compartiré contigo

para que puedas agregar, eliminar o clarificar los contenidos. Todos los audios y grabaciones de Skype serán destruidos después de que termine el análisis de los datos.

Límites de Privacidad y Confidencialidad: En general, te puedo asegurar que mantendré en privado, todo lo que me has dicho en la entrevista. Sin embargo, hay momentos en que las cosas no pueden mantenerse privadas ni confidenciales. En este sentido el investigador no puede hacerlo cuando:

- El investigador descubre que un niño o adulto vulnerable ha sido maltratado.
- El investigador descubre que la persona entrevistada planea herirse a sí mismo o atentar contra su vida.
- El investigador descubre que la persona entrevistada planea herir a otra persona

Existen leyes que requieren que muchos profesionales actúen si ellos piensan que las personas tienen riesgo de autolesionarse o lo están haciendo, dañan a otros o si se maltratan a un niño o adulto. Además, hay pautas que los investigadores deben seguir para asegurarse de que todos sean tratados con respeto y se mantengan seguros.
Por favor haz todas las preguntas que puedas tener sobre este tema antes de aceptar participar en el estudio. Es importante que no te sientas pasado a llevar si resulta que el investigador no puede mantener algunas cosas en privado.

Beneficios: No hay ningún beneficio directo por tu participación en este estudio salvo el beneficio de aumentar el conocimiento y la reflexión acerca de tu propio compromiso cívico, participación política y responsabilidad social en democracia.

A quién contactar si tiene preguntas: Si tienes preguntas al respecto, por favor no dudes en contactarme. Mi número de contacto es [teléfono editado] y mi correo es [email editado].
Si tienes preguntas acerca de algunas preocupaciones éticas, por favor contacta a Lisa Kreeger, ella es la Presidenta de la Junta de Revisión Institucional, Antioch University PhD in Leadership and Change. Email: [email editado]

Parte II: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

He leído la información anterior y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y me han contestado en forma satisfactoria. Consiento voluntariamente ser un(a) participante en este estudio.
Nombre del (a) participante : _____

Firma del (a) participante (Iniciales) _____

Fecha: _____

Appendix D: Participant Email to Potential Participants

Dear *Name Potential Participants*,

How are you? How is life going on?

I'm contacting you because a friend of mine, Denise Tala who is a PhD student at the Leadership and Change Program at Antioch University in the US is currently working on her research dissertation and she need to interview people who were born between 1965 and 1972.

If you may be interested and willing to participate in her research project, please email her at [email redacted].

At that moment she will send you an email back fully describing her research and details about the interview process.

[Participant's name]

Appendix D-1 (Spanish Version): Participant Email to Potential Participants

Estimado (a) *Nombre Potenciales Participantes*,

Como estás? Como va la vida?

Te estoy escribiendo porque una amiga mía, Denise Tala está haciendo su doctorado en Liderazgo y Cambio en la Antioch University en Estados Unidos y está realizando la investigación para su Tesis de Doctorado, y necesita entrevistar a personas que hayan nacido entre 1965 y 1972.

Si tu estuvieras interesado y dispuesto a participar en su investigación, por favor envíale un correo a [email redacted]

Así ella te enviará un correo de vuelta con la descripción completa de su investigación y los detalles de la entrevista.

[Nombre del Participante]

Appendix E: List of Referral Centers of Psychological Counseling

- Fundación Templanza: Address: José Miguel de la Barra 508, Depto 5, Santiago (metro Bellas Artes). Phone: +56226334510. Email: centroclinico.templanza@gmail.com

- Pidee Fundación: Address: Av. Holanda 3607, Ñuñoa, Santiago. Phone: +56222258752 Email: pidee.fundacion@gmail.com

- Instituto Chileno de Terapia Familiar. Address: Av.Alcalde Fernando Castillo Velasco 6925, La Reina. Phone: +56222263768. Email: clinicolareina@ichtf.cl

Appendix F: List of the Study's Participants

To preserve the anonymity of the participants, pseudonyms have been used. The following is a description about participant's interests and professional activities.

- Luna: She is 52 years old and she is an actress and theater director. She writes plays committed to social reality. She was five years old for the Chilean coup.

- Claudio: He is 51 years old and a social worker. In the past he worked with prisoners in special social inclusion programs. Nowadays he works as the manager of a very well known restaurant in Santiago. He was four years old on September 11, 1973.

- Claudia: She is 51 years old and she is a preschool teacher and psychomotor instructor. She has her own consultation and in her sessions she helps children who have behavior problems by playing with them. She was five years old for the Chilean coup.

- Javier: He is a sociologist and 53 years old. Nowadays he works as the manager of a Children's Books Publisher Company. In addition to that, he directs a social project by helping poor and vulnerable people to overcome their needs and re-integrate in society. He was seven years old for the coup.

- Sara: She is 54 years old and works as a city council assistant. She is part of a feminist group where she contributes regularly. She was eight years old for the coup.

- Fernando: He is 51 years old. He has a business major and he is the CEO from his own company which offer services in finance , accounting and international business. He was five years old for the coup.

- Amanda: She is 53 years old. She has an international commerce major and she is also a yoga teacher. She has her own studio. She is also a member of a foundation that works with children who are at risk helping them through yoga. She also participates in women retreats through the implementation of yoga workshops. She was seven years old for the Chilean coup.

- Maria Rosa: She is 54 years old and has a major in public administration. She works for a Social Security institution. She is also part of the city council of the city where she works. She was eight years old for the coup d'État.

- Marcela: She is 51 years old. She is a music teacher. She was four years old for the Chilean coup.

- Clara: She is 52 years old. She owns and teaches her own preschool. She has an educational project based on the respect for the indigenous people of South America . She was five years old for the Chilean coup.

- Valentina: She is 53 years old. She is a pharmaceutical chemist. She works in an institution of public health. She was six years old for the coup.

- Laura: She is 47 years old. She is a chef and she works independently promoting bio and healthy food. She has written two cook books about this trend. She is also feminist and organizes women retreats. She was nearly one year at the time of the coup.

- Carlos: He is a lawyer and a judge in court. He is 52 years old. He was five years old for the Chilean coup.

- Marina: She is 52 years old. She is a tourist consultant. She works in an insurance company. She was 5 years old for the coup.

- Maria: She is 52 years old. She is a forestry engineer and she works for an institution of public health. She was five years old for the coup.